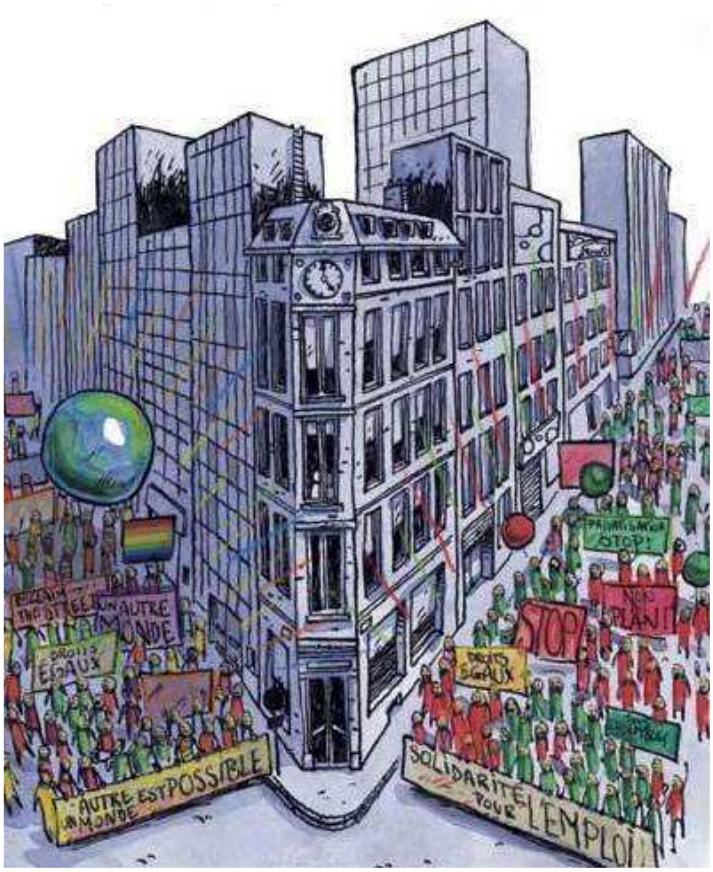
[This is a rough and incomplete draft of a work presently under consideration by a UK publisher – PW
Text in RED indicates elements to be added]

From the New Internationalisms to the Global Solidarity and Justice Movement

Labour, Social Movements and Emancipation in the 21st Century



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INTRODUCTION

First Draft

Recovering Internationalism, Creating the New Global Solidarity

(2007)

While the Power has done all within its power to erase us from the map of actual history, you have taken the word and the streets (the asphalt ones and the media ones) in order to remind us, and in passing the Mexican government, that we are not alone.

We know little of your struggles. The bridge your generosity has extended to us in order to hear the world of the indigenous Zapatistas has only begun its return flight. With surprise and admiration we begin to recognize your collective histories of rebellion and resistance, your struggles against racism, against patriarchy, against religious intolerance, against xenophobia, against militarization, against ecological destruction, against fascism, against segregation, against moral hypocrisy, against exclusion, against the war, against hunger, against the lack of housing, against great capital, against authoritarianism, against dictatorship, against the politics of economic liberalization, against poverty, against robbery, against corruption, against discrimination, against stupidity , against the lie, against ignorance, against slavery, against injustice, against oblivion, against neoliberalism, for humanity […]

So here…we want to send our thanks for turning to look at us and for the hand which you extend to us so we will not fall once again into oblivion. Some time ago we sent you a flower. Today we send you a little cloud of rain from here, so that you may water that flower, as you should, by dancing.

(Greeting to supporters from Subcomandante Marcos, Mexico, March, 1997). http://struggle.ws/mexico/ ezln/marcos_sol_world.html).

Around the time that El Sub wrote the above, I published *Globalisation, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (Waterman 1998/2001). And I naturally made at least some reference to the Zapatistas into the work. My book did not receive the same attention as the words of Marcos. Despite the Zapatista uprising, 1994, 'Internationalism' was then hardly a subject, except in rhetorical declarations, mostly in archaic terms. A pity I did not complete it a few years later, in the sound and fury of the 'Battle of Seattle' (1999) and of the World Social Forum (WSF, launched 2001). I had not, obviously, predicted these events or processes. And, indeed, I had difficulty in coming to terms with my first WSF, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 2002. Yet that book remains, I think, the one existing attempt to conceptualise what was shaping up in the 1990s, in terms of what I then called 'the new internationalisms'.[1]

Early-retirement from the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, a couple of years earlier than legally required, 1998, deprived me of various academic privileges but enabled and required me to find a new community to work with/in. I thus found myself increasingly involved with what some call 'the anti-globalisation movement' but I prefer to call 'the global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM). I have been involved in the WSF, mostly as a self-funded participant-observer, in both its global and its more local emanations – maybe six or seven events at different levels. I have also become involved with various other networks, whether these exist on the ground, in 'real virtuality' or in both simultaneously. These bodies, physical or spectral, are all involved with this new social emancipatory wave, whether locally, nationally, regionally or globally (customarily all four). And such involvement has meant my extensive exposure to and occasional engagement with innovatory emancipatory thought and action.

Unfortunately, however, neither the movement nor the theorists have much to do with or say about the labour movement. Trade unions, the labour movement, working people – none of these has a high profile in either the GJ&SM in general or the WSF in particular. Marx somewhere says that 'the traditions of the dead generations weigh like a nightmare upon the living'. So it is with the international labour movement. But there has been a particularly heavy legacy from the 1980s-90s, when labour was being 'down-sized', geographically displaced or restructured by a world-scale, computerized, paleo-liberalism. And in which workers and unions were being ignored, dismissed, even condemned, by the new social movements and their ideologues. Yet this is a world that has been creating the new industrial giant of China, and proletarianising women, peasants, tribals and others worldwide and in myriad forms.

As I drafted this piece, late-2007, the following news items were being broadcast by the BBC or narrowcast by the alternative labour media: a dramatic march on parliament in New Delhi by landless labour in India; a wave of industrial protest, despite state and union repression in Egypt; disruptive strikes by transport workers in Germany and France; a first major strike by unorganized migrant construction workers in Dubai. This is to leave out of account multi-year waves of urban or rural unrest and protest in China (tens of thousands) and South Africa (6,000 or so a year).

The continuing significance and changing forms of alienated labour may be more readily recognized by artists than by politicians or academics. In a witty and poignant novel on labour migrants in the UK, the British-Ukranian author says (in her Immigrant-Labour-English):

> For as that brainy beardy Karl Marx said, no person can ever build up a fortune just by his own labour, but in order to become VIP elite rich you must appropriate the labour of others. In pursuit

[1] There has been, it is true, a considerable literature on 'the new transnational activism', as witness (Tarrow 2005). However, this makes little or no reference to Marx, labour or 19th century internationalism – the tradition from which I draw.

> of this dream, many ingenious human solutions have been applied throughout the millennia, from slavery, forced labour, transportation, indentured labour, debt bondage and penal colonies, right through to casualisation, zero-hours contract [i.e. casual employment with no contract at all. PW], flexible working, no-strike clause, compulsory overtime, compulsory self-employment, agency working, sub-contracting, illegal immigration, outsourcing and many other such maximum flexibility organizational advances. And spearheading this permanent revolutionisation of the work process has been the historic role of the dynamic edge cutting employment solution recruitment consultant. Not enough people appreciate this. (Lewycka 2007: 222)

Thank you, Marina, for reminding readers of the continuing relevance of Karl Marx, and introducing me to the zero-hours contract…and of the crucial role of the immigrant labour broker with his post-industrial discourse and computerised *mobilofon*![2]

If I continue to concern myself with labour it is in recognition of the need of the somewhat amorphous GJ&SM for labour's millions – unionized or not. It is also in recognition of the necessity for a reinvention of the international labour movement in the light of the global justice movement, and for an emancipation of labour internationalism. And, lastly, it is in order to compare and contrast the 'old' international labour movement with the 'new' international women's one.

The selection and structuring of this compilation has been inevitably arbitrary. I have tried to cover my main concerns over the past decade. I have tried to avoid the temptation of applying post-event wisdom to them. But I have accepted the necessity of cutting for excessive length and for excessive repetition. I have also avoided republishing here my numerous review articles, though I love reading these even more than writing them. The pieces are in varied styles, intended for varied kinds of publication, electronic lists or websites. Thus there are polemical pieces, analytical ones, conceptual essays and, importantly I think, action-oriented research proposals. A few comments follow on each section, if not each item:

[2] For another such artistic recognition, in which the broker is a working-class Englishwoman, see Ken Loach's movie, *It's a Free World*).

Part I: Unions and Labouring People

'The New Social Unionism in a Nutshell' provides a backgrounder for the compilation, summarising my thinking around the beginning of the decade. Reference to 'social movement unionism' or 'the new social unionism' relates to a discussion, dialogue or debate that I launched in the later 1980s and that seems to have intensified recently. ('Social Movement Unionism', as a phrase, rates around 25,000 hits on Google, of which not more than, say, half can possibly be mine).

This section ends with 'Towards a Global Labour Charter Movement', which has been received with an enthusiasm similar to that of my old book. I put down this deafening silence to its utopian nature. Strange: writers on labour used to write or at least sing about utopias. But perhaps I mean that utopian writers used to reflect on labour. I am, in any case, inspired here by Oscar Wilde, who said that a map of the world that did not show utopia was not worth a second glance. I am also hoping that this piece will get a response in less than a decade and a half when, if still more than virtually around, I will be around 86. This hope is also based on the conviction that my utopianism, if presently exotic to a movement dominated by realists, or backward-looking utopians, is actually no more radical than that of other, more adventurous social movements.

Part 2. Women and Feminism

OK, the one item here *is* a review article. It seems that this has been the major form of my engagement with the international women's and feminist movement over the last decade. But the piece does provide an overview of what limited writing in English was available at the moment of conception. And both women and feminism are, hopefully, prominently visible elsewhere in the compilation (as they have been in my life). The review also suggests my orientation toward the international women's movement, which is one of envy and admiration, combined with a refusal to consider that the movement is predestined or privileged, by its subject or its theoretical energy and variety, to either lead the global justice movement or escape the traps and obstacles that international labour has much longer encountered.

Part 3: Globalisation, Communication and Culture

What on earth, or cyberspace, has 'Aliens 'R' Us' to do with culture and communication? I am not sure. But I would like to think that, in its satirical and surrealist mode, it has a relationship with the such work as that of US cineaste, Michael Moore. In any case, it must be evident that the work of Moore has done more to subvert the Mad Masters of the Universe than that of five dozen po-faced social(ist) scientists. So I am hoping this piece might be seen as – here, momentarily - rubbing shoulders with him rather than my five dozen colleagues.

'Reflections on a Communications Internationalism' summarises a considerable amount of research and writing I did in the 1990s and even earlier. In a gesture to the subject matter it is also presented in experimental form. I am convinced, with Manuel Castells, that computerisation represents as epochal a social transformation as did invention of the alphabet. And that it could also represent the kind of emancipatory force that Marx assigned to the railways (and, briefly, the telegraph), Brecht to radio. I say 'could' to avoid any technological determinism here. Despite the belief of earlier computer utopians that 'information wants to be free!', the contemporary information and ideas of freedom have to be first imagined and invented, and then liberated from capital and state.

The piece 'Communication, Culture and the World Social Forum' clearly moves toward the following section of the compilation. It represents an application of the above reflections to this

particular expression of the GJ&SM. Although inevitably inspired by a particular event, it does identify a major and *continuing* problem area for the WSF.

Part 4: The Global Justice Movement and World Social Forum

'The Augean Stables of Global Governance' compares and contrasts the positions of the international unions with those of the GJ&SM. Above the entrance to the First Circle of 'Global Governance' there should be carved 'Abandon Hope All Ye Who Enter Here'. The enthusiastic presence of the international unions *within* this First, or Charmed, Circle, suggests that if they retain hope it is in the mercy of the international hegemons. Most voices or instances within the GJ&SM consider hope an alternative to entry. But his does not mean that the new movement represents new social movement virtue against old union vice. These bodies may be in tension with one another but they are also unavoidably intertwined.

I would like to hope that 'The Bamako Appeal of Samir Amin' expresses a similarly dialectical disposition. The criticism of this veteran Thirdworldist is not that he has proposed a 'more political' orientation to the WSF: it is due to both the nature of this project and the manner in which it has been proposed. The road to global social emancipation is being paved by 'new manifestos' (Santos 2007), in other words by rhetorical or practical declarations – today preferentially expressed as discussion documents. The more the merrier. My own is clearly my 'Global Labour Charter Movement' chapter.

If the last item in the previous section might seem to properly belong in this one, then 'Of Saints, Sinners and Compañer@s' could just as well have been in the previous section. I have, however, placed it here because, written in 1999, it addresses the new movement before it got a name…[delete]…*many* names. If the last shall be the first, then it might be appropriate - and in the spirit of the famous dialectic - that the first shall be the last. Moreover, this chapter is one of my two research project proposals, oriented toward the future, even if informed by the past. The challenge to *my* compañer@s, to run with this proposal has not yet been taken up. It still needs to be. So it may serve as an upbeat and provocative conclusion to the collection.

I think that an appreciation of this book may benefit from a little more autobiography. My background is in the romantic, highly-charged, hyperactive but also sectarian and ambiguously internationalist tradition of British Communism (family sub-species: Jewish Messianist) as it emerged from World War Two. I spent my childhood, youth and early-adulthood within this tradition. I worked twice for the international Communist movement in Prague, for its student front (1955-8) and its union one (1966-9). My assumption that Communism would democratise itself seemed to be proven peacefully by the 'Prague Spring' of 1968, only to be violently disproven by the 'Prague Winter' (the Soviet invasion of August 20).

It is clearly a long way from 1968 to 2008 and, since I am drafting my own internationalist autobio, I will not attempt to summarise my itinerary here. But I do want to say something about the two ends of this journey. Despite all the crimes and misdemeanours,[3] I cannot disavow my Communist background. Indeed, in its emancipatory and experimental phases or aspects (which were fading as I was growing up) it both discovered and invented. The global justice and solidarity movement, having learned, at least implicitly, from the failures of statist socialism (which also includes social democracy and left-populism) is simply more creative, more peaceful, more democratic, more pluralist, more dialogical, more flexible. All respect to those who initiated this movement, amongst whom I have made

[3] As a Polish joke (*joke?*) had it at an earlier emancipatory moment, 1956, 'If you start by murdering people you may end up telling little white lies'.

many friends. But not all credit can go to those who initiated this movement. As suggested above, it also has to do with the passing from a machine-age to a computer-age capitalism, and therefore from the logic of the railway (basically an earthbound, hierarchical, centripetal and national or *inter*national system, with trains moving backwards and forwards) to that of the computer. This allows for decentred, horizontal, dialogical networking, and repeated escape to the outer reaches of Cyberia, from which one can repeatedly return to the stressed multi-cultured inner city of The Hague, or the indigenous rural communities around Ranchi, India.

As a result of capitalist globalisation, of the epochal transformation implied by computerisation, of the self-learning processes within the international women's, ecological and communications movements, we have this nebulous new phenomenon-without-a-name, which I have been calling the global justice and solidarity movement. It is, compared with the international Communist movement of my earlier days, a much friendlier place/space to be in. When Mao said, in 1927, that 'A revolution is not a dinner party', what he actually meant was that it implied the opposite: inflexible doctrine, iron discipline, self-subordination to the Party or the Revolution, theoretical diatribe, physical violence, war and death (not to mention destruction of the environment). This turned out to be extended, after Communist seizures of power (sometimes in underground struggle), to the working class, to peasants, women activists, ethnic minorities, to 'fraternal' Communist states, to founding party members, to 'flinching cowards' and 'sneering traitors' – and even to the independently-minded amongst Communist internationalists! There was a phallic model of the revolutionary - one which entirely forgot that what goes up must come down.[4] I do not know whether to be shocked, amused or resigned, to see this Bolshevik model reproduced amongst the mutually warring vanguardist *groupuscules* that are still to be found trying to instrumentalise the new movements.

Fortunately, however, emancipation now speaks (again) of exchange of experiences, of flowers, rain and dancing. It is not that we have surpassed the military model of social emancipation (consider only Palestine). It is that we are surpassing the notion that the end justifies the means. The opposition between these two, and the prioritisation of an idealised but actually quite hypothetical end, is being replaced by an understanding that means actually pre-figure ends. Or that the method is the message. Or that emancipation means less the world turned upside down than a revolution in everyday life, a process in which the sphere of civil society, of social autonomy, creativity and ownership is extended. And that this process can and must take place in every sphere of human activity – from the inter-state organisation to the bedroom - rather than waiting for, or being determined by, state 'ownership and control of the commanding heights'.

Oh, and it can also involve dinner parties, and, as Emma Goldman insisted (and my longtime partner demonstrates), a fair amount of dancing. For me it has been fascinating to observe how the WSF dinner parties take place without anyone being poisoned, or even storming out to create a 'Real WSF', a 'WSF (Marxist-Leninist)', an 'Aminist WSF'. It could happen but, despite the most fundamental disagreements, it has, after seven intensive years, not yet occurred.[5] I have been privileged to not only

[4] The literary representative of this is Pavel Korchagin in the Soviet novel, translated as 'How Heroes Are Made' or 'How the Steel was Tempered' (Ostrovski 1936). When I joined the Young Communist League, on my 15th birthday, 1951, we pledged allegiance to a quotation from this on the cover of our cards. I am impressed to learn that the Chinese made a TV series of this, using Ukrainian actors, as late as 2000. Thank you, Wikipedia, for this gem! http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ How_the_Steel_ Was_Tempered. The theoretical expression of Iron Man Communism is 'How to be a Good Communist' by Liu Shao Qi (1939). http://www.marxists.org/reference/ archive/liu-shaoqi/1939/how-to-be/index.htm. Reading this today, in the light of major studies of Mao, it is clear that he was not a very Good Communist.

[5] Well, Indian and international Maoists did create a Mumbai Resistance site opposite the 2004 WSF. The local and international organizers of the WSF (official?) did not give it too much attention. The

witness this but to have been also involved in the WSF and the much wider movement. And to be still learning from the process. I hope some at least of this novelty, these new spheres of social emancipation, come over in this compilation. And so, in my seventies, I have to express my last thanks to Wordsworth, responding to the French Revolution:

> 'Bliss it was in that dawn to be alive, but to be young was very heaven'

I don't actually think this dawn is bliss, and doubt whether even the engaged young feel they are in heaven. For me, actually, Dear Wordsworth, it is the other way round. To be involved in this movement is to enjoy moments of joy, and certainly to keep one young in spirit.

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experiment has not been repeated. In Nairobi, 2007, a People's Parliament, complaining that the WSF was too expensive and too distant, met in a Nairobi park, but this represent a claim on rather than a rejection of the WSF.

PART I

UNIONS AND LABOURING PEOPLE

A New Social Unionism, Internationalism, Communication/Culture and Solidarity - in a Nutshell

(2007)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2003. 'Reconceptualising the Working Class: A Matter of What and Who or Why and Wherefore?', Labour Again, http://www.iisg.nl/ labouragain/documents/waterman.pdf]

Introduction: New Capitalism + New Work and Workers = New Unionism?

This is an attempt to combine, in the most compact form, ideas about a new kind of unionism appropriate for our present world (dis)order. These are about the four closely inter-related aspects of labour protest I have been working on for the last decade or so.

I do not here go into the now familiar scenario of capitalist globalisation and union crisis, except to say that the Chinese ideograph for 'crisis' combines those for 'danger' and 'opportunity':

What I do want to remind people about is that the labour movement has dramatically changed form with successive transformations of capitalism: from the local Guild to the national Craft Union, from the national Craft to the international Industrial Union.

We seem to urgently need a new form of labour self-articulation – articulation meaning both joining and expression – appropriate for both effective defence and counter-assertion against a radically new kind of capitalism of a highly-aggressive and literally destructive nature.

It goes without saying, finally, that this whole argument is open to criticism, rejection, adaptation and surpassing – particularly by union activists and workers themselves.

A New Social Unionism

By a new social unionism is meant a labour movement surpassing existing models of ‘economic’, ‘political’ or ‘political-economic’ unionism, by addressing itself to all forms of work, by taking on socio-cultural forms, and addressing itself to civil society. Such a union model would be one which, amongst other characteristics, would be:

- Struggling within and around waged work, not simply for better wages and conditions but for increased worker and union control over the labour process, investments, new technology, relocation, subcontracting, training and education policies. Such strategies and struggles should be carried out in dialogue and common action with affected communities and interests so as to avoid conflicts (eg with environmentalists, with women) and to positively increase the appeal of the demands;
- Struggling against hierarchical, authoritarian and technocratic working methods and relations, for socially-useful and environmentally-friendly products, for a reduction in the hours of work, for the distribution of that which is available and necessary, for the sharing of domestic work, and for an increase in free time for cultural self-development and self-realisation;
- Intimately related with the movements of other non-unionised or non-unionisable working classes or categories (the precariat, petty-commodity sector, homeworkers, peasants, housewives, technicians and professionals);
- Intimately articulated with other non- or multi-class democratic movements (base movements of churches, women's, residents', ecological, human-rights and peace movements, etc) in the effort to create a powerful and diverse civil society;
- Intimately articulated with other (potential) allies as an autonomous, equal and democratic partner, neither claiming to be, nor subordinating itself to, a ‘vanguard’ or ‘primary’ organisation or power;
- Taking up the new social issues within society at large, as they arise for workers specifically and as they express themselves within the union itself (struggle against authoritarianism, majoritarianism, bureaucracy, sexism, racism, etc);
- Favouring shopfloor democracy and encouraging direct horizontal relations both between workers and between the workers and other popular/democratic social forces;
- Active on the terrain of education, culture and communication, stimulating worker and popular culture, supporting initiatives for democracy and pluralism both inside and outside the dominant institutions or media, locally, nationally, globally;
- Open to networking both within and between organisations, understanding the value of informal, horizontal, flexible coalitions, alliances and interest groups to stimulate organisational democracy, pluralism and innovation.

A New Labour Internationalism

In so far as a new labour internationalism addresses itself to the problems of a globalised networked capitalism (of which inter-state relations are but one part), this would have to see itself as part of a general global solidarity movement, from which it must learn and to which it must contribute. A new kind of labour internationalism implies, amongst other things:

- Moving from the international relations of union or other officials towards face-to-face relations of concerned labouring people at the shopfloor, community or grassroots level;
- Surpassing dependence on the centralised, bureaucratic and rigid model of the pyramidal international organisation by stimulating the self-empowering, decentralised, horizontal, democratic and flexible model of the international information network;

- Moving from an 'aid model' (one-way flows of money and material from the 'rich, powerful, free' unions, workers or others), to a 'solidarity model' (two-way or multi-directional flows of political support, information and ideas);
- Moving from verbal declarations, appeals and conferences to political activity, creative work, visits, or direct financial contributions (which will continue to be necessary) by the working people concerned;
- Basing international solidarity on the expressed daily needs, values and capacities of ordinary working people, not simply on those of their representatives;
- Recognising that whilst labour is not the privileged bearer of internationalism, it is essential to it, and therefore articulating itself with other democratic internationalisms, so as to reinforce wage-labour struggles and surpass a workerist internationalism;
- Overcoming ideological, political and financial dependency in international solidarity work by financing internationalist activities from worker or publicly-collected funds, and stimulating autonomous (independent of capital/state) research activities and policy formulation;
- Replacing the political/financial coercion, the private collusion and public silences of the traditional internationalisms, with a frank, friendly, constructive and public discourse of equals, made accessible to interested workers.
- Recognising that there is no single site or level of international struggle and that, whilst the shopfloor, grassroots and community may be the base, the traditional formal terrains can be used and can also be influenced;
- Recognising that the development of a new internationalism requires contributions from and discussion with labour movements in West, East and South, as well as within and between other socio-geographic regions.

Elements of such an understanding can be found within both international union pronouncements and practice. It is, I think, becoming the common sense amongst left labour internationalists, although some still seem to consider labour (or even union) internationalism as the one that leads, or ought to lead, the new wave of struggles against neo-liberal globalisation.Yet others are beginning to go beyond ideal types to spell out global labour/popular and democratic alternatives to 'globalisation-from-above' in both programmatic and relational terms.

Internationalism, Labour Internationalism, Union Internationalism

We need to distinguish between the concepts of 'internationalism', 'labour internationalism and 'union internationalism'. Within social movement discourse, *internationalism* is customarily associated with 19th century labour, with socialism and Marxism. It *may* be projected backwards so as to include the ancient religious universalisms, or the liberal cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment. And it *should* be extended, in both the 19th and 20th century, so as to include women's/feminist, pacifist, anti-imperial and human rights forms. In so far as it is limited to these two centuries, and to a 'world of nation states', we need a new term for the era of globalisation. Some talk of ‘global solidarity’, in so far as it is addressed to globalisation, its discontents and alternatives. As for *labour internationalism* this refers to a wide range of past and present labour-related ideas, strategies and practices, including those of co-operatives, labour and socialist parties, socialist intellectuals, culture, the media and even sport. As for *union internationalism* this is restricted to the primary form of worker self-articulation during the national-industrial-colonial era. Trade union internationalism has so displaced or dominated labour internationalism during the later 20th century as to be commonly conflated with the latter. Yet it is precisely *union* internationalism that is most profoundly in crisis, and in question, under our globalised networked capitalism.

Networking, Communications, Culture

We really need an additional, even an alternative, principle of worker self-articulation (meaning both joining and expression) appropriate to our era. In other words, we need one that would continually and effectively undermine the reproduction of bureaucracy, hierarchy, and dogma that occurs also within 'radical' and 'revolutionary' unions.

This principle is the *network*, and the practice is *networking*. There is no need to fetishise the network or to demonise the organisation. 'Networking' is also a way of understanding human interrelations, and we can therefore see an organisation in network terms, just as we can look at a network in organisational ones. Nonetheless, it remains true that the movement from an inter/national-industrial to a globalised-networked political-economy is also one from an organised to a networked capitalism. It is from the international labour networks and networking that the new initiatives, speed, creativity, and flexibility tend to come. An international unionism concerned with being radical-democratic and internationalist will learn this, or it will stagnate. International union networking itself will stagnate if it does not recognise itself as a part of a radical-democratic internationalist project that goes far beyond the unions, far beyond labour problems.

'Networking' relates to communication rather than institutions. International labour networking must be informed by and produce a radical-democratic style of communication and sense of culture - 'global solidarity culture'.

Labour has a long and rich cultural history and has in the past innovated and even led popular, democratic, and even avant-garde cultural movements. Once again, international trade unionism has to either surpass its reductionist self-definition or remain invisible in the international media arena, which is increasingly challenging and even replacing the institutional terrain as the central site of democratic contestation and deliberation.

Solidarity

There is still no Marxist or socialist theorisation of solidarity, despite its centrality to both, as also to unionism and worker struggle. A distinction may be made between 'economic' and 'political' solidarity, but that's about as far as it goes. Which is clearly inadequate, especially in the diverse struggles against a complex, globalised, networked capitalist disorder. It is essential to distinguish between *aspects* of internationalism, such as Identity, Substitution, Complementarity, Reciprocity, Affinity and Restitution.

Each of these carries part of the meaning. Each, separate from the others, can have a counter-productive result. Thus Substitution – standing in for the other – can, as with 'development cooperation' imply a patron-client relation. Complementarity – I give you A and you give me B – could turn into a calculative exercise.

We also need to consider *dimensions* of solidarity – reach, depth, length of time and impact. And both *axis and direction* – West-East-South? South *to* North? And both *topic* (rights? conditions? identity?) and *address* (workers of the world? global sisterhood?). Finally, I think, the most difficult matter, *understanding*, amongst those involved.

T|here is also the problematic role of international/ist *icons*, whether persons (Marx, Che, Marcos…Mother Teresa (?), or artefacts (the Red Flag, Hammer and Sickle, Mayday, Mao caps and badges, slogans such as 'Another World is Possible!').

Equally problematic is the role of internationalists – the active agents of internationalism. And their possible differentiation diachronically or synchronically. Thus one can distinguish between the internationalist as Agitator, Agent or Communicator along both these axes.

Around 20 years ago someone suggested that solidarity was the forgotten term in the secular Western trinity (Liberty, Equality, Fraternity). Quite. Especially given that Fraternity excludes women and is confined to a band of national or racial brothers. Agreed that it is being recovered more recently. But such a recovery requires both recognition and specification if it is to carry the necessary weight.

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Conceptualising the World Working Class: A Matter of What and Who? Or Why and Wherefore?

(2004)

Source?

And if the working class is as feminine as it is masculine, socialism will not be built only by the masculine part of the class. The class trade unions will not be those of men-only. The emancipation of mankind against form of oppression by capital – which as we know are central, decisive – are mixed with other forms of oppression. Apart from the class oppression given through the system of capital, gender oppression has a pre-capitalist existence, it continues under capitalism and will have post-capitalist life if this form of oppression is not totally eliminated from the relations of social beings, the relations between men and women. Emancipation from capital rule, just as emancipation of gender, are constitutive moments of emancipation of mankind from all kind of oppression and domination. The same as the [Black] rebellion against the white racism, or the struggle of immigrant workers against xen[…]ophobic nationalism, or that of the homosexual against sex discrimination and so many other factors that oppress social beings nowadays. I should say that if we want to think of the question of human emancipation and of the central struggle against capital, these elements are decisive. Therefore, emancipation battles are multiform.

(Antunes 2001)

The fact that under the category of proletariat we understand all those exploited by and subject to capitalist domination should not indicate that the proletariat is a homogeneous or undifferentiated unit - it is indeed cut through in various directions by differences and stratifications. Some labour is waged, some is not; some labour is limited to eight hours a day and forty hours a week, some expands to fill the entire time of life; some labour is accorded a minimal value, some is exalted to the pinnacle of the capitalist economy. We argue...that among the various figures of production active today the figure of immaterial labour-power (involved in communication, co-operation, and the production and reproduction of affects) occupies an increasingly central position in both the schema of capitalist production and the composition of the proletariat.

(Hardt and Negri 2003/1999)

Never again will a single story be told as though it were the only one.

(John Berger, cited Roy 1997)

It seems to me that left international labour specialists are confronted by something of a paradox. Whilst there is a growing wave of interest in international labour and labour internationalism, there appears little such interest in what used to be - ought to be? – the social subject under or behind this, 'the international working class'. It is as if enquiries into this social category or theoretical concept are considered as not yielding relevant information or inspiration. We seem to witness proletarianisation (in the broadest sense), to have growing numbers of workers (ditto), to have new waves of labour protest, to have unions, union internationalism, and even *new forms of* labour internationalism – but without much recent consideration of the 'working class'. An exception might be in the US, where the demonstration of working-class majorities (Rogers and Teixeira. 2001. Zweig 2001) could be considered itself an emancipatory – or at least subversive - act.

Marcel van der Linden's essay on 'conceptualising the world working class' (2003a) is thus more than welcome. It is not only learned and original but also, surely, timely. It is timely because we are really in a period in which it is becoming necessary to reconceptualise emancipatory labour agency worldwide (Waterman 2001). It is timely, moreover, precisely because this seems to be also a moment of stasis – or should that be 'disorientation'? - in class theory, with socialist historians and sociologists settling for 'hydra-headed monsters' (Linebaugh and Rediker 2000), for a 'multitude' (Hardt and Negri 2000, 2003/1999), for an existential 'scream' (Holloway 2002), for a movement of attention from the worker to 'work' (Gorz 1999, Cleaver 2002). Otherwise we have to make do with assumptions of the continued centrality of Fordist autoworkers to emancipation and internationalism (Moody 1997); or with a defence of the received Marxist-Leninist analytical mode that yet implicitly recognises the vanguard role of…the global justice movement (Harman 2002, commented Waterman 2003d)![6] Or of sophisticated academic Marxist theorising that seems entirely uninterested in the *political* implications of either what it is criticising or what it is itself proposing (Resnick and Wolff 2003).

In looking at the problem of conceptualising the working class, I would consider it rather important to consider not so much - or not only - the political-economy of the 'working class' but why it ever got the centrality it once had, how it functioned in relation to emancipatory theory, how the concept might be reconsidered in the light of globalisation on the one hand, and the 'global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM) on the other.

Marcel van der Linden's is a fine piece of political-economic analysis, which is able to gracefully credit Marx and equally gracefully say adieu to his proletariat. Van der Linden leans toward a much wider definition, allowing for the inclusion of many categories or even classes, working for capital (those on-whose-work-contemporary-capitalism-is-dependent?). He comes up with this understanding:

Every carrier of labour power whose labour power is sold or hired out to another person under economic or non-economic compulsion belongs to the class of subaltern workers, regardless of whether the carrier of labour power is him- or herself selling or hiring it out and, regardless of whether the carrier him- or herself owns means of production. In a sense, this brings us back to the pre-Marxian concept of the "labouring classes." All aspects of this provisional definition require further research. (Original stress).

[6] Ricardo Antunes, an outstanding and prolific Brazilian labour specialist, himself believes in the centrality of (a broadened notion of the) proletariat to human emancipation. But, as the initial quote suggests, he clearly considers emancipation to require rather more than proletarian struggle.

This is interesting in so far as it introduces the (Gramscian?) concept of the subaltern, and that it reconnects an industrial understanding of 'working class' with a pre-industrial understanding of 'labouring classes'. In so far as the latter is also a *non*-industrial understanding, there is in van der Linden's argument an implication that it might be relevant for our increasingly post-industrial capitalist era.

I do not, however, wish to further comment on this paper except to note that what van der Linden is writing about is less the 'working class/es' than the 'proletariat/proletarianised'. We never quite seem to get to either the working class *für sich*, nor to our globalised world, nor to any strategic implications - or imprecations - for the working-class movement or trade-union organisations (c.f., however, van der Linden 2003b).

E.P.Thompson, said, famously, that the working class was present at its own birth (1970:1-15) and, less famously, that he feared that, in criticising political economy, Marx had created another political economy - within which he was himself trapped? (Thompson 1978: 249).

I take both thoughts to suggest the necessity for an activist view of the working class – one which escapes the limits of political economy. If, furthermore, the working class – if working classes – are present at their own birth, then this is obviously a birth attended by particular histories, geographies, cultures, two genders (c.f. Peloso 2003) and (today at least) a variety of sexual options! Which is why Thompson was so careful to specify, in the title of his magnum opus, that he was only writing about the *English* working class.

I wish to here raise other questions, about the whys and wherefores in the conceptualisation of the working class(es). After all, it is not as if Marx and Engels *started* with political economy, *arrived* at the proletariat/working class and then *discovered*, by a process of induction or deduction that - *wunderbar!* - the latter is the privileged revolutionary and internationalist class. It was, surely, the other way round, or at least through a process of complex interaction between their emancipatory aspiration, utopia or teleology (Communism), sociological observations (the formation of an industrial proletariat in Britain) and theoretical specifications (political-economic) that their thoughts about the working class were developed.

That the Marxists get - and got - it wrong about the articulation Working-Class↔Revolution↔Internationalism seriously qualifies but does not deny their contribution to either emancipatory thought or struggle. Seeking emancipatory and universalist capacity within an early-19th century world of unprecedented, dramatic and revolutionary capitalist industrialisation and trade, in which 'all things solid melt into air', it is hardly surprising that they invested all internationalist/emancipatory capacity in this chosen people. Any more than it is surprising that, whilst criticising 'utopian socialism', they reproduced it – if with a scientific veneer.

That the Marxists (later Leninists) *did* get it seriously wrong was revealed by them, themselves, when the working class failed to fulfil its assigned role. Marx, Engels, Lenin and others then borrowed or invented categories that explained (away) its non-revolutionary, nationalist or imperialist nature – the 'labour aristocracy', the 'lumpen proletariat' and the 'semi-proletarianised peasantry'.

Whilst Marcel van der Linden accords recognition to labour specialists on/from the South for undermining the simplistic Marxist understanding of 'working class', he forgets about the extent to which some of these also *depended on and promoted* these rationalisations. There was a lively empirical/theoretical debate about such matters, over a decade or so, amongst Africanists. My own

contribution to such was to argue the non-theoretical nature of these authentically Marxist-Leninist terms, their varied and changing empirical address, and their erroneous predictive powers. This was in relation to 'aristocrats' and 'plebeians' in the Lagos cargo-handling industry of the 1970s (Waterman 1983a:1-19). Not that this stopped - or stops - Marxists rabbitting on about the 'Labour Aristocracy'.[7] But, then, who has ever been able to prevent Marxists rabbitting on about anything with traditional Marxist licence?

There is also the problem of the empirically revolutionary working class. The most successful case (but for how many decades, years, months?) is that of the Russian Revolution, or at least that of the key role of the working class within this. It could be argued that this success was due in part to the 30 percent growth of the industrial labour force 1910-14 and, therefore, to the combination of the experienced and unionised 'labour aristocrats' with the youthful and unruly 'semi-proletarianised peasantry'! Plus, of course, the phase of early industrialisation, the war, authoritarian government. One could continue with further specification of the unique historical circumstances (Waterman 1983b). Since then there have been a number of 'working class' revolutions and countless such parties, but typically based on peasants rather than proletarians.

Back to the contemporary, actually-existing – if still problematic – proletariat. We can pick up some more ideas from Dan Gallin (1999, 2001), where the former international union leader considers 'informality'. Gallin notes that the overwhelming majority of the world's working class is in 'a-typical' employment. In the so-called developing countries it is the 'typical' worker who is a-typical. But the 'a-typical' are not only increasing here, they are becoming a considerable proportion of the working population in the industrialised countries – particularly in comparison with the declining proportion of the unionised. Moreover, he says, we are not here confronted with a split between 'modern' and 'non-modern' labour or production, since teleworking, sweatshops and the outsourcing of auto-parts are more 'modern' than steelworks. Gallin ends up with an understanding close to that of van der Linden: 'At the end of the day, everyone who works in a dependent situation is a worker'. Gallin does not here concern himself with *conceptualising* the working class. What he is worried about is the problem this new (post-industrial?) working class creates for the trade-union movement. There remain, in his account, it seems to me, two black holes. One is consideration of what we might call high-end a-typical workers (professional, managerial and technical workers, programmers, graphic designers and others in the computer industry, who are often outworkers or homeworkers, individualised yet highly dependent on the most modern branch of capitalist production)[8]. The other is whether any of the three types of worker I have just sketched have the consciousness, desire and capacity to organise themselves, sectorally or collectively, in a form (the union) that Gallin does not really problematise. Work may still be the Big

[7] There are 11,000+ entries on Google for 'labour+aristocracy+today'. This can be increased by searching for 'labour+aristocracy' (29,000+). And could, no doubt, be reduced by finding a way of restricting the search to positive mentions. The figure of 11,000 is nonetheless impressive for a concept the function of which is commonly to explain away shortcomings in a major theory.

[8] In one of those ironies of history dear to the more dialectical Marxist, the internationalism of the pre-industrial journeyman may now be being re-invented by…the managerial, technical and professional workers! Union Network International now has a UNI Passport for such workers (m/f), announced, of course, on its website, and offering, of course, computerised services. The passport not only promises the support of host-country unions. It also admits to the weakness of unions vis-à-vis corporations, and invites the passport holder to take the opportunity of his/her employment abroad to advance unionism! http://www.union-network.org/UNIsite/Groups/PMS/issues_passport.htm

Issue[9], but how are we to conceptualise those that do it, and to appeal to them to 1) articulate themselves in a manner that is effective within highly differentiated sectors of the labour-force, 2) in a manner also effective for those in other sectors, 3) in the rest of a radical-democratic-global-civil-society-in-the-making? What do we call these people, when we remember that 'to call' means also to appeal? This aspect of identity-formation/recognition has been called 'interpellation', but I see no reason to use this translation from the Althusserian French (?), rather than the English word 'hailing'.[10] It is, in any case, a process through which mutual recognition and approval is established. We also need to remember that a 'calling' is an occupation with an ethical logo. Long into the 20th century, 'work' gave many workers not only a sense of identity but of pride. I was reminded of this just a couple of years ago, in Lima, when Lucho, who does part-time private taxi driving for a living, told me how happy he had been when he worked in the factory from which he was expelled for his union activity.[11] That factory, like so many others internationally, has long gone. But we still need a name that simultaneously indicates a position within capitalist society, which can create or re-create a sense of common identity, and which has within it some sense of ethic or mission.

In so far as Marx's 'proletariat' and 'working class' was created to meet a utopian aspiration and to fill the role of unique or privileged emancipatory agent, we might consider the argument of Hardt and Negri (2003/1999), for whom it apparently serves, today, a related, if relativised, function. I am here drawing on the text from which my introductory quotation is extracted. This seems to me to address itself to not only the nature of the category and its emancipatory potential, but also the original internationalist vocation and even to organisational and strategic issues. I am not opposing this to Marcel van der Linden's argument. I am, rather, posing it as the most economical (in the sense of brief) striking and imaginative extension of such. It would seem to me here, that when we add this to the various post-industrial re-conceptualisations mentioned above, we may recognise that we have a family of interpretations that lean toward a broader understanding of the category. In the case of Hardt and Negri, there are added, perhaps, certain implications.

Hardt and Negri's 1999 piece actually ranges over the whole of what was then a still-to-be-published book – and deals thus with nationalism, globalisation, methodology, ontology and other such exotic matters. Where, however, it begins, is with a quotation from William Morris, which for me strikes a classically Marxist, if somewhat pathetic, chord:

> Men fight and lose the battle, and the thing that they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and then it turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name.

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[9] Actually, a British weekly, reproduced internationally, not proletarians, even *an sich*, but on homelessness, and sold by the homeless/unemployed in the streets on which they often live.

[10] As an example of hailing, consider that classic of dissident Polish cinema, Wajda's 'Man of Marble', from 1976. This is about a Communist model worker, one of a group being being specially fed for their task - and hated by their fellow workers. The film is simultaneously about the relationship to the workers and the state of the intellectuals – in this case the director filming this new brick-laying record. When the workers emerge from their hut, cross themselves and slouch toward the building site, the director tells them that they have to return to their hut and to 'come out like workers'. The builders then return, to march out, arms swinging, heads high, conforming to the state-socialist model. These were evidently 'semi-proletarianised peasants', requiring to be hailed by a vanguard intellectual.

[11] At around the time Lucho was involved in working-class struggle, a far-sighted labour sociologist used in his book title a quotation from one of his interviewees: 'To Be a Worker is a Relative Matter' (Parodi 1986).

H&N also appeal to Marx (as well as to Italian *operaismo* and Gilles Deleuze) to argue that in the beginning there was not Power but Resistance (I would say 'Protest' since this seems to me closer to 'assertion' and 'surpassal'). They further admit that this position is axiomatic rather than proven, but they continue to argue the positive political implications of such an understanding. They wish not to celebrate protest, but to recognise its continual existence, and its potential. In arguing, along with Marx, that proletarian protest stimulated the development of capitalism (today hegemonic globalisation), one leaves open the possibility of its one day surpassing these. H&N seem, in other words, to be seeing 'proletariat' as - or also as - a heuristic concept. They start their argument on the proletariat as

> a broad category that includes all those whose labour is directly or indirectly exploited by capitalist norms of production and reproduction.

So far, so common to our other authors. They then continue with the long passage initially quoted, which makes one highly-specific point on the increasing centrality of labour involved in 'communication, cooperation, and the production and reproduction of affects'.

Although these kinds of labour are here neither specified or distinguished, H&N are pointing in the direction of labour in the new economy of a globalised networked capitalism. This includes, it should be remembered, not only information workers in general (which could be taken to include those in call centres – hightech sweatshops), but also those involved in housework/caring and such waged personal services as domestic work, health, tourism (the world's biggest employer!) and social services. Communication here would also, presumably, include the growing cultural and media industries. Whilst H&N do not suggest that these workers provide a new vanguard, *we* could consider them as workers who are, on the one hand, often individualised and hard to organise, but, on the other - and in so far as they are information/communication/cultural workers - commonly familiar with computerised equipment and therefore open to the 'networked union of the future' (Hyman 199:112).

OK, so I am looking for a concept that simultaneously says farewell to the working class of Marx, Lenin, Kim Moody (1997) and Chris Harman (2002) but hello to the working classes/categories considered by van der Linden, Hardt and Negri and Gallin.

This is *not* going to be 'working families', which is the latest of a series of horrible soundbites or sitebytes invented (or purchased for serious dollars) by the AFL-CIO. 'Working families' nonetheless remains interesting, in so far as it articulates 'working' (the subaltern AFL-CIO prefers this *activity* to the related *identity*) with 'family' (borrowed from the 'family values' of a corrupt, reactionary, but populist neo-liberalism).[12] What the AFL-CIO does understand is the necessity of articulating a class concept (if disguised) with a popular/populist one.

What, then, about 'working people'? It articulates work with people, thus class with popular discourse, which would make it acceptable to at least the Young Laclau and Mouffe (1985). It articulates work, what workers do for capital, with people, what workers are (before work, after work, against work). By its very looseness it overcomes such problems as that of redefining the 'middle-class' as 'intermediate categories in a contradictory class location' (Wright 1976), which is really an extended

[12] 'Working Families' seems to have been downgraded on the AFL-CIO website, in favour of 'Working America – a Powerful Voice for Non-Union Workers', http://www.aflcio.org/. The appearance and disappearance of such slogans from AFL-CIO discourse is a fascinating indicator of problems for which the AFL-CIO does not have solutions. Consider 'Buy American', now condemned to another site, http://www.unionlabel.org/. For some – possibly contradictory – reflections on 'working families', see Clawson 2003: 68, fn 35, 214.

and technical gloss on that old hand-me-down, the 'wavering petty-bourgeoisie'. Or defining them as the 'coordinator class' (Albert 2003) since, as Hardt and Negri might here suggest, they do rather more than this. 'Working people', however, would then need to be itself articulated with the a reinvented understanding of social emancipation (Santos 2003)[13], and with a similarly reinvented notion of global labour solidarity (previously, 'labour internationalism'). In so far as we recognise workers as people and citizens[14], then we will, moreover, no longer seek to re-invent an (inter)national working-class culture that was once a reality but has today been largely incorporated into the disputed terrain and discourse of 'popular culture'[15].

What meaning could social emancipation have today for working people? The classical labour movement had, in fact, two major work-related emancipatory slogans (Waterman 2003b).

The first was 'A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work'. This notion was, initially, I imagine, a Christian one, later incorporated, along with other convenient bits of Churchlore, into liberalism. Today it is Born Again in the form of 'Decent Work', promoted by the International Labour Organisation (an inter-state body in which labour – OK *unions* – has 25 percent representation, and swallowed,

[13] Santos avoids defining emancipation. But he does consider 'its' aspects. His identification of the tension between equality and difference reveals also that between the core labour movement value and that of the newest social movements – this tension also existing within the World Social Forum process he is writing about:

> Social emancipation must be grounded on two principles - the principle of equality and the principle of respect for difference. The struggle for either of them must be articulated with the other, for the fulfilment of either is condition of the fulfilment of the other. Nonetheless, there is a cleavage among the movements and even, sometimes, inside the same movement on whether priority should be given to one of these principles, and in that case to which one. Among those that say yes to first question, the cleavage is between those that give priority to the principle of equality - for equality alone may create real opportunities for the recognition of difference - and those that give priority to the principle of the recognition of difference, for without such recognition equality conceals the exclusions and marginalities on which it lies, thus becoming doubly oppressive (for what it conceals and for what it shows). This cleavage occurs among movements and intra-movements. It traverses, among others, the workers', the feminist, the indigenous, and the black movements. For instance, whereas the workers' movement has privileged the principle of equality to the detriment of the principle of the recognition of difference, the feminist movement has privileged the latter in detriment to the former. But the most shared position is indeed that both principles have priority together, and that it is not correct to prioritize either one in the abstract. Concrete political conditions will dictate to each movement which one of the principles is to be privileged in a given concrete struggle. Any struggle conceived under the aegis of one of these two principles must be organized so as to open space for the other principle.

[14] Consider here the argument of US union activist and academic Paul Johnston (2001), proposing the re-invention of trade unionism as a citizenship movement.

[15] I recall a brilliant book with some such title as 'A Candle at Midnight: Working-Class Culture in Cold War America' but, although I cannot believe I invented this, I cannot find it on the web. The point, however, is that it was clearly about generally *popular*, not specifically *working-class*, culture. In a thought-provoking piece on the labour movement and civil society, Dan Gallin (2000) states that labour used to have its own 'civil society' in a wide range of working-class institutions and practices. This, however, was surely what was then understood as, simply 'the labour movement' or else as 'working-class culture'. Claiming this, as he does, as some kind of forerunner to today's NGOs and civil society is, it seems to me, a defensive move, rather than one that might encourage trade unions to insert themselves into a set of radical-democratic practices and discourses, within which they are far from central.

uncritically, by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/Global Unions alliance. In so far as this is or was an emancipatory slogan, this is in the sense, of gaining rights *within* an existing capitalist society and liberal discourse.

The other historical slogan was 'The Abolition of Wage-Slavery', a prominent slogan of the anarcho-syndicalist (and internationalist) Industrial Workers of the World (aka IWW, Wobblies). In more contemporary form, this reappears in Andre Gorz (1999), who calls for 'The Liberation of Time from Work'. In so far as Gorz considers we have reached the end of the work-based society, this slogan should be understood *not* as Eurocentric, *nor* as calling for an increase in unemployment, but as struggle against enforced capitalist work and worklessness. This takes expression in the South, particularly in Latin America, in attempts to both conceptualise and realise a 'solidarity economy' - a considerable topic at successive World Social Forums (Waterman 2003a). In so far as this understanding could be linked to the archaic/contemporary demand for the re-establishment of the commons (socialisation of privatised common goods and services), an inter-relationship with the GJ&SM (ecological, citizenship, housing and rural movements) would be reinforced (Waterman 2003d). The paradoxical nature of the Gorz slogan should have at least the minimal effect of de-naturalising 'work'.

On the new kind of internationalism I will be brief. Ideas like that of 'a global social movement unionism', 'global/ising solidarity' and suchlike, are creeping onto inter/national union websites, and even motivating institutionalised union solidarity activity[16]. These new notes exist in notable tension – I would argue - with dominant union discourses of globalised 'social partnership'. The latter is actually a subordinate partnership with those corporations prepared to play games with a downsized union movement – which has a reduced membership appeal, and limited reach to 'working people' more generally (Waterman 2003b).

If I have wandered too far from Marx's working class, I blame the manner in which capitalist-imposed work and worklessness has likewise wandered, and spread, whether in terms of the geographical movement of workers (from traditional working-class communities, by inter/national migration) or of jobs (high-tech/low-skill call centres). Marx's proletarianisation continues apace, however - downwards and upwards and sideways - but without the creation of Marx's proletariat. (If there is here an echo of Thompson's *processal* notion of class formation, so much the better).

Whether we can find an appropriate appeal, matching the one on my five-hundred rouble banknote from the Russian Federation of Socialist Council Republics, 1919, I do not know. This bears, in some six languages, the closing words of the Old Testament of classical labour internationalism, 'Workers of the World Unite!'. There was, clearly, no room on this banknote to include 'You Have Nothing to Lose but Your Chains. You Have a World to Win! But repetition wears out the force of even inspiring slogans, particularly after 150 years lacking…umm…notable success. Moreover, many workers today may fear that they have something more than their chains to lose: A car-cum-taxi? A plot of land or house? A pension scheme or investment fund? A small-scale enterprise? Democracy Lite? Freedom of expression? A *job*, for God's sake![17] In any case, the problem is no longer to 'unite', in the

[16] A Google search on <global solidarity union 2003> reveals the range. I offer just one reference, to a pathbreaking conference on solidarity internationally between mining and maritime unions, http://www.mua.org.au/journal/october_2002/global.html.

[17] In 1989, a Filipino Communist academic was explaining to me the 'National Democratic' (i.e. Communist) project for revolution, following the North Korean model. This involved a brief National-Democratic phase (apparently lasting six months in Korea), to be followed by a Socialist one based on the Dictatorship of the Proletariat (permanent). 'But what,' I asked, 'is the National-Democratic project for the workers of Shoe Mart?'. Shoe Mart was a chain of gigantic shopping malls, employing tens of thousands of young women nationwide. It was selling, at local prices, the clothes that would appear the

traditional sense of accepting (i.e. of faith, loyalty, self-subordination to) one dominant and unchanging identity, theory, policy, strategy or leadership. It is to *communicate*, in the full sense of the word. This is something increasingly possible through the radical-democratic use of the web[18]. This is, of course, also something increasingly easy for the newest kinds of worker, as implied by Hardt and Negri. One could always organise, perhaps at a future World Social Forum, a competition for such. My present, omnibus, contribution could be broken down, or combined with others.

Working People of All Kinds, Countries and Cultures – Communicate!
Emancipate Yourselves from Capitalist Over/Work/Lessness!
Another World of Labour is Necessary!
The New Global Solidarity Movement Can Make it Possible!.

Although I do not expect this to win the competition, I do hope, with this note, to have at least set an emancipatory cat amongst the determinist pigeons. And, maybe, to have suggested that we need not spend too much time on re-conceptualising 'working class' but should rather rather concentrate on the other matters raised here. Juliet did not ask Romeo what or who he was, nor, for obvious reasons, his position in relationship to the mode of production, or to the capitalist labour process. Her question was 'wherefore?'. We could do worse than follow her example.

following season in the shopping malls of the USA. I sketched a scenario of what would happen to Shoe Mart, and all modern industry and commerce in the Philippines, should the local Communists take power. It became evident that although this man – a consultant to the Communist union front in the Philippines – had a project for the Dictatorship of the Proletariat, it did not have one for the workers of Shoe Mart.

[18] Here 'communicate' should be understood as community-creating. Which further complicates assumptions about political-economically given categories, interests and identities. Community-creation is a barely-developed potential of labour's own cyberspaces. Labour nets are speading and increasing in sophistication. They are not necessarily confined, or most developed amongst, new-economy or high-tech workers or the famous 'intermediate categories'. There are at least two amongst dockworkers (admitedly, an increasingly computerised category), one (mostly in Dutch/Flemish) overlapping with the International Transportworkers Federation, http://www.havenarbeiders.be/, the other autonomous of such, http://www.idcdockworkers.org/. Interestingly again, however, it is UNI that hosts a website for union web specialists, http://www.e-tradeunions.org/home.php.

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All in Common: A New/Old Slogan for International Labour and Labour Internationalism

(2003)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2003. 'Omnia Sint Communia: A New/Old Slogan for International Labour and Labour Internationalism', European Social Forum, Florence, Italy, 7-10 November, 2002. http://www.commoner.org.uk/].

The 18th Century

They hang the man and flog the woman
That steal the goose from off the common,
But let the greater villain loose
That steals the common from the goose.
(English folk poem, circa 1764)

The Long 19th Century

[T]he proletariat, the great class embracing all the producers of civilized nation[s], the class which in freeing itself will free humanity from servile toil and will make of the human animal a free being - the proletariat, betraying its instincts, despising its historic mission, has let itself be perverted by the dogma of work. Rude and terrible has been its punishment. All its individual and social woes are born of its passion for work.
(Paul Lafargue 1893)

Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work,' we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wage system.' It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for everyday struggle with the capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.
(Preamble to the Constitution of the Industrial Workers of the World, 1905)

The Late-20th/Early-21st Century

Regular IFI [International Financial Institutions] consultations with Global Unions create an opportunity for effective change.

In the past year, Global Unions delegations have participated in exchanges on trade union involvement in PRSPs [Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers] and on the impact of privatisation on labour and found them to be useful…Working women and men are interested in many of the objectives that the IFIs [International Financial Institutions] state as being theirs, ranging from increased jobs that offer better security and working conditions, to higher incomes, improved social protection and quality public services. Unions will only support IFI policies if they make such improvements a reality.
(Global Unions 2002)

The expanded application of the principle of the common heritage of humankind shows the potential of this concept... Against capitalist expansionism, it proposes the idea of sustainable development; against private property and national appropriation, the idea of shared resource management, rational use and transmission to future generations; against nation-state sovereignty, the idea of trust, management by the international community...; against the hubris of the pursuit of power that so often leads to war, the idea of peaceful use; against the political economy of the modern world system, the idea of equitable redistribution of the world's wealth...'
(Boaventura de Sousa Santos 1995: 371-2).

[A]ready fragile prior to Enron, the legitimacy of global capitalism as the dominant system of production, distribution, and exchange will be eroded even further, even in the heartland of the system. During the halcyon days of the so-called New Economy in 2000, a Business Week survey found that 72 per cent of Americans felt that corporations had too much power over their lives. That figure is likely to be much higher now.
(Walden Bello 2002)

Despite all the attempts at privatization, it turns out that there are some things that don't want to be owned. Music, water, seeds, electricity, ideas—they keep bursting out of the confines erected around them. They have a natural resistance to enclosure, a tendency to escape, to cross-pollinate, to flow through fences, and flee out open windows.
(Naomi Klein 2002)

Introduction: back to the future?

The death of international labour's old utopias (Communist, Social-Democratic, Radical-Nationalist - even Business Unionist?) leaves the international trade union movement bereft of much more than a defensive agenda which it still believes can and must be achieved *in partnership* with capital and state. In so far as labour adopts defensive or even *militant oppositional* stances, these still leave it dependent on the practices and discourses of a dynamically-expanding, globalised and networked capitalism. This repeatedly penetrates labour's defences, shifts the goalposts, even abandons football and the football field for computer games and cyberspace. Speaking in the name of evidently unconsulted 'working women and men', the recently re-branded Global Unions (see above) prioritise recognition by, and collaboration with, the enemy - the International Financial Institutions - over any

other political aim, any other historical tradition, any other ethical principle, any alternative imaginable end. And, as far as I can see, over any measurable positive impact.

Labour needs a new ethic, vision and strategy that will not only undergird such defensive and limited actions as unions *must* take, but also enable them to act autonomously and to go on the political and moral *offensive* against aggressive global capital and the collusive inter/state instances and regimes. And then, of course, labour needs to increasingly appeal to and articulate itself with the new 'global justice and solidarity movements' that recognize an enemy when they see one and reject collaboration with such.

Slogans and banners matter.

A new labour internationalism needs to go both way back for inspiration and way forward in address. The democratic and secular trinity of the French Revolution,

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

is still valid but needs updating and specifying (*Fraternity*, obviously, as *Solidarity*). The Wobblies' slogan

Abolition of the Wage System

and related workerist/antiwork slogans, need marrying with relevant demands coming from *other* radical-democratic communities and identities. And they need specification of what follows 'abolition'. The 50-year-old slogan of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions,
Bread, Peace and Freedom

forgets equality and solidarity, and still bears the burden of a Cold War interpretation of 'Free Trade Unionism'. Whilst the ICFTU and its associates have been re-branding themselves as Global Unions they have left their traditional slogan untouched. A discussion on *this*, involving working people and their allies, might help create an international labour movement fit for both immediate defence and eventual re-assertion in the 21st century. Some might like to see a slogan combining

Equality,
Solidarity,
Democracy,
Useful Production,
Sustainability,
Peace,
Pluralism
…?

Each of these is today part of the meaning of the others. But I propose to prioritise, at least for discussion, this egalitarian slogan,

Omnia Sint Communia
(All in Common)

Egalitarianism (called, under Communist regimes, 'petty-bourgeois egalitarianism') also needs a re-specification. It could draw on radical-democratic labour and popular tradition (see the first quotes

above), and should look forward beyond capitalist globalisation, beyond capital*ism* (as implied in some of the later quotes above). I suggest re-interpreting equality in terms of the old/new principle of *the commons*. This is an old space of sharing, subsistence and rights, a new space for popular encroachment on 1) a capitalism gone cancerous and of 2) inter/state regimes that are complicit with this and/or ineffective (Branford and Rocha 2002).

Appropriately, today, the commons are understood as simultaneously local, national, regional, global and extra-terrestrial. The sky here is not the limit. The tension between the capitalist political-economy (the state-capital, hierarchy-competition, power-exploitation syndrome) and the commons clearly now includes, alongside the oceans and the sea-bed, the electro-magnetic spectrum and cyberspace (CivSoc/CPSR website; Barbrook 2002). These provide an infinite terrain for disputation and, whilst capital and state have the economic, technical, institutional, legal and administrative means for their domination, the political and ethical principles of the hegemons are being increasingly exposed as both rigid and threadbare.

Labour - national and international, North and South, East and West - *is* now increasingly confronting the privatisation of everything (Martin 1993, 2002, Public Services International Research Unit website). The unions find themselves, in these often local, momentary or partial struggles, in alliance with urban dwellers, women's movements, schoolteachers and parents, agricultural producers, indigenous peoples, the ecological and/or consumer movements, with gays, progessive professionals and technicians, with democratic cultural and communication activists. The struggle to defend *and extend* the commons, can combine these possible minorities into hypothetical majorities. It would obviously empower the labour movement if such separate, disparate, momentary, partial movements could be systematically linked by a political and ethical principle which has the function and appeal once provided by Communism, Anarchism, Social-Democracy, or Radical-Nationalism. These national-industrial socialisms/radicalisms can now be seen to have been premature, simplifying, reductionist, universalistic - and utopian in the negative sense. Utopia, however, becomes less futuristic, more familiar, if and when we recognize that capitalism is not a unitary object but a complex and contradictory one, which does not - even under globalisation - occupy all social space (Gibson-Graham 1996).

Below I will discuss the relationship between labour and the commons primarily at the international/global level - remembering, of course, that 'global' also means *holistic*, and that any place, space or level must today be understood in a dialectical/dialogical relation with others. But I want to start with that which the international labour movement has so evidently *lost*, largely reducing itself to the role of 'town mayor in wartime' (a somewhat pejorative Dutch reference to collaborating officials under the Nazi occupation), to defensive battles that have to be continually re-fought so as to prevent further retreat, or to the repetition of archaic-romantic revolutionary-apocalyptical dogma. I want to start with Utopia, and for two reasons: 1) because

The Future Is Not What It Used To Be
(graffito cited Sousa Santos 1995:479)

and 2) because

A map of the world that does not include Utopia
is not even worth glancing at
(Oscar Wilde).

Indeed, these two slogans could well accompany *Omnia Sint Communia* on the road to

Utopia

which is actually a very nice word indeed since it means both 'nowhere' and 'good place'. It is, in other words, a desirable place that does not (yet) exist. Utopia has occupied an ambiguous position in the labour movement, ever since Marx and Engels replaced ‘utopian socialism’ by 'scientific socialism', whilst proposing Communism (which they hardly specified) as its necessary, desirable, inevitable alternative. With the disappearance of 'labour's utopias' (Beilharz 1992), labour internationally has lost most of its capacity to think beyond the shrinking horizons imposed on it by capitalism’s expanding ones. Yet, as globalised cultural industries become increasingly central to capitalism, and increasingly occupy the 'free time' of consumers, so must the struggle to 'emancipate ourselves from mental slavery'. Here we could certainly begin with those socialists who already recognized this (Frankel 1987) or are belatedly doing so (Panitch and Leys 2000). The latter (discussed Waterman 2000), summarise their utopia thus:

1. Overcoming alienation;
2. Attenuating the division of labour;
3. Transforming consumption;
4. Alternative ways of living [the feminist one];
5. Socialising markets;
6. Planning ecologically;
7. Internationalising equality;
8. Communicating democratically;
9. Realising democracy;
10. *Omnia sint communia*

Before considering the last of these (to which I am evidently indebted), we need to recognise the position under capitalist globalisation of

Labour

for whom it has meant, simultaneously, the worldwide generalization and intensification of proletarianisation (loss of pre- or non-capitalist means of production) and the dramatic and repeated de-/re-structuring of 'labour for capital' worldwide. Labour (as wage work, as class identity, in the trade-union form, as a significant partner in capitalist industrial relations, as a part of capitalist civil society) is in profound crisis. This requires – even for defence of the traditional unionized working class – a re-invention of the labour movement, including

1. recognition, as the subject of the labour movement, of all forms of labour for capital, waged or not;
2. developing an international labour rights movement worldwide, inspired not by religious or liberal principles of ‘fairness’, but by the necessity, first, of ‘taking labour out of competition’, secondly surpassing the wage-labour system;
3. the struggle for free time against enforced work (time also freed from commoditised entertainment and leisure industries);
4. working out and struggling for guaranteed basic income inter/nationally (i.e. income regardless of ‘work for capitalism’);
5. development of the 'solidarity economy' and 'solidarity economics';
6. development of a 'new social unionism', implying networking between:

- movements of distinct kinds of labourer;
- labour and other radical-democratic social movements (women, peace, culture/communication, ecology, human rights);
- traditional and high-tech or intermediate technical/managerial sectors;
- *struggles against* the wage-labour system with *struggles for* the resources and spaces for the support of life.

The last of these returns us to

The commons

the experience of which has been universal amongst the poor as they have been confronted by, and resisted the imposition of, first, seigniorial/colonial types of enclosure, then the full capitalist onslaught - clock-time, work-discipline and industrial capitalism (Thompson 1974). Despite centuries of encroachment by capital and state (a nationalistic, elitist, bureaucratic surrogate for a 'universal people' that could have at those times only a notional existence), and despite the seductions of consumer capitalism, popular imagination can still be stirred both by the memory of the commons, and by contemporary expressions of resistance to such encroachment (indigenous peoples' movements). The revival of the notion of the commons, under globalization, comes from at least two, inter-connected, directions:

1. decades of struggle by the environmental and related movements (often of middle-class origin) for defence or extension of the commons (in terms of space and resources, whether local, national, regional, global, whether subterranean, extra-terrestrial, cyberspatial);

2. increasing popular struggles (of labour, urban, rural, indigenous and other such communities) against the increasing aggression, despoliation and depredation of neo-liberal capitalist privatization, concentration, speculation and corruption. And increasing socialist discussion of such.

Much of the first type of struggle, 'for the common heritage of humankind' (CHH), may take legalistic or bureaucratic forms. Labour/popular struggles may also still be expressed as resistance, opposition and a return to a golden (even tarnished) past of state-control. Yet discourses of the commons - and a consequent extension of all possible radical-democratic alternatives to ownership/control by capital/state - could strengthen traditional labour demands and enrich those of middle-class professionals, technicians and others.

The principle of the commons is subversive of the principles underlying 1) the modern nation-state (actually the state-defined nation) and 2) corporate capitalism. The *state-nation* depends on the principle of sovereignty, which implies state hegemony within geographical borders (and inter-state relations beyond these). It defines the human-being as a national, either as lowest common denominator or as highest common factor. Underlying corporate capitalism is the principle of private property (privatized consumption, privatized services) which, as extended to the human-being sees him/her as both individualized and property-owning - the ‘political theory of possessive individualism’ (Macpherson 1962). In its extreme contemporary forms, it turns even the national citizen into a cosmopolitan consumer, and literally brands this consumer with a corporate logo (Klein 2000). So extreme - so world-embracing and world-consuming - have become the old contradictions between production and consumption, the worker as producer and the worker as consumer, producing regions and consuming regions, that the movements around/against labour and consumption - even

fashion/aesthetics - are now converging (Ross 1999). One US-based international solidarity movement is now producing its own anti-sweat (non-capitalist? post-capitalist?) sports clothes (No Sweat website).

My plea for the international labour movement to join its voice to both the discourse and the struggles concerning CHH, is intended to both broaden the horizons and the appeal of the former, and to give the latter an articulation with class/popular/democratic interests and identities that it might otherwise lack.

Broadening international labour's horizons and appeal. Where, at present, the international trade union movement does fight privatization, this is, customarily, in terms of harm-reduction or benefit-increase. Whilst reference may be made, on the one hand, to the damage done by corporate globalisation/privatization, and, on the other hand, to a 'social interest' or 'social aspect', no challenge of principle is made to those of capital accumulation or state sovereignty. And, whilst I am unfamiliar with the full range of positions taken by the unions concerning 'the common heritage', it is customary for the international ones to tail-end projects of progressive technocrats and bureaucrats, and propose 'social partnership' solutions to problems that its 'partners' have created ('Trade Unions OK…' 1998; Unicorn Website).

Giving 'the common heritage' a class and popular colour. In so far as it has origins in the weaker Third World, during the Cold War, the CHH has always contained a subversive potential. The notion has many elements, including: non-appropriation, management by all peoples, international sharing of benefits, peaceful use, conservation for the future. It refers to an expanding range of overlapping areas and terrains of dispute: the oceans (surface and floor); the Antarctic; cultural artifacts and exceptional urban and natural sites; energy; food; science and technology; space, the atmosphere, the electro-magnetic spectrum, telecommunications, the Internet; genetic resources (Chemillier-Gendreau 2002; Souza Santos 1995). Given the statist origin of the CHH, we should not be surprised that defining and empowering the 'community' - to which this past, present and future heritage might belong – is problematic. Particularly when the community of states (the hegemonically-defined 'international community'), is confronted by rich, powerful and – above all dynamic – corporations with which such states have been historically conjoined. Chemillier-Gendreau says the community to which this heritage belongs has to be invented, in terms of both its identity and its powers (which can include trusteeship alongside ownership). Her notion of a future 'people of peoples' echoes the Zapatista one of a 'world that contains many worlds', or the 'community of communities' of De Angelis (2001). At the level of principles, here, there is a pluralistic idea of overlapping communities/sovereignties . And, at least implicitly, of multiple socio-political levels, of places (geographic), spaces (socio-cultural), that exist in a dialectical and dialogical relationship with each other. Such a notion of community does not assume harmony, it simply invites us to *enclose*, and even *foreclose* on, the major sources of *dis*harmony – capitalist accumulation and state hierarchy. But even if this is agreed, we still need to confront the problem of

Linking Labour and the Commons Internationally

Whatever the history, the memory or even the desire, we have to recognise the distance that today exists between labour struggles and those around the commons, nationally and internationally. It would be easy to blame this on any half-dozen of the socialist's hand-me-down Others: the 'labour bureaucracy'; 'trade union reformism', the 'labour aristocracy', the 'Northern unions', 'trade union imperialism'. However, as US cartoon character, Pogo, once so notably said, 'I have seen the enemy and he is us'. Working classes (no less than myself and my readers) have been profoundly socialised into not only working for wages but also privatized consumption, passive and vicarious entertainment, and the notion that freedom consists of choice between competing political elites, competing TV channels and

annually-outdated audio-visual equipment. These desires are by no means confined to working classes that can presently afford such. They dangle in front of those who can only hope to obtain them by ‘proletarian shopping’, riot and theft. This is nothing to be afraid of, though it is something we should feel challenged by. We have to be able to offer models of private and social consumption that are more attractive and more achievable as well as more sustainable.

Where we do find the linkage between labour and the commons being made (implicitly more often than explicitly) may be mostly at the margins. This means at the margins of the trade union organizations (campaigns for defence/extension of social services; where unionists are sacked and/or denied wage labour; where the form of relationship to capital is most ambiguous); margins of the labour movement (amongst libertarian socialists, or those working in or on cooperatives, the social economy, solidarity economies), margins of the state-nation (indigenous peoples, rural labourers, the urban poor); margins of the capitalist world system (the national economies worst affected by unemployment).

It would be to repeat a long-standing error to divide up such initiatives and ideas into ‘reformist/palliative’ and ‘revolutionary/emancipatory’, particularly if the one is identified with virtue, the other with vice. This would be to understand these struggles and strategies ideologically (consistent with a theory/party/thinker claiming to embody truth) rather than in terms of self-education and self-empowerment (in which self-activating subjects demonstrate or determine outcomes). The relationship between reformism-within and emancipation-from, like that between labour and the commons, can and must today be understood in terms of experiment, critical self-reflection, dialectic and dialogue. Such an understanding also means that the recovery or re-invention of the commons does not depend on one world area, one type of worker, one type of organization (the trade union, the labour or socialist party, the vanguard network).

In-conclusion

This paper, like any set of initial reflections, raises as many questions as it answers (more answers may be suggested by the resources below). But they seem to me as good a way as any to start a global dialogue.

What, for example, does or should *omnia sint communia* actually mean? Which community? Ownership, usufruct, access, trusteeship?

How would we meaningfully *internationalise* equality?

All in common (my bicycle chain as well as my chains)?

What are we to call this new Utopia, if not Communism? Commonism? Commonerism? It cannot be called Communism any more, or not at present. That was a utopia of the national-industrial-capitalist era. Many people and peoples are *alienated* (*pace* Marx and Engels) from 'Communism'. And the effect of its contemporary use - if not the intention of those who still use it - is to isolate them from those many others who are contributing to a reinvention of the commons.

In so far as we are talking of a process as much as a condition, a movement more than a state of affairs, why not call it by the name that preceded national industrial socialism, and call it the New Utopianism? Or the New Social Emancipation?

Maybe *not* the New Utopianism, given the negative connotation in the popular mind.

Maybe the New Social Emancipation, which contains historical and even contemporary echoes of movements against slavery (including the waged kind), racial discrimination and patriarchy?

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The Future of the Past: Labour and New Social Movements in a Globalising World System:

(2005)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2005. 'The Future of the Past', *and* 'The Real Movement Which Abolishes the Present State of Things', (Introductory and Concluding contributions to a symposium), *Labor History* 46:2 (May/June 2005).]

A new set of questions [is] being created by a changing present. Questions about who constitutes the working class, about how fragmented and divided groups of workers have organised, issues about workplace and community and the democratisation of unions and state policies are assuming centre stage. As the contours of the present shift, it is becoming possible to look back from new perspectives. (Sheila Rowbotham 2000:68)

Introduction: the old and the new in an international labour history conference

The main title above is that of the 39th session of the International Conference of Labour and Social History (ITH in German), Linz, Austria, September 11-14, 2003. The subtitle is, of course, my own. The Conference title might suggest a continuity, a new alliance, a flow from the past into the future. Yet I am more inclined to identify a turning point in international labour studies and labour internationalism.

The end of one period of labour history was actually suggested by a *previous* such Linz ITH Conference, the 35th, in 1999, which was on

'The Labour Movement: A Failed Project of Modernity?'.

Now, it occurred to me, on reading *that* book, that *that* conference might just as well have been called:

'Modernity: A Failed Project of the Labour Movement!'

Whatever. But as I read the report on *that* 35th conference (Groppo, Garscha and Schindler 2000), on my way home, it did seem to me that it provided a prefigurative critique of the 2003 one.

My feeling is, namely, that with a globalised networked capitalism, the history of labour/labour history has to start again. But this time labour has to be understood as one crucial-but-equal part of what

is calling itself the 'global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM). This movement is beginning to put in question both the capitalist system *and* the labour movement - the major subaltern social movement of national-industrial-colonial (and a major one of anti-colonial) capitalism.

In many ways, the new movement echoes the labour movement in its emancipatory moments or moods. But, where the labour movement was, and sometimes still is, considered by its activists and analysts to be either the centre or the vanguard of social protest and internationalism, the GJ&SM reveals that this task is a multi-faceted one, with no central point or privileged force. Where, moreover, the labour movement has become lost in modernity, thus also losing both its original emancipatory and its early internationalist vocation, the GJ&SM sees a globalised modernity, at least implicitly, less as a solution, more as a problem.

The 39th Linz Conference 2003: between the old and the news

Now, in addressing myself to the 2003 Conference, I am conscious of having incomplete data. Moreover, I have to say, that the conference seemed to me somewhat disjointed and disorienting. Maybe it was simply a matter of what Marcel van der Linden (2003) said in Linz of this moment in the history of labour internationalism - that we are in a period of transition.

There was, for example, an awkward division between the mostly-elderly Austrian participants (from Linz? From the prewar Austrian labour movement?) and the middle-aged to young foreign ones. No attempt was made to bridge this gap, though the organisers are well aware of the acute shortage of youthful participants.

There was also something of a breach between the first day of the conference, largely dominated by political-economic presentations (abstracts ending with a three-line gesture in the direction of the labour movement), and a 'movementist' second day – if one moving between the institutionalised labour movement and the newest social ones.

Then there was a certain language problem, despite the amazing cabin translations, between those who were fluent in 'OldEuropean' (English/French/German), and those who spoke English and/or Spanish. This problem takes visible shape in the annual conference proceedings, since, at least in the report on the 1999 event, half of them are in German and French, and *none* are accompanied by translated abstracts. This makes these thought-provoking materials largely inaccessible in the two major international languages *of the South*, English and Spanish! (Despite my age, and knowledge of Dutch, Spanish and French, I found myself struggling to understand Eric Hobsbawm in German).

Given such disorientations, which may have been solely mine, what follows had better be seen as a series of initial reflections (or provocations). I leave a more rounded evaluation to a later moment and another person.

The 2003 Linz Conference was, like the 1999 one, a rather forward-looking event for such a venerable institution and 200-year-old subject. The presentations were, however, marked by tensions between various 'olds' and various 'news' ('news' also in terms of what was coming down the virtual pipeline, during the Conference, from the Second World Trade Fiasco in Cancún, Mexico).

One of the tensions was, as suggested, that between a political-economic approach to labour, as a creature of industrialisation and the nation-state (-system), and a multi-determined and even multi-directional approach, both focussed on and drawing from the 'newest social movements'.

Overlapping was a tension between a structuralist approach to history and society (in which 'protest' appears something like toothpaste extruded from a tube under the pressure of theory) and a 'movementist' one which begins with protest and then seeks an explanatory theory for, and often from, such. (The structuralist approach, admitedly, allows for a possibly reciprocal effect of labour movement toothpaste on capitalist teeth).

There was also, to considerable extent, an overlapping tension between those focussing on the *formalised and existent* (particularly union institutions) and those focussing on the *novel and imminent* (particularly the un-institutionalised movements).

Overlapping, again, with these was a tension between 1) a Globalisation-as-Myth School, ignoring informatisation and insisting on the primacy of Capital, State-Nation, Class and (sometimes) Imperialism, and 2) a Globalisation-as-Contradictory-Reality one, insisting on the Big G as a revolution within and possibly beyond capitalism.

There was, finally, I think, another overlapping tension between a generally reflective/academic approach toward labour and social movements and an engaged one, in which findings and proposals are at least intended to be fed back, in dialogical manner, to the new movements themselves.[19]

Whereas my initial presentation of the event might suggest I have a binary-oppositional or even manichean view, or worldview (since I could be rightly assumed to be identified with the second complex of positions), I do not wish to be understood as suggesting that the first represents Ideology, the second Science. Rather, I think, does an emancipatory knowledge and strategy come out of a dialogue within and across schools.

The 35th Linz Conference 1999: a prefigurative critique?

I have already suggested that a key to the above-mentioned tensions could be found in that 35th Conference in 1999. With contributions from such labour/social history celebs as Eric Hobsbawm and Sheila Rowbotham (see introductory quotation), and others highly-regarded within the profession, and/or area studies, it also introduced such new (to me) names as that of Jie-Hyun Lim (2000). His is a path-breaking insight into the particularites/peculiarities of Marxism as it migrated to first the European periphery, then to further peripheries of the old imperialist world order. His title, 'From Labour Emancipation to Labour Mobilisation' suggests a more general trajectory for the labour movement, labour theory and socialist strategy as they they were shaped, or shaped themselves, to a capitalist modernity they had originally entered as not merely an *oppositional* but an *emancipatory* force.

But the contribution to *that* 1999 conference most relevant, I thought, to *this* 2003 one was that of Daniel James (2000). Quoting Charles Tilly, James suggests that labour history can be seen as focussed on twin stars in a condition of tension: the development of national labour organisations, and the connections between the organisation of production, class formation and worker action. Around these stars can be found the 'cosmic debris' at the 'chaotic periphery' – local, regional and national

[19] That labour studies might be so committed does not mean that they are by this token emancipatory in intention or effect. The point is revealed in two such recent studies of *national* union movements, that of Robert Taylor (2003) on the UK and that of Dan Clawson (2003) on the USA. These actually illustrate the difference between an explicitly 'social democratic' and 'social movement' approach – both phrases appearing in the titles. Taylor's is an original attempt to revive, under conditions of neo-liberal globalisation, the historical social-democratic project. Clawson's is an argument to the effect that unionism can only revive to the extent that it 'fuses' itself with the new social movements – including the internationalist ones.

studies, working class differentiation (by sex, race and nationality), daily life, the family, culture. Daniel James is more concerned to apply this metaphor to Latin American labour studies than to critique Tilly. But I note how Tilly's model focuses on the national, marginalises other determinants/contradictions - and quite ignores the international! And I was wondering about the extent to which the 1984 Tilly spectre was not haunting our 2003 conference...

But James throws more light on 2003. This is in his critique of Latin American labour history written within the tradition of World-Systems Theory. What James said then, of one historian, seemed to me valid for not simply the WST tendency at the 2003 Conference, but for the political-economic determinists more generally:

> Labour is constantly invoked but largely as an abstract analytical category ready to be mobilised, to be incorporated, occasionally to resist... (L)abour...has little agency or autonomy... Despite the imposing marshaling of historical fact and detail the analysis lacks complexity, motivation and a real notion of causality. Their analysis is based on a rigorous determination by the political[-economic? PW] process. Yet theirs is a notion of politics devoid of ideology, political language, political symbols and beliefs. (James 2000:162).[20]

I now feel under a certain obligation to address myself to at least one actual 2003 conference paper! I will therefore take that of Marcel van der Linden (2003), in so far as he seems to me be an outstanding representative of traditional international labour history (van Holthoon and van der Linden 1988, van der Linden 2000), now standing on the cusp of the new. Van der Linden is not only a historian of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), but a leading figure within the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam – the Mecca of international labour and social history. His paper was entitled 'The ICFTU at the Crossroads', but actually represented an attempt to consider a past and suggest a future, within which the ICFTU occupies only a certain moment. He argues that

> The international trade-union movement in general, and the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) in particular, is currently facing an enormous challenge. The world working class is changing and expanding dramatically, and many of the old organisational structures and policies are in danger of losing their effectiveness. Will the movement be able to adapt itself? Will it succeed in conquering the minds and hearts of millions of new workers in Asia, Africa and Latin America? Or will it remain what it is, i.e. a North-Atlantic organization with some minor support in other continents?

This is strong language, or at least a disturbing question, raised by someone whose previous reflections on the ICFTU have been rather more cautious (Waterman 2001). Van der Linden's paper sets up a periodisation of labour internationalism, which runs like this:

> First Stage: The Labour Movement Defines Itself (pre-1848);

[20] At the other pole to the political-economic determinists would seem to be the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. In a brief exposition (2003/1999) of their yet-to-be-published book, they make a convincing case for starting social analysis from social resistance or protest and treating hegemonic political-economic strategies as responses. Whilst guilty of inventing two of the new century's most problematic left concepts – Empire and Multitude – these authors deal with the impact of informatisation/globalisation on the working class, the generalisation of proletarianisation, the increasing spread and depth of capitalist contradictions, and the way the old labour inter-*nationalism* is being transformed into something much more potent.

Second Stage: Sub-National Internationalism (1848-1870s);

Third Stage: Transition (1870s-1890s);

Fourth Stage: National Internationalism (1890s-1960s);

Fifth Stage: A New Transition (since the 1960s).

I will not go into the documentation behind this periodisation. But I do have some comments on it.

The first is that, in the epoch of globalisation, the model still seems a little fixated on the *national*. For me, the first period might rather refer to the radical-democratic internationalism, or cosmopolitanism, of which Tom Paine and Flora Tristán were leading figures (the second evidently as a transitional one). The second period I would characterise as one of a Craft or Corporate Internationalism (something that continues to this day). National Internationalism is a term I have myself used (Waterman 1998:26,103), whilst pointing out that it was common, also, to unions on the capitalist periphery during this period. I would also, however, be inclined to stress the continuing hegemony of National Internationalism.

The second comment is that, to the extent that the present period might be seen as one of transition, it is possible to give this a name, especially since it is even creeping into the discourse of the hegemonic institutionalised unions. This is 'global solidarity unionism', or 'global social movement unionism', notions which not only surpass that of inter*nationalism* but simultaneously imply holism, and which therefore relate new forms of labour internationalism to the global solidarity and justice movement.

The third comment has to do simply with the relevant literature – historical and sociological. I have referred to much of this in a number of recent papers (Waterman 2003a, b, Forthcoming). The point is, simply, that some of this literature uses concepts or raises issues concerning the past, present and future of what we had better call labour *and* internationalism. And that this literature requires incorporation, discussion or confrontation. Much of this literature has implications, precisely, for the relationship between labour and the newest social movements (e.g. the positions of Richard Hyman as summarised in Waterman 2003b). Whilst van der Linden asks questions about the possible or necessary transformation of union internationalism, there are here already some answers, or at least arguments.

Back to reality: virtual or not, it's coming

I earlier mentioned Cancún. This global drama, which was occurring as our rather amiable 2003 conference unfolded, revealed the differences between two periods and/or types of international labour-and-social movements. The differences at Cancún were expressed in two internet emanations, one being email messages to Cancún protesters by the Zapatistas, the other being the extensive Cancún web pages of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. The activities of the ICFTU, and the related Global Unions, were almost exclusively concerned with unions, relations between unions and union-WTO relations. The collapse of the talks was greeted thus by the ICFTU:

> (T)his is more than a crisis of the trading system; it is a crisis of global governance, unions said. 'We call on world leaders to reflect on the social vacuum at the heart of the multilateral system. This requires a discussion at the highest political level. The United Nations must show leadership in this,' Ryder [ICFTU General Secretary] concluded. (http://www.icftu.org/default.asp?Language=EN).

The ICFTU was here appealing to, and revealing dependence on, states and inter-state organisations (elsewhere including the WTO), in the hope that they might *reform themselves*. The ICFTU speaks here as a body present *within* or *on the periphery* of the WTO. The mode of expression is diplomatic, since the ICFTU/Global Unions are apparently still trying to 'get a table at the WTO restaurant' (Waghorne 2000), or at least to fill a 'social vacuum'. What the ICFTU has to say on this website could also have been said by any liberal academic, at least of the pre-neo kind. Whilst a finer or comparative analysis might indicate movement within the international trade union movement, in directions suggested by the GJ&SM, the apparent absence of unions from the protest activities at Cancún suggests a greater distance from the new movements than might have been suggested by increasing union presence at the World Social Forums.

Now for the Zapatistas:

> Throughout the world, two projects of globalisation are in dispute: The one from above that globalises conformity, cynicism, stupidity, war, destruction, death, and amnesia. And the one from below, that globalises rebellion, hope, creativity, intelligence, imagination, life, memory, building a world where many worlds fit. A world of Democracy! Liberty! Justice! (www.foodfirst.org/wto/reports/ ezln3eng.php)

Here Sub-Comandante Marcos is addressing and appealing to the protest movement taking place in Cancún (neither 'protest' nor 'demonstration' finds mention on the dozens of ICFTU/Global Unions web pages). The mode of expression is obviously rhetorical. But this rhetoric does not simply remind us of the earlier, emancipatory, phase of the international labour movement. It includes radically-modern values and aspirations. Although his is a polarising language, which would implicitly condemn, or at least criticise, the ICFTU for its dependence on 'globalisation from above', the values and aspirations expressed actually cut across any such binary opposition, appealing to traditional modernist/labourist values, as well as to hypothetically post-capitalist ones.

More intriguing, revealing and suggestive, however, is the message from Comandante Esther of the Zapatistas:

> Indigenous and campesino women sisters, we want to tell you to organise to fight against the neoliberalism that humiliates us, that exploits us, and that wants us to disappear as indigenous women, as peasant women, and as women. [...W]e say clearly that when women demand respect, we demand it not only from the neoliberals, but also from those who struggle against neoliberalism and say they are revolutionaries but in the home are like Bush. [...] Also we want to tell all women in the city to get organised and fight together, because you also suffer the same situation - the humiliation and the exploitation. Because the women who work in the factories, as workers, employees, teachers, and secretaries have a boss, male or female, because rich women also humiliate us and devalue us. And what they earn is not enough to tend to their children's needs for health, education, and food. And also they have to comply with the schedule given them and if they do not, they get fired but they are not paid a fair salary. (http://www.foodfirst.org/wto/reports/ezln1eng.php).

To me this suggests a movement – or movement leader – who not only reaches out beyond her constituency (indigenous, campesino, female) to recognise and appeal to other women, in an (old) socialist and (new) feminist spirit, and who understands the necessity of a 'movement within the

movement'.[21] And who makes an intellectual/emotional appeal to *women workers* that would be difficult to find on any international *union* site![22]

More reality, this time definitely virtual.

I began to write this note in the airport of Vienna, on my way home from Linz. And I was writing it on my Palm M130 PDA (personal digital assistant...I think), which has a foldout keyboard. And I was wondering whether my Palm might not also have the possibility of plugging into some device in the airport which would transmit my unfinished thoughts to my fellow participants, and at least one interested website, in 40 winks.[23] The relationship between this 'real virtuality' (Castells 1996:373) and that, slow, ageing, crisis-confronted movement (and somewhat disoriented or disjointed conference?) presents itself as an irony of left history that Isaac Deutscher (1966) was not required to address. I am, of course, perfectly well aware of the distance between the bulk of the world proletariat - and the even greater bulk of the world's working people - and my Palm. But I am equally aware of the epochal revolution this device symbolises for work, workers, for a renewed or reinvented labour internationalism, and for an international labour studies reinvented in the light of globalisation (Waterman 2003a). Informatisation, like mechanisation, electrification and automation earlier, is integral to the present revolution within capitalism – both as process and product. Yet, whilst even the participant from Calcutta (aka Kolkota) had email, and the conference was electronically coordinated, 'informatisation' was hardly mentioned at this event. Though I did make it one of my 'eleven theses' below.

Eleven theses, though not on Feurbach

It was a privilege to be invited to introduce the final discussion at the Linz Conference. I was just recovering from a keynote presentation at another conference – at which an admitedly still sleepy audience refused, with remarkable accord, to laugh at my keynote jokes. In fact, as I informed one of the Linz Conference organisers, I had more or less prepared my propositions before the event. This was possible, in part, because I had the programme, some abstracts and one paper (the one that wasn't presented). It was also because Linz was the third of three international labour conferences I have spoken at in 2003 (the fourth and last one is more of a consultation). Addressed to the future of international labour studies, the propositions went (or go now, following the ensuing discussion) something like this:[24]

1. Work

We need to recognise the multiple forms of 'work for capitalism', as well as the manner in which 'atypical' labour is expanding at the expense of 'typical' waged labour. We need to remember that there were two early slogans of the labour movement, a liberal one which called for 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work', and a revolutionary socialist one, calling for the 'abolition of wage slavery'. We need to spell out the slogan suggested by Andre Gorz, 'The Liberation of

[21] For those too young to remember this – and they are increasing - I am here playing, but seriously, with 'Revolution in the Revolution' (Debray 1967).
[22] She also throws a certain amount of doubt on the argument of a political-economic-determinist Conference participant who declared that rural petty-commodity production gives rise to chiliastic movements.
[23] This is LabourNet Deutschland at http://www.labournet.de/, a site with increasing interest in theoretical and strategic discussion around international labour and social movements.
[24] For more extensive argument around these propositions, see the various references to Waterman below. These also reveal sources for many of the propositions. And the papers themselves mostly have extensive bibliographies.

Time from Work', and concern ourselves with the increasing experiments in 'solidarity economics' (a major theme at the World Social Forums).

2. Workers

We have to surpass the narrow understanding of 'working class', either by expanding it to all the kinds of 'atypical' labourers, or by using some such term as 'working people'. In either case we have to surpass the privileging of the traditional wage worker.

3. Form

We need to surpass a fixation on the traditional form of worker representation in the trade union organisation/collective-bargaining institution. The pyramidical – and nominally representative-democratic[25] – organisation (national to global) has to be understood in terms of networking and communication. It is in these terms that the new movements of 'labour's others' are increasingly articulated, locally, nationally, internationally. And these forms are likely to suggest themselves spontaneously to the new information workers (from computer operators to software designers).

4. Social Movements

We have to place studies of unions and labour relations *back* within the framework of social movements. But this implies putting them *forward* also, now within the spectrum of historical and social movement theories developing alongside the newest social movements.

5. Democracy

We have to remember that unions once were – and still are under authoritarian regimes of the right or left - citizenship movements. This means considering the relationship between trade unions and new forms and understandings of democracy and citizenship arising under the neo-liberal condition of Democracy Lite. Here understandings of citizenship coming out of the women's, migrant, indigenous and global justice movements are essential.

6. History/Geography

All history is written backwards. Theoretically-critical and socially-committed understandings of globalisation/informatisation can provide new ways of understanding the *past* of labour movements. The growing area of labour geography, within the general school of radical social geography, not only helps us surpass political-economic determinism, but requires us to reflect upon spatial difference and determination in relation to labour identity and protest, again from the local to the global. It could also surpass the increasingly empty oppositions of global to national, or global to local, in international labour studies.[26]

[25] 'Nominally democratic' in so far as many unions suffer from the low participation affecting liberal democracies more generally. The further the organisation gets from the shopfloor, moreover, the more nominal becomes the democracy. So, whilst the ICFTU might claim that it 'represents' 158 million workers in X number of countries, it is doubtful whether more than a small percentage know it represents them, even in Brussels where it is situated.

[26] Given the extent to which locales are globalised, and to which the hegemonic global is particularised (by transnationals, by the West, by (inter-)state bodies, by Rich White Men with Diner's Club Cards), many questions arise about how, for example, 'localisation' or 'globalisation' might be understood by waged and other workers, within or around a Coca Cola plant in Kerala, India.

7. Cyberspace

Cyberspace is only a 'virtual reality' in the way that cinema once was. But whereas it was possible for state and capital to wipe out the worker cinema movement of the 1920s-30s, the infinite area of cyberspace cannot be fully occupied by either, nor can the 'gift economy' cyberspace creates be fully incorporated by the capitalist one it represents. Cyberspace must be understood not simply as a tool (for doing something better, faster and on a wider scale), but also as a community (a place of shared interests, identities, meanings and struggles) and as utopia (see below). The short history of international labour's engagements with cyberspace - and earlier ones with cultural internationalism - require more intensive study than they have so far received.

9. Ethnography/anthropology

Most history of labour internationalism reveals little or nothing about *worker* experience, understandings and valuings of such. Like much of what passes for labour internationalism, it is about the international relations of institutions and their officers. It may be difficult but should not be impossible to use ethnographic methods (or insights) to research past worker internationalism.

10. Solidarity

Solidarity is another crucial but under-theorised concept in the history and histories of international labour and labour internationalism. It needs to be deconstructed into such constituent elements as Identity, Substitution, Complementarity, Reciprocity, Affinity and Restitution. It needs to be measured according to Axis, Direction, Reach, Depth, Impact, Meaning, etc.

11. Utopia

'Utopia' means both 'nowhere' and 'good place', in other words a good place that does not yet exist. It refers, however, not simply to a condition but also to a process of achieving such. International labour history (and popular history before and since this) is replete with utopian references, at least in emancipatory moments. If contemporary labour aspirations are not to be condemned to dystopia, or become conservative utopianisms (gradualist or insurrectionary), they need to be informed by the history and nature of labour and other social movement utopianism (particularly the utopianism of the anti-utopian Marxists?).

Conclusion: the future of the past

Despite my critique of the ITH Conference, 2003, I am cautiously optimistic about the extent to which it can, and hopefully will, contribute to 'labour and social movements in a globalising world system'. The new GJ&SM does not reveal much awareness of the past. And we all know what happens to those who ignore history. Even the title of the Linz Conferences, linking labour and social history, allows for such a development. And a number of the papers, to which I have not referred in this note, revealed a similar family relationship to that of the determininsts I have criticised. It is not simply a problem, moreover, of GJ&SM disinterest in the past, but also of a cavalier dismissal of the 'old labour movement', which is, in many ways, the Mother of All Modern Social Movements. And no one should ever forget mother.

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The International Union Merger of November 2006: Top-Down, Eurocentric and… *Invisible*[27]

(2006)

[Source: Revised and extended from a contribution to *International Union Rights*, www.ictur.org, Autumn 2006]

At a conference in Vienna, early November, 2006, there will take place the unification of most of the major international and of certain national trade unions in a new organisation. Unlike previous such launchings, however, this is occurring without any general global upsurge of union protest or expressions of labour self-confidence, and without public knowledge. Although the parties involved talk about the creation of a new union international, the word 'merger' seems rather more appropriate. This for two reasons.

Firstly, what is taking place here represents a largely administrative unification between two Western European-based international trade union centres of the social-reformist tradition. These are the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions/Global Unions (ICFTU/GU) and the World Confederation of Labour (WCL).

Given the serious effects on them of neo-liberalism and globalisation – in both membership and financial terms – this makes managerial sense. The ICFTU (1949), inheritor of the international Social-Democratic tradition, is here the major partner, claiming some 150 million members. The WCL (1968) descends from the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions (1920), is of Social-Catholic inspiration, and claims some 26 million – largely in Latin America. (The WCL wildly exaggerates its own membership figures. It has one or two major West European affiliates, but in the South is to a large extent a development project of West-European Christian Democracy, without whose funding it would collapse).

Other international organisations involved, such as the European Trade Union Confederation (1974) and the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (TUAC 1948). are similarly social-reformist and based in Western Europe. The unification also involves the trade-specific internationals (e.g. public service or agriculture) of the ICFTU and WCL. Some of these have already merged. However, these further complicate the merger. The Global Union Federations associated with the ICFTU in the Global Unions network, are much older than, and

[27] **Dan Gallin read and commented on two drafts of this paper. He cannot, of course, be held responsible for the use I have made of his comments.**

autonomous from, the ICFTU. Those of the WCL are merely departments. The WCL, moreover, seems reluctant to have the global or regional merger reaching down to national level. The role of the ETUC in the whole process needs emphasis for two reasons. Firstly, it provides an explicit or implicit model of a unified union body, being formally autonomous from the existing international centres and having long included national unions of both the Communist and Catholic tradition (Moreno 2005). Secondly, however, it is itself self-subordinated to the European Union and thus to an elite social accord of problematic value. This has been extensively argued by veteran left labour specialist, Richard Hyman:

> With the advent of labour diplomacy, a distinctive model of international trade union bureaucratisation became the line of least resistance. We may note, in this context, that the double-edged certification of labour as a 'social partner' within the institutions of the European Union has had analogous effects: providing recognition and material resources, but incorporating the ETUC within an elite policy community largely detached from those it claims to represent. (Hyman 2002)

And:

> All too often, official trade union practice seems implicitly to accept that internationalism is an elite concern, that it is safer if the membership does not learn too much of policies which they might perhaps oppose. In some unions, certainly, international issues are given reasonable prominence in internal communications and education; I fear that this is far from typical, though openness may be increasing as unions struggle to find a response to 'globalization'. In any event, since effective international solidarity is impossible without a 'willingness to act' on the part of grassroots trade unionists, it is unattainable without an active strategy by union leaders and activists to enhance knowledge, understanding and identification of common interests cross-nationally. This means engaging in what might be termed an 'internal social dialogue'. (Hyman 2005)

Given that there is no international, or even Southern, union criticism of the ETUC model, it seems likely that the new organisation will reproduce this model. There is, further, a rumour that the new international will move to Geneva, the city that also hosts the International Labour Organisation. Whether it does or not, there is plentiful evidence of the increasing dependency of the international unions on this global-level 'partner'. The ILO is an inter-state body in which the unions have only a 25 percent vote but are treated as representing also that majority of the world's labour force that un-unionised or un-unionisable.

The word 'merger' seems appropriate, *secondly*, in analogy with the contemporary corporate world, in which it is the boards of directors who are involved, whilst those lower down the hierarchy are either uninformed, passively observe or – where more actively concerned and involved – may at best express some opinions or hope that 'unity means strength'. In this union case the merger has been virtually invisible to the 176 million or so of union members claimed, to world public opinion in general - and even to that progressive part of such in the new 'global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM). Information denial here goes to the point at which a relevant article by the ICFTU's Joint General Secretary was published not on the ICFTU website, but in Medellin, Colombia (Oliveira 2006).

This virtual invisibility has also been true of 'virtual reality'. Bearing in mind the increasing number and professional quality of international union or labour websites, and the ease of publication on them, this invisibility is puzzling, at the very least. Neither on the site of the ICFTU, the Global Unions or the WCL has it been possible to find more than a few meagre messages on something supposedly of significance to tens of millions! (This invisibility extends even to the otherwise innovative and

autonomous site, LabourStart). Indeed, an inquiry about this lack, addressed to the Press Office of the ICFTU, produced only a reference back *two years* to a resolution of its 2004 Congress! One can only speculate about this virtual silence. Perhaps the leaderships are themselves ambiguous about the project, or worried about its success, or simply aware that this represents a new form without a new content.

I would have considered taking the two-hour train journey from The Hague to try to solve this puzzle. But I was apparently fortunate in being thousands of air miles from Brussels, base of both major centres involved, whilst writing this piece. For it is in Latin America that there has been most interest in the merger – at least at regional level. This may be because of a recent rise in labour and other social protest in Latin America. Or because it is here that the WCL has a certain presence. It is in the sub-continent, in any case, that there has been expressed most concern about the political content of the merger, the autonomy it will allow at regional level and its implications at the national one. This I found in a slim collection produced by a regional consultative labour council (Consejo Consultivo Laboral Andino 2005) and published by the Peruvian labour NGO, PLADES. It consists of 13 short contributions, from union leaders and specialists, national, regional and international, and from a wide range of tendencies, including the Communist. It is available in both print and digital form, and provides a model which regrettably does not exist at the international level or in languages other than Spanish.

The most obvious challenge in Latin America has been the competition between the regional organisations of the ICFTU and the WCL. The regional body of the ICFTU, the ORIT (Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, 1951), is actually a *hemispheric* organisation, including the major national union centres of the USA and Canada. That of the WCL, the CLAT (Confederación Latinamericana de Trabajadores), is restricted to Latin America. In the past the ORIT was widely associated with what was then called the 'AFL-CIO-CIA', in other words, with the use of the US unions as a channel for US corporate or state manipulation of Latin American unions (Agee 1975). In the past, the CLAT has struck radical notes, in favour of worker self-management, or the organisation of the self-employed. But neither the one thing nor the other means that today the CLAT is more radical than the ORIT. Its credentials have in the past been also seriously challenged (Stichting Imperialisme en Onderontwikkeling 1984). The ORIT has recently itself been so much more assertive than its mother organisation in Brussels than its mother organisation, the ICFTU has ignored its *Labour Platform for the Americas* (2006), despite its hardly revolutionary orientation. The relative radicalism of ICFTU affiliates in the region is suggested in concerns about the composition of the new international and its relationship with the broader social movements:

> [T]here has to be a more balanced relationship between numerical and occupational representation in the new leadership, as also with gender and ethnicity. A union centre cannot be truly global if it is controlled solely by white men from industrialised countries.
>
> […] One of the great victories we have achieved in the continent was the non-implementation of the [Free Trade Area of the Americas]. This agreement, nefarious for all workers, particularly those of Latin America and the Caribbean, was only possible thanks to the united struggle of union centres of all the countries, from Canada to Argentina, through the mediation of the ORIT and the Continental Social Alliance (CSA). This alliance, in addition to being of the North with the South – even if for different motives – also incorporated a series of social movements and NGOs, and was a great victory we cannot lose. (Jakobsen 2005:66-7)

One should not, finally, discount the influence in Latin America of the World Social Forum and its regional spin-offs, most of which have taken place in the sub-continent. The WSF has provided not only a site at which some of the (closed-door) union negotiations have taken place, but have also suggested more holistic alternatives to globalisation than have been traditionally offered by the major

union internationals. Involvement in general social protest may have itself stimulated Latin American union concern about the *content* or *ideology* of a unification that is likely to continue a model forged in Western Europe during the years of both the Welfare State and the Cold War - both of which have pretty much disappeared.

The Cold War requires mention because this unification excludes the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU), an organisation that became increasingly Communist because of the Cold War and then reproduced the misfortunes of its sponsoring bloc. A shell of its former self, it still has some following. This is largely sentimental insofar as WFTU is not demonstrably to the left of the ICFTU/WCL. For evidence of this consider the Beijing Consensus (2004), in which the WFTU was involved. In so far as WFTU still has affiliates that are extensions of the state in Communist (and certain Middle Eastern?) countries, it can hardly complain at its non-invitation to the party.

Within Latin America, the WFTU is largely dependent on the Cuban state and its unions. There is may even still exist its regional affiliate from the 1960s-80s, the *Congreso Permanente de Unidad de los Sindicatos de America Latina* (CPUSTAL), but this has only a skeletal web existence in Wikipedia. However, the WFTU has national affiliates elsewhere in the region, and these are predictably critical of a unification which excludes their tradition (Pacho 2005). Such concerns have emerged from Communist-oriented unions elsewhere (Majumdar 2000). But these complaints are either iterations of traditional Communist ideology, or simply objections without any new ideological elements or strategic proposals. Neither the presence nor the absence of the (ex-) Communist unions seems likely to make much difference to the new organisation.

Questioned about the coming merger, a North American international labour-rights specialist, based in Vienna itself, said he knew nothing about it though he was interested in attending the event.

When I asked a Latin American with 10-15 years experience in international unionism, for a sentence or two on whether the event would be significant for the labour movement internationally, he replied with one word, ‘No’.

A veteran South-Asian labour organiser, currently engaged in labour and social movement solidarity internationally, was certainly aware of the coming merger. He suggested it would have no positive effect at either regional or national level. He considered it a Western and top-down initiative, with any unifying prospects locally being obstructed by self-interested national leadership concerns ‘to keep hold of their assets, such as buildings, and their foreign project funding’. Moreover, he argued that exclusion of the WFTU meant the exclusion of major national union centres in the region.

And a highly-experienced and qualified European observer commented:

> [W]hat is the politics of the new International supposed to be? No one knows...but I fear it might be a divorce from any sort of explicit ideology, although I guess they won't be able to escape from the subliminal, immanent ideology of the trade union movement which is obliged to wage the class struggle whether it wants it or not, or even knows it or not. It will probably be couched in human rights terms.

It is significant – if hardly promising – that the only extensive analysis I have been able to find of the unification is on the website of a self-isolated Trotskyist international labour initiative. It is written by a former leader of the French Force Ouvrière. He concludes:

> This proposed merger has turned its back on the great founding principles of proletarian internationalism, based on the understanding that society is divided into social classes with opposed and contradictory interests - that is, on the one hand, the exploiters of wage labour and, on the other hand, the exploited who are forced to sell their labour to survive [] All the sectors involved in this trade union unification project would be well[] advised to reflect before heading down a road that could lead to a dead-end with totalitarian implications. (Sandri 2005)

The French CGT (ex-WFTU), however, has been playing an active part in the unification process (Confédération Générale du Travail 2006, Schwartz 2006).

Given the extent to which the international unions have been themselves infected or affected by the global justice movement, a totalitarian outcome seems the least imaginable of scenarios. A human-rights orientation seems more likely – though without the information and debate demonstrated by the newest social movements. The founding event will tell us more. I am aware of a number of independent observers who will be present and from whom we can hope for commentary. But further stagnation, disorientation and ambiguity seems likely until and unless an open global dialogue about the merger takes place.

But such a dialogue will have to go beyond the diplomatic mode, in which the different parties who have spoken are operating under a gentlemen's agreement not to mention painful truths, for example about the problematically democratic credentials of many of their own national affiliates, about financial shenanigans, and about past subordination to states and blocs at every level.

A serious dialogue could be stimulated by the translation and distribution, even after the unification, of the Latin American compilation I have both referred to and made use of. Without this kind of institutional initiative, we will have to look elsewhere for sources of a meaningful renewal and unification (definitely in this order) of the international labour movement. But it seems to me that this is likely to come, if at all, from new sectors of the working class, out of their increasingly common militancy, and to be inspired less by the new union organisation than by the global justice and solidarity movement (Waterman and Timms 2004-5, Waterman 2006). It is likely to also take the form less of new union institutions, more of effective global networks.

Peter Waterman (London 1936) worked for the WFTU in Prague, 1966-9. As an academic (1972-98) he specialised on labour and other internationalisms. His latest book, in Spanish, is *The New Nervous System of Internationalism and Solidarity* (2006). Much of his other work can be found by a web search on <peter waterman hague>. He is currently writing his 'internationalist autobiography'.

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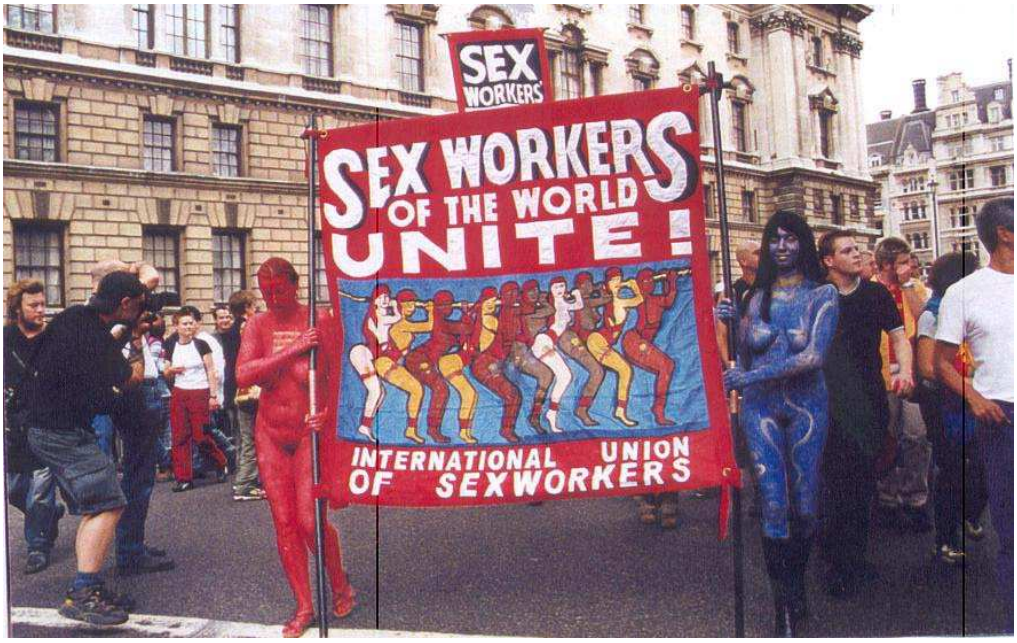
The Networked Internationalism of Labour's Others:

A Suitable Case for Treatment[28]

(2007)



How Do, Can or Should Sexworkers of the World Unite?

The photo shows a demonstration of the UK-based International Union of Sexworkers, London. In March 2002, the IUSW became an affiliate of the General Municipal and Allied Workers Union, one of Britain's oldest. It should be noted that, although networked internationally, this is formally a trade union. And that it is actually a national or even local (London) union of international (i.e. multi-national) sexworkers. Therefore, like other such new kinds of collective worker self-expression, this is less a case for celebration, more one for investigation. (Photo: Fredderico D'Ammicci).

[28] Thanks to Dan Gallin of the Global Labour Institute for corrections and suggestions. He remains innocent of any remaining crimes or misdemeanours. The same goes for the International Conference on Labour and Social History, Linz, September 2008, at which a draft of this paper, with annexes, was first presented.(Waterman 2007c).

Abstract

This is a proposal for research into the new and developing internationalisms of the 'peasants, artisans and others, enrolled amongst the sons of toil'. These internationalisms are so commonly articulated in network form (so difficult to understand without network theory?) that it is difficult to discuss the one without the other.

In today's world, the 'damned of the earth' would seem to be those marginalised from, or marginalised within, the traditional working class, either un-unionised or beyond the reasonable reach of unions. We need to consider the internationalisms of such labouring or popular classes/categories/identities as the rural poor, the casualised, urban popular residential communities, migrant workers, poor women, indigenous peoples. Is there any evidence that labouring classes, categories or identities *less* incorporated are demonstrating either *more* or *more-appropriate* internationalisms?

Whatever we here find, we will also need to examine the international relationships of each category with the others, with the unionised working class, with the cross-class, multi-issue, global justice movement. And to consider whether or not the *form* that might be taken by the international relations of these categories (customarily networks) might not be more appropriate to resistance and counter-assertion against a globalised-networked-computerised capitalism.

We would also need to consider the kind of relationships such new international movements establish with such international hegemons as the International Labour Organisation, with other inter-state institutions, and with capital, state, and other dominant instances/ideologies (gendered, racial, religious, party, etc) at all social levels and scales. We would need, finally, to consider what implications such evidence might have for *unionised* labour and for the development of a global justice movement that goes way beyond the poor.

After 1) an introduction on the internationalism of labour's others, this paper will consider 2) what networking has to do with this, 3) existing case studies, 4) theoretical resources, 5) some brief notes on methodological resources and 6) the customary in-conclusions. The paper is completed with bibliographical and internet resource lists.

We peasants, artisans, and others
Enrolled among the sons of toil
Let's claim the earth henceforth for brothers,
Drive the indolent from the soil!
On our flesh too long has fed the raven,
We've too long been the vulture's prey.
But now farewell the spirit craven,
The dawn brings in a brighter day!

Then comrades come rally!
And the last fight let us face.
The Internationale
Unites the human race!
(Chorus, 2x)

From an English translation of Eugene Potier's
'L'Internationale'

1. The Internationalism of Labour's Others

Although long-considered the anthem of the international union, labour, socialist and communist movements, Potier's words nowhere refer to any of these. It stands more in the tradition of Flora Tristán's 'Workers' Union' (Tristán 1843), in which the uprising and emancipation of labouring people (in France? anywhere? everywhere?) would lead to universal liberty, equality and solidarity. In Potier's French original there is a first verse reference to 'les damnés de la terre' (thus 'damned', and not, as in the English, 'wretched'). There was, therefore, added licence for Frantz Fanon to apply it to the poor of the Third World (Fanon 1986). But he thereby laid another particular claim on a universal appeal to internationalism on behalf of all the poor. With the end of state - and decline of party –communisms (and the often-compulsory singing of a song emptied of all emancipatory significance), Potier's words may speak to a new international movement. But, this time on behalf of all labouring people and in the name not of an ideology, nor a state (present or future) but of the principle of human solidarity. As suggested by the lines above, and as spelled out in the French original: the international will be the human race.

The major international movement of our day is, of course, one that has many names – none of which refers to either the proletariat in particular or the people in general: 'Anti-Globalisation', 'Anti-Corporate', 'Anti-Capitalist', 'Global Justice and Solidarity'. I use the last of these, not because I am lacking in either anti-neoliberal spirit, nor anti-capitalist desire, but because it seems to me to better capture the present nature of this amorphous but many-splendoured and many-prickled thing. 'Global Justice and Solidarity' has other characteristics which may recommend itself as a name. One is an explicit reference to the global, another is an implicit reference to economic and socio-cultural rather than solely political rights, a third is the absence of class-specificity – surely appropriate to the multi-class composition of the movement.

Yet there is good reason to return to the sons (not to speak of daughters) of toil. Indeed, there are several good reasons.

The first is that The Internationale was, for many decades and much of the world, the anthem of the international labour movement.

The second is because of the specific reference in the above verse to those enrolled amongst the toilers – the artisans, peasants and others. Given that the inter/national union movement has, with exceptions, forgotten the song and abandoned any emancipatory sense of internationalism (Waterman 2004), could it be that the notion of an emancipatory internationalism, if not the song itself, has migrated to other categories of the popular sectors, historically less-incorporated into 20th century capitalism? Could it be that these are the new bearers of the old internationalism, or the popular bearers of a new internationalism within the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement (GJ&SM)?

The third reason for addressing labour's others is that these are the (growing) majority of the working class, understood as a global phenomenon (Millar 2007). In a 'Shining India', with a labour force of over 370 million, they represent 83-93 percent of the workforce, and only 3.5 percent are in any way unionised (Harris-White 2002:17)!

A fourth is that, whilst the Thirdworldist Internationalisms of the 1960s-70s (Gerassi 1971) have passed into history, there is new theory suggesting a much broader and more complex notion of the working class (Hardt and Negri 2004: Ch. 2.1). This might not privilege the marginalised, in the way that some 'new theories of revolution' (Woddis 1972) did after 1968. But it certainly refers to, broadens and loosens the old narrow conceptualisation, image or assumptions about this class.

There is, finally, a wave of new writing that does at least suggest that such 'marginal' sectors do have their own autonomous international relations and might have more affinity with or demonstrable contact with the GJ&SM than the unionised working class (for example, Conway 2007, Cumbers and Routledge 2005-7, Dietrich and Nayak 2006, Edelman 2003, Hale and Wills 2005).

To what kinds of workers am I here referring? Broadly the same categories as those in an old piece of my own, exploiting the same words of the Internationale (Waterman 1981a, b). At that time I was talking about the inter-relationship of working classes only within 'peripheral capitalist societies'. What I actually said was 'workers, peasants, artisans and (m)others' - the latter to the distinct chagrin of one feminist just recruited to lead a 'Women and Development' Programme at my institute. Let me today suggest the following often overlapping categories: casual/ised workers (Wills 2007), urban residential communities; child workers, rural labour/communities; indigenous peoples; im/migrant workers; petty-producers/traders/service-providers (Streetnet 2007); the un/under-employed, the high- and low-tech 'precariat' (Greenpepper 2006(?), Precarious Reader 2005, Toret and Sguiglia 2007) and, obviously, the women housekeepers, rural labourers, homeworkers, sex workers, factory workers, domestic workers, amongst the above.

2. What's networking got to do with it?

There is no need to *assume* a new privileged bearer of social emancipation and global emancipation - as might be suggested by the concept of the 'precariat'. No more is there a necessity to *assume* a privileged relational form for the expression of such – as might be suggested by some of the literature around networking. In the first case one would be reproducing the notion of such a privileged agent. In the second case one would be reducing 'networking' from a way of understanding human and

social relationships to an empirical form (that might reproduce within itself characteristics of the hierarchical, bureaucratic institution, or of charismatic leadership) (Nunes 2005).

It will be sufficient if such research recognises 1) the subversive effect of considering seriously the networking form – the variety of networking forms – taken by new worker movements, 2) the emancipatory effect of considering such relational forms not as temporary (in the absence of), nor transitional (on the way to) 'real' union forms, 3) that the customarily middle-class initiated or staffed labour network – local, national, regional, global – is not necessarily less 'working class' than a traditional union that produces its 'middle-class' internally, out of its own institutional dynamics or as a result of external demands/attractions.

But, in any case, as the next section will surely suggest, the common form taken by the self-articulation of new worker interests, identities or concerns internationally is the network. I find this particularly striking in the fourth case below, insofar as it is authored by someone from the tradition of political economy, who spends many pages dismissing theory relating to the new capitalism, to the new workers, to the new social movements and even networking. Yet his case study, of protest against unemployment, poverty and exclusion across Europe – one with much worker and some union participation – is indubitably…a network!

3. Relevant literature, diverse cases

There is not yet much literature on the 'networked internationalism of labour's others'. Four pieces come to mind, the first on peasants/farmers (Edelman 2003), the second on fishworkers (Dietrich and Nayak 2006), the third on women garment workers (Hale and Wills 2005), the fourth on the Euromarches, starting 1997, against unemployment and poverty (Mathers 2007). I will add a fifth case that really has none of the above characteristics but is nonetheless relevant to research on the topic. This is a campaign which has just started and which I have begun observing. It does not even have as much as a substantial essay to its name.

1. Via Campesina. The Edelman piece is long, wide, detailed and eminently well-documented. It centres on Via Campesina (Peasant Road? Peasant Way?), certainly the best known of the new 'other labour' networks created in response to the wave of neo-liberal capitalist globalisation. Via Campesina was born in Brussels (HQ of the European Union and its disastrous agricultural policies), 1993, following a long history of attempts to create peasant/farmer internationals,[29] at a time of a global farming crisis, of growing rural movements worldwide. It exists in tension with the International Federation of Agricultural Producers (dominated by big farming interests, close to the major inter-state institutions). There had been a wave of local, national and cross-border rural organising in Brazil (Landless Workers' Movement, MST), Central America, North America, in Europe and in India. Amongst a profusion of such movements, of NGO activity and networks, Via Campesina is marked by its orientation toward the poor, the breadth of its concerns (land reform, environment, indigenous peoples, women, human rights, food security), its alliances (World Social Forum, Palestine). Inspired, no doubt, by Latin American tradition and Brazilian practice, it has also been highly visual, theatrical and media-savy. It has also operated, it seems to me, more as a distributed network than a centralised organisation:

[29] Edelman misses the Communist **Red Peasant International** or Krestintern, 1923-?, and the (presumably anti-Communist) **International Peasant Union,** 1948-?.

> [H]igh profile participation in international protests and civil society gatherings continues to be a hallmark of Via Campesina activity. Its supporters played prominent roles at the World Social Forums in Porto Alegre, Brazil and at the 2002 'Rome + 5' FAO World Food Summit. […] Much of the Via Campesina's organising is carried out by its constituent groups, often with the funds from European NGOs. The Via Campesina itself has a tiny staff: the executive secretary, a part-time bilingual 'technical secretary', and a regular secretary in the Operational Secretariat in Honduras; a part-time consultant in Nicaragua who works with the Via Campesina's Global Agrarian Reform Campain; and a multi-lingual technical assistant based in Europe, who handles the network's internal communications and media relations. It relies on Yahoo listserves for distributing position papers and announcements, which circulate in English, Spanish, and occasionally in other languages. (Edelman 2003:206).

In little more than a decade, peasant/small-farmer networking and political action – which certainly go wider than Via Campesina - have had considerable success, stalling world trade talks, obtaining at least temporary bans on GM crops, shifting the nature of dialogue toward major life and ethical issues. Moreover:

> Participants in the peasant and farmer networks have also come to have a dynamic sense of themselves as political actors, empowered with new knowledge, conceptions of solidarity and tools of struggle, and surprisingly unlike the unsophisticated rustics that urban elites often imagine them to be. (214).

Problems remaining include: relations of the networks with NGOs (presumably Edelman means Northern funding agencies); representativity claims (of who speaks for whom in the rural community); of accountability to constituences and funders; overwork amongst activists with rural occupations; tensions between national and international activism; 'verticalist' tendencies with exclusionary effects. As well, presumably, as problems with strategy toward state, regional and international agencies, towards hypothetical allies, etc.[30]

2. Fishworker internationalism. Dietrich and Nayak (2006) is actually about the dramatic development of fishworker movements in India in the era of globalisation, and their involvement in international solidarity efforts. In so far this piece was contributed to a collection on labour internationalism, on which I was invited to make a commentary, I will draw from my comments (Waterman 2006:452-3), in the next three paragraphs, whilst reminding readers that the Dietrich and Nayak piece was originally written in the early 2000s.

The case reveals, in open and dramatic form, most of the problems that have been ignored, or concealed, or marginalised by the modern labor movement: the multiple identities of workers, women workers/working women, complex and conflicting notions of community, the search for work and production in harmony with nature, the increasing centrality of the international sphere, the necessity of simultaneously building up an *international* community of workers+communities and, on this base, and in function of their empowerment, negotiating with inter-state institutions. Particularly interesting is the manner in which, and the form within which, their internationalism is being created. Excluded, by traditional local/national unionism, from membership of the institutionalised union internationals, the

[30] For more detail on Via Campesina, see Borras 2004, who has not only been involved in the network at international level but also has experience as an activist in the Philippines.

fishworkers have found their internationalism with the support of an international/ist NGO, and in the form of a network.

Let us here avoid two possible misunderstandings that could follow. One is that we have discovered *the* way to emancipation, national and international, the other that we have discovered *the* vanguard thereof. These two errors, customarily combined, have been common to the left historically. And they reveal the continuing legacy of 1) ancient ideologies of human emancipation (that the last shall be the first, that there is a chosen people), 2) of the modern Marxist one (the most oppressed modern class as the bearer of international emancipation, the socialist intelligentsia as its guide and teacher). It is not *because* the fishworkers are the most oppressed (or the most marginalised, or that they represent the majority, or that they accumulate within their community the major forms of alienation under capitalism) that they suggest the future of labor emancipation and internationalism. It is rather that systematic reflection upon these matters, made possible by collaboration with critically-minded and socially-committed intellectuals, *can* lead to the surpassing of previously concealed truths or ingrained misunderstandings.

There is, finally, no guarantee that such emancipatory visions, desires or capacities, would survive any of the following assaults: 1) increased repression on the part of the state, inter-state policies and practices; commercial aggression on the part of inter/national capital; 2) a sophisticated and extensive reform policy by the same powers; 3) a similarly sophisticated proposal of marriage by an otherwise un-emancipated trade union movement, national or international (i.e. one still insisting on the male superior position); 4) a substitutionist, instead of an empowering, role by the intellectuals/professionals supporting (or leading!) the movement, whether at local, national or international level.

3. The book on women garment workers (Hale and Wills 2005) is, regrettably, not about **Women Working Worldwide** (WWW) as such. What it is about is an international participatory action research project coordinated by WWW. However, it is still possible to pick up from the Conclusion (234-9) some impressions of WWW thinking and action in relation to the workers they characterise as neither 'informal', nor 'marginal', nor 'atypical' but – more political-economically – as being at the bottom end of a long supply chain. Given common union absence, or incapacity to organise, such workers, and given frequent state unwillingness to act on their behalf, new types of body have emerged to support, organise and advocate on behalf of such workers:

> Many have been set up specifically to support women workers and as such have developed creative forms of resistance, using spaces outside the workplace to reach workers through their communities, making explicit connections between home and work…[W]e argue that solidarity is best crafted by taking a lead from the workers producing the goods, by working with organisations…whether or not these are trade unions in the traditional sense. (236)

Hale and Wills argue, thus, that WWW is part of a new kind of political action, involving alliances between workers, unions, activists at different levels, and consumer-oriented bodies in the central markets of key buyers. They claim evidence of the success of international campaigns, not only in terms of winning better conditions but also the establishment of rights, and even of successful solidarity action running in the South-North direction. They nonetheless recognise that such successes are unlikely to occur at the bottom end of the subcontracting chain. Here they consider necessary the lobbying of national and inter-state authorities, including the ILO, demanding full legal rights for all workers. They also favour such 'multi-stakeholder initiatives' (237) as the UK's Ethical Trading Initiative, which can encourage the more responsible or more vulnerable big-brand merchandisers and retailers to confront the conditions of workers at the end of their supply chains. Further, they consider their findings

> relevant to…other economic sectors, as well as to…the wider global justice movement…The activities that we have developed as WWW involve international networks between local organisations…along with activist groups based in consuming nations. The composition of these networks varies depending on the issue…They involve trade unions working alongside more community-focused organisations; groups based on class identities…together with those mobilised around gender, religion, ethnicity and geography; those with traditional organisational hierarchies and those with none. (238)

Whilst, as I have said, this is not a book *about* WWW, Hale and Wills add elements to the previous cases. In particular, I think, do they emphasise pluralism in strategies, in organisational (I would say *relational*) form, and in demands. What we do not here have is the kind of critical self-reflection on such matters offered by the two previous cases.

4. The study of the **Euromarches** (Mathers 2007) concerns a West European campaign against unemployment and poverty that has been running (or ran?) for around a decade from 1997. Its particular interest may be precisely that it was addressed to work and workers in general, that it crossed the unionised/non-unionised divide, and that, unlike the other cases, it was a movement within the capitalist core of the North – although unconfined by this. Moreover, this is a case study that goes beyond any traditional unionist or workerist paradigm, addressing itself to the '…Struggle for a Social Europe' (Ch. 3), to 'A Europe of Citizens' (Ch. 5) and – in the spirit of the World and European social forums – to 'A Different Europe' (Ch. 6). Finally, although the author may hardly himself recognise this, and certainly does not theorise it, the text reveals the extent to which this was movement was *networked*. There are six index categories related to this word and 25 or more separate page references to such. These by far outweigh index references to 'trade unionism' (a few), 'Marx/ism/ists' (less) or 'Party' (none). The international marches followed on national campaigns (themselves organised by networks), and took place in Amsterdam (1997), Cologne (1999) and Nice (2000). Says Mathers (51):

> The European marches were an early example of a transnational network…which has contributed to the successful practice of transnational coalition building. However, this was a network with a centre: a European Co-ordinating Committee which provided some strategic direction and fulfilled functional tasks. Nevertheless, the network was loose enough to allow the largely autonomous function of the marches and to enable the participation of the grassroots activists involved in local and national social movement organisations (SMO) that played a significant role in the mobilisations.

Mathers continues, stressing the essential role of organisations within the network, the absence of necessary funding, and the failure to formalise it into a continuing structure that could have ensured continuity. He considers the Euromarches as 'paradoxical' (51) insofar as they combined a traditional form of action (The march? With reminders of the British hunger-marchers of the 1930s?) with modern communication technologies. Borrowing from the vocabulary of American social movement theory, he provides us with a portrait of the kind of movement to be later symbolised for many by 'The Battle of Seattle' and even, possibly, 'institutionalised' in the World and European Social Forums.

Whether or not the national bases of the Euromarches were 'organisations' in any traditional sense is a problem of conceptualisation and also for investigation. Because the word 'network/ed/ing' can function as either something we perceive, as a way of perceiving (even an organisation/institution), or as a bearer of negative, positive or contradictory values. Reading the Mathers account, I *see* networks and networking, this being confirmed by the Euromarches website. At the same time, I recognise the limitations of the Euromarch movement/campaign, as suggested by Mathers. It is also my impression,

from his account and from the website, that the Euromarches either simply ran out of steam or, more positively, that they morphed into the more general 'European social movement' represented by the European Social Forums. This impression is influenced by the language or even the foci of Mathers: 'a social Europe', 'a Europe of citizens' and 'a different Europe'. Whilst, actually, these were all demands or policies being developed outside the deadening embrace of either the European Union or the European Trade Union Confederation (that is both financially and morally dependent on the former), these were hardly 'revolutionary' or 'transformatory' demands. They were, according to the Mathers account, demands for recognition of citizen rights and for a Europe that would realise such.:

> …from the perspective that social movements are always in the process of being constructed, the European Marches appears [sic] to have played a role in moving the demands of the emergent European social movement away from defensive 'militant particularism'…and in the direction of more universal and utopian goals. (106).

Amongst other radical and novel demands raised within this movement over the years was that for a 'basic income' grant as a right of citizenship, rather than a minimum wage for those in formal employment (122 ff). This was a matter of some controversy within the movement. However, it seems to me that this apparently rather reformist demand (which could clearly be justified on Keynesian grounds) was and is actually subversive of the notion that one has to be in wage work to be recognised as a full citizen. This traditional position is one that has been internalised within the traditional labour and union movement. But it simply leaves out that growing proportion of the working poor either excluded or expelled from a 'normal' job. As Mathers says:

> An unconditional income…would…act as a de facto minimum benefit, minimum wage, and minimum pension and would act as a barrier to what was identified as a 'spiral of poverty' (129).

Mathers, in his interpretation of the Euromarches, goes into considerable detail about their impact on those involved:

> These struggles were also a process of production. They produced new personal and collective identities amongst the unemployed as well as new representations of them as an international and internationalist social and political force which was potentially capable of posing a challenge to the internationally institutionalised power structure that they identified as the source of their problems. This in turn served to demonstrate the 'Europe of Citizens' and to engender real hope that its demands could be institutionalized in a 'different Europe'.

Mathers reports and reflects, explicitly or implicitly, on international labour networking as demonstrated by the Euromarches. On the one hand he suggests the ability of networking to bring together a wide and growing range of movements and leftwing unions. At the same time he appears to see networking as either prior to or inferior to 'an effectively functioning transnational organisation' (78). Yet it is evident from his account that networking was necessary to circumvent the traditional unions, most of them self-subordinated to the European Union. (Later the European Trade Union Confederation and its French and Dutch affiliates campaigned for a EU Constitution that was, humiliatingly, rejected in two national referenda and collapsed. 190).

Mathers reveals, in many places, the resistance, reluctance or territorialism of the established European unions, national and international. Thus, at one moment British unemployed workers committees were obliged to withdraw from the network when the Trades Union Congress denounced the Euromarch as hostile to the European Union (58). In France the (traditionally-Communist) Confédération Générale du Travail withdrew itself and its unemployed committees because it was

negotiating affiliation to the ETUC (59). At other moments and places Mathers shows the ETUC organising its own separate anti-unemployment demonstrations, some substantial, but with official union contingents defined by national banners.

In his final update and conclusion, Mathers provides a sober account of the opposition between top-down organising for a 'European Social Model' by the ETUC and the bottom-up model of the Euromarches and the global justice movement more generally. About the latter, he says:

> The project emanating from this strategy is less clear cut, but has focused rather on the promotion of key demands which have arisen from the grass roots opposition within nation states to neoliberal globalisation. Rather than suggesting that organised labour has been superseded as an agent of social change, the existence of two alternative models of organisation and mobilisation suggest that the struggle for a 'social Europe' will involve a struggle within organised labour as its central social agent. (192).

One does not necessarily have to agree with this conclusion to appreciate the value of the Mathers case study. One would like to know what actually became of this movement. At the same time, however, we *are* required to confront the problematic relationship between the organisation and the network as forms of collective self-articulation. This is particularly so for a movement around work that seems or seemed to be escaping from traditional organisational/institutional/ideological boundaries. And, indeed, from the boundaries of traditional Marxist categories (I will have to return to this matter in Part 4 below).

5. Organising Cleaners Internationally.[31] This story concerns a union campaign to organize cleaners in the Netherlands, 2007. But it begins around two decades earlier, with Justice for Janitors (J4J), a campaign by the Service Employees International Union (SEIU) in the USA. 'Janitors', in the US, covers doorkeepers, cleaners and related 'property services staff'. These are, in the US mostly migrants, often illegal. The work is customarily outsourced, but necessarily to small companies: the property services providers are often MNCs. For example, the Danish-based ISS claims 200,000 customers worldwide, and maybe 250,000 workers, from Brunei to Iceland and Uruguay. Not forgetting, of course, the Netherlands. In this country there are 150-200,000 company-employed cleaners. Many of them like their work but certainly not the low pay, the increasing workload, the insecurity, the arbitrary or discriminatory behaviour of immediate supervisors, the denial of sick leave, the uncertainties when 'their' company loses its contract to a competitor (which has undercut its offer and needs to recover this from the workers). In Schiphol Airport, there are some 60,000 such workers, but only 2,000 or so work for the airport authority itself, the rest for numerous sub-contractors.

The campaign to organise cleaners is in the hands of FNV Bondgenoten, the major Dutch industrial workers union. However, the idea of organizing this dispersed and largely immigrant force comes from the USA. The methods it is using are American. And an experienced SEIU/J4J organizer has been sent to the Netherlands to animate the exercise, train the Bondgenoten organizers and advise on the mobilization methods. There is some kind of understanding between SEIU in the USA, Bondgenoten

[31] Sources for this ongoing case include the following: Haegens 2007, CAOKrant Schoonmaak 2007, http://www.beteretoekomst.org/ (in eight languages); http://www.indymedia.nl/nl/2007/10/47564.shtml, http://www.ainfos.ca/ainfos336/ainfos31790.html, informal discussion with paid organizers and volunteer activists, and participation in meetings in Amsterdam and The Hague, October-November 2007; a discussion between two organizers of cleaners in the UK (Alzaga and Nunes 2007); correspondence with a US organizer familiar with Justice for Janitors (http://www.seiu.org/property/janitors/) and the SEIU (http://www.seiu.org/index.cfm); Union Network International Property Services http://www.uniglobalunion.org/unipropertyn.nsf. Kloosterboer (2007), Moberg (2007), Stern (2006), Gallin (2007), Jeremy Anderson, Paula Hamilton and Jane Wills. (Forthcoming); the Ken Loach movie, 'Bread and Roses'.

in the Netherlands, and their joint international, the Union Network International (UNI). This now refers to itself as the 'global union for skills and services with 15 million members in 900 unions'. UNI has a Property Services department, which also covers the growing security guards industry. UNI, which is itself one of the newer and more dynamic of the internationals, is now calling itself UNI Global Union, and its Property Services department, UNI Property Services Global Union!

We are here, admittedly, considering the organization and expansion of institutionalized union bodies, national, regional and international or global. So whilst the word 'global' is much in evidence, what does it have to do with the 'networked internationalism of labour's others'? Certainly the workers have been marginal to the organized working class. And as immigrants they are customarily marginalized within the places they live in. So much for 'others'. But it seems to me that this internationally-linked organizing campaign actually lies on the ambiguous zone between union institution-building and labour networking. The case suggests the extent to which the previously hidebound and immobile unions have taken on the methods of community organizing of the US, of the new social movements of the 1980s-90s, and even the global justice movement of the present day. And it invites us to consider whether what we are witnessing is union instrumentalisation of social movement networking, or movement penetration and transformation of international unionism as we have known it.

This overlapping or interpenetration became evident to me at the three cleaners' campaign meetings I attended in the Netherlands, October-November, 2007. The first was held in the cellar of a community centre in Amsterdam, hosted by a political club of young left activists and students; the second was held in a multi-cultural community centre in a working-class/immigrant area of The Hague; the third was the first national rally of the cleaners, organized by the union, but supported by one or two left political parties. Even the third one, the clearly union-organised meeting one was more like a celebration of, or community-building exercise amongst, the 3-400 multi-cultured cleaners (and families) present.

Even more is this 'social movement' aspect of the campaign suggested by the exchange between Valery Alzaga and Rodrigo Nunes (2007). It appears that this new labour-organising strategy is about as far from traditional unionism as it is possible to get. These are some of the new elements, from experience in the US, in London, in Berlin and Milan: 1) the involvement of allies from community organizations, autonomist social movements and friendly political parties; 2) the centrality of research to campaigning (identifying the relevant industrial/employment structure and key worker communities); 3) developing worker-approved organizers from amongst the cleaners; 4) establishing effective media contacts; 5) identifying meaningful periods or dates for mobilization and protest; 6) making connections with immigrant rights movements; 7) moving - after initial victories on wages, conditions and recognition – from external to internal campaigning (recruiting to the union).

Much of this kind of activity belongs to the repertoire of 'organising' as distinguished from 'service' unionism. Much of it belongs to familiar forms of community organizing. These organizers both use the word 'network'. The awareness of the two organizers goes further:

> **JN:** … This is the most important element of J4J, I'd say. A campaign in itself could be described as business unionism, but it is part and parcel of the J4J model that you activate the community, you create new, transversal connections – which is what you could call social unionism. For me that's the most important element: at the end of the day, with J4J as with anything else, there's no guarantee that relations won't become crystallised, that you won't just create a new representative class [layer of representatives? – PW]. But if a campaign successfully feeds into a lively movement around it – a movement that can also, to some extent,

reclaim the union as its own – then you have more chances of there always being enough pressure 'from below' to keep things moving.

VA Not just that; the movement can do things that the union can't. The union is limited in various ways by legal or structural constraints. So if something needs to be done that the union can't do, it's important to have the support of those who can. Almost all our members are migrants, often with an irregular status. They can't do a sit-in and risk being arrested, but others can. If there are housing problems in a place, it's not our direct job to start a campaign, but we can support those who do. At the same time, it's important that these relations are very clear and open. I helped organise J4J marches supported by the Black Bloc, and they knew there could be no trouble because of people's legal status – so you had all these kids in black marching alongside Mexican grandmothers, pacifists, American Indigenous Movement members, university and high school students, migrant rights organisations.

Also, what you say about reclaiming the union… A union victory has the effect of spreading this feeling of possibility to everyone else. This was certainly one of the things that led to such a vibrant migrant movement in the US in the last few years – people saw their friends and family organise and win, and started organising too. J4J has had an important role in the struggle for migrant legalisation in the US. A direct role, by participating in coordinations, co-organising marches, building alliances.

Nunes and Alzaga (both previously involved with the World Social Forums and other transnational solidarity movements) do mention campaigns in different countries but hardly mention the relations between cleaners or movements *internationally*. Yet, in so far as Nunez is a Brazilian and Alzaga a Mexican-American, and have been active with their communities of birth, they actually themselves embody the new internationalisms and represent the new generation of internationalists (Waterman 1999).

But it appears from from all available sources that there is little if any horizontal connection between the cleaners in the UK, US and the Netherlands.[32] And this despite the cleaners commonly being bi- or tri-lingual, and often sharing such languages as English and Spanish. Cross-border connections seem to so far depend on international union relations. In the case of the Netherlands, these would seem to be between the FNV-Bondgenoten, the SEIU and the UNI. And this triangular institutional model seems to be being energized by SEIU and informed by its discourse. There is, of course, no reason to object if a good idea or experience comes from a US union that is itself responding to pressures above from a globalised neo-liberalism and from outside or below from the civil rights movement, from low-paid worker dissatisfaction, immigrant self-mobilisation and the global justice movement. Particularly if, like Alzaga and Nunes, one is aware of the dangers of demobilization or bureacratisation. One has to further remember that any 'horizontal' solidarity relationship is more likely to between organizers/communicators than between the workers themselves. In other words, it is more likely to be an equivalent to 'shopsteward internationalism' than 'shopfloor internationalism'. The matter will be settled overtime by the workers and activists involved, by whether they are satisfied to be 'represented to' or 'present in' the international.

One further qualification has to be born in mind. This has to do with the leader/ship that, more than any other, has been behind this new wave and type and new wave of worker organization. This is

[32] It seems that at one moment ISS workers from Denmark did come over to support a J4J campaign in the USA (Kloosterboer 2005: 34). There are likely to have been other cases.

the SEIU and its President, Andy Stern. SEIU claims to be the fastest-growing union in the US and Stern is identified with globalizing US unionism. Moreover, he has been a leading critic of the old AFL-CIO, marked by its model of 'service-unionism', 'business-unionism', 'state-corporatism' and 'trade union imperialism' – as also its secular decline in numbers and influence. As against these, Stern has championed 'organising unionism', reduction of the myriad existing unions into industrial ones, and 'global partnerships'. These are supposed to involve both globalised unionism and the global justice and solidarity movement (Stern 2006: 111, 113)![33] Stern suggests where the Netherlands fits into this picture:

> With a mandate from the SEIU's 2004 convention delegates to build a global union, followed by UNI's adoption of global unionism, SEIU assigned staff to Australia, Poland, England, India, France, Switzerland, Germany, the Netherlands, South America and, soon, Africa. (112)

However, this brave new world of unionism is marked by tensions and contradictions, from the lowest level to the highest. There have been, within SEIU unions complaints that in the face of local worker truculence the leadership will negotiate over their heads, or even merge difficult locals (branches) out of existence. From the title of his book onwards, Stern reveals his own sympathy for Americanism and the American (Capitalist) Dream. His notion of international militancy includes negotiations with the state-controlled All China Trade Union Federation (Fong and Maher 2007). And he is apparently even prepared to consider *paying* third world workers to strike on behalf of US ones. Gallin (2007) comments:

> This is extraordinary. In the past, when a strike was 'outsourced', it was the other way around: strong unions would put pressure on transnational corporations, including through industrial action, to defend weaker unions that were unable to defend themselves because, for example, they would face extreme repression. Stern is aware of this possibility, since he mentions 'outsourcing strikes to countries where strikes are legal and will not provoke government retaliation' but what he is now proposing, is that unions in rich countries, specifically the United States, should in effect hire unions in low-wage countries as cannon fodder to fight their battles.

The contradictions in Stern's discourse could lead one to simply dismiss the new SEIU/Bondgenoten/UNI strategy as Business Unionism on a World Scale. And to thus throw doubt on the J4J strategy, nationally and globally. This would, however, be to fail to recognize the concessions that SEIU is also making toward shopfloor and community mobilization and to the global justice movement, as well as the risk taken in employing young educated organizers, themselves infected by new movements and ideas. It would, finally, require us to consider the cleaners organized as a manipulable mass rather than as themselves possessing agency.

To return to the matter of international networking between cleaners. Whilst in this particular case any relationship between such workers, in the Netherlands, the USA and – eventually – China, would seem to be being mediated by national and international union structures, and motivated by the aim of re-creating a 20th Century social partnership (this time at global level), the matter does not necessarily end where it may have begun. Union leaderships propose, but workers, communities and critically-minded activists dispose. Given the existence of the other networks mentioned, given cleaners' simple curiosity or need for direct horizontal contacts, given the widespread common knowledge of English and/or Spanish, given the decreasing cost and increasing ease of communication, I would be surprised if an international network of property service workers did not develop during the next five years. Whether this would be part of the union structure, an independent shopfloor initiative within the

[33] My quotes from Stern 2006 are dependent on Gallin 2007.

union, or an independent network, is yet to be seen. The matter practically begs for a participatory action research (PAR) project.

4. Theoretical/ideological/strategic resources

How are we to conceptualise the of phenomena revealed in these five cases, or in the many other possible ones listed in Waterman (2007c, Appendix 3)? Let me make some suggestions based on past work and recent reading. Here I would like to at least mention writing on 1) 'social movement unionism' or the 'new social unionism'; 2) new forms of - or new wave - labour organising 3) on labour or social movement networking and on 4) the emancipation of labour and global social emancipation.

The literature on *social movement unionism*, is both growing and varied. I will refer to my own particular angle on this, summarised as 'A New Social Unionism, Internationalism, Communication and Culture' (Waterman 2007c: Appendix 4). Based on a recognition of the revolution within capitalism represented by its globalised and networked phase, this approach combines certain traditional Marxist and other socialist insights with those of the European/Latin American New Social Movement theory of the 1970s-80s. It assumes the necessity of surpassing the traditional understandings of work, the labour movement and internationalism. And then of recognising both the variety of work for capital, the consequently varied kinds of worker and labour protest, of workers as bearers of other significant identities, and of the labour movement as just one expression of a struggle against growing human alienation and for a new social emancipation.

New wave labour organizing. The above conceptualisation has been criticised by Anthony Ince (2007), who considers 'social movement unionism' to be an over-general and homogenising category. In a wide-ranging international review, he prefers to talk of 'new wave labour organising' and to consider, critically, the relevant types and sub-types. These include *New Union Organising* **(**Sub-types: Organising Unionism, Partnership and Bargaining to Organise), *Network Unionism* **(**Social and Community Organising Unionism, Radical Organising Unionism), *New Worker Organising* (Worker Centres, Solidarity Networks and 'Cyber-Unionism'). Without going into each of his categories it would appear that the typology makes room for much, if not all, of what we have been earlier considering. Where it might not, it could be fine-tuned or extended. His general orientation or aspirations would anyway seem compatible with those of earlier-mentioned authors. He says:

> The New Labour Organising strategies discussed here do not represent the full scope of possibilities for new (or rediscovered) forms of worker mobilisation, and they do display some significant problems that need to be overcome. The next decade will be pivotal for the long-term future of the labour movement, since these new ideas have brought with them new challenges and difficulties that need to be addressed if they are to be successful and sustainable. What is imperative now is to consolidate the moderate gains that have been made, and build upon them positively without losing sight of the ultimate goal. This goal should be ambitious, not simply recruiting workers, nor empowering them, but the facilitation of our collective self-empowerment as a whole, accompanied by the recognition that every struggle is intimately connected to every other. A strong labour movement is built upon such connectivity, democracy and solidarity… (Ince 2007:48-9)

Here three caveats.

One has to do with his attitude toward the international, where he says:

> In an era of increasingly globalised labour and capital markets, it is important that strategic co-ordination should reflect this. As such, unions and organisations that believe in New Labour Organising strategies need to assert this on the world stage, lest they remain isolated from the majority. There is a significant amount of already-existing labour internationalism, but this must move beyond statements of solidarity towards a more concrete sense of mutualism and skill sharing. Bodies such as the ILO and ICFTU may hold the key to this. (44)

I would myself consider the ILO-ICFTU nexus (since November 2006, actually that of the ILO with the merged International Trade Union Confederation) to be a major part of the problem, though not necessarily excluded from being one (preferably *two independent and separable*) parts of the solution.

The *second* caveat follows from this and it is a question of whether, in an otherwise admirable pluralism, Ince enables us to move from sensitive analysis to effective strategy. This, for me, requires some kind of policy proposal, with relevance, obviously, for the internationalism of labour's others.

The *third* caveat might therefore be that although Ince recognises the practical significance of networking, he does not seem to consider this as itself an emancipatory field or force.

New forms of labour organizing. Overlapping with the Ince conceptualisation is the literature on *new forms of labour organizing*. Much of such work is carried out within the far-reaching institutional or ideological parameters of the International Labour Organisation and the traditional union internationals (consider *Labour Education* 2002). One could include here the 'one-size-fits-all' campaign for 'Decent Work', promoted by the ILO and uncritically endorsed by the ITUC. This campaign certainly allows for the autonomous organising of 'informal sector' workers, and seems to be approved of by, for example, StreetNet. 'Decent Work' is implicitly based on the European capitalist welfare state developed in the post-World War Two period. It therefore wants us to go back from the bad capitalism of the present day to the good capitalism of the past (though the word 'capitalism' is not prominent in this discourse). It is therefore unable to consider the political-economic, ideological or socio-geographic limitations to that dying utopia. Why, for example, did it disappear? Was the collapse of capitalist social partnership not written into the terms of the original understanding? 'Decent Work' is moreover promoted as the single answer, simultaneously, for the regularly-employed and unionised in the North/West and the casual, sub-contracted, temporary, part-time and unemployed of the Global South. And it is dependent on its promotion or imposition worldwide by such inter-state bodies as the ILO and the EU (Social Alert 2007). Finally one should recognise a body of literature that seems to possibly overlap with the autonomist orientation of Ince on the one hand and the institutional one of traditional Northern unions on the other. Kloosterboer (2005, 2007) is interesting not only for its reporting on a wide range of union and other forms of worker organizing worldwide but for its at least implicit assumption that these are part of a *broad new labour movement* - and for its likewise implicit recognition that the Dutch unions have something to learn from such.

Which brings me to my second theoretical resource, the literature on *labour/social movement networking*. Recognition of the extent to which a computerised and globalised capitalism is networked is now widespread. Well established, also, is the capitalist think-tank literature on 'netwars' (e.g. Arquilla and Ronfeldt 1996). In the above-mentioned case studies, indeed, the relevance or superiority of movement self-articulation in networks is either demonstrated or assumed. (I will return to the case in which it is not). Less common is argument for *labour* networking, national or international. But it is well represented, I think, in the long quotation below:

> …Networks have advantages on two fronts: in confronting modern flexible and decentralised management systems, and in mobilising the energy of new movements. In the past, corporations

> were able to crush networks. But the changing context has given networks a new life. They are potentially stronger than before, both because of growing understanding of how they work best, and because of technological advances that speed decentralised communication…The type of organisation and leadership needed to build and sustain networks and netwars is in many ways the opposite of that needed for traditional mass action and large-scale hierarchies...The network approach…requires that labour think of itself as a coordinator rather than a power, as a player in a complex force field rather than as the leader of the forces of social justice. It is in many ways an attitude of humility, but it may be now that in humility there is strength…in the world of new movements and netwars, it is not always clear who is a member and who is not. The key question is not how many members you have, but who you can mobilise...The real problem for labor is to grow in *influence* — in the ability to unite groups outside its own boundaries. With influence, labor could help to bring together different and shifting communities around key campaigns. With influence, it could concentrate its efforts on the weak points of the relations among firms. Influence comes from vision and from the ability to listen without dominating. It comes from understanding how networks work — the logic of swarms and identities and campaigns — and being able to reflect the values of a large range of social justice groups. The pursuit of influence would put energy and resources into meetings with far flung groups, into building alliances, into structuring consistent communications systems across diverse organisations, and into Internet capability. It is a way of acting that is as different from industrial union organisation as industrial unions were different from crafts in the 1930s – and as continuous as both with the core mission of labor. (Heckscher 2006)

I find this a rather rich specification and as relevant to the global as to the national. It has been spelled out – or at least imagined - for migrant sex workers, by Laura Agustín (1999). She tells a tale in which the hero is…a mobile phone! And imagines a future in which sex-worker activists would provide sex workers with not simply tea and sympathy but access to an expanding range of audio-visual resources. The problem, she would seem to imply, is not that labour's others cannot speak, but that they have not so far been heard. Imaginative and critical use of new technology enables this. It also, of course, puts into question the traditional need for the *organisation*, with its hierarchy and its leaders - bureaucratic, charismatic or both.

Against the kind of argument mentioned above, we should, however, recognise the objections of Andy Mathers. Self-identified with an indubitably networked and international labour campaign, Mathers prefers to dismiss networking theory (in the shape of Manuel Castells, 156-60) and to at least imply that the movement he is analysing is partial or temporary - a moment before the return or development of an organised labour movement - with a Marxist or even Trotskyist leadership (174-7). Having castigated some of the world's innovative social theorists (Touraine, Melucci, Gorz, Castells, Habermas, Offe, Beck, Giddens and others – including at one point myself – as the 'new social democratic left' (3), Mathers prefers to explain his network in terms of US social movement theory – much criticised for its liberal-pluralistic assumptions and reformist aspirations. His case, it appears to me, runs ahead of his theoretical and political framework. Which by no means implies that the Euromarches should be considered exemplary or non-problematic. Nor does it mean that Mathers' criticism is to be dismissed. Rather does it require us to find more adequate resources for understanding or strategising the relationship of the new networked social (movements) with the traditionally political (state, law, parties, unions).

Although not specifically addressed to the relationships here under consideration (those of the international labour networks with either the hegemonic order in general or the hegemonic labour organisations in particular), the Argentinean scholar-activist, Ezequiel Adamovsky (2006), certainly

focuses on an aspect crucial to such relationships. This is expressed in terms of the tension between the autonomous social movements and the heteronomous political sphere.

> From the viewpoint of strategy, the current emancipatory movements can be said to be in two opposite situations (somewhat schematically). The first one is that in which they manage to mobilise a great deal of social energy in favor of a political project, but they do that in a way that make them fall in the traps of 'heteronomous politics'. By 'heteronomous' I refer to the political mechanisms by means of which all that social energy ends up being channeled in a way that benefits the interests of the ruling class or, at least, minimise the radical potential of that popular mobilisation. This is, for example, the fate of Brazil's PT under Lula, and also of some social movements (for example certain sections of the feminist movement) that turned into single-issue lobby organisations with no connection to any broader radical movement.
>
> The second situation is that of those movements and collectives that reject any contact with the state and with heteronomous politics in general (parties, lobbies, elections, etc.) only to find themselves reduced to small identity-groups with little chances to have a real impact in terms of radical change. This is the case, for example, of some of the unemployed movements in Argentina, but also of many anti-capitalist small collectives throughout the world. The cost of their political 'purity' is the inability to connect with larger sections of society.

Adamovsky proposes (and later spells out in some detail) a kind of institutionality that might avoid both horns of the contemporary social movement (and network!) dilemma:

> One of our main problems when it comes to get us new institutions lies in two wrong (but deeply rooted) beliefs: 1) that organisational structures and rules conspire *per se* against horizontality and against the openness of our movements, and 2) that any kind of division of labor, specialisation and delegation of functions brings about a new hierarchy. Luckily, social movements in many corners have started to question these beliefs.
>
> Any person who has participated in a non-hierarchical kind of organisation, even a small one, knows that, in the absence of mechanisms that protect plurality and foster participation, 'horizontality' soon becomes a fertile soil for the survival of the fittest. Any such person also knows how frustrating and limited it is to have organisations in which each and everyone are always forced to gather in assemblies to make decisions on every single issue of a movement – from general political strategy to fixing a leaking roof. The 'tyranny of structurelessness', as Jo Freeman used to say, exhausts our movements, subverts their principles, and makes them absurdly inefficient.
>
> Contrary to the usual belief, autonomous and horizontal organisations are *more* in need of institutions than hierarchical ones; for these can always rely on the will of the leader to resolve conflicts, assign tasks, etc. I would like to argue that we need to develop *institutions of a new type*. By institutions I do not mean a bureaucratic hierarchy, but simply a set of democratic agreements on ways of functioning, that are formally established, and are endowed with the necessary organisational infrastructure to enforce them if needed.

With respect to *Global Social Emancipation* we might first consider this statement by Boaventura de Sousa Santos:

> The paradigm of social emancipation developed by western modernity is undergoing a deep and final crisis. Social emancipation must, therefore, be reinvented. It must be understood as a form

> of counter-hegemonic globalisation relying on local-global linkages and alliances among social groups around the world which go on resisting social exclusion, exploitation and oppression caused by hegemonic neoliberal globalisation. Such struggles result in the development of alternatives to the exclusionary and monolithic logic of global capitalism, that is to say, spaces of democratic participation, non-capitalistic production of goods and services, creation of emancipatory knowledges, post-colonial cultural exchanges, new international solidarities. http://www. ces.uc.pt/emancipa/en/index.html.

Appropriately enough, this comes out of a research project earlier referred to, which addresses itself both to 'alternative production' and to international labour solidarity (Sousa Santos 2006c). It also relates to the kind of issues being raised, though certainly not settled, within the World Social Forum process.

None of the three cases I consider above really goes into alternative production, or what, within today's global justice movement, comes under the rubric of the 'solidarity economy' (Waterman 2007c, Appendix 3). This is, however, allowed for, I think, in the reconceptualisation of 'work' by André Gorz (1999). Gorz (who regrettably died whilst this piece was being drafted) produced a challenging critique of the ideology of work that still dominates the international trade-union movement as much as it does the capitalist (or statist) media. This ideology holds that 1) the more each works, the better off all will be; 2) that those who do little or no work are acting against the interests of the community; 3) that those who work hard achieve success and those who don't have only themselves to blame. He points out that today the connection between more and better has been broken and that the problem now is one of producing differently, producing other things, working less. Gorz distinguishes between work for economic ends (the definition of work under capitalism/statism), domestic labour, work for 'oneself' (primarily the additional task of women – for whom 'self' customarily means 'the family'), and autonomous activity (artistic, relational, educational, mutual-aid, etc). He argues, or at least allows for, a movement from the first type to the third, and for the second one to be increasingly articulated with the third rather than subordinated to the first. If the trade unions are not to be reduced to some kind of neo-corporatist mutual-protection agency for the skilled and privileged, they will, Gorz argues, have to struggle for liberation *from* work:

> Such a project is able to give cohesion and a unifying perspective to the different elements that make up the social movement since 1) it is a logical extension of the experience and struggles of workers in the past; 2) it reaches beyond that experience and those struggles towards objectives which correspond to the interests of both workers and non-workers, and is thus able to cement bonds of solidarity and common political will between them; 3) it corresponds to the aspirations of the ever-growing proportion of men and women who wish to (re)gain control in and of their own lives.' (Gorz 1999:45)

In researching our particular subject matter, it would be necessary to synthesise such elements, or offer a consistent alternative theoretical framework. But it does seem to me that we already have at least minimal theoretical resources.

4. Some notes on methodology

In researching the networked internationalism of labour's others the kind of questions that need exploration are such as the following:

- *What international solidarity activities do such categories have? Along which axes, in which direction, at what distance, with what intensity and duration?*

- *What historical or contemporary discourses do they employ?*
- *How do they relate to (which sections of) capital, to inter/state agencies, the international union and/or World Social Forum/Global Justice and Solidarity Movement?*
- *What relations do they have with the poor/marginal labour they speak of or for, and their commonly middle-class supporters?*
- *What* form *does their international articulation take (union-type organisations? social-movement-type networks, NGO-type support or service centres?);*
- *Are they (more? less?) culturally/communicationally active than the unions?*
- *What are the implications of their common funding by state or inter-state agencies, by corporate foundations or agencies of 'development cooperation'?*
- *To what extent does the networked internationalism of labour's others reproduce the centre-to-periphery model, in other words a 'substitution' or 'vanguard' notion of solidarity; to what extent does it recognise and embody such other aspects of solidarity as 'identity', 'reciprocity', 'complementarity' and 'restitution'?*
- *And, finally, are these plural and varied 'global solidarities' to be seen as contributory to, or exemplary for, an international labour movement still largely locked into the inter*nationalism *of the last century?*

I will not go into detail on appropriate research methods. Perhaps, however, I could warn against *limiting these to those customarily used (also by myself) when researching labour internationalism. These are the public activities, documents, publications and declarations of such bodies. With networks we have, surely, even less reason to assume that such necessarily 'represent' members rather than expressing aspirations of activists with loose and extensive bodies of followers. Issues of activist research are considered by Hale and Wills (2006:Ch. 3) and on Mathers (2007:Ch.3). They are also exemplified by work on the Mumbai World Social Forum, 2004, by Giuseppe Caruso (2007:Ch 1).*

The extent of computer and email use within such movements makes possible the initial use of the email questionnaire. Given, however, the customarily low response to this instrument, such use represents a challenge and may provide an indication of the development of 'communications internationalism' within and between networks. The internet should therefore be seen not simply as a source of information, but as a place/space of the presence by such movements within this new – if still limited – international public arena. Given the presence of labour's others, alongside the unionised, at the World Social Forum, its local or problem-specific events, one could also carry out surveys here (c.f. Reese, Ellen, Erika Gutierrez and Christopher Chase-Dunn. 2007), though awareness of the highly selective character of the participants/respondents is obviously a requirement.

5. The usual in-conclusions

This has turned out to be less of a conventional paper and – even in this trimmed-down and up-dated version - more of a workbook or a set of resources. Whether it will succeed in its aim of encouraging or provoking others to carry out the necessary research, we will, as so often, have to see. In writing and re-writing the paper I have myself been much provoked by the conference at which it was first present (Waterman 2007c: Appendices 1-2), as well as the work, in particular, of Anthony Ince and Andy Mather. Given the increasingly recognised political and theoretical centrality of the subject matter, and in so far as we are living under a globalised networked capitalism, it would seem reasonable to also propose a web space of some kind focused on this area.

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Towards a Global Labour Charter Movement[34]

(2006)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2006. 'Toward a Global Labour Charter for the 21st Century'. http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/4278.html, http://www.nu.ac.za/ccs /default.asp ?3,28, 11,2492]

The idea of a Global Labour Charter Movement comes out of both desperation and hope. The desperation is due to seeing the labour movement, in North, South, East or West, floundering under the multiple attacks delivered by contemporary capitalism, and by labour's lack of any such socially unifying and mobilising vision as inspired it in the past. The hope comes from seeing such energy and vision within the so-called global justice and solidarity movement (GJ&SM).

1. The idea of a GLCM is to develop a charter, declaration or manifesto on labour, relevant to *all* working people, under the conditions of a radically transformed and highly aggressive capitalism, neo-liberalised and globalised.

2. The idea of such a charter has been provoked by a couple of recent international labour declarations (Bamako Appeal 2006, Labour Platform for the Americas 2006). A common limitation of these otherwise very different documents is that each was produced and issued for acceptance or endorsement, by union leaderships or intellectual elites, without discussion by union members, shopfloor or community activists themselves. The GLC notion is, however, also inspired by a women's one, the Women's Global Charter for Humanity (2004), produced after worldwide discussion by one of the newest mobilising social movement.

3. In so far as this project is addressed to *the emancipation of life from work* (work here meaning labour for capital and state, empire and patriarchy), it implies *articulating* (both joining and expressing) labour struggles with those of other oppressed and exploited social categories, people and peoples – particularly that majority of workers, women. The existence of a developing global justice and solidarity movement (GJ&SM), best known through the World Social Forum (WSF) process, makes such articulation increasingly possible.

4. Its title could be the 'Global Labour Charter Movement' (or GLCM21). 'Charter' reminds us of one of the earliest radical-democratic labour-popular movements of industrial capitalism, the British Chartists. 'Movement' reminds us that the development of such a declaration requires a process and

[34] **See:** *South African Labour Bulletin, Vol. 30, No. 3, 2006.* The author, Peter Waterman (London 1936), worked for the international Communist movement in the 1950s and '60s, as a left academic-activist on labour and social movements, 1970s-90s, and writes on international labour, the WSF and the global justice and solidarity movement. He initiated the international debate on 'social movement unionism' and is widely published on the web. **Website (Old):** Global Solidarity Dialogue: http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/index.html. **E-dress**: p.waterman@inter.nl.net.

the self-mobilisation of workers.

5. Such a process needs to reveal its origins and debts. These are to the new forms of labour self-organisation (within and beyond unions), to the shopfloor, urban and rural labour networks (local, national, international), to the labour NGOs (labour service organisations), and to a growing wave of labour education, communication and research responding to the crisis of the labour movement.

6. The novel principle of such a charter should be its conception as a 'virtuous spiral' - that it be conceived not as a single, correct, final declaration, which workers, peoples and other people simply *endorse* (though endorsement could be part of the process), as for its processal, dialogical and developing nature. This notion would allow for it to be begun, paused and joined at any point. Such a process would require at least the following elements: information/communication, education, dialogue, (re-) formulation, action, evaluation, information...

7. It is the existence of cyberspace (the internet, the web, computerised audio-visuals) that makes such a Global Labour Charter for the first time conceivable. We have here not simply a new communications technology but the possibility for developing non-hierarchical, dialogical, equal relations worldwide. The process will be computer-based because of the web's built-in characteristics of feedback, its worldwide reach, its low and decreasing cost. An increasing number of workers and activists are in computerised work, are familiar with information and communication technology and have web skills. Given, however, uneven worker computer access, such a process must also be intensely local, imply and empower outreach, using the communication methods appropriate to particular kinds of labour and each specific locale.

8. Networking can and must ensure that any initiators or coordinators do not become permanent leaders or controllers. There is a growing international body of fulltime organisers and volunteer activists, both within and beyond the traditional inter/national unions, experienced in the GJ&SM, who could provide the initial nodes in such a network. Networking also, however, allows for there to be various such labour charters, in dialogue with each other. Such dialogue should be considered a normal and even necessary part of the process and avoid the authority, dependency or passivity associated with traditional manifestos.

9. If this proposal assumes the *crisis* of the traditional trade unions, it should be clear that it simultaneously represents an *opportunity* for them. This is for a reinvention of the form of labour self-articulation (again: organisation and expression), as has occurred more than once in the history of capitalism (from guilds to craft unions, from craft to inter/national industrial unions). By abandoning what is an increasingly imaginary power, centrality or privilege, unions could simultaneously reinvent themselves and become a necessary and significant part of a movement for social emancipation worldwide. The form or forms of such a reinvention will emerge precisely out of a continuing dialogue, the dialectic between organisational and networking activities.

10. Starting with the first edition(s) of any GLC, there could be a list of globally-agreed demands and campaigns, with these having emancipatory (demonstrably subversive, empowering, socially transformatory) implications for those involved. Rather than increasing their dependence on capital, state, patriarchy, empire, any GLC must increase their solidarity with other popular and radically-democratic sectors/movements.

11. Any such campaigns must, however, be seen as not carved in stone but as collective experiments, to be collectively evaluated. They should therefore be dependent on collective self-activity, implying global solidarity, as with the 200-year-old (but never completed!) campaign for the eight-hour day.

There is a wide range of imaginable issues (of which the following are hypothetical examples, in no necessary order of priority):

- A Six-Hour Day, A Five-Day Week, A 48-Week Year, thus distributing available work more widely, reducing overwork;
- Global Labour Rights, including the right to strike and inter/national solidarity action, but first *consulting* workers - including migrants, precarious workers, unpaid carers ('housewives'), the unemployed - on their priorities; and secondly by prioritising collective struggles and creative activity over leadership lobbying;
- A Global Basic Income Grant, in the interests of women, of the unemployed, etc ;
- A Centennial Reinvention of the ILO in 2019, raising labour representation from 25 to 50 percent, and simultaneously sharing the raised percentage with non-unionised workers;
- A Global Campaign for Useful Work, reaching beyond conditions of, or at work ('Decent Work') to deal with useful production, socially-responsible consumption, environmental sustainability/restoration;
- All in Common, a campaign for the defence and extension of forms of common ownership and control (thus challenging both the privatisation process and capitalist ownership in general);
- A reinvention of Mayday as a Global Labour and Social Movements Solidarity Day (consider the innovations introduced by precarious workers in Europe and by immigrant labour in the USA);
- Support to the principle of Solidarity Economics and the practice of the Solidarity Economy, i.e. production, distribution, exchange that surpasses the competitive, divisory, hierarchical, growth-fixated, wasteful, polluting, destructive principles of capitalism.
- A Global Labour Forum, as part of, or complementing, the World Social Forum, an assembly organised autonomously from the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and the Global Unions, whilst open to all);

12. This proposal is clearly marked by its origin, in terms of its author, place and language. It is, however, issued under the principle of CopyLeft. It can therefore be adapted, replaced, challenged, rejected and, obviously, ignored. Its only requirement (or hope) is that it be discussed.

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PART II
WOMEN AND FEMINISM

Feminism, Globalisation, Internationalism: The State of Play and the Direction of the Movement

(2005)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2005. 'Feminism, Globalisation, Internationalism: The State of Play and the Direction of the Movement', www.choike.org/ documentos/feminism_ global.pdf]

Mrinalini Sinha, Donna Guy and Angela Woollacott (eds.), ***Feminisms and Internationalism*****, Blackwell, Oxford and Malden (MA). 1999. 264 pp. 'Globalisation and Gender',** ***Signs*****, Vol. 26, No. 4, Summer 2001. Special Issue. Editors: Amrita Basu, Inderpal Grewal, Caren Kaplan, Liisa Malkki. Pp. 943-1314. Peggy Antrobus,** ***The Global Women's Movement: Origins, Issues and Strategies*****. London: Zed Books, 2004, 204 pp.**

Introduction

This is a review article discussing three works, presented in chronological order. The review draws attention to a new focus in feminist writing on the international/global. During much of the 1990s (and after?), most feminist writing on the international sphere was about gender and 'international relations' (Grant and Newland 1991, Sylvester 2002, Peterson 1992, Pettman 1996, Tickner 2005). Most of these were limited by the felt need to critique the discipline of International Relations. The international women's movement or feminist internationalism just about reached their concluding chapters – or paragraphs.

There were, of course, exceptions, as with Cynthia Enloe's cross-disciplinary and bottom-up look at international relations (Enloe 2002). Or compilations on sex workers (such as Kempadoo and Doezema 1998), but here we are clearly debouching into discourses of globalisation and globalised resistance. The shift of feminist interest from international relations to globalisation does not, as we will see, *necessarily* mean an equal shift from the critique of domination or dominant discourses into a focus on 'rights, resistance, and redefinition' (Kempadoo and Doezema's subtitle). But there is something about globalisation discourse which either permits or provokes a focus on not only resistance but counter-assertion (Miles 1996 may be another forerunner here).

This paper does not claim to comprehensive, or even representative, coverage of what has been published during the last five years or so since this is a rapidly expanding field of feminist concern. The

selection, moreover, is biased toward the 'South' and 'Development' – biases I hope to question. Along the way I make reference to other work in the field. In the Conclusion I will draw attention to contributions still awaiting political response or theoretical review.

1. Many Feminisms and One Internationalism?

Let us start with the claim of the Sinha, Guy and Woollacott book, as printed on the back cover, and illustrated by a photo of middle-class European and Asian women, some in Asian costume, many wearing cloche hats, under palm trees, at some conference in the late-1920s:

> *Feminisms and Internationalism* addresses the theme of the history of internationalism in feminist theory and praxis. It engages some of the following topics: the ways in which `internationalism' has been conceived historically within feminism and women's movements; the nature of and the historical shifts within 'imperial' feminisms; changes in the meaning of feminist internationalism both preceding and following the end of most formal empires in the twentieth-century; the challenges to, and the reformulations of, internationalism within feminism by women of colour and by women from colonised or formerly colonised countries; the fragmentation of internationalism in response to a growing emphasis on local over global context of struggle as well as on a variety of different feminisms instead of a singular feminism; and the context for the re-emergence of internationalism within feminisms and women's movements as a result of the new modes of globalisation in the late twentieth-century.

This is an ambitious agenda. But so is the very title of the book, the first such of which I am aware. We begin with quite extensive abstracts, revealing authors with roots in Korea, Latin America, China, India, Iran and West Africa (?), as well as the more usual North-American and West-European ones. In addition to the introduction and a set of seven cases (the body of the book), we are offered a forum, followed by several review essays. The authors of the seven articles are all new names to me - as are those of the editors - which is again promising. The forum is led off by a veteran historian of Latin American feminisms, Asunción Lavrin. The respondents and reviewers include names more familiar, at least to me, such as Leila Rupp, Mary John, Francesca Miller, Spike Peterson and Val Moghadam.

The editorial introduction provides further orientation to the collection. This is the source of the blurb. I think, however, we immediately run into a problem here, because the editors neither define nor discuss 'internationalism'. As a matter of fact, they don't define or discuss 'feminisms' much either. But a useful contemporary understanding of such can nowadays be assumed (and in any case is much discussed elsewhere in the book). This is not the case for 'internationalism' which, curiously for our fanatically pluralist times, appears here in the singular.

The editors apparently looked for historical (or historians') contributions, and seem to consider that such provide the necessary basis for further academic work on the subject. Yet it seems to me that while we have an increasing body of historical work in this field (see the book's review articles and bibliography, as well as Waterman 1998/2001), what we lack is precisely theory. In the absence of a conceptualisation, a model, or some organising hypothesis, we are likely to create something in which the whole is less than the sum of the parts. The editors do argue for a certain orientation, but this is a general and now commonplace one, seeking a mean between or beyond an abstract universalism and a particularistic relativism. They also make much of 'defamiliarising' and 'decentering'. But this implies that there exist theories, theorists, schools, traditions or tendencies which require such. And, unfortunately, the one classical liberal-feminist historical work worthy of this treatment (Bernard 1987) is nowhere even referred to!

As a result of the above, the articles and reviews sections seem to be held together more by reference to the international than to internationalism. There is, therefore, in this collection much about feminism and (anti-)imperialism, or international relations, and even development. The piece on Yemen makes no reference even to the international and actually belongs to the abundant literature on feminism and *nationalism*. And even if the collection is admirably sensitive to westocentrism it is not to classocentrism. Although labour, socialism and international feminism are mentioned in the introduction, they seem to be hidden from the following history. We are dealing here almost exclusively with middle-class feminists and middle-class women (sometimes aristocratic ones). I find this both detrimental to the project and somewhat puzzling.

My feeling is that the history of left and popular feminist internationalisms is likely to provide more lessons for the future than that of the liberal and middle-class ones. The latter are today abundant: the problem is precisely making them popular, radically-democratic, egalitarian, and socially-transformatory (a nice way of redefining 'socialism'?). The only explanation I can come up with for this academic blindspot is the international shift, in the 1980s-90s from a social-movement to a political-institutional feminism, in which primary attention went to those who - in the past as in the present - are most politically articulate and influential, who both read and write feminism. Or, possibly, it was due to the domination of feminism in the 1990s (as much else in academia) by discourse analysis, which focuses on meanings at the expense of doings.

This does not, of course, mean that the case studies are necessarily lacking in either historical interest or contemporary political relevance.

Christine Ehrick's chapter on interwar (the European World Wars!) liberal feminism in Uruguay has a fine feeling for North-South, South-South and Argentina-Uruguay contradictions and dynamics, as well as for the class composition and orientation of her particular movement. My feeling is that such national/regional conflicts were inevitable in the period of national-industrial-imperial capitalism. Which does not - as we will immediately see - mean they will disappear of their own accord during our global-informational capitalist period.

Ping-Chun Hsiung and Yuk-Lin Renita Wong employ an understanding of 'difference feminism' (my phrase) to identify independent feminist/women's movement voices in China, which are seeking their own understandings independent of both Western feminism and the Chinese party/state. Each of these claims to speak for Chinese women and they are (therefore?) in diametrical opposition to each other. There is, however, a curiosity here since the authors associate their Western feminism, which they specify quite distinctly, with 'the confrontational paradigm projected in the NGO model' (ix). In so far as the Western NGO model, both nationally and internationally, has been increasingly criticised precisely for its excessive intimacy with the state/interstate (Alvarez 1998), there seems to me a possibility that this NGO model and the Chinese feminist strategy might meet - but at an increasingly problematic place for the development of a global feminist movement!

Now: most of the earlier-mentioned shortcomings are more than compensated for in the exchange between Asunción Lavrin (on Latin America), Leila Rupp ('the Centre'), Mary E. John (India), Shahnaz Rouse (on Islam) and Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe (on 'borderland feminisms'). The 30 or so pages of discussion do not relate closely to the contents of the book. What they do is to begin a cross-national/regional/cultural/epistemological dialogue on women and internationalism that has not previously existed.

Lavrin, who launches the discussion, notes the particularity of Latin American (LA) feminism in successive periods, but she rather emphasises its specific contribution to the international (beyond LA)

than its participation in such. She also identifies a sharp debate within LA, between what one might consider an *indigenista* feminist (one who tends to fetishise the indigenous, as distinguished from those who otherwise express it) and those more open to the international. She also shows a welcome class sensitivity where she states that:

> It has been argued that theory is necessary to feminisms for opening channels of understanding across national boundaries because theory has the universal quality that makes feminism international…Yet, the dilemma of how to make theories accessible to women without formal education becomes more puzzling the more sophisticated the theories become…Perhaps the most important task of international feminism is to find that ample theoretical framework capable of embracing the largest number of female experiences. (186)

This is, again, an important reflection on international feminism if not on feminist internationalism. And although she echoes the common Northern feminist admiration for the achievements of the LA and Caribbean feminist *encuentros*, she seems to have missed the one in Chile, 1996, at which previously invisible or repressed tensions exploded in not only a disruptive but also a destructive manner.

Leila Rupp has published a book on three or four major international 19th-20th century organisations of what she herself calls 'elite, older, Christian women of European origin' (190). Although she might seem to be there reproducing the limitations of the collection under consideration, her ideas on how to approach/understand feminist internationalism are actually much broader. She argues for looking at this less in ideological terms than in those of the senses and levels of collective self-identity: e.g. organisational, movement and gender ones. In such terms, she suggests, what is important about the conflict Lavrin mentions is less the ideological difference than the fact that the parties involved are talking to each other about it. If her first remarks suggest an interesting research methodology or project, the second might be taken as suggesting the increasing centrality of communicational form to a contemporary internationalism. Rupp concludes on the necessity for looking at feminisms and internationalism (singular again!) from national, comparative and international locations. Then, in a wisely iffy sentence, she argues

> optimistically for the promise of global feminisms. If nationalism and internationalism do not have to act as polar opposites; if we can conceptualise feminisms broadly enough to encompass a vast array of local variations displaying multiple identities; if we work to dismantle the barriers to participation in national and international women's movements; if we build on the basic common denominators of women's relationship to production and reproduction, however multifaceted in practice; then we can envisage truly global feminisms that can, in truth, change the world (194).

Mary E. John, from India begins by recognising South Asian feminist ignorance of Latin America (an ignorance which, I can assure her, has in the past been blankly, cheerfully or shamefacedly reciprocated). She therefore begins by informing Lavrin, or Latin America - or in any case us - of the history of Indian feminisms. She continues with a challenging reflection on the manner in which globalisation has undermined simple and traditional meanings and oppositions between the 'local' and the 'global', given the extent to which globalisation, even in its early colonial manifestations, helped create the contemporary 'local' manifestations of Hinduism and caste. She then addresses the problematic concepts of 'pluralism' and 'diversity', emphasising (Thank Goddess!) what I earlier suggested, that 'If feminism is not singular, neither is internationalism' (199). She continues with examples of existing or possible internationalisms rooted in the subcontinent. And ends, again optimistically, on the possibility and necessity of

> more egalitarian and dialogic Western collaborations, new perspectives on the South Asian region and the Indian diaspora, and attempts to rethink South-South relations. (202)

Shahnaz Rouse's interrogation of religious difference from what one might call the-point-of-view-of-internationalism has a particularly sharp cutting edge. She continues the line traced by Leila Rupp, criticising the academic shift: 1) from a materialist to 'a right of centre, culturalist, even a "civilisational" focus', b) to a kind of 'orientalism in reverse', and c) an ontology of difference, and a new 'exclusiveness' (206). This is fighting talk, informed by a spirit of cosmopolitanism, egalitarianism and solidarity (i.e. internationalism?). But if she may here be criticising her academic or ethnic sisters, she cuts equally radically into a classist feminism. Echoing, again, earlier forum contributions, she argues for a retreat (an advance surely?) from the politics of difference, whether religious or secular, to a politics of experience:

> What is called for is a return to the 'everyday as problematic'…The starting point here is not discourse but experience, fraught as that notion may be, and implicated as it is, in representation itself (in the dual sense, figurative and literal)…Rather than posing cultural authenticity in reified, de-historicised ways, we need to examine how capitalism creates difference in seemingly totalising ways but which if examined more closely reveal the close link between existing differences and power relations: secular and religious discourses themselves being two of these. (208)

Capitalism. Now that is a word, and world, which I would have thought relevant to a discussion about the past, present and future of feminism and internationalism! I may be revealing my own particular particularism if I admit that I have, here, no major objection to it being referred to in the singular. I would only suggest two directions in which capitalism (OK, and capitalisms) might be usefully specified if studies of women and internationalism are to be advanced. The first, already implied, is in terms of historical phases, particularly the threats, promises and seductions of its contemporary globalised form. The second, hardly mentioned, never theorised and barely strategised is that of *money* - simultaneously the most abstract and concrete manifestation of capitalism. This is something which, apparently, the women internationalists - handing it out or receiving it - still consider difficult to talk about, whether in mixed company or in public. While their grandmothers, in the cloche hats, might have considered talking about this simply bad taste, the granddaughters presumably see it as a discourse of vulgar materialism. Introducing the everyday into the analysis, theorisation and strategising of feminist internationalism may therefore be more difficult than our last author imagines. I will return to this matter below.

2. Globalisation and Gender

Weighing in at what feels like a healthy kilo, over 350 pages in length, containing some 20 contributions, and co-edited by well-known specialists, this special issue of *Signs* makes a substantial feminist contribution to a developing area of study and struggle.

An Editorial sets out the intentions of 'Gender and Globalisation' (henceforth G&G). These are, in the first place, obviously, to fill a lacuna in critical theorizing about globalisation - its customary gender-blindness. Whilst feminist political economists and others have recognised the significance of women's subordinate role in internationalization/globalisation, the editors are concerned about the absence of address to women's centrality within, agency in respect of, and social movements in opposition to, globalisation. They are equally concerned that feminist theory should surpass such simplistic binary oppositions (also feminist ones) as globalisation from above/globalisation from below,

global capitalism/local social movements, and northern-imperial social movements/southern (anti-imperial?) ones:

> The articles in this special issue complicate these approaches…In particular, they address the ways in which political economy, social movements, identity formation, and questions of agency are often inextricable from each other. They discuss the participation of women trying to better their conditions as crucial aspects of globalisation, thereby contradicting the assumption that globalisation is a process imposed solely from above by powerful states or multinational corporations. (944-5).

The attempt to look at globalisation both as a gendered process and in a dialectical manner is carried out through a set of articles, exchanges and book reviews. We have a diverse series of contemporary studies, in which are considered the relation of gender and sexuality to globalisation and nationalism, several of which reflect critically on existing feminist and other globalistion theories. Another group of articles considers the relationship between women's activism and globalisation, again criticising facile assumptions concerning international solidarity. There follows a series of brief dialogues, commentaries and roundtables on aspects of globalisation: these are as varied as: the globalised prison industry, the international division of labour, the anti-globalisation movement, international financial institutions, Chinese feminism, studies of the Middle East, and women-and-globalisation studies more generally.

Whilst the collection contains a number of admirable pieces, I feel it lacks overall impact. This may be because the Editorial actually goes further than what follows. We are certainly presented with challenges to simplistic approaches, 'malestream' or feminist. And much is made of 'agency' – to the point of characterising certain collective behaviour as 'agentive', an adjective - or is it an adverb? - that I won't mind never seeing again. But the Editorial fails to prepare us for the extent to which the papers are addressed to US academic feminist concerns and theory, which are, inevitably, a limited part of, or angle on, our increasingly complex and globalised world disorder. Even when we move from 'agency' to 'movements', the latter turn out to be mostly Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and their international relations. I miss the Latin American feminist demand to move *de la protesta a la propuesta* (from protest to proposition). But, then, the vibrant international/ist movement and thought of and on Latin American women and feminism is also absent (Alvarez 2000, Barrig 2001, Mendoza 2001, Olea Mauleón 1998, Sanchís 2001, Vargas 1999, 2001, 2003, as well as Thayer below). My feeling is, then, that whilst we have a worthy supplement to other feminist work on globalisation, we have here no noticeable advance.

I have other problems with the editing of the collection and writing style. I am not accustomed to finding feminist writing lacking relevant focus or stylistic fireworks. But the 35 pages on the autobiography of a Jamaican Creole woman entrepreneur and adventurer – with no anti-colonial, anti-racist, social reformist or feminist characteristics – seems entirely out of place in this collection, whatever it might tell us about 'the complex interplay in the nineteenth century between gendered mobility, black diaspora identity, colonial power, and transnational circularity' (949). Elsewhere in the collection I felt somewhat overwhelmed by a uniform US academic malestream style, in which the personality and subject position of the author is buried under layers of formal stylistic ritual. I do not know whether this is responsible for the considerable overlap or repetition within and across contributions, but it has a dulling impact.

Having got this all off my chest, let me mention some pieces that impressed. These include Suzanne Bergeron's useful overview of political-economic discourses on globalisation; Carla Freeman's case study of Caribbean women who combine their day jobs in the white-collar, but proletarianised and globalised data-entry industry, with spare-time, globalised petty-trading, reveals the limits of any simple class analysis; two pieces on transnational women's/feminist NGO networking, one on Russia, one on

South Africa, show how contradictory such relations can be; one of the dialogues, on/against the World Trade Organisation brings us close to where - I hope - the new wave of global feminist activity will be centred. I was, finally, fascinated by a study of the Miss World contest in India, precisely because of its address to the novel, complex and contradictory responses to such of women and social movements locally. I will return to the last two items in more detail, starting with the Indian one.

Rupal Oza's 'Showcasing India: Gender, Geography, and Globalisation', is about the protest surrounding the 1996 Miss World contest in Bangalore. There were here two broad protest movements, a rightwing Hindu-based movement, Defending Indian Culture From Westernization, and a leftwing socialist and/or feminist one Defending The Indian Economy From Globalisation. Whilst there were distinct differences between the two movements, there was a coincidence in 1) seeing representations of women's bodies as endangering India's borders, 2) making the Indian nation and/or state the point of positive identity, 3) failing to come to terms with women's own agency and sexuality, and 4) subordinating women and sexuality to the economy, the nation and the state. Oza draws a conclusion of more general relevance:

> The construction of resistance at any level that is predicated on structures of oppression or suppression at other levels or is contained through them is problematic from the start. Equally problematic are the assumptions of political hierarchy whereby gender and sexual politics are put on hold against the priority of local resistance to the overarching force of globalisation. The underlying assumption here is that gender and sexuality…are not already constitutive of globalisation and of local resistance. The political hierarchy in this context, then, is a ruse for denying agency to gender and sexuality. These issues have been raised in the context of the struggles for women's rights and the structural place of the women's movement within nationalism. Therefore, conceptually progressive politics, when framed in terms of local resistance to globalisation yet dependent on adherence to hegemonic structural positions within a 'new' patriarchy, is politically dangerous and theoretically precarious. (1090)

Although Oza's case deals with a nationally-identified and bounded women's/feminist protest against globalisation, it throws light on the anti-globalisation movement worldwide. Here, too, we find leftwing movements that, because they see globalisation in terms of 'the highest stage of imperialism', must pose against it something like 'the highest stage of nationalism', i.e. a socialism both nation-state-based and defined. In, however, posing the Nation against the Global, such movements not only find themselves in uncomfortable proximity to a rightwing both hated and feared, but are also disqualified for two essential contemporary tasks: 1) developing what has been a traditional *inter*nationalism into a *global solidarity* movement and discourse (i.e. one that, precisely, displaces the state-defined nation from the centre of politics); 2) re-inventing the democratic nation-state in the light of the global and gender justice movements. The international women's movements, and feminisms, proposing post-national identities, can make a major contribution to these struggles. But do they do this, in the case of the major international movement of our day, the 'global justice', 'anti-corporate' or 'anti-capitalist' movement?

Kathleen Staudt, Shirin Rai and Jane Parpart's discussion suggests that women have been marginal to this latest internationalism, and they seem to consider the anti-globalisation movement responsible for this absence. I would consider it, rather, the equal responsibility of the women's movements and the feminists (as with the late, light presence of labour, and the virtual absence of African-Americans in Seattle)! It is true that, whilst feisty women and prominent feminists have participated in, and are even spokespeople for, the anti-globalisation movement, there has been restricted women's movement presence or explicit feminist engagement here. I can only put this down to the previous *over-politicisation* (state-centredness) of the women's movement, and to the engagement of much of its leadership with inter/national (again: inter-state and state-like) policy-making institutions, or their gender advisory committees. This proposition is lent credibility by G&G and in two ways. The first is

explicit, lying in the critiques of international 'ngo-isation', the second is implicit, lying in the paucity of contributions on actual women's/feminist movements confronting globalisation.

There is no shortage, in the real world, of such movements, nor, actually, of feminist address to such. Two references make the point. The first is the book on globalisation, democracy and women's movements by Catherine Eschle (2001). The second is a paper by Millie Thayer (2001) on the relationship between popular women activists at the global periphery and transnational feminism. Here a parenthesis may not be out of place.

The Eschle book does not appear promising, given that its primary focus is on democracy rather than movements and that its form is that of a critique of the literature (already over-represented in the G&G collection). But she is concerned precisely with the necessity and possibility of a feminist contribution to a reinvention of democracy in the era of globalisation. And her understanding of feminism and democracy is one that is dependent on social movements. So, after a long march through and beyond the commonly state-centric theories of democracy, she addresses herself energetically to 'Reconstructing Global Feminism: Engendering Democracy' (Chapter 7). Here she stresses the necessity for the women's movement to be anti-capitalist, as also to develop 'transversal' (horizontal, reciprocal) relations, and to democratize internally. I do not intend to set up Eschle against G&G, in so far as she develops a note and orientation already present within the collection. Moreover, there are limitations to both her conceptualization and her evidence. 'Transversal' is an evocative but loose term. I would have thought one could say more by developing the classical notion of 'international solidarity' (for my own attempt see Waterman 1998/2001: 235-8). There is also a limitation in so far as her case studies are drawn from a secondary literature that is often stronger in the mode of advocacy than of analysis. Although, finally, she is concerned that the international women's movement be anti-capitalist, she hardly exemplifies this. So it may be that my favourable comparison with G&G lies mostly in her 'movement-centredness'.

Millie Thayer's provocative title is 'Transnational Feminism: Reading Joan Scott in the Brazilian Sertão'. Her rich case study and theoretical argument runs as follows:

> Fieldwork with a rural Brazilian women's movement…finds another face of globalisation with more potentially positive effects. These activists create meaning in a transnational web of political/cultural relations that brings benefits as well as risks for their movement. Rural women engage with a variety of differently located feminist actors in relations constituted both by power and by solidarity. They defend their autonomy from the impositions of international funders, negotiate over political resources with urban Brazilian feminists, and appropriate and transform transnational feminist discourses. In this process, the rural women draw on resources of their own based on the very local-ness whose demise is bemoaned by globalisation theorists.

Again, I do not wish to pose Thayer against G&G. Indeed, the intention of the G&G Editorial seems to be rather well exemplified by her paper. Nor is Thayer without her own shortcomings or lacunae. She surely misreads Manuel Castells' masterwork on the information society, since he actually gives women's/feminist movements the space, scope and transformatory significance he denies to workers' ones (Waterman 1999a)! And whilst she suggests a virtuous spiral between, in this case, Northern and Southern feminisms/women's movements, we are not shown how the Southern experience or ideas feeds back to the Northern (or international) movement, rather than to her as a Northern feminist academic. It is, again, the tone of the writer that is at issue here. Gramsci would recognize the disposition of both writers towards the movement: 'scepticism of the intellect; optimism of the will'.

My final thought on G&G is that it cast its net too wide. The field - to move from fishing to agriculture - has actually been better tilled than the Editorial suggests. See, for example, Dickenson (1997), Harcourt

(2001), Wichterlich (2000), and two review articles (Eschle 1999 and Waterman 1999b). What is now needed may be more narrowly-focused collections. And, of course, more women's movements making their customarily pertinent, outrageous and utopian contributions to the major internationalist movement of our day.

3. A global women's movement: dawn or DAWN?

Let me start by saying that the Peggy Antrobus book is a brief and welcome introduction to the global women's movement, that as such it fills a long-felt-want, and that it is to be recommended to those new to, unfamiliar with, or who feel they should be allied with, the women's movement. It would - it will - make an excellent text for those doing women's studies, as to those doing social movement studies, whether globally or more locally. Because of its direct treatment of the movement I am going to give it extended attention.

Antrobus is a veteran of the movement, from the Anglophone West Indies, with experience in government, academia, and women's NGOs. These activities have been national, regional and – in particular – international/global. She has written a readable account that manages to combine the Political, the Theoretical, the Professional and the Personal, in a seductive narrative. She is up-front about who she is and where she comes from, about where, when and how she became a feminist (in 1979, at a feminist workshop). She thus places herself on the same plane as her argument, making both eminently open to both approval and criticism. I intend to confront these in the forceful but constructive manner they invite and deserve. Her theoretical/conceptual propositions are clear and a provocation to thought:

> Is there a global women's movement? How can we understand such a movement? How can it be defined, and what are its characteristics? My conclusion is that there is a global women's movement. It is different from other social movements and can be defined by diversity, its feminist politics and perspectives, its global reach and its methods of organising. (9).

This is all in Chapter 2. But such specifications continue throughout. The work concentrates on the period covered by the major UN conferences concerning women, starting with the Development Decade of the 1960s-70s (Chapter 3), The UN Decade for Women, 1975-85 (Chapter 4), the global conferences of the 1990s, particularly the World Conference on Women in 1995 (Chapter 6). However, Antrobus begins and ends her book with referemces to the World Social Forums and Global Justice Movement of the 2000s (3-5, 175-6, and, implicitly, Chapter 10). Her UN-inspired chapters are interspersed with one on the 'lost decade' of the 1980s (Chapter 5), on movement strategies (Chapter 7), on present and future challenges (Chapter 8) and leadership (Chapter 9 but also Chapter 6). In the rest of this review I want to reflect on at least part of what has been briefly mentioned above.

Reconceptualising the global women's and feminist movement

Women's movements, our author argues, are different from other movements, but she nonetheless specifies their problems in a manner common to specialists on social movements more generally:

> The confusion and contradictions…reflect the complexity of a movement that is caught in the tension between what is possible and what is dreamed of, between short-term goals and long-term visions, between expediency and risk-taking, pragmatism and surrender, between the practical and the strategic. (11)

Whilst accepting the first of her binary oppositions/tensions as an inevitable *part* of the international women's (or labour) movement, I would stress the second as the dynamic and emancipatory *tendency*. This goes for all her binaries except that between pragmatism and surrender, which does not seem to belong to the set.

Summarising, Antrobus considers the women's movement as *political*, as recognising women's relationship to *social conditions*, as *processal*, as posed against *patriarchal* privilege, as beginning where and when women recognise their *separateness* and even their *alienation, marginalisation, isolation or abandonment* within wider movements for social justice or transformation (14). Fair enough.

But possibly not *far* enough, since Nira Yuval-Davis (2004), for example, powerfully questions the human-rights feminism that has largely conquered - and encapsulated - the international movement over the past decade or so. And Ewa Charkiewicz (2004a) has suggested that the corporations (often invisible within global feminisms) and their bio-political impacts need to be the, or at least a, primary subject for feminists. All this implies tensions within the global women's/feminist movement that are rather more complex than our author allows for.

Antrobus also specifies certain characteristics that differentiate the women's movement from others: the recognition of *diversity*, its *feminist* leadership (but which of 57 often-competing, sometimes-warring, feminisms?), its *global reach*. She distinguishes between an *international* and a *global* movement, identifying a movement between the one and the other during the period she covers. This is a useful distinction, since even once-emancipatory internationalisms increasingly became inter*nationalisms*. But, for me, a global movement means one that not merely surpasses national internationalisms but which is *holistic*. And the creation of such a movement is, surely, something to be yet constructed rather than simply asserted as existing (as if it were a simple reflex against neo-liberal globalisation?).

So, the theoretical assertions of this book have to be seen as introductory and partial. Necessary, perhaps, but in no way sufficient. And revealing of certain subject positionings that the author may admit to rather than problematise.

Priorities: the South, the UN and the NGO(s)

Peggy Antrobus 'comes from' the South, the UN and the NGO(s). These are all obviously part of the movement but I see no good reason to privilege them to the extent that the other parts (the North, the old East) become background, that other spaces/places/levels (the street, the community, the workplace/union, the Web, the culture) disappear, appear as secondary, and that the NGO appears to be the primary form taken by the movement.

The South: I find in the index some 14 or so references to places in the South and only 3-4 to those in the North (including the no-longer-actually-existing USSR). This imbalance is not simply because of where the author comes from. It expresses a notion that the global movement is *led* by the South. This is not an opinion that would necessarily be shared by all her Southern sisters. Antrobus considers that the movement has been transformed since the 1970s

> largely through the influence of Third World feminists and women of colour in North America…(1).

If this is how she starts, then she ends with the challenges confronting

> a global women's movement built through the leadership of Third World women…(185).

Perhaps a case could be made for such a vanguard role, but then only on the basis of evidence and argument here absent. I would have thought it closer to both the reality and the need to consider the North/South relationship a dialectical one, in which mutual political influence and dialogue was the major force. This is to leave aside the matter of whether, in talking of the dialectic within the movement, 'North' and 'South' should be unproblematically accepted as primary categories.

The United Nations: Although the influence played by women's presence and feminist analysis in relationship to the UN is certainly *one* determinant of the growth of the women's movement, it is not the only one, or even - one hopes for the future - the dominant one. In so far as it is or was such, then this is surely a highly problematic influence that requires, well, problematising. Peggy Antrobus is not, of course, unaware, of the danger represented by what I would call the inter-state sphere:

> Of course there are risks. Many writers have referred to the bureaucratisation of the movement. In a sense the movement itself became a victim of its successful advocacy….[M]any activists…have faced accusations of being co-opted, or having sold out on the movement. (61-2)

Antrobus sees this, however, as a strategic problem (engaging with the state/ preserving autonomy) rather than a theoretical one. In so far, however, as we understand an increasingly corporatised and corporatist UN as bent on, well, incorporation, then we need to recognise the *profoundly contradictory* role it plays with respect to *any* emancipatory movement - of workers and indigenous peoples as well as women (Charkiewicz 2004b). Drawing from Marxist theory on commoditisation and fetishisation, the strategy issue can be expressed more pointedly:

> Ultimately, these questions point to the problematic of organisation, of building bridges, of establishing links, learning from mistakes, de-fetishising our relations to the others, reaching out and being reached, sharing resources and creating commons, reinventing local and trans-local communities, articulating flows from movement to society [rather than from the movement to inter/state instances. PW] and vice versa. (De Angelis 2004:12)

Massimo De Angelis might here be expressing ideas learned, amongst others, from feminist analysis. But there are feminists who can also learn from him about the major problem confronting the movement.

The NGO(s): Antrobus recognises, again, the ambiguity of the non-governmental organisation as form, and even the problem of NGO-isation (153-4). But this is again presented as a strategy problem and is not theorised. Nor, for that matter, I think, even really strategised. The strategy problem would be a matter of where, how and in what way, the NGO *form* relates to the women's *movement*. In so far as the dominant 19th century form of mass mobilisation/control, the socialist/populist/nationalist political party, is in a condition of disrepute and decline (hopefully terminal), the rise of the NGO – providing technical, intellectual and communicational expertise to and support for social movements – is to be welcomed. But, then, this would be not so much a *non-governmental* organisation (dependent for its identity on that to which it is opposed) but an *anti-hegemonic* instance attempting to surpass capital and state (patriarchy, racism, war, etc), and providing support for, rather than the substitution of, recognisable social movements. The concept of NGO-isation, or *ongización*, has been recognised in Latin America as *the* major problem facing the women's movement in Latin America (Alvarez 2000). Once again the tension between management and emancipation rears its Janus head.

Things do not get better. Peggy Antrobus is a long-standing member of DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era). This is one of a dozen, or a hundred, of rather professional, socially-critical, international feminist NGOs-cum-think-tanks. This particular NGO is honoured with some 21 references in her index, as against 27 for feminism in general! Moreover, there is no word of criticism for DAWN. Which means that here we are into identificatory-celebratory discourse. This, as far as I am concerned, suggests the imprisonment of DAWN within a practice common to the old social movements (national, labour).

The global women's movement and the secret of fire

It is evident, from this, that feminism and the women's movement have, despite significant breakthroughs, not necessarily discovered the Secret of Fire that releases the new from the old. They may have contributed to such in dramatic and significant ways, but they do not play globally the role of vanguard. And since such a role is anyway increasingly regarded with an Argus eye within the new movements, this is not such a bad thing either. Right now, and for the past five years or so, for example, the global women's movement has needed to learn from a global justice movement that has learned from *it*. Or from those parts of the movements, those theorists, who have done so. Yet the global women's movement, and even some of the more sophisticated feminists still have to move beyond the 'moment of excision' from the old inter/national left (Vargas 1992, citing Gramsci), to fully engaging with and co-creating the new global social emancipation.

Although our author recognises, again, the way in which 'external funding can blunt the political edge of the movement' (155), this is hardly adequate to the case. Foreign funding (from the book's Rich, Guilty and Exhausted North to its Poor, Innocent and Energetic South) is, at least in Latin America, the *sine qua non* of the movement. It would be more helpful to recognise that we are talking of foreign-funded feminism and then to confront the implications of this for the women's movement in not only the South but globally (where it may be 'foreign' in the sense of financiers and foundations with quite other motives than emancipatory ones)!

Whilst the global women's movement is increasingly aware of neo-liberalism and capitalist globalisation, it seems to believe that *its* collective subject, *its* theoretical inspiration and *its* discourse frees itself from the political-economic determinants that DAWN is quite ready to recognise as operating, well, globally. This and related de-radicalising pressures have been recognised for one hundred years by socialist specialists on the inter/national labour movement (Waterman and Timms 2004:182-5), so why not by a feminist for the women's one? At the European Social Forum, London, 2004, libertarian critics of its top-down structure and commercialised processes issued the slogan, 'Another World is For Sale!'. A more forceful critique is therefore required than this author gives us of managerialism and commodification within what is here championed as an emancipatory movement. *Reducing* the women's movement to the level of other social movements would also mean *releasing* potentials presently imprisoned.

The master's tools and the deconstruction of the master's house

One last complaint, mentioned above, but which is much more widely spread than in this book alone. This is the avoidance of the word 'capitalism' – even by feminists who are or were once socialists. Capitalism does not even get an index reference in Antrobus. Capitalists, mostly after all male, white and patriarchal, call it *capitalism*, and are proud of it. So why cannot it not be so named by feminists, who could and surely should condemn it? This cannot be solely because of their justified criticism of the archaic political-economic determinism of patriarchal socialists. So it has to be due to either a desire to be *salonfähig* (acceptable in the salons within which they have been speaking, to the funders they are

dependent upon), or a restriction of their utopia to a kinder, gentler global capitalism, a global neo-Keynesian order – for which no convincing feminist case has been made. Fortunately, *anti-capitalist* feminist networks have appeared in the new global agora, such as the Global Women's Strike highlighted by Antrobus (193-2) and the rather more-significant World March of Women (see below and http://www.marchemondiale.org/en/charter3.html).

On the other hand, there is a word well worth avoiding like the proverbial plague, this being 'development'. In so far as this actually means 'the development of capitalism' and/or 'the development of the nation-state' it is a Northern, hegemonic and colonising discourse. Its employment by such Southern activists/scholars as Peggy Antrobus (and an endless series of women's NGOs) implies a significant limitation on attempts to develop a meaningfully emancipatory global feminist discourse. It also reinforces a division between the 'developed' and 'developing' worlds which a global feminist discourse surely needs – in the era of capitalist globalisation – to surpass. As the Black feminist activist and writer, Audre Lorde (1984), once said, 'The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House'.

New addresses, new agoras for the global women's movement

Antrobus makes generous reference to the World Social Forum and the global justice and solidarity movement, to whose birth feminists have made a certain contribution. But, once again, hers is not a critical treatment. By this I mean critical/committed attention to the nature of the movement and the forum, and to the presence of women and the role of feminists, within both (compare NextGENDERation Network 2004). This might seem an excessive demand given the newness and the novelty of both. DAWN, however, has not only been present within the WSF since at least 2002 but is a member of its International Council, and its website provides access to major feminist activities within the WSF in Mumbai, 2004 http://www.dawn.org.fj/global/worldsocialforum/ intfemdialogue.htm. Yet our author mysteriously claims that

> With their overwhelming crowds, simple slogans and easily understood banners, these demonstrations and campaigns are not the spaces of dialogue. Neither is the Forum the space for the negotiations that have to take place with men, and some women, on issues of sexism with the social movements. (176, as also 116-7)

Why, in the name of The Goddess, not?

The Fora seem to me the presently *privileged* space for such global dialogue. And although the Feminist Dialogue at Mumbai may not have highlighted women's place and a feminist understanding of the Forum and the new movement, there is no reason why this should not be so raised by feminists at an event *in which almost 50 percent of the participants are women*! Where else could the feminists and the women's movement be where they will be surrounded by such a high percentage of young, ethnically-pluralistic, democratically-inclined, activist and radical women? Negotiating across tables or in corridors with male inter/state bureaucrats of a certain age? Finally, of course, women's presence and feminist attitudes do not express themselves solely in verbal dialogue but in cultural forms that the movement previously celebrated or invented. The most memorable feminist presence at the WSFs is, therefore, probably that of the tiny *Articulación Feminista Marcosur* (see below), with its 'simple slogans and easily-understood banners'…targeting fundamentalisms! But this book is itself a politics-fixated one and gives little or no attention to either culture or to the cyberspatial communication that is becoming both a condition for and an expression of global feminism (compare another Zed Book Antrobus ignores, Harcourt 1999, particularly the contribution of Agustín 1999).

Whilst Peggy Antrobus might prefer some other space (Yuval-Davis 2004 also, but neither indicates which) for such dialogue, her position actually reveals the late, light presence of the women's movement and feminists within the newest movement in general and the Forum in particular. Prominent exceptions would be the World March of Women http://www.marchemondiale.org/en/index.html and the Articulación Feminista Marcosur http://www.mujeresdelsur.org.uy/, neither of which is mentioned in Antrobus. It would seem to me that the the past fixation of many feminists on Patriarchy, on the Political, and on the UN, have blinded it toward Capitalism, Globalisation and, thus, delayed their forceful address to what is less a New Social Movement (1960s-80s) than a newer Global Justice and Solidarity one (1994-?).

Evidence for this absence is provided by the regular *encuentros* of the Latin American and Caribbean Feminists (also mysteriously ignored by Antrobus). As early as 1996 a discussion document dealing in part with globalisation and the global women's movement was addressed to the Encuentro, in Cartagena, Chile (Vargas 1996). It led to no recorded discussion, the event being dominated by a fundamentalist feminist attack on the rest of the movement as 'patriarchal feminist' (Waterman 1998/2001:Ch.6)! In 2002, the 9th Encuentro met in Costa Rica. It was addressed precisely to globalisation - or at least to '*Resistencia activa frente a la globalización liberal*'. Despite this title and a provocative if problematic discussion document (Facio 2003), the Encuentro hardly addressed the matter. *And it had nothing to say about a WSF that was due to take place a couple of months later in the same continent!* There is here clearly a danger of self-referentiality, of a movemen in the direction of a self-isolating community. Here is another case. I have suggested above that the World March of Women has been more actively engaged (and visible) in the Forums than other feminist initiatives. Yet it has been criticised by other feminists for attempting to hegemonise women's activities within the European Social Forum, Paris, 2003 (NewGENDERation 2004:143). In mentioning such cases I am clearly not proposing these as virtuous alternatives to those bodies mentioned by Antrobus, nor even to her incrementalist orientation. The global women's movement simply requires from its participants and its observers as much scepticism of the intellect as optimism of the will (Gramsci again).

Literary lacunae

Whilst one cannot expect of such a short book a complete rundown of the relevant literature, it might not be too much to ask that it show awareness of *major* books or articles by *compañeras* who have dealt – and are increasingly dealing – with the same subject. Here are some such (which may include material published after the book's deadline): Sonia Alvarez (2000), Alvarez, Faria and Nobre (2003), the classical liberal feminist work in this area by Jessie Bernard (1987), Johanna Brenner (2003, 2004), Zillah Eisenstein (1998), Catherine Eschle (2001, 2003, and Eschle and Stammers 2004), the Peggy Antrobus co-edited(!) special issue of Canadian Woman Studies (2002), the Sinha, Guy and Woolacott collection (1999), Virginia Vargas (2001, 2003), Christa Wichterich (2000). For the flavour of just one of these, which does consider both feminism and the global justice movement critically, consider this:

> Conflicts and tensions around gender relations and feminist politics within the GJM offer hope as well as words of caution. Conflicts exist because women activists and their organisations are serious players on the political stage, contesting male dominance not as outsiders but from within the networks of the GJM. Whether feminism will come to inform the radical vision and the everyday politics of global justice activists depends on how well the movements are able to sustain political coalitions that are participatory and willing to engage in dialogue. Movements that make a space for the political and strategic interventions of working class and popular feminist activists and their organisations will constitute a powerful pole of attraction, an

> alternative for those [in both movements? PW] who now believe they have no choice but to compromise with the neoliberal order. (Brenner 2004:33)

I started by recommending this book and I still do. If the Zapatistas called for 'one no and many yesses', this work contributes to both the no and the yesses. If the World Social Forum says 'Another World is Possible!', then another such book on the same subject is not only possible but necessary. There can, thanks to capitalist globalisation and the growing movement against and beyond it, be little doubt that we will see many.

Conclusion

In the fear of having above expressed too much scepticism of the intellect, and of making only gestures toward optimism of the will, I thought I had better make a final check on the not-quite-ubiquitous web, seeking for 'feminist internationalism', 'global feminism' and related terms. Obviously such a search is most likely to identify work by Anglo-Saxon academics, or others writing in English. And, indeed, this was the case. Whilst all kinds of internationalist feminist activity might be building in the World Social Forum process, I identified some significant contributions to a new understanding of globalisation, feminism and internationalism from North America.

The first of these was a special issue, or section, of the US journal, *Socialism and Democracy*, on 'Gender and Globalisation: Marxist-Feminist Perspectives', http://www.sdonline.org/backissues.htm, guest-edited and introduced by Hester Eisenstein (2004). Even where original, interesting and informative, however, the section seems to have been motivated less by a concern to renew Marxist-Feminism in the light of globalisation than to restate the former in the face of the latter. And even, at one point, a concern to restate a socialist inter*nationalism*, in the face of a global solidarity movement that relativises a state-defined-nationalism. Thus, an interesting contribution by Tammy Findlay (2004) appears to argue that the Canadian-initiated and Canada-based World March of Women (WMW) is a *local and national movement* that has some kind of *international expression or extension* – an argument unlikely to be welcome to that increasingly global solidarity network itself. The problem of Finlay – and of a whole section of the Canadian left identified with 'progressive nationalism/internationalism', is that it still seems to see the national and the global as separate places or levels, rather than as an increasingly mutually-determining complex, requiring emancipatory strategies that are simultaneously local, national, regional and global. Whilst the WMW quite obviously has the national origins and base indicated above, I would challenge Findlay to read this out of the Charter the latter launched late-2004. It is interesting to note, finally, that the contribution with the most bite on gender, globalisation and the international women's movement – and the left - is the one which makes no reference to Marxism or socialism (Barton 2004)!

The second item I identitifed appeared to my eyes (as a 'Liberation Marxist'), more promising, even if oriented toward women's studies rather than the women's movement. This was a workshop, 'Towards a New Feminist Internationalism', http://ws.web.arizona.edu/conference/workshops/1a_description.html, organised in 2002 by Miranda Joseph, Priti Ramamurthy and Alys Weinbaum.

Anyone interested in moving on from this review article could do worse than start with these two documents. And if this seems an unconventional conclusion to this review article, I would hope it will encourage readers to treat the piece as just one intervention in a rapidly-developing process…and dialogue?

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PART III

GLOBALISATION, COMMUNICATION AND CULTURE

Aliens "Я" Us™
(not to mention U.S.)

(2001)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2001. 'Aliens "Я" Us™ (not to mention U.S.)', *The Commoner*. http://www.commoner.org.uk/AliensRUs.htm.]

Back in the days of the 'War Against Communism' in Vietnam, a US cartoon character called, I think, Pogo, said, 'I have seen the enemy and he is us'.

Why does Pogo have no monument in Washington DC?

Because the enemy always is, or has to be imagined to be, a not-us. And, for the US, a not-US. In this case 'we' are those who salute the flag, become Hyphenated-USAmericans, worship the Golden Calf and eat it, minced, spiced and grilled, under the Golden Arches. 'We' have our names on a beautiful monument to the thousands of our Vietnam War dead, designed by a Hyphenated-USAmerican, a monument that fails to record the millions of their dead, the fact that 'we' were the invaders and 'we' (or some weak-kneed un-American wimps amongst us) lost the war.

On TV and cinema screens across what passes for the Civilised World (or, *wherever*, so long as they worship and eat the same calf as we do) we are increasingly confronted with the aliens so beloved of the US media industry – and the passive, thrill-seeking, public it both feeds and creates. The US media is devoted to the genres of threat, disaster, the serial killer/bomber, violence from 'aliens' (whether within or without). USAmerican pages on the World Wide Web are devoted to the Black Helicopters of – guess? – the New World Order and the United Nations (a zillion entries on Google. I stopped, exhausted, at 835)! These Non-White Helicopters are, the sites scream, threatening to turn us into slaves or zombies - as if the sponsors of this populist and nativist myth do not bear the traits of both.

All this must be due to an underlying and unacknowledged sense of insecurity or inferiority, if not of collective hubris and nemesis (Overweening Arrogance inviting Overwhelming Fall). Somewhere within the national psyche, and that of Western Civilisation As We Know It, there is a nerve that twitches, telling us we are living with risk, creating dangers, and that we are thus tempting an unmentionable fate. (Also an unimaginable fate, actually, because in the movie, there was only one *Towering Inferno*).

Maybe this is a more general expression of the social relations of individualization, dog-eat-dog, rat-race competition, and fanatical Progress Through Technology that accompanies the development of capitalism. After all, the genre goes back to at least H.G. Wells and *The War of the Worlds*. Or to John Wyndham's *The Day of the Triffids*. The latter provided me with some strange sense of familiarity and comfort as I read it in Prague during the sleepless night following the Invasion of the Soviet Triffids,

August 20, 1968. In the good old, innocent, days of the genre, the Aliens were, I seem to recall, eventually affected by some banal Earth disease, to which we had fortunately become immune. Civilisation, As Only We Know It, continued its usual course, if somewhat chastened.

Occasionally these alien forces get political names: 'The Yellow Peril', 'The Evil Empire', 'The Backward, Envious, Devious and Irrational Islamic Fundamentalist' (who has the added advantage of looking like a Jew out of an illustrated version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*). But the enduring figure, outlasting the rise and fall of mere politicians, states and blocs, is that of the Other-Worldly Alien (*Alien I, II* and so *ad infinitum*). In Ecuador, following one of a series of 'Indian Invasions' in its capital (briefly *their* capital), a book about the matter was entitled *The Martian at the Corner*. Here a parenthesis is in order: 1) Indians, Dear Columbus, are a couple of oceans away, going *East* from Europe; 2) Quito is in the middle of the Andes, full of Andin@s, some working at computers, whilst expressing their quite irrational disregard for back-to-front-baseball-hat-wearing Triffids, by displaying long plaits and traditional Quechua *traje*; 3) Manhattan is not only in the USA, but also in Johannesburg, Bombay and even in that most-isolated and poverty-stricken of Latin American cities, La Paz (where, provocatively, it can be seen, literally downtown, from the slums a half kilometer above).

Therefore (or however), I have to declare, in solidarity with Pogo, that I have seen the Alien – and he is quite indubitably us.

The Alien is equipped with the most advanced technology. He is warlike and imperial. He has a devious intelligence. He has no familiar human emotions. He wishes to either destroy us or to bring us the benefits of his superior civilization: failure to recognize and accept this is punishable by the most-advanced electronic or chemical means of incineration or vaporisation. He considers others as means to his own ends. He is, in appearance, both recognisably human and frighteningly foreign. He can suck out of us or otherwise transfer to himself our bodies, hearts and minds (alien Hearts 'n' Minds are things which We, in the West of our imagination, only wish to win over).

There is, fortunately, nowadays, a Saviour at hand. He is not noticeably either meek or mild and bears an enormous phallic weapon of punishment rather than a cross of reconciliation. He is, as you may have guessed, the Identikit WASP, but either one who has had all his brains transferred to his bipodial-vascular-truceps, with the latter pumped up to *übermensch* proportions, or a clone, or a cyborg, who nonetheless has the same warm feeling for us weakly earthlings (earthly weaklings) as a series of square-jawed Presidents (Nixon, the second-hand car salesman, the exception who proves the rule, must, surely, have been of Levantine descent?).

Alienation – the deprival or denial of human capacity and potential – was related by the somewhat eurocentric Marx not to the 'nations without history' at the periphery but to the dynamic and internationally-expanding capitalism at the centre. (Marx had, perhaps, not heard the widespread African saying that 'I am who I am because of other people' but would surely have considered it superior to the liberal capitalist notion that 'I am who I am despite other people'). Alienation was the condition, prototypically, of the modern wage-worker rather than the craftsman or peasant (who were presumed, at that time, to still have some property over the means of work and livelihood). Psychology and philosophy have generalized this as the human condition under modernization/ westernization. Alienation was related by Marx to the replacement of all earlier and other human sentiments and ties by the cash nexus. This is a vision of the Other in terms only of individualized competition, of profit and loss. Man's estrangement was, thus, also from his fellow (working) men - not to speak of women.

September 21, 2001, I heard an alien speak on the BBC World Service. He had adopted the voice of a commentator from the ultra-right (I *hope*) US journal, *National Review*. He declared that the cause

and responsibility for the September 11 Outrage rested with Islamic Fundamentalism, envious of the US because it was Rich, Powerful and Good. This, it appears, is the Holy Trinity of the Masters of the Universe (who until recently viewed the rest of us from the secure and distant heights of the World Trade Centre). This new Three-in-One is, apparently, GloboMan's alternative to the French Revolution's Liberty, Equality and Fraternity (we would nowadays say Solidarity).

The logic and morality of this Alien American's message to the increasing number of the world's Others is somewhat puzzling to myself in my perverse Pogo propensity to see things from the standpoint of the Other. Which came first, the chickens (Riches and Power) or the egg (Goodness)? Or are they dialectically inter-related, mutually dependent and self-evidently in*alien*able from USAmericanism? In so far as Riches and the Power are relative, and therefore dependent (*increasingly* under International Monetary Fundamentalism) on the poverty and powerlessness of the Other, has all Goodness been sucked out of the Other, too? Has it been privatised, copyrighted, registered and deposited in Fort Knox? ©Virtue Inc®?

I note that the relationship between Liberty, Equality and Solidarity is one of mutual dependence, in that each is part of the meaning of the others. Also that this secular trinity is universalistic and therefore in principle universalisable - at no Other's expense! I can find no such universalism or mutually-determining relation between Wealth, Power and Virtue, since the first two must, of their nature, be unequally spread. And how could Goodness be considered - in anything other than the self-serving PR morality of the greedy and hegemonic - to be concentrated amongst the Rich and Powerful? If you don't know either, take out a subscription to *National Review*.

My Masters of the Universe come from Tom Wolfe's *Bonfire of the Vanities*. This is a savage satire on New York, on Wall Street wheeler-dealers, on WASP privilege and superiority over the streets, the slums, and those who live in or on them. His anti-hero is alienation on limo wheels – alienated from everyone outside his ethnic-class (also within it), from his work (which he cannot explain even to himself though it nets him millions) and particularly from those who live in the Jungle. This is his word for the underworld of New York – 'underworld' not as in crime, but as in a place inhabited by animals, or *untermenschen*. (I guess some of them would have flipped hamburgers or cleaned floors in the WTC, as one of them cleaned shoes in Sherman's office). The people of this particular abyss are, of course, quite alien to Sherman McCoy, until he gets lost in the Jungle, is involved in the death of one of its Black inhabitants, and is hauled in front of a venal criminal justice system and flayed by a trivializing and sensationalist media. Tom Wolfe's satire and ridicule runs out of the required wit and spleen when Sherman is finally reduced to jeans, sneakers and prison.

Not being much aware of the French Revolution, Sherman's sense of human solidarity is not markedly touched by the leveling down, particularly since his fellow prisoners appear to share certain vengeful features with less-secular communities of the humiliated and dispossessed. At this moment class, race and breeding tell: confronted by the multi-coloured mob (not, again, of the particularly criminal kind), Sherman, uncaring of life or death, confronts them with his bare, if shackled, fists. Out of the jaws of anti-heroism Wolfe snatches…a hero!…an Anglo-Saxon one, confronting the Wogs and the Fuzzy-Wuzzies. Here the genre becomes that of the 19th century British *Boy's Own* adventure yarn. The crowd retreats before his righteous anger. Sherman is no longer Rich and Powerful. But he is still, or now, Good. The Real McCoy. If the thesis is hubris and the anti-thesis nemesis, there is no sign here of an integrating and surpassing synthesis. Humanism? Compassion? Forgedaboudit!

So is the alien really *out there*? Is he only *around* us, in place, space, and ether? Or is it we, in here, who are alienated from our Others and our Selves? Or at least from our possible Other Selves, who could live in a relationship of increasing dialogue, cooperation and trust with Them?

The Martians are at the corner, armed now with neither arrows nor nuclear devices, but with the instruments we have fashioned for our daily work, travel, residence and pleasure, taking advantage of the freedom that commoditisation and capital accumulation require, using the morality of the Old Testament. And the Old West: 'Dead or Alive, Dead or Alive' says George bin Bush, Cowboy President of the Universe. These barbarians are determined, it seems, to add to *their* Good some of *our* Wealth and Power. Though most of them would be grateful for any significant reduction of poverty and powerlessness made available to them.

Recognising that Aliens "R" Us, that We Are the Enemy, could, surely, be a first step toward surpassing our own alienation, and the self-isolating and - today - self-destructive idea that we only know who we are as the enemy of our very own self-created alien.

Nine Reflections on a Communications Internationalism in the Age of Seattle

(2001)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2001. 'Nueve reflexiones sobre un internacionalismo de comunicación en la era de Seattle', in Iván Rodrigo Mendizábal and Leonela Cucurella (eds), *Communicación en el tercer milenio: Nuevos scenarios y tendencias*. Quito: Abya Yala. Pp. 247-65].

1. A Short History of the Left, Capitalism and Communication: From Wild Utopianism to Bottomless Despair

Since the time of the French Revolution radical-democratic forces have tended to greet each new communications technology as the one that would make mass human emancipation possible, nationally or internationally. Print, railways (the *Communist Manifesto*), international telegraph (Marx again), the cheap and uncensored press, film (Lenin), radio (Bertold Brecht 1983), video have each in turn been greeted with enthusiasm as containing - at least potentially - the key to the kingdom. Yet each has been also condemned by the later (or another) Left as a means of state and/or capitalist manipulation and control.

2. 'A Distaste for Handling Shit is a Luxury a Sewer Worker Can Hardly Afford'

Left suspicion of `mass media manipulation' was dramatically revealed even at the beginning of our New Times, in Paris, 1968, when the students occupied not the TV and radio stations but the Opera, and when they ran off their (uniquely powerful) posters on the silk screen, rather than using the TV screen. Which led Hans Magnus Enzensberger to utter the immortal (and elegant) words above. He also reminded us that *all* media is 'manipulation' (handling, shaping), and that

> **The open secret of the electronic media, the decisive political factor, which has been waiting, suppressed or crippled, for its moment to come, is their mobilising power [...] When I say *mobilise* I mean *mobilise*...namely to make men more mobile than they are. As free as dancers, as aware as football players, as surprising as guerillas.' (Enzensberger 1976).**

However, even when the mother of all electronic media, the internet, took off in the 1970s-80s, the traditional Left syndrome recurred. The *Community Memory* project was sponsored in Bay Area, California, by Left computer specialists and utopians, in an attempt to create a new kind of democratic local arena. It was a public access community communication project. After a decade of experience, one of its founders declared that the very *idea* of a democratic electronic public arena was impossible (Athanasiou 1985). In the absence of empirical research, comparison with other such experiences and serious discussion, the pendulum had again swung from over-enthusiasm to excessive pessimism.

A quarter of a century later, radical communications specialists (at least in the North) still tend to concentrate on the *dominant* media and media *domination* rather than engaging with radical-democratic media activities and projects. What follows attempts to provide some more data and ideas on the latter as we enter the age of globalisation.

3. A Globalised Networked Capitalism (GNC) is More than a Globalised Capitalist Network…or a Network for Globalised Capitalists[35]

'Globalisation' refers to time/space compression on a world scale, the creation of societies beyond existing communities, economies, cultures or polities. This is something that has been taking place for tens, hundreds or even thousands of years, but that has now, with computerisation, taken a quantum leap forward. A GNC implies increasing interdependency of all social spheres, of all people and peoples. It simultaneously threatens multiple existing communities worldwide and provokes both reactionary and progressive movements of protest and counter-proposition. The radical-democratic ones responding to globalisation are themselves, however, increasingly allied and increasingly global **(Figure 1)**.

'Networking', in the common sense of informal, horizontal relations between equals, has always been the predominant form of inter-relation between ordinary people in their everyday pursuits. It was increasingly marginalised by the formal, hierarchical organisation under the national/industrial/colonial (NIC) phase of capitalist development, when the new media were of the one-to-many or one-to-one kind. Networking is, however, becoming the privileged relational form for capitalists. Capitalism can now reproduce, transport and transform itself, along with the brutal divisions, destructive competition and political hierarchies inherent to it.

But the direct relations, feedback and creativity embodied in computer networking *do* provide a technical basis for old radical-democratic dreams of liberty, equality and solidarity - as well as for such newer ones as pluralism, sustainability, gender and sexual rights and options.

All media (writing, print, voice, music, painting, photography, radio, video, telephony) are now tending to merge, and to become available at ever-lower cost to ever-larger numbers. Thus do the dreams of the Left media optimists become, for the first time, possibilities (not *inevitabilities*).

The Web also tends to subvert the hierarchisation/opposition between the written and the audiovisual, introduced by the invention of writing thousands of years ago. It simply *is* the many-to-many medium

[35] Revealed in the course of his monumental work on our new world by Manuel Castells (1996-8) to which I am much indebted. See Waterman (1998, 1999a).

Brecht thought radio would make possible. It is a means for the active production of information, ideas, images and sounds, as well as of their passive consumption.

And, as has been said of this new public sphere, the Web is not simply 'a hammer', it is also 'Germany' (Poster 1995). If the first of these refers to a tool or a means, the latter refers to a community or a place. And, if this is so, we must add a third element, that it is also 'Utopia' - both `nowhere' and a 'good place', somewhere still to be invented/created.

Figure 1: Globalisation, its Discontents, Movements and Radical-Democratic Alternatives

	1. **Aspects of high capitalist modernity: institutional/ *(ideological*)**	**2.** **Dimensions of contemporary globalisation**	**3.** **Social movements, global, national & local**	**4.** **Alternative global civilisation**
A. **Economy**	Capitalism *(possessive individualism)*	Increasingly rapid mo intensive penetration, restructuring, capital concentration	Labour, union, socialist	**Socialised production, ownership, exchange**
B. **Production**	Industrialisation *(industrialism, consumerism)*	Ecological manipulation & despoliation	Ecological & consumer	**System of planetary care**
C. **Organisation**	Administration & surveillance *(bureaucracy, technocracy)*	Hegemonic inter-state regimes	Democratic, political, civil & social rights	**Co-ordinated multi-order**
D. **Violence**	Professional army *(militarism)*	Military/police repression & control	Peace, conflict-resolution, pacifist	**Transcendence of war via exemplary disarmament**
E. **Culture**	**Computerisation of information & culture (computerism/ informatism)**	**Informatisation of crucial international relations & culture**	**Democratisation & pluralisation of information & culture**	**Accessible & diverse alternative information & cultural order**
F. **Gender/ sexuality**	Commoditisation & gender, sexuality & reproduction *(patriarchy)*	Global gender, reproductive, sexual, family commoditisation & p	Women's feminist, sexual rights	**Egalitarian, sexually pluralistic & tolerant**
G-Z. ???				

4. Beyond Binary Opposites: Interpenetrating Circles?

a) Binary Opposites

Much Left and radical media criticism and activism has seen culture and communication with a binary logic (labour v. capital, popular v. elite, national v. imperial). This is a contemporary version of ancient and deeply-rooted binary thinking, in which the opposites are competitive and exclusive, and in which one is *positive and superior* (e.g. The West, Modernity, Man, Humanity, Socialism, the Local, the Silkscreen, the National), one *negative and inferior* (The South, Tradition, Woman, Nature, Capitalism, the International, Television, the Global). Without denying all mobilising value to such a model, it is of decreasing pertinence and effectivity under a complex and informatised capitalism.

b) Interpenetrating Circles

I propose a marginally more complex model **(Figure 2),** of three overlapping circles:[36]

- the *Dominant* (capitalist, state or church produced/owned/controlled),
- the *Popular* (that which is either (re)produced by or preferred by the popular sectors), and
- the *Alternative/Radical-Democratic* (produced or proposed by avantguard radical-democratic intellectuals, artists, designers, technicians).

These ideal types combine economic, class, political and cultural elements. Each type itself, of course, consists of multiple constituents, themselves in conflict/co-operation with each other. Neither the Dominant, the Popular nor the Alternative/Radical Democratic (A/RD) is singular, none without its own internal contradictions. (**Figure 2** does not reveal the gigantic size of the Dominant nor the tiny one of the A/RD in terms of wealth, reach and power.)

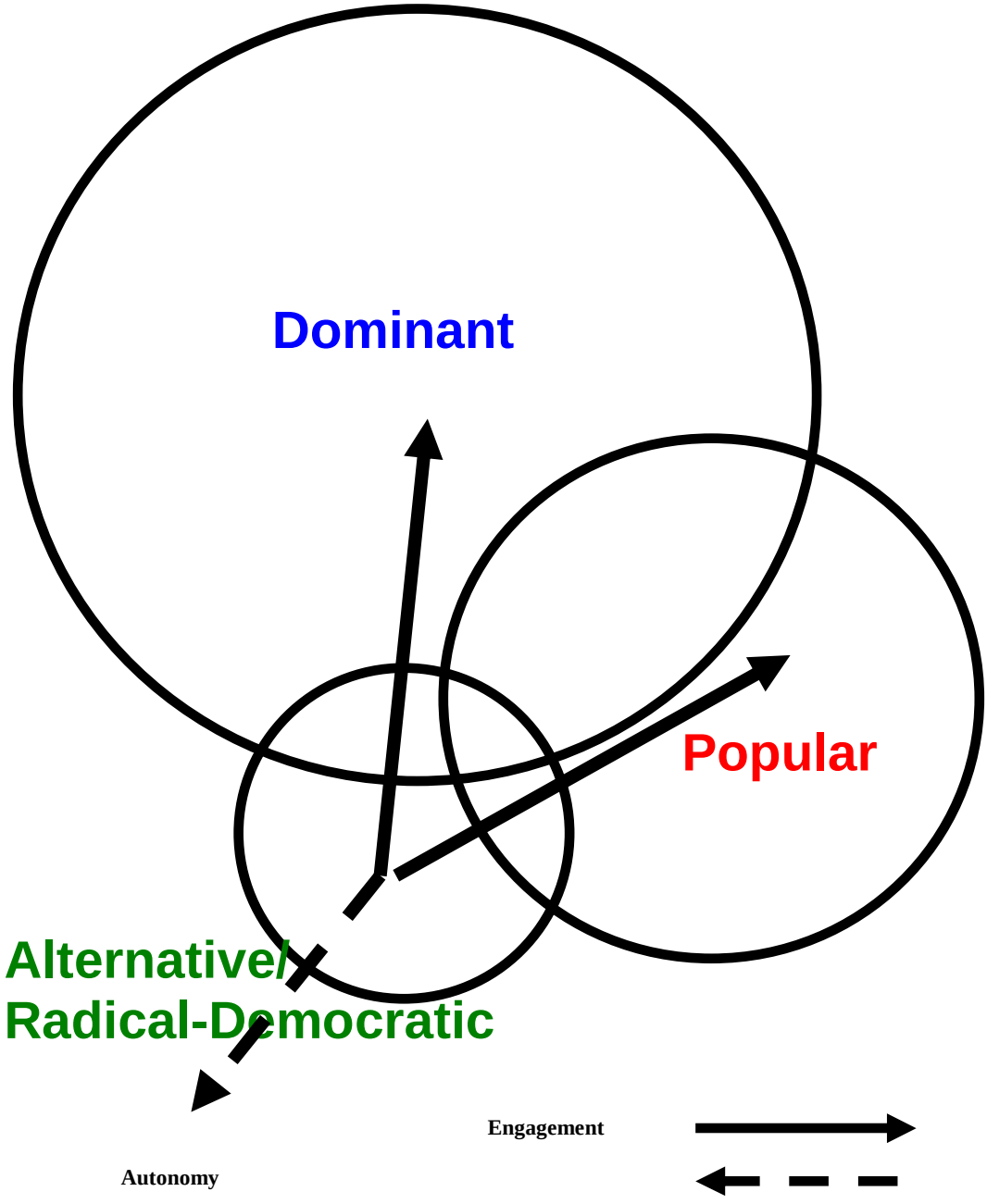
One major implication of the figure is, obviously, that these are interpenetrating spheres. The Dominant cannot dominate without responding to/including the Popular, which is itself both a producer and a consumer of the Dominant; the Dominant cannot innovate without responding to the Alternative. The A/RD sphere interpenetrates the Popular and the Dominant. (On this model, for example, the low-budget, prize-winning Northern-English movie of working-class life under neoliberalism, *The Full Monty*, would be placed somewhere at the intersection of all three).

This is a politically *prescriptive* model, *positioned* within the Radical-Democratic, *premised* on the desire to subvert and transform both the Capitalist/State sphere and the Social one (civil society). It is also, however, a *descriptive* model, in so far as it is generalised or abstracted from the behaviour of increasing numbers of Radical-Democratic movements and projects under our GNC (as I hope to reveal).

The implications for an A/RD project is that one needs to be present and active (*engaged*) within and outside (*autonomous* from) the Dominant and the Popular. We can think of the relationship between engagement and autonomy in terms of a moment in time, or in terms of different A/RD activities or even tendencies amongst those engaged in A/RD.

[36] I know that all such models must simplify but I find this one tending toward the simplistic. It will do until I can find or develop a better one. All suggestions welcome.

Figure 2: The Relation between Dominant, Popular and Alternative/Radical-Democratic Communication and Culture



Thus, some such activists consider that the *primary* activity of social movements should be to get themselves and their messages on peak-time local or national TV! (see Ryan 1991)

5. 'Communication is the Nervous System of…Internationalism and Human Solidarity'

This was the brilliant insight of Jose Carlos Mariátegui, the Peruvian nationalist, socialist and internationalist, writing on internationalism, 70 years ago![37] But internationalism (Left, Right, Centre) was actually at that time premised on organisations and institutions and, indeed, increasingly oriented toward or swallowed up by the very nation-states, blocs or state-nationalism, it was intended to surpass.

With the development of a GNC, we are increasingly seeing the parallel development of a `communications internationalism'. This can mean simply looking at communication as a service for internationalism (an instrument, a channel, a means to an end). But it *should* mean looking at internationalism *in terms of* communication and culture (see cases later below).

In the absence of a) a self-pronounced truth (ideology, science), b) a self-appointed vanguard, c) a privileged organisational form and d) a concrete, pre-ordained, utopia, global social movements are concerning themselves increasingly with a) the provision and exchange of information that is not globally available, b) the critique and re-interpretation of that which is. They see the development of power in communicational terms: publicity, information, challenging images, new sounds, new models of political/personal behaviour, the identification/promotion of new iconic personalities,[38] the creation of `biodegradable' coalitions and alliances. This does not imply the disappearance of politics-as-we-have-known-it, simply its increasing movement from institutions to culture.[39]

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[37] He also said:

> A new idea that blossoms in Britain is not a British idea except for the time that it takes for it to be printed. Once launched into space by the press, this idea, if it expresses some universal truth, can also be instantaneously transformed into an internationalist idea. (Mariátegui 1973:164-165, 1986:7)

As a British person and an internationalist, I find this a cheering notion, especially when accused - as occasionally still happens - of being White, Eurocentric, Patriarchal, and/or Universalist… It is not, however, my personal experience that my 'universal truths' are 'instantaneously transformed' into internationalist ideas, nor vice versa. In this essay of the 'Peruvian Gramsci', optimism of the will has clearly triumphed over scepticism of the intellect.

[38] Whether or not iconic personalities still have a role to play in creating a critical/self-critical international solidarity movement, is a question recently raised in relation to Rigoberta Menchú (Waterman 1999b). Indeed, it was also raised, at least implicitly, at the time of the anti-war movement in the US, 1968, as shown in the later-mentioned work of Todd Gitlin (1980).

6. Work, Workers and Labour Movement under a GNC

a) Losing a World

The development of a GNC has so far been a disaster in terms of jobs, workers and the labour movement. Work, workplaces and the ownership and control of jobs are repeatedly changed and moved - and such new jobs as are created tend to be deskilled, contracted out, temporary, part-time - in a feminist word, *housewife-ised*. Workers find their jobs, workplaces, collectives, communities de- and re-structured. Trade unions - created against but within a NIC capitalism - find capital escaping their grasp or view and the state simultaneously hostile and disempowered. There has been a major disorientation of the male/industrial/national labour movement, which once thought it had `a world to win', and which now finds itself limited in membership and weight (relative or absolute), in power and popular appeal.

Information Workers of the World, Communicate![40]

The transformation being wrought by a GNC creates new kinds of work and workers, implies one world of interdependent but differentiated workers - but makes possible a new kind of labour movement that is itself informatised, globalised and networked.

In (post-)industrialised capitalist countries, the majority of workers are now `information workers' (if we include banks, schools, travel agencies, cultural industries, call centres, clerical work, data processing of all kinds, alongside those working directly for the computer industry.

This most advanced capitalist industry is pregnant with a post-capitalist future. Here both creative individuals and multinational corporations find it essential to *give* information ('freeware', 'shareware') if they want to get information back. Commercial and gift relations exist here in both symbiosis and contradiction (cf. Liverpool's Initiative Factory below).

Digital work can - and does for some - combine the finest artisan skills and initiative with the highest industrial productivity. It can - and does for many - divide the worst of Fordist industrialism from the new artisan skills - technical, aesthetic and relational. It certainly reproduces the old class, inter-worker and inter-national divisions. But in presenting the sharpest-yet contradictions between capitalist and libertarian-socialist principles, it is a provocation to its workers to respond in collective, co-operative and egalitarian ways. As with earlier capitalist industrial revolutions, this one requires a transformation in the form of 'collective worker self-articulation' (the word 'organisation' would be misleading here). The union of the national/industrial/colonial era is clearly inappropriate to the new kind of employer, employment, state and worker. The national, hierarchical, bureaucratic, collective-bargaining-fixated

[39] For a work arguing this in relation to social movements in Latin America, see Alvarez (1998)

[40] My argument here is heavily dependent on those of the British libertarian-socialist hypermedia specialist, Richard Barbrook (1999a, b)

union, is increasingly outdated. Workers in the digital economy are already creating 'new principles of labour organisation: artisanal, networked and global'.[41]

But, In so far as this new model proposed appeals as much to values as to interests, is this a *union* or a *social movement* (I assume that the party, or at least The Party, is over)? And, in so far as it proposes a new principle of labour self-organisation, relevant to the new form of capitalism, is this only relevant to cyberworkers, or to *all workers*? And in so far as a globalised and networked capitalism requires a form of organisation that is artisanal, networked and global, is this relevant only to workers, or *to all radical-democratic social movements*? I would suggest that this latest capitalist industry, product, work and worker has emancipatory implications for *the union form, for all workers, for all radical-democratic forces, everywhere.*

Yet, the labour movement is the one that is having the greatest difficulty in coming to terms with a GNC. Offered the opportunity, by a friendly computer specialist, of creating an open-access computerised global labour information network in the early 1980s, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions turned it down! Most national and international trade union websites remain computerised union newspapers, with little or no interest in feedback, far less in discussion and debate. Some socialist internationalists have traded in the vanguard party for the vanguard netsite (with the customary in-built centralism, personality cults, factions and splits).

b) The International LabourNet

Yet we can nonetheless note the development of what some are calling an 'international labournet'. The energy, creativity and radical-democratic spirit behind this comes from individuals and groups at the base, periphery or from even outside the traditional national and international labour movement. Historically it comes largely from the 'international labour support organisations' (ILSOs - internationalist pro-labour NGOs) that were attempting, from around the mid-1970s, to create a `new labour internationalism', consistent with a `new social movement unionism', by building horizontal linkages between the bases of unions, or with non-unionised and even non-unionisable workers and movements. Today we have the customary 'network of networks', including both unions and LSOs, both complementary and competing, and growing rapidly in terms of sites, visitors, coverage and quality.

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[41] Well, actually two Richards, since the thoughts of Barbrook have been endorsed by Richard Hyman, a British socialist labour relations specialist of more cautious temperament:

> new models of transnational solidarity and for enhanced capacity for transnational intervention...sustaining and enhancing the scope for initiative and mobilisation at the base, to develop both stronger centralised structures and the mechanisms for more vigorous grassroots participation [...] To be effective at international level...trade unionism must...reconstitute unions as discursive organisations which foster interactive international relationships and serve more as networks than as hierarchies. […] Finally, modern information technologies offer the potential for labour movements to break out of the iron cage which for so long has trapped them in organisational structures which mimic those of capital...Forward to the `virtual trade union of the future'. (Hyman 1997:29-30.)

LabourStart (LS), based in London, may be the best of all such international labour sites. It is housed in the premises of an international union, and is closer to the traditional international institutions of labour than many others. Yet its form, activities and attitudes reveal the extent to which a new labour communications activism is coming from the periphery and requires autonomy (consider again **Figure 2**). It is run basically by one man, Eric Lee, whose own book actually argues for the *institutional* origins of international labour communication by computer! (Lee 1996). It is based on an independent LSO, Labour and Society International. LS now offers visitors a constantly updated global news service, an archive, solidarity appeals, photos, discussions, a labour book-ordering service (linked to the US e-commerce multinational, Amazon.Com!), a campaign on the rights of information workers, links to unions regardless of affiliation or ideology, a growing list of collaborating correspondents, and other features. Technically advanced, it is also aesthetically appealing. And a Spanish-language version is hoped for. Lee is an energetic promoter of national and international union networking. But he is also one of the sharpest critics of its limitations (Dwyer 1999). Combining engagement with autonomy is good for *LabourStart*, good for the institutionalised international unions and good for the international labour movement of the future.

c) The Internationalist Labour Video

There have always been labour, union, radical and internationalist films. But, between the 1930s and 1960s, these were largely marginalised by commercialisation, expensive technical developments and state control, as well as by the transformation of the labour movement into union and party organisations with limited cultural ambitions or impact. The continuing development of the video camera has brought down the costs and increased the quantity and quality of videos. It has even permitted conversion of video to the big screen and, most recently, is making possible the artisanal production of cinema films at a fraction of Hollywood costs. Two recent internationalist labour videos from the US can only suggest the range of possibilities.

Global Village or Global Pillage? is the video version of a pioneering work of the same name (Brecher and Costello 1994), the authors of which were involved in the production. This half-hour video is professionally produced and is being professionally distributed. It is being sold at $25 ($10 for students and the poor). It will appear on many community cable TV programmes, possibly on national ones, in the US and internationally. Combining documentary footage (some from amateur union videomakers) with animated cartoons and the 'talking heads' of internationalist specialists, it is a powerful appeal for combating MNCs and capitalist globalisation with the 'Lilliput Strategy' (of smaller bodies, linked by and using multiple threads). Most of it is devoted to showing ways in which, in the US and abroad (Mexico, Japan, Europe, India), the Lilliputians are fighting back against sweatshops, ecological destruction, the international financial institutions, the denial of human rights. The inter-relation between labour, ecological and human rights struggles is assumed and revealed.

The 40-minute video of Steve Zeltzer is entitled *Labour Battles the WTO in Seattle '99 - Workers of the World Unite.* It fills a major gap in either mass or alternative media coverage. Combining original footage with new and documentary clips from CNN and other commerical TV companies, it gives a vivid image of union participation, whilst revealing the new articulation of labour and other movements in the US. As a production by self-educated amateurs, this video reveals what can today be done using quite simple equipment and film techniques. Much of the video is given over to interviews with worker participants from the US itself, with occasional glimpses of participation (in the AFL-CIO's stadium rally and indoor meetings) of trade union leaders from Canada and Europe, as well as veteran Indian ecofeminist activist and writer, Vandana Shiva. One interview is with a Mexican activist who brought a group of others with him from the border area. The film also shows the extent of police violence.

Although (as the title might suggest) celebratory in tone, the film is not didactic in style. Indeed, it lacks any commentary. It also reveals differences in worker or union attitudes, and provides a basis for educational work - and political or media analysis. The video has been shown succesfully in Europe and a version with Spanish voice-over is promised.

d) Liverpool: The Last Proletarians Discover the Latest Technology

The dockworkers of Liverpool, in England, carried out a prolonged strike, 1995-8, confronting neo-liberal policies, at a time when the national and international trade union movements were still largely adapting themselves to such. Failing to get support, either nationally or internationally, from higher levels in the union hierarchy, they revived a longstanding tradition of waterfront internationalism - and discovered the power of the Web. Whilst failing to tame capital and state, locally or globally, their use of the internet to create an effective international network at waterfront level, certainly opened the eyes of the institutionalised international trade union movement.

This computer-aided and internationalist effort, moreover, seems to have had a dramatic empowering effect on the dockers themselves. Instead of individually using the considerable redundancy payments many (not all) received, they have, in collaboration with friends in the university, the arts and the community, set up a worker self-managed enterprise called the *Initiative Factory*. This has several different areas of activity: 1) the *Akademie*, to train themselves and others in the new information technologies, 2*) Liverpool Dockers and Stevedores*, a labour-supply co-operative, 3) *ArtsFusion*, to produce and sell cultural goods (they are already selling a music CD and the script of a TV film - both about the strike) and 4) *TransNeeds*, providing fork-lift driver training. A fifth, unlisted activity, is revealed by the website - a continuing involvement in dockworker internationalism.[42]

These low-skilled workers, from an isolated part of the UK, have been considered the 'Last of the Proletarian Mohicans', and the 'Industrial Zapatistas of Western Europe'. Criticised, or written-off, by many on the reformist and the revolutionary Left in the UK (for not adapting to neoliberalism, or for not concentrating on the national class struggle), they are themselves actually living mixed times, and simultaneously contesting different terrains. [43] Like the pathbreaking strike itself, this is - win or lose - a project of great imagination and significance.

7. The Mediation of Seattle: The 'Battle of' or the 'Battle over'?

a) Really Bringing Anti-Globalism Together Virtually

[42] This should certainly appeal to the Brazilian working-class and landless movements, in so far as they, also have been moving beyond traditional strategies.

[43] The notion that Latin America is living 'mixed times' comes from Calderón (1988). That of the labour-capital conflict as a matter of 'contesting terrain' within and over the capitalist means of production, from Edwards (1979). Both notions are subversive of the binary Left. The first undermines the tendency to see society primarily in terms of (r)evolutionary stages (tradition v. modernity, modernity v. postmodernity), the second of seeing worker struggles in terms of apocalyptical transformation rather than encroachment.

The 'Battle of Seattle', December, 1999, not only demonstrates much of what has been argued above: it also represents a political point of reference, and a rich experience for analysis, from which new conclusions will eventually be drawn. Here, in one place, at one moment, we could see capitalist globalisation as a political project/provocation (and its internal contradictions); an international alliance of radical-democratic movements opposing/proposing (and its contradictions); a computer-linked communications internationalism at work; the presence of the A/RD both within and outside the Dominant (the Popular contribution/impact requires research). Most important, and most problematic, perhaps, was the most novel element - the 'real' presence but 'virtual' absence of labour in this historic event!

b) Organising the New Global Solidarity On-Line

By now many people on the Left (and on the Right), know about the communications internationalism surrounding the Zapatistas,[44] or the successful computer-linked campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment. The 'Battle of Seattle' was organised by an international network, again using the Web as its primary means of communication:

> **Throughout 1999, thanks primarily to the Internet, tens of thousands of people opposed to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) united in a great national and international effort of organisation. Anyone could have a front seat, anyone could take part in the advance on Seattle. All you needed was a computer and a rough knowledge of English. (George 2000)[45]**

There was one major electronic list. But dozens of groups and organisations in North America, Europe, Asia and other world areas made active contributions and ran their own lists and sites. Anti-WTO protests were reported from India, Latin America, Asia and elsewhere. So this event was occurring in local place as well as in global space, with the information process involving thousands of self-educated militants, using leaflets and courses as well as electronic means. All of this work was done by and could only be done thanks to the privileged means for alternative international communication, the Web.

c) Mediating Seattle: Where Does the Truth Lie?

For most people in the world who are aware of it, the successful mass movement in Seattle, against the World Trade Organisation in particular and capitalist globalisation in general, has to have been a 'mediated experience'. But whether this mediation was by the `mass media imperialists' or the

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[44] For a sophisticated analysis of the implications of internet solidarity around the Zapatistas, see Cleaver (1999). For 'alternative' computer communication more generally, Ribeiro (1998).

[45] Susan George (2000). I am indebted to George's account. For those who believe that the Alternative is one varied but complementary whole, comparison may be made with the account of the radical journalist Alex Cockburn (1999). Cockburn sets up the movements involved in the Battle of Seattle in binary terms, of hypocritical liberals and heroic radicals. Whilst his personalised denunciations of some NGO organisations and activists provoked forceful web reactions, Cockburn does raise major questions about the AFL-CIO role, and the possible meaning of Seattle.

'alternative internationalist computer communicators', we are today required to ourselves mediate their mediations.

The international (mostly US-owned) mass media dramatised and simplified in predictable ways, and obviously concentrated on the violence against property (by two hundred self-proclaimed anarchists or, possibly provocateurs or petty-criminals) and people (mostly by the `forces of law and order'). Although customarily including neoliberal apologists, the international mass media actually provided extensive, varied - even sympathetic and insightful - coverage of the protests. They certainly did neoliberalism and the US government no special favours.

And *Newsweek* even gave an introductory page to radical cultural specialist, Todd Gitlin, to make points about the difference between '1968' and '1999' - including the presence, this time, of the unions. The paradox beneath this paradox is that Gitlin is the author of the seminal Left work on mass movements and the mass media, in which he argues that the latter had both made and broken the US New Left of 1968! Now here he is *in* an archetypical globalised capitalist medium, which is presenting a varied if problematic account of '1999'. And, to add one more layer to the paradox, one could hear, in one internationally broadcast report, demonstrators chanting 'The Whole World is Watching!' - the slogan of 1968 and the subtitle of Gitlin's book. The difference this time is that much more of the 'whole world' was watching - and that many more of this whole world were able to participate before and interpret after the event.

According to various accounts, union-organised workers represented the largest single contingent in Seattle, some 20-25,000 out of some 40,000. Although this presence was recorded and discussed in both the Dominant and Alternative media, neither the one nor the other gave it the importance it would seem to have deserved (imagine if they had been *women*, or *Latin@s*!). [46] In part this must have been because the protest was an *initiative* of the new social movements. In part it was because the AFL-CIO channelled most workers away from direct-action street protests.[47] In part it must have been because the unions still seem to believe that a march of 20,000 workers, respectably dressed and carrying posters or banners, is media-worthy, a subversive or visually exciting cultural statement![48] As for the Alternative

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[46] Out of approximately six pages of illustrations (including the front cover) in *Newsweek*, December 13, 1999, one half page shows the unionists. This amounts to under 10 percent of total photo coverage. Out of some 3.5 pages of photos in its issue of the same date (again including the front cover), *Time* devoted maybe 1/6th of a page to labour. This amounts to some four percent of total photo coverage. An earlier front cover of *Newsweek*, on November 13, was devoted to Seattle. Showing a tug of war for the world, it has blue-suited corporate executives at one side, and 1968-style hippies on the other. And this despite the front cover text which promimently lists 'Workers' Rights' amongst three or four issues in dispute.

[47] Indeed, the AFL-CIO, which has a special web page concerned to 'Make the Global Economy Work for Working Families', seems not to have known quite what to do with its own participation, containing, when I searched on February 4, 2000, speeches and declarations but no detailed report, far less celebration, of this pioneering mobilisation.

[48] Interviewing computer activist Eric Lee, at the end of 1999, Michael Dwyer made a related point. Under the title '"What do want?" "A new chant!" "When do want it?" "Now!"', we can find these words:

media, it may be that it does not itself know how to understand and come to terms with this weighty new partner - and one that may still have protectionist motives and views abhorrent to the older partners. But, whatever the case here, it is quite difficult, without a careful web search to find an Alternative media product that *prioritises* the labour presence at Seattle (see 5c above).

8. Women@Internet

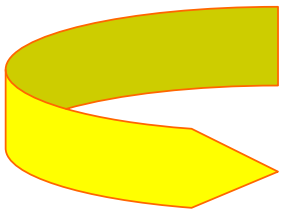
This is actually the title of one of a number of important works about women, feminism, women's movements media and cyberspace (Banks 1997, Eisenstein 1997, 1998, Harcourt 1999, Sollfrank 1999). The importance of looking at the international women's movement here is because the women's movement is one of the *new* radical-democratic ones, because of the continuing marginality of women within even the developing International LabourNet, because it is much more communication/culture-sensitive than labour has been, and because its new internationalism has been basically one of networking (there is no International Confederation of Free Women's Organisations). Moreover, as Seattle suggests, an increasingly global cyberspace makes both possible and necessary a dialogue of all radical-democratic subjects, movements and places if emancipation is to occur.

In Women@Internet (the book), a Mexican case study reflects on: 1) a Mexican girl from the popular classes receiving a computer at her coming-of-age party; 2) the exclusion or subordination of indigenous women's issues and voices from the international and internationalist Zapatista networks. In similar style, voice and mood, another piece speculates on the relationship between 1) information technology, 2) feminist activists and Third World women sexworkers in Northern cities. The case concerns the relationship between a coerced prostitute, a friendly client, his cellular phone and her family at home, the hero is…*the cellular phone* .The speculation concerns the possibility of creating local, mobile, on-street, information resource centres, providing such women with the appropriate IT to tell their own stories their own way, to receive and send in their own idiom. Both cases bring cyberspace down to earth and to labouring people. This is a relationship stressed in the same collection by Arturo Escobar, as we will shortly see.

I earlier expressed diffidence about my overlapping circles. Pilar Riaño, in a work on women and grassroots communication (Riaño 1994), suggests how one needs to, and can, produce more refined typologies, here concerning the Popular-Alternative area alone. Her typology concerns women, participation and communication, and identifies as significant types, **Development Communication** (women as subjects of information), **Participatory Communication** (women as participants), **Alternative Communication** (women as subjects of change), and **Feminist Communication** (women as producers of meaning). This is a thought-provoking typology and I only wish I had the time to re-think my own in relation to it. I do not recall such a sophisticated model being applied to labour communication (international or national). Which is a way of inviting others with time and capacity to do so…

> Creativity doesn't seem to be the strongest suit of the Left, at least not with those members of the Left charged with organising rallies. I enjoy a good rally - I'm out in the sunshine, marching down the street, and meeting like-minded people. But it would be nice to have a change now and then. (Dwyer 1999)

9. On the Necessary Dialectic Between Cyberspace and Local Place



Networks - such as women's, environmental, ethnic and other social movements networks - are the location of new political actors and the source of promising cultural practices and possibilities. It is thus possible to speak of a cultural politics of cyberspace and the production of cybercultures that resist, transform or present alternatives to the dominant virtual and real worlds. This cybercultural politics can be most effective if it fulfils two conditions: awareness of the dominant worlds that are being created by the same technologies on which the progressive networks rely (including awareness of how power works in the world of transnational networks and flows); and an ongoing tacking back and forth between cyberpolitics (political activism of the Internet) and what I call place politics, or political activism in the physical locations at which the networker sits and lives.

(Arturo Escobar 1999:32)

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Resources:

For electronic inter/national labour media listings, see:

LabourStart http://www.labourstart.org/

Congress of South African Trade Unions http://cosatu.org.za

Videos mentioned:

Global Village or Global Pillage? 26:46 mins, VHS, NTSC. $US 25, Low Income $US 10. World Economy Project, Preamble Center, 1737 21st St., NW, Washington, DC 20009, USA. Email: wep@preamble.org. Global Village website: www.villageorpillage.org

Labour Battles the WTO in Seattle '99 - Workers of the World Unite. 38 min. VHS, NTSC. $US 25. Labour Video Project, POB 425584, San Francisco, CA 94142, USA. Email: lvpsf@labornet.org.

Making the Road whilst Walking: Communication, Culture and the World Social Forum

(2005)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2005. 'Making the Road Whilst Walking: Communication, Culture and the World Social Forum', Network Institute for Global Democratisation. http://www.nigd.org/docs/MakingTheRoadWhilstWalkingPeterWaterman.]

Politics is the art of preventing people from taking part in matters that properly concern them.

(Paul Vallery 1871-1945)

the connectivity and cooperation, the solidarity and simultaneity of the movement is much more sophisticated then the debates about whether to make official declarations and joint campaigns or the arguments over open space versus organizing space
are comprehending. It is done through internet and email. It is done through free software and free radio. It is done through free information, free intellectual property, and, to the greatest extent possible under repressive rule, free movement. It is
done through network subjectivities that think of information and art and knowledge and power as something that is created in common and that must be kept moving. That not only do you not get to own it, you don't get to keep it. "It" is constantly transforming and can't be held. You are a node in the P2P [Person to Person] *network of life and you cannot win anything by accumulation in what is not a zero sum game. You only win through connection, through the ever changing and expanding network. These are the kind of subjectivities created in a global struggle. It is done everyday, by kids in Brazil downloading free software, by women in Chiapas listening to Radio Rebelde, by farmers redistributing native seed to those who have lost its genetic strain, by authors and artists copylefting their work for free distribution.*

(Mara Kaufman 2005)

There is a certain irony in suggesting a need to explore the place of knowledge management within social movements — particularly within those openly in opposition to global capital. After all, knowledge management as a discourse has commonly concerned itself with how best to 'capture' those insights and abilities that workers have to date failed to surrender to the organisation that employs them. In this respect, it stands firmly within a managerialist tradition that stretches back to Frederick Taylor's time…

(Steve Wright 2004)

Introduction[49]

This paper is intended less to evaluate, far less to theorise, the communications and culture of the World Social Forum (WSF), than to draw attention to these. My reflections are centred on one meeting of the International Council (IC) of the WSF, but I attempt both to reach back and to stretch out. The meeting I am referring is the International Council meeting of the WSF, Amsterdam/Utrecht, March-April 2005 (henceforth: Utrecht IC).

The World Social Forum has grown exponentially since its first emanation, Porto Alegre, Brazil, January 2001. It has travelled to Mumbai, India, 2004. It has taken on regional, national and local form (sometimes on local rather than global initiative). And at Porto Alegre, January 2005, there were some 150,000 people present. Despite repeated complaints of organisational confusion and political incoherence, the WSF is the most organised expression of what the linked Call, or Assembly, of Social Movements has called the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement (GJ&SM). If even a protest demonstration of the GJ&SM has to be in someway co-ordinated, even more must be such a huge, annually-recurrent and dramatically-expanding event. Management of the WSF has moved increasingly to its IC, a body created by the Brazilian Organising Committee (OC) in 2001. Initially expanded by invitation, this now has a procedure for applications, but which nonetheless allows, for example, the shells of old Communist internationals to join the numerous overlapping, self-created and state-funded NGOs, many of dubious international membership or reach. Whilst the WSF has been criticised from its various peripheries, even more has this been the case for its 'opaque', 'bureaucratic', 'reformist', 'unrepresentative', 'oligarchic', 'NGO-dominated' International Council.

I have been one of the critics, coming from somewhere on what I would call the 'emancipatory' periphery of the movement. But I have also been fairly marginal to the action-oriented expressions at this periphery, the so-called 'anarchist', 'autonomist', 'libertarian' or 'direct action' tendencies. I have, moreover, argued against setting up such categories as those above in Manichean or even binary-oppositional terms. And I have co-edited a collection on the WSF, of a rather pluralistic nature, which thus included contributions from the Brazil-based Organising Committee, from IC members and from the WSF's various peripheries, including its Leninist/Maoist one (Sen et. al. 2004a, b, c, 2005). And it should be added that this critical publication project would never have come to fruition had it not been for funding from the distinctly-incrementalist Dutch development funding agency, Novib/Oxfam, itself dependent on the Dutch state for maybe 70 percent of its income. (Things were easier when the Left - however self-defined, basically self-funded -could unambiguously oppose itself to the Right - however specified - supported by capital and state)!

My attendance at this IC meeting was itself marked by the ambiguities common to the WSF. Resident in the Netherlands, I was asked to take part in the IC Communication Commission by the Network Institute for Global Democratisation (NIGD), a tiny Helsinki-based academic network, itself overwhelmingly Finnish in membership and also heavily oriented toward the incremental reform of the interstate institutions. The NIGD, however, has also one major social movement interest, this being the WSF itself (Teivainen 2003), of whose IC it is a long-standing, active and vocal member. NIGD has also, in my experience, been the most consistent public reporter on the IC (see http://www.nigd. org/wsf

[49] Acknowledgements for provision of provocation, documentation, commentary, etc, to Gina Vargas (Lima), Teivo Teivainen (Helsinki/Lima), Sally Burch (Quito) and Andrej Grubacic (Binghamton), Ruby van der Wekken (Brazil/Helsinki). Even though the first two named were responsible for my presence in Utrecht and therefore, directly or indirectly, for this paper, I cannot, regretably, hold them responsible for the outcome.

/1114451710/index_html). My personal qualifications for taking part in the Communications Commission are limited to the following: a long-standing interest in 'internationalist communication' and a 'global solidarity culture'; and repeated criticism of the WSF for what has seemed to me its surprising communicational/cultural limitations (Waterman 2005).

I say surprising *firstly* because the WSF has come into existence during the epoch of what might be called a 'communications internationalism', *secondly* because of the cultural/communicational fecundity of the GJ&SM in general. This is suggested in its major manifestations, such as solidarity with the Zapatistas (Olesen 2005), the protest events in Seattle, Prague, and local ones worldwide (Notes from Nowhere 2003a). The general movement, in large part, does not so much *use* the new media as *live* them – in the sense of understanding the potential and significance of such media for the articulation (meaning both joining and expression) of its events and processes. Juris (2004) argues for the concept of a

> 'cultural logic of networking' to characterise the broad guiding principles, shaped by the logic of informational capitalism, which are internalised by activists and generate concrete networking practices… [T]his specifically involves an embedded and embodied set of social and cultural dispositions that orient actors toward: 1) building horizontal ties and connections among diverse, autonomous elements, 2) the free and open circulation of information, 3) collaboration through decentralised coordination and directly democratic decision-making, and 4) self-directed networking...*In practice, networking logics are unevenly distributed and exist in dynamic tension with other competing logics, generating a complex "cultural politics of networking" within concrete movement spheres*. [My emphasis – PW]

I emphasise the last sentence because whilst the WSF may be run and attended by networks, and networks of networks, it has seemed to me to function more like a coalition of collaborating NGOs, these often acting more as organisations/institutions which maybe require some cultural or communicational *service or expression*. Mark Poster (1995), asks whether cyberspace is a Hammer or Germany. My feeling is that it is a Hammer (tool), an existing Culture (Germany), but also Utopia (a non-existing but desirable place/space, that we ourselves must invent). (Waterman 2000, 2001).

I am going to have to leave out of consideration most of the major forms of communication coming out of the Forums, whether printed, audio or visual. For such resources, I refer readers to the documents and listings in Sen et. al. (2004a:372-95, 2004b, 2005, Fisher and Ponniah 2003 and Observatorio Social de América Latina 2005:249-313 – which covers other Latin American forums).

The state of play

Early WSFs have been largely dependent for *internal communication* (but also for that to a wider public) on an official website and lists that were and are often limited, http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id_menu=13&cd_ language =2. On one of these sites is a 'Library of Alternatives', but the material here is frequently out of date, the principles of selection are obscure, the language of publication may be only Portuguese, and there is no visible human editor to whom one could submit entries or complain. Having on one occasion apparently discovered the gatekeepers, I did get an item of my own posted…and later removed (a painless extraction, given that this is not really a discussion site). The site looks good, and serves certain purposes, but as a place for exchange of ideas? Well, opacity and arbitrariness rule. A little-known, briefly existent but thought-provoking Yahoo Group list, *WSFItself* (requiring a password) was apparently inspired by Chico Whitaker, a leading figure from the Brazilian OC and the IC.

For its *external communication*, but also for participants and possibly also for committee members, the WSF has been largely dependent on a number of services, mostly of allied NGOs or 'alternative' media operations, of which the InterPress Service (IPS) seems to have been the key one. These have included a daily three-language Forum newspaper, *Terra Viva*, which currently has an online emanation at http://www.ipsnews.net/fsm2003/index.shtml, *Planeta Porto Alegre*, a six-language website http://www.planetaportoalegre.net/publique/, itself linked with *Other Words/Other Eyes*, which present analyses of general global issues. This is not to ignore *Ciranda* (market? exchange?), which describes itself currently as 'International Independent Information Exchange', http://www.ciranda.net/cgi-bin/twiki/view/Portugues/WebHome?sticklanguage=Portugues. This attempts to provide services for the alternative media present at the forums but, despite a multilingual interface, is a largely Brazilian operation. Amongst its international partners or supporters is the IPS. (Compare with *Women's Media Pool* below).

One person responsible for all these external communication activities has been Roberto Savio, the now-retired founder of IPS who, as a member of the IC, is the WSF's most prominent media specialist http://www.ips.org/structure/ general/rsavio.shtml. Savio also has - if I am not confused by another 'other' - a personal list, on global issues, *Other News* http://www.other-net.info/index.php. Although he, in correspondence, separates this last effort from those to do with the WSF more directly, others (other others?) may be inclined to see these as overlapping projects.

One awaits independent analysis of the form, subjects, discourse, reach and impact of all this activity. It is my impression that it is heavily weighted toward the incrementalist tendency within the Forum, which, given Savio's career, http://www.ems-sema.org/forolac/cvs/savio.htm, balancing or alternating between UN and other such institutions or media projects, on the one hand, and the WSF, on the other, should be no cause for surprise. These media projects are not interactive, in the sense of enabling feedback or dialogue. Yet, without all the above-listed activities, the media profile of the WSF would be low or flat, with international coverage largely confined to fifty alternative media efforts, each with its own viewers or readers.

Communications proposals

Savio has also, I believe, been the earliest and most persistent campaigner for a WSF communications policy. This began with a discussion document several years ago (Savio 2002). Another document, this time budgeted, and with the contributions of IC commentators recorded, came to my eyes early-2005. This is an undated memo, apparently emanating from an earlier CC of the IC, but apparently also at least co-authored by Savio (Comisión de Comunicación 2005). In so far as this latter document was clearly meant for IC members, the contributors are indicated by first names only: Sally (Burch of ALAI, a longstanding alternative communications centre in Latin America), Gustavo (Codas of the OC and CUT, the latter being the major trade union centre in Brazil), Carola (Reintjes of a Solidarity Economy network) and Antonio (Martins of the OC, of Attac and, previously, *Le Monde Diplomatique*, or *Diplo* in Brazil), etc. Savio's latest effort has come *after* the Utrecht IC meeting I attended and was concerned with the future of the WSF more generally. A section on communication says in part:

> I will finish my paper mentioning the case of information and communication as an emblematic [significant? characteristic? PW] evidence of our ineffectiveness. We cannot have 1,700 journalists attending each WSF, of which at least 600 come from the media, and accept the highly discouraging results of coverage in the media in each forum. But, all the proposals we've [Savio himself? PW] made on how to provide content mechanisms for the…journalists, have been rejected under the slogan: 'nobody delegates to anybody'…Another act of irresponsibility and selfishness is that we haven't even tried to create a communication mechanism between the

> WSF and the huge amounts of people that share our worries, and would like to receive information about what happens in our forums. Not to say, that those who think the WSF is a process, not an event, think we have done nothing to communicate the experiences and visions of each Forum with the others that are carried out on the same year. In 2006, with this Kafkaesque invention of a forum in four countries… the lack of communication will be a schizophrenic process. But communication means organization, participation, and debate of ideas, the lack of which is emblematic. There is another myth: we don't need organisation, since despite the errors, the movement rectifies them along the way and continues with its task. We cannot spend years fighting against the theory of the invisible hand of the market, and still think that we have another invisible hand that will solve everything. I challenge anyone to demonstrate that this will happen in information and communication. http://listas.rits.org.br/mailman /listinfo/ wsfic_fsmci.

That the communication issue has been hanging for two to three years could be understood in various ways: as revealing IC concern with a proposal that appeared too institutional and/or centralising (the Savio charge?), or too expensive (circa US$ 140,000 in the Comisión de Comunicación 2005 document), or as indicating IC underestimation of the *centrality* of communication to the WSF. I prefer to think that this third reason is the underlying one. But to also consider that it would have been preferable for the IC to have approved the first, personal, proposal of Savio – an experiment from which we could have at least learned something – than to do nothing and have to begin at this late moment. Like it or not, social movements *do* need knowledge-management.

The late moment

I found the initial commissions and the later plenary session of the Utrecht IC both prolonged and chaotic – which must have to do with my background in organisations and committees of the traditional bureaucratic kind. So I was later impressed with the systematic report of the Utrecht meeting, which I received just a couple of weeks later (World Social Forum Secretariat 2005). As for the CC itself, I was so impressed by its speed and efficiency that I failed to be delighted by it. We had, as I have suggested, three or four documents on the table, most of which appeared there for the first time and in Spanish (a language I read well enough but have difficulty with listening to or speaking). I had prepared myself on the basis of the now outdated document (Comisión de Comunicación 2005). But it was the new and briefer documents that appeared to be now under discussion. What came out of the surprisingly brief and amicable exchange, between the five or ten of us, was an impressively brief report to the IC plenary session.

This, it seems to me, is a broad and professional proposal, welcome in its apparent openness to those media projects outside the WSF itself. What, however, seems to me most significant for the future of WSF communication work may be what is *not* there spelled out and what is *postponed*. Not spelled out are the financial implications. Postponed to another moment (or level?) of WSF communications policy was decision on the detailed proposals made in the three documents tabled but hardly discussed. Or, for that matter, a document I only received after the Utrecht IC was over.

However, there is in existence yet another level or instance of communications initiative, the 'Brazilian Organising Committee's Communication Working Group'. This is not some clandestine operation, nor does it have any hidden agenda. On the contrary, it would seem to provide a model for local Organising Commitee communication work during other editions of the WSF. The Brazilian document provides another set of relevant links to activity occurring in the WSF2005 in Porto Alegre. It was not, however, on the table in Utrecht. Savio appears, from the quotation above, somewhat less sanguine than the Brazilian OC about the communications achievements of the last WSF. In so far as I

did not attend WSF2005 and was therefore required to follow this on BBC World TV and Radio, as well as through the 'alternative' international media, I am inclined to think that if there were such media/communication successes at WSF2005 as the Brazilian CC document reports, these must have been largely confined to the forum itself, to Porto Alegre or to Brazil.

We need, further, I think, to recognise the existence of other communications projects, tools or activities related to the WSF and its IC or to IC members.

The *first* is an IC instrument which might have preceded Utrecht but might have been given a new impulse by that meeting. This is the WsfToolsWiki at http://www.wsftools.ras.eu.org/wikini/wakka.php?wiki=HomePage. A Wiki is a Web tool, increasingly used amongst the internet-literate, and which allows for the discussion or collective editing of texts. Its best-known emanation is, perhaps, the Wikipedia, a collectively-edited, free, multilingual encyclopaedia. This explains that:

> A **Wiki** or **wiki**...is a web application that allows users to add content, as on an Internet forum, but also allows *anyone* to edit the content. "Wiki" also refers to the collaborative software used to create such a website (*see* Wiki software).

Those interested in seeing how the WSF has been so far presented in Wikipedia can consult, or amend or improve, it at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_social_forum. The Wiki is a rather sophisticated communication device, with which computer-savvy 14-year-olds are likely to feel more rapidly at home than 70-year-olds – computer-savvy or not. The potential of WsfToolsWiki, also for *communicating about communication issues*, may be suggested by the page on the Barcelona Forum, http://www.wsftools.ras.eu.org/wikini/wakka.php?wiki=English_Version. This will probably, however, be as confusing to Wiki newcomers as to WSF newcomers, whether from the IC or not. They would be well advised to first visit, explore or play with the WSF Wiki at the previously listed URL.

Whilst I welcome IC adoption of this new and potentially democratic communications tool, I cannot but conclude that the growing complexity/sophistication of both the Wiki and the IC itself requires that the IC treat such as requiring significant educational/popularisation work within both the IC and the WSF community more widely. In the absence of this, specialisation and professionalisation will be inevitable, thus leading to the technocracy and hierarchy that the WSF itself has been seeking to surpass. Another requirement revealed by both the IC proceedings and the IC's new Wiki is mutually comprehensible translation. Familiar as I am with both French and Spanish, I have found myself struggling to comprehend translations into English of the terms (from Brazilian Portuguese?) which may, or may not, be comprehensible to those familiar with IC meetings. Work on a relevant multilingual vocabulary is underway. And the Utrecht IC report itself incorporates a definition of terms used in its own proceedings. Moreover, there exists, as an increasingly crucial part of the WSF community, the efforts of a voluntary network of translators/interpreters, Babels http://www.babels.org/. A discussion of this not only points to other projects and technologies (for which I provide URLs) but reveals that translation/interpretation is being conceived by its practitioners *as a problem of social emancipation*:

> Babels issued a number of critical public statements and nearly pulled out of the London ESF [October 2004] on several occasions. Th[e] fact that Babels stepped back from the brink each time was partly due to the fact that reaching a consensus to walk away is far harder than agreeing to get involved, especially in a a network bringing together people from different backgrounds and perspectives. Moreover, the UK coordinators of Babels who agreed to participate in this year's ESF did so with their political eyes wide open. The reality is that the Social Forums – and especially the ESF – are not politically 'pure' spaces where everyone works together in mutual

> respect and harmony. They are instead political battlegrounds where self-interested factions fight for leadership and control and are met with resistance from those opposed to vanguardism. Babels thus currently accepts that the innovations and alternatives being generated by projects like itself and and Nomad [http://www.babels.org/imprimer.php3?id_article=77] come not only through the annual process of organising the ESF and WSF, but also in struggle against those within them. And whatever the shortcomings of the organisation of this year's ESF, we still managed to gain an enormous amount of knowledge and experience that we will now share with future processes, particularly through adding value to the Lexicon [http://www.babels.org/lexicons/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=24] and Sitprep [http://www.babels.org/a243.html] projects. Most importantly, pulling out would have stopped the ESF from taking place – this was not a decision that Babels alone should have the power or right to make. (Boéri and Hodkinson 2005)

The *second* project I consider of considerable significance since it suggests, if successful, the possibility of holding consultations at distance, in principle therefore open to a wider circle of participants. This is an electronic chat exercise. I have not myself previously taken part in such. Once again a Wikipedia definition may be helpful:

> Online chat is a generic term for what are now mostly known as instant messaging applications—computer programs that enable two-way typing to connect users to each other…Today there are many chatrooms, some incorporating instant messaging features without having to install additional chat software…Some of these systems also provide telephone voice mail access. These are usually known generically as just chat systems […] A chat log is a record of a chat. Sometimes this is put on the web. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Online_chat.

The invitation to take part in this was received by me whilst I was drafting this paper. The announcement arrived indirectly, having been addressed to a WSF IC list, wsfic_fsmci@listas.rits.org.br, May 6, 2005, and combined Utrecht documentation, the now customarily acerbic note from Roberto Savio, ('It is ironic that a commission of communication cannot find its way to communicate...let us do it in the most simple way, via email'), and the following proposed agenda:

1. Comments and observations on the CC meeting report
2. Comments on plans presented by Sally Burch and by Roberto Savio
3. Proposals for implementation of the plans
4. Financial issues
5. New proposals for adoption prior to Barcelona
6. Any other matters

This was to take place for an hour a day, May 9-15, at 1430 GMT. Before hypothetical contributors could find their way to the Chat site, however, the proposed discussion was moved to yet another mode, a Blog http://wsfcom.blogspot.com/! A Blog, this particular service informs us, is

> a personal diary. A daily pulpit. A collaborative space. A political soapbox. A breaking-news outlet. A collection of links. Your own private thoughts. Memos to the world.
>
> Your blog is whatever you want it to be. There are millions of them, in all shapes and sizes, and there are no real rules.

> In simple terms, a blog is a web site, where you write stuff on an ongoing basis. New stuff shows up at the top, so your visitors can read what's new. Then they comment on it or link to it or email you. Or not.
>
> Since Blogger was launched, almost five years ago, blogs have reshaped the web, impacted politics, shaken up journalism, and enabled millions of people to have a voice and connect with others.

Jason Nardi, who proposed the movement of discussion to this mode, clearly thought it the most accessible and flexible for IC discussion purposes. And, by Friday, May 19, several visible contributions had already provoked 10-20 comments. I also received the proposal, this time on the 'old-fashioned' WSF IC CC list, Wsfic-communication@listas.rits.org.br, that the discussion continue for another week or so. Nardi, who was not present in Utrecht, appeared from his mailings to be an IC veteran. Based in Florence and connected with One World Net, http://www.oneworld.net/, and campaigns for the democratisation of international communication, www.crisinfo.org, Nardi seems, by default, to have become the coordinator and animator of this post-Utrecht process. The electronic discussion process seemed, from mailings, to have stimulated the contributions of various media groups and individuals likewise absent in Utrecht. I cannot here go into detail, nor do I wish to evaluate this exercise, which was on-going as I tried to complete this paper. My initial impression is that we are witnessing only the very beginning of an effort to move the IC, or at least its Communication Commission, from a geographical place to a cyberspace.

The *third* project I want to mention here was emailed to me by Christophe Aguiton, long associated with Attac-France and with Left unionism there, a leading figure in the Trotskyist 4th International, and a longstanding member of the IC. I have been given to understand, in correspondence with Teivo Teivainen, that it actually represents a merger between different WSF-related projects for more systematic collaboration between movement-oriented intellectuals/activists from Latin America, Europe and North America, some associated with the IC, others not. Those involved in such efforts include Teivo himself, Immanuel Wallerstein (USA), Anibal Quijano (Peru), Moema Miranda, Ze Correa (both Brazil), Boaventura de Sousa Santos (Portugal), Hilary Wainright (UK), Marco Berlinguer (Italy) and Mayo Fuster (Catalonia). The last pair of these have themselves taken the initiative in creating the Guide for Social Transformation in Europe: ESF and Surroundings, http://www.euromovements. info/english/who.htm.[50]

What I will continue in this paper to call the Aguiton initiative is an 'Activists Researchers Website', based on a Wiki, http://www.criticalnetwork.org/wakka.php ?wiki=MainPage. Intended as an online forum for activists and researchers, this had, a month or so after launch, not taken off. For those interested in learning about Wikis, however, its simple design might be less daunting than that of the IC. The Aguiton project also reveals a common feature of the WSF, the manner in which even leading members of the IC feel free to simultaneously express themselves in autonomous media or even organise themselves in ways that clearly both overlap with, yet can exercise independent influence, on both that committee and the WSF more generally. This has been already suggested above in the case of Roberto Savio. Christophe Aguiton is a leading figure within the Call of Social Movements, the action-oriented expression of the WSF, from which other IC members have tried to distance or distinguish the WSF as such. Whatever the confusion such multi-vocality might create in the minds of external

[50] No apology here for naming individuals and sketching backgrounds. This is unavoidable when discussing an organisation-in-formation, like the WSF and its committees, during a period in which the bodies from which committee members are drawn may themselves be of an uncertain or changing character – partly as a result of their involvement with the WSF!

observers (of which I have been one), this has to be considered a sign of a new networking rather than old institutional mode of operation.

Finally, we need to at least record the overlap between WSF communication concerns, in the narrow sense given by the IC's CC, and other areas, dealt with in other commissions. And then we need to consider the relationship of all this with culture in more general senses.

The *overlapping areas*, partly recognised as such, include 'Methodology', which has in large part to do with how to WSFs should be programmed, and 'Memory', which has to do with documentation, archives and attempts to get participant organisations/networks to both record their evaluations and make proposals directed toward future forums. It is worth noting the latter, http://www.memoria-viva.org/fsm05/indexen.htm. On this page, entitled 'Social Forum's Living Memory', we can find 'WSF 2005's Wall of Proposals', this apparently being a site on which those registered for that forum can publish, read and research proposals for future WSFs. When I searched, there were over 300 such proposals. I searched for 'labour', in three languages – surely an important human activity, site of alienation, and of significant human protest activity - and found very little indeed. Nor was there too much either on 'women', apart from a contribution from the World March of Women. Moreover, this process seemed to attract, overwhelmingly, Brazilian contributions. Apart from this geographical/ cultural/linguistic bias, there are two inbuilt restrictions on the nature of contributions. One is that they appear to have been structured according to existing themes of the WSF. The other that the form hardly encourages more than the briefest of proposals http://www.memoria-viva.org/bdf/listeespaces_en.html. One can only assume that significant groups, organisations and even individual participants prefer to make their proposals, or consider that can have greater impact, elsewhere. Thus, for example, an individual such as Samir Amin, a veteran anti-imperialist theorist and a leading figure in the World Forum of Alternatives, has published his critique of, and offers his alternative for, the WSF elsewhere (Amin 2005). The same is the case for such an organisation as the traditional international union organisations (European Trade Union Confederation 2005). Such open and collective spaces as that represented by the Wall of Proposals will need to become much more sophisticated if they are to not so much compete with traditional individual or institutional commentary and proposals but attract them.

Not yet a cultural revolution

This leads onto a major area unrecognised within at least the Utrecht IC. It seems to me that the IC, and the WSF itself, suffer from certain kinds of *cultural blindness.* I mean this in two senses. The first relates to culture in its traditional or commonsense understanding, the second in its relationship to the political.

The *first sense* has to do with cultural expression - plastic arts, banners, song, theatre, dance, street performance, film, posters, videos, CDs, DVDs and computerised multi-media production. The WSFs are, it seems to me, surprisingly weak here, particularly when one considers their base in Brazil, a country rich in cultural expression and counter-cultural expression (Vandresen 1993). Even in Mumbai, where there was apparently a surfeit of popular cultural self-expression, at least one critic pointed out that this was the sphere of the local popular sectors, distinct from that of the spoken or written word, largely in English (D'Souza 2004).

My point of comparison with the WSFs here, paradoxical though it may seem, would be the international Communist movement in its emancipatory moment, up to the 1930s. Exemplifying this period would be the songs of Bertold Brecht and Hanns Eisler, two giants of world high culture, who produced musically innovatory but popular words and music, for the movement, that could be and were

spread worldwide. English speakers can consult Eisler, under the Resources, where they will find samples of music they can play on their computers, using the freely downloadable Real Player. Readers can also seek out the brilliant video on the life of Eisler (Solidarity Song 1997). Much of the music is in march time, clearly intended to accompany demonstrations and revolutions. It also presents a Manichean worldview. This was in terms of capitalist/worker, capitalism/socialism, capitalism-fascism-war/*eine sozialistische weltrepublik* (a socialist world republic). This worldview might be literally out of tune with the aspirations and practices of a contemporary international and internationalist movement that has 'one no and many yesses'. Yet it raises the question of why neither the GJ&SM nor the WSF have yet found their Brechts and Eislers. (For a more critical view of international Communist cultural activity in this period see Waterman 2004).

A notable exception, at least in my experience of the WSFs, has been the activities of the Articulación Feminista Marcosur. This presented its campaign against fundamentalisms not only through the customary panels but also through hoardings, masks, balloons, and a five-minute Flash programme on CD, with a total of only about 100 words (divided between English and Spanish) projected to much applause at WSF2003 in Porto Alegre (Articulación Feminista Marcosur 2003). Unfortunately, however, the characteristic mode of communication, reproduced at the ESF, London, 2004, has been *the panel* – a few-to-many form of a strikingly non-dialogical nature.

I mean culture in a *second sense*, that of understanding the WSF in cultural terms. This matter is discussed by Michal Osterweil (2004), in an argument that clearly relates to the earlier-mentioned one of Jeff Juris. Osterweil herself finds the WSFs culturally innovative and rich, but argues that

> despite the fact that the salience of culture to the WSF is more than evident, for the most part, the implications of this centrality have either been underestimated or have not been fully understood. More often than not, culture is perceived – notably, by many who have substantial influence within the Forum process – as subordinate to more serious political issues. As such, cultural elements such as diversity, internal democracy, epistemology, narratives, etc., are conceived of as desirable, but not nearly as important as the 'real' political issues at stake. (496)

Whilst not ignoring the meaning of culture as artistic expression, Osterweil is here primarily criticising a traditional understanding of the political and arguing for a 'cultural-political' approach to the WSFs. This approach is intended to subvert traditional liberal (and Left) understandings, practices and structures of 'the political', understandings that still inform much of what goes on in the WSFs. Her own approach is summarised as having the following implications:

> 1) Pointing to the importance of organisational form and political structure. This includes working towards internal democracy, the use of networks, as well as opposition to hierarchical and institutionalised political organisations. It is also related to a focus on the micro-processes of daily life, including social relations, the production of subjectivity, as well as many other aspects of daily life that are usually excluded from political reasoning. 2) Placing a high value on diversity and multiplicity… 3) And finally, working towards disrupting dominant truths and creating new narratives and notions of value. This is often done through the use of art and carnival, as well as other forms of communication that try to tell new stories and create new meanings about social reality. (504)

Osterweil believes that such understandings and practices are easier to find at the margins of the WSFs, amongst the so-called 'horizontals'. And she makes specific reference to three instances of such, Intergalaktica at the WSF, Porto Alegre, 2003 (see further below), the Hub at the ESF, Florence 2002 (for which see http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/space/hubproject.htm), and the Globalisation des

luttes et actions de désobéissance at the ESF (GLAD, Globalisation of Actions of Disobedience. Paris 2003. http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/free/wsf/paris2003 /evaluation.htm).

The precise, or even imprecise, nature of these events or processes, is not dealt with in the Osterweil article, and therefore must be sought for in the Links or the Resources (including such as Jones 2003, Nunez 2005). But what they appear to represent (or re-present?) are anarchist/libertarian/autonomist happenings, mostly of a loosely-structured kind, often themselves based on or demonstrating (computerised) networking in its more radical forms, as well as exhibiting or learning cultural/communicational techniques, whether electronic or not. Despite the possibly Manichean opposition, in some libertarian declarations, between Horizontals and Verticals, an Intergalaktica event, in the Youth Camp at the WSF2005, Porto Alegre, was apparently the site of a discussion, proposed by the NIGD. It was attended by such IC stalwarts or WSF personalities as Teivo Teivainen, Michael Hardt, Meena Menon, Chico Whitaker, Moema Miranda, Gina Vargas, Thomas Ponniah and Immanuel Wallerstein (See Nunez, Dowling and Juris 2005, and photos at http://www.yachana.org/ reports/wsf5/fotos/jan30.html). Although a couple of the participants have informed me that this meeting was for them a highlight of WSF2005, I have yet to see any extensive account. The point, however, is that such marginal or even 'satellite' events (meaning outside the official place, as in the London ESF, 2004) are open to, or overlap with, the more central spaces. And vice versa. Yet the absence of any public reporting by the influentials/notables means that any learning process from this encounter remains amongst them.

The Osterweil piece includes interesting and relevant discussion on the difference between a 'political-cultural' and a 'cultural-politics' approach to the WSF. The first might concern itself with the difference, in traditional Left discourse, between the political culture of Right and Left, which would not necessarily note or criticise the Left for occupying the positions or reproducing the cultural practices of the Right. The latter, as indicated in the quotation from Osterweil above, suggests the possibility and necessity for what I would rather call an 'emancipatory cultural practice' – i.e. a recognition that struggles for emancipation increasingly take cultural rather than political form. I think, in any case, that we need to de-naturalise 'the political', recognising that, as with 'political-economy' in the classical Marxist critique, this indicates both an alienating practice *and* a mystifying discourse.

Another World of Communications is *in Existence!*

Although some mention is made of the media of the general GJ&SM in the documentation of the WSF-IC, these seem to be almost as marginal to the ongoing concerns of the IC as is the GJ&SM to the WSF itself.

Somewhere in the abundant documentation of the IC CC mention is made of an offer by Michael Albert, of the US-based *Znet*, http://www.zmag.org/weluser.htm, to host a WSF communication effort. Znet is a highly-professional and well-respected independent socialist site, and Albert promoted the ambitious 'Life after Capitalism' programme at WSF 2003 http://www.zmag.org/lac.htm. There is little doubt in my mind that Znet could host much of the WSF efforts for far less than the $140,000 – the only estimate we so far have for a systematic WSF communication project.

Choike (Mapuche for Southern Star) describes itself as 'a portal on South civil societies' and is based in Montevideo, Uruguay, http://www.choike.org/. It belongs, in my mind and memory, as belonging to the same wave of alternative international communication work as IPS. It is an attractive, well-presented two-language site (Spanish, English) that has as its main rubrics People, Society, Environment, Communication and Globalisation. But it also indicates such different types of material as a Directory and In-Depth Reports. The latter are of particular interest in so far as they cover not only

many, if not all, of the topics coming up at the WSF but also the WSF itself. The index page on the WSF 2005, moreover, contains much of the discussion around the event, and links to previous editions of the forum and other relevant matters. Indeed, Choike carries most of the book on the Forum I co-edited in 2004, http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/1557.html. And it has published several other items of my own, and various other pieces I have recommended. However, Choike has also done In-Depth reports on matters not so well covered by the WSF, in particular, Global Labour Rights, http://www.choike. org/nuevo_eng/informes/1872.html, where it goes far wider that this subject as legally understood. I mention Choike, finally, because of its proximity (overnight by bus) to Porto Alegre. It seems to me that it could be approached by the IC CC both as a possible carrier of WSF material and as a contributor to discussion on IC communication policy.

Mention is made in WSF-IC CC documentation of the *Independent Media Centre* (IndyMedia, IMC), the dispersed multi-media network, now operating in maybe 50 countries and all continents, appearing in 20 or more languages – and reaching into a zone largely isolated from the WSF, the ex-Communist world. At least one such node, in Brazil, publishes not only in Portuguese but also in English, Spanish and Esperanto (once favoured in the international labour movement as an internationalist language). IMC was actually a creation of the GJ&SM, having been born during the Battle of Seattle, 1999. This suggests a greater intimacy with the more general movement than that of the WSF.

Indymedia has been written about journalistically and also researched (Notes from Nowhere 2003b, Coyer 2005, Morris 2004). It also researches itself (Indymedia Documentation Project 2005)! And here describes itself *as* a movement. Finally, it encourages independent academic research on itself, whilst urging or requiring researchers to themselves act and publish in a manner consistent with Indymedia principles. Such principles are presented in summary by Morris (see **Appendix 4)**. They seem to me of interest in so far as they touch on issues of structure, coordination and democracy that arose at the WSF IC in Utrecht.

Things are still changing within IMC. Discussion on the principles and practices of Indymedia continue unabated http://docs.indymedia.org/view/ Global/PrinciplesOfUnity. Indymedia demonstrates a complex, sophisticated and technically advanced model of not only international/ist communication but emancipatory culture. It should be considered by the Communications Committee of the WSF and others concerned with WSF communication and cultural practice. And it should be surely also systematically involved in the development of a WSF model. Amongst other interesting and relevant features of Indymedia functioning are that its international decision-making, in so far as this exists, itself takes place in virtual space rather than in the kind of repeated, frequent, expensive *and therefore inevitably selective* meeting places of the WSF IC. A good majority of WSF IC members were, fortunately perhaps, unable or unwilling to attend at Utrecht.

In so far as digital radio broadcasting over the internet is becoming an increasingly interesting medium for international/ist communication (Lee 2005), a recent model, appropriate for events-cum-processes like the WSF would seem to be offered by the *Women's Media Pool* at the Beijing +10 Conference held in New York, 2005, http://www.womensmediapool.org/. Whilst the pool included radio it covered alternative international women's media more generally. That particular exercise has been evaluated by Maria Suarez Toro, a veteran of the feminist Radio Fire, based in Costa Rica, who has been previously active within the WSF and also written on autonomous international women's encounters (Suarez Toro 2002, 2004, 2005). Once again, the purpose of mentioning this project is to suggest the range of resources, experience and expertise available to those concerned with developing WSF communications. It would appear that there is little reason why there should not be a permanent international WSF radio or - on the model of Indymedia and the Media Pool - a network of such.

Conclusions

I am aware of having here written an unstructured paper, shifting between impression, reflection, intervention and even conceptualisation. This, as my opening words might suggest, was not my intention. The unsystematic form has to do with writing in the middle of this WSF IC *tsunami*, trying to both keep afloat and to find bearings. My major concern has been to negotiate between the devastating initial quotation from Vallery, the ironic realism of Wright, the new emancipatory thinking on culture and communication…and my own title. If I attended Utrecht, and started this paper, from a position of considerable scepticism with respect to the IC, and with few expectations of its CC, I feel obliged to conclude, at least provisionally, that *this* road is made by walking.

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PART IV

THE GLOBAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT AND WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

Social Movements, 'Old' and 'New', and the Augean Stables of Global Governance

(2006)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 2006. 'Union Organisations, Social Movements and the Augean Stables of Global Governance', Warwick University, Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation, Working Paper 211/06. http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/csgr/]

The Augean Stable was one of the Twelve Labours of Hercules. Hercules's task was to clean out a stable that had been soiled by years of neglect. Hercules succeeded by using a boulder to gouge out a trench, diverting a river through the stable.
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Augean_Stable

Introduction

After the unacknowledged failure of its 15-year campaign to obtain a 'social clause' (international labour rights) within the hegemonic global institutions of capitalist free trade, the traditional international union organisations are now reproducing its logic in a whole series of 'social partnership' initiatives at global level.

Prominent amongst these is their commitment to 'global governance'.[51] This project, however, comes from a UN system trying to make itself functional to capitalist globalisation (Corporate Watch 1999, Judge 2001). It therefore originates with forces outside and above the unions. The unions are addressing themselves to hegemonic capitalist and interstate instances, and are doing so by lobbying.

Today this dependent orientation is increasingly challenged by a global justice and solidarity movement, more interested in the democratisation of the global, and primarily involved in public consciousness-raising and mobilisation. The new movement, moreover, operates in places and spaces, with forms and understandings that relate rather to a contemporary globalised and informatised capitalism than the old one which gave rise and shape to the unions.

[51] At the conference to which this paper was presented an earlier presentation was made by Ulrich Brand (2006), so far available only in abstract or PowerPoint form. This is a paper definitely complementary to my own but rather more theoretical and, therefore, rather more far-reaching. I look forward to its appearance in print and will resist the temptation to respond to its provisional forms here.

If they are to effectively advance – even effectively defend - worker rights and power under the new global conditions, the international unions will have to abandon the discourse of global governance for that of global democracy, and operate on the terrains of this new movement.

This argument is advanced by consideration, firstly, of the position on global governance of the traditional union organisations, secondly, that of the new movement, as revealed in a wide range of movement positions, thirdly, by consideration of the new places, spaces and forms of emancipatory thought and action. The conclusion suggests that even if the hegemonic international union institutions are here reproducing an unacknowledged error, the historical social-democratic tradition can still make a specific contribution to global democratisation.

1. The 'traditional international trade union organisations' and 'global governance'

I will be here talking about 'traditional international trade union organisations' (briefly TIUs) because they are *old* (originating a century or more ago, during the national, industrial, colonial phase of capitalism), are literally *inter*-national (being confederations of nationally-based and nationally-oriented unions) and are *formal institutions* (as distinguished from looser or networked movements). But I will also distinguish individual organisations where appropriate. Indeed, in talking about attitudes to global governance, it is difficult to avoid starting with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) the associated Global Union Federations (for separate or related industries), themselves parts of the Global Unions (GU) network. These form the dominant contemporary international union alliance.

The ICFTU, its affiliates and associates are heavily committed to the notion of 'social partnership' - those between labour on the one hand, capital and/or state on the other. And they are energetically promoting these at the regional and global level. This has so far been done without consideration of why such partnerships are in crisis, or have failed, at *national* level, where workers have had more power (at least over their unions). Nor has there been argument, as distinguished from assumption, about why they should succeed at the regional or global levels (where they are much more in the minds and hands of union officers). 'Social partnership' has always meant the subordinate contribution of labour, as junior partner, to the development of capitalism and the state, as senior partners.[52] Indeed, it has to be asked whether it was not faith in the ideology of social partnership at national level that was responsible for, or at least facilitated, neo-liberal globalisation - the rise and rise of an aggressive, destructive and anti-democratic capitalist world order.

The TIUs are heavily committed to the International Labour Organisation's (ILO's) World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation. This was a commission with some 26 members, of which only two are from trade unions (General Secretaries of the South African Cosatu and the US AFL-CIO), and two from 'civil society'. The other 24 or so are (ex-)Presidents, CEOs, Academics, a British (Labour) Lord and other representatives of the global elite. Whereas labour has a 25 percent representation within the ILO as a whole, it had here less than 10 percent. The World Commission's

[52] A recent example of such subordinate partnership would be the World Bank's Poverty Reduction Strategies (PRSs). The ICFTU encouraged national union participation in this process, publishing a handbook on just how they should do this (ICFTU 2001). The ICFTU thanked the AFL-CIO and its Solidarity Centre and the German Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung for their assistance in developing the booklet. The PRSs could have been seen *from the beginning* as a participatory figleaf for World Bank imposition of structural adjustment policies on Third World countries. Detailed empirical evaluation has now demonstrated that this is the case (Gould 2005). I am not aware of any ICFTU re-evalution in the light of such criticism.

report is perhaps the most important argument for a global neo-Keynesianism – a globalised capitalism with redistribution from growth. Unlike Keynes himself in a less-mealy-mouthed period, however, the Commission confines the word 'capitalism' to a bibliographical footnote.[53]

There seems to be some kind of literal division of labour between the ILO, on the left of globalisation and the UN, on the right. Yet the ICFTU appears to be as committed to the Global Compact of the right globalisers (http://www.unglobalcompact.org/)[54] as it is to the World Commission of the left ones. The attraction seems to be the very existence of any international forum the TIUs are invited to join or any body they are permitted to lobby.

This love-in between the TIUs and the international elite is, in at least some instances, enthusiastically (if diplomatically? hypocritically?) reciprocated. Thus when World Bank President, Wolfensohn, was invited to a congress of the international organisation of education workers, Education International, he had this to say:

> I am very happy to greet you at this 4th World Congress of Education International […] The first thing I'd like to [note is] … the very close identity between the objectives of our institution and the objectives of Education International…We've had the opportunity, in these last six months, of working with your colleagues in trying to do some research and establishing a research program which deals with the elements of what makes good conditions for teachers […] We also, for our part, need to think in terms of the financing of the education system and we also need to say to you - to all of you - that this bringing together of the education system together with the financial system is something where "no doubt" there will be important areas in which trust between us will be very important […] My colleagues and I at the Bank are really thrilled that we have this building relationship between our institution and your's. (James Wolfensohn, President, World Bank
> Porto Alegre, Brazil, 22 July 2004, as recorded on an Education International CD of the event)

For historical background to such relationships we have to remember the failed campaign for the 'social clause' (Hodkinson 2005, Forthcoming, Waterman 2001, 2004).[55] That 15-year period of

[53] The document clearly deserves an analysis for which there is here no space. However, its highly ideological intentions are quite clear from its feel-good self characterisation – with sceptical square brackets added:

> **Our experience working in the Commission makes us confident of the future. The Commission is a microcosm of the very wide diversity of opinion [just one well-known critic of the WTO], concerns and perspectives of the real world [no prominent figure from the global justice movement]. We come from some of the wealthiest [15 or 16] and poorest countries [10 or 11]. We comprise trade unionists [2] and corporate leaders [3-4], parliamentarians and presidents [11 or 12], leaders of indigenous peoples [1] and women's activists [1 or 2], scholars and government advisors [5 or 6]. We have seen, in the course of our work, how divergent positions can be spanned and how common interests can lead to common action through dialogue. (ILO 2004]**

[54] Much, if not all, of the Global Unions network of the ICFTU has endorsed it, as have the national left union centres of Spain, the Comisiones Obreras, and the South African Cosatu! Yet even a liberal-democratic thinker on democratisation of the global condemned the Global Compact from its inititiation (Judge 2001).

[55] Stuart Hodkinson's painstaking work on the ICFTU, focussing on the 'Social Clause' campaign argues

wasted effort (and un-reported financial cost!) was intended to achieve international labour rights within the World Trade Organisation (WTO, previously GATT). The WTO was, of course, not only clearly intended to destroy labour rights but is so structured as to guarantee this.[56] In their attendance at, address to and commitment to such hegemonic instances, the TIUs would seem to be playing the role of what the Dutch call 'town mayor in wartime' - a mediating role between an autocratic power and an otherwise unrepresented and powerless citizenry.[57]

Concerning the prime exemplar of the global governance it is identified with, the ICFTU said in 2002

> **that the social clause strategy was adopted primarily as an instrument for managing institutional change and renewal within the ICFTU whilst maintaining general Northern trade union control. (2005b:10)**

That this strategy had more to to with preserving an institution and its dominant socio-geographic oligarchy, rather than serving the interests of unions or workers internationally, is a devastating assertion. Hodkinson's overall conclusions are fourfold:

> **First, there is not a 'new trade union internationalism' at the official international level. While the ICFTU has undergone a process of modernisation, its core ideology, methodology and structures are strongly embedded in the OLI [Old Labour Internationalism]…of the past. Second, the ICFTU, like other official international trade union bodies, is heavily constrained in its activities by political, structural and financial factors, all of which are underpinned by workers' and unions' continued attachment to the national level. Third, the ICFTU itself is at a critical turning point in its history. Increasingly challenged from outside by other international union bodies and NGOs, and steadily losing vital financial support… from its own affiliates, the ICFTU appears to be enveloped in a process of long-term decline. Fourth, the findings of this thesis are qualified by a number of reliability problems, most of which relate to the serious difficulties faced by researchers investigating the international trade union movement. The thesis concludes that a major research project into the 'new labour internationalism' at every level of international trade unionism is urgently needed. (2005b:11)**

Whilst Hodkinson's assumption of ICFTU decline would seem to be contradicted by the present process of merger internationally, and of international union dialogue on globalisation in the Americas, critical observers would likely agree that the old social-partnership model of internationalism is in profound or terminal crisis – and that research on a new one is indeed urgent.

[56] I am reminded of this by a new article by the international union specialist on – and enthusiast for – the WTO, Mike Waghorne (2006). Waghorne, Assistant General Secretary of Public Services International, points out that any single national member of the WTO has a veto power. Yet, whilst having apparently shelved his own past energetic attempt to get a 'social clause' at the WTO, he now favours the attempt to establish various other rights here. In other words, he still seems so fixated on the power of the WTO that he fails to recognise 1) that one nation's veto can block any pro-labour clause, big or small, and 2) that rights granted by a central organ of international capitalist power and neo-liberal ideology would a) give this legitimacy, and b) be tainted by the source of the concession. It is, finally, notable that the new strategy apparently requires no more activity by flesh-and-blood workers than did the previous one. Waghorne appears to be devoted to the cult of Sysiphus (Sysiphean Task 2006) rather than that of Hercules, for whom see final paragraphs and footnote of this paper.

[57] I recall the concept from a Dutch international union officer, in the 1980s, admitting this to be commonly the nature of the African trade union leaderships the Dutch were funding.

> The Global Compact is…an initiative that is based on dialogue, including social dialogue, built around the core labour standards of the ILO as well as other universal standards relating to human rights and the environment. This is an important opportunity for the social partners and other parties to develop relationships that will resolve problems inside companies and industries as well as to develop dialogue on compelling policy issues.
>
> Global social dialogue has taken concrete form in 14 framework agreements signed by major companies with global union federations. The agreements are important not only for what is on paper but for the social dialogue that produced them and that continues to make them living agreements. They are pioneering ventures that contribute to good industrial relations. http://www.icftu.org/displaydocument .asp?Index=991215023&Language=EN[58]

In its more recent guide to globalisation for unions, the ICFTU devotes much space to the Global Compact. Here it reveals certain qualifications but also the liberal ideological framework within which these are contained. Thus:

> The trade union experience with the Global Compact has been mixed. Throughout the activities of the Compact, too much attention has been devoted to promoting the CSR [Corporate Social Responsibility] industry while not enough attention has been spent on genuine dialogue. Opportunities for dialogue were often bypassed. For example, many national "networks" were launched without involving the trade unions, the representative employer organisations or the relevant NGOs that should have been involved. (ICFTU 2004: 77)[59]

But its underlying concern seems to be the defence of a traditional liberal-pluralist notion of social dialogue *within industry* from some neo-liberal attempt to distinguish between workers as 'internal stakeholders' and unions as 'external stakeholders'. Unions, the ICFTU insists

> are part of industry, as well as of civil society. By definition, social dialogue involves management and workers, which are the two sides of any business. (76)

Whilst this might imply that the ICFTU wants to negotiate inter/nationally on both an industrial and a political stage, any notion of a socio-structural, ideological or ethical difference between the 'social partners' on either stage is left out of consideration. And, in any case, the enthusiastic commitment of the ICFTU to an increasingly neo-liberalised UN was shortly afterwards restated on a global stage. At

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[58] Significantly, Civicus, a previously hyper-moderate NGO that claims to represent global civil society, fails to share the enthusiasm of the ICFTU for the Global Compact. It would seem that the NGO status allows it to be less devoted - to at least partnership with transnationals - than the ICFTU (García-Delgado 2005).

[59] This guide reproduces the widespread error of reducing globalisation to an economic process. This might make it more manageable, both conceptually and politically, for union organisations that have historically reduced themselves to partners of 'industry'. Yet any critical understanding of globalisation must surely conceive it as a political, social (gender, ethnic) , military, cultural (media, cyberspace) and ideological phenomenon. And the global civil society of which the ICFTU is increasingly claiming membership also increasingly addresses itself to all of these. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine how the economic or industrial impact of globalisation might be tempered, reversed or surpassed without a holistic understanding of globalisation. Another problem with the guide is the presentation of globalisation largely in terms of a threat. Concepts such as 'alter-globalisation', again growing within civil society, suggest that globalisation (and informatisation) contains possibilities to be realised as well as threats to be resisted.

the 60th anniversary of the UN, New York, September 2005, Guy Ryder, General Secretary of the ICFTU, was talking from inside the box. He was proposing the reform, improvement, implementation of some global neo-Keynesian capitalist utopia taken as existing, at least potentially:

> Joining together to achieve [social] justice is our [UN plus nation-states and unions? PW] best contribution to making sure that we and our children can live in a world free from poverty, desperation and conflict in future years. Let us all rise to the challenge. The UN has known its greatest successes, and won its lasting authority from those occasions when its member states have risen above narrow self interest to the uplands from which the vision of a better common future becomes clear. This Summit must be one such occasion. It is in your hands to make it so. http://www.un.org/webcast/summit2005/statements.html

This language suggests the continuing faith of the social-reformist ICFTU in a UN system adjusting itself to the corporations and in a neo-liberalised capitalist democracy. Today, however, there are other actors on the global scene and other voices can be heard.

2. The 'global justice and solidarity movement' and 'global governance'

Here also we need to first consider the names of our subjects.

There are problems in comparing institutions with movements and, in particular, the TIUs with the 'anti-globalisation movement' – even with its most institutionalised and documented expression, the World Social Forum (WSF). This is because of the fluidity of social movements in general, and the self-denying ordinance under which the WSF avoids taking common policy positions. There is a problem even in naming the movement. The conventional term used above suffers, as do all negative definitions, from dependence on that against which it is posed. Which is why I prefer the name that came out of the World Social Forum process itself in 2002, the 'global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM).[60]

There is a major problem, also with 'governance', global or not. Governance is not simply a neutral new political science term, intended to focus attention on power relations even beyond existing inter/national[61] institutions: it is a concept that leans heavily toward 'management'. It tends to de-politicise its subject matter. It clearly conceals any understanding here of 'hegemony', with the latter's implications of domination (military, political, ideological).[62] The neutralising new term therefore threatens to turn social movements, unions and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), into 'managers

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[60] On the problem of naming this movement, see the extensive survey and argument of Catherine Eschle (2005). Whilst considering the relevant academic literature, Eschle gives significant weight to the various names suggested by activists, in so far as a 'movement' can be considered to be constructed by those so involved.

[61] By 'Inter/national' I mean national and/or international. The figure also reminds us that 'international' does not surpass nationally-founded entities but rather combines such. This contrasts with 'global'.

[62] As Wikipedia reminds us, in a commonsensical way, 'Hegemony…is the dominance of one group over other groups, with or without the threat of force, to the extent that, for instance, the dominant party can dictate the terms of trade to its advantage; more broadly, cultural perspectives become skewed to favour the dominant group. Hegemony controls the ways that ideas become "naturalised" in a process that informs notions of common sense. Throughout history…hegemony results in the empowerment of certain cultural beliefs, values, and practices to the submersion and partial exclusion of others'. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegemon.

of global discontents' (to paraphrase Wright Mills 1948 on the US unions of his day). In identifying, finally, the position/s of the GJ&SM on global governance, I am bound to be presenting snapshots, although it seems to me that there it is possible to see a family relationship between the portraits I present below.

It has been argued, to begin with, that the concept of 'governance' is specifically linked to the ideology and institutions of neo-liberalism:

> [G]overnance, far from representing a paradigm shift away from neoliberal practices, [is a] central element of the neoliberal discourse in a particular phase of it, when neoliberalism and capital in general face particular stringent problems of accumulation, growing social conflict and a crisis of reproduction. Governance sets itself the task to tackle these problems for capital by relaying the disciplinary role of the market through the establishment of a "continuity of powers" based on normalised market values as the truly universal values. Governance thus seeks to embed these values in the many ways the vast arrays of social and environmental problems are addressed. It thus promotes active participation of society in the reproduction of life and of our species on the basis of this market normalisation. Neoliberal governance thus seeks co-optation of the struggles for reproduction and social justice and, ultimately, promotes the perspective of the 'end of history'. (De Angelis 2003:24)

An alternative focus, on the relations of social movements with a 'global civil society in the making', would seem to me hypothetically more open – less reproductive of failed national social-democratic projects and failing liberal-pluralist thinking – than a focus on governance (Waterman and Timms 2004). This needs to be said because there is a parallel capitalist project, 'corporate social responsibility' (CSR), intimately linked with 'global governance', and with which both the old and the new international social movements are intertwined. Charkiewicz (2005) characterises CSR as

> a paradigmatic example of how policy dialogues increasingly operate as virtual spectacles where governance is performed according to carefully scripted rules and norms. NGOs [and unions – PW] are offered voice without influence. Concepts such as poverty reduction or CSR have taken a discursive life of their own and by so doing pretend that poverty or CSR and accountability is addressed. The virtual performance of governance makes the differential effects of the organisation of the global production and consumption on the realities of people's livelihoods invisible, as it assumes that these are addressed. […]
>
> While…policy discourses such as CSR are conducted in the name of caring for life, and claim to deal with the social and environmental effects of production and consumption, at the same time they obscure that in order to generate value and profits life has to be killed. Inextricably linked with the caring face of global governance which operates through biopolitical security discourses such as the one on CSR is the global economy which operates as war on livelihoods. (Charkiewicz 2005:81)

Another such theoretical critique, from the position of the Situationist International of the 1968 era, declares that

> Central to 'global governance' as a hegemonical strategy is a broad attempt to assemble a global civil society in which to embed neo-liberal concepts of control. Key here are twinned processes of severance and recomposition. At once, the making of global civil society involves i) cutting off social forces and organizations willing to work within a global market framework from other social contexts and ii) re-assembling the lot into a functional and efficient whole that will work

> to solve global problems and, in the process, fix the terms of social and political interaction in the world economy. In governance's schemes, then, global civil society is to be anything but an autonomous realm, or a theater of history (in Marx's sense of civil society), but a collection of atomized organization with little or no autonomous sense of itself… (Drainville 2006)

The Indian ecofeminist, and 'localist', Vandana Shiva, goes beyond capitalist (or statist) democracy, favouring a 'living democracy':

> We need international solidarity and autonomous organising. Our politics needs to reflect the principle of subsidiarity. Our global presence cannot be a shadow of the power of corporations and Bretton Woods institutions. We need stronger movements at local and national levels, movements that combine resistance and constructive action, protests and building of alternatives, non-cooperation with unjust rule and cooperation within society. The global, for us, must strengthen the local and national, not undermine it. The two tendencies that we demand of the economic system needs to be central to people's politics -- localisation and alternatives. Both are not just economic alternatives they are democratic alternatives. Without them forces for change cannot be mobilised in the new context.
> http://www.zmag.org/content/GlobalEconomics/ShivaWSF.cfm.

Patrick Bond, of the Centre for Civil Society in South Africa, is a libertarian socialist. He has been closely associated with the recent wave of movements and campaigns against neo-liberalism, nationally and internationally (Bond, Brutus and Setshedi 2005). Targeting the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) of the UN, he argues against civil society participation in and legitimation of such, and for movement 'decommodification' struggles:

> To illustrate, the South African decommodification agenda entails struggles to turn basic needs into genuine human rights including: free anti-retroviral medicines to fight AIDS (hence disempowering Big Pharma); 50 litres of free water per person per day (hence ridding Africa of Suez and other water privatisers); 1 kilowatt hour of free electricity for each individual every day (hence reorienting energy resources from export-oriented mining and smelting, to basic-needs consumption); extensive land reform (hence de-emphasising cash cropping and export-oriented plantations); prohibitions on service disconnections and evictions; free education (hence halting the General Agreement on Trade in Services); and the like. A free 'Basic Income Grant' allowance of $15/month is even advocated by churches, NGOs and trade unions. All such services should be universal (open to all, no matter income levels), and to the extent feasible, financed through higher prices that penalise luxury consumption. This potentially unifying agenda – far superior to MDGs, in part because the agenda reflects real, durable grassroots struggles across the world - could serve as a basis for widescale social change... (Bond 2005)

In a forthcoming work, the Neo-Gramscian political-economist, Susanne Soederberg devotes a chapter to the Global Compact, tracing its origins, structure, ideological functions – and particularly its domination by the International Chamber of Commerce and exclusion of nation-states as actors. She concludes:

> What the Compact does, albeit inadvertently, is to accept certain demands from below – such as the need to enforce human rights, labour, and environmental protection through established state sanctioned principles like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights – while also encouraging counter-hegemonic movements to restrict their struggle to the electronic terrain of the learning network. This in turn prevents the dominance of neoliberalism from being challenged, while

> TNCs are granted ever more freedom to pursue neoliberal strategies in the South. (Soederberg 2006:92)

The Neo-Marxist or Thirdworldist theorist and activist, Samir Amin, has critiqued the relationship between 'structural adjustment', 'Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers', the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) and governability in Africa:

> Unquestionably even more serious, the NEPAD document lines up with liberal thought on the discourse of "good governance." This is a concept that is useful as a way to dissociate democratic progress from social progress, to deny their equal importance and inextricable connection with one another, and to reduce democracy to good management subjected to the demands of private capital, an "apolitical" management by an anodyne civil society, inspired by the mediocre ideology of the United States. This discourse comes at the very moment when the interruption in the construction of the state (begun in the Bandung period) imposed by structural adjustment has created, not conditions for a democratic advance but, instead, conditions for the shift towards the primacy of ethnic and religious identities (para-ethnic and para-religious, in fact) that are manipulated by local mafias, benefit external supporters, and often degenerate into atrocious "civil wars" (in fact conflicts between warlords)…The NEPAD document's exposition, its hesitations or anodyne character, acquires its meaning in this context. For example, the wish to alleviate the debt is expressed, but this is done precisely because the debt has fulfilled its function of imposing structural adjustment. NEPAD also proposes an "integrated" (Pan-African) development, just like the EU, giving its preference to arrangements with regional African groups. But, in the end, this document remains, as far as its proposals on trade, capital transfers, technology, and patents are concerned, aligned with liberal dogmas.

Here, finally, are two voices from the international consumer movement. The first addresses the food multinational, Nestlé, and argues that

> [T]he Global Compact is based on and propagates the credo that there is no fundamental contradiction between profit-maximisation and the will and ability to 'voluntarily' respect human rights and foster human development and democratic decision making […] Replication of the Global Compact model all over the world risks creating new networks of elite governance, entrenching corporate-led neoliberal globalisation and eroding democratic structures. (Richter 2003:44][63]

The second concerns the chemicals multinational, Bayer, a signatory of the Global Compact:

> Bayer considers itself a 'founding member' of the UN Global Compact, but its dedication to the Compact's nine human rights and environmental principles should be seen in the context of an extremely controversial corporate history. The Coalition Against Bayer Dangers (CBG)…has found that Bayer has been using its "membership" in the Compact to deflect criticism by watchdog groups, without addressing the substance of the criticism. Bayer's use of the Global

[63] This evaluation needs to be compared with the international trade union relationship with Nestlé, as expressed in a report on the trade union networking strategy of the Global Union Federation for the food and allied industries, known as the IUF (Rüb 2004). Whatever might have been achieved by this interesting adaptation of the networking principle, it is clearly taking place without any consideration of the nature of the product, nor, for that matter, of the sincerity of Nestlé's attachment to the Global Compact. This confinement or compartmenalisation of social movement concerns might have been customary in the past but seems archaic today.

> Compact is a classic case of "bluewash" -- using the good reputation of the United Nations to present a corporate humanitarian image without a commitment to changing real-world behaviour. (Minkes 2002)

Finally, we might consider information embedded within an article by a well-respected reformist critic of the UN system, Richard Falk (2005/6). The box considers the problems and prospects of the Global Compact, pointing out that whilst French companies are seriously over-represented amongst endorsers, those of the USA are just as seriously under-represented. Major multinationals, such as energy giant Haliburton, Coca-Cola, Microsoft, Puma and Adidas, are absent. It is therefore suggested that

> If hundreds of thousands of workers, predominantly in the developing world, remain excluded from the minimal protection offered by the ten principles of the Global Compact, then it is difficult to see what difference this initiative could make. (Leveringhaus 2005/6)

It is not without significance that this item, was published within the broadly social-democratic Global Civil Society yearbook, based within the historically social-democratic London School of Economics![64]

There is, thus, a considerable ideological variety and geographical spread amongst critics and critiques of the orientation toward global governance taken by TIUs. This surely suggests that TIU positions have been dependent not on any international labour, left or democratic approach but on a Western neo-liberal one, modified by some social-liberal aspiration.[65]

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[64] For another work in this tradition, see Patomäki, Teivainen and Rönkkö (2002), this one being limited, I feel, by an implicit political-science or international-relations frame which fails to consider the extent to which power under globalisation is concentrated in corporations, or empowerment in the cultural/communicational sphere. Since we are members of the same network, we will no doubt continue to argue about this.

[65] Considering the matter more theoretically, Tony McGrew (200?) distinguishes between four approaches to global democracy: Liberal Internationalism, Radical-Democratic Pluralism, Cosmopolitan Democracy and Deliberative Democracy. The current approach to global governance of the traditional international unions would seem consistent with Liberal Internationalism (that of the UN itself). Those of the GJ&SM would seem to fall within his Radical-Democratic Pluralist type:

> **Radical democratic pluralism is essentially a 'bottom up' theory of the democratisation of world order. The new democratic life politics, as opposed to the old politics of emancipation, is articulated primarily through the multiplicity of critical social movements, such as environmental, women and peace movements, which challenge the authority of states and international structures as well as the hegemony of particular (liberal) conceptions of the 'political'. In 'politicising' existing global institutions and practices, not to mention challenging the conventional boundaries of the political (the foreign/domestic, public/private, society/nature binary divides) critical social movements are conceived as agents of a 'new progressive politics'...There is no reason therefore to presume that democracy and democratic legitimacy have to be grounded in territorially delimited units such as nation-states. Rather 'real' democracy is to be found in the juxtaposition of a multiplicity of self-governing and self-organizing collectivities constituted on diverse spatial scales - from the local to the global…The spatial reach of these self-governing communities is defined by the geographical scope of the collective problems or activities they seek to manage, although there is a strong presumption in favour of the subsidiarity principle. Transnational democracy, in this account, is defined by the existence of a plurality of diverse, overlapping and spatially differentiated self-governing 'communities of fate' and multiple sites of power without the need for 'sovereign' or centralized structures of authority . It identifies, in the**

3. Global places, spaces and forms of emancipatory thought and action

It would seem that we have considerable tension – not to say an antagonistic contradiction - between the TIU position on global governance and that of the GJ&SM. *Firstly*, however, it seems to me, such a contradiction cannot be seen as Manichean (vice v. virtue), nor as simply or primarily ideological. As I might have already suggested, there are people of the social-democratic tradition on both sides of this contradiction. *Secondly*, we have to recognise that the ICFTU and its affiliates or associates are not only prominent participants in the WSF process but even represented on its International Council![66] Many such inter/national unions participate in anti-war or anti-privatisation protest initiatives of the broader GJ&SM. The TIUs may have a foot within the World Economic Forum and the Global Compact, but they have at least a toe within the spaces of 'a global civil society in the making' (Waterman and Timms 2003/4). *Thirdly*, it seems to me that, in addressing the present global institutional order, the GJ&SM has not yet moved from 'protest to proposition' on global governance, or, in this case, global democratisation. Considering the movement's 'One No and Many Yesses!', it is easy to find and identify the No but quite difficult to discern even one distinct Yes.[67]

Whilst I favour dialogue, this does not mean either that there is or should be a compromise *halfway between* the two orientations I have sketched. Given the diffuse nature of even the WSF, some such kind of negotiated compromise, seems anyway unlikely. What the more general GJ&SM 'represents', after all, is not simply one or more new *positions* but new places, spaces, forms and understandings of emancipation globally (meaning both worldwide and holistic).

I have already mentioned one of the *places*, the events organised worldwide within the WSF process. It seems, increasingly, that the old institutionalised international unions are using the WSF to launch or publicise their policy proposals, including such as the ILO one on 'decent work' (critiqued Waterman 2005a) or 'Labour's Platform for the Americas' (see below). Another such place would or could be the increasing number of academic events, on or against neo-liberal globalisation, commonly

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political practices of critical social movements, immanent tendencies towards the transcendence of the sovereign territorial state as the fundamental unit of democracy.

I do not wish to necessarily endorse this conceptualisation and its implications. But I do wish to forestall the dismissal of this and earlier statements as 'academic' (the nicest of three adjectives addressed angrily to me by international union officers on two separate occasions) . The fact is that the TIUs prefer, or absorb via the media, the language and orientation of *other* academics. A recognition of the extent to which *movement-oriented intellectuals* are moving in another direction might give the TIU organisations pause for reflection.

[66] Such ambiguities are likely to increase within the ICFTU. For example, one can find Peter Bakvis, the ICFTU's Man in Washington being simultaneously or alternately compromised with the neo-liberal World Bank and International Monetary Fund (UNI 2005) and with the anti-neo-liberal Hemispheric Social Alliance of the Americas (at least according to Marchand 2005:115).

[67] Within the GJ&SM we can certainly find different orientations. Some who talk of global democratisation see this, like the unions, primarily in terms of 'reforming multi-lateral institutions' (http://www.reformcampaign.net/index.php?pg=9&lg=eng), others in terms of empowering local actors, seen as increasingly involved in and addressing global politics where they live and work (Saskia Sassen 2005). The point is, however, that whilst the first orientation leaves the initiating NGO (in this case Ubuntu http://www.ubuntu.org/) in the role of mediator, the second requires the (self-) mobilisation of men and women in their localities, horizontally linked through the internet..

with union participation. I have been critical of some such for their narrow or self-congratulatory nature (Waterman 2005b). Yet, given the current crisis of unionism, it is nonetheless possible to find, in the interstices of such conferences, more autonomous expression. It was thus that I discovered Khanya College, Johannesburg. This is an adult-education, research and publication operation, with one foot in the traditional labour and community movements, one in the new social movements of South Africa. Apart from the resources it might provide to such traditions in the country itself, it has a Southern African solidarity programme. A special issue of the quarterly *Khanya* magazine, distributed at the colloquium I criticised, was devoted to South(ern) African unions (Khanya 2005). National and international union activist, Maria van Driel, argues here

> that social dialogue, which is the policy of the main South African trade unions, cannot advance the interests of the working class under conditions of neo-liberalism' (van Driel 2005:27).

Whilst this issue may not have been concerned with the global, or internationalism in general, it projected a national orientation that suggests how the trade union organisations could learn from the newest social movements.

As for *spaces*, we have to consider that potentially emancipatory space, *Cyberia*. TIU websites provide increasing amounts of information and ideas, including, as this paper reveals, those about global governance. However, these sites have two common limitations. One is the lack of space for dialogue, or feedback. The other is that they are subordinated to the institutions: they are seen merely as tools.[68] Even the autonomous, sophisticated, innovative – and widely respected - international labour site, LabourStart http://www.labourstart.org/, confines itself to the institutionalised trade union organisations and only deals with such autonomous labour or social movements as might be acceptable to the TIUs. Indeed, a search within it failed to identify an innovatory international union declaration on neo-liberal globalisation, 'Labour's Platform for the Americas' http://www.gpn.org/ research/orit2005/! However, this document, co-signed by the ICFTU's regional body in the Americas, the ORIT, and associated bodies, has failed, *at time of writing, to reach the website of the ICFTU itself!*[69]

As we move deeper into Cyberia, we will find sites closer to the GJ&SM. Whilst the Global Policy Network (GPN) and associated Economic Policy Institute (EPI) are closely associated with the TIUs, distance implied by their institutional autonomy and/or research function is apparently permitting them to go where no TIU has gone before. And their websites are permitting us (at the base, at the margins, far away) to see what they have to say. Thus the GPN both facilitated and now hosts the above-mentioned Platform. And the EPI has published a book entitled *The Global Class War* (Faux 2006), described as follow:

> Faux explains how globalisation is creating a new global political elite—"The Party of Davos"—who have more in common with each other than with their fellow citizens. Their so-called trade

[68] Developing an idea of Mark Poster (1995), I have elsewhere suggested that cyberspace needs to be considered not only as a tool (like a hammer) or a community (like Germany) but also as a utopia (a non-existent but desirable future). Poster points out that whereas 'Germany' produces Germans, a 'hammer' does not produce hammers but drives nails into wood. 'Utopia', in my understanding, is something that could inspire Germans to produce a community broader, deeper and more humane than Germany, and to create new multi-purpose tools for new Post-German purposes.

[69] The only explanation I can suggest here is that this incrementalist document was nonetheless too assertive or autonomous for the conservative, Eurocentred and top-down ICFTU/GU! More information and other explanations would be welcome here.

> agreements (like NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization act as a global constitution that protects only one kind of citizen—the corporate investor. The inevitable result will be a drop in American living standards that will have dramatic political consequences. Faux concludes with an original strategy for bringing democracy to the global economy beginning with a social contract for North America. http://www.epi.org/content.cfm/books_global_class_war

Here there is at least an implicit challenge to TIUs still clinking wine glasses at the cocktail party of the global elite.

These two cyberspaces are, however, both 1) based in the USA and 2) primarily addressed and functional to traditional inter/national union institutions. Rather than now considering all those sites and networks that might cover the workers and issues, or provide the dialogical possibilities suggested by the GJ&SM, let us consider one in the further reaches of Cyberia. This is Prol-Position, http://www.anarkismo.net/newswire.php?story_id=2453, an anarcho/communist/ autonomist (I think) portal that concentrates on inter/national labour conditions and struggles, regardless of whether these are within the boundaries or vision of the TIUs. In a piece addressing regional, if not global, governance (the so-called Bolkestein Directive, aimed at levelling down European Union rights and conditions in the interests of the most ruthless multinationals), Laure Akai (2006) says:

> Within the context of protest politics, we often find even radical activists calling for "protection" and "rights", which rests on the assumption that there is a body, be it the nation state or an extra-national institution, which regulates for the good of society, above the interests of capital. This illusion is becoming more and more appallingly naïve; money making and capital interests are firmly entrenched in government. The moments where the state plays social protector are acts of cheap PR played out with our public funds which we have worked for and earned and opposition to the bottom line can only take place in relation to the power and wealth of the society; in this, some nation states are at a distinct disadvantages in the spectacle known as "protecting its subjects".
>
> Many leftists envision the transition of the state from power broker and capital enabler to social protector and insurer. While this (arguably) may be a considerable improvement in its role, there is also the perspective of decommissioning it and replacing it with workers' self-government and international federalism. The underlying principle, the creation of a libertarian society, would presuppose various mechanisms for the elimination of material deprivation and disparity, and, most importantly, the elimination of the causes of inequity….: the key to the creation of any future socially equitable society lies in divesting capital and state of its powers.

It is this kind of voice that the internet allows us to hear, possibly for the first time. And the Prol-Position site, on which I found Akai, has a front-page feedback feature. But it is not the existence of this or that labour, social movement, or civil society site, or even networks of such, that reveal the manner in which the web as a space, and communication as a practice, go beyond the political and institutional order within which the TIUs have lived for 50 to 100 years.

The fact is that we live in an increasingly networked world order or disorder (Castells 1996-8, Escobar 2004). This implies that both dominating power (power over) and emancipatory power (power to) are increasingly expressed and exercised here. Recognition of this can, once again, be implicitly found in those places and spaces in which the TIUs and the GJ&SM do meet.

The next case addresses itself to new ways of labour and social movement being and doing, in other words of their recognition of the new terrains of struggle. This is a special issue of a publication of

the French Bibliothéque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine (BDIC) on the internet and social movements (Matériaux 2005). The compilation includes both empirical accounts and conceptual discussion of a global and movement-informed civil society in construction. And it recognises, both implicitly and explicitly, that cyberspace represents a privileged place for labour struggle under the informatised networked capitalism of the 21st century.[70] The collection deals with new forms of informatised work, with the practices of French trade unions and parties and with inter/national social movements. Although this is, of course, in traditional print form, some of the contributions in English are on the website of the Feltrinelli Foundation (see Websites and Lists below). And whilst, as I have said, the collection may not address global governance, it does recognise the centrality of the web for contemporary social movements:

> The use of Net tools has been very useful also, evidently, for the development of transnational militancy (of which, in addition to the nation-state, the scales of action are on the local or global level). Without going too far, one could thus say that if alter-globalisation was not born from the Internet, it certainly could not have existed without it. (Matériaux 2005:7)

Finally, I mentioned *forms of emancipatory thought and action*. I think it must by now be evident that the forms common to the TIUs in their address to the global are not in any sense emancipatory (meaning setting free from the power of another). Defensive, certainly, and in the past resulting in amelioration. But the adequacy of such defence within the places or spaces designed and dominated by capital and state are finally being questioned, at least at the periphery of these institutions (the Faux book?). And it would be difficult to argue that the trade union impact internationally is today one of amelioration, unless this word is stretched to mean the reduction of pain, or an aspiration for some golden, if tarnished, past.

Now, one has to recognise within the history of the international labour movement two major traditions in relation to wage-labour. The first was 'A Fair Day's Wage for a Fair Day's Work', and it finds contemporary expression within the ILO campaign, endorsed by the TIUs, for 'Decent Work'. The other one was 'Abolition of the Wage System', the contemporary expression of which might be 'The Liberation of Time from Work' (Gorz 1999, discussed Waterman 2005a). The first tradition seeks solace – sometimes salvation - through work for capital, the second in productive and creative activity freed from capitalist exploitation and alienation. Whilst the WSF and the more general GJ&SM may not have addressed itself adequately to the *emancipation of labour*, it has certainly expressed itself for *emancipation from capital* - at least in its most aggressive current forms. And it has considered such emancipation over a very wide, if not complete, variety of areas of human existence, of capitalist alienation and of social protest and counter-proposition. These encompass the emancipation of women and the sexually discriminated; indigenous, local, immigrant and other minority rights; peace, cultural and communication rights; the environment; health; participatory and direct democracy, and different forms of labour (the traditionally waged, migrant, the old casual and the new precarious, rural, urban petty-commodity). Many of these, and other issues, find at least some mention in the so-called Bamako Appeal (2006), which whilst not 'representing the position' of the GJ&SM, certainly addresses itself energetically and provocatively to labour.

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[70] There is here an implicit connection with the argument of Hardt and Negri (2004) that, although industrial labour is not dead, it is today 'immaterial labour' (not only intellectual, creative and computerised but much service and care work) that is 'hegemonic'. This is in the sense that it provides the dominant logic of work, as did industrial labour in an earlier epoch. The implications of this are far-reaching for an appropriate organisational (better, 'relational') model for inter/national labour defence and assertion in the 2ist century.

Bearing in mind the extent to which the GJ&SM is reinventing social emancipation for the age of a globalised and networked capitalism, it would certainly seem to provide the space within which it would be possible to discuss, formulate and put into action a set of complementary propositions for a radically-democratic reinvention of the global – and in such a way as to empower the regional, the national and local places. This would, of course, be a space within which the key term would be not global governance but global democracy.

Conclusion

A re-invention of the inter-*national* union organisations as a global labour movement, a re-assertion of labour in the global arenas of information-communication-culture, would seem to be the alternative to reiteration of old formulas. Only thus, it seems to me, can we surpass the nightmare scenario I have sketched elsewhere:

> The trade unions turn out to play football against the capitalists, only to find that the football field has been turned into an ice stadium. The capitalists are kitted out for ice hockey and are whizzing around the footballers, practicing their devastating shots. Appealing to the neutral – or at least pluralist - umpire, the unions complain against this un-negotiated change in the nature of the game. 'But what can I do?', the umpire complains, 'If I don't let them play here they will simply shift somewhere else'.

This is a cruel parable but actually inadequate to the case. The capitalists may be still playing football in a national, or ice hockey in an international, stadium. But what they are primarily doing is playing computer games in global cyberspace. The reinvention of the international labour movement in the light of contemporary capitalism requires that movement invent new places/spaces, new rules, and that it then address itself to, and empower all, working people: there is a world out there, urgently needing to be saved.

Finally, it has to be said that if the grand old tradition of social democracy is in a serious condition, it is not dead.[71] This has been suggested earlier. Amongst the contributors to its re-invention has been the one-time General Secretary of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers (IUF), an energetic contributor to international debates on labour. As he says in the preface to a collection on the future of organised labour globally:

> Those who are developing the concept of global social movement unionism, or of the global justice movement, are seeking to rebuild a labour movement with a shared identity and shared values – not the lowest common denominator, that is what we have today and this movement, as it is, can only lose. Beyond the lowest common denominator, we need an alternative explanation of the world, alternative goals for society and a programme on how to get there that all can subscribe to. A new international labour movement, armed with a sense of a broader social mission, can become the core of a global alliance including all other social movements that share the same agenda. Such a movement can change the world. It can again be the liberation movement of humanity it set out to be hundred and fifty years ago. (Gallin 2006:10).

[71] Or possibly suffering from schizophrenia? In his brilliant continuing work on 'cosmopolitan democracy', David Held (2004) claims to be thinking in social-democratic terms. This claim is questioned by Patrick Bond (2004). Perhaps we are witnessing here the difference between a *politically*- and a *socially*-oriented social democracy?

This requires a Herculean effort. But the task of boulder-seeking, trench-digging and river-diversion is one to which many traditions are going to contribute. Hercules did not make his effort from *within* the Augean Stable. The means he required came from outside. He achieved the task without much 'Augean Dialogue' with the hegemon, who had for so long been befouling the stable and leaving the surrounding lands unfertilised. As a more extended description of the case reveals,[72] the contract that King Augeas made with Hercules was broken unilaterally by the king. Hercules, apparently, did not get involved in any concession bargaining, nor did he even complain about the failure of the king to act in the word or spirit of the contract. Fortunately, for him, the king's son reflected on the power that Hercules had demonstrated and decided it would be wise to honour the contract. This was a compromise. I have no doubt they shook hands. Hercules, however, was not compromi*sed* by the settlement. Nor, as far as we are informed, did he henceforth consider Royal Contracts an ideal, or even pragmatically necessary, for heroic labour. One assumes that he preserved his autonomy – power deriving from forces outside the contractual relationship – for any future dealings with devious monarchs.

Inspiration for a necessary and possible future can, it appears, be drawn not only from contemporary parable but even from a mythical past.

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[72] **'Augeas, the king of Elis had been given a huge amount of cattle as a gift from his father, many herds in fact. His problem was, the stables where he kept them had never been cleaned. His neglect was so great that not only the stables, which were in a very bad state, but the land surrounding them had been unfertilized for many years, due to the unused manure which lay within the compound.**

'Heracles task was to clean them. This seemed to Augeas to be a long and arduous labor for Heracles to undertake. Thinking it would be totally impossible Augeas wagered Heracles a tenth of his cattle, if the huge task was finished in a single day. Without hesitation Heracles accepted Augeas' challenge, then set about working out a plan in which to do the job in a swift but thorough way. The next day Heracles started his formidable labor, not only using his great strength, but using his brain to plan this challenge.

'The first part of the mammoth task was to dismantle the wall which protected the rear of the stables, and with Heracles' great strength this was an effortless job. Next he made a diversion in the two rivers which flowed close by, the Alpheus and the Peneus. After digging a canal in the direction of the stables, Heracles released their banks, and when the two rivers merged they created a surge, which, by the time they flowed through the stables, turned into a torrent. The power and also the amount of water, washed all the filth away. After the rush of water passed through the stables it not only cleansed them but cascaded on to the fields below, giving the soil life after being deprived of manure for many years.

'With the task complete, Heracles sought his prize, which Augeas had promised; one tenth of all his herds. The king was infuriated by his defeat, thinking the great hero would never clean such a mountain of filth in such a short time, and refused to pay the wager. This time it was Heracles who was infuriated. However, Phyleus the son of king Augeas, thinking of the consequences of Heracles anger, affirmed the agreement and brought about an amicable settlement, which Heracles accepted.' (Leadbetter 2006).

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The Bamako Appeal: A Late-Modern Janus?

(2006)

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Janus is the Roman god of gates and doors ... beginnings and endings, and hence represented with a double-faced head, each looking in opposite directions. He was worshipped at the beginning of the harvest time, planting, marriage, birth, and other types of beginnings, especially the beginnings of important events in a person's life. Janus also represents the transition between primitive life and civilisation, between the countryside and the city, peace and war, and the growing-up of young people. (Janus 2006).

Introduction

The Bamako Appeal (BA) is a substantial international anti-capitalist document of some 9,000 words, containing a 10-point programme for a global social transformation. It seems intended to do for our globalised informatised capitalist era what Marx's *Communist Manifesto* of 1848 did for his inter/national industrial one. The BA was drawn up at a conference organised to immediately preceed one of the tri-continental editions of the World Social Forum, in Bamako, Mali, January 18, 2006. It was sponsored by a small group of overlapping non-governmental organisations: the Forum du Tiers Monde/Third World Forum, the World Forum of Alternatives, the Tricontinental Centre, Louvain-la-Neuve, Belgium, the Malian Social Forum and a Dakar-based ecology and development NGO, ENDA (for relevant URLs see Resources below).

The two leading individuals involved are prominent figures within these NGOs and the WSF, the veteran 'Thirdworldist' thinkers and activists, the Egyptian Samir Amin (based in Dakar/Paris) and the Belgian François Houtart. The BA was either presented or unpresented (accounts conflict) to the Bamako WSF. It was later apparently also presented to the Call or Assembly of Social Movements at the WSF held in Caracas, Venezuela, January 24-9, 2006. It was not, however, approved by either in any shape or form. Around one month later it appeared on the website of the World Forum of Alternatives (WFA), here preceded by an appeal for endorsements. Information about the background, the organisation, the funding and the intention – and even about the individuals involved – is lacking from the site.

Since its launch the BA has been reproduced, often without commentary, in newspapers, magazines, on websites and lists, in Europe, the USA, Latin America, South Africa and India. Further information about the BA, its participants/endorsers and funding has had to be gleaned from one of its initiators, or provided unsystematically by some of those involved. There is so far no formal report on the event either by its sponsors, nor an extensive analysis from independent or critical sources. My account above and below has to be therefore considered tentative.

The BA appears to be a second attempt to move the World Social Forum from what has been primarily a space for open-ended dialogue on alternatives to neo-liberal globalisation to one of deliberation, decision, organisation and action. (For recent overviews of the WSF process, see Bourgeois 2006, Vargas Forthcoming) The first attempt had been made by Amin and/or his friends, Bernard Cassen (of Attac, France), Houtart and others, one year earlier, at the Fifth WSF, Porto Alegre, Brazil, 2005. Here it became known under such names as the Porto Alegre Manifesto (PAM) and the Appeal of 19. This first initiative provoked the anger or ridicule of many at the WSF, particularly its International Council members, many of whom considered it, variously, as some kind of attempted political coup, as elitist (dominated by white, male intellectuals, emanating from a chic hotel), as circumventing the well-established Call of Social Movements, and (in my case, Waterman 2005a) of being both meagre in extent and lacking in bite. One who thought it worth a critical response was Patrick Bond (2005). In the face of such reactions, even some of the signatories seemed to back off from the PAM. Critical reactions to the new Bamako Appeal have come from WSF International Council members, the Brazilians Chico Whitaker (2006) and Antonio Martins (2006). The former seems to see it as an attempt to reinstate the centrality of the nation state to the project of social emancipation. The latter asks:

> Why should we rush into a 'choice' of campaigns supposedly capable of 'unifying' the world of social forums? Why should we propose them from small groups; are we re-establishing the barrier between those who think and those who fight, and violating the simultaneous commitment to equality and diversity?

He completes his point with a footnote:

> The 'Bamako Appeal', published 24.01.06, has the same structure as the 'Porto Alegre Manifesto' launched in 2005, at the…Hotel San Raphael. A preamble in which the old tradition makes all possible concession to altermondialisation, followed by the announcement of the priority campaigns.

Other members or supporters of the IC have apparently been either holding their fire or preserving radio silence in the hope that the BA of 2006 will follow the fate of the PAM of 2005. Yet others, who like myself are not so identified with the WSF IC, have been expressing themselves for, against, or both for and against the BA.

Both this manifesto and some of the discussion around it is available on line. (See, for example, the WSFDiscuss list in Resources, and Bamako Appeal Spikes Controversy 2006). In addressing myself to the content I will concentrate on Part 6, the Labour Chapter (**Appendix 1**). This chapter will have to stand in for what is anyway a stitched-together patchwork of such positions. And it is an area I have been working on for some 15-20 years. In what follows I will argue that 1) such charters, declarations and manifestos are normal within the wider Global Justice and Solidarity Movement (GJ&SM), occur within the WSF itself and should be welcomed; 2) that the process by which the BA has appeared and been launched reproduces old movement practices that the new movement has been surpassing; and 3) that the Labour Chapter suggests the possibility and necessity for a dialogue on the BA. In any case, the initiators of the Bamako Appeal have no more control over what others do with it than does the WSF

have over the production of such appeals. This loss of control, thanks largely to the internet, is something that makes feedback on any significant text both consistent with the new technology and a sign of the significance of the contemporary media to contempoary emancipation (de Jong, Shaw and Stammers 2005).

1. Let a hundred charters bloom!

My subtitle paraphrases the famous slogan of Mao in the mid-1950s, 'Let a hundred flowers bloom: let a hundred schools of thought contend.' Whilst, in the Chinese case, this turned out to be a momentary and Machiavellian *policy*, which ended with the chopping off of 99 blooms, it would seem to well represent the *ethic* of a movement which has as its orientation 'one no and many yesses' (a Zapatista slogan). There have been, are and will be 96 others. (A generation apart, and addressed to different identities/interests, consider the South Asian Feminist Declaration 1989 and the Declaración de Caracas 2006).

The *Bamako Appeal* (Appeal of Bamako 2006) calls for the creation of a new 'historical subject' (a collective force for social transformation). This concept is close to the classical Marxist one, in which this subject was the working class. However, the BA does not seem to have either this class or a homogeneous substitute for such in mind. It seems to the thinking of an emancipatory force, the goal of which would be

> a radical transformation of the capitalist system. The destruction of the planet and of millions of human beings, the individualist and consumerist culture that accompanies and nourishes this system, along with its imposition by imperialist powers are no longer tolerable, since what is at stake is the existence of humanity itself. Alternatives to the wastefulness and destructiveness of capitalism draw their strength from a long tradition of popular resistance that also embraces all of the short steps forward indispensable to the daily life of the system's victims.

The BA declares the necessity to

1. Construct a world founded on the solidarity of human beings and peoples…
2. Construct a world founded on the full affirmation of citizenship and equality of the sexes…
3. Construct a universal civilisation offering in all areas the full potential of creative development to all its diverse members…
4. Construct socialisation through democracy…
5. Construct a world founded on the recognition of the non-market-driven law of nature and of the resources of the planet and of its agricultural soil…
6. Construct a world founded on the recognition of the non-market-driven status of cultural products and scientific acquisitions, of education and of health care…
7. Promote policies that closely associate democracy without pre-assigned limits, with social progress and the affirmation of autonomy of nations and peoples…
8. Affirm the solidarity of the people of the North and the South in the construction of an internationalism on an anti-imperialist basis…

These principles are then spelled out in 10 parts or chapters:

1. For a multipolar world system founded on peace, law and negotiation;
2. For an economic reorganisation of the global system;
3. For regionalisations in the service of the people and which reinforce the south in global negotiations;

4. For the democratic management of the planet's natural resources;
5. For a better future for peasant farmers;
6. To build a workers' united front;
7. For a democratisation of societies as a necessary step to full human development;
8. For the eradication of all forms of oppression, exploitation and alienation of women;
9. For the democratic management of the media and cultural diversity;
10. For the democratisation of international organisations and the institutionalisation of a multipolar international order

Finally, the BA proposes a series of working groups, presumably to develop the chapters or to spell out the action necessary to achieve them.

Although the Appeal makes a gesture toward the Bandung Conference of 1955 (see Resources), that was an inter-state conference of Third-World countries that, whilst condemnatory of Western and (implicitly) Eastern imperialism or domination, was sponsored and endorsed by states mostly of a single-party or military nature. Moreover, the grand hopes of creating a unified, autonomous and peaceful Third World bloc rapidly broke down, most dramatically with the China-India War of 1962. More substantially does the BA reveal its origin in the Dependency Theory or Neo-Marxism of the 1970s, and a related Thirdworldism – the notion that the primary contradiction under capitalism was that between core and periphery, and that the states and/or peoples of the Third World were the primary force for development and/or revolution (the latter exemplified in Gerassi 1971).

Curiously but significantly, the BA makes no reference to the Organisation of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL, Resources). This was a Cuban state project launched 1966, of more populist address and revolutionary rhetoric than Bandung. That project was, however, also limited by its state-sponsorship, its foundational state-movement alliance and an ideology that justified this. The OSPAAAL continues a shadow existence today, with an office in Havana, remembered more for its brilliant posters than any political achievements or inspiration. There is, moreover, a Cuban Connection with the Bamako Appeal, in so far as several of its prominent supports, like Chilean Marta Harnecker, have close relations with the Cuban regime.

Moreover, the BA notion of internationalism seems to reproduce, by implication, the OSPAAL project in seeing international solidarity primarily in South-South or North-South terms, and in its failure to specify what is meant by this term. Yet, given the problematic history of the concept, calls for internationalism surely today require discussion of at least the subjects thereof (workers? citizens? women? peoples? states?) , its axes ((East-West?), its directions (North to South?), its type (identity, substitution, complementarity, reciprocity, etc), its reach or target (India-Pakistan as well as India-Nicaragua?), its impact on those involved, its meaning for them (Waterman 1998/2002). Gerassi (1971) reveals the Thirdworldist weakness here, in putting a 'New International' on his book cover, whilst having no single word about it inside! Samir Amin is himself today proposing a 'Fifth International', of a specifically Socialist or even Communist nature (Amin 2006:48), whilst again failing to surpass the 1970s rhetoric. (Those promoting any such Fifth International today might like to consider the League for the Fifth International, in the Resources: this is predictably dismissive of the WSF - but also of Amin).

Yet whilst the BA is indebted to the past, it at the same time reveals the impact of the WSF and GJ&SM, recognising a variety of contradictions, stressing diversity, here avoiding the word 'socialism' (too identified with failed Communist and Radical-Nationalist states or Social-Democratic regimes?): rather does it suggest that democracy without prescribed limits will lead to 'socialisation'. The BA seems, unlike both Dependency Theory and Thirdworldism, to be primarily addressed to social

movements. Thus, although possibly coming from closer to the WSF than other such collective or individual declarations related to the new movement (Callinicos 2003, Monbiot 2003), it hardly seems to warrant the anxiety that has been revealed (or concealed) about it.

And even if Amin were to create a Fifth Socialist/Communist International, such would be likely beset from its Founding Congress – or World Social(ist) Forum? - by all the factionalism of dozens of competing *groupuscules* and a half-dozen People's Revolutionary Armies. It would surely suffer the falling away of both the agencies that funded the BA (because of the Bandung echo?), *and* diverse people and organisations that had endorsed a Bamako Appeal from which the words Communist, and even Socialist, had been diplomatically excluded!

These qualifications made, it is necessary to recognise that the BA is only one of many such documents coming out of the GS&JM. I will deal briefly with four.

1. The *Call of Social Movements*, an established feature at the WSF, and at most related regional or local ones, provides a first point of comparison. The Call of Social Movements (2004) appears, on re-reading, to be a shorter, lighter and less-radical version of the BA, coming over rather as a condensation of what has occurred at the WSF, and listing protest events to be supported for the coming year. Although opposed to neo-liberalism, it avoids identifying capitalism as the problem. I have criticised the Call elsewhere (Waterman 2005a), not simply for its lack of radicalism but also for its lack of transparency - and its failure to say what *it* means by 'social movement'. It was, however, the Call that helped make the anti-war demonstrations of February 2003 a global phenomenon (Call of the World Social Movements 2003). The Call of 2005 (Call From Social Movements 2005) was, regrettably, shorter on analysis than previously and even longer as an agenda of coming protest events. The Call to the Social Movements Assembly (2006) specified some interesting new problems or demands (women, gays and lesbians, children) but again stressed protest events and was no more a holistic statement than were previous ones.

2. Nobody identified with the WSF seems to have been alarmed by the production in 2004 of a feminist *Global Charter for Humanity* (World March of Women 2004). Indeed, I have so far been unable, to my regret, to find much comment on it (for an exception see ILGA 2005). And this despite the fact that it *is* a holistic declaration, neither confining itself to women nor avoiding an explicitly anti-capitalist position:

> The World March of Women, of which we are a part, views patriarchy as the system oppressing women and capitalism as the system that enables a minority to exploit the vast majority of women and men.
>
> These systems reinforce one another. They are rooted in, and work hand in hand with, racism, sexism, misogyny, xenophobia, homophobia, colonialism, imperialism, slavery, and forced labour. They breed manifold forms of fundamentalism that prevent women and men from being free. They generate poverty and exclusion, violate the rights of human beings, particularly women's rights, and imperil humanity and the planet.
>
> We reject this world!
>
> We propose to build another world where exploitation, oppression, intolerance and exclusion no longer exist, and where integrity, diversity and the rights and freedoms of all are respected.
>
> This Charter is based on the values of equality, freedom, solidarity, justice and peace.

3. As for *Labour's Platform for the Americas* (2005), I fear that simple disinterest or passive acceptance might be its fate. This manifesto was either launched at or presented to the WSF in Caracas 2006 (Valente 2006). It is a classically incremental social-partnership (meaning capitalist-partnership) document, calling for 'Decent Work for Sustainable Development', and claiming, without evidence, to have been co-produced by 'civil society'. The title alone implies an identification with work-for-capital and the development of sustainable capitalism. The platform proposes no such dramatic joint or international action as workers and citizens of the Americas *have* been taking against 'free-market fundamentalism'. Nor does it refer to the fact that such action has been often taken *as part of the GJ&SM*. However, it does at least confront neo-liberalism, does propose an alternative, and was endorsed by the major international and some significant national union centres of the Americas. (For its temerity, it still, early April 2006, remains unpublished on the major international union websites!). It is therefore, willy-nilly, an invitation to labour and social movement commentary and criticism. As well, of course, to comparison with Chapter 6 of the Bamako Appeal!

4. *Observations and Reflections: Bases for Building a Post-Neoliberal Agenda* (Post-Neo-Liberal Agenda 2006). By its cautious, if not self-efacing, title, this document might seem to distance itself from anything so aggressive as a manifesto. Yet it represents just such an intervention into the current process as do the other documents. And, like several others, it seems to have been sponsored and/or funded by a small group of (largely Brazil-oriented) funding agencies and NGOs. In this case they are the Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung (Germany), Attac-Brazil, the Articulación Feminista Marcosur (Montevideo), Action Aid-Brazil, Planeta Porto Alegre (Brazil) and IBASE (Brazil). This document is unique in so far as it seems to have come from the very heart of the WSF: many of the NGOs and individuals named are members of the WSF's International Council. One of them is Antonio Martins, the Brazilian who first responded to the BA and another is Candido Grzybowski. The PNLA makes clear at various places its intention to 'overcome capitalism'. However, in both its title and its content it comes over as an over-general reiteration of criticisms, of concepts, analyses and propositions produced by five years of the WSF:

> In the debates on building a post-neoliberal agenda, it is fundamental to discuss the question of who the builders are. The supposed existence of political subjects who are special protagonists in the struggle for social change, and the notion that there exists a hierarchisation between the struggles, are conceptions that still persist in our political field and jeopardise dialogue and the overcoming of inequality.
>
> The reciprocal recognition of the presence and pertinence of the proposals borne by the various political subjects is fundamental for creating political, theoretical and methodological conditions for this collective construction. In the past, delegating the task of social change to a single subject – and delegitimising other political agendas that also proposed novelties – led to a repetition of the logic of exclusion and to reproduction of inequality and privileges. It also caused weakening of the collective propositive capacity.
>
> On the other hand, accepting and promoting the diversity of the political
> actors interested in social change strengthens a democratic construction
> fed by multiple visions and capable of formulating alternatives and mobilising different subjects from the local to the planetary sphere. (19)

The assertion of the positive value of diversity is demonstrated by the numerous positive references to women, sex(uality) and femin/ist/ism. Yet this seems to go at the expense of reference to workers, the working class, unions and socialism – reference which is sometimes critical or negative.

The first set of terms receives 18 mentions, the second eight. A final chapter, 'From "Conquering" the State to Autonomy', argues that:

> Given the de-politicisation of social life promoted by neoliberal globalisation, a post-neoliberal agenda must first of all propose a re-invention of politics. It is necessary to re-establish political debate in the public space in order to recover the plurality of perspectives and the acknowledgement of new social actors, to formulate the notion and practice of representation and to return the economy to the decision-making power of the community of citizens, because the economy has to do with their work and the wealth that they produce. In short, it is indispensable to rebuild the priority of politics over economics. Re-inventing politics is at the same time radicalising democracy, by placing society under the control of its members, making popular sovereignty effective and democrati[s]ing the public sphere and daily social life. […]
>
> It is necessary to create a *popular counter-power* by articulating social movements, networks of movements, organisations of active citizenship, religious entities, and other entities that represent civil society. These will be the foundations to promote strategies based on the diversity of points of view and emancipatory proposals, whenever the situation calls for a position to be taken and whenever possible anticipating the facts. (Original italics. 29)

The subtitle and following statement here may be left-democratic in nature but hardly either original or specific. (For something that is both, consider Adamovsky 2006).

These admittedly limited sketches cannot do full justice to the documents concerned. The point is rather to note how common – and similar in presumed intention - such declarations of position are. One could, without leaving one's computer chair, find, if not 96 other such flowers, at least 10-20 more, marked by their condemnation of neo-liberal globalisation and their very varied global alternatives. Within this context, the Bamako Appeal could be considered a challenging addition or alternative. There seems little likelihood of it disappearing into the Saharan sands. And if it were to do so, I would consider it a loss to the movement. At time of writing, however, it seems as if both the BA and discussion about it are emerging out of rather than disappearing into the wastes.

2. An old left political process?

The WSF and the GJ&SM are highly sensitive to process, seeming to have understood that it is actually means that determine ends. Whilst those controlling or coordinating the various fora are sometimes criticised, or dismissed as 'verticals', they spend an inordinate amount of time considering appropriate process. The self-denominated 'horizontals' do the same. There is, again, Zapatista language that encapsulates the aspiration for a 'prefigurative politics' – one which demonstrates in the dystopian present the social relations of a utopian tomorrow. One expression is 'Nos Re-encontramos Caminando Juntos Preguntando...Reflejando' (We Re-encounter Each Other Walking Together Asking….Reflecting). Another, 'Mandar Obedeciendo' (Leading by Obeying). If this is the poetry, prosaic propositions are nonetheless repeatedly made. These concern such issues as control over WSF themes and events; the implications of state-, foundation- or development-agency funding; representativity; the presence of the poor (up to 70 percent of participants in early WSFs have been university educated), marginalisation of the youth camp; protection of women from sexual harassment; the provision of space to women (40+ percent of participants, but on one forum day, according to Obando (2005) subject of four percent of the events; domination *by* the panel form; the dominating role of 'our' celebrities; leadership bias toward the older, the whiter, the more intellectual; and the relationship of the social forums or social movements with political parties, states and statespersons (national or international).

The Bamako Appeal came under immediate scrutiny and challenge because of its pre-history (the PAM of 2005), its manner of creation, its mode of operation, and the fact that it was publicised as a declaration for endorsement. The initiative was funded, according to an unconfirmed report, by various European development agencies, and to the extent of a sum so huge I cannot bring myself to reproduce it! But, in the absence of the kind of accounting that the WSF now feels obliged to publicly make, speculation will inevitably continue. Equally unlikely rumours relate to the provision of assistance to the BA, in cash or kind, from President Chavez. Invitees to the BA launch were selected (not necessarily funded) by the organisers. Those attending were presented with a draft, which was then 'complemented' in working groups, their reports being edited by Amin, Houtart and Rémy Herrera (a leftist French political-economist). According to an account by someone present,

> the reports of the working groups were presented to the plenary session of those at the 'Bandung' conference but at no[] point was the full document presented to the Bamako WSF – at least not as far as I know! The final version of the BA is an 'edited' (and elaborated/rewritten) version of what was reported from the working groups).

One particular cause for suspicion or hostility has been the manner in which the two successive initiatives have been given titles identifying themselves with successive forums: *the* Porto Alegre Manifesto at the WSF of 2005, *the* Bamako Appeal at the WSF of 2006. It has been asked why the latter was not rather called the 'World Forum of Alternatives Appeal' (as was its predecessor, World Forum of Alternatives 1997!). And, indeed, it may be noted that few of the other manifestos or declarations (an exception is the annual Call of Social Movements) has such an identification. Houtart (2006a) notes expressed fears in Bamako of the imposition of the Bamako Appeal on the WSF but declares that such fears were overcome. According to Houtart, again, the appeal was later circulated for signature. The results by late-March were, approximately, 21 collective endorsements, 66 personal ones, and 121 invitations pending. Amongst collective endorsers were the major Brazilian union confederation, CUT and Brazil's landless labour organisation, MST, as well as the Assembly of Social Movements at the WSF in Caracas. Amongst personal signatories were Aminata Traoré, a Malian ex-minister prominent in the African Social Forum, Mahmoud Mamdani, an outstanding Ugandan radical academic, John Bellamy, editor of the US *Monthly Review*, Bernard Cassen, President of Attac in France, and Devan Pillay, an academic labour specialist, South Africa. The name of Nicola Bullard, of Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, a leading figure in the Call of Social Movements, appears both as a signatory and as a non-signatory on the list provided by François Houtart (2006b). In fact, however, neither she, her NGO or her network has signed it.

These endorsements nonetheless suggest that the BA already *has* an international appeal to left intellectuals, social movements and NGOs and one that could be predicted to grow. This recognition does not, however, reduce my own discomfort about a document *produced* by a tiny group of individuals, *complemented* by an invited audience, *edited* by the original group, and 'accepted' (whatever that might mean) at the event and, apparently, at (not by) the WSFs in Bamako and Caracas. I had myself originally considered endorsing the document. But it struck me that it would have been more in the spirit of our new movement if the BA had been issued *for discussion* in the wider community of social movements and critical intellectuals worldwide. Such seems to be the general posture of the Indian activist Jai Sen, of CACIM (see Resources). Sen, an energetic, if critical, promoter of the forum idea in India and globally, has also been a moving force behind the collection and publication of information and analyses of the BA. He says

> Our opinion is that the Bamako Appeal should have been discussed more widely and more openly before being finalised, especially given the potentials of today's communication

> technologies but also since the three World Social Fora were then just coming up (Bamako, Mali, January 19-23; Caracas, Venezuela, January 24-29; and Karachi, March 24-29). Having just one day's discussion of such a major 17 page document could not, we feel, have done justice to the wide range of ideas and formulations put forward there, nor really allowed further ideas to come forward. This reading has been/is being echoed by others who have earlier commented or are now commenting on the Appeal, on various listserves. At another level, the Appeal is also quite uneven, with some sections being far more mature than others. There are several sections in the Appeal that – in a document of this potential *historical* importance – demand more complete formulation. (Sen 2006)

One could add at least two more points.

The first is that given, precisely, the nature of the movement and the informatised world in which it operates, intellectual property is, or can rapidly become, a public good. Just as the WSF cannot operate like either the Vatican or the Union/Party, neither can the initiators of the Bamako Appeal. (Indeed, both the Vatican and the unions/parties are increasingly aware of this). Whilst the authors of the BA seem to have been assuming that this document would have the reception – positive or negative – of the Communist Manifesto, or of the 10-Point Bandung Declaration (which I cannot find on the web), our new movement increasingly insists on critical engagement and dialogue. Means determine ends.

The second point has been made earlier and now surely demonstrated: in its acts of commission or omission the BA is no lone sinner.

3. The labour chapter: a suitable case for dialogue

The labour chapter, short as it is, may well be the most radical political statement on the topic to be found within or around the World Social Forum.

The WSF has so far proven weak, general and cautious on the general question of labour, whilst producing various relevant positions on aspects thereof. I suspect that this weakness – compared with WSF positions on the environment, war or democracy – is due to two interlocked reasons. It seems to me that the core forces in the forum process are 1) still maybe marked by the previous (1970s-90s) opposition of 'new identity' to 'old interest' movements, and/or 2) that they prefer not to enter territory occupied by the traditional union internationals and the ILO. For evidence on Point 1, consider the meagre address to labour of the Anti-Neo-Liberal Agenda. Evidence on Point 2 is more difficult to come by since this is a matter of an *absence*: in this case absence of criticism or alternatives to hegemonic international union positions in an agora over whose entrance there hangs Marx's injunction, 'Criticise Everything!'.

Be this as it may, the inclusion of a chapter on labour within a manifesto with holistic intentions or pretensions is an achievement to be noted. The BA gives the labour question at least a *formal* equality with the nine others. But the Labour Chapter also gives the impression of having been patched together out of elements from different directions or sources, that are in tension with each other, or which anyway do not form a whole that is more than the sum of the parts. Some of the proposals in the chapter are existing union campaigns or aims, such as 'the constitution of effectively transnational trade-union structures' (compare Davies and Williams 2006). Others can be found in the Labour Platform mentioned above, such as address to the informal or marginal workers and to migrants. Here the chapter merely repeats or continues what is being said or done - if in an important new context. I have a further problem with the title, given that 'United Front' belongs to the historical vocabulary of the Communist International (Comintern), where it actually meant an alliance between existing parties, led by a

Communist Party (United Front, Resources). This is clearly different from the new kind of dialogical/dialectical relationship in which it is assumed that all parties involved are (open to being) transformed. I note the brevity and generality of this chapter. It is both shorter and less specific than the one on peasants (reflecting the existence of a *major new* global peasant/farmer movement within the GJ&SM?). It is *behind* both the union internationals and the Labour Platform in so far as 'women' do not even appear within it. In sum, the chapter represents an innovation in degree or of issue rather than one of underlying social theory or ethical principle. Yet such inspirations are surely both necessary to the case of labour and consistent with the stated intentions of the BA. If the international union movement is in relative or absolute decline, and if it is in the deepest crisis of its 150 year history, surely more is called for?

Now, there has, over the last 15 or 20 years, been considerable debate about 'Social Movement Unionism' or the 'New Social Unionism' (reviewed Waterman 2004). There has been considerable innovatory feminist writing here too, primarily, of course, on working women (Chhachhi and Pittin 1996, Hale and Wills 2005). Recently this kind of challenge has been added to significantly by the protests of and theoretical/strategic discussion around the 'precariat', at least in Western Europe (Euro Mayday 2004). Hardt and Negri, in their latest controversial book, have a challenging chapter on labour (Hardt and Negri 2004:Ch. 2.1). This argues that 'work' (labour carried out for capital) is undergoing a fundamental transformation, that the 'multitude' (their alternative to 'people', 'masses', 'working class', 'worker-peasant alliance') are all those who do so work for capital and who can thus potentially refuse this rule (2004:106). This suggests, simultaneously, a relativisation of the traditional proletarian (and his typical organisation), but a considerable extension of the role of labour within a movement for global social emancipation. Given the marginal role of the labour question within our new movement, this is a powerful and positive argument, potentially attractive to radical unions, union radicals and labour activists beyond.

This chapter, furthermore – like the Labour Platform - only gestures in the direction of labour internationalism, whereas there has been much movement innovation here and various attempts to formulate a 'new labour internationalism' or 'global labour solidarity' – sometimes in relation to the new movement (Waterman and Timms 2004). Whilst much of this innovation has been within labour *studies* rather than within the labour *movement* more generally, it surely needs to be fed into any such innovatory and emancipatory labour strategy as Labour Chapter presumably intends. I do not wish to make excessive claims for my own contributions to formulating a new kind of global social movement unionism. But they might allow for a stimulating 'compare and contrast' exercise with the existing chapter (**Appendix 2**). Any such exercise would anyway be only a part of a more general and more global dialogue.

I am not, however, here concerned with awarding white, pink or red marks to the Labour Chapter. I am simply suggesting the value, even the necessity, of an extensive global dialogue around the Bamako Appeal as a whole. Being familiar with the charter of the World March of Women, I suspects that many feminists (and feminisms!) would have a similar attitude towards the BA chapter on women. (For feminist criticisms of the WSF itself see, AFM 2005, Obando 2005). I note, moreover, 'missing' chapters: there is nothing on indigenous peoples and movements – despite their demonstrated significance in Mexico and Bolivia. There is nothing on religious and communal fundamentalism – which cannot be simply ignored or dismissed as a by-product of imperialism. For a document drafted by political-economists, it is surprisingly silent on the informatisation of capital, labour and society (Hardt and Negri 2004, Huws 2006). The Internet only appears in a sub-chapter on 'management' of the media!

One could and should, of course, continue with – indeed start with - the general theoretical approach, analysis and strategy represented by the introductory part of the BA (i.e. that part issued by the authors and not submitted for discussion at the initiating event)! But I have to leave this task for others.

4. Conclusion: the Janus-faced nature of the WSF and the GJ&SM

The 'Modern Janus', according to Tom Nairn (1975) is - or was at least then - nationalism. Referring to the Bamako Appeal as a late-modern Janus is not simply a rhetorical device (although it is obviously this also). My intention is to record the significant transformation *of capitalist society or civilisation* related to that from a national-industrial-(anti-)colonial capitalism to a globalised-networked-informatised one. By transformation I mean such a dramatic development that all the characteristics of the previous phase are relativised. This means relativising also the stable understandings of such, the ruling commonsense. And that means also recognising the extent to which there is, or needs to be, *a significant transformation within the emancipatory movement*. In this case the transformation needs to be from the single subject, and simple formula, of the *Communist Manifesto* (Proletariat-Internationalism-Revolution-Socialism) to recognition of today's 'many-headed hydra' (Linebaugh and Rediker 2001), and its need for a 'world that allows for many others' (another Zapatista expression).

In suggesting that the Bamako Appeal faces the political past as well as the social future, I do not see that it is here on its own, nor that it represents some unique new threat to the WSF and the GJ&SM more generally. I would myself still consider the greatest threat to the new movement to be some kind of global neo-keynesianism, in which smart capitalists, imaginative statespeople, dependent academics and counter-elites (from the unions, left parties, academia and the new movements) settle for the more-civilised capitalism suggested by the UN's Global Compact, the International Labour Organisation's 'Decent Work' (Brand 2006, Waterman 2005b, Waterman 2006), and, for that matter, the Labour Platform for the Americas itself! Here I would echo those feminists who have said that those women who seek equality with men lack ambition.

The Bamako Appeal reveals the distance travelled by the Dependency theorists and Thirdworldists since, well, Bandung, the impact on them of the new movement. It also suggests tensions between their old positions and the new ones. If, moreover, we were to consider the history of such emancipatory manifestos since 1789 or 1848, we would see – or should see - to what extent each of these was a prisoner of that which it intended to liberate us all from. The same goes for the WSF itself, for the GJ&SM in general – unless one is going to do a selective reading which identifies only the innovatory or emancipatory elements (or those we prefer to consider so). Thus the WSF was launched by a number of mostly-male, mostly-white, mostly-middle-aged, mostly Euro-Latino personalities, themselves coming out of the Janus-faced world of non-governmental organisations, with these NGOs highly dependent on the equally Janus-faced world of national party or state support, Northern development funding agencies and corporate foundations. All this has been extensively discussed elsewhere, as has the relationship of dependence-on/autonomy-from nation-states, political parties, statespersons, municipal authorities and inter-state agencies (for an original and radical statement here, see again Adamovsky 2006).

Here a parenthesis might be in order. It is, admittedly, a new point but it might provoke further reflection on emancipatory social movements and internationalisms. This is the position of André Drainville. Self-associated with the Situationist International of the 1960s (a libertarian cultural movement with, I recall, limited international spread or internationalist activity), he finds the WSF itself to stand in a long and ignoble tradition of programmatic internationals. With the partial exception of

Marx's first one, Drainville finds that the following (would-be) emancipatory internationals began with some procrustean ideology, with which they attempted to squeeze or stretch such masses or classes as they cared to address. He concludes:

> That 'Another World is Possible' has become the ensign of the left's common sense. For all its engaging cheerfulness, and for all the hope and energy that can be drawn from it…this slogan advertises the wrong kind of anti-capitalist politics. Aping the ways of the ruling class is a sure way to fall into easy ambushes…This is no less true now that governance is trying to humanise neo-liberal concepts of control than it was when Gramsci wrote. Rather than abide by the immense condescension of drawers of programmes wishing to order and stabilise the global movement of multitude, we need to think from concepts of resistance that are drawn from what men and women acting against capitalist restructuring have already invented; rather than consider those inventions too small or not political enough for the world-restructuring task at hand, we need to think with enough imagination to see the relative coherence – and thus the depth and the strength - of what is being born of present circumstances. (I cite from a draft of Drainville 2006)

Drainville seems to consider all such efforts as bearing the devil's footprint of the Comintern. Yet I (someone who grew up in this very tradition) have been rather energetically defending the production of charters, declarations and manifestos. Perhaps this is because I see these condensations of thought and calls to action as themselves having roots in or being inspired by movements they then, true, have tried to dominate and instrumentalise. If they had had *no* such contact, these internationals would have moved no one. My defence of manifestos is also due to confidence that the 'emancipatory subjects' we are seeking have, at least today, education and – in the case of at least some of their local leaders – internet access. The 'immense condescension of drawers of programmes' only applies, surely, to those draughtspeople who *fail to structure into their projects* the on-going feedback from those they claim to speak for.

But forget for a moment the masses being condescended to: *I,* armed with all the (problematic) faculties and facilities of my class, profession, gender, ethnic origin, income group, age and national identity, *I* find these documents essential. The same goes for the famous 'Beginners Guides', with their customarily disrespectful treatment of solemn subjects (see Adamovksy 2005, now available via Amazon, and Rius 2003, now available from Walmart!). And for the Wikipedia (Resources), which reveals its artisan, collectively- created and provisional nature. I have neither the time nor the skill to become myself an expert on urban housing, agricultural production, gender budgeting - even the precariat, migrant and women workers - on indigenous peoples, the position(s) of gays, lesbians, bisexuals and transsexuals. Their documents, or those drawn up 'on their behalf', allow me to orient myself within an increasingly diverse and complex world of struggle. That such may reproduce capitalist, religious or old failed emancipatory movement understandings and strategies, I take for granted. But this only obliges me to read them critically. And to make such critical assessment available to others. Which I suppose is what I am trying to do here.

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Of Saints, Sinners and Compañer@s: Researching the Active Bearers of Internationalism

(1999)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 1999b. `Of Saints, Sinners and Compañeras: Internationalist Lives in the Americas Today', *Working Paper Series*, No. 286, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. 32 pp.]

For most of human history, political and military elites have directed the foreign affairs of their tribes, kingdoms and nations as they have seen fit, largely unencumbered by the concerns of the common people over whom they rule. Recent history, however, has witnessed a difficult, faltering, yet clearly perceptible, upheaval from below. In recent decades, those ideals have been amplified into a `participation revolution' around the world. From Algiers to Prague to Beijing, from Soweto to Santiago to San Francisco, ordinary people are increasingly acting on the idea that all people, and not just elites, ought to participate significantly in shaping the decisions and structures that effect their lives. This `participation revolution' has not left untouched the domain of international relations and foreign policy making - long restricted to the control of elites. (Christian Smith, *Resisting Reagan: the US Central America Peace Movement*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996, p. xvi).

[G]rasping the flow, finding and communicating present realities that transgress nation-state imaginaries, resembles what Walter Benjamin depicted as seizing a flash in a moment of danger, a praxis for historians. The real task of the historian, Benjamin insisted, was not to relive the past by empathy, not to set the present aside in order to recover the way…it really was. Instead, Benjamin called upon historians to be cognisant of debts and danger, debts owed to the dead who had struggled and sacrificed and danger in the present. This historian realises that `even the dead *will not be safe 'without historians' active intervention, that memory of losses and sacrifices will be lost or distorted in the interests of the presently powerful, and most importantly, that memories of past struggles, the flashes seized, can become inspiration for political movements in the present and future.*(John D. Kelly, `Time and the Global: Against the Homogeneous, Empty Communities in Contemporary Social Theory', *Development and Change*, Vol. 29, 1998. Pp. 839-71).

[T]here are two ways of contributing to this moment. One is to try to analyse the past with distance. The second to break the silence. The best way of doing this - there is no other - is to speak; or at least to write. This means to present testimony. And presenting testimony is, perhaps, already writing history. Because the history that will be written by future historians will be an interpretative history, done on the basis of testimonies. That of today, that of our days, has to be, instead, a testimonial history. This is not the history of the historians; it is that of the actors, and even if this is not the most true, it is at least the most authentic. (Fernando Mires, `Chile: Rompiendo el silencio' [Chile: Breaking the Silence], *Servicio Informativo ALAI*. No. 279, August 26, 1998, pp. 12-16

Introduction: of icons and internationalisms

I had just presented a first draft of this paper,[73] in which I had included a thumbnail sketch of 1992 Nobel Peace Laureate, Rigoberta Menchu, when a public and international controversy broke out around her. This concerned both her first book, *I, Rigoberta Menchu* (Menchu 1987) and her second one, *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998a). Rigoberta was, in my original paper, the one such living contemporary agent. In so far as I was arguing for research on internationalism based on either testimonies or interviews, this controversy raised complex questions about the active agents of such and how to study them.

I, Rigoberta Menchu (IRM) contributed to making this indigenous Guatemalan woman activist an international icon, and provided a part of the stimulus for US/Western European solidarity movements to propose her for the Nobel Peace Prize she was awarded in 1992. It was after this, and with her consequent international reputation, that Rigoberta became a major public figure, speaking to an indigenous, national and international audience on a range of peace, democracy, indigenous rights and related issues.

The controversy about the use/abuse of the Latin American *testimonio* actually began earlier amongst anthropologists and other academics in the US (Chronicle of Higher Education 1999, Gugelberger 1996, Lancaster 1998).[74] It passed into the public sphere with the publication of a book on Menchu and IRM by David Stoll (1998). This threw doubt on both the literal veracity of her first testimony and its claim to represent the whole indigenous Guatemalan community. Whilst, I think, treating Menchu with some respect, Stoll argues that the testimony was a product of the relationship between her, her community, the armed insurrectionary movement she then identified with, and the international peace and justice movement itself. Despite the *New York Times* press spin on the book, with Rigoberta as a `tarnished laureate' (Rohter 1998) Stoll has also publicly stated that he considers the Rigoberta phenomenon as having contributed to the peace process within Guatemala (Fernandez Garcia 1998). This was, however, not the first controversy about the first book, since, as Stoll records, there has been a long and complex series of disputes between Rigoberta and her Venezuelan/French interviewer/editor, Elizabeth Burgos Debray, concerning both the text and the income from IRM. Since the publication in English of Rigoberta's second book, *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998a), another row

[73] This first version was addressed to a conference on `Transnational Organising in the Americas', within the Hemispheric Dialog (HD) programme, at the University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC), December 1998. Given my own limited knowledge of and access to both the hemisphere and its internationalisms, this event provided ideas, information and stimulus to a rewrite. The conference participants, the academics of UCSC, the Bay Area (San Francisco and surrounds), and California more generally, turned out to be particularly well qualified to speak about internationalism. This may be due to California's vanguard role in globalisation, its status on the frontline between `first' and `third' worlds, as well as its intimate, complex and conflictive relationship with waves of Latino/a immigrants (some of whom contributed significantly to the conference). My thanks for discussions and comments, in particular, go to Sonia Alvarez, Alison Brysk, John Borrego, Eric Holt-Jimenez, Jonathon Fox, Susanne Jonas, Margaret Keck, Norma Klahn, Ronnie Lipschutz, Paul Lubeck, James O'Connell, Manuel Pastor, Juan Poblete. I am particularly indebted to my discussant, Mimi Keck (who still owes *me* a printed copy of her penetrating comments!). Jonathon Fox is one of the few people are trying to theorise this area. He also pressed me, in person and by email, to a degree that may take longer to respond to than the period I had for reconsideration. Mary Garcia Castro made a polemical attack on my paper - which she considered ahistorical, anti-communist and eurocentric - and won applause amongst Latino/a students present. A pity, since I share her political background and many of her research interests. I hope she may come to see me as an interlocutor to be talked with rather than an opponent to be condemned. Relevant writings of a number of these people can be found in the bibliography. Appreciation should also be expressed to a seminar on the revised paper at the Institute of Social Studies, January 1999, where Eric Ross reproduced, non-polemically, some of Mary's concerns.

[74] For the most-compressed imaginable summary of the issues, see Gugelberger 1998, which discusses the second book of Rigoberta precisely in terms of its differences from her first.

has blown up. The co-editors of this one accused Verso Books of intellectual theft in deliberately leaving their names not simply off the cover but out of the book as a whole.[75] Verso, however, denies any intention to mislead or misuse, explaining the matter as due to their translation having been done from a manuscript which did not carry these names, and the following failure of the copyright holders to point out any shortcoming in the English draft supplied them for commentary. They have also promised rectification (Verso 1998). The accusation of intellectual theft against Verso by Rigoberta's collaborators nonetheless suggests the sensitivity surrounding her books.

The controversy, more significantly, suggests what happens when the world's voiceless begin to find tongue, when for the first time the subaltern speaks.[76] These voices are neither innocent nor simple, nor can they be taken as *the* voice of a particular community or universe. Nor are they even *heard* without the mediation of comparatively wealthy, sophisticated or powerful Others, with their own already-developed skills, institutions and agendas - political, communicational or academic. Rigoberta has, over the years between her two books, been partially formed by the `international of goodwill' that both campaigned for and gave her the Nobel. But this is not to disparage the international solidarity movements either, or even the funding agencies largely dependent on liberal-democratic states or capitalist corporations/foundations. It is rather to recognise a turning point in the history of international solidarity movements. For, as Stoll's book reveals (though this is not his intention), these have, over the last 20-30 years, operated largely on a one-way, top-down, North/West-to-South/East axis and direction. This has been a `substitution solidarity' (see below) in which the rich/powerful/free, left/democratic/liberal movements, in the North/West, have related to the poor/weak/oppressed in the South/East. As Stoll further reveals, these solidarity movements needed such icons. And the regional/national/local movements behind the icons-to-be needed the international solidarity movements. But this was also during the period of North-South and East-West dichotomies. And that was before globalisation made us aware of the South in the North and the North in the South, or that global problems, global identities and new global social movements existed (or could exist) across, despite of, and against these increasingly blurred frontiers (Pollack 1998).

Regardless of the critique and controversy, *Crossing Borders* (CB) provides a unique contribution to an understanding of the new internationalisms. This is largely due to the manner in which it illustrates, in practical, personal and eminently readable terms, recent academic writing on what is variously called `global civil society', `the new internationalisms' or `transnational advocacy networks' (see below). Rigoberta's CB will reach many more readers than the writing of people like Stoll or myself. If these readers now look at her and her work as my colleagues look at me and mine, this can only contribute to creating the kind of public necessary for a self-reflective and self-critical global solidarity culture.

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[75] The Spanish-language original of *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998b) has a very different appearance. Entitled, *Rigoberta Menchu: Granddaughter of the Mayas*, it indicates the two collaborators on its front cover. It also has preliminary statements by a Spanish leader of Amnesty International, of the Uruguayan writer, Eduardo Galeano, and of one of the collaborators himself. In an acknowledgement, Rigoberta expresses her thanks to this man and his colleague. The copy I have seen was a *third* 1998 edition, which indicated, moreover, that the book had won a major Spanish prize for `International Co-operation'. CB was thus reinforcing her iconic status within the framework of what used to be called `development aid .

[76] The reference here is to Spivak 1988, who suggested that s/he could not. As for the iconisation of the marginalised indigenous or outcaste third world woman, this did not begin with Rigoberta, although it might end with her. Before her there was Domitila Barrios de Chungara (Barrios 1979), a woman of the indigenous mining communities in Bolivia. After her has come Phoolan Devi, the Indian bandit leader, immortalised in what many consider to be the best Indian movie ever, *Bandit Queen*. There was, on its release, a considerable national and international controversy around this movie, with Phoolan Devi suggesting her story had been ripped-off and distorted by the Indian-British production team responsible for it. Feminists crossed swords and theories, some stating that the movie was sexually exploitative, others that it showed an independent and empowered outcaste village woman wreaking vengeance on her higher-caste rapists in a manner available to her. Yes, they did use her. Yes it is a great movie. Or - if you prefer - the other way round.

Rigoberta, the person, her testimonies, her iconic status, it seems to me, stand at another frontier crossing - between an old inter*nationalism* (a relation between nations, nationals, nationalities, nationalisms) and the new more complex, more critical, more self-conscious global solidarities. If the case, finally, raises questions about the role and value of testimony in the creation of international or global community, it also possibly spells the end of iconisation in creating a contemporary solidarity.[77] Internationalists, it seems to me, need to see Rigoberta, as neither saint nor sinner but rather as a *compañer@* (a richly ambiguous – and androgynous - figure - meaning friend, workmate, associate, sexual partner, or political comrade. It is in the light of the above that we should consider study of the new internationalists.

Argument: a new global solidarity culture needs internationalist voices

So, this is an argument for an academic research project or programme on internationalists. Whilst originally based on the case of the Americas, I think the project has global relevance. This paper is also an argument for a research focus that does not yet exist, but which I consider not only innovatory but urgent. It is an argument, further, for carrying it out in a way that might encourage 1) input from such internationalists and 2) access to the output by both such people and the broader public concerned. This is not necessarily research which I will be able to carry out myself, although I would be happy to contribute. The paper is therefore meant to stimulate discussion, and, indeed, the independent research work of others. So much for motivation.

Now for the argument itself. It seems to me that any humane, varied, sustainable democratic and pluralistic notion of civil society, descends from often unrecognised predecessors, is shaped by distinct hegemonic structures and processes, but is also self-evidently dependent on certain active agents. As Christian Smith puts it in his study of the US-Central America peace movement of the 1980s:

[77] The de-iconisation may be already occurring within the `First World-Third World movement'. This is suggested by the response to the controversy of a veteran of Dutch solidarity with Latin America, Mario Coolen (as reported in *Trouw* 1998). Coolen received Rigoberta on her first visit to Europe in 1981, and recognises the extent to which she has become entrapped both in the fame of her Nobel Prize and in the building of her own `development empire'. At the same time, however, he defends her work - but as creating a `corporate personality' representative of her people. And he is suspicious of the motives of Stoll. Coolen accuses him of undermining international support work for the Guatemalan *indigenas*, of creating the impression that things were not so bad for them in Guatemala, and of playing along with a familiar US strategy intended to undermine the participation of the *indigenas* in the forthcoming elections. Rigoberta herself has been reported, in the Guatemalan press, as insisting on the literal truth of IRM. The veteran Uruguayan revolutionary and writer, Galeano, has defended Rigoberta the icon and bitterly attacked Stoll for reproducing US imperial and racist attitudes (Galeano 1999). Arturo Taracena, a major actor in the creation of the first book, has broken a 16-year silence to comment critically on the roles in the controversy played by both Elizabeth Burgos Debray and David Stoll. Taracena, a Guatemalan historian, one-time revolutionary, long-time friend of Rigoberta and co-ordinator of the campaign for her Nobel, says in part: `Rigoberta did not win the Prize only because of the book. It was because of her political organising, her leadership role and her political capacity. Rigoberta won the Nobel Prize for an entire trajectory. She was where she had to be at the right time. She was in the United Nations, in Geneva, she campaigned for human rights and for indigenous rights, not only in Guatemala, but throughout the Continent; she managed and maintained a leadership role at a global level. She came back to Guatemala, and she was captured. The Nobel wasn't given to her as a writer; besides, the book came out 10 years before she won the Prize. The Nobel Prize was a message to all of Latin America from Europe regarding the question of indigenous peoples and the construction of democracy and peace, but many people refuse to see that'. (Aceituno 1999). Grandin and Goldman (1999) comment as follows: `perhaps Western readers expect only simplicity and naiveté from Indian women. And perhaps it was this expectation that Menchú skilfully used to publicise the wholesale slaughter being conducted by the Guatemalan military [...] Similar to what he accuses Menchú of doing, Stoll arranges and suppresses events to support his claims. Stoll would have us believe that if not for the guerrillas, the military might not have become the most bloodthirsty killing machine in the hemisphere. Yet by reducing Guatemala's conflict to the back-and-forth sparring between the guerrillas and the military, Stoll wilfully -- or ignorantly -- misrepresents the history of Guatemalan political opposition and repression. It is unfortunate that at this moment, when truth commissions and exhumations are opening the secrets of the recent past to scrutiny, Stoll s work provides both these stereotypes with a scholarly patina'. For another well-qualified critic of Stoll's account, see Rarihokwats (1999). And for a thoughtful Peruvian journalist's evaluation of this issue, see Lauer 1999.

> social movements do not consist simply of abstract structures and contexts, of impersonal forces and events. Social movements are, at bottom, real, flesh-and-blood human beings acting together to confront and disrupt. They are the collective expressions of specific people, of concrete men and women struggling together for a cause. Bringing our focus down to real, concrete human beings in this way raises a set of questions. Namely, exactly what kinds of people participated? Why did *they* tend to join or become recruited into the movement: What personal characteristics or circumstances may have predisposed them to become activists? (Smith 1996:168) [78]

To which I would add: what lessons can we draw in order to increase the active membership and effective leadership in such movements?

The case for writing about our particular movement *auto/biographically* is as follows. This genre is not an art or skill confined to the academy or professional writers. Neither is the reading thereof. Auto/biography can, it seems to me, make the work of internationalist activists accessible to publics that academic, political or even journalistic writing on internationalism can hardly touch. It should be remembered - also by the internationalists themselves - that internationalist activity can seem exotic *and even suspect* to the public they hope to reach or claim to speak for. The popularisation of internationalism therefore remains a permanent challenge. In the UK recently, and possibly elsewhere, the auto/biographical literary (and TV?) genre has been going through a boom. This may be due to a widespread crisis of identity, or even a generalised loss of social meaning. This in turn may be a consequence of the increasingly fast and often brutal transition to a new neo-liberalised, globalised and networked capitalism (GNC)[79] and the consequent undermining of such (now-traditional) structures, aspirations, life-cycles or relationships as lifetime wage-work, social welfare, the family (nuclear or not), gender and generational roles, the national community, an authoritative state, life-advancing science, empowering education. In certain parts of our increasingly globalised world, the sense of loss gives rise to an enthusiastic consumptionism (often vicarious) or apathetic/sensation-seeking spectatorship, in others to mass fundamentalisms (religious, ethnic, occasionally socialist-nationalist or national-socialist). These responses have their own active bearers, whose lives or life-styles may be

[78] Although not cast in terms of internationalism, the book of Christian Smith (1996) on the 1980s US movement for peace in Central America is a rare if not unique example of a serious study of internationalism and internationalists in the Americas. It is not only the most extensive such study of which I am aware: it also examines its subject in terms of social movement theory. It has, furthermore, a long chapter (169-210) examining both activists and leaders on the basis of interviews and their own writings. And it pays major attention to the moral/ethical motivation. A crucial additional element is the attention given to the movement's relationship with public discourse and the mass media. Smith's case studies concentrate on Sanctuary (mobilising 70,000 US citizens to provide sanctuary, illegally, for Central American refugees within the US) and Witness for Peace (activating some 4,000 to risk their lives by travelling to Nicaraguan war zones). These movements came from and appealed largely to religious communities in the US. He pays only peripheral attention to CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), and then primarily as a leftist gadfly. A pity, since giving it equal space would have required him to compare/contrast his religious and secular/leftist activists. I suspect, however, that this would not have changed his finding that this movement was one primarily of wealthy, white, university educated women and men, primarily from the human service professions. Smith's evident identification with and concentration on the moral/ethical element in this international solidarity movement nonetheless enables him to surpass the customarily aseptic analysis of US social movement theory (the only one he appears to be aware of). Moreover, he is aware of and makes us aware of contradictions within his movements. Those interested in the *next* wave of internationalism in the Americas, and want to advance such, need to read this book. I hope in the future to give it more attention than this footnote and the occasional main-text quotation. For an excellent interview-based journalistic account of one of Smith's movements, see Crittenden (1988).

[79] This is my name for this new phenomenon. But my argument relates to that of Manuel Castells (1996-8. Reviewed Waterman Forthcoming) and to that of Felix Guattari (1998). I have only just discovered the latter item, which dates from 1991, and welcome his concept of an `integrated global capitalism' and, particularly, his argument on the manner in which this produces a certain kind of subjectivity. It seems to me, however, that whatever capitalism proposes, it is people and peoples who dispose. An IGC can hardly produce only one subjectivity, however much it might imply or even promote such. Guattari, who died in 1992, in any case becomes one of the pioneers of what I call `theoretically critical and socially committed globalisation theory'.

projected nationally and internationally. It is time to present other lives, other models, and in ways that encourage critical engagement rather than passive admiration or thoughtless emulation.

The auto/biographical genre, with its customarily chronological and narrative form, its varied possible combinations of the public and private (and questionings of such), its ethical messages or dilemmas, apparently meets a current social need. In this case it could also provide vital feedback and raw material for interested activists and researchers. And it could deliver raw materials for further processing by cartoon-book makers, academics, dramatists, radio, video, TV, designers/producers of multi-media computer works.[80] These can, in turn, feed back to mass audiences unreachable by written work - as well, of course, to the activists, organisers and educators themselves. In so far, moreover, as the new global solidarities tend to increasingly take the form of *communications internationalisms* (see below), this project both expresses and furthers such. I know of few writings on or by such activists, whether recently or in the past. What exists may be only part of the life of a figure known or seen rather as a Traveller, a Feminist, a Communist, a Poet, a Revolutionary, a Pacifist, an *Indígena*, a Human Rights Activist. There is certainly more writing, particularly in Spanish and Portuguese, but also in English - including that sometimes forgotten America in the non-hispanic Caribbean.[81] More bibliographical work would expand such databases on internationalism as may already exist.[82] The same possibility and necessity exists for audio-visual materials and computer websites.

Relation to the literature

This current paper is obviously inspired by my recent book (Waterman 1998a), as well as other work of my own dealing with labour internationalism or alternative international communication and culture (see Global Solidarity Site in resources below). Whilst there is an increasing amount of other work to be drawn on,[83] I will try to suggest, as briefly as possible, the relevance of my own.

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[80] For an example of the use of (auto-)biographical materials by a creative artist, consider the novel by the Mexican writer Elena Poniatowska (1997) on the life of the Italian-US-Mexican photographer and international Communist activist, Tina Modotti. The English edition is half the length of the Spanish original, reported to have been a spectacular success on its publication in Mexico a few years earlier. Poniatowska reports in her acknowledgements the 350-page interview granted to her by another internationalist Communist activist, Tina's one-time lover and comrade, Vittorio Vidali, another Italian who had also been active in Mexico in the 1930s-40s. Hereby hangs another tale. For a more conventional biography of Modotti, see Hooks 1993.

[81] I am thinking of the Pan-Africanists, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and C.L.R. James (Appiah and Gates 1997, Buhle, Buhle and Garvey 1992).

[82] A search of books and journals in both academic and general bookshops in Lima, December 1998-January 1999, however, revealed but one (exceptionally) relevant item. Nor were either bookshop owners or left intellectuals able to advise me concerning my interest. Indeed, the only other book I could find on a new internationalism was on the successful international campaign against landmines, and that was in English. The search continues.

[83] There is, for example: 1) *historical* work by James Billington (1980), which has many fascinating and relevant insights on revolutionary internationalists (not only 19th century, not solely European, and not only male); 2) recent *theoretical* work of: Manuel Castells (1996-8) concerning social movements in a globalised and networked society; by David Harvey (1996) on space, place, the necessary movement of protest from workplace to community; by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1995) on the continuing necessity for and changed character of utopias; by Meyer and Geschiere (1998) revealing the extent to which globalisation has its own history (or requires a rethinking of such) and is expressed and experienced in complex and different ways in multiple locales; by Archibugi, Held and Koehler (1998) on `cosmopolitan democracy' (the political/institutional aspect of civilising global - and national - society); by Zillah Eisenstein (1998) on globalisation, cyberspace and transnational virtual sisterhoods; 3) by John French and colleagues (French, Cowie and Littlehale 1994) on the past and present of *union internationalism* in the Americas; by Kim Moody (1997) on both official and unofficial labour internationalism in the Americas and more widely; and by Jeremy Brecher and Tim Costello (1994), pioneers of a new labour and community internationalism in the US; 4) by Sonia Alvarez (1998) on *feminism and internationalism* in Latin America and other contributions to the same volume on cultural politics (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (1998); 5) by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) on *`transnational advocacy networks'*, and several related others (Fox and Brown 1998, Lipschutz 1996, Lynch 1998, Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco 1997); 6) by Martin Manalansan IV (1997) and Aaron Pollack (1998) *on political and epistemological*

My book addresses itself to the three elements of its title: globalisation, social movements and the new internationalisms. *Globalisation* is understood in terms of a globalised networked capitalism (GNC), a period marked by

> *high* or *radical* modernity, characterised further as that of a *complex high-risk globalised information capitalism*. Globalisation must be understood as multi-determined: by the market, surveillance, militarisation, industrialism, patriarchy, technocracy, informatism, racism, etc. (Waterman 1998a:203)

The globalisation and informatisation of capitalism is further understood as providing the conditions necessary for an internationalism Marx thought already existed in 1848!

The *social movement* that Marx considered the bearer of human emancipation was, however, the proletariat of the industrialised capitalist world. This working class later spread internationally but became less internationalist with the development of the industrial(ising) nation state, a liberal-democratic/state-collectivist/populist polity, social services, and nationalism/chauvinism/imperialism. It has also become increasingly socially differentiated and dispersed, both nationally and internationally. Whilst labour internationalism is slowly beginning to revive, the major international(ist) social movements of our day are rather those concerning human rights, peace, women, ecology, indigenous peoples.

The *new internationalisms* must therefore be thought of in the plural, with no ontological or teleological privilege granted to one of them. The new internationalisms can be thought of in terms of *a global solidarity* movement - meaning one addressed to the increasing number of global problems produced by a GNC. In so far as the new international(ist) social movements operate largely in network form, address themselves to the provision of concealed or limited information, to the creation of new meanings about that which is available, and work largely through both broadcast and narrowcast media (particularly the internet), they can also be considered *communication internationalisms*. Such new international(ist) social movements provide the main (not sole) force for the creation of some kind of global civil society. A GCS is itself understood as in conflict with both statism and capitalism, as well as with patriarchy, racism, fundamentalism, militarism and environmental destruction.

Finally a word about *solidarity* in the light of a complex, globalised and informatised capitalism. I have already mentioned the necessity for a more complex or multifaceted understanding. Such an understanding could, I think, be profoundly liberating (Waterman 1998a:235-8):

> *Identity* or identity creation is what commonly underlies socialist calls for international solidarity, usually in reference to oppressed and divided classes or categories in opposition to powerful and united oppressors (capitalists, imperialists). By itself, however, an *Identity Solidarity* can be reductionist and self-isolating, excluding unalikes. In so far as the identity is oppositional, it is a negative quality, often determined by the nature and project of the enemy or opponent (as with much traditional socialist internationalism).
>
> *Substitution* implies standing up, or in, for a weaker or poorer other. This is how international solidarity has been usually understood amongst Development Co-operators and `First-World

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differences within/between global(ised) movements; 7) by John Gerassi (1971) for its expression of nationalist-populist *Third World internationalism*, Burbach and Nunez 1987a, b) for a pioneering attempt to update this, and Fernando Mires (1991) for the crisis of internationalism in general and its Third World variant in particular; 8) by Allen Hunter (1995) and NACLA Report (1995) on the *complexities of contemporary internationalisms in the US*; 9) by Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (1998) *on political activism and cyberspace* in general, and by Wendy Harcourt (1999) on that of women in particular. Other items are mentioned in the body of the paper, in footnotes or in the bibliography.

Third-Worldists'. By itself, however, a *Substitution Solidarity* can lead to substitutionism (acting and speaking for the other), and it can permit the reproduction of existing inequalities. This is a criticism of Development Co-operation, which may function to create a single community of guilt and moral superiority within `donor countries', whilst creating or reproducing further feelings of dependency and/or resentment in countries where social crises have evidently been worsening.

Complementarity suggests the provision of that which is missing, and therefore an exchange of different desired qualities. A *Complementary Solidarity* would mean that what was moving in each direction could differ but be equally valued by participants in the transaction. In so far as it meant that some kind of physical goods (cash, equipment, political support) were mostly moving in one direction and that some kind of moral or emotional goods (expressions of appreciation and gratitude) were mostly being received, we could be involved in an `unequal exchange' of a problematic character.

Reciprocity suggests mutual interchange, care, protection and support. It could be taken as *the* definition of the new global solidarity. Global *Reciprocity Solidarity*, however, could be understood as a principle of equal exchange, in which (as with states) one is exchanging political equivalents, or (as with capitalists) on the basis of calculated economic advantage. And it could therefore imply that one would defend the rights of others only if, or in expectation of, reciprocation by the other.

Affinity suggests mutual appreciation or attraction, and therefore a relationship of mutual respect and support, in which what is sought, appreciated or valued by each party is shared. Affinity would seem to have more to do with values, feelings and friendship. An *Affinity Solidarity* would seem to allow for global linkages within or between ideologies or movements, including between people without contact but acting in the same spirit. In so far as it approximates friendship, it would seem to be inevitably particular, if not particularistic.

Restitution suggests the putting right of a past wrong, the recognition of historical responsibility, a `solidarity with the past', a solidarity across time rather than space. A *Restitution Solidarity* comes close, however, to inter-governmental war reparations, with the consequent danger of buying off guilt.

The value of such an differentiated understanding would seem to be the following: 1) that it is multi-faceted and complex; 2) that each type holds part of the meaning and that each is only part of the meaning; 3) that it is subversive of simple binary or (r)evolutionary oppositions between bad and good, old and new, material and moral solidarity; 4) that it enables critique of partial or one-sided solidarities; 5) that it could be developed into a research instrument, permitting, for example, surveys of the meaning(s) of solidarity for those involved. The last point seems entirely relevant to the proposed project.

Questions of method: questioning methods

For those intending to do either narrative auto/biographies or systematic interviewing, it would be useful to consider the following:

- examples of auto/biographies, diaries or memoirs[84] (not necessarily exemplary ones - they could usefully include those of US `trade union imperialists'),

[84] I have just (re)discovered a collection of interviews with US *internacionalistas* (this was the local name for them) working in Nicaragua during the Sandinista period (Ridenour 1986). I still have to work this into my

- socio-historical methodology (particularly that of oral history),[85]
- interview techniques (relevant or adaptable interview schedules?)[86] and tools (audio- and videotape?).

For the first, one could start with auto/biographies, published either in English, Spanish/Portuguese - sometimes, possibly, in all three. The advantage of published work is that it is evidently already in the public sphere and therefore open to public scrutiny and critique. This material does not require the negotiation of a relationship with the person concerned. The problems with published work are, of course, many and familiar. These works obviously represent particular (self-)presentations, requiring considerable background knowledge for their evaluation. They may not themselves be focussed on the internationalist activities or their subjects: indeed, the subjects may not even see such activity *as* internationalism.

I have, further, a major question in my mind[87] about whether it is possible to deal, in one study, with both the icons of internationalism (such as Che Guevara and Rigoberta Menchu) and its unknown soldiers or officers. The answer must be: yes, no and maybe. In so far as we are here dealing with virgin territory, I feel that we need, initially, a map indicating the main features of the terrain. Or - to change metaphors - the major voices that are either speaking or can be found and encouraged to speak. We are not dealing, as does Smith (1996) with a well-established international solidarity movement, or a number of social movement organisations, with membership lists, publications, collections of news clippings, coverage in the media, leaders who have themselves written, and a certain number of existing studies. The internationalist voices that I have so far found or heard, *tend* to be those from earlier generations and those of people who could be considered icons. In so far as this piece is intended only to encourage or provoke research, I will leave this matter open for further consideration of interested readers and putative researchers.

A heuristic model: agitators, agents and communicators

To stimulate the thought of both myself and others I want to suggest that the active agents of the new internationalisms are no longer the internationalist *agitators* of the 19th century (preaching, organising and leading the national-democratic or social revolution wherever they happened to be). Nor are they the internationalist *agents* of the 20th century (the overt or covert representatives of nation-states or state-oriented political parties and organisations). They are, primarily, *communicators*

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argument since they would seem to undermine my typology just below. They could, I suppose, be considered latter-day *agitators*, but only if this term is stretched so as to allow for propaganda-of-the-deed, since they were mostly providing technical expertise (and were even excluded from political participation). They could, thus, be seen as descendants of the International Brigades that committed themselves to the Spanish Revolution during the Civil War. Like the *brigadistas*, they risked their lives in the struggle against foreign-sponsored counter-revolutionaries. They should also be considered in relation to two other categories: 1) the missionaries who often carry out technical roles in the countries they are sent to (there were many church people amongst the *internacionalistas*); and 2) the development cooperators (*cooperantes*) who often identify with the countries, movements or people amongst whom they work but who are customarily confined to technical roles. Ridenour himself is a *communicator*, and one who combines identification with both of his subjects (the *internacionalistas* and the Nicaraguan revolution) with a certain critical distance. Ridenour also allows his interviewees to express or reveal contradictions of or with Nicaragua and in their own positions or personalities. The book certainly reveals the strengths of this kind of work for communicating internationalism.

[85] The handbook of Valerie Yow (1994) is of particular interest because of its class and gender sensitivity.

[86] Smith (1996) employs multiple methods in his study of the US Central America peace movement of the 1980s. These include various survey instruments. Although he explains his methodology, he does not provide us with copies of his survey or interview questions.

[87] Planted by Jonathon Fox, to whom are due my reluctant thanks.

(communicating internationalism to, networking with, and thus facilitating internationalism by and between specific social sectors or movements).[88]

Although largely drawn from European history and contemporary experience, this typology has, I would like to hope, some more general value. It could, perhaps, be argued that these types refer to three *aspects* of internationalism rather than three *phases*. I have no doubt that this is the case. The predominance of a certain *type*, however, surely relates to three successive phases of capitalist and state-national history. These are those of 1) early industrial and nation-state development, 2) the generalisation of such, and 3) the current one of a globalised and informatised capitalism. Whilst an argument can, I think, be mounted for this as an empirical/historical statement, I am here proposing it more as a heuristic device (stimulating, inspirational) for examining, through biographies and autobiographies, the lives of internationalists. Let me expand.

The first two types - the *agitator* and the *agent* - are implicitly recognised by Eric Hobsbawm (1988). The third is my own. Speaking primarily of Europe and the 19th century, Hobsbawm identifies as his first type:

> a small body of men and women to whom the states and the nation(alities) to which they belonged were genuinely irrelevant, the future revolution being, as it were, their only real `country'. In this sense Brecht's Comintern agent `die Laender ofter wechselnd als die Schuhe' [changing countries more often than shoes - PW] remained in the same territory wherever he or she found themselves [...] In the Second International period we find such people frequently among anarchists, quite often as migrants or re-migrants from one national movement to another, notably among people born in eastern Europe...Such persons would clearly have put their energies with equal zeal into the struggle in Switzerland or Portugal if this had seemed politically desirable. (Hobsbawm 1988:12)

But, talking of the period following the Russian Revolution, he identifies a second type:

> In the Comintern period [the Communist International, 1919-43 - PW] these international cadres became institutionalised...Under the impact of the collapse of 1914 the Comintern deliberately developed this form of internationalism...in the form of loyalty to the international party line and the USSR. How far this duty was actually felt to be compelling outside the cadre of professional cadres and functionaries, is a question which still awaits research. (ibid)

The research is still awaited.[89] But, in the meantime, it seems to me important to note that Hobsbawm's two types have more significance than he himself recognises. He is, in the first place, talking about internationalists in two distinct periods of capitalist and state development:

- The first period - let us say 1815-1914 - is one of the formation and spread within Europe (and its semi-peripheries) of a nation-state-dependent industrial capitalism. This was a period in which the new mass class of workers was only just undergoing transformation from subjects to citizens, and

[88] In the first draft of this paper, I used the word *networker* rather than *communicator*. The revised term is due precisely to reflection on such cases as those presented below. Further evidence, reflection, or critical commentary can be expected to lead to further fine-tuning, or even to the playing of another instrument entirely.

[89] In the case of Latin America, however, we do have such evidence and argument in the book of Manuel Caballero (1986). His work is confined to the second period, but here it shows the extensive overlap not simply between the two kinds of agent but also between the Soviet institutions sponsoring such. As a body supporting national revolutions in the cause of an international one, the Comintern was obliged to work clandestinely as well as publicly. As, however, the Comintern became increasingly subordinated to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Narkomindel, or People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs), the confusion between revolutionaries and functionaries was only increased. In the early years, however, the agents were both proud and open about their double role (Caballero 1986:33-37).

initially felt more affinity with workers and the poor elsewhere than with old ruling and new capitalist elites.

- The second period - let us say 1918-68, is that of the maturation and universalisation of this model (often having more success in the state-national form than in the industrial-capitalist content!). This was the period of maximum incorporation of the working and popular classes into the state-nation, with socialism often acting as a left-populist nationalism.

Hobsbawm refers, in his second phase, only to the Comintern/Soviet Union. Whilst the USSR was not capitalist, it was certainly industrialising, modernising, nation- and state-building, reproducing many features of industrial capitalism and nation-statism in its internal and - in particular - its external relations. Whilst the Comintern/Soviet Union may therefore provide us with the prototypical internationalist activist, others were produced by Social Democracy within industrialised capitalist democracies, as later by third-world(ist) Populist movements and states. I call the second type of internationalist the *agent*, since this word neatly covers both one who *represents* and one who *spies*. The first operates in the public, the second in the covert sphere. All three left or socialist traditions - the Social Democratic, the Communist and the Populist - produced internationalist agents, operating across this spectrum. (So, incidentally, did the business-union tradition in the USA, the long identification of which with national capital and state-nationalism tended to maximise the *agent* role).

The third type of internationalist, the *communicator*, is my own addition to the typology. I see her/him as a product of a third period of capitalist and state development:

> This third period is marked, firstly, by a crisis in the state/capitalist developmental mode, and secondly by the present movement toward a globalised networked capitalism (GNC). Let us date the *crisis* from 1968. Let us date the *transformation* from 1989. These are, of course, crucial political dates for the left. 1968 is the year of the anti-statist, anti-authoritarian rebellions (in Senegal and Mexico as well as Paris and Prague), resulting in the pluralisation of internationalisms, later expressed in the development of women's, environmental, human-rights and other such movements. 1989 marks another peak of protest, leading however to the triumph of an informatised and service capitalism globally, penetrating, isolating or destroying not only the remnants of Communism and Populism but also threatening and undermining the state-nation and state-nationalism of the industrial capitalist period.

Let me try to characterise this new type of internationalist:

> The *communicator* is primarily a networker, a media-activist, educator and catalyst. S/he may both agitate and represent, but has as primary concerns and activities:
>
> - the provision or creation of information/ideas/images unknown to or concealed from the public international sphere;
>
> - the creation of new meanings and values around that which is public internationally;
>
> - the empowerment of those excluded from the international public/political spheres to formulate their own understandings of the global, to become globally active, and to create appropriate relations in the light of such.
>
> The *communicator*, operating across socio-geographic-political frontiers, in cyberspace as well as socio-political place, is the creator and bearer of the new global political solidarities and of global solidarity cultures. In so far as there is a common logic or ethic amongst such activists, this could be characterised as that of radical democracy and pluralism. Radical democracy means the democratisation of all social relations: the economic, political and socio-cultural; from the

local to the global levels; within society, between movements, within movements, within homes - and even within beds. Pluralism means recognition of the multiplicity and complexity of hegemonic power and, therefore, the necessary multiplicity and multifariousness of contributions to emancipation. Networking opens up the possibility for large numbers of people to become active bearers/agents of internationalism, without the special qualities/capacities (including heroism or death-wish), that past internationalism have confined to an elite.

This third type is, of course, as much a proposed norm as an empirical generalisation. But the others are ideal types too, as has been suggested above and will be shown below.

It is not difficult to find evidence for the existence of the three proposed types. It is, however, also possible, to find:

- *agents* in the first period, acting for organisations and even for (would-be) states;[90]
- second-period *agents* who also agitate (as did many Comintern and Social-Democratic internationalists);[91]
- third-period *communicators* who agitate and/or represent (in public, in lobbies, clandestinely).[92]

All three contemporary types are, moreover, conscious or unconscious inheritors of *earlier* internationalist traditions, as will be suggested below.

The point is that in so far as we are only talking of three types of internationalist, we are also limiting ourselves to the capitalist and state-national period. Yet there are earlier traditions of what we should probably generalise as `solidarity beyond frontiers' or `community across borders'. We cannot, for example, forget or ignore the *cosmopolitanism* of the European Enlightenment and the explicit or implicit *universalism* of the great proselytising religious traditions of West, South and East Asia. These traditions also had their agitators, agents and communicators. They have a continuing influence in or on contemporary internationalisms (including, of course, conservative, authoritarian and even totalitarian ones). If we consider only the immediate precursors of 19th century internationalism, we will find both the *liberal-bourgeois cosmopolitan* and the *radical-democratic* (though not necessarily pluralistic) one. The word `cosmopolitan' is not, as might appear, of Greek origin. It was an 18th century attempt to give a secular liberal universalism some classical European licence. The radical-democratic universalism, which preceded socialist and labour internationalism, certainly itself drew from both the cultural

[90] Despite the Northern blockade of Southern cotton shipments during the American Civil War, 1861-5, and at a time of mass unemployment, Lancashire cotton workers nonetheless supported the North. The union government had its own agents in Britain, who either directly or indirectly contributed to this end (Harrison 1957, 1965, Foner 1981). Shortly after the historic London dock strike of 1889, leaders of the London dockers took the ferry over to Rotterdam in order to support a strike there, and later worked for an international dockers' union. However generous and necessary this activity, their intention was not so much to create a federation or confederation of equal port or national unions, but to incorporate these new forces into their developing British one (Waterman 1998a: 88-9).

[91] I would like to consider I did this on the two occasions that I worked for international Communism (rather than the Comintern) in Prague. The first time was for the International Union of Students, in the mid-1950s, the second for the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the mid- to late-1960s. I was certainly an agitator for internationalism both before and after I became an agent (Waterman 1993, Waterman 1998a:Postscript). On the social-democratic side, we should consider those who worked for the International Transportworkers' Federation in the 1930s-40s. These obviously acted as public agents of the ITF and/or their national unions. But they equally obviously were doing agitational work (often against the Comintern and its union operations). They were obliged, by fascism, to enter into clandestine solidarity activity. And then were eager recruits into the intelligence and espionage work of the Allied Powers during World War II. (Waterman 1998a:88-9).

[92] Thus, Rigoberta Menchu was not and is not simply a media icon. She was and is also an agitator and agent, working both to create and then to represent an internationalism for and of indigenous peoples. See further below.

cosmopolitanism of its bourgeois-liberal predecessor and from the ethical universalism of Judaeo-Christian religious tradition. The internationalism of Marx and Engels is clearly and powerfully marked both by European cosmopolitanism and Judaeo-Christian universalism.

The contemporary *communicator*, it seems to me, must either implicitly or explicitly choose between such elements and traditions, as well as clarifying the novelty of her/his own status. I would argue that this status *is or should be* radically new. If globalisation seems to merely universalise and intensify the (inter-)relations of capital and state, and therefore to geographically universalise, socially generalise and also subjectively intensify the contradictions of capitalism and modernity, informatisation represents an *epochal* transformation, in which age-old divisions and hierarchies are put into question. Informatisation/computerisation not only undermines divisions between the economic, political and socio-cultural, it potentially breaks down the division between the verbal-rational and the audiovisual-affective modes of expression and communication. And it makes culture/communication increasingly central to social life. The failures of, or limitations on, past internationalisms were surely due to their failure to become culturally embedded.[93] *Internationalism*, as has already been suggested, is itself an essentially *political/territorial* notion that both politically and etymologically incorporates - and is thus dependent on - that which it aspires to surpass: the nation-state, nationalism, nationality. In so far as they gained influence or power, the old internationalisms tended to take shape in the political party or the mass organisation (at best representative-democratic) and the nation-state (at best liberal-democratic). Whatever the communicational/cultural achievements of past internationalisms (and they were very considerable), they tended to subordinate these to political ends. The *communicator*, however, operates primarily within communicational/cultural space. This is neither territorially limited nor organisationally controllable (which is not to deny the relative power over them of Walt Disney Inc., Bill Gates and the US state). The new radical-democratic internationalist *communicator* may work within or between nation-states and organisations, but s/he acts also as a subversive element within - or innovatory alternative to - such. How far, to paraphrase Hobsbawm, this possibility is felt to be compelling outside the cadre of contemporary internationalists is, of course, another question which awaits research.

Conclusion

It seems - and with this thought we must bring the paper to an end - that the creation of a new internationalism requires not so much the right ideology but a particular kind of behaviour, a way of relating to other people, and to their ideas. A communications internationalism is not simply an internationalism that *uses* the media or communicates *through* it. A communications internationalism is also an internationalism that *communicates* in the sense of *creating a sense of community*. And here we return to the necessity and possibility of a growing number of ordinary citizens of all countries (armed with information, disposed to tolerance and flexibility, culturally sensitive, equipped with technology, committed ethically) creating global solidarity communities of their own. In order to achieve this, we need to show people internationalist activists to whom their response *may be* `I admire her/him', but *must be* `I should do that', `I could do that' and even `I would enjoy doing that'.

[93] For a rare study of the popular base of , or response to, internationalism, see the study of Victor Silverman (1993) on British and US workers in the period 1939-49. Silverman reveals the complex, delicate and varied collective subjectivities underlying such popular internationalism as there was in a period of high international consciousness. For a related work, which considers internationalist consciousness as revealed by British union conferences and publications, see Vogler (1985).

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Resources

Dictionaries and handbooks. I have used these whilst writing this and related papers. They are useful not only for the provision of names and dates but also for what they themselves reveal of their own presentation, interpretation - and silences - concerning the cosmopolitan/international (see above: Appiah and Gates 1997, Buhle, Buhle and Georgakas 1992, Institut fuer Marxismus-Leninismus 1986). Appiah and Gates is an excellent handbook but has no entries on women or feminism as such. BB&G 1992 has a number of valuable entries (such as Garveyism and C.L.R. James) but is surprisingly thin on internationalism, for which it has no specific entry. The IM-L, despite its (East) German Communist origin, has nothing on the internationalist German Communist heroines, Olga Benario or Tamara Bunke (the German/Argentinean `Tania' who accompanied Che Guevara in Bolivia and died there also).

Amazon electronic bookstore The major US electronic bookshop www.amazon.com often works better than a library or database, and most of the books can be ordered (or looked up in a local library). It can be usefully searched for `international', `labour' and even `international labour' (to give one relevant example). It also lists some Spanish titles. Amazon now operates in and from the UK and Germany, providing a more rapid ordering service in Europe. Searches of Amazon for `internationalism' and `global solidarity' can be found under: http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/amazinterbook1.html.

Cultural Survival International http://www.cs.org/main.html This provides an on-going international site for information and debate on indigenous issues, including both academic and activist voices, and has had considerable coverage of the Rigoberta Menchu controversy.

Cities, Citizens and Power http://www.chavez.demon.nl/ A Uruguayan Ph.D. student at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands, Daniel's particular interest is urban democracy, development and movements, from the city to the global level. He has a more general interest in regional civil societies internationally. He has web skills, as can be seen from his self-designed site. He lists useful Latin American links, and, at time of writing, has ambitions to extend these to global civil society. The site is bilingual.

The Global Solidarity Site (GloSoSite) http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/, is divided into two major parts, one personal, the other general. The personal side includes my own books, articles, and, particularly, recent review articles related to networking, labour and other internationalisms, and a global solidarity culture/communication. The general side includes articles and documents by others, some mentioned above, others relating to the theme. A sidebar on the home page provides a limited number of relevant linkages, mostly to sites that themselves provide good links and other resources in their specialised areas. GloSoSite is currently being improved and extended. The latest version of this paper can, e.g., be found under http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/internacipap.html/

Mayday Database http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/ALISIS.MFN.html is my personal computerised bibliography, on WinIsis, with some 3-4,000 entries, many of them concerned with internationalism, some with internationalists and some with the Americas. The data is not always systematic and there are no abstracts and the data is not searchable except by names and keywords, either online or after downloading. I am negotiating with my Internet Service Provider, Antenna, to convert this into a searchable on-line bibliography of an increasingly familiar type.

Patria Grande: Una pagina con sabor latinoamericano. http://spin.com.mx/~hvelarde/ This is an imaginative and attractive site, created by Hector Velarde, from Mexico. Covering outstanding individuals (some mentioned in this paper or the bibliography), countries, ideas and further relevant links and resources, this site reflects the spirit of *bolivarismo*.

Sociofile bibliography on internationalism. This major academic database (to be found in US and other libraries as a CD-ROM) covers a period of more than 20 years, is a major resource for research. My search, using the keyword `internationalis*', turned up 384 entries. Many may be irrelevant to `internationalism' and `internationalists' but it nonetheless reveals angles usually forgotten in movement-oriented research on these topics. These include `internationalism' or `internationalists' in sociology, social work, education and science. This is very much a US database (though Spanish-language entries can be found), and `internationalism' in this country is most frequently understood as meaning the opposite, in foreign policy or international relations, to `protectionist'! I have saved a copy of my search on GloSoSite. But, although I have marked it with @ and @@ for relevance to my project proposal, readers are advised to go to the source: http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/sfinternatbib.html.

THE USUAL IN-CONCLUSIONS

Let’s Hear it for the Rootless Cosmopolitans!

SELECTED PERSONAL BIBLIOGRAPHY ON-LINE SINCE 2000

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