

(Incomplete and overlong-draft)

The Global Justice and Solidarity Movement

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Introduction

The 'Global Justice and Solidarity Movement' (GJ&SM) is one name for the new wave of protest against corporate-dominated globalisation, neo-liberalism, neo-conservatism and war, for the new wave of counter-proposition, proposing, notably, that 'another world is possible' (World Social Forum website).

In so far as this 'movement of movements' is marked by its network form (Escobar 2003, Klein 2001) – its low level of institutionalisation and high-level of communicational activity – and in so far as 'it' changes size, shape, target and aims according to events (at one moment focussed against neo-liberal globalisation, at another against the US-led war on Iraq), it is as challenging to describe as to name.

Like any novel phenomenon, the GJ&SM is easier to characterise by what it is *not* than by what it is: it is not an international labour or socialist movement (though unions and socialists are prominently involved), it is not a 'transnational advocacy network' (Keck and Sikkink 1998), though it is much marked by the presence of I/NGOs (Inter/national Non-Governmental Organisations), it is not a reincarnation of the international protest wave following 1968 (though Che Guevara icons are still popular, and there are other clear echoes of the 1960s), it is not an anarchist movement (though anarchists, autonomists and libertarians are active within it).

It is, however, easy to identify the rising number of processes which have *provoked* this movement. These include the increasing predominance, within the international sphere - and profoundly impinging on the national or local one – of multinational corporations (MNCs), and of the international financial institutions (IFIs), along with the neo-liberal policies that have been imposed on both North and the South, known more generally as 'the Washington Consensus' (Figure 1). The shrinking of the public sphere and reduction of state controls; the ideology of competitiveness; the reduction of social services; the undermining of protectionism (primarily of weaker national economies); increasing attacks on ecological sustainability; corporate attempts to copyright genetic resources, to genetically modify foodstuffs, to commercialise them and then coerce people/s into buying them; continuation and even increase of militarisation and warfare despite hopes raised by the end of the Cold War; the increase in globalised epidemics and threats to the climate – all these have increased social tensions, particularly in the South, but also, markedly in the

East (the ex-Communist world) and even in such model welfare states as Canada and Sweden.

Many connect this movement with the turn of the century and the millennium (1990s-2000s), with the North (Seattle 1999, Prague 2000, Genoa 2001, Gothenburg 2001, Evian 2003). They also associate it with the middle-classes, students and youth – who have indeed been prominent within it. But the movement must be traced both back and down to the 'World Bank riots' in the South of the 1980s, when there were urban uprisings against the externally-imposed end of food subsidies (Aguiton 2003, Walton and Seddon 1994). But there were also major demonstrations/ riots against the poll tax in Britain in 1990. And the appearance of the dominant often-corporatist, chauvinist and quiescent US trade unions on the anti-WTO demonstration in Seattle, was welcomed (somewhat prematurely) by the slogan 'Teamsters and Turtles: Together at Last!

The other major public point of reference has been the World Social Forum (WSF), in Porto Alegre, Brazil, 2001-3, scheduled to move to the 'Deep South' of Mumbai, India, 2004 (Sen 2003). If the earlier-mentioned events were more marked by opposition than proposition, these Forums have not only been devoted to counter-proposition over a remarkably wide range of social issues, with a wide range of significant collective actors (Fisher and Ponniah 2002, Transnational Alternatives 2002). They have also demonstrated that what is shaping up is much more than a Northern, or even a Western-hemispheric, internationalism. The Forum process, moreover, has now reached take-off, with national, regional and thematic forums taking place. It has also become both the subject and the site of intense discussion about the significance, nature and future of the forum-as-process (Sousa Santos 2003 (Anand, Escobar, Sen and Waterman 2003).

One major manifestation of US-initiated neo-liberalism has been the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA), which provoked widespread protest in both Canada and Mexico. In the case of Canada, it turned an initial national-protectionist campaign into one of international solidarity, first with Mexico, then with Latin America more generally, leading to a Hemispheric Social Alliance (Alianza Social Continental website). In the case of Mexico, the launching date of the NAFTA, January 1, 1994, was used as the launching also of the Zapatista movement in the severely globalised, marginalised and exploited state of Chiapas, in the South of Mexico (Zapatista Index website).

Initially appearing as a classical armed guerilla uprising, based on the discriminated and land-hungry Mayan ethnic communities of Chiapas, the Zapatistas rapidly revealed entirely novel characteristics: an address to Mexican 'civil society', a high-profile internationalism, a sophisticated understanding and use of both the mass media and alternative electronic communications, and, particularly, in the highly-original speeches and writings of its primary spokesperson, Sub-Commander Marcos, a university-educated non-indigene, trained in guerilla warfare in Cuba, Rafael Guille'n (de la Grange and Rico

1997). Activities of the Zapatistas, particularly two international *encuentros*, one in Chiapas, 1996, one in Spain, 1997, gave rise, or shape, to a new wave of internationalism. The powerful, poetic and playful words of Marcos, who switches between, or combines, popular Mayan and Mexican idiom with the language of cosmopolitan intellectuals, enchanted a dulled world and had dramatic appeal to an international left (Holloway and Pela'ez 1998), battered, bruised and disoriented by the downscaling of the welfare state (Wahl 2002), the downsizing of the working class, the halting of the forward march of labour, or the collapse of Eastern Communist and Southern Populist states - and of the international movements identified with such.

Other major stimuli to the new movement must be mentioned. One was the rising wave of protest against unemployment, privatisation and cuts in social services, which had been gathering steam throughout the 1990s, markedly in Europe (Abramsky 2001). Another was the increasing development of 'counter-expertise', concentrated in inter/national non-governmental organisations (I/NGOs), which had been honed at a series of United Nations (UN) conferences and summits through the 1990s, notably those on the environment in Rio, 1992, and on women in Beijing, 1995. Yet another (amongst the ruins of left political parties and institutionalised labour) was the rise of irreverent, often anarchist-tinted, direct action movements, of customarily internationalist appeal, such as 'Reclaim the Streets' (see website) in the UK, which supported the courageous, but eventually defeated, Liverpool Dockers' protest against corporate attack, state legislation - and union passivity or complicity with these (Sweeney 1997). A significant international libertarian initiative, related to this kind of national activity, was People's Global Action (PGA), which has held meetings in Geneva, Bangalore and Cochabamba (PGA website).

Finally, one has to recognise the existence of the so-called New Social Movements (NSMs), and theorising around such, since the 1970s-80s. Considered as expressing 'identity' rather than 'interest', these movements - of women, of indigenous peoples, of sexual minorities, for media democratisation, on ecology and consumption - were noted in the South as well as the North. They brought to public attention hidden forms of alienation, suggested new forms of 'self-articulation' (both joining and expression). As much addressed to the transformation of civil society as of the economy or state, these movements raised issues that the major old international 'interest' movement - that of unionised labour - had customarily subordinated, ignored or marginalised (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar 1998, Melucci 1989).

The rise and rise of the 'anti-globalisation movement' (another name), did not so much re-assert 'interest' over 'identity' as surpass the alleged opposition - or even the distinction. Highlighting the increasing power of corporations over states, and of their negative impact on people and peoples - North, South, East - the movement was as much a challenge to institutionalised labour and the left worldwide as to an international women's movement suffering 'ngo-isation' (Alvarez et. al. 2002).

It is clear, from yet another appellation - the 'anti-capitalist movement' - that this 'movement of movements' is as much an aspiration as an actuality, as much a becoming as a being. It has, however, passed one major test. When the terrorist attack on New York and Washington occurred, September 11, 2001, this was a major blow to a growing movement in North America (Seattle, 1999; Washington, 2001; Quebec, 2001). Yet, with the US-led wars against Afghanistan, 2002 and Iraq, 2003, a movement often considered to be primarily an 'anti-corporate movement' (yet another conceptualisation), morphed into the biggest international anti-war protest in history. A *New York Times* columnist opined, February 18, 2003, 'there may still be in our planet, two super-powers: the United States and world public opinion'. A 300-strong anti-war demonstration took place even in Lima, Peru, a country profoundly traumatised and self-isolated by decades of neo-liberalism, counter/insurgency and authoritarian rule, and which – unlike neighbouring Brazil, Ecuador and Bolivia - had previously revealed only marginal awareness of the new internationalist wave.

Definitions

As suggested above, this movement has many names, these reflecting sometimes conflicting, sometimes overlapping, approaches, theories, strategies. These understandings vary from the traditional leftist (Callinicos 2003), the non-traditional leftist (Aguiton 2002, Forthcoming), via the innovatory (Starr 2000, Sousa Santos 2003), to the insistence that this is not a movement but a 'field' (Crossley 2002). Elsewhere an attempt has been made to capture, or at least conceptualise, the phenomenon under the rubric of 'global civil society' (Pianta 2001, Glasius, Kaldor and Anheier 2002). The ways even sympathetic theorists/strategists try to identify groups or tendencies within the movement is revealing both of their orientation and of the innovatory nature of the phenomenon.

Thus, Callinicos (2003:14-16), whilst admitting that the majority of its activists are *not* anti-capitalist, refers to its 'developing consciousness' as justification for calling it so. He then draws up a typology of anti-capitalism (Chapter 2) which includes the 'reactionary', 'bourgeois', 'localist', 'reformist', 'autonomist' and 'socialist' (himself identifying with a sub-category of this last type, the 'revolutionary').

Aguiton (2002, Forthcoming), a Trotskyist of a different feather, and a leading figure within the World Social Forum, tentatively identifies three 'poles' within the global justice movement: a 'radical internationalist', a 'nationalist', and a 'neo-reformist' one. The first looks beyond both capitalism and the nation-state, the second is a mostly-Southern response (France here being possibly included in the South?), and the third is the kind of 'global governance' tendency also strongly present within the WSF (Rikkilä and Patomäki 2001, Global Civil Society Yearbook website).

Starr and Adams (2003), who would be 'localists' in the Callinicos typology, characterise the movement as 'anti-globalisation', and identify as significant 'modes' or 'archetypes' within it, 'radical reform', which is state-friendly; 'people's globalisation', associated with the WSF; and 'autonomy', identified with the ecological friendliness and democratic qualities of freely cooperating communities (their own).

Sousa Santos (2003), who concentrates on the WSF, suggests its radical implications for the surpassing of traditional sociologies, traditional left strategies and traditional Western epistemology. He argues that any significant new emancipatory movement cannot be understood in pre-existing terms, and proposes the necessity, in our epoch, of developing a 'sociology of absence' and a 'sociology of emergence'. This is to surpass the sociologies of the existent and apparent, and allow voice to what has been ignored or suppressed. These are also necessary to surpass the 'conservative utopias', whether of the right or left. Pianta (2001), considering the movement in 'global civil society' terms divides responses to neo-liberal globalisation into 'supporters of current arrangements',

'reformists', 'radical critics favoring another globalization', 'alternatives outside the mainstream', and 'nationalist rejectionists' (Pianta 2001, Figures ?? below).

Significant is that, with the exception of Callinicos, none of these uses the terminology of Left (Right, or Center), and that, in practice, each of these understandings cuts across the left-as-we-know-it, the left of a national-industrial-(anti-)colonial-capitalism, now passing into history. This raises the question of whether the GS&JM is not potentially *surpassing* traditional left internationalism. 'Emancipation' might seem a more appropriate term than 'left' when discussing today the transformation of society, nature, culture, work and psychology – as well as, of course, that increasingly important but placeless place, cyberspace (Cardon and Granjon 2003, Escobar 2003).

Figures/Tables

The following may either clarify positions and processes identified above or at least stimulate further thought about this novel and puzzling phenomenon. Patrick Bond (2003) produces a suggestive table of significant positions, actors and writers on - and against – capitalist globalisation (**Figure 1**):

Figure 1: Five reactions to global political-economic turmoil (~2003)

Political current:	Global Justice Movements	Third World Nationalism	Post-Washington Consensus	Washington Consensus	Resurgent Rightwing
Main agenda	'deglobalisation' of <i>capital</i> (not <i>people</i>), 'globalisation-from-below', anti-war, anti-racism, women's liberation, ecology, indigenous rights, 'decommodification' of state services, and mass-participatory democracy	increased (but fairer) global integration: i.e., reform (not transformation) of the interstate system through debt relief, democratisation of global governance, more market access, regional cooperation and anti-imperialism	fix 'imperfect markets' and add 'sustainable development' to existing neoliberal framework through global state-building, while opposing US unilateralism and militarism	neoliberalism revamped and renamed (PRSPs, HIPC and PPPs), slight provision for 'transparency' and (self-)regulation, more effective bail-out mechanisms; and general support for Empire	for petro-military imperialism, against multi-lateralism; protectionism, tariffs, subsidies, bail-outs and cronyism; racism; and reversing globalisation of <i>people</i> via xenophobia
Internal disputes	role of the nation-state; party politics, fix-it v. nix-it strategies for int'l agencies, and tactics (merits of symbolic property destruction)	political alignments, degree of militancy vis-à-vis the North, divergent regional interests, religious differences, egos, internecine rivalries	some look leftward (for broader alliances) and others look to the Wash.Con. (for resources and legitimacy)	differing reactions to US imperialism, based in part upon divergent national-capitalist interests and domestic political dynamics	disagreements over extent of imperial reach, and over how to protect national cultures and patriarchy
Leading institutions	social movements; environmental justice advocates; radical activist networks; indigenous people's and autonomist groups; some militant labour movements; a few leftwing think-tanks (e.g. Focus on the Global South, FoodFirst, Global Exchange, IBASE, IPS, IFG, Nader centres, TNI); leftist media/websites (e.g. Indymedia, Pacifica, www.zmag.org); and sectoral or localised coalitions allied to the World Social Forum	self-selecting regimes (often authoritarian): Argentina, Chile, China, Egypt, India, Iraq, Libya, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, Palestine, Russia, S.Africa, Turkey, Zimbabwe with a few – like Brazil, Cuba and Venezuela – that lean left (but others soft on imperialism, e.g. E.Timor, Ecuador and Eritrea); Islamic nationalism; and supportive NGOs (e.g. Third World Network, Seatini)	WSSD, some UN agencies (e.g., Unctad, Unicef, Unrisd); some int'l NGOs' (e.g., Care, Civicus, IUCN, Oxfam, TI); large enviro. Groups (e.g., Sierra and WWF); big labour (e.g., ICFTU and AFL-CIO); liberal foundations (e.g., Carnegie, Ford, MacArthur, Mott, Open Society, Rockefeller); Columbia Univ. economics department; and German, Canadian and Scandinavian governments	US state (Federal Reserve, Treasury, USAid); corporate media and big business; World Bank, IMF, WTO; elite clubs (Bilderbergers, Trilateral Commission, World Economic Forum); some UN agencies (UNDP, Global Compact); universities and think-tanks (U.of Chicago economics department, Council on Foreign Relations, Institute of Int'l Finance, Brookings); and most EU and Japanese gov'ts	US Republican Party populist and libertarian wings; Project for New American Century; rightwing think-tanks (AEI, Cato, CSIS, Heritage, Manhattan); the Christian Right; petro-military complex; CIA, FBI, Pentagon; right-wing media (e.g. Fox, <i>National Interest</i> , <i>Washington Times</i>); and proto-fascist European parties, but also Israel's Likud
Exemplary proponents	M.Albert, T.Ali, S.Amin, C.Augiton, M.Barlow, H.Belafronte, W.Bello, A.Bendana, F.Betto, J.Bove, J.Brecher, R.Brenner, D.Brutus, N.Bullard, A.Buzgalin, A.Callinicos, L.Cassarini, J.Cavanagh, C.Chalmers, N.Chomsky, A.Cockburn, K.Danaher, E.Galeano, S.George, D.Glover, M.Hardt, M.Harnecker, D.Harvey, D.Henwood, B.Kagarlitsky, N.Klein, M.Lowy, Marcos, A.Mittal, G.Monbiot, M.Moore, E.Morales, R.Nader, A.Negri, T.Ngwane, N.Njehu, M.Patkar, J.Pilger, A.Roy, E.Said, V.Shiva, T.Teivainen, G.Vidal, H.Wainwright, L.Wallach, P.Waterman, M.Weisbrot, R.Weissman	Y.Arafat, J.Aristide, O.Bin Laden, F.Castro, H.Chavez, M.Gaddafi, S.Hussein, M.Khor, R.Lagos, LulaS., MahathirM., N.Mandela, T.Mbeki, R.Mugabe, O.Obasanjo, D.Ortega, V.Putin, Y.Tandon	Y.Akyuz, K.Annan, L.Axworthy, Bono, G.Brundtland, B.Cassen, J.Chretien, P.Eigen, J.Fischer, A.Giddens, W.Hutton, P.Krugman, W.Maathai, P.Martin, T.Mkandawire, K.Naidoo, J.Persson, John Paul II, M.Robinson, D.Rodrik, J.Sachs, W.Sachs, A.Sen, G.Soros, J.Stiglitz, P.Sweeney, E.von Weizaecher, K.Watkins	T.Blair, G.Brown, M.Candessus, J.Chirac, B.Clinton, A.Erwin, S.Fischer, M.Friedman, T.Friedman, A.Greenspan, H.Koehler, A.Krueger, P.Lamy, M.Malloch Brown, T.Manuel, E.Prodi, K.Rogoff, R.Rubin, G.Schroeder, SupachaiP., J.Snow, L.Summers, J.Taylor, J.Wolfensohn, E.Zedillo, R.Zoellick	E.Abrams, J.Aznar, S.Berlusconi, C.Black, P.Buchanan, G.Bush, D.Cheney, N.Gingrich, J.Haider, R.Kagan, H.Kissinger, C.Krauthammer, J.Kristol, J.M.le Pen, R.Limbaugh, R.Murdoch, M.Peretz, R.Perle, N.Podhoretz, O.Reich, C.Rice, D.Rumsfeld, A.Scalia, A.Sharon, P.Wolfowitz, J.Woolsey

On the basis of research on 15 movements, Starr (2000:160. Figure 5.2) produces a diagram (Figure 2), that suggests not only the variety of

movements but the networked relation between them and the relative strength of the different links:

Figure 2 about here

On the basis of questionnaires submitted to networks, NGOs and individuals involved in 'parallel summits of civil society' (dependent on/independent of the UN or other such institutions), Pianta (2001:181-2, Figures 7.5-7) provides us with some impressions of the relevant fields of activity at such events (**Figure 3**), of dominant issues dealt with (**Figure 4**), and the types of such activity (**Figure 5**).

Figure 3: Fields of activity of bodies involved in parallel summits

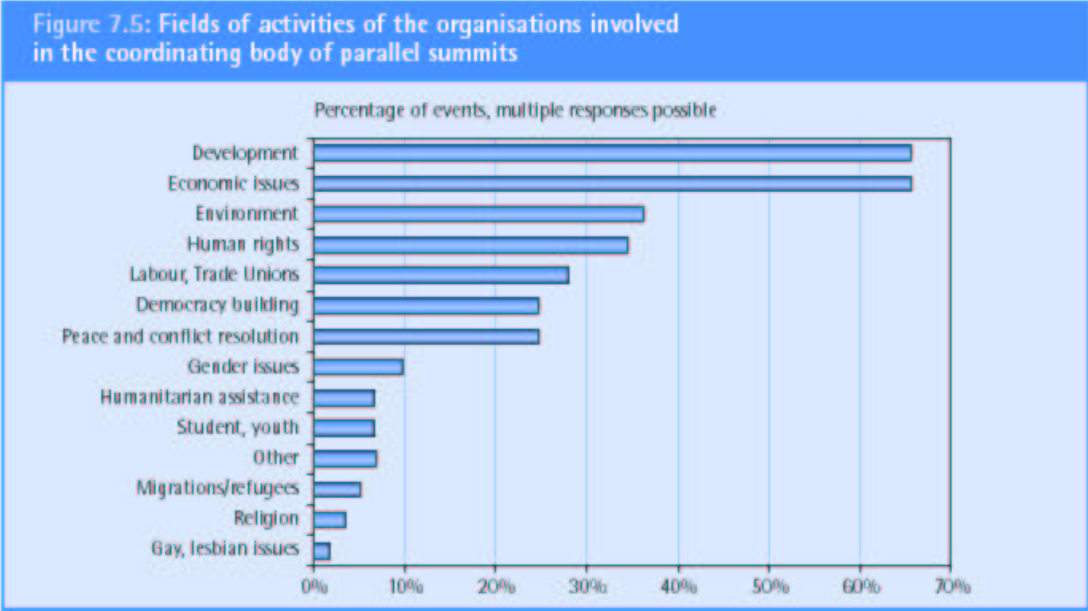


Figure 4: Human Rights Compared with Economic Globalisation Issues at Parallel Summits, 1998-2001

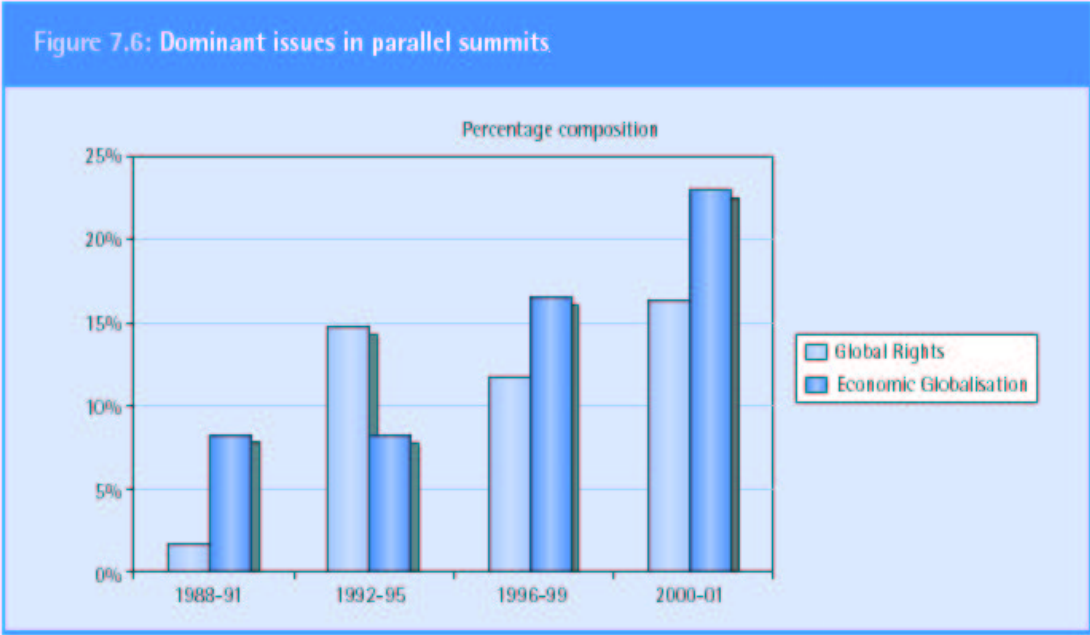
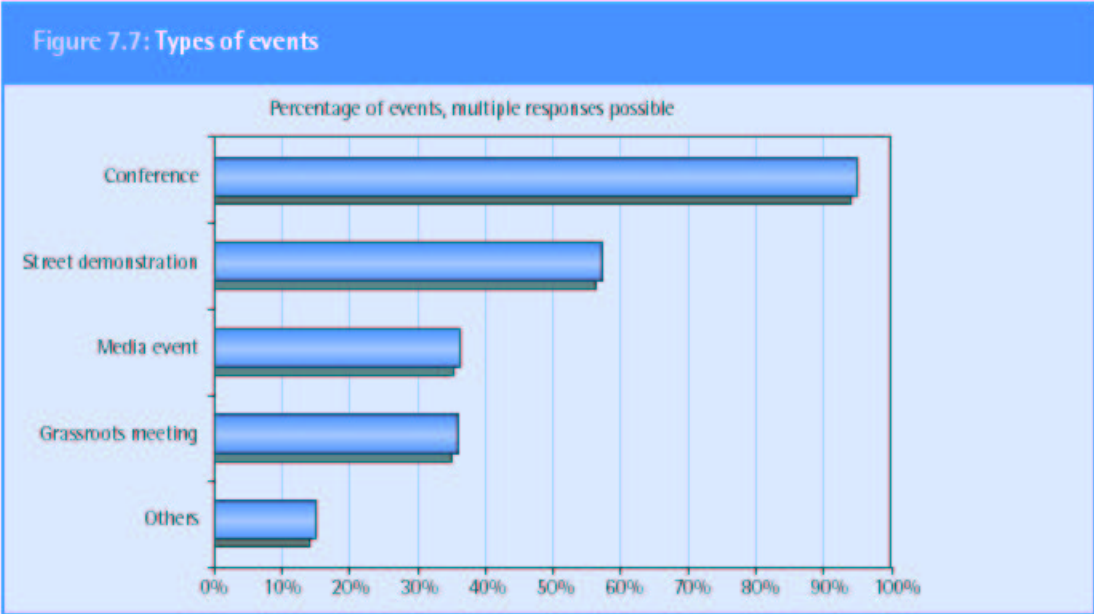


Figure 5: Forms of activity of bodies involved in parallel summits



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