Social Movements and Resistance to Neoliberalism in America, 1979-2000

This thesis is submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by

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This thesis is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. I further state that no substantial part of my thesis has already been submitted, or, is being concurrently submitted for any such degree, diploma or other qualification at the University of Cambridge or any other University or similar institution except as declared in the Preface and specified in the text. It does not exceed the prescribed word limit for the relevant Degree Committee.

Abstract

Richard Saich – Social Movements and Resistance to Neoliberalism in America, 1979-2000

Neoliberalism is a political creed defined by a belief in the power of markets to bring about a free and prosperous society. It is the dominant ideology of recent times, and one that has attracted growing interest from historians. This dissertation breaks new ground by examining neoliberalism "from below," that is from the perspective of ordinary people who were affected by neoliberal policies and who chose, in one way or another, to resist them. It examines a range of social movements that organised in opposition to neoliberalism in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, a period that has thus far received insufficient scholarly attention. It charts the emergence of a transnational network of movement actors, including labour unionists, feminists, environmentalists, indigenous activists, and others who were engaged in political campaigns within the United States and beyond its borders. Collectively, these movements highlighted the implications of neoliberal policies for rising national and global inequality, environmental degradation, and precarious employment. In telling this story, this dissertation brings together several strands of historical scholarship – political history, environmental history, and labour history – that have hitherto been treated as discrete objects of study.

Three thematic threads are interwoven throughout the dissertation. The first is an emphasis on neoliberalism as ideology, a set of ideas, policy prescriptions, and practices grounded in a particular economic doctrine. The second is an analysis of neoliberalism as a distinct political economy, an assemblage of political and economic processes with distributional effects that advantaged some and disadvantaged others. It is argued that the study of social movements allows us to consider the interrelationship of these two dimensions of neoliberalism, together with their material consequences. The third thread is the argument that popular opposition to neoliberalism has so far been overlooked by historians because it was most energetic at the grassroots. The insulation of national policymaking elites from such dissent, obliges us to ask critical questions about the nature of American democracy in the late twentieth century.

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Acronyms and Abbreviations

Global Governmental and Financial Organizations

GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IMF	International Monetary Fund
WTO	World Trade Organization
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies
NIEO	New International Economic Order
OECD	Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development
TLC	Trilateral Commission
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNCTAD	United Nations Conference on Trade and Development
G77	Group of Seventy-Seven (countries from the Global South)
G8	Group of Eight (Group of Seven – Canada, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom and the United States – plus Russia)
World Bank	World Bank (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and International Development Association)
World Bank Group	World Bank plus the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), and the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)

Multilateral Agreements

CUFTA	Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
EAI	Enterprise of the Americas Initiative
MAI	Multilateral Agreement on Investment
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
CBI	Caribbean Basin Initiative
NAALC	North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation

Other Key Terms

EPZs	Export Processing Zones
NTB	Non-Tariff Barriers
TRIPs	Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights
TRIMs	Trade-Related Investment Measures
NICs	Newly Industrialised Countries
	Export Processing Zones
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization

MDBs	Multilateral Development Banks (the World Bank and regional development banks such as the Inter-American Development Bank)
IFIs	International Financial Institutions (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and other international organizations)
PRONAF	National Frontier Programme (*Programa Nacional Fronterizo*, Mexico)
BIP	Border Industrialization Programme (Mexico)
ISI	Import Substitution Industrialization
SGPB	Southern Growth Policies Board
DLC	Democratic Leadership Council
NLRB	National Labor Relations Board
NLRA	National Labor Relations Act (1935)
OSHA	Occupational Safety and Health Act
IRCA	Immigration Reform and Control Act

Business Organizations

ICC	International Chamber of Commerce
BIAC	Business and Industry Advisory Committee
WEF	World Economic Forum
ISS	International Service System (Danish transnational corporation)
CCC	Council on California Competitiveness
ACTPN	Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations

Development Policy Organizations

IPS	Institute of Policy Studies
TNI	Transnational Institute
IAF	Inter-American Foundation
The Development GAP	The Development Group for Alternative Policies
DCN	Debt Crisis Network
FDC	Freedom from Debt Coalition (Philippines)
FONDAD	Forum on Debt and Development (Netherlands)
ECDI	Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (Brazil)
EURODAD	European Network on Debt and Development
SAPRI	Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative
BIC	Bank Information Center

U.S.-Based NGOs

ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
IFG	International Forum on Globalization
NAACP	National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Religious and Peace Organizations

ICCR	Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility
UMW	United Methodist Women
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
DJPC	Denver Justice and Peace Committee
WRL	War Resisters League
CLUE	Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice

Indigenous Organizations

AIM	American Indian Movement
NCAI	National Congress of American Indians
WCIP	World Council of Indigenous Peoples
IEN	Indigenous Environmental Network

Environmental Organizations

NWF	National Wildlife Federation
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
FoE	Friends of the Earth
NRDC	Natural Resources Defense Council
EDF	Environmental Defense Fund
SEAC	Student Environmental Action Coalition
EPIC	Environmental Protection Information Center (California)
Food First	Institute for Food and Development Policy
NTC	The National Toxics Campaign

Agricultural Organizations

IATP	Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy
FFD	Family Farm Defenders
NFFC	National Family Farm Coalition
AAM	American Agriculture Movement
La Via Campesina	"The Peasants' Way" (An international agricultural movement)

International Organizations, Movements, and Political Parties

PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionário Institucional*)
CTM	Confederation of Mexican Workers (*Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos*)
Die Grünen	The Greens (West German/ Federal Republic of Germany)
El Barzón	The Barzón (Debtors' movement in Mexico)
FMLN	Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (*Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional*, El Salvador)

EZLN	Zapatista Army of National Liberation (*Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional*, Mexico)
TWN	Third World Network (Malaysia)
MST	Landless Worker's Movement (*Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*, Brazil)
KRRS	Karnataka State Farmers' Association (*Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha*, India)
RFSTE	Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology (India)
NAPM	National Alliance of People Movements (India)
RTS	Reclaim The Streets (U.K.)
PGA	Peoples' Global Action
FGS	Focus on the Global South (Thailand)
WRM	World Rainforest Movement
TOES	The Other Economic Summits
CFO	Border Committee of Women Workers (*Comite Fronterizo de Obreras*, Mexico)
ACN	Action Canada Network
RMALC	Mexican Free Trade Action Network (*Red Mexicana de Accion frente al Libre Comercio*, Mexico)
FAT	Authentic Workers' Front (*Frente Autentico de Trabajadores*, Mexico)
MODTLE	Mobilization on Development, Trade, Labor, and the Environment (later renamed the Alliance for Responsible Trade)
ART	Alliance for Responsible Trade
CTC	Citizens Trade Campaign

Left Political Organizations and Direct Action Groups

CISPES	Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador
FDE	Foundation for Deep Ecology
MNS	Movement for a New Society
EF!	Earth First!
RAN	Rainforest Action Network
DAN	Direct Action Network
ACT UP	AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power
WHAM!	Women's Health Action and Mobilization!
SLAM!	Student Liberation Action Movement!
LESC	Lower East Side Collective

Local and Community Organizations

KWRU	Kensington Welfare Rights Union
NWRO	National Welfare Rights Organization
ACORN	Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now
BUILD	Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development
IAF	Industrial Areas Foundation

EPIC	Evergreen Political Information Center (Washington State)
CJM	Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras
SEJ	Southerners for Economic Justice
TIRN	Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network
CORA	Commission on Religion in Appalachia
SWOP	Southwest Organizing Project

Labour Unions and Organizations

IWW	International Workers of the World ("Wobblies")
AIP	Apparel Industry Partnership
FLA	Fair Labor Association
NLC	National Labor Committee
SEIU	Service Employees International Union (previously the Building Service Employees International Union, BSEIU)
JfJ	Justice for Janitors
UFW	United Farm Workers
AIWA	Asian Immigrant Women Advocates
CIWA	California Immigrant Workers Association
KIWA	Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates
APALA	Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance
CBTU	Coalition of Black Trade Unionists
APRI	A. Philip Randolph Institute
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations
ILGWU	International Ladies Garment Workers Union
ACTWU	Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union
UNITE!	Union of Needletrades, Industrial, and Textile Employees (formed in 1995 from a merger between ILGWU and ACTWU)
AAFLI	Asian-American Free Labor Institute (incorporated into the Solidarity Center in 1997)
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
HERE	Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees union
LACFCL	Los Angeles County Federation of Labor
AFSCME	American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees
LAANE	Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy
USAS	United Students Against Sweatshops
IBT	International Brotherhood of Teamsters
TDU	Teamsters for a Democratic Union
ILWU	International Longshore and Warehouse Union
USWA	United Steelworkers of America
LERP	Labor Education and Research Project
PATCO	Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization

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Introduction

On a sweltering Saturday morning in mid-August 1984, a group of perhaps 1,500 people established a camp on the flood plains of the Trinity River, just west of downtown Dallas, Texas. They were gathered in that city to protest the Republican National Convention, which was expected to renominate Ronald Reagan as the party's presidential candidate for the forthcoming elections in November. Upon their arrival, the campers began to pitch their tents and hang giant banners from the roof of a viaduct that spanned the plain. One of these banners featured a caricature of Regan struck through with a red line and the words "Out the Door in '84." Setting up in the shadow of Dallas' petrodollar-fuelled cityscape dotted with skyscrapers, the visitors furnished their camp with a mess hall, medical tent, drug store, bookshops, post office, radio station, and food stores.[1] Organised by the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), the protesters had planned a week-long series of demonstrations and other actions to highlight the impact of Republican policies on low- and moderate-income people. ACORN had in fact been active on the issue of homelessness since the onset of recession in the early years of the decade. In 1982 it co-sponsored a campaign to set up "Reagan Ranches," modelled on the "Hoovervilles" of the Great Depression, to draw attention to the failures of Reaganomics.[2] The tent city in Dallas was a reprisal of this idea, meant to dramatize the growing divide between the "haves" and the "have nots."

The tent city protest was a haunting image from the past, but one that struck a discordant tone in the neoliberal era. Whereas the spectre of social misery had discredited Hoover and set the stage for Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal, the reputation of the "Teflon president" seemed undiminished by economic dislocation. Herein lies one of the great paradoxes of the neoliberal era: why did policies that advantaged the wealthy few remain so popular, even with those sectors of the population who, by most accounts, would be disadvantaged by

[1] Henry Weinstein, 'Peaceful Rally Begins Week of 25 Protests at Convention', *Los Angeles Times*, 19 August 1984, p. 6.
[2] Leaflet, 'Reagan Ranches', Box 16, Folder 64. ACORN Records, 1965-2010. Part Six, M2001-170. Wisconsin Historical Society.; David M. Kennedy, *Freedom from Fear: The American People in Depression and War, 1929-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 91–93.

them?[3] There is no singular answer to this puzzle. The personal charisma of Reagan himself certainly contributed to Republican electoral ascendancy. His was a message of optimism, abundance, and renewal that traded on a deep reservoir of national mythology. This could not have contrasted more starkly with his predecessor's gloomy talk of limitations.[4] However, the neoliberal order was sustained not just by one man, but also by a political machine that transformed not only the presidency and the state, but also the political domain itself. It was the ideological purchase that neoliberalism gained during a period of crisis, within the institutions of government, the economics profession, and the mass media, but ultimately in the hearts and minds of ordinary citizens, that made it such an enduring feature of political life in the United States.[5] In other words, it depended upon that ever-shifting combination of coercion and consent that Gramsci called "hegemony."[6]

Despite the undoubted power that neoliberalism asserted over the political system in the United States in the 1980s and 1990s, it was never absolute. The electoral dominance of the Republican Party during the 1980s has led historians to overstate the extent to which neoliberalism expunged all opposition. True, within Washington politics, and within the central institutions of power and prestige in the United States, "market fundamentalism" became an article of faith.[7] But below the surface of national politics, there was far more dissension from the supposed political consensus than has been previously recognised. Indeed, obscuring that dissent was one of the primary functions of neoliberal ideology. The reality of widespread opposition only becomes apparent when a social lens is applied to the history of the era because resistance to neoliberalism sprang not from the leaders of political

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[3] For an alternative formulation of this question see Thomas Frank, *What's the Matter with Kansas?: How Conservatives Won the Heart of America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2005).
[4] Michael Schaller, *Reckoning with Reagan: America and Its President in the 1980s* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).
[5] Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the College de France, 1978-79*, ed. by Michel Senellart, Lectures at the College de France (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2016).
[6] Antonio Gramsci, *Prison Notebooks*, trans. by Joseph A. Buttigieg (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); 'Hegemony' was not coined by Gramsci in the *Notebooks*, but his use of term was novel. Peter D. Thomas, *The Gramscian Moment: Philosophy, Hegemony and Marxism* (Boston, MA: Brill, 2009), pp. 41–83; David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 39–63.
[7] George Soros, 'The Capitalist Threat', *The Atlantic*, February 1997 <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1997/02/the-capitalist-threat/376773/> [accessed 24 October 2018]; Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012).

parties but rather "from below." Just as importantly, as this study demonstrates, resistance extended far beyond the confines of the nation-state. Extending the analysis to a global framework therefore helps to show the history of this period in a different light.

Each chapter of the dissertation takes as its focus a different element of the neoliberal order, and a particular strand of resistance that it produced. Chapter 1 considers opponents of the development model that came to be known in the early 1990s as the "Washington Consensus" who understood themselves to be members of a new "global civil society." It examines two interrelated areas of contention: structural adjustment and the Third World debt crisis on the one hand, and the environment and indigenous rights on the other. Chapter 2 explores the history of the AFL-CIO, union organising in the *maquiladora* industry along the U.S.-Mexico border, and opposition to the North American Free Trade Agreement. Chapter 3 examines dissent within the American labour movement and charts the emergence of "social movement unionism" as a critical discourse. It focuses on the Justice for Janitors campaign and the resurgence of labour unions in the state of California. Chapter 4 charts organising by "anti-globalization" groups, including family farmers, students, and labour unionists, and emphasises food justice and sweatshops as prominent themes within their activism. Chapter 5 tells the story of the radical democratic tradition that evolved on the left over the course of the 1980s and that gave life to a grassroots "anti-globalization" movement in the 1990s. It examines how the movements discussed in previous chapters united on the streets of Seattle to protest the meeting of the WTO ministerial in that city in November 1999.

The five episodes of anti-neoliberal struggle discussed here, although treated separately, were interlinked. Many common themes run throughout the dissertation, ranging from the tension between modernity and anti-modernity in anti-neoliberal discourse, the distributional consequences of the globalization of production, the shortcomings of the Green Revolution, and the importance of the Central American solidarity movement for the left in the 1980s and 1990s. The organisation of the chapters also proposes a novel periodisation of resistance to neoliberalism. It has been conventional to interpret the Battle of Seattle as the foundational event of the global justice movement. This history modifies this assumption by arguing that resistance to neoliberalism began in the Global South in the late 1970s, with widescale rebellions against IMF and World Bank imposed "stabilization" and "adjustment"

policies. A second stage was characterised by NGO and environmental international network building in the 1980s and early 1990s. A third stage was characterised by the reform and revival of the organised labour movement in the United States in the late 1980s and mid-1990s. A final stage began with the Zapatista rebellion in Mexico in 1994 and was marked by grassroots movement-building, cross-issue mobilization, and eventual convergence at Seattle.

The account provided here is not meant to be comprehensive but rather to sketch a provisional outline of resistance to neoliberalism in the United States in the late twentieth century. It attempts to interrogate the spatial and multi-scalar manifestations of neoliberal policies by examining how resistance was enacted in particular places and at particular historical conjunctures. Something must therefore be said about what has been left out of this scheme. No systematic analysis of electoral politics in this period is provided. However, it should be noted that social movements and electoral forms of political organising often overlapped, and activists did seek the support of progressive politicians in the Democratic Party and in the Green Party in particular, to further their campaigns. Jesse Jackson and Bernie Sanders were perhaps the two most prominent figures in this respect.[8] Nor does this analysis look in great depth at black resistance to neoliberalism, although black progressives were active and played leading roles in the movements discussed here, including within ACORN, the group mentioned at the beginning of this introduction. However, the story of black radicalism in this period deserves, and is awaiting, a full study in its own right, one that would build upon the work of Robin D. G. Kelley, Ruth Wilson Gilmore, and Angela Davis and others on mass incarceration and neoliberal political economy.[9] Other important omissions include the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 and the grassroots environmental justice movement, which also

[8] Sheila D. Collins, *The Rainbow Challenge: The Jackson Campaign and the Future of U.S. Politics* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1986); Jesse Jackson, *Straight from the Heart*, ed. by Roger D. Hatch and Frank E. Watkins (Philadelphia, PA: Fortress Press, 1987); Karin L. Stanford, 'Reverend Jesse Jackson and the Rainbow/PUSH Coalition: Institutionalizing Economic Opportunity', in *Black Political Organizations in the Post-Civil Rights Era*, ed. by Ollie A. Johnson and Karin L. Stanford (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2002), pp. 150–69.

[9] Manning Marable, 'The Black Radical Congress: Revitalizing the Black Freedom Movement', *The Black Scholar*, 28.1 (1998), 54–70; Robin D. G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999); Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007); Angela Davis, *The Meaning of Freedom: And Other Difficult Dialogues* (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Publishers, 2012).

emerged in the early 1990s.[10] These stories merit separate treatment, one that can more fully account for the continuities of racial and environmental politics into a period beyond the chronological confines of this study.

The Rise of Neoliberalism

Historians have sometimes taken to describing this period as a "Second Gilded Age" because of the parallels that can be drawn between two distinct periods of extreme social inequality. This has invited unflattering comparisons between the heroic achievements of progressive movements of an earlier era with the frequent defeats and only modest successes of more recent years.[11] However, these decades were not a mirror image of the early twentieth century, nor were they experienced simply as History in reverse.[12] Any account of neoliberalism and its discontents must account for the gradual disassembling of the New Deal order and the conditions that were produced as a result of that order's ultimate collapse. Three developments precipitated the neoliberal turn: a social and cultural crisis in the 1960s, an economic crisis in the 1970s, and the global reconstruction of capitalism that spanned the decades from the 1940s to the 1970s and beyond. Resistance to neoliberalism must be situated and interpreted within this historical context.

The late 1960s saw the fracturing of established social norms and values, and a gradual disillusionment with social planning, economic development, and the constellation of ideas known as "modernization theory."[13] At the same time, the Cold War faith in American pre-eminence and moral virtue was brought crashing down by the domestic shocks of the

[10] *Confronting Environmental Racism: Voices from the Grassroots*, ed. by Robert D Bullard (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1993); Robert D. Bullard, *Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class, and Environmental Quality*, Third Edition (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000).
[11] Steve Fraser, *The Age of Acquiescence: The Life and Death of American Resistance to Organized Wealth and Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2016).
[12] Julie Greene, 'Bookends to a Gentler Capitalism: Complicating the Notion of First and Second Gilded Ages', *The Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era*, 2020, 1–9.
[13] James Miller, *'Democracy Is in the Streets': From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988); Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Howard Brick, *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000); Nils Gilman, *Mandarins of the Future: Modernization Theory in Cold War America* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003), pp. 203–76.

Vietnam war.[14] The political reforms of the 1960s, with their emphasis on due legal process, the formal separation of church and state, and affirmative action to address historical racial injustice, also created a powerful conservative backlash.[15] All of these developments were indicative of the ideological exhaustion of liberalism and suggested to many people that the Democrats were no longer reliable guardians of the nation.[16]

The pillars of the political establishment were therefore already weakened in the 1960s. However, it was the oil shocks and prolonged economic crisis during the 1970s that fatally destabilised the postwar settlement and marked the twilight of the so-called "golden age of capitalism." As domestic growth stalled, and unemployment and inflation began to rise, macroeconomic management no longer seemed to hold the answers that policymakers so desperately needed. As the economics profession embraced monetarism, politicians grasped for fresh approaches to the energy crisis and the "great malaise" then afflicting the United States. It is significant that this occurred at the same time that Americans were growing distrustful of traditional institutions. The apparent failure of the political establishment to resolve the economic crisis compounded an already growing scepticism of government authority propagated by the Watergate scandal. Together, these developments served to discredit the Keynesian economic consensus.[17]

The oil shocks of the 1970s were important insofar as they provided an opportunity for the neoliberal advocates who had been cultivating alternative economic theories within their

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[14] Tom Wells, *The War Within: America's Battle Over Vietnam* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994); George C. Herring, *America's Longest War: The United States and Vietnam, 1950-1975*, Fifth Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 2014).

[15] Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1991); Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University, 1995); Matthew D. Lassiter, *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006); Kevin M. Kruse, *White Flight: Atlanta and the Making of Modern Conservatism* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[16] Alan Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

[17] Bruce J. Schulman, 'Slouching Towards the Supply-Side: Jimmy Carter and the New American Political Economy', in *The Carter Presidency: Policy Choices in the Post-New Deal Era*, ed. by Gary M. Fink and Hugh Davis Graham (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998); Judith Stein, *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010); Meg Jacobs, *Panic at the Pump: The Energy Crisis and the Transformation of American Politics in the 1970s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2016).

own political networks for some time.[18] However, the economic crisis took place against a background of long-term global and structural change. Domestically, white flight, deindustrialization, automation, the rise of the Sun Belt, and other economic and social processes that ultimately served to undermine the New Deal order were in fact products of that same order.[19] Internationally, the breakdown of Bretton Woods was a symptom of the relative decline of U.S. economic supremacy that began with the reconstruction of Europe and Japan several decades before.[20] The creation of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), and American domination of institutions such as the IMF and World Bank provided a framework for global governance that promoted free trade and facilitated transnational flows of capital that would soon overwhelm the moderate regulatory machinery of nation-states. The first modern free trade zones were established in the 1940s and 1950s, and in the 1960s they proliferated across East Asia.[21] Although they came of age in the 1970s, transnational corporations had been gradually extending their global reach for several decades.[22] Given these developments, it not surprising that the first signs of the neoliberal turn – the Nixon Shock, the Powell memo, the passage of Proposition 13 in California, deregulation under Carter, the nomination of Paul Volcker as Chair of the Federal Reserve, and the development of structural adjustment programmes at the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank – in fact preceded the election of Ronald Reagan.

[18] On the work of corporate donors, neoliberal think tanks, and politicians see Kim Phillips-Fein, *Invisible Hands: The Making of the Conservative Movement from the New Deal to Reagan* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2009); Angus Burgin, *The Great Persuasion: Reinventing Free Markets Since the Depression* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012); Stedman Jones; *The Road from Mont Pèlerin: The Making of the Neoliberal Thought Collective*, ed. by Philip Mirowski and Dieter Plehwe (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2015); Nancy MacLean, *Democracy in Chains: The Deep History of the Radical Right's Stealth Plan for America* (London: Scribe, 2017).

[19] Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origins of the New American Right* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2001).

[20] The ultimate undoing of that system was made inevitable by the insistence of U.S. officials on the dollar as the world's reserve currency. Benn Steil, *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013); The Belgian American economist Robert Triffin had warned of the tendency of the growth of foreign-held U.S. dollar reserves to destabilise the system as early as 1947. Barry J. Eichengreen, *Globalizing Capital: A History of the International Monetary System* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 116.

[21] Vanessa Ogle, 'Archipelago Capitalism: Tax Havens, Offshore Money, and the State, 1950s–1970s', *The American Historical Review*, 122.5 (2017), 1431–58.

[22] Vernie Oliveiro, 'The United States, Multinational Enterprises, and the Politics of Globalization', in *The Shock of the Global: The 1970s in Perspective*, ed. by Niall Ferguson and others (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 143–55.

Neoliberalism was the chosen response to underlying structural crisis, but it also sanctified economic practices that were already in motion.

These three developments paved the way for Ronald Reagan's victory in 1980, and therefore the consolidation of the neoliberal order. Conservatives who rejected the social revolution of the 1960s provided an active electoral base.[23] Neoliberal intellectuals provided a theory to explain the crisis of the 1970s (monetarism), a policy framework for responding to it (supply side economics), and an ideological justification for adopting this framework (government failure). Finally, business groups provided material support for the insurgents.[24] However, it took Reagan to fashion a syncretic mix of populist social conservatism and elite free market dogma into an election-winning coalition.[25]

Within the United States, neoliberalism was therefore closely tied to a set of political, cultural, and economic transformations specific to the transition to a postindustrial society. During the 1980s and 1990s, neoliberal hegemony was secured in part by the fact that free market advocates provided a compelling metanarrative for explaining the disappointments of the past and a roadmap for the future renovation of the nation.[26] As an ideological construction, neoliberalism promised its adherents a utopia of abundance, meritocracy, and infinite choice, no longer tied to the messy reality of capitalist production. Such a conceit was made plausible to some voters by the decisive lead that the Western nations had secured in the Cold War race to develop new information and computer technologies and to harness them to produce

[23] For a sample of this literature see George H. Nash, *The Conservative Intellectual Movement in America, Since 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1976); Michael Kazin, 'Review: The Grass-Roots Right: New Histories of U.S. Conservatism in the Twentieth Century', *The American Historical Review*, 97.1 (1992), 136–55; William Martin, *With God on Our Side: The Rise of the Religious Right in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 1996); John A. Andrew, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (New Brunswick, NJ; London: Rutgers University Press, 1997); Rick Perlstein, *Before the Storm: Barry Goldwater and the Unmaking of the American Consensus* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001); Donald T. Critchlow, *Phyllis Schlafly and Grassroots Conservatism: A Woman's Crusade* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2005); Kim Phillips-Fein, 'Conservatism: A State of the Field', *Journal of American History*, 98.3 (2011), 723–43.
[24] Benjamin C. Waterhouse, *Lobbying America: The Politics of Business from Nixon to NAFTA* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).
[25] Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (New York: Zone Books, 2017); Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order: America and the World in the Free Market Era* (New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2022).
[26] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 1992).

consumer goods.[27] Strategies of resistance to neoliberalism were likewise shaped by these historical circumstances. Because neoliberal elites appealed to certain strata of the working and middle classes by promising them a place within an order shaped by possessive individualism, neoliberalism's opponents were obliged to fight what Gramsci called a "war of position."[28]

Modes of Resistance

The meaning of "resistance" is somewhat amorphous and imprecise. It can range from everyday symbolic acts to violent rebellion.[29] It is bound up with particular forms of thought and expression as well as action. It can be conveyed through art, music, and creative performance.[30] It may be enacted in the face of overwhelming odds or in the certain knowledge of defeat, or it may prepare the ground for eventual triumph. In all these cases, resistance denotes unequal power relations and the refusal of domination. It refers to what some social scientists have termed "contentious politics."[31] The term is used in this study in its most capacious sense, to encompass a wide range of different modes of resistance by different social groups. The nature of their resistance, their strategic orientation, and their

[27] On Silicon Valley and neoliberalism see Richard Barbrook and Andy Cameron, 'The Californian Ideology', *Science as Culture*, 6.1 (1996), 44–72; Fred Turner, *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Gerstle, pp. 104–5; On the importance of the concept of 'consumer sovereignty' to neoliberal ideology see Niklas Olsen, *The Sovereign Consumer: A New Intellectual History of Neoliberalism*, Consumption and Public Life (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018).

[28] The term 'possessive individualism' is borrowed from Canadian philosopher C. B. Macpherson. C. B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011); The best exposition of Gramsci's thinking about political strategy remains Perry Anderson, *The Antinomies of Antonio Gramsci* (London: Verso, 2017).

[29] James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992); Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[30] James M. Jasper, *The Art of Moral Protest: Culture, Biography, and Creativity in Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

[31] The work of social and political scientists has been foundational to the scholarly study of both neoliberalism and social movements in this period. This history builds upon that work but does so from a different methodological vantage. Favouring idiographic over nomothetic modes of understanding, it eschews the technical language adopted by social scientists to compare social movements from different historical and cultural contexts. Charles Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1978); Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

desired ends varied considerably.[32] For some, overturning neoliberalism meant reverting to a more balanced form of Keynesian economic management, for others it meant protecting a forest or defending their livelihoods from corporate greed. Some groups imagined overturning neoliberalism to be just one stage on the road to the eventual abolition of capitalism. Many opponents of neoliberalism were prepared to work within the mainstream political system, others spurned electoral politics in favour of street protests, direct action and non-violent civil disobedience. However, these choices and preferences were not mutually exclusive, and often the tactics of different groups reinforced one another.

Resistance to neoliberalism did not develop in a uniform or structured way. This was because the neoliberal order itself was not created afresh but was overlaid upon pre-existing institutions. Not all the constituent elements of neoliberalism were assembled at the same time. Conceptually it is possible to distinguish between an initial "roll back" phase, when established social institutions were dismantled, and a later "roll out" phase when "market conforming" institutions were installed. In practice, these phases were never entirely distinct, and *neoliberalisation* was mapped unevenly on to complex local, national, and international geographies.[33] Likewise, resistance to neoliberalism developed in piecemeal fashion in response to particular events or political issues that captured the attention of particular constituencies. The word "neoliberalism" was not widely used in the United States in the late twentieth century and there was no singular neoliberal "blueprint" or manifesto. Because of the way in which neoliberal ideas were promoted variously through private think tanks and conservative political networks, it was not always obvious to critics that they were part of common doctrine. For this reason, part of the work of resistance was to uncover the links between the policies being promoted and the political agents and economic interests that promoted and benefitted from them. Constructing an analysis and critique of neoliberalism was therefore an important precondition for resistance, one that activists accomplished partly through research and educational activities and partly by learning from experience.

[32] The 'strategic' imperative is implied by Michel Foucault's pronouncement that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means.' Howard Caygill, *On Resistance: A Philosophy of Defiance* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 6–13; Michel Foucault, *Society Must Be Defended: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1975-76*, ed. by Mauro Bertani and Francois Fontana, trans. by David Macey (London: Penguin, 2004).
[33] On neoliberalization as a process, and the distinction between the 'roll-back' and 'roll-out' phases see Jamie Peck, *Constructions of Neoliberal Reason* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 38.

Resistance itself was a dialectical process that gathered momentum over the course of the 1980s and 1990s.[34]

As will become clear, two unifying themes became particularly prominent within dissenting discourse. The first related to the role of transnational corporations as the primary sponsor and beneficiary of neoliberal policies. The second related to the idea that neoliberalism eroded democracy. These two insights helped to consolidate resistance into a more coherent movement at the turn of the millennium.

The Democratic Challenge: New Social Movements

Just as neoliberalism had deep roots in an earlier period, so too did the social movements that organised in resistance. As this history will show, many of the activists who were involved in the campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s received their political educations during the political upheavals of earlier decades. The struggle against neoliberalism therefore carried the imprint of the "long 1960s" in innumerable ways.[35] To take just one example, Reverend James Lawson, an important leader in the civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s, embraced labour union struggles by majority Latinx janitors in the 1990s (discussed in Chapter 3).[36] Anti-neoliberal activism also drew its animating principles from the particular political values and sensibilities of the New Left, expressed most succinctly in the United States in the *Port Huron Statement* (1962).[37] Above all else, that text advanced the ideal of a "democracy of individual

[34] For some readers this may be reminiscent of Karl Polanyi's conception of the 'double movement.' However, 'dialectical' as used in the sense used here does not imply an Hegelian process limited to two opposite and opposing tendencies. Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001); Fred Block and Margaret R. Somers, *The Power of Market Fundamentalism: Karl Polanyi's Critique* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).

[35] Stephen Tuck, 'Introduction: Reconsidering the 1970s — The 1960s to a Disco Beat?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43.4 (2008), 617–20.

[36] On Lawson's role in promoting non-violent civil disobedience during the civil rights movement see Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1981), pp. 22–25; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past', *The Journal of American History*, 91.4 (2005), 1233–63.

[37] The genesis of the international New Left must be dated to 1956, with Khrushchev's 'Secret Speech' and his subsequent decision to crush the Hungarian Revolution. Disillusioned, many European intellectuals cancelled their communist party memberships. The intellectual inspiration for the movement came especially from E. P. Thompson, Stuart Hall, and Raymond Williams in the United Kingdom, and C. Wright Mills, Paul Goodman, William Appleman Williams, and Herbert Marcuse in the United States. *E.P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left: Essays and Polemics*, ed. by Carl Winslow (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014); C. Wright Mills, 'Letter to the New Left', *New Left Review*, October 1960; Daniel Geary, '"Becoming International Again": C.

participation," predicated on the idea that political decision-making should be a broadly shared undertaking, encompassing but not limited to the equal right to vote in elections.[38] Participatory democracy, in this view, can be extended beyond the realm of party politics and public policy, and into the workplace and all other areas of social life; it should be measured in substantive terms, not just in terms of formal procedure.[39] Essential to this vision was a diagnosis of the deficiencies of the interest-group politics that insulated elites from mechanisms of popular accountability and generated popular apathy and alienation. Both the civil rights movement and New Left were nourished by a belief in the capacity of ordinary people to organise themselves collectively.[40] Insofar as neoliberalism shared the technocratic, elitist, and pro-corporate orientation of Cold War liberalism, it was anathema to the egalitarian ideals of sixties radicals and progressives. Anti-neoliberal politics drew upon this analysis of democracy, power, and domination and extended it to the workings of the global economy.

The interest of the New Left and its successor movements in democracy reflected a turn away from authoritarian leftism that, for convenience at least, we can date to the uprisings of 1968.[41] The allure of socialisms descended from the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 –

Wright Mills and the Emergence of a Global New Left, 1956-1962', *Journal of American History*, 95.3 (2008), 710–36; Dick Flacks, 'Paul Goodman and the Old New Left', *Dissent*, 57.4 (2010), 23–24; Herbert Marcuse and Biddy Martin, 'The Failure of the New Left?', *New German Critique*, 18, 1979, 3–11; Lisa McGirr, 'Port Huron and the Origins of the International New Left', in *The Port Huron Statement: Sources and Legacies of the New Left's Founding Manifesto*, ed. by Richard Flacks and Nelson Lichtenstein (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 50–64; On the agonies of Western Marxism and the evolution of Autonomism in Europe see *Western Marxism: A Critical Reader*, ed. by New Left Review (London: NLB, 1983); Marcel van der Linden, *Western Marxism and the Soviet Union: A Survey of Critical Theories and Debates Since 1917* (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2007); George Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Movement and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*, Revised Edition (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2006); Verity Burgmann, 'The Multitude and the Many-Headed Hydra: Autonomist Marxist Theory and Labor History', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 83, 2013, 170–90.

[38] Tom Hayden, *The Port Huron Statement: The Visionary Call of the 1960s Revolution* (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press, 2005), p. 53 The concept of "participatory democracy" was coined by philosopher Arnold Kaufman in 1960.

[39] As the philosopher Carole Pateman later argued, most political theorists in the 1960s understood democracy in much more limited terms, and the fact that they presented their theories as 'value-free' and descriptive rather than normative served to naturalise the prevailing view. Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), p. 15.

[40] Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

[41] The emergence of the New Left was one important reason for this, but it had as much to do with the internal contradictions of the Marxist tradition itself. 'Revisionism' had of course been an ongoing project since the late nineteenth century. In the 1930s Trotsky had denounced the "betrayal" of the revolution by Stalin, and many

particularly the apparent promise of the Chinese Revolution – faded only gradually.[42] However, the political climate had by the late 1970s led many in the West to conclude that a revolution was not only impossible, but perhaps not even desirable in its traditional form. Some socialists argued that orthodox Marxism lacked a satisfactory explanation for the transition to socialism. Despite the recurrence of crises since the mid-nineteenth century, the capitalist state had not collapsed under the weight of its own contradictions. The Bolsheviks had seized power in Russia, but the authoritarian centralised state that they created had merely reproduced modes of bureaucratic domination that prevented the self-emancipation of the workers that was needed to transition to democratic socialism.[43] As the activities and writings of communist and Soviet dissidents such as Václav Havel, Andrei Sakharov, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn became more well-known, it became difficult for all but the most hardened leftist partisans to deny the brutality of the Soviet regime. By the early 1980s the death and destruction now associated with Communist regimes led critics on the left to reckon with all manner of other abuses such as show trials, pervasive state surveillance, and

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European intellectuals had cancelled their communist party memberships in the wake of the Soviet invasion of Hungary in 1956. The crushing of the Prague Spring was the final straw for others. These crises no doubt contributed greatly to the declining appeal of orthodoxy but, as Gerd-Rainer Horn notes, equally important was the throughgoing conservatism of old left parties, which had mostly insulated themselves from popular social movements in the postwar years. As Donald Sassoon has remarked, "Socialists had run out of ideas. In the 1960s they had abandoned the aim of abolishing capitalism; in the 1970s and 1980s they proclaimed that they were the ideal managers of it." Gerd-Rainer Horn, *The Spirit of '68: Rebellion in Western Europe and North America, 1956-1976* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 131–77 Sassoon is quoted on p. 167.

[42] Early left critics of liberal development theory and the international financial institutions were not immune. On the influence of Maoism on leftist development theory see Isabella Maria Weber and Gregor Semieniuk, 'American Radical Economists in Mao's China: From Hopes to Disillusionment', in *Research in the History of Economic Thought and Methodology*, ed. by Luca Fiorito, Scott Scheall, and Carol Eduardo Suprinyak (Bingley, UK: Emerald Publishing, 2019), 37A, 31–63; As Jean-Luc Godard's 1967 film *La Chinoise* foreshadowed, Maoism also influenced the global student uprisings of 1968. It should also be remembered that in the early 1970s some leftist groups – the Weather Underground and the Symbionese Liberation Army in the United States, the Baader–Meinhof Group in West Germany, the Red Brigades in Italy, the Nihon Sekigun in Japan – even embraced revolutionary violence. Of course, not everyone who came under the spell of Maoism took it so seriously, as Tom Wolfe's satirical take on 'radical chic' suggests. However, Julia Lovell argues the splintering of the left in Western Europe and the United States, and therefore the rise of neoliberalism, was assisted by the divisive influence of the Cultural Revolution. Julia Lovell, *Maoism: A Global History* (London: The Bodley Head, 2019), pp. 266–305; A charitable interpretation of these enthusiasms would note that Chinese propaganda also fooled prominent foreign visitors to China, including François Mitterand in 1961 and British Conservative MP John Temple in 1960. The likely extent of the famines caused by the Great Leap Forward was not known in the West until the publication of the Statistical Yearbook in 1984. However, this seems like a slim defence when one considers that the final death toll stood at a minimum of 45 million people. Frank Dikötter, *Mao's Great Famine: The History of China's Most Devastating Catastrophe, 1958-62* (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), pp. 215, 324–34.

[43] Carl Boggs, 'Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control', *Radical America*, 11.6 (1977), 99–122; Paul Raekstad and Sofa Saio Gradin, *Prefigurative Politics: Building Tomorrow Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019).

work camps.[44] Of course, some still clung to the romance of revolution, but they were increasingly marginalised, except in the rarefied halls of academia.[45] With the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, authoritarian leftism lacked even the modicum of credibility that the moniker "actually existing socialism" had laid claim to.[46]

The agonies of Western socialism were compounded by the failure of left parties within the electoral sphere. For many voters in the Global North in the 1980s, who dismissed socialism as a utopia that could never be attained, the promise of unending growth seemed like an attractive consolation prize. Technological innovation ensured that productivity would continue to rise, even as the growing power of capital and the declining power of labour ensured a more unequal distribution of wealth.[47] The offshoring of production to low-wage areas in the Global South (and the super-exploitation of workers there) meant that cheap consumer goods would become more available to the working classes of the Global North,

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[44] As Robert Service observes, communist regimes differed according to national context, however 'Durable communist regimes had much in common. They eliminated or emasculated rival political parties. They attacked religion, culture and civil society. They trampled on every version of nationhood except the one approved by community rulership. They abolished the autonomy of the courts and the press. They centralised power. They turned over dissenters to forced-labour camps. They set up networks of security police and informers. They claimed infallibility in doctrine and paraded themselves as faultless scientists of human affairs. They insulated societies against alien influences in politics and culture. They fiercely barricaded their frontiers. They treated every aspect of social life as in need of penetration by the authorities. They handled people as a resource to be mobilised. They showed little respect for ecology, charity or custom. These commonalities make it sensible to speak of a communist order.' Robert Service, *Comrades! A History of World Communism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 9; Of course, the secrecy of many communist states meant that measurable statistics were not available until after the end of the Cold War. Nevertheless, horrors such as the notorious killing fields of the Khmer Rouge were widely reported on in the Western media. Indeed, the Australian journalist John Pilger first made a name for himself through his reporting on Cambodia. *Year Zero: The Silent Death of Cambodia* (Associated Television, 1979); By the early 1970s it was also becoming clear that Soviet model had a similarly devastating impact on the environment. For a contemporary account see Marshall Goldman, *The Spoils of Progress: Environmental Pollution in the Soviet Union* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1972); This is not to say that environmental politics had no place in the Soviet Union, but it did nonetheless suggest that even societies where the state ensured a more equal distribution of resources, there was no guarantee that these resources would be obtained and managed in a responsible way. Douglas R. Weiner, *Models of Nature: Ecology, Conservation, and Cultural Revolution in Soviet Russia* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1988); Murray Feshbach and Alfred Friendly, *Ecocide in the USSR: Health and Nature Under Siege* (London: Aurum, 1992); A similar point can be made about Revolutionary China. Judith Shapiro, *Mao's War Against Nature: Politics and the Environment in Revolutionary China* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[45] Tony Judt, 'Eric Hobsbawm and the Romance of Communism', in *Reappraisals: Reflections on the Forgotten Twentieth Century* (New York: Penguin Press, 2008), pp. 116–28.

[46] Raymond Williams, 'Beyond Actually Existing Socialism', *New Left Review*, 120, 1980, 3–19.

[47] As Carl Benedikt Frey points out, World Gross Domestic Product per Capita has increased dramatically since the Industrial Revolution, but this fact alone tells us very little about the complex social and political effects of such growth. Carl Benedikt Frey, *The Technology Trap: Capital, Labor, and Power in the Age of Automation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2019), pp. 1–20.

even as their relative standard of living declined.[48] Certainly, the pursuit of a limitless variety of consumer goods seemed less onerous than undertaking the unrewarding (and possibly fruitless) task of relentless struggle against an ever more powerful ruling class. The 1980s were, after all, a time when American workers were exposed to images of food queues and tales of consumer shortages on the other side of the Iron Curtain.[49] The social status of the predominantly-white middle class, had not yet obviously begun its precipitous fall from grace that would eventually upend the political consensus.[50] These developments help to explain why the primary vehicle for the New Deal in the United States – the Democratic Party – came under the influence of neoliberal ideology in the late 1980s.[51] For those who still identified with an explicitly democratic socialist tradition, these were years of marginalisation and experimentation within various smaller party vehicles.[52]

In the wake of these convulsions, and the frustration of both revolutionary and electoral routes to social change, the left was forced to rethink many of its most fundamental doctrinal assumptions. Academic theorists began to turn to the so-called "new social movements" for inspiration because they appeared to constitute the most vibrant forms of dissent at a time of generalised political withdrawal.[53] In fact, it is unclear exactly how "new" these social movements really were, but the term was used to refer to political groups and organizations concerned with matters as diverse as feminism, the environment, nuclear weapons, community organising, sexual liberation, racial justice, disability, urban space, and animal rights.[54] The leading contributors to "new social movement" theory – Manuel Castells, Alain

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[48] On super-exploitation of workers in the Global South see Folker Fröbel, Jürgen Heinrichs, and Otto Kreye, *The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 1980), pp. 350–60.

[49] During this period workers in the Soviet bloc were similarly increasingly inclined to judge the success of their economic model based on the availability of consumer goods. Jonathan R. Zatlin, 'The Vehicle of Desire: The Trabant, the Wartburg, and the End of the GDR', *German History*, 15.3 (1997), 358–80.

[50] Barbara Ehrenreich, *Fear of Falling: The Inner Life of the Middle Class* (New York: HarperPerennial, 1989); David Roediger, *The Sinking Middle Class: A Political History* (New York: OR Books, 2020).

[51] Kenneth S. Baer, *Reinventing Democrats: The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

[52] Gary Dorrien, *American Democratic Socialism: History, Politics, Religion, and Theory* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2021).

[53] Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1992).

[54] These movements had all experienced earlier 'waves' within the broader left, and there were significant continuities between the so-called 'old' left and the 'new' left. John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983); Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New*

Touraine, Alberto Melucci, and Jurgen Habermas – were concerned with addressing the deficiencies of orthodox Marxism, which argued that the primary ground of collective action was the working class. The reductionism of this position, it was argued, failed to account for the proliferation of movements that did not subordinate all areas of social concern to purely economic interest.[55]

Class, Identity, and Resistance

The academic interest in the new social movements was informed by a recognition that the class dynamics of the 1970s were different from those of the past. In a classic analysis of the "changing values and political styles among Western publics" Ronald Inglehart argued that the United States was undergoing a "silent revolution" due to technological change, rising educational levels, expanded access to mass communications, and the distinctive life experiences of the "Baby Boomer" generation. In response, Inglehart argued, Americans were less likely to participate in the political process, were more sceptical of established institutions, and were increasingly preoccupied with questions of "life-style."[56] From an historical point of view, these were all symptoms of what John Kenneth Galbraith called "the affluent society." The postwar boom created an American society characterised by wealth, social mobility, and middle-class aspiration. For Galbraith, the imperative of satisfying basic needs was no longer as politically salient as the need to improve quality of life.[57] The growth of environmental concerns was similarly a response to the production of new knowledge about the impact of industrial production on complex natural ecosystems and on human

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Left (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Andrew Hunt, 'How New Was the New Left?', in *The New Left Revisited*, ed. by John McMillian and Paul Buhle (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2003); Robert O. Self, 'The Black Panther Party and the Long Civil Rights Era', in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, ed. by Jama Lazerow and Yohuru R. Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

[55] Steven M. Buechler, 'New Social Movement Theories', *The Sociological Quarterly*, 36.3 (1995), 441–64; Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross-Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983); Alberto Melucci, *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*, ed. by John Keane and Paul Mier (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989).

[56] Ronald Inglehart, *The Silent Revolution: Changing Values and Political Styles Among Western Publics*, Princeton Legacy Library (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1977).

[57] John Kenneth Galbraith, *The Affluent Society* (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1958); James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations the United States, 1945-1974* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 340.

health.[58] The rise of the new social movements was therefore both a product of "growth liberalism" as well as a symptom of growing discontent with the postwar model.[59] The timing of the arrival of these movements as a mass politics was also crucial, coming as they did towards the end of the "great compression" of wage and income inequality.[60] As class became a less salient source of collective identity and political consciousness, other identities came to the fore.

The simultaneous rise of neoliberalism and the new social movements has led to speculation that there was some connection between these two phenomena. It is true that some tendencies of the Sixties radicalism, particularly in its individualistic impulses and fascination with new technology, provided inspiration for market-oriented utopianism of Silicon Valley.[61] The assimilation of countercultural tropes into mainstream culture over the course of the 1960s and 1970s, and then into the management discourse of the 1980s and 1990s, also served to blunt the critique of capitalism that they were originally inspired by. However, it is important to distinguish between the instrumental deployment of liberatory motifs such as "network organization" and "worker autonomy" from material realities. The neoliberal workplace depended upon the *deepening* of hierarchical control that was a function of the degradation of work, even if corporate managers pretended otherwise.[62] This is something that left critics understood well. The danger of the recuperation of oppositional elements by capitalism was a theme explored by the Situationists in the late 1960s, and in the 1980s and 1990s activists continually struggled with the tendency for their movements to be neutralised, coopted, or otherwise discredited by the very corporations and government institutions that they were organising against.[63]

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[58] Samuel P. Hays and Barbara D. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[59] Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 68–97.
[60] Claudia Goldin and Robert A. Margo, 'The Great Compression: The Wage Structure in the United States at Mid-Century', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 107.1 (1992), 1–34; Paul R. Krugman, *The Conscience of a Liberal: Reclaiming America from the Right* (London: Penguin, 2009).
[61] Turner; Gerstle.
[62] Luc Boltanski and Eve Chiapello, *The New Spirit of Capitalism*, trans. by Gregory Elliott, Updated Edition (London: Verso, 2018); Elizabeth Anderson, *Private Government: How Employers Rule Our Lives (And Why We Don't Talk About It)* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2017).
[63] It is not a coincidence that Debord's translator in the United States was Fredy Perlman, a figure who exerted considerable influence on the thinking of the radical environmentalists and anarchists who organised in opposition to neoliberalism in subsequent decades. Guy Debord, *The Society of the Spectacle*, trans. by Fredy

It is therefore helpful to distinguish between different strands within the new social movements. One strand was attached to the liberal mainstream and became progressively more professionalised and focused on lobbying politicians for incremental change. These groups were generally inclined to emphasise equality of opportunity rather than outcome. Dominated by a primarily white and middle-class leadership, their tendency to focus on single issue campaigns and legal issues meant that economic justice was often excluded from their advocacy agenda. Similarly, because liberal groups focused on questions of individual identity, they often overlooked the structural causes of oppression. In this way, equality of opportunity displaced equality of outcome, and liberal concerns such as discrimination superseded more radical demands for liberation. In the 1980s, mainstream groups did help to provide a counterbalance to the conservative social agenda of the Reagan administration. However, in the 1990s, many of them were complicit in Bill Clinton's project to combine social liberalism and free market economics.[64] Another strand was constituted by the conglomeration of left groups that saw questions of economic distribution and issues of identity as deeply intertwined. The intellectual progenitors of this perspective were socialist feminist and black feminist groups, like the Combahee River Collective, who argued that class, race, gender, and sexuality were co-constituted.[65] Such groups were hostile to neoliberal politicians within the Democratic Party, as well as their moderate backers within the broader liberal political milieu. These two strands existed in uneasy tension, but the existence of neoliberal "identity politics" was often subject to extensive criticism by more radical activists.[66] It was leftists, for example lesbians in the peace movement, who did much of the grassroots organising within the broader anti-neoliberal movement. Queer politics,

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Perlman (Detroit, MI: Black & Red, 1970); Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995); Naomi Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (New York: Picador, 1999).

[64] Gerstle, pp. 152–64.

[65] *How We Get Free: Black Feminism and the Combahee River Collective*, ed. by Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2017).

[66] Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight Of Equality: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); To take one example, queer politics evolved in the 1990s as a critique of the assimilationist tendencies of liberal advocacy organizations that were willing to disavow more radical demands in order to achieve legal and symbolic victories such as the admittance of gays and lesbians into the U.S. military. Michael Warner, 'Introduction: Fear of a Queer Planet', *Social Text*, 29, 1991, 3–17; Urvashi Vaid, *Virtual Equality: The Mainstreaming of Gay and Lesbian Liberation* (New York: Anchor Books, 1995); Alexandra Chasin, *Selling Out: The Gay and Lesbian Movement Goes to Market* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001).

particularly as manifested by ACT UP and its successor groups, provided a powerful aesthetic and strategic influence on anti-capitalist mobilisation in the 1990s.[67] Class remained a central feature of political analysis and action on the left, even as left groups rejected class reductionism.

The tendency to see identity-based claims as antagonistic to, or incompatible with, redistributionist or class-based claims can also be explained by the conservatism of the mainstream labour movement in the United States. As the AFL-CIO was integrated into the postwar settlement under the "labor-management accord," it became more bureaucratic. The ideal of "industrial democracy" was eroded, and many labour leaders became more concerned with guarding their individual fiefdoms than in advancing the political interests of the working class.[68] The institutional biases of the New Deal order had benefitted many of the white male figureheads of the federation. They proudly defended their privileged place within Democratic politics and regarded the "New Politics" of George McGovern and the new social movements as a threat.[69] This insulated perspective also undermined attempts to foster an alliance between unions and environmentalists and public interest groups that were attracting significant support in the 1970s.[70] For their part, the professionals who formed the mainstream of the environmental movement failed to provide a sufficient counterbalance to the deregulatory instincts of Jimmy Carter.[71] By the time the so-called Reagan Democrats

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[67] *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002); L. A. Kauffman, *Direct Action: Protest and the Reinvention of American Radicalism* (London: Verso, 2017), p. 4; Chris Dixon, interview with author, 2022.
[68] Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of The Union: A Century of American Labor*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 98–177.
[69] Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2010), p. 6.
[70] Paul Sabin, *Public Citizens: The Attack on Big Government and the Remaking of American Liberalism* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2021), pp. 104–6.
[71] It is inaccurate to claim that the deregulatory programmes of Carter and Reagan were a logical extension of the public interest movement's critique of 'big government.' Public interest groups were opposed to policies that rewarded monopolies at the expense of consumers, but they did not argue that this outweighed all other considerations. Quite the opposite, public interest groups advocated aggressively for greater government intervention to curb the social abuses of market actors. They opposed the collusion of government and business interests. This is one of the reasons that Lewis Powell and the business community saw Ralph Nader and his followers as such a threat. When the neoliberal movement succeeded in installing Reagan in the White House, he did much to advance the cause of large corporations and undermine antitrust law. Sabin, pp. 166–67; Waterhouse, pp. 140–73; Under Reagan, Assistant Attorney General William Baxter, a Chicago School devotee, oversaw a relaxation of the American antitrust regime. Louis Galambos, 'When Antitrust Helped, And Why It Doesn't Now', *Washington Post*, 13 June 1999.

abandoned the liberal coalition, it was too late to repair these divisions, which facilitated the turn of the party toward the right under the influence of the "New Democrats."[72]

The political fallout that resulted from the disintegration of the New Deal coalition has led Jefferson Cowie to argue that during the 1970s, "One of the great constructs of the modern age, the unified notion of a 'working class,' crumbled, and the new world order was built on the rubble."[73] This dissertation argues instead that the collapse of the "labor metaphysic" permitted a more sober assessment of the multiple, and often conflicting, identities through which class is expressed. The story recounted in the following chapters describes how in the 1980s and 1990s the American labour movement gradually came to accommodate the diversity of workers' lives, both within the workplace and outside of it. The ossification of the AFL-CIO hierarchy within the corporate framework provided by the New Deal, and the distancing of the leadership from grassroots organising, meant that it was slow to respond to the threat posed by economic restructuring, deindustrialization, and the growth of the services sector. It was the fight over "free trade" that reminded progressive constituencies that they shared a common corporate enemy; to carry on this fight successfully, they would need to overcome some of the tribalism that had divided them in earlier decades. The Battle of Seattle in late 1999 was a landmark moment in this process of reconciliation.

This story goes some way to reintroducing perhaps the primary concern of the new labour history – how resistance functioned in relation to capitalism – into the history of neoliberalism.[74] However, it does so by discarding the "labour metaphysic" as the primary lens for understanding political mobilization in this period. By focusing on a far more varied

[72] Of course, deep sectional divisions within the Democratic Party and the politics of race also played an important role. Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White: An Untold History of Racial Inequality in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2005); Jonathan Bartho, 'Reagan's Southern Comfort: The "Boll Weevil" Democrats in the "Reagan Revolution" of 1981', *Journal of Policy History*, 32.2 (2020), 214–38.

[73] Cowie.

[74] As Frisch and Walkowitz argue, "a social history of the American working class must be set within the evolving social relations of capitalism." *Working-Class America: Essays on Labor, Community, and American Society*, ed. by Michael H. Frisch and Daniel J. Walkowitz (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1983); *Perspectives on American Labor History: The Problems of Synthesis*, ed. by J. Carroll Moody and Alice Kessler-Harris (DeKalb, IL.: Northern Illinois University Press, 1989), p. 220.

set of social movements, this history uncovers a rich legacy of resistance that continues to resonate within the new paradigms of political dissent in the present.

1. Contesting the Washington Consensus

One of the central organising concepts of opposition to neoliberalism in the late twentieth century was the idea of "global civil society."[1] The popularity of the term can in part be explained by the generational memory of World War II and the long shadow of totalitarianism. In the era of conservative ascendance that followed the collapse of Bretton Woods, progressives used the language of liberal humanism and social democracy to temper the excesses of market fundamentalism. The concept of "civil society" was frequently invoked alongside concomitant terms such as "human rights" and "humanitarianism."[2] In large measure this was due to the consolidation of the "rights revolution" of the 1960s. Greater formal protections for the moral and legal rights of individuals provided popular movements with effective instruments for making political claims.[3] Over the course of the 1980s and 1990s the centre of political "common sense" shifted to the right, and the outer bounds of mainstream political discourse also moved away from distributionist and towards procedural theories of justice.[4] The appeal to "global civil society," provided activists with a means for establishing the legitimacy of collective claims in an era of thoroughgoing individualism.

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[1] Robert W. Cox, 'Civil Society at the Turn of the Millenium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order', *Review of International Studies*, 25.1 (1999), 3–28 (p. The meaning of 'civil society' is contested, but this analysis follows Robert Cox's Gramscian interpretation, which understands it as the both the ground of neoliberal hegemony and a field of counterhegemonic struggle.); Advocates of 'global civil society' themselves were just as likely to envisage it along the lines conceived by Jurgen Habermas. Krishan Kumar, 'Civil Society, Globalization, and Global Civil Society', *Journal of Civil Society*, 4.1 (2008), 15–30; John R. Ehrenberg, *Civil Society: The Critical History of an Idea*, Second Edition (New York: New York University Press, 2017); Salvador Santino F. Regilme, 'Habermasian Thinking on Civil Society and the Public Sphere in the Age of Globalization', *Perspectives on Political Science*, 47.4 (2018), 271–77.

[2] During these years dissidents in Eastern Europe invoked the idea of "human rights" to erode the bureaucratic overreach of socialist states, the Reagan administration adopted a policy of "democracy promotion" to advance U.S. Cold War interests, and that American policy makers used "humanitarian intervention" to justify the continued projection of American power overseas. *The Reagan Administration, the Cold War, and the Transition to Democracy Promotion*, ed. by Robert Pee and William Michael Schmidli (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018); Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (London: Vintage, 1992); Maria Ryan, 'Bush's "Useful Idiots": 9/11, the Liberal Hawks and the Cooption of the "War on Terror"', *Journal of American Studies*, 45.4 (2011), 667–93; Ehrenberg.

[3] As the Conservative backlash against the expansion of social rights intensified, progressives found themselves on the defensive. Samuel Walker, *The Rights Revolution: Rights and Community in Modern America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998); Mary Ann Glendon, *Rights Talk: The Impoverishment of Political Discourse* (New York: Free Press, 1991); James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Andrew Hartman, 'Culture Wars and the Humanities in the Age of Neoliberalism', *Raritan: A Quarterly Review*, 36.4 (2017), 128–40.

[4] For a concise explication of the philosophical concept of 'common sense' see Kate A. F. Crehan, *Gramsci's Common Sense: Inequality and Its Narratives* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2016), pp. 43–58.

That this occurred in parallel with the rise of neoliberalism has not escaped the notice of historians.[5] It can hardly be disputed that human rights groups have more often focused their efforts on political rather than social and economic rights. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have at times facilitated the retrenchment of public services, particularly through the provision of "faith-based" welfare and other voluntarist social programmes.[6] The reliance of some segments of civil society on funding from large donors or from governments, has also blunted calls for more radical structural change. However, the relationship between civil society and neoliberalism is more complicated than either the advocates or the critics might claim. The existence of non-state actors predates the rise of neoliberalism by many decades, and the idea of "civil society" is historically contingent.[7] Although often discussed as a generic principle, the "non-profit sector" contains multitudes of organizational types, political persuasions, and strategic orientations. Whilst many NGOs spurned economic issues because of political sensitivities, a minority made economic justice the foundational principle of their mission. Far from undermining public provision and market regulation, they were some of its most ardent advocates. Progressives embedded within civil society networks were in fact some of the leading opponents of neoliberal policies from their inception in the late 1970s.

The political role of NGOs was magnified in these years by several developments, both international and domestic. First, the role of the state was itself undergoing a fundamental transformation in many parts of the world. The electoral dominance of Thatcher in Britain and Reagan in the United States drew many nominally progressive and socialist parties to dilute their commitment to managed capitalism and the mixed economy. The rise of the "new public management" resulted in the "hollowing out" of the state. The popularity of "public-

[5] Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010); Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[6] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, 'For and Against NGOs: The Politics of the Lived World', *New Left Review*, 2 (2000); Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (New York: Zone Books, 2017), pp. 209–310.

[7] In the periods both before and after World War Two, 'humanitarian' organisations advanced the projects of imperial states in some ways and undermined them in others. Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); Kevin O'Sullivan and others, 'A "Global Nervous System": The Rise and Rise of European Humanitarian NGOs, 1945–1985', in *International Organizations and Development, 1945-1990* (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), pp. 196–219; Kevin O'Sullivan, Matthew Hilton, and Juliano Fiori, 'Humanitarianisms in Context', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'histoire*, 23.1–2 (2016), 1–15.

private partnerships" meant that public agencies were no longer insulated from commercial considerations.[8] The social basis of support for traditional political parties also eroded as political participation declined.[9] As a result, the prospects for achieving change through conventional political vehicles looked considerably less promising than in the postwar era of social democracy. At the same time, the dramatic expansion of corporate lobbying gave business greater access to the decision-making process and the "revolving door" increasingly blurred the lines between business and political elites. In the United States the explosion of Political Action Committees in Washington in the 1970s locked business and public interest groups in an asymmetrical competition for influence.[10] Insofar as they derived some of their legitimacy from mass memberships or through their connections with grassroots social movements, NGOs provided a counterbalance to corporate influence in a political world that was increasingly divorced from traditional channels of democratic accountability. Although often outmatched in terms of resources, they were staffed by educated and determined personnel who were willing to forego the higher salaries and benefits offered to middle class professionals in the for-profit sector in pursuit of goals that were measured by something other than the bottom line.

In the 1970s the onset of the oil crisis helped to bring together a network of NGOs, social movements, and political parties around the world. As the interconnections between these movements grew stronger, the concept of "global civil society" began to cohere in the public consciousness. The breakthrough moment came during the "Earth Summit" in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 but there were important precursors in global campaigns such the Nestlé boycott, which took aim at irresponsible marketing of infant milk formula in poor countries.[11] Civil

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[8] R. A. W. Rhodes, 'The Hollowing Out of the State: The Changing Nature of the Public Service in Britain', *The Political Quarterly*, 65.2 (1994), 138–51.

[9] André Blais, Ruth Dassonneville, and Filip Kostelka, 'Political Equality and Turnout', in *The Oxford Handbook of Political Representation in Liberal Democracies*, ed. by Robert Rohrschneider and Jacques Thomassen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), pp. 396–412.

[10] James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), pp. 84–89.

[11] Tehila Sasson, 'Milking the Third World? Humanitarianism, Capitalism, and the Moral Economy of the Nestlé Boycott', *The American Historical Review*, 121.4 (2016), 1196–1224; Paul K. Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), pp. 19–47; Although it has attracted less scholarly attention, the international campaign launched in solidarity with Guatemalan Coca Cola bottle factory workers was another important precursor. Peter Stalker, 'International Solidarity: The Real Thing', *New Internationalist*, 1 November 1982 <https://newint.org/features/1982/11/01/cocacola> [accessed 28 October 2021].

society groups also played an important role within the Global South. In many cases, postcolonial states had failed to live up to the hopes of anti-colonial liberation movements. Some progress was made, but neocolonialism, unequal exchange, and inadequate resources had stymied efforts to transcend the legacy of the past.[12] In some countries, the prestige afforded by participation in independence struggles protected ruling elites that had been educated elsewhere and who grew distant from the needs of ordinary citizens. In others, democratic leaders were deposed by coups. These conditions created opportunities for corruption and collaboration with foreign economic interests.[13] The growth of civil society could therefore be understood as a field of democratic organisation that was in some ways insulated from these trends. When governments began to enact neoliberal reforms under the guise of "structural adjustment," these independent bases of social action helped to nourish domestic resistance.

Structural adjustment policies (SAPs) constituted a package of neoliberal measures that aimed to liberalise developing country economies and promote export-led growth. By withdrawing state support for small producers and drastically reducing expenditures on essential public services, SAPs had a devastating impact on the poor. Because they needed foreign exchange to meet their debt obligations governments were persuaded to prioritise the interests of foreign investors over the welfare of their own people. The cycle of debt meant that the imperative of growth took precedence over other considerations, such as the environmental and social impact of development projects. The opposition mounted by global civil society to these neoliberal reforms unfolded in several stages. The early stages were marked by widespread popular resistance in the Global South to policies that were implemented amidst the economic crises of the late 1970s. As progressive advocates in the Global North began to respond, they took up the causes of structural adjustment and debt in Washington D.C. and other centres of power in the early 1980s. A second stage was

[12] Kwame Nkrumah, *Neo-Colonialism: The Last Stage of Imperialism* (London: Nelson, 1965); On 'the imperialism of decolonisation' and neocolonialism see Robert Gildea, *Empires of the Mind: The Colonial Past and the Politics of the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp. 68–121.

[13] In the mid-1980s efforts were made by Cuba to marshal a more coordinated response to the crisis. Alan García Pérez of Peru and Thomas Sankara of Burkina Faso also fiercely resisted IMF interference, but ultimately debtor countries were too divided to fully confront northern financial interests. Susan George, *A Fate Worse than Debt* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 214–19; Jason Hickel, *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions* (London: William Heinemann, 2017), pp. 179–81.

constituted in the mid-1980s by the efforts of U.S. environmentalists to make common cause with indigenous peoples in resistance to the policies of the World Bank, which was by the 1980s a key institutional progenitor of market reforms. A third stage, in the 1990s, saw the integration of these campaigns into a broader critique of neoliberal development model which had by then become known as the "Washington Consensus."

Challenging Structural Adjustment and Debt

During the late 1970s a series of strikes, demonstrations, and other protest actions against austerity measures and structural adjustment began to sweep across Latin America, the Caribbean, Africa, and Asia. This wave of popular mobilization began in Peru in July 1976, but this was soon followed by similar actions in Egypt (January 1977), Ghana (September 1978), Jamaica (January 1979) and Liberia (April 1979). Because many of these disturbances followed the imposition of IMF stabilization programmes, they became known in the press as the "IMF riots." As budgets were cut, many countries found that they were spending more on debt service than they were spending on health, education, and other essential services. As a result, the wave of protest continued to spread. In the 1980s protests erupted in the Philippines (1980), Zaire (1980), Turkey (1980), Morocco (1981), Sierra Leone (1981), Sudan (1982), Argentina (1982), Ecuador (1982), Chile (1982), Bolivia (1983), Brazil (1983), Panama (1983), Tunisia (1984), Dominican Republic (1984), Haiti (1985), El Salvador (1985), Costa Rica (1985), Guatemala (1985), Mexico (1986), Yugoslavia (1986), Zambia (1986), Poland (1987), Algeria (1987), Rumania (1987), Nigeria (1988), Hungary (1988), Venezuela (1989), and Jordan (1989).[14] Many of these countries experienced multiple uprisings and other forms of resistance. In some cases, more generalised political grievances fuelled the protests, but often

[14] Because many of these disturbances followed the imposition of IMF stabilization programmes, they became known in the press as the "IMF riots." The uprisings stemmed in part from the abolition of government subsidies for food, fuel, and public transportation, and the resulting sudden rise in the cost of living, but also from wage cuts and redundancies resulting from reductions in public expenditure. As such, the principal organisers and participants were usually the urban poor, religious organizations, labour unions, students, and women's and feminist groups, but also public sector workers and other sections of the middle class who favoured political reform. Whilst not all of the participants in these struggles expressed their aims as stemming from resistance to neoliberal ideology, it is certainly the case that many of them were aware of the role of the international financial institutions, foreign interests, and their own governments, in breaking the social contract that in many countries maintained a measure of domestic economic welfare and security. *Free Markets & Food Riots: The Politics of Global Adjustment*, ed. by John Walton and David Seddon (Oxford: Blackwell, 1994).

it was a sudden rise in the cost of living that provided the immediate trigger. For example, in 1983 and 1984, widespread uprisings erupted in Morocco and Tunisia in response to sharp increase in food prices that resulted from the abolition of government food subsidies.[15]

The resistance to structural adjustment policies within the Global South was significant and unfaltering throughout this period. However, whilst popular mobilizations challenged SAPs on a national level, the global levers of power were located in the distant halls of Washington-based institutions. The IMF and World Bank represented the interests of dominant countries in the Global North. The policies adopted by the international financial institutions (IFIs) were shaped by the new economic orthodoxy that had taken root within the finance ministries of these countries, and they therefore served to promote the "reforms" favoured by northern economic interests. Neoliberal institutions were therefore highly centralised, whereas opposition to neoliberal policies was geographically dispersed. Efforts to create a more coordinated movement were led in the first instance by two small non-governmental organisations (NGOs) located in Washington D.C., The Development Group for Alternative Policies (The Development GAP) and the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS). These two groups facilitated the formation of what political scientists Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink have called "transnational advocacy networks" by acting as intermediaries between political constituencies in the Global North and in the Global South.[16] These transnational alliances allowed activists to develop strategies for constraining the power of the International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to impose a damaging neoliberal development model on the rest of the world. They did so by mobilizing around two interrelated areas of contention: structural adjustment and the debt crisis on the one hand, and the environment and indigenous rights on the other. In the 1980s and 1990s these networks, constituted by progressive NGOs, church activists, environmentalists, anthropologists, labour unions, and indigenous communities, began to coalesce into an organised opposition to the policies of the World Bank.

[15] David Seddon, 'Winter of Discontent', *Middle East Research and Information Project*, 127 (1984); Jim Paul, 'States of Emergency: The Riots in Tunisia and Morocco', *MERIP Reports*, 127, 1984, 3–6.
[16] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1998).

The origins of this alliance in fact date back to the 1960s and 1970s. Northern groups were involved in challenging structural adjustment policies (SAPs) since their inception. The Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), a progressive think tank founded in 1963 and based in Washington D.C., had worked with Chilean exile Orlando Letelier to develop an International Economic Order programme. Begun in 1973 and initially conceived as a six to twelve month research project, the IEO programme continued to grow even after Letelier was assassinated by right wing agents.[17] The IPS co-sponsored meetings of leaders from the Global South in Kingston, Jamaica in October 1979, and in Arusha, Tanzania in June-July 1980 to discuss the crisis within the international monetary system.[18] These meetings were a continuation of the efforts by southern leaders to achieve structural reforms to the international economic system as part of the New International Economic Order (NIEO) proposals of the mid-1970s, and provided counties like Jamaica with a platform to air their grievances with the IMF's "stabilization" policies. Soon after the conference, the People's National Party (PNP) in Jamaica broke off negotiations with the IMF because, in the words of Prime Minister Michael Manley, the party "was not prepared to accept a path that meant greater hardship for the working people without offering any hope of their future wellbeing."[19] Manley's denunciation of the Fund was echoed by President Julius Nyerere of Tanzania, who decried the erosion of

[17] Letelier had been former ambassador to Washington for Salvador Allende's left-wing government in Chile before the Pinochet coup. Letelier was working with IPS when he was assassinated by members of Pinochet's secret service. Michael Moffitt Memo Re. 'The Future of IEO Project', 1978, Box 54, Folder 29. Institute for Policy Studies. Institute for Policy Studies Records, 1959-2005. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. [Hereafter cited as Institute for Policy Studies Records.]; John Cavanagh and Frederick Clairmonte, 'The Transnational Economy: Transnational Corporations and Global Markets' (Institute for Policy Studies, 1982), pp. 39–40; Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 98–100; Paul K. Adler, pp. 82–85; Researchers associated with IPS and its global affiliate, the Transnational Institute (TNI), were also constructing a critique of the role of multinational corporations and the IMF in the global economy at this time as part of the IEO project. See Richard Barnet, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974); Susan George, *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977).

[18] The meetings were a collaboration between various development groups and the National Planning Agency of Jamaica. The other sponsors were the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, the International Foundation for Development Alternatives (IFDA), the Latin American Institute for Transnational Studies (ILET), and the Third World Forum. 'The Terra Nova Statement on the International Monetary System and the Third World', *Development Dialogue: A Journal of International Development Cooperation Published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala*, 1 (1980), 29–34; International Foundation for Development Alternatives, 'The International Monetary System and the New International Order. Main Document for the South-North Conference. Arusha, Tanzania.', 1980, Box 54, Folder 38. Institute for Policy Studies Records.

[19] It should be noted that besides negotiating with the IMF, Manley also had to maintain a delicate balance between rival factions within the PNP. Bruce M. Wilson, 'From Democratic Socialism to Neoliberalism: The Metamorphoses of the People's National Party in Jamaica', *Studies in Comparative International Development*, 31.2 (1996), 58–82 (pp. 64–67).

national sovereignty and the social impact of loan conditions.[20] The IMF's austerity conditions ultimately brought about the defeat of Manley in the 1980 election, and his successor Edward Seaga pursued the neoliberal development strategy favoured by the Fund. It was becoming clear to critics in the North that the same structural inequalities that had brought about calls by the G77 for the NIEO were also responsible for eroding the capacity of those states to enact their domestic agendas. It was therefore a logical step for Northern critics to extend their analysis to debt and the imposition of SAPs by the IFIs in the 1980s.

There also already existed a political constituency that was concerned with U.S. foreign policy in the Global South. A Latin American solidarity movement first formed in response to President Johnson's invasion of the Dominican Republic in 1965 and drew further support as the American public were alerted to the use of torture by the military government in Brazil.[21] These activist networks created an organizational infrastructure for much larger mobilizations in the 1980s in solidarity with left insurgencies in Central America.[22] The rise of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua helped to sustain progressive politics in the United States during the Reagan era.[23] The Latin American connection was also important because religious groups made up

[20] 'No to IMF Meddling: President Nyerere's New Year Message 1980', *Development Dialogue: A Journal of International Development Cooperation Published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala*, 2 (1980), 7–9.

[21] The founders of North American Congress on Latin America (NACLA) were members of Students for a Democratic Society. James Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Brazilian Military Dictatorship in the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), p. 68; The UFW campaigns against the Chilean dictatorship continued into the 1980s. Heidi Tinsman argues that some elements of the Chile solidarity movement expressed their opposition to the neoliberal economic programme under Pinochet, as well as their opposition to human rights abuses carried out by the regime. Heidi Tinsman, *Buying into the Regime: Grapes and Consumption in Cold War Chile and the United States* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), pp. 146–206.

[22] As Striffler points out, the fact that dictatorships in the Southern Cone set out to destroy virtually all domestic left opposition meant that U.S. internationalism was unlikely to take anything other than a defensive posture in the early and mid-1970s. Activists were constrained not so much by a lack of political ambition or imagination as by the political realities of the time. Steve Striffler, *Solidarity: Latin America and the US Left in the Era of Human Rights* (London: Pluto Press, 2019), pp. 94–124.

[23] Steve Striffler, pp. 125–42; Nick Witham defines the different ideological currents within the Central American solidarity movement according to a typology with three major components: anti-interventionism, solidarity and anti-imperialism. Activists within CISPES understood their own organization to 'be in favour of the abolition of the economic system that produces foreign domination and aggression' but this did not apply to all branches of the wider movement. Nick Witham, *The Cultural Left and the Reagan Era: US Protest and the Central American Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), p. 6; As Christian Smith has pointed out, the diversity of the movement made questions of strategy particularly intractable. Christian Smith, *Resisting Reagan: The U.S. Central America Peace Movement* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 211–30.

an important component of the incipient global justice movement.[24] In the 1960s, many mainline Protestant and Catholic churches embraced a progressive social and economic agenda and a more international outlook.[25] Following the gathering of Catholic bishops in Medellin, Colombia, in 1968, liberation theology spread across Latin America, and from thence to Christian communities in the United States.[26] Besides having historical missionary links to the Global South, many denominations also had head offices in Washington and possessed sufficient resources to mobilise the grass roots on global issues. Activists at the National Council of Churches were active on the issue of torture in Brazil, and the NCC also provided material support for Brazilian activists organising in the United States.[27] Latin American solidarity was one important manifestation of this new orientation, but it could equally be seen in the anti-apartheid movement.[28] Church groups, particularly the

[24] The coexistence of secular and religious radicalism in the United States can be traced back to the Civil Rights movement and the peace organizations of the 1950s. Indeed, it has yet deeper historical resonances in the abolitionist movement of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: Making Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

[25] Of course, Christian theology had long been concerned with questions of economic justice, and in the United States this tradition was manifest in the 'social gospel' and Catholic Worker movements of the early twentieth century. The renewal of interest in social themes within the Protestant churches was prompted in part by the growing strength of the Global South within the ecumenical movement, and partly due to the experiences of the Civil Rights era. The Catholic Church also underwent profound changes in the 1960s as a result of the Second Vatican Council. A series of Papal encyclicals in this period emphasised the duty of Christians to promote international peace and economic justice. Katharina Kunter, 'Revolutionary Hopes and Global Transformations: The World Council of Churches in the 1960s', *Kirchliche Zeitgeschichte*, 30.2 (2017), 342–47; Jos J. van Gennip, 'A Christian Social Answer to Globalisation', *European View*, 17.1 (2018), 21–28; *Quiet Hand of God: Faith-Based Activism and the Public Role of Mainline Protestantism*, ed. by Robert Wuthnow and John H. Evans (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002).

[26] David M. Lantigua, 'Neoliberalism, Human Rights, and the Theology of Liberation in Latin America', in *Christianity and Human Rights Reconsidered*, ed. by Sarah Shortall and Daniel Steinmetz-Jenkins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp. 238–60; Smith, pp. 145–48.

[27] William Wipfler had first-hand knowledge of the use of torture in Latin America from the time he had spent in the Dominican Republic. His consciousness of the complicity of the U.S. government in torture compelled him to take action. As he reported to readers in 1970, 'This article is not intended to be sensational. Its purpose is, rather, to awaken American Christians and public opinion to this horrendous terror and inhumanity. The authorities of Brazil are concerned about their image abroad, and especially in the United States, from which they receive massive foreign aid and investment capital. International outcries may not bring democracy back to Brazil, but it may force the Government to restrict its present policies in the treatment of political prisoners.' William L. Wipfler, 'The Price of "Progress" in Brazil', *Christianity and Crisis: A Christian Journal of Opinion*, 1970 <Accessed Online via the Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship https://library.brown.edu/create/wecannotremainsilent/biographies/william-wipfler/> [accessed 28 November 2020]; On the work of NCC activists including Wipfler, Ralph Della Cava, and Brady Tyson see Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent*, pp. 156–58, 264, 268.

[28] In 1971 church groups founded the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). The ICCR was an effort by these groups to utilise their power as shareholders to force American companies such as GM to withdraw from South Africa and was instrumental in establishing the Sullivan Principles for corporate responsibility in 1977. However, church groups were just part of a wider coalition. It should be noted that a fresh wave of activism was initially sparked by the creation of the Polaroid Revolutionary Workers' Movement (PRWM), which was founded by a group of Black employees at Polaroid, including Caroline Hunter and Ken

Presbyterian and Methodist churches, provided seed money for progressive NGOs in the 1970s. They also began to work with left wing critics, NGOs, and public interest groups to protest corporate abuses in the Global South.[29] It was the organizational capacities and political networks that they established during this period that would facilitate their engagement with global justice issues, and particularly with debt and structural adjustment, in the 1980s. The dramatic rise of the Christian Right, which passionately supported Reagan's anticommunist crusade in Central America, has tended to overshadow the significant organisation that continued within the mainline and Catholic churches, and within the ecumenical movement more broadly, in opposition to neoliberal economic policies.[30]

Much of the practical and theoretical impetus for the emerging movement came from another NGO, The Development GAP, which was founded in 1976 by Steve Hellinger, Doug Hellinger, and Fred O'Regan. The philosophy of The Development GAP grew out of their grassroots experience overseas and the approach taken by the Inter-American Foundation (IAF), an independent government agency that was established in 1969. The IAF possessed a relatively modest budget and was therefore somewhat insulated from the Cold War imperatives of U.S. aid programmes. Rather than impose large-scale projects on Southern governments, the IAF's official mission was to support local initiative by providing grants directly to grassroots groups. The concept of "participatory development" was taken up by

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Williams, to protest the company's contracts with the white supremacist regime in South Africa. The first African-American National Conference on Africa, held at Howard University, was organised by the liberal Congressional Black Caucus, but it was also attended by leaders of the Black Power movement. And of course, the global anti-apartheid movement was led, first and foremost, by activists such as Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement in South Africa. Since the African National Congress (ANC) had been banned and its supporters repressed during the Sharpeville massacre of 1960, it was efforts by these activists, combined with the impact of the Soweto uprising of 1976, that provided fresh impetus to campaigns around the world. There was therefore no single ideological agenda that united these groups, other than their opposition to the apartheid regime. The call for "corporate responsibility" was just one strategy amongst many. Gay W. Seidman, 'Monitoring Multinationals: Lessons from the Anti-Apartheid Era', *Politics & Society*, 31.3 (2003), 381–406.

[29] *Corporate Power in America*, ed. by Ralph Nader and Mark J. Green (New York: Penguin Books, 1973); Barnet; Mike Muller, *The Baby Killer: A War on Want Investigation into the Promotion and Sale of Powdered Baby Milks in the Third World* (War on Want, March 1974); Sasson.

[30] In the 1960s the fundamentalist preacher Billy James Hargis argued that the National Council or Churches had been infiltrated by communists. Conservative evangelicals levelled a similar charge against the World Council of Churches for its support of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua in the 1980s. New Christian Right groups vigorously supported Reagan's foreign policy, and many provided direct aid to the Contras. Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 166, 223–24; Ernest W. Lefever, 'Backward, Christian Soldiers! The Politics of the World Council of Churches', *The National Interest*, 14, 1988, 72–82.

The Development GAP's founders, who sought to recast aid as a collaborative process, one that reflected the objectives and aspirations of local citizens rather than the dictates of outside "experts."[31] In the early 1980s, with the advent of structural adjustment as a condition for receiving foreign aid, and with Ronald Reagan installed in the White House, The Development GAP recognised the urgency of applying the principles of participation to policy making, for example in work that they did with local groups who opposed Reagan's Caribbean Basin Initiative.

Increasing indebtedness had been a growing problem in the Global South since the 1960s.[32] In the mid-1970s left wing groups had started to criticise the practices of the IFIs, and the "stabilization" policies of the IMF. In 1974 Cheryl Payer provided an influential analysis of "the debt trap," which gained traction within progressive circles.[33] However, these problems had been largely neglected by the political mainstream in the Global North until the Mexico crisis, which constituted a tipping point for the expansion of SAPs and the debt management role of the World Bank. In 1982, in response to events in Mexico, members of IPS, The Development GAP, and U.S church groups joined to create the Debt Crisis Network (DCN). The group's initial work focused on drawing greater public attention to these issues.[34] The DCN therefore provided a platform for advancing alternative analysis of debt and

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[31] 'A Critical Review of AID, Briefing on Certain Executive Branch Activities in the Foreign Aid Field, The Brookings Institution Report. Rethinking United States Foreign Policy Toward the Developing World. Hearings Before the Committee on International Relations and Its Subcommittee on International Development' (U.S. Government Printing Office, 1977) <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/adfszhn.pdf> [accessed 22 December 2020]; The Development Group for Alternative Policies, 'The Effectiveness of Development Assistance Under "New Directions": Criteria for Assessment', 1978 <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/the_effectiveness_development_assistance_programs_under_new_.pdf> [accessed 11 August 2020].

[32] In the late 1970s fear of what was later termed "systemic risk" began to play a role in shaping the decision-making of U.S. Treasury officials. Paul V. Kershaw, 'Averting a Global Financial Crisis: The US, the IMF, and the Mexican Debt Crisis of 1976', *The International History Review*, 40.2 (2018), 292–314; William R. Cline, *International Debt and the Stability of the World Economy*, 4 (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1983); William R. Cline, *International Debt: Systemic Risk and Policy Response* (Washington, D.C.: Institute for International Economics, 1984); Stanley Fischer, who became chief economist at the World Bank in the late 1980s, observed that 'Fear of financial collapse in the United States was one of the main motivations for the original approach to the debt crisis. In 1982, the nine large money center banks had over 250 percent of their capital in loans to LDCs; the proportion for all U.S. banks taken together was above 150 percent.' Stanley Fischer, 'Sharing the Burden of the International Debt Crisis', *The American Economic Review*, 77.2 (1987), 165–70 (p. 166).

[33] Cheryl Payer, *The Debt Trap: The IMF and the Third World* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974).

[34] By April 1985 the group had established working groups on research and public education. Debt Crisis Network, 'Organizational Structure', Box 21, Folder 1. Institute for Policy Studies Records.

development, in opposition to the "orthodox" theories of the Bank. Drawing from a structural analysis of the global economy, they argued that "The poverty and economic dependence of the nations of the Third World are an integral part of the present world economic order. This is not because the resource transfers to the poor nations are too small in quantity. More basically, it is because these transfers take place within the context of a world economic structure which leads all the time to increasing inequality." This analysis echoed earlier calls by the G77 for reform of the global trade system, but it also drew attention to the efforts of the IMF and World Bank to address the debt crisis by scaling up official loans. The DCN argued instead that the crisis could only be solved by addressing its root causes. In doing so, they pointed out that many of the governments in the Global South who had contracted the loans were dictatorships that had been directly supported by northern governments for their own national security purposes. Moreover, the northern banks that had made the loans had profited from the difficulties of developing countries by rescheduling debts at high interest rates and charging fees. As a result, the costs of adjustment were being imposed on the poorest within debtor countries, whilst the creditors bore none of the responsibility for their reckless lending.[35]

The DCN proposed a range of solutions that would help to resolve the crisis in a more fair and equitable manner. In the short term this would entail debt forgiveness and the writing off of arears of interest payments that were incurred as a result of the oil shocks, together with a loosening of IMF conditionality that dictated economic policy to borrower countries. In the medium term they advocated for a fairer trading system that involved the removal of protectionist measures adopted by the industrialised nations and support for the stabilization of commodity prices. They also highlighted how economic underdevelopment in the Global South was tied to financialization in the United States. Pointing to the recent bailout of Continental Illinois, they argued that if the American taxpayer were called upon to underwrite the liabilities of the banks, then they should be compensated directly "with commensurate

[35] Fantu Cheru, Doug Hellinger, and Kelly Yencer, *Solutions to the Debt Problem* (Debt Crisis Network, December 1984) <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/solutions_to_the_debt_problem.pdf> [accessed 12 August 2020].

ownership of those institutions."[36] In other words, the costs of the moral hazard generated by irresponsible lending should not be passed on to ordinary Americans. In the long term, they argued that it was necessary for developing countries to gain much greater control over the development banks, which were hitherto dominated by the United States and the big donors. Western donors should cease tying aid to their own economic and strategic interests and dramatically curtail military assistance, which strengthened corrupt elites and diverted resources from productive uses.[37] In addition, they argued that aid should be refocused instead on the needs of the poor, on promoting the self-sufficiency of developing countries, and regional South-South cooperation.

Related to the DCN's calls for an alternative approach to the problem of debt, were efforts to challenge the Bank's structural adjustment policies. Northern NGOs were becoming sensitive to the fact that the macroeconomic policies pushed by the Bank directly undermined the stated objective of alleviating poverty. The Development GAP's work with southern NGOs throughout the late 1970s and early 1980s, gave it direct knowledge about the impact of structural adjustment and austerity on the most vulnerable sectors of society, and the views of civil society groups in the Global South. The same was true of some European NGOs, such as Oxfam, which had more extensive networks in the Global South than many of the American

[36] The federal bailout of the Continental Illinois was a major landmark in a domestic financial crisis brought about by deregulation of the savings and loans industry. As with the debt crisis in the Global South, the Reagan administration refused to confront the issue because doing so would have undermined their position that the magic of the market was the solution, not the problem. Sean Wilentz, *The Age of Reagan: A History, 1974-2008* (New York: Harper, 2008), pp. 196–200.

[37] Fantu Cheru, one of the founders of the DCN, would later elaborate a comprehensive critique of corrupt elites in the South who were complicit in irresponsible borrowing. Cheru contrasted the World Bank's Berg Report with the Lagos Plan of Action, formulated by the Organization of African Unity (OAU). The Berg Report, Cheru noted, failed to acknowledge the external causes of the debt crisis, whereas the Lagos Plan failed to provide a coherent and practical alternative because African leaders were not committed to its implementation. By the mid-1980s the legitimacy of many of many African governments had been so eroded that they were forced to accept the Northern position with respect to the causes of the debt, and to implement Africa's Priority Programme for Economic Recovery, 1986-1990 (APPER). The APPER framework obliged them to eliminate government subsidies, liberalize trade, and privatize publicly owned industries. Of course, elites were generally able to shelter themselves from the social effects of these policy measures. Cheru argued that, 'In the absence of popular pressure, the majority of African leaders are unlikely to place the needs of their people ahead of the claims of creditors.' The question of the debt should therefore be understood within a much broader historical context, including the legacy of colonial exploitation and social stratification, and Cold War geopolitics. Ultimately, Cheru concluded, 'the debt was contracted by illegitimate African governments for projects that did not benefit the people. Thus, Africans owe nothing to the West. Instead, the West should pay its long overdue debt to the peoples of Africa.' Fantu Cheru, *The Silent Revolution in Africa: Debt, Development, and Democracy* (Harare, Zimbabwe: Anvil Press, 1989), pp. 44, 164.

groups. They argued that not only did the export-led growth paradigm keep countries in debt, but it also exacerbated poverty and inequality, increased food insecurity, reduced the availability of medicines, and limited access to healthcare services.

By the late 1980s evidence was mounting that structural adjustment was proving to be nothing less than disastrous, and it was becoming harder for the World Bank and other mainstream development institutions to ignore. A UNICEF report, *Adjustment with a Human Face: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth* (1987) stated quite frankly that IMF and World Bank policies were failing. "After nearly three decades of steady progress," one chapter noted, "child welfare sharply deteriorated in many developing countries during the first half of the 1980s."[38] However, the report stopped short of calling for the abandonment of SAPs. Its authors did not think that this was politically possible. Instead, they argued for programmes to ameliorate the impact of adjustment.[39] In the face of strong criticism from northern development NGOs, southern governments, and UN agencies, the Bank began to incorporate compensatory schemes for vulnerable groups within its adjustment programmes. Despite these concessions, the export-led model of growth remained at the heart of the orthodox economic model, and the debt continued to steadily grow.

In the United States, much of the groundwork on debt and structural adjustment during these years was done by the ecumenical movement and by activists involved in Church Women United. The Women's Division of the Methodist Churches had been engaged in economic justice issues in the 1970s, having supported the Nestlé boycott and the J.P. Stevens

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[38] Giovanni Andrea Cornia, 'Economic Decline and Human Welfare in the First Half of the 1980s', in *Adjustment with a Human Face: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth*, ed. by Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Richard Jolly, and Frances Stewart, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), I, p. 11.

[39] It was noted that 'For the authors as for many others, it is not difficult to imagine international economic policies and approaches which would provide a more positive and expansive environment within which developing countries could develop more dynamically. This vision lay behind the calls in the 1970s for a New International Economic Order and the many specific recommendations such as those in the Brandt Commission Report, *North-South: A Programme for Survival*. For the most part, we have spent little time exploring such policies and approaches in this document, on the grounds that many such analyses are available elsewhere and that progress towards them is, for the most part, stymied politically for the present. We have accordingly concentrated on what we believe could readily be done within the present international economic order.' 'Introduction', in *Adjustment with a Human Face: Protecting the Vulnerable and Promoting Growth*, ed. by Giovanni Andrea Cornia, Richard Jolly, and Frances Stewart, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), I, p. 7.

campaign.[40] Barbara Weaver, who served as the Executive Secretary for Development Education at United Methodist Women (UMW), had also been involved in the Chile solidarity movement and was one of the founders of the DCN. Carol Barton, another activist at UMW, had studied political economy at the New School in New York and had lived for a time in Peru, and these experiences informed her interest in the question of debt and structural adjustment. Weaver, Barton, and the other women involved in this work within the ecumenical movement were crucial in developing a mass faith-based constituency for change within the United States. They developed popular education tools to inform rank-and-file church members about international issues, such as a curriculum on debt for Methodist women, books, and other materials.[41] More generally, these global justice issues resonated strongly within the church community because of the precedent set by Biblical teachings on debt forgiveness.[42] George Ann Potter, an economic anthropologist who worked with the Catholic Center of Concern wrote a book, *Dialogue on Debt: Alternative Analyses and Solutions* (1988). Potter argued that the idea of human dignity was at the heart of Christian thinking about debt, a subject that was discussed many times in the Bible. Indeed, the Judeo-Christian tradition referred explicitly to the Law of Jubilee, which specified that every seven years debts should be forgiven and those held in bondage should be set free.[43] Grassroots activism helped to build support from within formal church hierarchies, and by the late 1980s a broader coalition was beginning to take shape.[44] Women in the church community in the

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[40] Carol Barton, 'Economic Justice Mission Legacy', *United Methodist Women*, 2019; Ellen Blue, *Women United for Change: 150 Years in Mission* (New York: United Methodist Women, 2019).

[41] The Debt Crisis Network, 'A Journey Through the Global Debt Crisis', Box 98, Folder 32. Institute for Policy Studies Records.

[42] Besides the Methodist Church, several other denominations were particularly active within the DCN, including the United Church of Christ, the Presbyterian Church (USA), the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers), and the Catholic Church. Carol Barton, interview with author, 2020.

[43] Potter explored not only the origins of the debt problem, but also the environmental impact of SAPs, the role of the U.S. government and corporate investment, and the perspectives of both debtor and creditor nations. George Ann Potter, *Dialogue on Debt: Alternative Analyses and Solutions* (Washington, DC: Center of Concern, 1988), pp. 179–84; The anthropologist David Graeber argued that debt is as much a moral statement as an economic one. This was acknowledged by many of the major world religious traditions in the form of laws prohibiting usury. The Biblical Jubilee was one manifestation of the religious concern for the social effects of money lending. However, as Graeber pointed out, the concept of 'redemption' itself also incorporated the language of the marketplace. Religious injunctions against debt could therefore variously be interpreted as sanctioning debt forgiveness, but they said less about what was to be done about the economic system itself. David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (New York: Melville House, 2012), pp. 1–19, 80–87, 274–75, 284–85.

[44] For example, in a 1986 pastoral letter on the American economy, U.S. Catholic bishops voiced their concern about the debt crisis and advocated for reform. As Catholic bishops in the U.S., Latin America, and elsewhere became more vocal, Pope John Paul II promulgated the encyclical *Sollicitudo rei Socialis* in which he indicated

United States were also in a position to develop closer links with groups in the Global South at international conferences of the UN and in 1992 they published a book, *Reaganomics and Women: Structural Adjustment U.S. Style*, which demonstrated the common struggle, in the Global North and the Global South, against neoliberal economic policies.[45]

During these years, the movement became more international because of the strategy that The Development GAP and IPS adopted to foster links between church-based NGOs, economic justice groups, and other political constituencies. The concept of Jubilee was taken up by activists connected with the British branch of the DNC in the early 1990s.[46] In the Netherlands, various NGOs formed the Forum on Debt and Development (FONDAD) network to make connections with Latin American groups, and when this dissolved it was succeeded by the European Network on Debt and Development (EURODAD).[47] The Development GAP worked hard to ensure that the challenge to structural adjustment and the leadership of local groups in the south would remain at the forefront of the movement. One such group was the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC), founded by Lidy Nacpil and other activists in the Philippines in 1987, one year after the People Power Revolution deposed Ferdinand Marcos. Filipino activists saw very clearly that the debts accumulated by the Marcos dictatorship were illegitimate and that the loans that had been contracted only worsened political corruption without providing any benefits to the people. The Development GAP recognised the stronger legitimacy and analysis of southern groups, which provided a more vigorous, historically

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the Vatican's concern for "an authentic development of man and society which would respect and promote all the dimensions of the human person" and criticised the international financial market for ensnaring developing countries in debt. Elizabeth A. Donnelly, 'Making the Case for Jubilee: The Catholic Church and the Poor-Country Debt Movement', *Ethics & International Affairs*, 21.1 (2007), 107–33; John Paul II, 'Sollicitudo Rei Socialis (30 December 1987)' <http://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/en/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_30121987_sollicitudo-rei-socialis.html> [accessed 11 December 2020].

[45] On international feminist organising see Lisa Levenstein, *They Didn't See Us Coming: The Hidden History of Feminism in the Nineties* (New York: Basic Books, 2020), pp. 119–39; As sociologist Janet Poppendick argued, food insecurity, which had long been at the centre of debates over development and global poverty, was a rapidly growing problem within the United States. Janet Poppendieck, *Sweet Charity?: Emergency Food and the End of Entitlement* (New York: Penguin Books, 1998).

[46] In the UK the most active organisations were Christian Aid and Oxfam. The campaign was successful at persuading even neoliberal politicians and staunch conservatives to join their cause, but as activists in the South pointed out, it did so at a political cost. Joshua William Busby, 'Bono Made Jesse Helms Cry: Jubilee 2000, Debt Relief, and Moral Action in International Politics', *International Studies Quarterly*, 51.2 (2007), 247–75.

[47] Elizabeth A. Donnelly, 'Proclaiming Jubilee: The Debt and Structural Adjustment Network', in *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks, and Norms*, ed. by Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink (Minneapolis, MM: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), p. 161.

grounded, and systematic challenge to debt and structural adjustment than was offered by northern counterparts. They therefore helped to platform southern groups and southern analysis within U.S. policy fora. The Development GAP also began to work with another powerful ally, the U.S. environmental movement. The global networks that formed from this organising aided the exchange of information about the real-world impact of IMF and World Bank policies and eventually facilitated the construction a comprehensive critique of the Washington Consensus.

Global Environmentalism and Indigenous Rights

The U.S. environmental movement had made huge advances since it first burst into popular consciousness following the first Earth Day in 1970.[48] Within a decade an "environmental policy system" had been forged by policy makers to contain the effects of industrial pollution on the air, water, and land of the United States. Environmental and public interest groups had been the primary drivers for the establishment of this legislative and regulatory framework, and they used the courts aggressively to ensure that the new laws were enforced. However, these groups were also transformed by this process as they extended their lobbying efforts and sought to deploy scientific expertise in conflicts with industry groups. More traditional conservation groups also grew to resemble the new generation of professional environmental organizations. By the 1980s the CEOs of ten of the largest environmental organizations had begun to gather regularly to coordinate their activities. During the intervening years they had

[48] Following Samuel P. Hays and Barbara D. Hays, it is assumed here that the modern environmental movement, distinguishable from the earlier conservation movement, first emerged after the Second World War. Environmentalism evolved in response to social and ecological consequences of the postwar consumer society. In particular, it was a reaction to the creation of new technologies as a result of wartime investment in research and development, the widespread adoption of new materials such as plastics, innovations in industrial chemical and fertiliser production, federal investment in highways construction, accelerating land development and suburbanization, and the explosion in production of (often disposable) consumer goods. Samuel P. Hays and Barbara D. Hays, *Beauty, Health, and Permanence: Environmental Politics in the United States, 1955-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Laura A. Bruno argues that, ironically, ecology as a domain of scientific knowledge emerged as a result of nuclear testing in the Marshall Islands in the immediate postwar years. Eugene Odum, commonly presumed to be the 'father' of ecology had ties to the Atomic Energy Commission. Laura A. Bruno, 'The Bequest of the Nuclear Battlefield: Science, Nature, and the Atom during the First Decade of the Cold War', *Historical Studies in the Physical and Biological Sciences*, 33.2 (2003), 237–60 (p. 257); The most important figure in the emergence of the modern environmental movement in the United States in the 1960s is undoubtedly Rachel Carson. Rachel Carson, *Silent Spring* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 1962); However, Earth Day can be said to have marked the transition from an incipient movement to a mainstream public concern. Adam Rome, *The Genius of Earth Day: How a 1970 Teach-In Unexpectedly Made the First Green Generation* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2014).

seen their memberships increase dramatically and their influence in Washington grow. Indeed, they possessed sufficient resources and political clout to repel the threat posed to environmental regulation by the early Reagan administration.[49] During this period of adversarial expansion, environmental advocates also turned their attention to the activities of the World Bank and the other Multilateral Development Banks (MDBs). The domestic leadership of these organisations was generally quite conservative, but organizational growth provided some of their international staff with the opportunity to operate more independently.

The MDB campaign was spearheaded by international environmental lawyer Bruce Rich, and his thinking gave it a particular strategic orientation. After graduating from college, Rich had travelled across Europe and Latin America, visiting Brazil and Peru. A stay in Paris gave him the opportunity to develop his philosophical interests, reading Marx, Heidegger, and the foundational texts of deep ecology, attending lectures by the anthropologist Pierre Clastres, and sampling the heady intellectual life of the French capital. He also became familiar with the criticisms of the World Bank then being levelled by Cheryl Payer and other progressives. However, Rich also grew frustrated by the ideal moral universe constructed by radicals who were too often unwilling or unable to set about the practical task of effecting change in the real world. When he heard about Amnesty International, then a relatively new organisation, from an American couple, it struck him that working for an NGO could be both personally rewarding and politically effective. With this in mind, Rich returned to the United States to attend law school at the University of Pennsylvania. During this time, he learned more about the workings of USAID and U.S. environmental policy under the Carter administration. When he graduated in September 1981, it was time for Rich to make his mark, and he joined the international programme of the National Resources Defence Council (NRDC). The move to Washington D.C. opened up access to new networks, and Rich soon began to attend a

[49] On NGO concerns regarding the Reagan administration see Barbara J. Bramble and Gareth Porter, 'NGOs and the Making of US International Environmental Policy', in *The International Politics of the Environment: Actors, Interests, and Institutions*, ed. by Andrew Hurrell and Benedict Kingsbury (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 313–53 (p. 323); The term 'environmental policy system' comes from Robert Gottlieb. As Gottlieb explains, by the end of the 1970s traditional conservation and protection groups formed the conservative wing of a mainstream movement. The creation of the 'Group of Ten' CEOs marked an important stage in the institutionalisation of the movement, and it is no coincidence that some of the major funders were involved in organising the first meeting in January 1981. Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993), pp. 167–217.

monthly dinner for researchers and activists who had an interest in the Amazon.[50] Among those present at these gatherings were the anthropologists Robert Goodland and Shelton Davis, both of whom had published important work on the indigenous peoples of the Amazon and the impact of capital-intensive development projects.[51] Rich recognised that environmental and social policy for the MDBs lagged far behind U.S. domestic regulations, making them a prime target for testing his ideas about environmental advocacy.

When they launched the MDB campaign in November 1982, Rich and a small group of environmentalists set out to demonstrate the link between World Bank loans, the destruction of tropical forests, and the displacement of indigenous peoples. Among the key actors was Brent Blackwelder of the Environmental Policy Institute, an environmentalist who had established his career during some of the key legislative battles of the 1970s. Blackwelder's understanding of Congress would be needed to ensure that they applied the right amount of pressure in the right places. Also playing an important role was Barbara Bramble from the National Wildlife Federation (NWF), the largest conservation group in the United States. With over 4.3 million members and supporters, the NWF was an important lobby group that could not be easily ignored by legislators. Rich also persuaded sympathetic insiders within the World Bank to leak the information that they needed. The campaign thus began to take shape.[52]

More broadly, the conflicts that ensued between the Bank and its critics took place within a shifting development discourse that placed greater emphasis on environmental issues. Not only had environmental advocates been cautiously welcomed into the Carter administration, but mainstream development thinking had also been forced to adjust to the oil shock, and

[50] Bruce M. Rich, interview with author, 2022.
[51] Robert J. A. Goodland and Howard S. Irwin, *Amazon Jungle: Green Hell to Red Desert?: An Ecological Discussion of the Environmental Impact of the Highway Construction Program in the Amazon Basin* (New York: Elsevier, 1975); Shelton H. Davis, *Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977).
[52] For more detail on the political strategy of the campaign and the work of Brent Blackwelder and Barbara Bramble see Bruce M. Rich, 'The Multilateral Development Banks, Environmental Policy, and the United States', *Ecology Law Quarterly*, 12.4 (1985), 681–745; Paul Adler, 'Planetary Citizens: U.S. NGOs and the Politics of International Development in the Late Twentieth Century' (unpublished PhD Dissertation, Georgetown University, 2014), pp. 164–200.

stagflation.[53] In light of influential publications such as *The Limits to Growth* (1972) by the Club of Rome, the Brandt Report (1980), the Bank had been prompted to rebrand its mission. Because the new concerns about poverty were entwined with concerns about ecological degradation, the Bank began to establish policies designed to mitigate the impact of its projects on the environment alongside its newfound commitment to "poverty alleviation." In February 1980 it signed a Declaration of Environmental Policies and Procedures Relating to Economic Development, along with nine other major development institutions that asserted that environmental protection was an integral element of economic and social development. Despite these lofty rhetorical commitments, when environmental activists began to investigate the Bank's green credentials, they found very little of substance. In fact, the Bank had a long track record of financing large projects that had disastrous environmental consequences. Many of these loans had been made to corrupt regimes and military dictatorships, and consequently no attention was paid to consultation with affected groups.

In April 1983 the environmentalists persuaded the liberal Democrat Mike Lowry (Washington) to raise their concerns before the House Subcommittee on International Development Institutions. The Democratic committee chair, Jerry M. Patterson (California), and the ranking Republican on the committee, Doug Bereuter (Nebraska), agreed to begin oversight hearings on the environmental impact of Multinational Development Bank projects. The MDBs' position at the hearings was presented by James Conroy, the Director of the Office of Multilateral Development Banks at the Treasury Department. Conroy argued that the MDBs recognised that they needed to make pragmatic "tradeoffs among objectives," and that they had a substantial body of "specific guidelines" relating to environmental protection to be followed in the design and implementation of projects. However, he conceded that the hearings would perhaps reveal "anecdotal evidence" that these policies were not always fully implemented in practice. Conroy attempted to head off institutional criticism of the MDBs by suggesting that what was at stake was appropriateness of "the pattern of choices which are made in individual projects."[54]

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[53] Robert M. Collins, *More: The Politics of Economic Growth in Postwar America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 132–65.

[54] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Development Institutions and Finance of the Committee on Banking, Finance, and Urban Affairs' (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1983), pp. 10–20.

At the hearings, Bruce Rich represented a group of the large U.S. environmental organizations, the Sierra Club, the World Wildlife Fund (U.S.), Friends of the Earth, the Izaak Walton League of America, the Natural Resources Defense Council (NRDC), and the National Audubon Society. Collectively, these organisations had over a million members and supporters in the United States. Rich argued that the environmental procedures of the MDBs were inadequate, ineffective, and often were not implemented.[55] He pointed out that environmental policies had no influence on project selection and design, which were ultimately determined by the Bank's Country Program Papers (CPPs) and Country Economic Memoranda. He added that "In some smaller Third World nations, the Bank Country Economic Memorandum is the most important planning document in the country."[56] The Republican Bereuter later cautioned that the charge of "environmental elitism" could be made against the United States by the G77 if it were seen to be blocking development through its environmental agenda, particularly because the MDBs claimed that projects were initiated by the borrowing countries. Rich pointed out that in practice this was a fiction, that the Bank was ultimately able to impose its own development strategy on countries in the Global South because they lacked the resources and technical expertise that it was able to provide. He highlighted his own first-hand observation of this when he worked as a consultant in Belize.[57]

Other environmental groups that were also represented at the hearings included the International Union for Environment and Development and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, represented by John Horberry, and the EPI, represented by Brent Blackwelder. As Horberry pointed out in his testimony, the environmental staff in the MDBs lacked the authority to enforce meaningful change and were mostly excluded from planning in the project cycle.[58] Blackwelder argued that the Bank's

[55] Rich later reported that of the World Bank's total staff of 6,000 only six were working in its Office of Environmental and Scientific Affairs. Of these six, three were concerned with public relations, research, and training within the organization, whilst the head was 'a well-meaning physician who disliked traveling to developing countries; one of his major professional interests was travelers' diarrhea.' Most tellingly, the environmental office only became involved in projects at the final stage of development, by which time they would have only negligible impact. Bruce Rich, *Mortgaging the Earth: The World Bank, Environmental Impoverishment, and the Crisis of Development* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2013), pp. 111–12.
[56] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 56–85.
[57] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 117–18.
[58] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 26–34.

irrigation projects "have not really provided significant benefits to local and regional populations, and the poor in particular." He added "If a project does produce benefits, these can accrue to multinational corporations which get electricity at bargain rates, employ few local people, and contribute little to the local economy. Some of the agricultural projects appear to leave local populations with less to eat as lands are converted to cash crops such as cotton or beef for export. Indigenous peoples can find their cultures virtually exterminated by these projects." Rather than invest in large water projects that led to the spread of water-borne diseases such as river blindness and malaria, Blackwelder suggested that the money would be better spent on projects to provide clean water and sanitation to the local population. In his written testimony, Blackwelder pointed to the Volta Dam development in Ghana and the Kariba Dam on the Zambezi River on the border of Zimbabwe. The former project displaced 75,000 people from tribal groups, and the latter displaced 57,000 people. The primary beneficiary of the Volta dam, Blackwelder pointed out, was the U.S. firm Kaiser Aluminium, which used 70 per cent of the power generated for smelter operations in Ghana.[59]

In her testimony, Barbara Bramble explained that the concerns she wished to bring to the attention of the committee were also concerns being raised by environmental organizations and political representatives with whom the NWF had contact in the Global South. She argued that the MDBs contributed to the destruction of tropical rainforests in Brazil because they financed their conversion to monoculture export crops and cattle ranching. The social consequences were also inequitable because loans were made to large cattle ranchers who in turn provided little in terms of employment opportunities for the poor. Similarly, Bramble criticised the MDBs for financing the Transmigration programme in Indonesia, which had aimed to move millions of people from Java to less densely populated and undeveloped regions. Tragically, the poor quality of the soil in these areas led to the destruction of forests by families who were struggling for survival.[60] Many of these criticisms were targeted as much against the World Bank's projects before the advent of structural adjustment in the late 1970s as they were targeted at projects after this turning point. But as Bramble pointed out, these projects had contributed to the debt crisis that then led to the imposition of SAPs.[61] More

[59] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 35–50.
[60] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 86–114.
[61] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 87–88.

generally, the export-led model of development that was forcefully pushed by the MDBs in the 1980s as a solution to the debt crisis served to accelerate the destruction of the tropical rainforests as the debt burden created pressure on governments to promote cattle ranching, logging, and other extractive industries in order to generate foreign currency. It was in these years that the "hamburger connection" between the demand for cheap imported beef by the growing fast-food industry in the United States and deforestation was first made by environmentalists.[62]

The process described by Bramble - what David Harvey has called "accumulation by dispossession" - was also replicated in many parts of the Global South in the 1970s and 1980s as development projects led to the displacement of indigenous peoples from their land.[63] In Brazil, the military government sought to enhance national security and promote "frontier development" in the Amazônia Legal region through the construction of transportation networks and colonization projects.[64] In the late 1970s the rapid growth associated with this

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[62] A large proportion of demand was initially domestically stimulated but it remains the case that the MDBs promoted a development model that would later lead to the massive expansion of the beef export industry in Latin America, particularly in Brazil, and the destruction of huge swaths of tropic rainforest. David Humphreys, *Forest Politics: The Evolution of International Cooperation* (London: Earthscan, 1996), pp. 2–8; Nathalie F. Walker, Sabrina A. Patel, and Kemel A. B. Kalif, 'From Amazon Pasture to the High Street: Deforestation and the Brazilian Cattle Product Supply Chain', *Tropical Conservation Science*, 6.3 (2013), 446–67; In a sense, this process replicated what had occurred earlier within the United States, since lumber and beef production had also been entwined in the commodification of nature and the expansion of nineteenth century capitalism. William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1991), pp. 148–259.

[63] David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 137–82; Alternatively, see Saskia Sassen, *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014), pp. 83–84 Sassen is more directly concerned with 'land grabs' in the period after 2006, and the effects of financialisation in the post-2008 period. However, she also notes that, 'Today's large-scale acquisitions of foreign land are enabled by the explicit aims and unplanned consequences of the IMF and World Bank restructuring programs implemented in much of the Global South in the 1980s. To this we can add the demands of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in the 1990s and into the 2000s to lift import- export barriers in the name of "free trade."' It seems hardly coincidental that structural adjustment and the proliferation of consumer debt in the United States occurred at the same time and in response to the financialisation of the U.S. economy in the late 1970s and 1980s. On U.S. consumer debt in this period see Louis Hyman, *Debtor Nation: The History of America in Red Ink* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), pp. 220–80.

[64] The developmentalist regime in Brazil was fostered by an alliance between the military government, powerful agroindustrial interests that lobbied for subsidies for cattle ranching, and the MDBs that provided financial support in the late 1960s and 1970s of approximately $1.3 billion. Seth Garfield notes that 'The mouthpiece of corporate capital in Legal Amazonia was the Association of Amazonian Entrepreneurs (Associacao dos Empresarios da Amazonia, AEA), formed in 1968. Headquartered in Sao Paulo, the AEA boasted solely cattle-ranching enterprises until 1976 and a board of directors culled from large national and multinational firms.' Seth Garfield, *Indigenous Struggle at the Heart of Brazil State Policy, Frontier Expansion, and the Xavante Indians, 1937-1988* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2001), pp. 137–61.

process began to falter, but the Brazilian government continued to press ahead with its plans to further develop Amazonia. For environmentalists and indigenous rights advocates, the Polonoroeste project came to symbolise what was wrong with this approach, and it became a focal point for criticism of the World Bank, which helped to finance the project. On the second day of hearings in Congress, the anthropologist David Price provided testimony about this project on behalf of Cultural Survival, a U.S. NGO dedicated to indigenous rights. The Polonoroeste ("Northwest Pole") project involved the construction of highways and feeder roads that would open the western states of Brazil – Rondônia and Mato Grasso – to development. This posed a threat to the rainforest because the roads would facilitate the clearing and settlement of the land. However, as Price argued, it also posed a threat to the Nambiquara Indians who lived in the area. When Price was approached by the Bank to consult on the project, he judged the plans to safeguard the rights and welfare of the Indians to be completely inadequate.[65] To Price it was clear that, for the Bank as much as the Brazilian government, economic imperatives overrode all other considerations.[66]

The parallels between the dispossession of indigenous people in the Global South and the dispossession of Native peoples in North America were drawn out by the testimony of Rudoph C. Rÿser of the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI). As Rÿser explained, the NCAI had developed contacts with other indigenous peoples through the World Council of Indigenous Peoples (WCIP), which was founded in 1975 at the initiative of First Nations leaders in Canada.[67] Rÿser argued that "Multilateral development banks, States' governments and multinational corporations are caught up in an apparent conspiracy of silence which promotes development at the expense of indigenous peoples and national citizens for the benefit of corrupt militaries, corrupt politicians, and multinational and national corporations." To illustrate this point, he outlined how the Boruca people in Costa Rica had called on the WCIP to assist them in resisting the construction of hydroelectric dams that

[65] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 475–94.
[66] Price later wrote a longer account of his experiences with the World Bank. See David Price, *Before the Bulldozer: The Nambiquara Indians and the World Bank* (New York: Seven Locks Press, 1989).
[67] The World Council of Indigenous Peoples was the idea of Secwepemc leader George Manuel. Rudolph C. Rÿser, *Indigenous Nations and Modern States: The Political Emergence of Nations Challenging State Power* (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 212–14; Influenced by the Red Power movement, Manuel was a major theorist of the indigenous 'Fourth World.' George Manuel and Michael Posluns, *The Fourth World: An Indian Reality* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019).

threatened their way of life. The project was financed by the World Bank, and the primary beneficiary of the electricity generated was the U.S. aluminium firm, Alcoa.[68]

Members of the House subcommittee were shocked by this trenchant criticism of the MDBs from U.S. NGOs. They were concerned because funding for aid had more frequently come under attack from conservatives who wanted to cut unnecessary expenditure and unilateralists who wanted to buttress national sovereignty. Their reflexive response was to defend the principle of foreign aid. Nevertheless, they proposed to seek responses from the various development banks and to continue hearings on the matter. The environmental groups succeeded in persuading the committee to draft nineteen congressional recommendations for environmental reforms of the MDBs, which were issued in December 1984, and enacted as law by the House Appropriations Subcommittee on Foreign Operations in late 1985. These groups had demonstrated their skill at exploiting divisions within Congress, recruiting the support of the powerful conservative Republican Senator Robert Kasten (Wisconsin) to further their aim of reforming the MDBs. This was an effective strategy because Kasten was the chairman of a key subcommittee that appropriated the U.S. funds for the World Bank. The environmentalists realised that the only way that the World Bank would take their calls for greater accountability seriously was to weaken the financial commitments of its largest donor. The Bank was forced to suspend disbursement of its loans for the Polonoroeste project in 1985.[69] Unfortunately, the shortfall was taken up by the Inter-America Development Bank, thus allowing plans to extend the highway to the state of Acre to continue.

The Polonoroeste project became a test case for transnational advocacy in relation to the World Bank and globalization. U.S. environmental groups were able to leverage their resources, large memberships, and political connections to force these issues onto the agenda in the capitol. They also forged closer relationships with NGOs in Brazil such as the Ecumenical Center for Documentation and Information (CEDI). They were able to bring the prominent Brazilian agronomist and environmentalist Jose Lutzenburger to Washington,

[68] 'Environmental Impact of Multilateral Development Bank-Funded Projects', pp. 495–513.
[69] Bruce Rich, pp. 117–27.

where he gave powerful testimony to Congress highlighting the interest that the Brazilian government had in promoting migration of the poor to Amazonia rather than pursuing land reform and other redistributionist policies.[70] This was a crucial insight in relation to Brazilian social and political realities that might have otherwise escaped the attention of the North American environmental groups.

Under the dictatorship, inequality of land ownership in Brazil had grown. In 1985 the transition to a civilian government suggested that there were real prospects for change. The less repressive political environment also provided an opportunity for the mobilization of the "autonomous" workers who sustained themselves by tapping rubber and harvesting Brazil nuts and other forest products. Like indigenous peoples, these workers had been threatened by plans to develop the Amazon. The leader of the Rubber Tappers Union, Chico Mendes, planned a national conference of rubber tappers in Brasilia with the assistance of Mary Helena Allegretti, an anthropologist, and Tony Gross, a British political scientist then working for Oxfam. Mendes had developed a working relationship with Allegretti and Gross some years before, when they began establishing cooperatives and developing grassroots education programmes for the rubber tappers. The national conference resulted in the creation of a National Council of Rubber Tappers, and the refinement of an alternative approach to the management of the Amazon rainforest, one they called the "extractive reserve." Extractive reserves were areas of publicly owned forest where the land use rights would be devolved to local communities, who could continue to support themselves through traditional extractive practices. This concept allowed the rubber tappers to merge the social justice concerns of the Brazilian union movement with the environmental concern for preservation of the natural resources that their livelihoods depended upon. Mendes then joined with Ailton Krenak of the Union of Indigenous Nations to form the Alliance of the Peoples of the Forest.

It was Allegretti and Gross who introduced Mendes to U.S. environmentalists. Through Gross's contacts in Washington, they made contact first with Bruce Rich and then with another anthropologist and environmentalist, Stephen Schwartzman. Schwartzman and

[70] Andrew Gray, 'Development Policy, Development Protest: The World Bank, Indigenous Peoples, and NGOs', in *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*, ed. by Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 277–81; Bruce Rich, pp. 120–23.

Allegretti secured funding from the World Wildlife Fund to begin fieldwork to establish the feasibility of extractive reserves. To fortify the alliance between environmental groups and the rubber tappers they also planned, along with British filmmaker Adrian Cowell, for Chico Mendes to attend the annual meeting of the Inter-America Development Bank in Miami in late March 1987. Mendes then travelled to Washington to meet Senator Kasten.[71] Kasten had continued to push the MDBs in hearings before the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Assistance. The activists had also provided Kasten with satellite images to illustrate the extent of the destruction.[72] In addition to the ongoing Congressional hearings, U.S. environmentalists applied pressure on the MDBs through the press, with articles appearing in the *New York Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*. A *60 Minutes* programme for CBS in early 1987 also helped to heighten public awareness of the threat that the Polonoroeste project posed to the tropical rainforest. Mendes became a well-known environmental advocate after being awarded prizes by the UN Environment Program and the Better World Society.[73] As a result of the growing international campaign, in May 1987 World Bank President Barber

[71] Andrew Revkin, *The Burning Season: The Murder of Chico Mendes and the Fight for the Amazon Rain Forest* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 2004), pp. 185–230.

[72] 'International Concerns for Environmental Implications of Multilateral Development Bank Projects: Hearings Before a Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations' (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1986), pp. 2–3 The actual images were not reproduced in the official record, however satellite data can be used to demonstrate how, since the 1970s, deforestation in Rondônia conforms to a pattern established by the construction roads, which open up new areas to colonization. For a visualisation see Division of Early Warning and Assessment, United Nations Environment Programme, 'Environmental Change Hotspots: Rondônia', *Atlas of Our Changing Environment* <https://na.unep.net/atlas/webatlas.php?id=2287> [accessed 8 December 2020]; NASA/Goddard Space Flight Center Scientific Visualization Studio, 'Rondonia Deforestation (Web Map Service)', *NASA Scientific Visualisation Studio*, 2005 <https://svs.gsfc.nasa.gov/3113> [accessed 8 December 2020].

[73] Despite his newfound fame, Mendes remained committed to the social justice and environmental cause of the rubber tappers. In an interview a year before his death he remarked that, "From my vantage point, I think the reason we received these prizes is because of the struggle we've been waging over the years. So despite the prize being given to me, it's also an award to the rubber tappers of the Amazon, of Acre. I don't consider it a prize to Chico Mendes, I think it's a prize that will help advance the rubber tappers' resistance movement as a whole. The most positive result I see is this: Through these awards we gain much greater international recognition and more possibility for us to gain allies in the battle we're waging to protect the Amazon." When he was asked about the future of the movement, he responded, "I think that for change to start, there has to be a struggle for immediate elections, against payment of the foreign debt. Whatever president is elected in Brazil, if he commits himself to pay the foreign debt, the situation will stay the same or get worse. We have to elect committed people who pledge to the workers' movement that we are not responsible for the foreign debt. The workers did not contract the debt, and therefore we should not have to pay it. A government elected by the workers must maintain this position. If not, there will be no change because he won't have the will to carry out land reform, which will only be done if we break with the IMF and have a government committed to the workers' movement." Gomercindo Rodrigues, *Walking the Forest with Chico Mendes: Struggle for Justice in the Amazon*, ed. & trans. by Linda Rabben (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2007), pp. 147–53.

Conable was forced to concede that Polonoroete had been a failure, and he committed to a comprehensive overhaul of the Bank's environmental policies.[74]

The rubber tappers were also successful in creating a legal mechanism to establish extractive reserves. However, as Schwartzman later pointed out, these victories were no guarantee of successful implementation. Nor did Chico Mendes' newfound international celebrity protect him from powerful local interests; he was assassinated in December 1988.[75] Chico Mendes' life, career, and death followed a now-familiar pattern for environmental campaigners around the world.[76] It was also a reminder that the risks were very different for activists on the ground in the Global South than they were for political players in Washington. Nevertheless, by the late 1980s and early 1990s transnational networks of activists were being consolidated, facilitating the exchange of information about local conditions, and bringing greater pressure to bear on the global economic policy establishment in Washington.

The Other Economic Summits: London, Bonn, Berlin, and Houston

In the late 1980s these two strands of counter-hegemonic activism - structural adjustment and the debt crisis on the one hand, and the environment and indigenous rights on the other – were also beginning to converge in their criticisms of the World Bank and the IMF. As Rudoph Rÿser had argued in his testimony before the Congressional committee in 1983, large dams and other energy projects were a major feature of the controversy over the World Bank.[77] Just as U.S. groups were organizing the MDB campaign, activists in other countries

[74] Bruce Rich, pp. 145–47.
[75] Stephan Schwartzman, 'Deforestation and Popular Resistance in Acre: From Local Social Movement to Global Network', *The Centennial Review*, 35.2 (1991), 397–422.
[76] Nathalie Butt and others, 'The Supply Chain of Violence', *Nature Sustainability*, 2.8 (2019), 742–47; Global Witness, *Defending Tomorrow: The Climate Crisis and Threats Against Land and Environmental Defenders* (Global Witness, July 2020); Nina Lakhani, *Who Killed Berta Cáceres?: Dams, Death Squads, and an Indigenous Defender's Battle for the Planet* (London: Verso, 2020).
[77] The interest of U.S. NGOs in such projects was consistent with their earlier involvement in opposition to domestic dam projects in the 1960s, but this time the stakes were different. The Sierra Club was involved in campaigns in the 1960s to save old-growth redwood forests in California, and to oppose the creation of hydroelectric dams in the Grand Canyon. However, these remained more purely preservationist campaigns, lacking any sort of social agenda. In these years, many large environmental organizations like the Sierra Club were split on the issue of nuclear power. The integration of indigenous peoples and unions into the MDB campaign signalled the emergence of a broader social agenda. There were already several important differences between the environmental movement of the mid 1960s and the environmental movement of the mid 1980s. In the intervening years the movement went through a period of significant diversification, growth,

were beginning to make similar connections. In the mid-1980s the British environmentalist Edward Goldsmith published of a series of books on the social and environmental impact of large dams.[78] Grassroots anti-dam movements in the Global South were also beginning to form a bridge between land movements and environmental movements and forming alliances with northern environmental groups.[79]

European groups joined the growing chorus of criticism of the Bank. One important transnational connection that was made during this period was with the West German Greens, *Die Grünen*.[80] The Greens had their roots in the New Left and the social movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s.[81] The transition from protest movement to parliamentary

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and internationalization. Tom Turner, *David Brower: The Making of the Environmental Movement* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2015), pp. 105–29; First, the environmental ideas of the scientist Barry Commoner, the writer Edward Abbey, the radical political thinker Murray Bookchin, the poet Gary Snyder, and Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss led to the evolution of a more systematic critique of human exploitation of the natural world, known as "deep ecology." Second, in North America a new generation of groups such as Greenpeace and Friends of the Earth broke more decisively with the "preservationist" ethos of the earlier conservation organizations, and more radical groups that adopted more adversarial methods, such as Earth First!, were founded. Lastly, organizing around issues such as nuclear power, animal rights, and pollution had produced a more globally oriented agenda and fostered the creation of transnational networks. Carson; Barry Commoner, *The Closing Circle: Confronting the Environmental Crisis* (London: Cape, Jonathan Cape, 1972); Edward Abbey, *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (London: Picador, 1982); Murray Bookchin, *Our Synthetic Environment*, Revised Edition (New York: Harper & Row, 1974); Gary Snyder, *Turtle Island*, A New Directions Book (New York: New Directions, 1974); Arne Naess, 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement. A Summary.', *Inquiry*, 16.1–4 (1973), 95–100.

[78] Edward Goldsmith and Nicholas Hildyard, *The Social and Environmental Effects of Large Dams*, Three vols (Camelford, UK: Wadebridge Ecological Centre, 1984), VOLUME ONE.

[79] For example, in Brazil the Regional Committee of Those Displaced by Dams (Comissão Regional de Atingidos por Barragens, CRAB) developed links with the San Francisco-based International Rivers Network (IRN). Franklin Rothman and Pamela Oliver, 'From Local to Global: The Anti-Dam Movement in Southern Brazil, 1979-1992', *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, 4.1 (1999), 41–57.

[80] Transnational connections between American and German activists had already been established in the 1970s. Stephen Milder, 'Thinking Globally, Acting (Trans-)Locally: Petra Kelly and the Transnational Roots of West German Green Politics', *Central European History*, 43.2 (2010), 301–26; Astrid Mignon Kirchhof and Jan-Henrik Meyer, 'Global Protest against Nuclear Power. Transfer and Transnational Exchange in the 1970s and 1980s', *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 39.1 (147) (2014), 165–90; Michael L. Hughes, 'Civil Disobedience in Transnational Perspective: American and West German Anti-Nuclear-Power Protesters, 1975-1982', *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 39.1 (147) (2014), 236–53; Jan-Henrik Meyer, '"Where Do We Go From Wyhl?" Transnational Anti-Nuclear Protest Targeting European and International Organizations in the 1970s', *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung*, 39.1 (147) (2014), 212–35.

[81] There are many parallels between these movements in West Germany and the United States, and as noted above there were important transnational connections between activists in the feminist, nuclear, and environmental movements. The German Greens placed a strong emphasis on grassroots democracy, to the extent that they were often labelled the "antiparty party." Raymond Dominick, 'The Roots of the Green Movement in the United States and West Germany', *Environmental Review: ER*, 12.3 (1988), 1–30; The creation of the U.S. Green Party was influenced by the success of the West German Greens. However, the German Greens were aided in their rise by the fact that the West German Republic had a proportional

party began in the late 1970s but was secured when the Greens entered the national legislature following federal elections in 1983.[82] Members of the parliamentary group were familiar with analysis coming from left thinkers such as Johan Galtung and André Gunder Frank, as well as German political scientists who were critical of the structural inequalities of the global economic system. At the initiative of Ludger Volmer, one of the key people involved in Third World solidarity work within the parliamentary group, they sought to make global justice a political issue. Just as U.S. environmental groups were pushing for Congressional oversight hearings regarding the MDBs, the German Greens managed to make IMF and World Bank policies the subject of a parliamentary debate in the German Bundestag.

Volmer was selected as part of a delegation that travelled to Washington in September 1984 for the annual meeting of the Bank and Fund, where he met with U.S. activists, including Bruce Rich and Doug and Steve Hellinger.[83] Following the protests at the 1986 Bank/IMF annual meeting, U.S. activist Chad Dobson had founded the Bank Information Center (BIC), which acted as an international clearinghouse for information about Bank projects.[84] Subsequent meetings provided an arena for The Development GAP to further its efforts to link structural adjustment with the environment and facilitate the construction of a common agenda. At the 1990 annual meeting, The Development GAP joined International Rivers Network, an organisation that was active on the issue of dams, to launch *Bank Check Quarterly*, a newsletter that critiqued IFI lending from both an environmental and economic justice perspective.[85]

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electoral system. It was much harder for third parties to make advances in the less democratic American system. Greta Gaard, 'The U.S. Greens: From Movement to Party', in *Ecological Politics* (Temple University Press, 1998), pp. 53–87 (pp. 55–56).

[82] E. Gene Frankland, *Between Protest and Power: The Green Party in Germany* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1992).

[83] Ludger Volmer, interview with author, 2020; German language readers may consult the relevant archival documents that are kept at the Archiv Grünes Gedächtnis in Berlin, as well as the works of Ludger Volmer, in particular. Ludger Volmer, *Die Grünen Und Die Aussenpolitik: Ein Schwieriges Verhältnis* (Munich, Germany: Westfälisches Dampfboot, 1998); Ludger Volmer, *Die Grünen: Von Der Protestbewegung Zur Etablierten Partei: Eine Bilanz* (Munich, Germany: C. Bertelsmann, 2009).

[84] Dobson had considerable experience as an activist, having earlier been a coordinator for a demonstration involving 800,000 people in New York for the Nuclear Freeeze campaign. Keck and Sikkink, p. 148.

[85] Doug Hellinger, 'Bank's Poverty Report Whitewashes the Past Decade: Sets Stage for More Adjustment and Suffering in the 90s', *Bank Check Quarterly*, 1990 <https://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/banks_poverty_report_whitewashes_the_past_decade.pdf>.

The meetings in Washington took place against a background of growing transnational linkages. In 1984 a group of British activists who were concerned with formulating alternative development models came together to create The Other Economic Summit (TOES), a counter-summit to the meeting of the G7, which was gathering that year in London.[86] The following year, TOES was held in Bonn, and was hosted by the German Greens.[87] The Bonn summit saw the first large demonstration by groups who were concerned about the debt crisis and development and environmental issues.[88] When Volmer returned from the annual meeting of the IMF and World Bank in 1986 he brought back news that the 1988 meeting would take place in West Berlin. Now that they were established as a parliamentary party, the German Greens had access to the resources needed to plan an event for 1988 that would adopt the model pioneered in Bonn. Organised out of Volmer's parliamentary office by two staff members, Babarba Unmüßig and Thomas Fues, the Berlin events lasted from 25 September 1988 to 27 September 1988 and consisted of an alternative convention of perhaps 3,000 representatives and a hearing of the Lelio Basso Foundation's Permanent Peoples' Tribunal

[86] The original idea for the summit came from Ecology Party activist Sally Willington. Willington persuaded Jonathon Porritt, soon to be appointed director of Friends of the Earth UK, to assemble a coordinating committee to organise the first TOES event. *News from Somewhere: A New Economics Reader*, ed. by David Boyle and Andrew Simms (London: New Economics Foundation, 2004); TOES was inspired by an effort to create a 'new economics' that rejected the growth politics of both Keynesian and neoliberal models of growth. This led to the founding of the New Economics Foundation in London in 1986. Key members of the British Jubilee 2000 campaign were associated with the foundation. The Other Economic Summit, 'The Other Economic Summit, 6-10 June 1984: Report and Summary', pp. 5–7, Box 1, Folder 19, The Other Economic Summit (TOES), 1990, UA 248, Woodson Research Center, Fondren Library, Rice University. [Hereafter cited as TOES]. The new economics was needed, it was argued, to tackle a number of pressing problems that were not being addressed by mainstream thinking. These problems included overconsumption in the Global North and the associated depletion of the Earth's resources, the impact of the international banking system and the exploitative practices of multinational corporations on the peoples of the Global South, the persistence of unemployment in the postindustrial economies, and the channelling of productive resources into the arms trade.

[87] 18/02/2023 14:26:00

[88] Papers from the first two TOES meetings are collected in *The Living Economy: A New Economics in the Making*, ed. by Paul Ekins (London: Routledge, 1986) Ekins was instrumental in the establishment of TOES North America when he visited groups there in 1986. It should be noted that whilst most of the contributors were from the Global North, there was also some attempt to include voices from the South. Notable in this respect was a paper by the Kenyan scholar, feminist, environmental activist, and later politician Wangari Maathai. Maathai was the founder of the Green Belt Movement in Kenya, which integrated social and environmental objectives by mobilising women to plant trees to combat deforestation and promote women's empowerment. Maathai was also active on the issue of debt and served as cochair of the Jubilee 2000 Africa Campaign. On the Green Belt Movement and Maathai see Wangari Maathai, *The Green Belt Movement: Sharing the Approach and the Experience* (New York: Lantern Books, 2004) and; Tabitha M. Kanogo, *Wangari Maathai* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2020); On Maathai's critique of mainstream development thinking and globalization see Besi Brillian Muhonja, *Radical Utu: Critical Ideas and Ideals of Wangari Muta Maathai* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2020), pp. 90–112.

(PPT) on the Policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[89] Many other Berlin-based groups also participated, having already mobilized to protest a visit by Reagan to the city in July the previous year.[90] Green activists were joined by U.S. allies, peace groups and third world solidarity groups, as well as autonomists and anarchists from the radical Kreuzberg neighbourhood of the city. Around 70,000 people took to the streets, and authorities were poorly prepared for this level of popular opposition. At least 552 people (and as many as 850) were detained, and the West Berlin police attacked and beat protestors.[91] Nevertheless, the counter-summit declaration ended on a hopeful call for participants to develop "a new internationalist movement."[92]

The TOES format therefore provided a means for fostering transnational advocacy networks that brought together diverse groups from around the world. In 1990 TOES was held in the United States for the first time, in Houston, Texas. By this time the summit had been more fully conceptualised as "an expanding grassroots network of networks," and was reimagined each year by a new secretariat in a different country. The theme for Houston was "The Voice of the People for a Change," and was chosen to highlight the unrepresentative nature of the G7 as a governing body. G7 leaders, it was noted, represented just 20 per cent of the people of the world, and yet their decisions had a disproportionate impact on global affairs. "TOES 1990," it was added, "will send the further message that the springs of democratic renewal have not dried up in the United States." Indeed, day three of the conference was dedicated to the theme of "Democratizing the Economy."[93] Trent Schroyer, a scholar of philosophy and

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[89] Permanent Peoples' Tribunal, 'Tribunal About the Policies of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank: Verdict', 1988, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder NGO Forums/WB-IMF-AMS.; On the roots of nongovernmental tribunals in the 1937 Dewey Commission and the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation's tribunal on Vietnam see Arthur W. Blaser, 'How to Advance Human Rights without Really Trying: An Analysis of Nongovernmental Tribunals', *Human Rights Quarterly*, 14.3 (1992), 339–70.

[90] Jürgen Gerhards and Dieter Rucht, 'Mesomobilization: Organizing and Framing in Two Protest Campaigns in West Germany', *American Journal of Sociology*, 98.3 (1992), 555–96.

[91] Thomas Fues, interview with author, 2020; Volmer, 'Interview with Author'; Amnesty International, 'West Berlin: The Anti-IMF/World Bank Protests of September 1988' (Amnesty International. International Secretariat Archives, Inventory Number 519, AI Index EUR 23/01/89, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1989).

[92] 'International Counter-Congress: West-Berlin Declaration', 1988, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder NGO Forums/WB-IMF-AMS.

[93] In this respect, early global justice advocates confirmed neoliberals' suspicion that democracy was a threat to the global market order. Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 271–72.

the Program Director, argued that democratic renewal was needed because "it is our responsibility to confront the policy of the U.S. government that has blocked the path for a resolution of the world debt crisis."[94]

The loose structure of the summit made it possible to address a huge array of topics, from "the economics of jails, prisons, political prisoners and the death penalty" to "feminist perspectives on the economy" and "Africa takes the lead: alternatives to structural adjustment." Indeed, workshops attracted participants from around the world, including politician Jesse Jackson and union leader Cesar Chavez; AFSC Women's Program Director Saralee Hamilton and environmental justice campaigner Robert Bullard; Native American community organiser Winona LaDuke from the White Earth Reservation in Minnesota; Mexican opposition leader Cuahtemoc Cardenas and Brazilian politician (and later President of Brazil) Lula de Silva; Martin Khor of Third World Network; and South Asian intellectual Ashis Nandy. There were even representatives from the El Salvadoran FMLN and the Japanese Minamata movement in attendance.[95] The major advantage of this approach was that it emphasised the interconnectedness of economic, social, and environmental problems. The primary disadvantage was that it tended to sacrifice coherence for a nebulous agenda. Nevertheless, three characteristics of the Houston summit would become foundational for the global justice movement of the 1990s: the strategy of organizing through activist networks; grassroots democracy as a value central to the construction of a fair society; and the attempt to construct an integrative analysis of global justice.

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[94] The Other Economic Summit, 'The Other Economic Summit, The Voice of the People for a Change, July 6, 7, & 8 in Houston, Texas, Background and Draft Program Overview', 1990, Box 1, Folder 2, TOES.; Schroyer reprised his role as Program Coordinator for the 1997 summit in Denver. By that time TOES was addressing itself more directly to the problems of what was by then being referred to as 'globalization.' See *A World That Works: Building Blocks for a Just and Sustainable Society*, ed. by Trent Schroyer (New York: Bootstrap Press, 1997).

[95] 'TOES '90 Houston, Texas: Report and Summary', ed. by Susan Hunt, Box 1, Folder 19, TOES. Two of the leaders of the MDB campaign, Bruce Rich and Brent Blackwelder, were also present. 'Martin Khor: Fighting to Save Rain Forests and the World Environment', *Los Angeles Times*, 29 July 1990 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1990-07-29-op-1632-story.html> [accessed 13 October 2021]; On Minamata see Timothy S. George, *Minamata: Pollution and the Struggle for Democracy in Postwar Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001).

Co-optation and Green Neoliberalism

As Barber Conable's public acts of contrition over the Polonoroete debacle demonstrated, efforts by activists to pressure the World Bank during the 1980s succeeded to some degree. NGO criticism had also encouraged dissent within the IFIs, leading to the apostasy of some insiders such as Davison Budhoo.[96] Despite Conable's admission that the Bank had "stumbled" and his commitment to the creation of an expanded "top-level Environment Department," it remained unclear how far efforts would go in overturning the orthodox development agenda. [97] The publication of *Our Common Future* by the World Commission on Environment and Development (better known as the Brundtland Report) in 1987 elevated the concept of "sustainable development" and this was taken up by Herman E. Daly, who became Senior Economist in the Environment Department at the Bank in 1988. However, as Daly soon found out, it was much easier to talk the language of sustainability than to operationalise it. Quantitative measures of growth, although imperfect, were at least well established within mainstream macroeconomics, but there was no straightforward way to assess the impact of specific projects of the kind that the Bank funded through measures of qualitative development.[98] The difficulty of defining what "sustainable development" meant made it a flexible—and cooptable—concept.

Indeed, "sustainability" was applied by both critics of the Bank and by the Bank itself in such a myriad of ways that it became almost infinitely elastic. As Daly later observed, "The term had acquired such vogue that everyone felt that their favorite cause had to be a part of the definition or else be implicitly condemned to oblivion, and this natural confusion was abetted by those in the Bank who wanted to keep the concept vague, to dull its sharp edges enough to keep it from cutting into business as usual, that is, pushing loans in the interest of export-led growth and global integration." Daly soon found it was much easier to persuade the Bank

[96] Davison L. Budhoo, *Enough Is Enough: Dear Mr. Camdessus - Open Letter of Resignation to the Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund* (Liberty Corner, NJ: New Horizons Press, 1990); Klein, *The Shock Doctrine*, pp. 260–62.
[97] Philippe Le Prestre, *The World Bank and the Environmental Challenge* (Ontario, Canada: Associated University Presses, 1989), p. 199.
[98] Around this time the UNDP created, under the guidance of Mahbub ul Haq, the Human Development Index, which aimed to introduce measures other than GDP per capita as means of assessing levels of development. United Nations Development Programme, *Human Development Report 1990: Concept and Measurement of Human Development* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990).

to embrace the rhetoric of sustainability than it was to obtain any real policy changes. He tried unsuccessfully to persuade Lawrence Summers, then Chief Economist at the Bank, to acknowledge in the 1992 *World Development Report* that there were ecological limits to growth. This failure was perhaps no real surprise, since to accept such limits would have been to recognise that the magic of the market could not, after all, solve all problems.[99] Besides, it was around this time that Summers sent a memo to Bank staff suggesting that the dumping of toxic waste in the Global South should be understood as consistent with economic efficiency (see Figure 1.1).[100] The memo was leaked to the media and provoked worldwide condemnation of the Bank. Jose Lutzenburger, who had been appointed Brazil's Secretary of the Environment, wrote to Summers to express his disgust, remarking pithily that "Your reasoning is perfectly logical but totally insane."[101] Campaigners were appalled when President Clinton later appointed Summers to a senior post in the U.S. Treasury.[102] A petition opposing his confirmation was delivered to Clinton and Senator Daniel Moynihan (then chair of the Senate Finance Committee) and included the signature of prominent environmental justice advocate Robert D. Bullard.[103]

Nevertheless, in the face of intense criticism, the Bank was obliged to reinvent itself. The history of this process is evidence of the mutation of the political rationality of neoliberalism through the adaptation of governmental institutions. Rather than abandon structural

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[99] This was by no means simply a personal failing on the part of Lawrence Summers. In the 1980s economists like Julian Simon suggested that technology and human ingenuity would be sufficient to overcome all challenges. That Summers and Simon did not factor environmental considerations into their economic models was also a legacy of the peculiar history of the neoclassical tradition and the early 1990s was not an opportune time to challenge the status quo. On Simon and the 'triumph of optimism' in the Reagan era see Paul Sabin, *The Bet: Paul Ehrlich, Julian Simon, and Our Gamble over Earth's Future* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2013) Readers should be cautioned that by couching the debate between Ehrlich and Simon as turning on psychological orientations - 'optimism' and 'pessimism' - Sabin is somewhat distracted from the material facts of the argument. It is suggested here that 'optimism' informed the neoliberal worldview, to the extent that it masked the very real divergences between neoliberal theory and the reality of economic destruction. However, it does not follow that there is necessarily an objective and 'balanced' evaluation of the arguments will necessarily fall somewhere between the two poles, as Sabin seems to imply. To suggest as such is to fall prey to the fallacy of the golden mean.

[100] Memo. Lawrence H. Summers, 1991, Bruce M. Rich. Private Collection.; Bruce Rich, pp. 246–49.

[101] Memo. Jose A. Lutzenberger to Lawrence Summers, Bruce M. Rich. Private Collection.

[102] Doug Hellinger and Ross Hammond, 'The Development GAP, Statement on the Appointment of Larry Summers', 1993 <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/statement_on_the_appointment_of_lawrence_summers.pdf>.

[103] Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice, 'Don't Confirm Summers', 1992, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder Summers Other Appts.

adjustment, as many activists had hoped, the Bank simply incorporated environmental conditionality into its adjustment policies.[104] However, this "green neoliberalism" was not purely a product of the Bank. In the late 1980s, environmental NGOs had themselves began to adapt to the market ecology of the Reagan era, and some of them were vulnerable to co-optation by mainstream development institutions.[105] It is no coincidence that just as newly powerful NGOs had demonstrated their ability to erode the legitimacy of the Bank, the Bank developed an interest in promoting closer working relationships with such organizations.[106] As Michael Goldman has argued, "In response to the success of its social-movement critics, the World Bank has been forced to enlist scores of social actors and institutions to help generate its green neoliberal regime."[107]

The evolution of neoliberal political rationality in the 1990s was therefore also signified by a growing interest in the concept of "global governance."[108] This was a consequence of the fact that the IFIs no longer monopolised the development agenda, but it also reflected the valorisation of corporate managerialism and the tendency of business culture to seep into governmental practice.[109] As hostility to "big government" mounted in the 1980s, and as private initiative was celebrated for its efficiency, both governmental and non-governmental

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[104] Michael Goldman, *Imperial Nature: The World Bank and Struggles for Social Justice in the Age of Globalization* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 134.

[105] In November 1986 Fred Krupp of the Environmental Defense Fund had published an article in the *Wall Street Journal* arguing that environmentalists could be pro-business. For Krupp, the market could be a more effective method for solving environmental problems than regulation. The idea that environmental groups could also work with corporate partners to reduce their impact on the planet gained traction amongst some sectors of the mainstream movement. Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), pp. 207–8 It was also around this time that the term "greenwashing" was coined.

[106] Lawrence F. Salmen, A. Paige Eaves, and Country Economics Department, *World Bank Work with Nongovernmental Organizations* (Washington, DC: The World Bank, December 1989).

[107] Goldman, p. 182.

[108] On neoliberalism and 'governance' see Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2016), p. 130 Brown argues that 'The discourse and practice of governance depoliticizes its own deployment and field of application on several fronts. As governance "responsibilizes" each element in its orbit, it eliminates from view the stratification and disparate positions of these elements - the powers producing, arranging, and relating them. Governance also disavows the powers it circulates, the norms it advances, the conflicts it suppresses or dispatches.'

[109] McNamara had attempted to fashion the Bank into a professional organization by implementing the methods of standardized accounting, quantitative planning, and management control systems that were being developed in the mid-1960s and 1970s. As an indication of the evolution of management thinking during these years see Peter Drucker, *The Practice of Management* (London: Heinemann, 1955); Robert Newton Anthony, *Planning and Control Systems: A Framework for Analysis* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1965) It is perhaps no coincidence that Robert Newton Anthony was offered the position of Defense Department comptroller by McNamara in 1965.

organizations sought to distance themselves from a dated "command and control" structure and to frame their own activities within dominant business idioms and metaphors. With the disassembling of large vertically integrated firms, management theorists were urging business leaders to create more "flexible" and "responsive" organizations that could continually adapt to the demands of the global economy.[110] These structural changes also posed a problem for executive boards that were charged with overseeing activities within large and far-flung enterprises.[111] When consumer groups pioneered the tactic of "shareholder activism," it also raised questions about what exactly the modern corporation was for. Were firms supposed to serve the interests of managers, consumers, shareholders, or society at large?[112]

It was this issue that prompted the development of concepts such as the "stakeholder" and "corporate governance."[113] Since the debate over "corporate social responsibility" arose in response to criticism of firms for their environment and human rights records, the notion of good "corporate governance" soon became assimilated into the expanding repertoire of public relations and "crisis management." This latter field of study was simulated by a litany of corporate scandals that occurred in the 1980s, perhaps most famously the Tylenol murders of late 1982, the Bhopal gas disaster of December 1984, and the *Exxon Valdez* oil spill of March 1989.[114] Like the pharmaceutical, chemical, and energy corporations, the Bank had

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[110] For a discussion of the influence of management theories on the culture of contemporary American capitalism see Gavin Benke, *Risk and Ruin: Enron and the Culture of American Capitalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018).

[111] Myles Mace, *Directors: Myth and Reality* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971); Dan Busbee, 'Corporate Governance: A Perspective', *Law and Business Review of the Americas*, 9.1, 2003, 5–19 The bankruptcy of the Penn Central Transportation Company in 1970 is often credited with bringing these issues to the attention of regulators. The fallout of the Watergate scandal and the discovery of corporate 'slush funds' alerted lawmakers to such abuses and led to the enactment of the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act in 1977. These developments would greatly enhance the oversight role of corporate boards.

[112] The debate gained sufficient traction in the press to provoke an intervention from Milton Friedman in the *New York Times*. Milton Friedman, 'The Social Responsibility of Business Is to Increase Its Profits', in *Corporate Ethics and Corporate Governance*, ed. by Walther Christoph Zimmerli, Klaus Richter, and Markus Holzinger (Berlin, Heidelberg: Springer, 2007), pp. 173–78.

[113] H. Igor Ansoff, *Corporate Strategy: An Analytic Approach to Business Policy for Growth and Expansion* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1965); R. Edward Freeman and David L. Reed, 'Stockholders and Stakeholders: A New Perspective on Corporate Governance', *California Management Review*, 1983; R. Edward Freeman, *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach* (Boston, MA: Pitman, 1984) Paradoxically, the notion that firms would make decisions with regard to the interests of multiple "stakeholders" also served to diffuse responsibility and diminish the accountability of those at the top. The process of "consultation" could be carefully managed from above and the results presented in such a way as to neutralise outside criticism.

[114] Union Carbide, the American company that owned the pesticide factory in Bhopal, failed to take responsibility for the disaster that caused the deaths of thousands of people and left hundreds of thousands of survivors dealing with adverse health effects that resulted from exposure to toxic chemicals. It is revealing that

plenty of crises to manage, but it was neither easy nor straightforward for such a large bureaucratic organization to accommodate the new values of "openness" and "flexibility" directly within its formal structure. Instead, through its interactions with NGOs, IGNOs, consultants, and other "stakeholders" it aimed to present itself as possessing the characteristics that were deemed desirable in a modern organization. By adopting the concept of "good governance," and positioning itself as a fair and objective arbitrator in the field of economic development, the Bank also sought to defuse outside criticism and contain conflict within a process that it could oversee and manage.[115]

"50 Years Is Enough"

The World Bank's attempts to reinvent itself as a green institution were mostly cosmetic, and such efforts were directed in the service of the fundamental neoliberal imperative of global economic integration. By the early 1990s there was a substantial body of evidence pointing to the significant human and environmental costs of this approach. However, there was also improved coordination between different elements of the transnational networks dedicated to global justice, and activists were ready to intensify their campaign against the World Bank.

In the years after the Polonoroete hearings, the Bank incorporated environmental assessments into its project design process, but such a "cost-benefit analysis" framework for evaluating projects could easily be used to transfer social conflict from the political realm to

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the Bhopal disaster triggered, on the one hand, a decades long global movement for justice, and on the other, a new genre of business management theory. *The Bhopal Reader: Remembering Twenty Years of the World's Worst Industrial Disaster*, ed. by Bridget Hanna, Ward Morehouse, and Satinath Sarangi (New York: The Apex Press, 2005); Bhopal Survivors Movement Study, *Bhopal Survivors Speak: Emergent Voices from a People's Movement* (Edinburgh: Word Power, 2009); Paul Shrivastava and others, 'Understanding Industrial Crises', *Journal of Management Studies*, 25.4 (1988), 285–303; Thierry C. Pauchant and Ian Mitroff, *Transforming the Crisis-Prone Organization: Preventing Individual, Organizational, and Environmental Tragedies* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1992); Ian I. Mitroff and Christine M. Pearson, *Crisis Management: A Diagnostic Guide for Improving Your Organization's Crisis-Preparedness* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1993).

[115] The Bank's gradual turn to the inclusion of 'stakeholders' in decision-making reflected the growing pressure being applied by NGOs during the 1990s. This rhetorical evolution is evident in the Bank's printed materials. The World Bank, *Governance and Development* (Washington, D.C: World Bank, 1992); The World Bank, *Governance: The World Bank's Experience*, Development in Practice (Washington, D.C.: The World Bank, 1994); The World Bank, *The World Bank Participation Sourcebook* (Washington, D.C: World Bank, 1996).

the bureaucratic realm of the Bank's own processes and procedures.[116] Critics could point to any number of Bank projects to demonstrate that very little had changed in practice, but the most potent symbol of this failure was the Sardar Sarovar dam on the Narmada river in Northwest India, which the Bank had committed to co-financing in 1985. The Narmada Valley Project threatened to displace over a million people, without consultation and in many cases without compensation. Once more, American NGOs – the Environmental Defense Fund, the Environmental Policy Institute, and the National Wildlife Federation – were involved in bringing pressure to bear on the Bank through Congressional hearings, and again they worked in partnership with southern groups. These efforts were made possible by the existence within India of a well organised grassroots coalition that could mobilise mass resistance to the project. Known as the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Movement), it was led by Medha Patkar, a social scientist from the Tata Institute for Social Studies in Mumbai.[117] Northern groups lobbied member governments and Bank staff as well as launching a media blitz. In 1992 BIC began working with environmental and human rights organizations to document human rights abuses in the Narmada area. Under pressure, in September 1991 the Bank was forced to commission an independent review, led by Bradford Morse, a former U.S. Congressman and administrator in the UN Development Programme. The findings of the Morse Commission were highly critical.[118] The Bank was eventually forced to withdraw its financial support for the dam in March 1993.[119]

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[116] According to this logic, rules governing process take precedence over the substantive interests of human agents. In other words, the means can be used to justify any end. Brown, p. 124; On environmental assessments at the World Bank see Goldman, pp. 112–26.

[117] The Andolan developed a sophisticated ideological critique of development and was able to mobilise tens of thousands of people for public demonstrations. They deployed Gandhian techniques of non-violent satyagraha, including hunger strikes and the occupation of land threatened with inundation. Amita Baviskar, *In the Belly of the River: Tribal Conflicts over Development in the Narmada Valley*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 197–228.

[118] Bruce Rich, pp. 249–54; David A Wirth, 'Partnership Advocacy in World Bank Environmental Reform', in *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*, ed. by Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 61–65.

[119] The Government of Gujarat vowed to continue with the project, but progress was blocked for several years by a ruling by the Supreme Court of India. In July 1999, after the legal stay had been lifted, the Indian writer and activist Arundhati Roy wrote, 'I know that the waters of the Sardar Sarovar reservoir are rising every hour. More than ten thousand people face submergence. They have nowhere to go. I have tried very hard to communicate the urgency of what is happening in the valley. But in the cities, peoples' eyes glaze over. "Yes, it's sad," we say. "But it can't be helped. We need electricity."' The dam was eventually completed in 2017. Arundhati Roy, *The Cost of Living: The Greater Common Good and the End of Imagination* (London: Flamingo, 1999).

Even more damaging to the Bank was a review of all Bank projects authorized by the new president, Lewis Preston, in 1991. The review judged 37 per cent of projects to be "unsatisfactory." The findings of the report were, in the words of its author, Willi A. Wapenhans, "devastating" and, together with the findings of the Morse Commission, provided yet more evidence that the institutional imperatives of "moving money" continued to outweigh all consideration of the material effects of Bank lending.[120]

Meanwhile, resistance to structural adjustment policies continued to grow worldwide.[121] Demonstrations, riots, and road blockades attracted constant media attention in the Global South but were largely ignored by the northern press. In 1986 development NGOs had managed to instigate an policy debate within the Bank on SAPs, but by the late 1980s they had become increasingly sceptical about the prospects for reform.[122] In 1990 a coalition of NGOs, organised under the umbrella group known as the NGO Working Group on the Bank, published a position paper that highlighted the failures of the orthodox approach.[123] The

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[120] As Wapenhans observed, the Bank still measured its success in financial terms, but since the McNamara Presidency it had defined its actual mission as a development agency rather than as a lending institution. W. Becker and D. Milobsky, Transcript of Oral History Interview with Willi A. Wapenhans Held on July 21 and August 19, 1993: Second Interview Session, August 19, 1993, pp. 2–3, World Bank Group Archives, Oral History Program <https://oralhistory.worldbank.org/transcripts/transcript-oral-history-interview-willi-wapenhans-held-july-21-and-august-19-1993> [accessed 17 December 2020].

[121] For an account of just some of the resistance movements that were launched across the Global South see *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities*, ed. by Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis, and Ousseina Alidou (Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2000).

[122] Doug Hellinger, 'An NGO Perspective on the World Bank', 1989, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder World Bank: Articles About the Bank by DGAP/Others.

[123] The Bank had begun to widen its engagement with NGOs in the early 1980s. The first small step in this respect was the creation of the World Bank-NGO Committee in 1981. The committee was composed of fourteen NGO members from Europe, North America, and Japan and fifteen Bank sectoral and area managers, and was originally orientated towards fostering operational cooperation. The Bank recognised the need to expand its influence within the Northern development community at a time that structural adjustment policies were beginning to attract criticism, and there were also benefits of using NGOs to implement projects at the local level. As such, the Bank had made no effort to include NGO members from the Global South or to put in place a selection process that would ensure any degree of representativeness or accountability to communities affected by their projects. For their part, NGO members were aware of the public relations purposes of the committee, but they also recognised the opportunity that it provided them to obtain funding, information, and policy dialogue. NGOs recognised that the terms of engagement were largely defined by the Bank, and this led to the creation of the NGO Working Group on the World Bank in 1984 as an independent forum for NGOs that would enable them to coordinate their own agenda. The Bank was forced to commit to the broadening of the membership at the 1987 meeting of the committee. By the 1990s the intervention of more politically oriented NGOs, such as The Development GAP, had persuaded the Bank to include NGOs from the Global South, thus creating a platform for Southern advocacy on policy issues. John Clark, 'Short History of the World Bank/ NGO Committee', *Dialogue*, 1 August 1988, pp. 8–9, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder World Bank: Articles About the Bank by DGAP/Others.; Seamus Cleary, 'The World Bank and NGOs', in *'The Conscience of the World': The Influence of Non-Governmental Organisations in*

paper argued that SAPs failed to address the debt crisis, further depressed commodity prices by promoting overproduction, exacerbated economic inequalities, punished the rural and urban poor, reduced access to healthcare and education, excluded affected communities from decision-making processes, and ignored gender inequality and disproportionately increased the economic burden on women. The paper also acknowledged that the Bank's attempt to involve NGOs in development projects could cut both ways. On the one hand it might improve projects and boost grassroots participation, but on the other it could result in the co-optation of critical voices. Over the course of the 1980s the Bank had been forced to accept that structural adjustment did indeed adversely affect poor communities, and it had introduced targeted compensatory policies. However, as the NGO Working Group pointed out, this was "often designed to sustain government support for, and pacify popular opposition to, these measures."[124] This suspicion seemed to be confirmed by the Bank's response, which described adjustment measures as "strong medicine" and lamented that "countries have not sustained their adjustment efforts."[125]

Many economic justice campaigners recognised that the Bank was essentially unreformable. As Doug Hellinger from The Development GAP observed, the 1990 World Development Report amounted to little more than "The Bank's latest media show – its PR campaign on poverty." Hellinger suggested that the Bank's claims to be supporting "poverty alleviation" could hardly be taken seriously if no reassessment was made of the development model that it was imposing on countries in the Global South. Indeed, he argued, "Hard evidence is

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the UN System, ed. by Peter Willetts (London: Hurst, 1996), pp. 71–73; Jane G. Covey, 'Critical Cooperation? Influencing the World Bank through Policy Dialogue and Operational Cooperation', in *The Struggle for Accountability: The World Bank, NGOs, and Grassroots Movements*, ed. by Jonathan A. Fox and L. David Brown (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), pp. 95–97.

[124] On the issue of co-option, the Group noted that, 'There exists a concern within the NGO community that an expanded NGO project relationship with the Bank might foster the development and consolidation of a range of bogus NGOs that are not truly representative of the grassroots. If organisations more concerned with their own institutional interests than with the promotion of grassroots democracy are strengthened and if NGOs are encouraged to serve mainly as delivery systems for local governments, for the Bank and for other assistance agencies - rather than as independent organisations with ultimate management authority over projects - the image of NGOs in the eyes of Third World governments and the poor will be damaged. While there is undoubtedly scope for increased cooperation on specific projects or programmes, many NGOs will remain wary, anxious that such relationships may also be interpreted as an endorsement of the Bank's current overall development approach.' NGO Working Group on the World Bank, 'The World Bank and Development: An NGO Critique and a World Bank Response', *Trocaire Development Review*, 1990, 9–27.

[125] World Bank Strategic Planning and Review Department, 'A World Bank Response to the NGO Working Group Position Paper on the World Bank', 1990, pp. 7–8, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder WB/NGO Working Group Position Paper 1989.

mounting around the world that SAPs have devastated local populations and their environments while increasing their countries economic vulnerability… adjustment policies themselves are the basis of the Bank's strategy of poverty alleviation."[126]

After 1988 northern NGOs had deepened their coordination, and they continued to hold forum meetings in parallel with the annual meetings of the Fund and the Bank.[127] In July 1991, The Development GAP began working with the Third World Network to prepare a systematic critique of structural adjustment that would integrate evidence collected by NGOs working across the world.[128] The 1992 forum, organised by The Development GAP, included over a hundred participants, consisting of American partners, European groups such as EURODAD, and southern NGOs. To safeguard the legitimacy of the meeting, organisers committed to raising funds to ensure that at least half of the attendees would be from the Global South.[129] As a result of that meeting, it was decided to plan a global campaign, starting in the United States, to coincide with the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the Bretton Woods institutions, which the Bank and the Fund planned to celebrate in Madrid. Shortly afterwards, the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation convened a meeting of campaigners and committed to financing a campaign targeting the IFIs. The Development GAP took the initiative, bringing environmental and economic justice groups within the U.S. together with their extensive network of partners in the Global South. The Development GAP's leadership on the executive committee ensured that structural adjustment and global economic policy issues would be fully integrated with environmental demands.[130] The draft proposal also made clear the intention to collaborate with opposition efforts being led in the Philippines, India, Japan, and elsewhere.[131]

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[126] Hellinger, 'Bank's Poverty Report Whitewashes the Past Decade: Sets Stage for More Adjustment and Suffering in the 90s'; Doug Hellinger, 'The Poverty Facade on H Street', *Bank Check Quarterly*, 1991, 12.
[127] 'Funding Ecological and Social Destruction: The World Bank and International Monetary Fund', ed. by The Bank Information Center, 1989, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder NGO Forum (9/1989).
[128] 'Third World Network Workshop and Plans on Structural Adjustment', 1991, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder Miscellaneous.
[129] 'Proposal for Support of the 1992 International NGO Forum on World Bank and IMF Adjustment Lending', The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder 1992 WB SAP Forum.
[130] Doug Hellinger and Steve Hellinger, interview with author, 2021.
[131] Ross Hammond to Saavedra re. Campaign Proposal, 1993, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder 50 Years Is Enough 1993-95.

Launched in May 1994, the campaign sought to accommodate the perspectives of a wide range of groups under a broad agenda to amplify public and media support and to maximise leverage over decision makers. The campaign statement (Figure 1.2) explained that "'5O Years Is Enough' was chosen as a campaign slogan to express the strongly held belief by growing numbers of people around the globe that the type of development that the World Bank and IMF have been promoting, being inimical both to the interests of the poor and that of the natural environments of the Third World and Eastern Europe, cannot be allowed to continue. It is meant to imply neither a reformist nor an abolitionist approach, but rather to state that fundamental, structural changes in these institutions are necessary." Noting the specific role of Washington institutions in imposing neoliberal policies in the Global South, the statement continued, "Due to the overwhelming influence of the United States in financing and setting policy for the World Bank and IMF, U.S. groups feel a special responsibility to ensure that every effort is made to change these institutions and promote alternatives - both institutional and economic - developed in conjunction with citizens' organizations in affected countries. Towards this end, the coalition is establishing links with other 50th anniversary efforts in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America."[132] By June the fundamental aims of the campaign had been distilled into a five-point platform that demanded greater transparency and accountability from the IFIs, the abolition of structural adjustment and strict conditionality, an end to the financing of large capital-intensive projects, multilateral debt relief, and the implementation of a more equitable, sustainable and participatory form of development assistance.[133]

The steering committee of the campaign included development groups The Development GAP and Oxfam USA as well as environmental groups such as EDF and International Rivers

[132] The strategy neatly minimised philosophical disagreement amongst NGO partners by leaving it up to each member organization to decide whether the campaign slogan referred to the existence of the Bretton Woods institutions themselves, or to the development model that they were pushing on the Global South. This allowed the campaign to focus on the practical task of opposing the worst elements of the neoliberal development model, such as structural adjustment and destructive megaprojects. Email to author dated 17 August 2020. Lisa McGowan, '"50 Years Is Enough" Campaign Statement', 1994 <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/50years_is_enough_campaign_statement.pdf >.

[133] 50 Years Is Enough, 'Platform Summary', 1994 <http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/50years_platform_summary.pdf> [accessed 14 August 2020].

Network. It also included two of the more confrontational environmental groups, Greenpeace USA and Friends of the Earth U.S. These organisations were not members of the Group of Ten but rather had emerged in the post-1970 period and were more willing to take "controversial" political positions.[134] Other early American supporters included IPS, church groups, and Witness for Peace. However, the coalition soon grew to include a wide range of other organisations, including women's groups, and peace groups.

This growing diversity was also reflected in the range of tactics used. Whereas the earlier Congressional strategy had been led by mainstream national environmental groups, by the early 1990s radical environmental groups were pushing the campaign in a more confrontational direction. The national and international growth of grassroots groups in the 1980s had helped to popularise the practice of nonviolent direct action within the U.S. environmental movement. This had led to the founding of the Rainforest Action Network (RAN) in 1985 in San Francisco, and the World Rainforest Movement the following year.[135] Activists from seven different countries were involved in planning the "First Citizens Conference on World Bank, Tropical Forests and Indigenous Peoples" in 1986, during which they dropped a 40-foot banner reading "World Bank Destroys Tropical Rainforests."[136] This organising activity also inspired students at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill to launch the Student Environmental Action Coalition (SEAC) in 1987, thus infusing the

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[134] These groups were not members of the so-called 'Group of Ten' large environmental organisations, but rather had emerged in the post-1970 period and were more willing to take "controversial" political positions. On the founding of Greenpeace see Frank S. Zelko, *Make It a Green Peace!: The Rise of Countercultural Environmentalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[135] On Earth First! see Chapter 5. See also Dawson Barrett, *The Defiant: Protest Movements in Post-Liberal America* (New York: New York University Press, 2018), pp. 25–53; Even before the founding of RAN, Randy Hayes and others had already begun working on a campaign targeting Burger King for importing beef from Central America, and they had recruited the assistance of Herb Chao Gunther, the director of the Public Media Center. Gunther had also been involved in advising the INFACT activists who had led the Nestlé boycott. Mike Roselle, *Tree Spiker: From Earth First! To Lowbagging: My Struggles in Radical Environmental Action* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), pp. 71–90; In the early 1980s, the American poet Gary Synder had helped to establish links between U.S. and Australian environmentalists who were practicing direct action and blockade techniques to protect the rainforests of New South Wales. Australian activist John Seed's Rainforest Information Center played an important role in in collecting and disseminating knowledge about how the debt crisis and multilateral financial institutions were fuelling the destruction of the rainforests, and in the mid-1980s activists invited him to join a series of Earth First! roadshows across the United States. Iain McIntyre, 'From the Local to the Global and Back Again: The Rainforest Information Centre and Transnational Environmental Activism in the 1980s', in *The Transnational Activist: Transformations and Comparisons from the Anglo-World since the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Stefan Berger and Sean Scalmer (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International, 2018), pp. 283–309 (pp. 71–90).

[136] Bruce Rich, p. 137.

movement with the energy of a new generation of campaigners. Also in 1987, RAN was responsible for the first civil disobedience actions at the annual meeting of the Fund and the Bank when thirteen people were arrested for blockading the entrance to 1818 H Street. In 1990 they worked with Greenpeace to drop a giant inflatable chainsaw at the entrance to the meeting, and in 1992 they repeated the exercise, this time with a giant mock dam.[137]

For its part, the Bank was acutely aware of the growing chorus of criticism from activists and in the mainstream press. Internal communications of the "brainstorming network" for the fiftieth anniversary preparations revealed a lack of consensus over the Bank's past record and the absence of a shared "vision" for its future. Alexander Shakow, who had been co-chair of the Bank NGO Committee from 1987 and became Director of External Affairs in July 1990, later reported that "it was the high point of the harsh attacks on the Bank" and that "we were under intense fire."[138] In response, Shakow hired a public relations consultant, Herb Schmertz, who had been the brains behind Mobile Oil's sponsorship of *Masterpiece Theatre* on PBS and had also worked on campaigns for tobacco giant Philip Morris.[139] Following interviews with 75 staff, Schmertz found that many interviewees thought that criticism from NGOs was unfair, and that the Bank ought to respond more vigorously. Paradoxically, the same survey also found that a substantial number of them believed that there was "a

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[137] 'Protestor's Guide to the World Bank: An Activist's Manual, Wolrd Bank/IMF Meeting, Washington D.C., October 1995', p. 3, Carton 59, Folder 2, Rainforest Action Network Records, BANC MSS 2006/161, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. [Hereafter cited as Rainforest Action Network Records.]

[138] William H. Becker and Marie T. Zenni, Transcript of Oral History Interview with Alexander Shakow Held on March 19 and March 20, 2002: First Interview Session, March 19, 2002, World Bank Group Archives, Oral History Program <https://oralhistory.worldbank.org/transcripts/transcript-oral-history-interview-alexander-shakow-held-march-19-and-20-2002>.

[139] Schmertz's public relations strategy, described in a book he co-authored in 1986, was to make an aggressive response to any public criticism from environmentalists and politicians and to strongly advocate for the organization's interest in the 'market of ideas.' Herbert Schmertz and William Novak, *Goodbye to the Low Profile: The Art of Creative Confrontation* (London: Mercury, 1986); Exxon's sponsorship deal, which amounted to $12 million a year by 1990, led some to label PBS the 'petroleum broadcasting service.' However, it also allowed the company to rebrand its image and present itself as a modern and socially engaged company. Laurence Jarvik, 'PBS and the Politics of Quality: Mobil Oil's "Masterpiece Theatre"', *Historical Journal of Film, Radio and Television*, 12.3 (1992), 253–74 (pp. 253–54); Of course, there was nothing particularly novel about these ideas; they had been pioneered by advertising experts in the early twentieth century. However, the Bank's resort to such tactics takes on a disturbing undertone given that, since the 1970s, Schmertz's previous clients had been engaged in a campaign of doubt to obscure the impact of their business activities on climate change and human health. Stuart Ewen, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of the Consumer Culture*, 25th Anniversary Edition (New York: Basic Books, 2001); Naomi Oreskes, *Merchants of Doubt: How a Handful of Scientists Obscured the Truth on Issues from Tobacco Smoke to Global Warming* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2010).

significant gap" between rhetoric and reality when it came to the Bank's statements about the environment and the social impact of structural adjustment, and that "criticisms from the outside, were relatively accurate." Despite these somewhat mixed messages from staff, the planning committee's deliberations made it clear that the Bank hoped to use the Madrid meeting to present its own side of the story.[140] Things did not work out that way; instead, they were met with large protests. Two members of Greenpeace, John Desmond and Anthony Morris, showered the opening ceremony audience with imitation money that read "no dollars for destruction" and "this note is redeemable for ozone destruction, climate change, and deforestation."[141] Activists also challenged the Bank's narrative by publishing a "citizen's daily paper," as well as taking out three adverts in the *New York Times*. SEAC brought 150 young activists to Madrid for "an Unhappy Birthday Party thrown at the Bank."[142]

Madrid was not the end of the "50 Years Is Enough" campaign. By May 1995 local coalitions had formed in Chicago, Vermont, and the Bay Area. Witness for Peace organised a "BAP the Bank" campaign, which involved participants bringing a bag of beans, aspirin, or a box of pencils to highlight the impact of austerity on health, education, and agricultural services.[143] Political cartoonists Mike Konopacki and Alec Dubro even created a comic book entitled "The World Bank: A Tale of Power, Plunder, and Resistance" to educate readers about SAPs (Figure 1.3).[144] The Washington office helped to coordinate this activity, and maintained an aggressive campaign at the national and global levels.

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[140] Planning Documents and Report, 50th Anniversary Program and Schmertz Report, Folder ID 1459991, Reference Code WB IBRD/IDA DEC-03-06, Subject Files Relating to Major Issues of Interest to the Vice President and Chief Economist (DECVP), Records of the Office of the Chief Economist, Records of the Office of the Vice President, Development Economics and Chief Economist and later Senior Vice President, Development Economics and Chief Economist (DECVP), World Bank Group Archives, Washington, D.C., United States., 1994.

[141] 'IMF, World Bank Urge Action to Find Economic Stability, Cut Poverty' (Deutsche Presse-Agentur, 1994), The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder WB/50th Anniversary Press.; 'Spanish Security Forces Under Fire After Greenpeace Protest' (Agence France Presse, 1994), The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder WB/50th Anniversary Press.

[142] 'Protestor's Guide to the World Bank: An Activist's Manual, Wolrd Bank/IMF Meeting, Washington D.C., October 1995'.

[143] Mary Purcell, 'US 50 Years Is Enough: Growing the Grassroots', Bank Check Quarterly, May 1995. Carton 58, Folder 44, Rainforest Action Network Records.; 'Hundreds to Participate in BAP the Bank March and Rally on October 9.' Witness for Peace, Press Release, 1995, Carton 58, Folder 46, Rainforest Action Network Records.

[144] Alec Dubro and Mike Konopacki, 'The World Bank: A Tale of Power, Plunder, and Resistance', 1995, Carton 59, Folder 3, Rainforest Action Network Records.

Participants in campaigns relating to structural adjustment, the debt crisis, and the environment, also took up initiatives against regional and global trade and investment accords. Activists had long understood that these issues were interdependent because the Washington Consensus itself was grounded in the fundamental belief that export-led growth was the key to economic development. Indeed, in December 1994, a year after the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement, and following years of economic adjustment programmes, the Mexican economy fell once again into crisis.[145] Through The Development GAP, the "50 Years Is Enough" campaign had links with Mexican NGOs, and so they were familiar with the social effects of the crisis in the country. They organised events to protest the impact of economic reform in Mexico and invited speakers from El Barzón, a mass debtors' movement that arose in response to the sudden repossession of assets by creditors as a result of the crisis.[146] They joined with Chicano immigrant rights activist Cecilia Rodriguez to demonstrate solidarity with the Zapatistas and joined a rally at the White House as Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo met with Bill Clinton to negotiate another instalment of the bailout in October 1995.[147] At the 1995 annual meeting of the Fund and Bank, the campaign's Religious Working Group also planned a vigil calling for a Jubilee and debt forgiveness, led by Bishop Samuel Ruiz from Chiapas. Meanwhile, The Development GAP worked directly with its Mexican partner, Equipo Pueblo, and with Mexican and U.S. policymakers to address the roots of the economic crisis. Though there were no formal relationships between the work on the IFIs and the work on trade, many NGOs were involved in both issues, and by the latter half of the 1990s a more integrated critique of corporate globalization was beginning to emerge.

[145] In 1994 the peso came under speculative attack and was allowed to float before crashing under renewed pressure. Again, the IMF was called in, and the country was plunged into severe recession, which affected not only the poor, but also the middle classes. In the late 1990s, such 'hot money' flows would wreak havoc with the East Asian Tiger economies and lead to a crisis of faith in the neoliberal project. *Capital Flows and Financial Crises*, ed. by Miles Kahler (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998).

[146] Ann Kingsolver, '"As We Forgive Our Debtors": Mexico's El Barzón Movement, Bankruptcy Policy in the United States, and the Ethnography of Neoliberal Logic and Practice', *Rethinking Marxism*, 20.1 (2008), 13–27.

[147] 'IMF, Land and Civil Unrest in Mexico, The Growing Abyss Between Rich and Poor: Widened by the IMF and WB's Neoliberal Policies.' Co-sponsored by: National Commission for Democracy in Mexico and 50 Years is Enough Campaign, Carton 58, Folder 44, Rainforest Action Network Records.; 'One Continent, One Struggle: Demand Justice, Democracy, and Peace in Mexico & The U.S., October 10, 1995', Carton 58, Folder 44, Rainforest Action Network Records.

Proclaiming Jubilee, Shattering the Consensus

The campaigns against World Bank policies in the 1980s and 1990s described here were episodes in a wider struggle against neoliberalism, one with a deep history in the Global South. The activists involved in these campaigns were aware that the ideology that they were confronting enjoyed hegemonic support within mainstream political institutions in the United States and within the global policy arena. Nevertheless, the catastrophic human and environmental consequences of the economic model upheld by the Washington Consensus endowed their protests with a sense of mission. By focusing their efforts on the policies of a single institution, the World Bank, activists sought to make about the workings of the global economy – which could often seem abstract and remote – concrete and legible to the public. They developed political strategies for finding pressure points that could be exploited to overturn the neoliberal development agenda. This task was helped by the fact that although the institutions and interests that they were opposing were powerful, but not monolithic. Activists skilfully exploited political differences within Congress, whilst also applying external pressure through grassroots education programmes and popular mobilization. They were also helped by the fact that by the 1980s environmental NGOs, as well as church groups, enjoyed large memberships and possessed the resources needed to launch ambitious campaigns. The international orientation of these organizations also allowed them to form transnational alliances with indigenous peoples, labour unions, environmental groups, and debt resistors across the world. Although Washington is the focal point of this historical narrative, the story in fact unfolded from many points of origin.

The "50 Years Is Enough" campaign was an important landmark in the transformation of such transnational advocacy networks into a more coherent movement. The coincidence of the campaign against the World Bank and IMF with the struggle over NAFTA and the Zapatista uprising brought together many strands of resistance. When James Wolfensohn became President of the World Bank in June 1995, it was impossible for him to ignore public criticism of structural adjustment programmes. In December 1995, The Development GAP, representing the interests of anti-adjustment organizations in the Global South, led a delegation of Washington-based NGOs that challenged Wolfensohn to work with civil society groups to undertake a comprehensive grassroots review of structural adjustment

programmes, and in April 1996 he accepted. The Structural Adjustment Participatory Review Initiative (SAPRI) involved hundreds of organizational networks across nine countries that were organized under a global civil society steering committee. It provided concrete and far-reaching evidence of the impact of privatisation programmes, labour market reforms, trade liberalisation, financial liberalisation, and the abolition of labour market regulation and government food subsidies. It also demonstrated the gendered impact of SAPs, and the link between adjustment, growing inequality, and environmental degradation.[148] SAPRI paved the way for environmental groups to pressure the Bank into engaging in the World Commission on Dams in 1997 and the Extractive Industries Review in 2001, which exposed the systematic and large-scale damage caused by World Bank lending. Even before these investigations had concluded, however, the onset of the East Asian financial crisis gave economists further reason to doubt the resilience of the Washington Consensus.[149]

The debt campaigns of the 1980s and 1990s also continued to expand. In 1990 Martin Dent, a lecturer at Keele University in the United Kingdom, joined with Bill Peters, Isabel Carter, and Ann Pettifor (the British coordinator for the Debt Crisis Network at the New Economics Foundation) to launch the Jubilee 2000 campaign.[150] As part of a TOES "Peoples' Summit" in May 1998, tens of thousands of protestors descended upon Birmingham to form a human chain and urge G8 leaders to "break the chains of debt." Activists collected the signatures of 24 million people worldwide for the Jubilee 2000 petition. The fact that such a mass movement existed was evidence of significant global opposition to neoliberal policies.

As activists in the Global South argued, the victories won by the larger movement were only partial. Following the founding of Jubilee Afrika in Accra, Ghana in April 1998, African activists did not ask for debt "relief" or "forgiveness," but instead demanded "the immediate and unconditional cancellation" of debt (Figure 1.4).[151] The secretariat of Jubilee Afrika was

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[148] The Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network, *Structural Adjustment: The SAPRI Report: The Policy Roots of Economic Crisis, Poverty and Inequality* (London: Zed Books, 2004).
[149] Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (London: Penguin, 2002).
[150] David Golding, 'Dr Martin Dent OBE: A Humanitarian Giant and the Author of 'Brand Jubilee'', *Jubilee Debt Campaign UK*, 23 June 2014 <https://jubileedebt.org.uk/news/dr-martin-dent-obe-humanitarian-giant-author-brand-jubilee> [accessed 24 December 2020] The Jubilee 2000 archives are located in the Special Collections of the University of Newcastle Library.
[151] 'Accra Declaration', 19 April 1998. Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign, MayDay Rooms Archives.

composed of figures who had been leaders in national campaigns against structural adjustment, and they recognised the growth of illegitimate debt as just one feature of a broader system of neo-colonial domination.[152] North-South divisions were evident at the beginning of the British campaign when the World Bank announced its Heavily Indebted Poor Countries Debt initiative (HIPC) in 1996 in response to intensifying criticism. Some larger NGOs, like Oxfam, muted their objections, whereas other groups argued that the HIPC provided some debt relief in exchange for yet more structural adjustment.[153] Activists in the Global South were also critical of Jubilee USA for its support of debt relief legislation introduced into Congress by Representative Jim Leach (R–Iowa) in March 1999, which similarly failed to challenge conditionality requirements. The perversity of this position was made clear by Marcos Arruda, one of the activists who had fled the dictatorship in Brazil and had worked with solidarity movements in the United States, when he noted that "Every Brazilian born in 1998 already bears on his or her shoulders a debt burden of US$1,374. This is a debt that weighs on each one of us and day by day is paid not only with the nation's labour, but also with the privation and necessity that afflict most of us." Echoing points made by DCN co-founder Fantu Cheru, he argued that "The 1970s and 1980s were decades of military dictatorships in much of the third world. The glut of dollars was channelled to the dictators without hesitation and all the creditors can be considered accomplices of these dictatorships. They are co-responsible for those times of repression and official terror, and their investments yielded hefty profits because of that. They are in debt to our peoples."[154]

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[152] Hélène Baillot, 'A Well-Adjusted Debt: How the International Anti-Debt Movement Failed to Delink Debt Relief and Structural Adjustment', *International Review of Social History*, 66.S29 (2021), 215–38 (p. 231).

[153] Alejandro Bendaña, *NGOs and Social Movements: A North/South Divide?* (Civil Society and Social Movements Programme Paper Number 22, United Nations Research Institute for Social Development); Soren Ambrose, 'Social Movements and the Politics of Debt Cancellation', *Chicago Journal of International Law*, 6.1 (2005), 267–85 (p. 274); Compare Pettifor's account of the founding of UK's Jubilee 2000 campaign with Fantu Cheru's sober assessment of the concessions that were won from the rich countries. Ann Pettifor, 'The Jubilee 2000 Campaign: A Brief Overview', in *Sovereign Debt at the Crossroads: Challenges and Proposals for Resolving the Third World Debt Crisis*, ed. by Chris Jochnick and Fraser A. Preston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Fantu Cheru, 'Playing Games with African Lives: The G7 Debt Relief Strategy and the Politics of Indifference', in *Sovereign Debt at the Crossroads: Challenges and Proposals for Resolving the Third World Debt Crisis*, ed. by Chris Jochnick and Fraser A. Preston (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[154] Marcos Arruda, *External Debt: Brazil and the International Financial Crisis*, trans. by Peter Lenny (London: Pluto Press, 2000), pp. 5–29; On Arruda's earlier connections with U.S. activists see Green, *We Cannot Remain Silent*; Ironically, as Arruda was writing about the debt in Brazil in the late 1990s the Presidency was occupied by Fernando Henrique Cardoso. Cardosso had been a voice of the opposition during the dictatorship, and an early advocate of dependency theory, however by the time he assumed power he had embraced *neoliberalismo*. Arruda and Cardoso would later take part in a public debate on economic policy at Brown University. James Green, 'Biography of Marcos Arruda', *We Cannot Remain Silent: Opposition to the Military*

Responding to the creation of the Jubilee 2000 campaign, members of Jubilee Afrika, Freedom from Debt Coalition, and other anti-debt groups gathered to found Jubilee South, which rejected the reformism of some of the more conservative northern campaigners.[155] Instead, Jubilee South called for "debt repudiation, for restitution, reparations and repayment of the social, historical and ecological debt due to the south, for rejection of SAPs and other conditionalities and resistance to neoliberal economic policies."[156] The Jubilee South platform was supported by the more progressive advocates in the north, including The Development GAP and the 50 Years Is Enough campaign. Representative Bernie Sanders (I-Vermont) introduced an "IMF Reform Act of 2000" into the House of Representatives that proposed to ban conditionality on IMF loans. Five years later, Jubilee 2000 was able to force debt onto the mainstream political agenda in Britain and persuading northern politicians to commit to debt relief at an historic G8 meeting at Gleneagles, Scotland. "Global civil society" was never a singular undifferentiated entity, but the willingness of diverse groups from around the world to work together to confront decision makers with the consequences of their policies served to shatter the apparently universal consensus that underwrote that model.[157] As economist Dani Rodrik argued in 2006, "Proponents and critics alike agree that the policies spawned by the Washington Consensus have not produced the desired results. The debate now is not over whether the Washington Consensus is dead or alive, but over what will replace it."[158]

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Dictatorship, Brown University Library Center for Digital Scholarship <https://library.brown.edu/create/wecannotremainsilent/biographies/marcos-arruda/> [accessed 16 December 2020]; Marcos Arruda, 'Prof. Marcos Arruda: Brazil: Visions of the Future', *Brown Daily Herald*, 17 November 2005, section Uncategorized <https://www.browndailyherald.com/2005/11/17/prof-marcos-arruda-brazil-visions-of-the-future/> [accessed 16 December 2020].

[155] Jean Somers, 'Transnational Debt Movements: Challenging States and International Decision-Makers, or Intermeshed with These?', *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 28.3 (2017), 1054–77 (p. 1066).

[156] Baillot, p. 236.

[157] As Jean Somers points out, some debt campaigners from Britain in the 1980s worked for the World Bank in the 1990s, and some former World Bank staff went to work for NGOs working on the debt issue. Somers, p. 1067.

[158] Dani Rodrik, 'Goodbye Washington Consensus, Hello Washington Confusion? A Review of the World Bank's "Economic Growth in the 1990s: Learning from a Decade of Reform"', *Journal of Economic Literature*, 44.4 (2006), 973–87.

3. "Dirty" industries Just between you and me, shouldn't the World Bank be encouraging more migration of the dirty industries to the LDCs? I can think of three reasons:

1) The measurement of the costs of health impairing pollution depends on the foregone earnings from increased morbidity and mortality. From this point of view a given amount of health impairing pollution should be done in the country with the lowest cost, which will be the country with the lowest wages. I think the economic logic behind dumping a load of toxic waste in the lowest wage country is impeccable and we should face up to that.

2) The costs of pollution are likely to be non-linear as the initial increments of pollution probably have very low cost. I've always thought that underpopulated countries in Africa are vastly under-polluted, their air quality is probably vastly inefficiently low compared to Los Angeles of Mexico City. Only the lamentable facts that so much pollution is generated by non-tradable industries (transport, electrical generation) and that the unit transport costs of solid waste are so high prevent world welfare enhancing trade in air pollution and waste.

3) The demand for a clean environment for aesthetic and health reasons is likely to have very high income elasticity. The concern over an agent that causes a one in a million change in the odds of prostrate cancer is obviously going to be much higher in a country where people survive to get prostrate cancer than in a country where under 5 mortality is 200 per thousand. Also, much of the concern over industrial atmospheric discharge is about visibility impairing particulates. These discharges may have very little direct health impact. Clearly trade in goods that embody aesthetic pollution concerns could be welfare enhancing. While production is mobile the consumption of pretty air is a non-tradable.

The problem with the arguments against all of these proposals for more pollution in LDCs (intrinsic rights to certain goods, moral reasons, social concerns, lack of adequate markets, etc.) could be turned around and used more or less effectively against every Bank proposal for liberalization. ✓

Figure 1-1 Excerpt from the infamous Summers memo of 12 December 1991. Bruce M. Rich. Private Collection.

WORLD BANK/IMF

50 YEARS IS ENOUGH

US CAMPAIGN

THE DEVELOPMENT GAP °
ENVIRONMENTAL DEFENSE FUND °
FRIENDS OF THE EARTH U.S. °
GLOBAL EXCHANGE °
INTERNATIONAL RIVERS NETWORK °
OXFAM AMERICA °
CENTER FOR DEMOCRATIC EDUCATION °
CENTER FOR DEVELOPMENT OF INTERNATIONAL LAW
COLUMBAN JUSTICE AND PEACE OFFICE
DISCIPLES OF CHRIST/UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST (JOINT MINISTRY IN AFRICA)
GREENPEACE USA °
INSTITUTE FOR AGRICULTURE AND TRADE POLICY
INSTITUTE FOR FOOD AND DEVELOPMENT POLICY (FOOD FIRST)
INSTITUTE FOR POLICY STUDIES
MARYKNOLL FATHERS AND BROTHERS JUSTICE AND PEACE OFFICE
MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF ST. COLUMBAN, CAMPAIGN ON DEBT AND DEVELOPMENT ALTERNATIVES °
PARTNERS IN HEALTH
UNITED CHURCH OF CHRIST BOARD FOR WORLD MINISTRIES (GLOBAL EDUCATION AND ADVOCACY OFFICE)
UNITED METHODIST CHURCH, GENERAL BOARD OF CHURCH AND SOCIETY
WASHINGTON OFFICE ON AFRICA
WITNESS FOR PEACE
WORLD HUNGER YEAR
WORLD SUSTAINABLE AGRICULTURE ASSOCIATION

° *Steering Committee Member*

1994 marks the 50th anniversary of the founding of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), institutions that have come under increasing criticism for their role in financing and promoting development overseas that is inequitable, environmentally damaging and non-participatory. After a dozen years of effort by environment and development organizations lobbying the U.S. government and negotiating with the Bank and IMF for reforms on behalf of Southern NGO partners, a diverse group of U.S. organizations have established the "50 Years Is Enough" coalition in order to raise awareness across the United States about the disastrous social, environmental and economic record of these institutions. Given the continued resistance of the World Bank and IMF to fundamental and meaningful change, the aim of the coalition is to limit the power of these institutions and to promote a public exploration of possibilities of creating new structures, or modifying existing ones, that could deliver more relevant and appropriate assistance.

"50 Years Is Enough" was chosen as a campaign slogan to express the strongly held belief by growing numbers of people around the globe that the type of development that the World Bank and IMF have been promoting, being inimical both to the interests of the poor and that of the natural environments of the Third World and Eastern Europe, cannot be allowed to continue. It is meant to imply neither a reformist nor an abolitionist approach, but rather to state that fundamental, structural changes in these institutions are necessary. Due to the overwhelming influence of the United States in financing and setting policy for the World Bank and IMF, U.S. groups feel a special responsibility to ensure that every effort is made to change these institutions and promote alternatives – both institutional and economic – developed in conjunction with citizens' organizations in affected countries. Towards this end, the coalition is establishing links with other 50th anniversary efforts in Africa, Asia, the Caribbean, Europe, and Latin America.

Because fundamental change in the operations and policies of these institutions will only come about through sustained and persistent pressure from the outside, the demands of the "50 Years Is Enough" coalition are directed primarily at external actors, including the media, the public, the U.S. Congress and the Clinton Administration. Accordingly, participating organizations are working on three different fronts: encouraging the U.S. media to present the true record of the World Bank and IMF; raising public awareness about the impact of these institutions on people's lives and natural environments worldwide; and advocating with the U.S. Congress and Clinton Administration on the need for far-reaching changes in these institutions.

The focus of the collective NGO effort in 1994 will be on the media, and for that purpose a Media Coordinator will direct and coordinate a high-profile media campaign and link up with the media work of partner organizations in other countries, especially around the World Bank/IMF Annual Meetings in Madrid in September. A nine-member steering committee and three-member executive committee have been formed to oversee the work of the Coordinator and coordinate the work of the coalition. Four thematic action groups have also been created to develop specific coalition positions, determine strategies and

tactics, and coordinate the output of the participating organizations. The four groups cover the environment, structural adjustment and economic justice, multilateral debt, and the restructuring of and alternatives to the IMF and World Bank. Each action group will incorporate women's analysis and priorities into its strategies and positions.

The coalition is advocating for more open and accountable institutions that promote socially and environmentally responsible development. Specifically, coalition members are pushing for changes such as: far-reaching reforms in current World Bank energy, agriculture, forestry and water sector lending and the cessation of Bank support for environmentally destructive projects; the elimination of current World Bank and IMF "structural adjustment" lending in favor of more limited economic-policy-reform programs that are derived through participatory processes and that support equitable, sustainable and more self-reliant development; a total revision of the information policies of these institutions in favor of full and timely disclosure and the establishment of total independence for the World Bank's new inspection panel from Bank management and Executive Directors; removing the International Development Association (the World Bank's soft-loan window) from Bank management and the immediate de-linking of the Global Environment Facility (GEF) from the Bank; a public exploration of alternative funding mechanisms to the World Bank and IMF; a narrowing of the role of the IMF; an international moratorium on additional money for the World Bank's hard-loan window and the IMF; and relief from debt owed to the World Bank and IMF, not dependent upon current structural adjustment conditionality.

The "50 Years Is Enough" coalition encourages other organizations in the United States to become involved. For more information, contact the members of the Executive Committee, or the heads of the action groups listed below.

Environment Action Group
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The Development GAP
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e-mail: dgap@igc.apc.org

Multilateral Debt Action Group
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World Bank and IMF Restructuring and Alternatives Action Group
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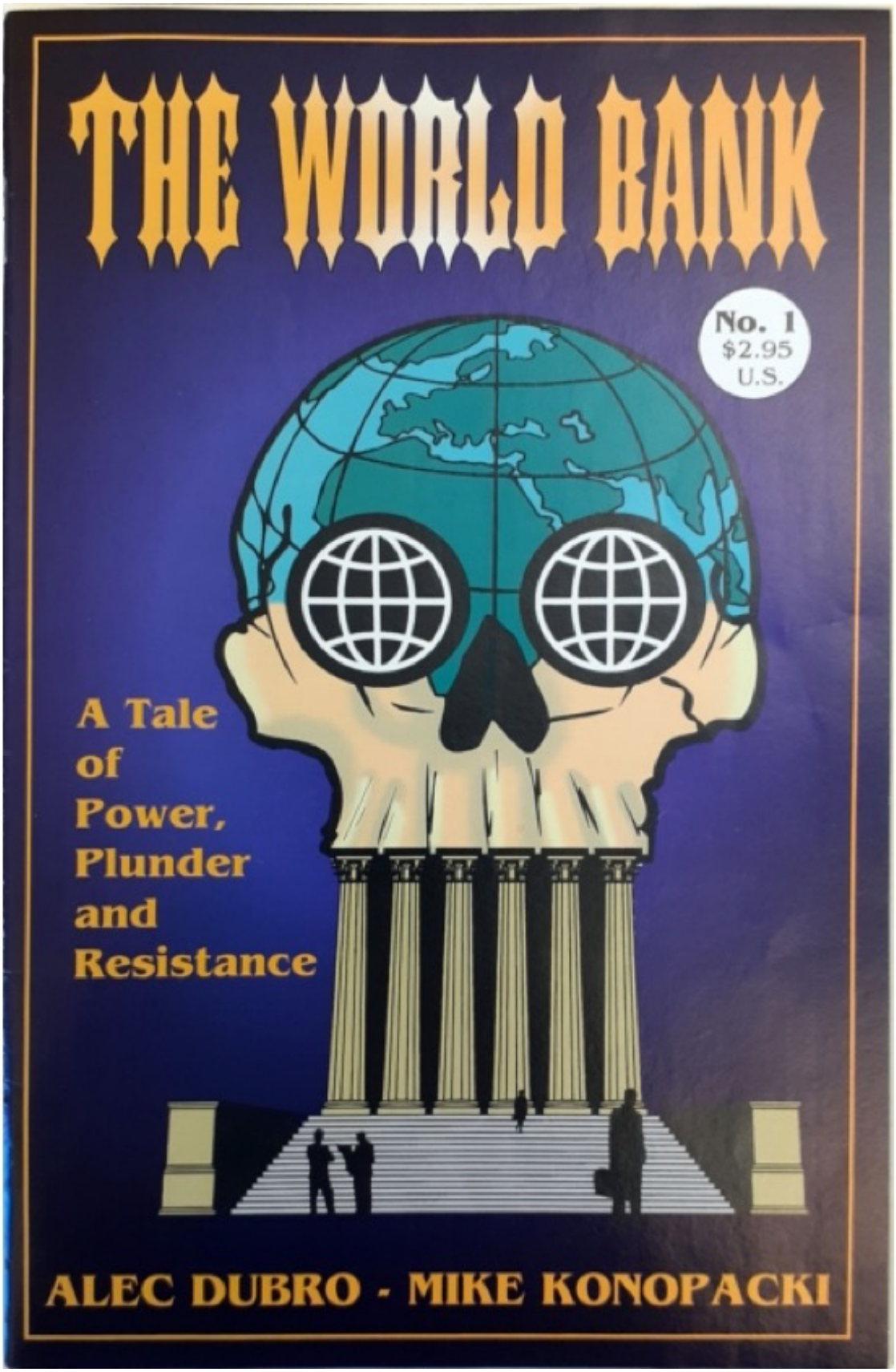
2/23/94

Figure 1-2 "50 Years Is Enough" Campaign Statement, 1994.
http://www.developmentgap.org/uploads/2/1/3/7/21375820/50years_is_enough_campaign_statement.pdf


THE WORLD BANK
No. 1
$2.95
U.S.
A Tale of Power, Plunder and Resistance
ALEC DUBRO - MIKE KONOPACKI

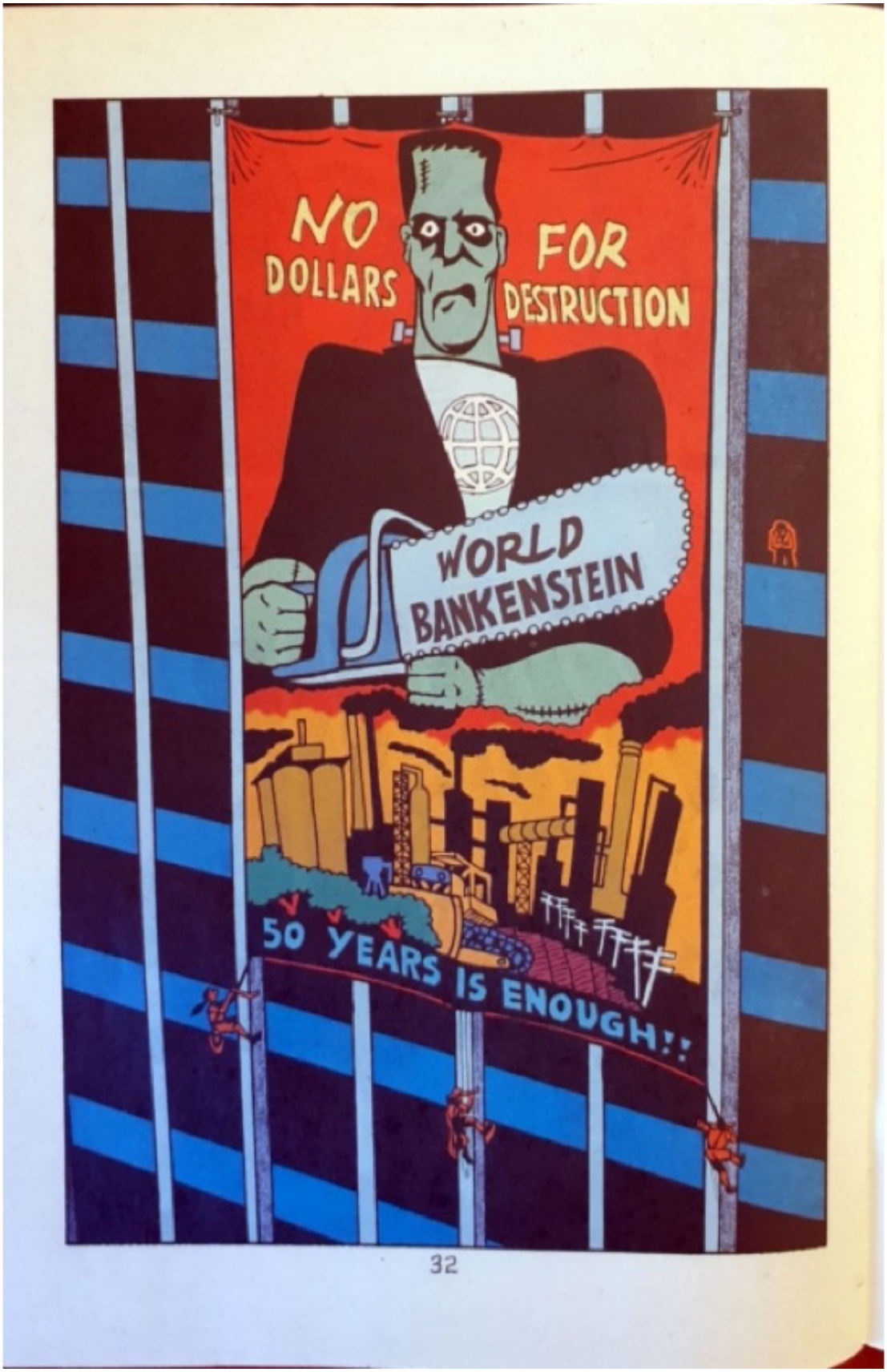


Figure 1-3 Selected pages from Alec Dubro and Mike Konopacki, 'The World Bank: A Tale of Power, Plunder, and Resistance', 1995, Carton 59, Folder 3, Rainforest Action Network Records, BANC MSS 2006/161, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley.

AFRIKA CAMPAIGN

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JUBILEE 2000 COALITION

Redemption from Debt Bondage for a new-start UHURU

ACCRA DECLARATION

WE participants from Afrika, Asia, Europe, Latin America and North America, attending the Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign Launch in Accra, Ghana, from April 16th – 19th , 1998;

HAVING reflected on and discussed the Debt Crisis in Afrika and its effects on the people of the Continent,

CONSIDERING:

That the root-causes of these Debts lie in the History of Slavery and Colonialism.

That the Debt Crisis is a function of the unjust system of International Trade and Investment and of Unaccountable Government.

That the conditions and policies that constitute the framework for the repayment of these Debts are unjustifiable instruments of control of the destiny of the Afrikan people,

That Afrika has paid by way of the debt servicing far more than the original loans contracted and that currently for every $1 in grant to Afrika, that developed World takes out of Afrika $1.31;

NOTING:

The general failure of I.M.F. and World Bank policies and prescriptions in Afrika.

That the International Financial Institutions are inefficient, undemocratic, non-transparent and unaccountable in their dealings with Afrika and undermine our sovereignty,

That these debts are simply unpayable and that Afrika will continue to be in economic bondage and its ability to develop blocked unless the debt burden is eliminated;

CONCERNED ABOUT:

The inability of governments in Afrika to alleviate, let alone eliminate mass poverty;

CONVINCED THAT:

Writing off these debts, as was the case with Britain and Germany after the Second World War, would have negligible impact on the International Financial Institutions and Markets,

HEREBY DEMAND:

(1) The immediate and unconditional cancellation of Afrikas's external debts;

(2) That all the gains from Debt Cancellation be re-channelled into social services, in particular, Education, Health and Housing;

(3) That good governance, accountability and responsibility in Afrikan States be part and parcel of the conditions before any new loans are contracted;

(4) That accountability, transparency and democracy be established in the structures and operations of the International Lending Institutions;

(5) That the current system of International Trade and Investment be restructured so that Afrika can be free to develop its resources for the benefit of her people;

(6) That organisations of Civil Society be actively consulted and involved by both lending institutions and Afrikan Governments in loan transactions;

TO THIS END WE CALL:

For the formation of Jubilee 2000 National Coalitions across the Continent embracing the whole spectrum of Civil Society and its organisations in Afrika to spearhead the active mobilisation of Afrikan people in the campaign to eliminate the Debt Burden;

On religious bodies to stand up to their moral obligation and fulfil their prophetic mission of defending the voiceless;

On other Jubilee 2000 Coalitions to sustain and deepen their solidarity with the Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign;

FINALLY;

We dedicate ourselves to the Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign for the elimination of the Debt Burden so that Afrika will have the opportunity of harnessing her human and natural resources for development and transformation as we enter the 21st Millennium.

ACCRA 19TH APRIL 1998.

Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign Founding organisations include AFRIKUJIMA, Friends of Kwame Nkrumah International (FOKNI), the Pan-Afrikan Labour International Solidarity Network (PALISON), the Snadents Movement for Afrikan Unity (SMAU), UMOJAFRIKA Movement of Afrikan People's Unity (U-MAPU). Organisations of all interested religious denominations throughout Afrika are especially welcome.

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Figure 1-4 "Accra Declaration," 19 April 1998. Jubilee 2000 Afrika Campaign, MayDay Rooms Archives.

2. Free Trade or Fair Trade?: Resisting NAFTA

The signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) between the governments of Canada, the United States, and Mexico, was a momentous watershed in the evolution of the neoliberal order of the 1990s. The agreement marked the point at which policy makers began to formalise a new free trade regime across the Western Hemisphere. Unlike the policies of the Washington Consensus that had been imposed upon governments in the Global South by the IMF and World Bank for a decade, NAFTA would directly impact the lives of ordinary Americans. Within the United States it was also an unpopular agreement, so much so that its proponents had to work hard to neutralise the fears of working-class constituents and their representatives in Congress. The public debate on trade policy was unprecedented in U.S. history, and the outcome of that debate set in motion profound consequences that would only be fully realised over twenty years later. However, NAFTA was a misnomer; as its critics contended, the deal was less concerned with eroding restrictions on the exchange of *goods* than it was designed to secure the unimpeded flow of *capital investment*. The fight over NAFTA therefore reveals much about how neoliberalism as a political and ideological project was intimately tied to the corporate interests that drove the reconstruction of late twentieth century capitalism.

NAFTA's most ardent supporters in the business community had the most to gain from a new trade regime, but there were many sectors of society across North America that had much to lose. In the United States, huge numbers of industrial jobs had been lost due to economic restructuring over the preceding decades, decimating communities, and exacerbating inequality. Any deal with Mexico designed to increase capital mobility would only accelerate this process. Moreover, whilst trade liberalization promised to free the hands of investors, it simultaneously tied the hands of workers, local communities, and citizens to hold economic and political elites accountable for their decisions. NAFTA was a mechanism for "locking in" (or "encasing") neoliberal reforms in Mexico and the United States and insulating economic policy from the threat of democratic control.[1]

[1] The 'Geneva School' neoliberals, inspired by Friedrich Hayek, had long imagined a 'world of signals' that would be regularised solely by prices. From the 1970s onwards, many of these thinkers helped to shape the global institutions that governed world trade. However, the notion of economies as equilibrating systems that

The resistance to NAFTA was made more difficult by two enduring historical legacies of the postwar settlement. In postrevolutionary Mexico, the corporatist state blunted independent and popular opposition to the trade deal. In the United States, the American labour movement was largest and most powerful constituency capable of opposing neoliberal globalization, but it too had been integrated into a liberal corporatist political order. The AFL-CIO depended upon the Democratic establishment to maintain its influence on economic policy, and it was left out in the cold when Reagan was elected president. The formal bureaucratic structure of the unions demobilised the grassroots and impeded democratic resistance to the neoliberal assault. NAFTA was a wakeup call. AFL-CIO leaders realised that the trade deal would further erode the union membership and weaken labour's ability to influence economic policy.

The threat of NAFTA therefore suggested the need to break from a redundant political paradigm. It was also an important turning point, bringing together anti-neoliberal groups that had hitherto been operating in isolation. Environmentalists and unions began to find common ground, community groups were brought into contact with public interest groups operating in Washington, and rank-and-file workers from both sides of the border joined forces to oppose free trade policies. The labour movement began slowly to pivot away from

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functioned under conditions of 'perfect competition' according to the laws of supply and demand was hardly new. They had their origins in the ideas of Enlightenment thinkers such as Adam Smith and David Hume, and by the late twentieth century they were axiomatic to neoclassical economics. The need for a minimal but strong state had equally been long established within the classical liberal tradition, and in this respect can be understood as part of the common intellectual heritage of twentieth century neoliberals. In their 1962 book *Capitalism and Freedom*, Milton Friedman and Rose Friedman had emphasised the importance of government as 'rule-maker' that could enforce law and order, enforce contracts and property rights, and provide a monetary framework for society. In his 1982 work *Freedom to Choose*, Milton Friedman described prices as efficient 'transmitters of information,' and these ideas had informed Friedman's assault on Keynesian price controls, tariffs, fixed exchange rates, and other government interventions in the 1970s. The Chicago and Geneva schools therefore shared a common affinity for a strong state as the guarantor of an efficient market society, global free trade, possessive individualism, and a distrust of collective democratic decision-making. Perhaps what is more important than the theoretical basis of these ideas, however, is that the ideological constructions of neither neoliberal school bore much resemblance to the reality of trade negotiations as they were practiced between nation-states, nor did neoliberal thinkers pay much attention to the reality of oligopolistic market structures that existed in most modern economies. Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 13, 218–62; Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Capitalism and Freedom* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), 25–27; Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1980), 13–18, 38–69.

reactionary nationalism and towards international solidarity. The transnational democratic mobilisation that the NAFTA campaign created was unprecedented and came close to victory. However, this opportunity was ultimately squandered by the unwillingness of the mainstream labour movement to go further in embracing change. By choosing to accommodate rather than confront a New Democratic leadership that was fundamentally at odds with their position on trade, AFL-CIO leaders failed to muster the political willpower that was needed to assure success.

The Revolution Betrayed: Mexico and the Origins of NAFTA

To understand why Mexican leaders first sought out a free trade agreement, and why opposition within Mexico was initially so muted, it is necessary to briefly trace the enduring impact of the Mexican Revolution on the country's later political development. The revolution was both a popular mobilization in response to socioeconomic crisis and a nationalist uprising that aimed to overthrow an authoritarian dictator, Porfirio Diaz, who was widely perceived to be in thrall to foreign commercial interests.[2] Like most revolutions, it was not a unitary phenomenon, but rather unfolded in stages, vacillating between authoritarian and reformist tendencies throughout the 1920s and 1930s before the progressive presidency of Lázaro Cárdenas was succeeded by a new cohort of postrevolutionary leaders.[3] Foremost amongst that generation was Miguel Alemán, under whose leadership was founded the Institutional Revolutionary Party (*Partido Revolucionário Institucional*, PRI). Alemán and the PRI abandoned some of the redistributionist policies of the past and adopted a more pro-business orientation whilst also implementing a programme of import-substitution industrialization. These policies resulted in a period of sustained growth, what came to be known as the "Mexican Miracle."[4] However, the new prosperity was achieved at a considerable cost. The

[2] John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1970); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. I: Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. II: Counter-revolution and Reconstruction, 2 vols, Cambridge Latin American Studies (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986); John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987); Thomas Benjamin, *La Revolución: Mexico's Great Revolution as Memory, Myth, and History* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2000).

[3] Alan Knight, 'The End of the Mexican Revolution?: From Cárdenas to Avila Camacho, 1937–1941', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938–1968*, ed. Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 47–69.

[4] Christy Thornton, *Revolution in Development: Mexico and the Governance of the Global Economy* (Oakland, CA: California University Press, 2021), 122–23.

Mexican political system was dominated by a single party, the PRI, which concentrated enormous power in the hands of the president and other senior officials (in recognition of their largely tokenistic existence, the other political parties were commonly referred to as the "loyal opposition").[5] This encouraged political corruption and the exercise of authority through patron-client relationships known as *camarillas*. The legacy of the revolution provided the political elite with populist legitimacy, whilst also tightening control over all sectors of society. Dissenters who could not be co-opted were repressed by the growing state apparatus, and in the 1960s the PRI leadership moved to crush left-wing insurgencies and student protests that challenged the party's monopoly on power.[6]

In 1965 Campos Salas, an official from the Ministry of Industry and Commerce and recently returned from a tour of East Asia, announced the creation of the Border Industrialization Programme (BIP) which led to the establishment of *maquiladoras* (assembly plants) in Mexico's northern states. The BIP was designed to address problems of unemployment in the region, but it also had the effect of increasing Mexico's vulnerability to fluctuations in the U.S. economy.[7] The oil shocks of the 1970s led to worker unrest and U.S. companies began to pressure the Mexican government to reduce production costs, or else they would be forced to transfer their investments to countries in East Asia. These pressures contributed to the establishment of the "Alliance for Production" between the Mexican state and the maquiladora industry. From this point onwards, the government would favour loosening of labour protections and regulations that restricted the activities of the export industry. Increasingly, the imperative to attract and retain foreign investment displaced an earlier more calibrated strategy designed to facilitate technology transfer and other backward linkages with the Mexican economy.[8]

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[5] Renata Keller, *Mexico's Cold War: Cuba, the United States, and the Legacy of the Mexican Revolution* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 18.
[6] Ryan M. Alexander, *Sons of the Mexican Revolution: Miguel Alemàn and His Generation* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 2016); Jaime M. Pensado, *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013); Fernando Herrera Calderon and Adela Cedillo, eds., *Challenging Authoritarianism in Mexico: Revolutionary Struggles and the Dirty War, 1964-1982* (New York: Routledge, 2012).
[7] Rising unemployment in these states was prompted by the unilateral termination of the Bracero migrant labour programme by the United States. Leslie Sklair, *Assembling for Development: The Maquila Industry in Mexico and the United States* (London: Routledge, 1989), 28–30, 43–47.
[8] Sklair, 56–68.

The corporatist system in Mexico facilitated the drift towards neoliberalism by containing opposition from organised labour and other elements of civil society. Following a largescale worker insurgency of the 1930s most Mexican unions were consolidated and under a single federation, the Confederation of Mexican Workers (Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos, CTM). This centralisation allowed postrevolutionary leaders to secure the industrial peace necessary for national development by integrating unions into PRI patron-client structures of the PRI. The PRI's system of government-sanctioned unions became popularly known as *charrismo*.[9] The CTM itself was controlled by one such corrupt labour boss, Fidel Velásquez. Because their leaders depended upon the state to maintain their authority and privileges, the *charro* unions provided only weak resistance to PRI policies that were increasingly subservient to the needs of foreign capital.[10] The progressive gains of the early twentieth century were subverted by the "institutionalisation" of the 1950s and 1960s, and began to be reversed by the PRI in the 1970s. José López Portillo, who occupied the presidency at the time of the debt crisis, declared himself to be "the last president of the Revolution," but that moment had in fact long passed.[11]

The neoliberals who came to power in 1982 implemented a structural adjustment programme that proved damaging to the national economy but particularly devastating for Mexico's poor.[12] In his Immediate Program for the Reordering of the Economy, the new president Miguel de la Madrid announced his intention to institute massive cutbacks in public spending. The austerity plan was accompanied by what de la Madrid called a policy of "opening" (*apertura*), under which Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) policies would be replaced

[9] When miners', railworkers', and oil workers' unions attempted to break away from the CTM in the late 1940s, the government forced them to accept another PRI ally, Jesús Díaz de León, as their secretary-general. Díaz's enthusiasm for the Mexican rodeo earned him the nickname *El Charro* (the cowboy), Michael Snodgrass, 'The Golden Age of Charrismo: Workers, Braceros, and the Political Machinery of Postrevolutionary Mexico', in *Dictablanda: Politics, Work, and Culture in Mexico, 1938–1968*, ed. Paul Gillingham and Benjamin T. Smith (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2014), 175–95.
[10] Maria Patricia Fernandez-Kelly, *For We Are Sold, I and My People* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1984), 146.
[11] Knight, 'The End of the Mexican Revolution?: From Cárdenas to Avila Camacho, 1937–1941', 48.
[12] José Antonio Ocampo, 'The Latin American Debt Crisis in Historical Perspective', in *Life After Debt: The Origins and Resolutions of Debt Crisis*, ed. Joseph E. Stiglitz and Daniel Heymann (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Richard Saich, 'The Neoliberal Labour Regime in California in the 1980s and 1990s: Immigration, American Empire, and Union Organising', in *Migrations Worldwide: Migrant Actors, Left-Wing Strategies, and Capitalist Interests*, ed. Dirk Hoerder and Lukas Neißl (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, Forthcoming).

with the new strategy of export-led growth favoured by the IMF and World Bank. Some elements of the PRI (the "politicians") remained committed to an earlier nationalist orientation, but it was increasingly the free trade "technocrats" who held sway. This was evident when Mexico announced its decision to enter the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1986.[13] A group of PRI politicians who opposed further liberalization formed the Democratic Current, but they were soon forced out of the party. One of these leaders, Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, subsequently launched a campaign for the presidency in the 1988 elections. The son of the populist president of the 1930s, Cárdenas advocated a return to the more progressive polices of the past, and he enjoyed considerable support, particularly from the campesinos and urban workers. When it became clear that the ruling party had most likely lost the election, the vote counting was stopped (ostensibly because the computers "went down") and the Federal Election Commission declared the PRI's candidate, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, the winner.[14] The democratic mobilization of the Mexican people would not be allowed to interfere with the implementation of the neoliberal programme.

Under Salinas, the liberalization programme continued to accelerate, with the continued rapid privatisation of "parastatal" enterprises, including banks. The sale of Telmex, the country's publicly owned telephone company, helped to make Carlos Slim the richest man in Latin America in the 1990s. The number of Mexican billionaires increased from 2 to 24 during Salinas' presidency.[15] However, the mobilization of middle-class dissenters following the 1985 Mexico City earthquake, together with the 1988 insurgency by Cárdenas, suggested that the PRI's grip on power was far from secure.[16] The "lost decade" of the 1980s had led to widespread social distress, growing poverty, and inequality. The removal of worker protections, cuts in social spending, and widespread unemployment had also led many desperate small farmers to turn to the production of illegal drugs.[17] Mexican policymakers

[13] Louise E. Walker, *Waking from the Dream: Mexico's Middle Classes after 1968* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2013), 147–52.
[14] Walker, 170–71.
[15] Sallie Hughes, *Newsrooms in Conflict: Journalism and the Democratization of Mexico* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2006), 88; Peter Watt and Roberto Zepeda, *Drug War Mexico: Politics, Neoliberalism and Violence in the New Narcoeconomy* (London: Zed Books, 2012), 103.
[16] Walker, *Waking from the Dream*, 175–98.
[17] Reagan's War on Drugs had diverted Columbian narcotrafficking routes from the Caribbean Basin and Florida to the Mexican border, and Mexican politicians were under increasing pressure from Washington to tackle the problem. The issue was made intractable because widespread corruption within the PRI meant that

were also preoccupied by the periodic restructuring of the country's huge debt as capital flight continued unabated.[18] As Secretary for Programming and Budget, Salinas had favoured acceleration of structural adjustment reforms to leverage more favourable terms during negotiations with Mexico's foreign creditors.[19] When he became president, Salinas set his sights on attracting overseas investment, seeing that as the only way to secure the necessary capital needed to kickstart economic growth.

In January 1990 the Mexican president travelled to the elite policy gathering at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, with the aim of generating European interest in investment in Mexico. Unfortunately for Salinas, he found European investors were preoccupied with the opening of Eastern Europe. They showed little interest in his proposals. This led the Mexican president to approach U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills to suggest negotiation of a bilateral trade agreement, a move that he hoped would demonstrate to the world that Mexico was truly open for business and competitive with other countries with low labour costs. Salinas returned to Mexico to sign the latest debt rescheduling agreement and soon after he called President Bush to propose what would come to be known as NAFTA. The reversal of Mexico's revolutionary project – defined by the desire to protect national resources and sovereignty from foreign encroachment - was soon to be completed.[20]

A Sleeping Giant Awakens: American Unions and Trade Policy in the 1980s

The conservative pull of corporatism in Mexico had a peculiar parallel in the United States.[21] Since the New Deal, the fortunes of the American labour movement had become closely tied

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government officials and law enforcement agencies were themselves implicated in the drug trade. Watt and Zepeda, *Drug War Mexico*, 62–96.

[18] It is estimated that $36 billion was transferred abroad by wealthy Mexicans in the period from 1977 to 1987. Nora Lustig, 'The 1982 Debt Crisis, Chiapas, NAFTA, and Mexico's Poor', *Challenge* 38, no. 2 (April 1995): 46.

[19] Victor M. Godínez and Michel Vale, 'Mexico's Foreign Debt: Managing a Conflict (1973-1987)', *International Journal of Political Economy* 18, no. 4 (1988): 56–79.

[20] Maxwell A. Cameron and Brian W. Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA: How the Deal Was Done* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), 61–63.

[21] To explain why this was the case, it is necessary to rehabilitate an historical term that has long fallen out of scholarly favour – corporate liberalism. As Martin J. Sklar has argued, the American response to the crises of industrialization and economic concentration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries can be explained with reference to three strands of corporate liberalism - state interventionist, regulatory, and minimal regulatory. All three strands can be categorised as varieties of "corporate liberalism" because they accepted large corporations as legitimate components of a new economic settlement. However, each strand was situated along a continuum from left-centrist to right-centrist. As the New Deal order began to unwind,

to the fate of the Democratic Party.[22] However, in the years after the Second World War, the institutionalisation of collective bargaining, the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act, the onset of the Cold War, and its attendant surge in anti-communist hysteria, all served to disarm militant unionism, weaken the left-liberal civil rights coalition, and enshrine an uneasy truce between labour and management.[23] Under the new liberal corporatist settlement, unions were understood to be merely one interest group amongst others.[24] In the 1950s the AFL-CIO, under the leadership of George Meany, focused on the task of raising living standards within the boundaries set by the liberal state. The refashioning of unions into service organisations rather than agents of economic democracy discouraged the mass political actions of earlier decades and effectively demobilised the labour movement. Union membership density peaked in the late 1950s before beginning its slow decline. Dependent upon its allies in the Democratic Party for its newfound influence, the union hierarchy acquiesced to the liberal consensus even as the world of work was being quietly reordered. The U.S. labour movement entered a two-decades long slumber.[25] Because the AFL-CIO had submitted to the free-trade agenda promoted by Cold War liberals, it was unable to respond to changing conditions that resulted from the erosion of the competitive advantage of the U.S. and the destabilisation of the Keynesian monetary regime. American exceptionalism tied the labour movement too closely to domestic corporate interests and made it too willing to blame workers in other

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the centre of gravity moved further to the right, towards a minimal-regulatory or "neoliberal" position. Martin J. Sklar, *The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, The Law, and Politics* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 35; Ellis W. Hawley, 'The Discovery and Study of a "Corporate Liberalism"', *Business History Review* 52, no. 3 (Autumn 1978): 309–20; The American liberal state in all of its corporate forms, like the Mexican corporatist state, remained committed to fostering the development of capitalism. Harry Braverman, *Labor and Monopoly Capital: The Degradation of Work in the Twentieth Century* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), 197.

[22] Steve Fraser and Gary Gerstle, eds., *The Rise and Fall of the New Deal Order, 1930-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

[23] Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of The Union: A Century of American Labor*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), 98–140; Ellen Schrecker, 'Labor and the Cold War The Legacy of McCarthyism', in *American Labor and the Cold War: Grassroots Politics and Postwar Political Culture*, ed. Robert W. Cherny, William Issel, and Kiernan Walsh Taylor (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 7–24; Michael K. Honey, 'Operation Dixie, the Red Scare, and the Defeat of Southern Labor Organizing', in *American Labor and the Cold War: Grassroots Politics and Postwar Political Culture*, ed. Robert W. Cherny, William Issel, and Kiernan Walsh Taylor (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004), 216–44; Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past', *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4 (2005): 1246–50.

[24] Robert A. Dahl, *Who Governs?: Democracy and Power in an American City* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1963).

[25] Lichtenstein, *State of the Union*, 147–48; Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000), 124.

countries for the growth of the U.S. trade deficit. The conservative orientation of the leadership and the grassroots demobilization that it invited, left it unprepared to respond quickly to the rise of neoliberalism. It was only the threat posed by NAFTA that led to a belated break with the political constraints of the past.

The shocks of the 1970s, and the wave of plant closings that followed in the 1980s caught the AFL-CIO leadership off guard, and their response was often legalistic and bureaucratic. In many cases, international intervention took place only after the closure of a plant when they needed to place the local into trusteeship to protect union funds. Some plants managed to forestall closure only by negotiating significant pay concessions.[26] When Jane Slaughter and Chris Kutalik founded the Labor Education and Research Project (LERP) and the journal *Labor Notes* in 1979 they created a platform for labour activists who perceived the concessions and defeats of the era to be a direct result of the bureaucratic structure of the unions.[27] Many rank-and-file workers across the Rust Belt turned to their communities for support, but in the absence of political or institutional backing from the wider union movement, and in the face of the indifference of both Democratic and Republican politicians, they were rarely successful in preventing closures.[28]

In the 1980s the AFL-CIO's attention was not sharply focused on the activities of American transnationals, nor was it particularly concerned with the economic crisis unfolding south of the Rio Grande. During the recession of the early 1980s, the "Big Three" U.S. automakers (General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler) laid off more than a quarter of a million workers. Instead of blaming Reagan's deflationary policies, the media focused its attention on the threat posed by the rise of the Japanese export industry.[29] It was certainly true that in the wake of the oil

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[26] Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969-1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 144–46.

[27] Steve Early, 'The Enduring Legacy and Contemporary Relevance of Labor Insurgency in the 1970s', in *Rebel Rank and File: Labor Militancy and Revolt from Below During the Long 1970s*, ed. Aaron Brenner, Robert Brenner, and Cal Winslow (London: Verso, 2008), 357–93.

[28] Staughton Lynd, 'The Genesis of the Idea of a Community Right to Industrial Property in Youngstown and Pittsburgh, 1977-1987', *The Journal of American History* 74, no. 3 (December 1987): 926–58; High, *Industrial Sunset*, 154–66; The Democrats, for their part, were distracted by their preoccupation with nurturing the growing postindustrial sectors of the economy. Brent Cebul, 'Supply-Side Liberalism: Fiscal Crisis, Post-Industrial Policy, and the Rise of the New Democrats', *Modern American History* 2, no. 02 (July 2019): 139–64.

[29] Ironically, the rise of Japanese competition was also a product of Cold War liberalism since Japan's postwar recovery had been nurtured by American policymakers as a bulwark against communism in East Asia. Japanese

crisis American consumers had turned to smaller, more energy efficient cars produced by Japanese firms. Committed to a laissez-faire trade policy in his first term, Reagan negotiated a "voluntary export restraint" agreement with Japan to dampen the impact on domestic firms. However, he did little to address the problem of worker dislocation.[30] Rather than taking steps to address the overvaluation of the dollar, which hurt U.S. exports, Reagan was preoccupied with engineering the defeat of the Professional Air Traffic Controllers Organization (PATCO).[31] Nevertheless, many UAW members were lured into directing their anger against Japanese auto companies, smashing up Toyota cars at union picnics.[32] The nationalism and racism of some elements of the union movement resonated with a cultural "Japan Panic" in the 1980s.[33] However, this rhetoric foreclosed the possibility of engaging in a more comprehensive policy debate about the Reagan administration's neoliberal responses to structural economic change, which rewarded capital with tax cuts but failed to stimulate domestic investment, not least because high interest rates were deemed necessary to dampen inflation.[34]

Nationalism also distracted from the failures of management within the "Big Three" that left them unprepared to react to foreign competition despite their decades-long leadership of the auto sector. U.S. auto companies had focused on maintaining high profitability rather than maintaining the "social pact" with labour or investing in new technology. The focus on Japan

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firms were able to make a larger leap in productivity in because the massive physical destruction of the war allowed Japan to rebuild industrial capacity using the most modern and efficient methods of production. In 1950 Toyota executives had departed Japan for Detroit in the hopes of securing a bailout for their ailing company, but by the 1970s Japanese car producers were flourishing. The dramatic turnaround in the fortunes of the industry was in part related to the boost that the Japanese economy received with the start of the Korean War, but it was also because American car manufacturers had provided significant injections of capital through the creation of joint ventures in Japan and had facilitated technology transfers to Japanese firms to recoup their research and development costs. Japanese firms were also supported by national institutional conditions that favoured their growth and international competitiveness, including a highly favourable exchange rate, a high domestic savings rate, and a coordinated industrial policy. Marius B. Jansen, *The Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), 727–32; Moses Abramovitz, 'Catching Up, Forging Ahead, and Falling Behind', *The Journal of Economic History* 46, no. 2 (June 1986): 385–406.

[30] Japanese cars accounted for roughly three out of every four dollars of the U.S. trade deficit at the height of the 'Japan Panic.' Andrew C. McKevitt, *Consuming Japan: Popular Culture and the Globalizing of 1980s America* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2017), 80–86.

[31] Joseph A. McCartin, *Collision Course: Ronald Reagan, the Air Traffic Controllers, and the Strike That Changed America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[32] Frank, *Buy American*, 160–86.

[33] McKevitt, *Consuming Japan*, 1–20.

[34] Judith Stein, *Pivotal Decade: How the United States Traded Factories for Finance in the Seventies* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2010), 267–70.

also obscured the growing commonality between the activities of U.S. and Japanese transnationals. Seeking to maximise their own profits, Japanese firms had long extended their operations to low wage countries in East Asia, and in the 1980s they too began to set up maquiladora operations along the US-Mexico border. When they began to open transplant plants in the United States to evade the export restraint agreement, Japanese companies proved just as allergic to unions as their U.S. competitors.[35] A 1988 *Washington Post* article even reported on the novelty of Japanese company Sanyo exporting televisions made in its Arkansas factory back to Japan because of the lower production costs in the United States.[36] According to a *Business Week* cover story, the desire of foreign companies to produce in the U.S. was due to "a new labor climate," observing that American workers were paid less than Japanese and German workers.[37] For their part, U.S. companies adopted techniques – such as Just-In-Time production – that were originally pioneered in Japan by Toyota. Both Japanese and U.S. firms aimed to intensify production in the maquiladoras through the application of robotics and computerised systems.[38]

Under the second Reagan administration, U.S. officials moved towards an activist exchange rate policy and the 1985 Plaza accords eliminated some of the structural trade advantages that had been enjoyed by Japan.[39] Nevertheless, the trade deficit remained an issue of paramount concern in the labour press. At its Executive Council meeting in 1988 the AFL-CIO called for the passage of an Omnibus Trade Bill to tackle the U.S. trade deficit, declared its opposition to the proposed Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (CUFTA), and condemned the

[35] McKevitt, *Consuming Japan*, 79–98.
[36] John Burgess, 'Sanyo Co. Will Export TVs to Japan: Move Seen as a Result of the Dollar's Decline', *The Washington Post*, 9 January 1988, sec. F1.
[37] William J. Holstein et al., 'Made in the U.S.A.', *Business Week*, 29 February 1988.
[38] James P. Womack, Daniel T. Jones, and Daniel Roos, *The Machine That Changed the World: The Story of Lean Production* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); Devon G. Peña, *The Terror of the Machine: Technology, Work, Gender, and Ecology on the U.S.-Mexico Border* (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1997), 252, 267–77.
[39] When James Baker replaced Donald Regan as Treasury Secretary, he moved to tackle the mounting trade deficit. At Baker's urging, the G5 met at the Plaza Hotel in New York in September 1985 to agree to coordinated action to devalue the dollar against the yen and the mark. C. Randall Henning and I. M. Destler, 'From Neglect to Activism: American Politics and the 1985 Plaza Accord', *Journal of Public Policy* 8, no. 3/4 (December 1988): 317–33; Baker's later reflections reveal the heat that the Reagan administration was feeling from domestic manufacturing interests. James A. Baker III, 'The Architect', in *International Monetary Cooperation: Lessons from the Plaza Accord after Thirty Years*, ed. C. Fred Bergsten and Russell A. Green (Washington, D.C.: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2016), 19–23.

"maquiladora twin-plant program."[40] Although the Omnibus trade act was denounced by some as "protectionist," it were inspired by the principle of "reciprocity" and "non-discrimination" to open foreign markets to U.S. goods. For that reason, it earned the support of neoliberal think tanks such as the Institute for International Economics.[41] Reagan and Bush soon discovered that the "Super 301" provision of the act could be used to coerce India and other countries to open their markets to U.S. goods.[42] By early 1989 *Fortune* magazine was publishing a list of ten "export barriers the U.S. hates the most," which identified the E.C., Japan, South Korea, Brazil, Argentina, and Thailand amongst the worst offenders (see Figure 2.1).[43] The AFL-CIO and its key ally in the Democratic Party, Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri), were therefore slow to break with the liberalization agenda that they had been committed to for many decades.[44] However, Reagan had initially vetoed the bill because it included a measure requiring employers to provide 60 days' notice of plant closings. AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland argued that advance notice was necessary to address "the human and community needs that flow from our trade imbalance," and the public was broadly supportive of unions' appeal to "fairness" (see Figure 2.2).[45] However, Treasury Secretary James Baker argued that such measures were an infringement of management prerogatives and a threat to U.S. competitiveness, adding that "They are misguided attempts to hold onto the past at

[40] Canadian unionists pointed out that although the AFL-CIO was officially opposed to the Canada deal, it was not prepared to put significant resources into that fight. For American labour leaders, the flight of capital to the south was the primary concern. Tamara Kay, *NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 58.

[41] John M. Barry, 'Council Sounds Call for Trade Bill Action to Salvage U.S. Jobs', *AFL-CIO News*, 27 February 1988, Box 4, Folder 14, George Meany Memorial Archives, Vertical File collection, 0051-LBR-RG98-002. Special Collections and University Archives. University of Maryland. [Hereafter cited as George Meany Memorial Archives.]

[42] Geoffrey Allen Pigman, 'United States Trade Policies at Loggerheads: Super 301, the Uruguay Round and Indian Services Trade Liberalization', *Review of International Political Economy* 3, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 728–62.

[43] The article quoted Jagdish Bhagwati, a World Bank official and free trade economist, bemoaning the rise of non-tariff barriers. Rahul Jacob, 'Export Barriers the U.S. Hates Most', *Forbes*, 27 February 1989.

[44] As the then U.S. Trade Representative Judith H. Bello argued, 'The overall thrust of the trade provisions of the Omnibus Trade and Competitiveness Act is to open markets and liberalize trade, not to protect U.S. businesses and workers or to close the American market. Procedurally it does increase the pressure on the President, and the U.S. Trade Representative in particular, to achieve desired and desirable trade liberalization. But it does not violate the international obligations of the United States, nor force the Administration down a protectionist path.' Alan F. Holmer and Judith Hippler Bello, 'U.S. Trade Law & Policy Series No. 14 The 1988 Trade Bill: Savior or Scourge of the International Trading System?', *The International Lawyer* 23, no. 2 (Summer 1989): 523–32.

[45] 'Advance Notice a Burning Issue to Workers Who Never Got It,' *AFL-CIO News*, 14 May 1988, Box 9, Folder 29, George Meany Memorial Archives.

the expense of preparing our workers and our businesses for the future."[46] That such a minor provision had to be separated from the bill to secure its passage was an indication of the timidity of unions in the late 1980s.[47] However, the AFL-CIO's opposition to the CUFTA and its hostility to the maquiladora programme suggested that the American labour movement was beginning to awaken to the threat posed by a single global "free trade" regime.

Mobilizing the Grassroots: Environmental and Economic Justice at the Border

The prospect of a trade deal with Mexico raised fundamentally different kinds of questions than did the disputes with Japan, or the agreement with Canada. The asymmetries between the three national economies were profound. Measured in terms of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), Mexico constituted just 3.2% of the North American economy, Canada represented 7.3%, and the U.S. made up the remaining 89.5%.[48] Access to Mexico's comparably small domestic consumer market therefore offered only marginal benefit to U.S. companies. More importantly, the negotiation of free trade deals provided an opportunity to loosen the controls that were imposed on U.S. capital by national regulations. A decade of structural adjustment and retrenchment had eroded real wages in Mexico, and so labour costs were a tiny fraction of those above the Río Bravo del Norte. These conditions were attractive to U.S. transnationals who wanted to minimise wage outlays and other obligations to the workforce and local communities whilst maximising their profitability.

In the 1980s the AFL-CIO began to conduct detailed research on the trend towards "decentralised," "parallel," or "offshore" production whereby American-produced components would be assembled in low-wage countries and then the finished product would be imported back into the United States.[49] Under U.S. Tariff Codes 806.30 and 807.00,

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[46] Lane Kirkland, 'Pass the Trade Bill', *The Washington Post*, 21 April 1988; Baker is quoted in Robert Wright, 'Firing Lines', *The New Republic*, 2 May 1988.
[47] The measure was eventually passed as the Worker Adjustment and Retraining Act (WARN) in August 1988, without Reagan's signature. Peter A. Susser, 'Election-Year Politics and the Enactment of Federal "Plant-Closing" Legislation', *Employee Relations Law Journal* 14, no. 3 (Winter 1988): 349–57.
[48] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 15.
[49] Robert B. Wood, 'The Mobility of Work Among Multinational Corporations,' AFL-CIO/Cornell University Conference on Changing Challenges for Unions, October 1989, Box 8, Folder 31, George Meany Memorial Archives.

American transnationals were only required to pay duty on the "value added" (labour costs).[50] As outlined above, these trends had their origins not in the neoliberal era but in the so-called "Golden Age" of capitalism. The Democratic administrations of Kennedy and Johnson had seen a huge expansion of offshore production, and union opposition to the tariff provisions had proved ineffective.[51] The Mexican maquiladoras were particularly attractive to U.S. firms because their location along the border resulted in lower transport costs. The evolution of global supply chains also had important class effects, eroding the bargaining power of workers who were more dispersed and therefore less able to effectively organise.[52]

North American unions recognised their need to begin cooperating across borders to effectively counterbalance the power of capital. In September 1988, David Brooks, a U.S. journalist working for *La Jornada* (the leading newspaper in Mexico City), helped to facilitate transnational coordination by proposing a series of *Dialogos* (Dialogues) between labour and civil society groups that were concerned about the effects of regional economic integration. As part of the programme, a series of exchanges and trinational meetings were held that brought together Canadian, U.S., and Mexican unions, including the AFL-CIO.[53]

In 1988 the AFL-CIO organised a conference in El Paso, Texas to compile a report on the challenges that border industries presented for the U.S. labour movement. The report, titled *Maquiladora: Exploiting Both Sides* revealed that the number of maquiladoras had increased from 588 in 1982 to 987 in 1986, with the number of workers employed more than doubling in that period. The rapidly growing cities of Tijuana and Mexicali in the state of Baja California, Nogales in Sonora, Ciudad Juarez in Chihuahua, and Matamoros in Tamaulipas were attracting rural migrants from across Mexico, but particularly from the southern states. The largest

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[50] Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982), 132–33, 171 ,176-178.
[51] Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999), 113–15, 193.
[52] As Guy Standing observes, 'As more enterprises became multinational, managements could switch jobs and functions between plants within their network and their supply chains. New terms came into the lexicon of management and labour analysis. Outsourcing became a catch-all for overlapping processes. Having control of the division of labour made it easier to offshore (shift employees or tasks to a plant in another country) and inshore (shift between plants within a country), and to switch between outsourcing and insourcing whenever advantageous.' Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 37.
[53] Kay, *NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism*, 61–62.

maquila industries were electric and electronics, textiles and apparel, furniture, and autos. The foreign exchange that they generated was used by the Mexican government to service its enormous debt, but the absence of backward linkages meant that the multiplier effects for the Mexican economy were extremely limited. To put it another way, the border was an economic enclave largely controlled by foreign capital.[54]

During the conference, the AFL-CIO's Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue met with Fidel Velásquez, the leader of the "official" CTM union.[55] In a follow-up meeting in Brownsville, Texas in April 1988, the two unions issued a joint statement regarding the need for an "on-going dialogue" and cooperation to resolve "common problems." However, Mexican labour leaders stated that they supported their own government's policy on the twin-plant operations because of the need to address the country's foreign debt.[56] A report on the meeting stated that "The CTM does not seem interested in organizing seriously in certain sectors at this point... CTM either has struck a deal to maintain hands off to encourage border industry, or is so corrupted that it lacks ability to organize. While there are indications of substantial corruption, verified by some of the writer's contacts, the political deal is the best explanation. CTM does not engage in real strikes, rather it imposes contracts through a political process."[57] During the period in which these meetings were taking place, workers at a factory in Cuautitlán were engaged in a labour dispute with Ford. The company had closed the plant and reopened it shortly after, rehiring many of the same workers but offering them a new contract with less pay and fewer benefits. As was common practice in Mexico, the company had signed a sweetheart deal with the CTM, and the union leaders accepted the changes without challenge. When the workers formed an independent union in defiance of

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[54] 'Maquiladora: Exploiting Both Sides,' AFL-CIO, January 1988, Box 8, Folder 10, George Meany Memorial Archives.

[55] Department of Information, 'AFL-CIO News Release', 16 January 1988, Box 8, Folder 10, George Meany Memorial Archives.

[56] 'Maquiladoras Promise Eludes Workers in U.S., Mexico', *AFL-CIO News*, 30 April 1988, Box 8, Folder 23, George Meany Memorial Archives.

[57] AFL-CIO leaders were aware of this situation. A report on the meeting stated that 'The CTM does not seem interested in organizing seriously in certain sectors at this point... CTM either has struck a deal to maintain hands off to encourage border industry, or is so corrupted that it lacks ability to organize. While there are indications of substantial corruption, verified by some of the writer's contacts, the political deal is the best explanation. CTM does not engage in real strikes, rather it imposes contracts through a political process.' Steve Nutter to Jay Mazur re. AFL-CIO/CTM Bi-Lateral Meeting, 14 November 1988, Box 16, Folder 26, ILGWU, Jay Mazur Papers. 5780/203. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Martin P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University. [Hereafter cited as Jay Mazur Papers.]

both the employer and the *charro* unions, they were confronted with violence and repression.[58] These struggles exposed the contradictions of "free" trade, whereby the right of capital to move freely across borders often depended upon the coercive power of state-controlled institutions to restrain the freedoms of workers. Meetings between the two union federations continued in the early 1990s, but the relationship was strained and soon Kirkland washed his hands of the project.[59] The CTM's relationship with the American multinationals and the Mexican state would place it on the opposing side in the NAFTA debate.

Although efforts to collaborate with the Mexican labour movement stalled, the AFL-CIO's work at the border stirred the interest of other groups that were concerned about social and environmental conditions at the border. One such organization was the Texas Coalition for Responsible Investment (later known as the Socially Responsible Investment Coalition), a regional project founded by Benedictine nuns in collaboration with the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCR). The Executive Director of the organization, Sister Susan Mika, had been working in the maquiladoras as part of her ministry since the project began in 1982. In 1988 Sister Mika learned that the Texas AFL-CIO was planning to establish a "twin plant" task force and suggested that they collaborate. In June 1989 church, labour, environmental, women's, and other grassroots organizations came together in Brownsville/Matamoros for a four-day conference entitled "Maquiladoras: Problems Without Borders." In a series of follow-up meetings throughout 1990 and 1991, the AFL-CIO joined with groups such as the National Toxics Campaign, and the Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice to help found the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras (CJM).[60] CJM was notable for recognising the interrelationship of employment practices, worker rights, pollution, community development, and public health, as well as the need for transnational cooperation to tackle these problems. The coalition invited members of Congress to visit Matamoros to see for themselves the practices of transnational companies in the maquiladoras, and to see the extent to which border communities and workers were being exposed to chemicals and

[58] Matt Witt, 'A Mexican Ford Workers' Story', *Z Magazine*, April 1991; Dan La Botz, *Mask of Democracy: Labor Suppression in Mexico Today* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1992), 148–59.
[59] Kay, *NAFTA and the Politics of Labor Transnationalism*, 73.
[60] David Todd and David Weisman, Sister Susan Mika, 17 April 2002, The Conservation History Association of Texas. Texas Legacy Project, https://www.texaslegacy.org/narrator/sister-susan-mika/; Socially Responsible Investment Coalition, 'Who We Are', accessed 18 July 2022, https://sric-south.org/.

other hazardous waste. CJM also held press conferences, provided testimony before the International Trade Commission hearings on the free trade agreement, and generated news coverage that addressed labour and environmental conditions within the maquiladoras.[61]

The AFL-CIO's interest in labour conditions at the border therefore drew the American labour movement into a more far-reaching analysis of the social, environmental, and public health dimensions of U.S. foreign direct investment in Mexico.[62] A 1989 report titled *The Maquiladoras and Toxics: The Hidden Costs of Production South of the Border* charged that there existed "a silent compact between many corporations and the Mexican government, which amounts to a waiver of responsibility for the safe use of toxics in the workplace, and for their careful transportation and disposal."[63] Amongst the materials collected by unionists during this time is an image of a young maquila worker forced to store drinking water in a drum that previously contained chemicals (see Figure 2.3).

The prominence of the southern United States as the site of deindustrialisation discourse represented a departure from an earlier preoccupation with the decline of America's heartland, and the exemplary case of Youngstown. The metanarrative of working-class crisis was attached to another story, that of the decline of the Rustbelt and the rise of the Sunbelt, but by the late 1980s southern boosters were themselves becoming aware of the limited long term returns of creating an attractive "business climate."[64] The region suffered from an acutely unbalanced pattern of growth due to the historical aversion of Southern Democrats to social spending, their hostility to welfare and affirmative action, and their commitment to the "right-to-work" principle rather than the right to a living wage. Even in the late 1970s, industrialization in the South was skewed towards low wage light manufacturing, much of it

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[61] Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, 'Annual Report, 1990-1991', January 1992, Box 16, Folder 27, Jay Mazur Papers.; Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, 'Press Release', 12 February 1991, Box 16, Folder 27, Jay Mazur Papers.

[62] Thomas R. Donahue to Jay Mazur, 6 January 1989, Box 16, Folder 26, Jay Mazur Papers.; Thomas R. Donahue to Jay Mazur, 28 November 1990, Box 16, Folder 26, Jay Mazur Papers.

[63] Leslie Kochan, 'The Maquilas and Toxics: The Hidden Costs of Production South of the Border' (AFLO-CIO, Publication Number 186, February 1989), Box 16, Folder 27, Jay Mazur Papers.

[64] Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2010), 235; John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon, 'Collateral Damage: Deindustrialization and the Uses of Youngstown', in *Beyond The Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*, ed. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2003), 201–18; Elizabeth Tandy Shermer, *Sunbelt Capitalism: Phoenix and the Transformation of American Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 147–51.

concentrated in nonmetropolitan areas.[65] In 1985 the Southern Growth Policies Board (SGPB) published, *After the Factories: The Changing Economy of the Rural South*, a report that highlighted how economic restructuring was impacting employment patterns in the south.[66] The report warned that the practice of "industrial recruitment," whereby southern states had lured large corporations to open branch plants by providing a variety of incentives, was no longer viable, since these companies were increasingly moving their operations offshore. The following year, MDC Inc., a public policy NGO, published *Shadows in the Sunbelt: Developing the Rural South in an Era of Economic Change*, a report that further emphasised the impact that capital flight was having on rural communities.[67] This research generated media interest in the coexistence of "two Souths," a booming south of wealthy cities such as Houston and Atlanta, and a poor south of declining small towns undergoing deindustrialization.

Illustrative of this reversal of fortunes across the Sunbelt more generally was the struggle of majority-Latina cannery workers in Watsonville, California. Long a feature of the state's economy, the food processing plants were organised by a militant left democratic union in the 1930s, the United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing, and Allied Workers of America (UCAPAWA). In the 1940s, the UCAPAWA fell victim to the conservative turn of the American labour movement, and the predations of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters (IBT).[68] The 1980s witnessed a resurgence of independent labour mobilization in Watsonville, inspired by the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) and the League for Revolutionary Struggle (LRS). Although these union factions were sometimes at odds with one another, the cannery workers won health insurance rebuilt worker control of their union after a long and bitter strike. The most stunning moment of the campaign came when some of the workers undertook a "manda y peregrinación" (offering and pilgrimage), a symbolic journey to the

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[65] Bruce J. Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt: Federal Policy, Economic Development, and the Transformation of the South, 1938-1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 176–77.

[66] The SGPB was an interstate compact formed in the 1970s by twelve U.S. states and Puerto Rico in response to inter-regional competition for federal contracts and public and private investment. Cebul, 'Supply-Side Liberalism', 148; Schulman, *From Cotton Belt to Sunbelt*, 201.

[67] A Report of the MDC Panel on Rural Economic Development, 'Shadows in the Sunbelt: Developing the Rural South in an Era of Economic Change' (Chapel Hill, NC: MDC Inc., May 1986), https://gri.unc.edu/wp-content/uploads/sites/246/2011/10/Shadows-in-the-Sunbelt-86.pdf.

[68] Vicki L. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950* (Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, 1987).

local Catholic church on their knees to sanctify their struggle.[69] However, these efforts were gradually undermined by the decision by Green Giant, a major employer in the area, to move more processing of frozen broccoli and cauliflower to Irapuato, Mexico. When Joe Fahey, president of Teamsters Union Local 912 in Watsonville, travelled to Irapuato he found children as young as 11 years old working in the fields. During his tour, Fahey made contact with Antonio Mosqueda, an organiser for the Frente Autentico de Trabajadores (Authentic Workers' Front, or FAT), an independent Mexican union. Mosqueda alleged that U.S.-based transnational companies were dumping untreated waste into rivers and waterways, and that this water was being used to irrigate crops. Union officials found that food markets in certain Mexican states were selling two types of tomatoes, one irrigated with clean water, and a cheaper one irrigated with "black water." Fahey's union worked with Mosqueda to create a video, *Dirty Business*, to educate consumers about the practices of U.S. firms in Mexico. As Fahey later explained, labour activists were under no illusion that they could force Green Giant to bring back jobs to Watsonville, but they did want to bring attention to the socially and environmentally irresponsible practices of the company in Mexico.[70]

Similar reversals were being felt across the Sunbelt in the late 1980s. In response to the pressures of restructuring being felt in Tennessee, the Amalgamated Textile and Clothing Workers Union (ACTWU) brought together workers, community groups, and religious leaders to establish the Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network (TIRN) in 1989. In 1980 ACTWU had won a victory in an epic campaign against the notoriously hostile textile giant J. P. Stevens. However, the company became another casualty of the embattled U.S. industry just eight years later. During the Stevens fight, ACTWU had successfully mobilised the community, and the union hoped to replicate that approach in Tennessee. In fact, one of TIRN's member groups, Southerners for Economic Justice (SEJ), had been established by union and civil rights activists in 1976 to support a boycott of Stevens products.[71] SEJ was led by the black historian,

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[69] Peter Shapiro, *Song of the Stubborn One Thousand: The Watsonville Canning Strike, 1985-87* (Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books, 2016), 333–38.

[70] *Dirty Business: Food Exports to the USA*, 1990, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j2K7R3SowNE; 'Green Giant Takes Root in Mexico', *Rochester Post Bulletin*, 25 April 1991, sec. News, https://www.postbulletin.com/green-giant-takes-root-in-mexico; Joe Fahey, 'Interview with Author', 6 July 2022.

[71] Timothy J. Minchin, '"Don't Sleep with Stevens!": The J. P. Stevens Boycott and Social Activism in the 1970s', *Journal of American Studies* 39, no. 3 (2005): 527, 540.

activist, and former steel worker Leah Wise, who spoke at TIRN's inaugural conference as part of a panel alongside speakers from northern anti-plant closing groups, including Jim Benn of the Tri-State Conference on Steel.[72] Other founding members included the Commission on Religion in Appalachia (CORA), and the Highlander Research and Education Center. Although there was a sense that a tragic history of community loss was being repeated, the southern context added another layer of significance because for a greater proportion of the workers the fruits of the New Deal order had been so slow to materialise and so fleeting. The collapse of economic life in the Midwest had generated much national soul searching, but there was a feeling at the TIRN conference that the slow attrition of rural southern communities registered barely any concern in Washington, irrespective of whether a Republican or a Democrat occupied the White House.[73] TIRN therefore represented the culmination of many decades of labour struggle against mobile capital as it was inflected by gender, race, and regional politics.

TIRN also had the support of sympathetic faculty at the University of Tennessee, and it was this connection that brought the coalition into a deeper engagement with the causes of job loss in U.S. communities and the consequences for workers in Mexico. Frances Ansley, a scholar at the university, had been working on the legal dimensions of plant closings and determined to visit the border area to see conditions on the ground for herself. Ansley had learned of the Border Project, which had been established by the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) in Texas and asked for their help in organising her visit.[74] In the summer of

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[72] Irwin M. Marcus, 'An Experiment in Reindustrialization: The Tri-State Conference on Steel and the Creation of the Steel Valley Authority', *Pennsylvania History: A Journal of Mid-Atlantic Studies* 54, no. 3 (July 1987): 179–96; SEJ had also assisted nonunionised workers at the Schalge Lock plant in North Carolina in their struggle against plant closure in 1988. Leah Wise worked with a broader network of twenty organizations, also founded that year, called the Federation for Industrial Retention and Renewal (FIRR). Rachael Kamel, *The Global Factory: Analysis and Action for a New Economic Era* (Philadelphia, PA: American Friends Service Committee, 1990), 28–29.

[73] *Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network Conference (5 Parts)*, vol. Videotapes 668-672, Highlander Research and Education Center's Audiovisual Materials #20361. Southern Folklife Collection. Wilson Library. University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill., 1989, https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sfc/id/99030. [Hereafter cited as Southern Folklife Collection.]

[74] Rachael Kamel, 'Nationwide Women's Program, American Friends Service Committee, 1975-2006', November 2007, https://www.afsc.org/sites/default/files/documents/NWP%20History%20%28final%20final%29.pdf; The Nationwide Women's Program (NWP) of the AFSC was an early pioneer of research and activism on the subject of corporations and the global economy. In October 1978 the organization hosted a conference on "Women and Global Corporations: Work, Roles, and Resistance" in Des Moines, Iowa. Besides their work with other religious and secular groups on debt and structural adjustment, activists and scholars associated with

1990, Ansley undertook a brief tour of the maquiladoras and met with the workers from the Border Committee of Women Workers (Comite Fronterizo de Obreras, CFO). Many workers back home had felt powerless in the face of plant closures, and some had expressed resentment against Mexican workers. Ansley realised that a worker exchange would help them to have a better understanding of the dynamics that were driving job losses in Tennessee. In February 1991 two CFO members, Olga Jimenez and Teresa Hernandez, visited Tennessee to talk about the maquiladora plants as part of this grassroots education programme. Then, in July 1991, nine women from Tennessee travelled to Mexico to visit the maquiladoras and the nearby *colonias* (neighbourhoods). Along the way, they met with members of Fuerza Unida, an organisation established by displaced workers who had been employed by Levi Strauss in San Antonio, Texas.[75] When they arrived in Mexico, they were shocked by the conditions that they found in the *colonias* near the new, high-tech American-owned factories. Because of the rapid growth of the maquiladoras, newly arriving workers were living in dwellings they had constructed themselves from whatever materials were available. Most neighbourhoods lacked even minimal infrastructure or running water. Although Mexico did have environmental laws they were not properly enforced, which left border communities exposed to harmful chemicals and toxic waste. It was apparent to the TIRN delegation that American multinationals operated with little consideration for the wellbeing of Mexican workers.[76]

Upon their return, TIRN exchange participants shared what they had learned with other workers and with the public by giving talks and attending church and union meetings. This knowledge-sharing process was taking place as the NAFTA negotiations were getting

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the NWP, including Rachel Kamel, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Cynthia Enloe, produced important analysis of the gendered dynamics of global production. Barbara Ehrenreich and Annette Fuentes, 'Life on the Global Assembly Line', in *Feminist Frameworks: Alternative Theoretical Accounts of the Relations between Women and Men*, ed. Alison M. Jaggar and Paula S. Rothenberg, Third Edition (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1993), 359–66; Cynthia H. Enloe, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics*, Second Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2014).

[75] Frances L. Ansley, 'U.S.-Mexico Free Trade from the Bottom: A Postcard from the Border', *Texas Journal of Women and the Law* 1 (1992): 193–248; For a discussion of Fuerza Unida see Miriam Ching Yoon Louie, *Sweatshop Warriors: Immigrant Women Workers Take on the Global Factory* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001), 63–121.

[76] *Tennessee Industrial Renewal Network Visit to Mexico*, vol. Videotape 676. Highlander Research and Education Center's Audiovisual Materials #20361. Southern Folklife Collection, https://dc.lib.unc.edu/cdm/ref/collection/sfc/id/98950.

underway.[77] It was therefore decided to present testimony before one of the public hearings – being held in San Diego, Houston, Atlanta, Washington D.C., Cleveland, and Boston – that Congress had called for as part of the trade deal process. Shirley Reinhardt, a displaced GE worker, expressed her anger at how multinational corporations were treating both Mexican and U.S. workers as disposable, warning that "Any trade deal we reach with Mexico should start with a commitment to a healthy development pattern for both countries, not a get rich quick scheme for the wealthy and powerful until they decide they have used up some more land or some more people and it's time to move on again. You can only keep using people up and throwing them away for so long before your own wastefulness comes back to haunt you. And last, I would like to say to you, that in both countries nothing is free, somebody has to pay, and be careful that it's not the poor working people in both countries." In an expression of transnational solidarity, Luvernel Clark testified that "We are not against increased trade with Mexico. We are certainly not against Mexican workers having jobs. But we are against blackmail. We are against any kind of system that puts workers against workers on the basis of which one can be forced to take the lowest wage. We are against any system that can encourage multinational corporations to go shopping for the lowest wage, or the most lax law enforcement, or the biggest tax break." She also expressed the fears that many workers felt about the consequences of the impending free trade deal. Reflecting on her own experiences in Mexico she argued that, "Our governments' reaction to the global economy is that corporations need more freedom. A visit to the maquiladoras will show you what freedom without responsibility can mean. I have fear that the kind of North American Free Trade Agreement favoured by the present administration will turn most of Mexico into one big maquiladora zone."[78]

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[77] Frances L. Ansley, 'Educating Workers about Labor Rights and Global Wrongs through Documentary Film', *Suffolk University Law Review* 41, no. 4 (September 2008): 720.

[78] *Videotape 676*; In a sign of the emerging world of work of the 1990s, Reinhardt had been directed by the unemployment office to a temporary workers agency. Frances L. Ansley, 'North American Free Trade Agreement: The Public Debate', *Georgia Journal of International and Comparative Law* 22, no. 2 (1992): 390; In the early 1990s Manpower, Inc. overtook GM as the largest employer in the United States. In 1996, Clinton even invited the company's Chief Executive, Mitchell Fromstein, to the White House to discuss plans for channelling welfare recipients into work. Erin Hatton, *The Temp Economy: From Kelly Girls to Permatemps in Postwar America* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2011), xiii, 17–18.

NAFTA: Coalitions, Alliances, and Divisions

The decision to negotiate a trade deal had been taken by Salinas and Bush in early 1990, but it was only made public in June.[79] It was not until September 1990 that Bush notified Congress of his decision to initiate negotiations. In the meantime, the Canadian government took the decision to join preliminary talks, and in February 1991 Bush notified Congress of the move to a trilateral format. The president was authorised to conduct trade deals under the fast-track procedure, which had been in place since 1974 and subsequently extended in 1988 to facilitate the Uruguay Round negotiations of GATT. Under these rules, any trade deal would be subject to relatively little Congressional oversight, providing for a simple vote without amendment. Due to the slow pace of negotiations, in March 1991 Bush was obliged to request a two-year extension of fast-track authority.

With free trade firmly on the agenda, the AFL-CIO's maquiladora programme took on a new policy significance. Since the Democrats controlled both houses, the AFL-CIO recognised that defeating fast track authorization was the most effective way to derail the talks.[80] In a statement before the Senate Finance Committee, Donahue argued that renewing fast-track would stifle the "free and open debate" needed to assess the impact of the deal. The implication was that if Congress allowed itself to be railroaded into rubber stamping the agreement, then it would be damaging not only to the U.S. economy but also to American democracy. However, Donahue also made the argument that NAFTA would harm Mexico, quoting the great novelist Carlos Fuentes and other Mexican intellectuals and making a plea for debt forgiveness and other alternative measures.[81] As the vote drew near, the AFL-CIO was calling for all levels of the labour movement to pressure their representatives in Congress to halt fast-track, the "shortcut to disaster."[82] Donahue also highlighted that although the

[79] Bruce Stokes, 'Trade Talks with Mexico Face Hurdles', *National Journal*, 16 June 1990.
[80] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 68–79.
[81] The quoted statement reads as follows, 'Low Mexican wages cannot be a permanent feature of North American economic relationships. That comparative advantage is too costly for everybody involved; too humiliating and unproductive for Mexican dignity and economic development; too costly in jobs and welfare for American and Canadian workers; too destructive for our common environment and civilization.' 'Statement of Thomas R. Donahue, Secretary-Treasurer, American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations Before the Committee on Finance, United States Senate, on the Proposed U.S.-Mexico Free Trade Negotiations', 6 February 1991.
[82] 'Fast Track: Shortcut to Disaster', *AFL-CIO News*, 29 April 1991, Box 18, Volume 36, LLPE League Reporter, A.F. of L. News Reporter, AFL-CIO News, 1949-1996, 2. AFL, CIO, and AFL-CIO Information Department

debate had been intensifying within Congress, "one element has generally been missing – public opinion. Until now, no one has had a clear idea what the average person thinks…" He produced a poll showing that a majority of American voters opposed fast track authorization by a significant margin.[83]

Despite the implacable opposition of the labour movement, and the grassroots mobilization of communities that were being affected by free trade policies, the Democratic leadership voted to reauthorize fast-track for a further two years. The AFL-CIO remained dependent on its alliance with the Democrats even as senior members of the party, including Al Gore and Joe Biden, sided with the Republican leadership. However, labour leaders took some comfort from the fact that a significant majority of Democrats (and 21 Republicans concerned about the loss of jobs in their home states) had responded to their lobbying campaign and voted against reauthorization.[84] With the first shots fired, and fast track renewed, the NAFTA debate moved from the legislative arena to the broader arena of public opinion. They hoped that there was still time to build a popular campaign that would ultimately defeat NAFTA.[85]

The strongest impetus towards alliance building came not from the AFL-CIO but from the Canadian labour movement. Canadian unions had campaigned aggressively against CUFTA and therefore had developed a strong activist infrastructure focused on trade. In October and November 1990, activists associated with the Action Canada Network (ACN) travelled to Mexico and the U.S. to generate interest in transnational alliances.[86] These meetings laid the groundwork for the creation of national networks that would work together against NAFTA. In Mexico, the Red Mexicana de Accion frente al Libre Comercio (Mexican Free Trade Action Network, RMALC), was founded in April 1991. RMALC included civil society groups such as Equipo Pueblo, an organisation that had opposed the Mexican government's programme of

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Records, Major News Publications, 0078-LBR-RG20-001. Special Collections and University Archives. University of Maryland. [Hereafter cited as AFL-CIO News.]

[83]'Mark A. Anderson to Labor Advisory Committee on Trade Negotiations', 2 May 1991, Box 16, Folder 21, Jay Mazur Papers.

[84] David Broder, 'Democratic-Labor Alliance Under Heavy Strain', *Liberal Opinion Week*, 25 June 1991, Box 8, Folder 3, George Meany Memorial Archives.

[85] 'Fast Track Jarred, But Not Derailed', *AFL-CIO News*, 27 May 1991, Box 18, Volume 36, AFL-CIO News.

[86] Tamara Kay and R. L. Evans, *Trade Battles: Activism and the Politicization of International Trade Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 67; Paul K. Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), 119.

structural adjustment and austerity.[87] It also included the FAT an important independent democratic Mexican union federation. In the United States the Mobilization on Development, Trade, Labor, and the Environment (MODTLE, later renamed the Alliance for Responsible Trade, ART), brought together many of the Washington-based NGOs groups that had already been working on structural adjustment, debt, and trade issues in the Caribbean. Critically, The Development GAP served as the Secretariat of MODTLE/ART, raising funds, coordinating meetings and activities, and representing the coalition, especially in Spanish-speaking venues. The AFL-CIO was represented in MODTLE/ART by Thea Lee, the director of the AFL-CIO's policy office. The AFL-CIO leadership also maintained a Task Force on Trade that operated independently but kept channels open with the other U.S. coalitions. Finally, a separate coalition known as the Citizens Trade Campaign was formed by Ralph Nader's Public Citizen, along with Friends of the Earth and many of the large unions.

Like the AFL-CIO leadership, civil society groups continued to voice criticism of the process by which NAFTA was being negotiated, emphasising the need to "democratise the trade talks" by holding full national debates on the likely impact of the agreement. They held an initial public forum in January 1991 and soon after released a more detailed explanation of their concerns.[88] A further series of open meetings culminated in a parallel trinational forum for civil society groups in Zacatecas, Mexico. Opposition leader Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas was amongst those who spoke at the public meetings.[89] This was exactly the kind of public debate that government officials wished to avoid. However, NAFTA's opponents also wanted to use the meeting as an opportunity to establish a set of alternative principles that they thought should inform trade policy. They highlighted the need for debt cancellation, the provision of adequate support for workers affected by economic dislocation, and the harmonization of labour and environmental standards at the highest level rather than the lowest level of protection as a necessary precondition for any deal. The final declaration of the meeting

[87] Equipo Pueblo's international programme was directed by Carlos Heredia. Heredia had studied in Canada, producing a thesis examining the Mexican crisis. Carlos A. Heredia, 'The Mexican Crisis: The Neoliberal Model of Structural Adjustment on Trial 1982-1985' (Montreal, Canada, McGill University, 1986).
[88] Press Advisory, 'Citizens Groups Warn Against Consequences of U.S.-Mexico-Canada Trade Talks', 6 February 1991, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection. Folder NAFTA/ART 1991.; Press Release, 'Citizens Groups Warn Against Consequences of U.S.-Mexico-Canada Trade Talks', 20 February 1991, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA/ART 1991.
[89] Karen Hansen-Kuhn, 'Trade Concerns and Alternatives Aired at Zacatecas', *Nafta Thoughts: A Newsletter on the North American Free Trade Agreement*, December 1991.

emphasised that "We do not oppose trade as such; in fact, we are convinced of the importance of its expansion. However, we reject a free trade agreement that responds only to the needs of transnational capital and indiscriminate investment."[90]

The talks continued behind closed doors, and civil society groups were strident in condemning the lack of transparency.[91] Negotiators began preparing for a meeting in Dallas, Texas, in February 1992 with the aim of reaching a deal, whilst civil society groups continued to demand "The immediate opening of a democratic, plural debate concerning the objectives of a free trade agreement…" At this stage, it was becoming clear to Canadian and U.S. representatives that political expediency meant that Mexican leaders were indeed willing to make significant concessions, particularly regarding investment, to secure a trade deal that would lock in Mexico's neoliberal reform programme.[92] However, opponents of NAFTA had few specific details to scrutinise until the leak of a draft composite text in late February.[93] Reflecting the diversity of these alliances, the criticisms of NAFTA were many and varied, but environmental and labour concerns were at the fore. A statement released by civil society groups pointed to "the current ecological disaster on the U.S./Mexico border" as an illustration of what would result from the kind of unregulated growth that NAFTA was designed to foster. The statement also warned that the Dallas draft was "overly concerned with the rights of investors to move freely among the three countries, while it neglects to protect workers and communities from bearing the entire burden of these shifts. This agreement, as it currently stands, will cost the U.S. hundreds of thousands of manufacturing jobs, as U.S. companies move south to take advantage of ultra-low wages and relatively lax environmental standards in Mexico." It added, "The only labor rights protected in this draft are those of investment bankers," noting that the agreement text provided for the

[90] International Forum 'Public Opinion and the Free Trade Negotiations - Citizens' Alternatives,' City of Zacatecas, Mexico, 25-27 October 1991. Final Declaration., 27 October 1991, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA: Zacatecas Mtg Oct 91.
[91] For a 'documentary snapshot of the beginnings of the public debate on NAFTA' see Ansley, 'North American Free Trade Agreement: The Public Debate', 330 The testimony documented by Ansley is taken from a series of hearings conducted in August and September of 1991 by the Trade Staff Policy Committee, based at the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative.
[92] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 106–25; MODTLE Press Release, 'Secrecy Surrounding Nafta Negotiations Shrouds Politically Unsustainable Agreement', 10 February 1992, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA/ART 1991.
[93] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 126–30.

liberalisation of immigration rules for professionals and investors but not for ordinary workers.[94] RMALC observed that "Mexico is being pressured to take a more flexible position, which will put the country at a great disadvantage and further the loss of sovereignty." Their analysis raised concerns that the chapter on investment "contravenes and annuls the Foreign Investment Law of our country" and severely restricted the capacity for Mexico to implement an industrial policy needed to promote balanced domestic growth.[95]

As the NAFTA negotiations continued in August 1992 at the Watergate hotel in Washington D.C., they became entangled in domestic U.S. political considerations by the impending U.S. presidential elections.[96] Passing NAFTA would bolster Bush's campaign and demonstrate that he intended to make good on the promise to construct a free trade zone "from Anchorage to Tierra del Fuego" that he had made in June 1990 with the announcement of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative.[97] For Bush, as for many commentators in the early 1990s, the principles of economic integration provided the U.S. with an organising principle to complement the "rules-based" liberal "New World Order" that was allegedly emerging from the ashes of an earlier era. When the text of the NAFTA agreement was finally released to the public, Bush declared that "The Cold War is over. The principal challenge now facing the United States is to compete in a rapidly changing, expanding global marketplace."[98] The agreement was immediately condemned by progressive groups. In his comments on behalf of the AFL-CIO, Donahue argued that Bush's agreement "would lead to the destruction and export to Mexico of hundreds of thousands of jobs." He also noted that "For the large American investors, NAFTA is a major triumph. It provides new security for private investment and reduces government regulation of reinvestment, and guarantees the repatriation across

[94] 'Too High a Price for Free Trade: Citizens' Analysis of the February 21 Draft of the North American Free Trade Agreement', 7 April 1992, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA: Analyses of 21 Feb. Draft Text.
[95] Red Mexicana de Accion Frente al Libre Comercio, 'Free Trade Negotiations: An Unfavorable Route for Mexico: A Preliminary Analysis of the "Dallas Draft"', n.d., The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA: Analyses of 21 Feb. Draft Text.
[96] Kenneth H. Bacon, 'Round Two: With Free-Trade Pact About Wrapped Up, The Real Battle Begins', *Wall Street Journal*, 7 August 1992.
[97] Henry Kissinger went so far as to describe the EIA as 'the most innovative United States policy toward Latin America in this century.' Henry Kissinger, 'A Hemisphere of Free Trade', *The Washington Post*, 17 May 1992.
[98] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 178.

borders of profits, dividends, and capital gains."[99] Although presented as a "trade" deal that would benefit both countries, NAFTA was really an agreement designed to open Mexico to foreign direct investment by American-based transnationals. American communities would continue to be decimated by capital flight, Mexican workers would continue to suffer from repression, artificially low wages, and environmental pollution, and profits would continue to flow across the border to corporate headquarters in the United States.

Bush had succeeded in obtaining a draft agreement before the Republican National Convention, but the recession was fast eroding the strong domestic support he had enjoyed during the Gulf War. Not only had Bush been inattentive to domestic matters, but he had also failed to unite the Republican party. A reserved, patrician figure, he lacked the personal charisma of Reagan. He had also alienated some conservatives by reneging on his promise not to raise taxes to tackle the deficit.[100] This provided an opening for the "paleoconservative" Patrick Buchanan to steal the limelight at the National Republican Convention with an impassioned speech about America's "culture wars."[101] Buchanan weakened Bush in the Republican primaries, attacking his liberal internationalism with a racist and reactionary nationalism. Although Bush prevailed, he faced another challenge from Ross Perot, a billionaire who announced he would run as an independent on an anti-NAFTA platform. Perot's warning about "a giant sucking sound" of jobs leaving the United States for Mexico lacked the structural analysis of progressive critics, but it did effectively communicate the real fears of many working-class Americans.[102]

The ties of many mainstream liberal and labour institutions to the Democratic party meant that whatever their sympathy might be with Perot's critique of "free trade," he was unlikely to win the presidency. However, the Democrats remained divided. In the House, the opposition to NAFTA was led by House Leader Representative Richard Gephardt and

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[99] John R. Oravec, 'NAFTA: Boon for Investors, Bust for Workers', *AFL-CIO News*, 28 September 1992, Box 5, Folder 1, George Meany Memorial Archives.
[100] Martin J. Medhurst, ed., *The Rhetorical Presidency of George H.W. Bush* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2006); Ryan J. Barilleaux and Mark J. Rozell, *Power and Prudence: The Presidency of George H. W. Bush* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2004).
[101] Andrew Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[102] Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality*, 124–26.

Representative David Bonior and backed by vocal progressives such as Marcy Kaptur of Ohio and Peter DeFazio of Oregon. The lines of conflict were also considerably blurred. Gephardt had mounted a leadership campaign in 1988 with a strong position on trade that won him support in the Midwest. However, his failure to mobilise enough votes for him to prevail in the primaries had instilled in him greater caution, and he had reluctantly backed Fast Track, stating merely that he was "not willing to write a blank check… on trade negotiations."[103] The Democrats were anxious to disarm Republican attack lines that charged them with "protectionism" and as being captives of organised labour. However, conservative Republicans in the Sun Belt, even those who had been consistently friendly to business interests when they were attempting to attract firms fleeing from the northern states, were now worried that job losses would hurt their prospects for re-election.[104] Some businesses were concerned about competition from Mexican firms, and many industry groups were also divided on the issue.[105] The textile magnate Roger Milliken, a long time conservative donor, bankrolled a secretive anti-NAFTA lobbying effort known as the No-Name Group.[106]

Anti-NAFTA campaigners were also sometimes vulnerable to GOP accusations of racism. After the AFL-CIO published an advert in *Roll Call* (a widely read Capitol Hill newspaper) arguing that the lack of sewage facilities in Mexican border towns represented a public health risk, Bush had responded by stating that "Unfortunately, some of the opponents of free trade have resorted to slurs against our Mexican neighbors… I can think of no more revealing contrast between a free-enterprise view of the human community and the protectionist view."[107] The American labour movement's long record of racist and anti-immigrant rhetoric, and its turn to an economic nationalist discourse in the 1980s, engendered suspicion from minority groups. The leadership of most Hispanic groups (including La Raza) had backed NAFTA from

[103] Guy Gugliotta, 'Gephardt Backs "Fast-Track" Authority', *The Washington Post*, 10 May 1991.
[104] Jackie Calmes, 'Mexican Free-Trade Issue Is Putting Unusual Cross-Pressures on Lawmakers of Both Parties', *The Wall Street Journal*, 22 May 1991.
[105] Jim McNair, 'Florida's Produce Industry Battles Free Trade Pact', *The Journal of Commerce*, 13 May 1991, Box 16, Folder 21, Jay Mazur Papers.; Jim Ostroff, 'AAMA Parley This Week to Tackle Fast-Track Issue', *Women's Wear Daily*, 22 April 1991.
[106] 'As Perot Bashes Nafta, A Textile Titan Fights It Quietly With Money', *The Wall Street Journal*, 15 November 1993.
[107] Bill Whalen, 'Fast Track May Derail Democrats', *Insight*, 3 June 1991.

the outset, a fact that Republicans were keen to exploit.[108] Labour advocates hit back by arguing that Latino communities on the border would be hit hardest by the environmental problems caused by border industrialisation and the transfer of jobs to Mexico. This argument was strengthened by the work of grassroots labour and environmental justice groups such as Fuerza Unida, the Southwest Organizing Project (SWOP) and the Center for Orientation of Women Workers (COMO), groups led primarily by Latinx women workers. These groups argued that the disregard of transnational capital for the health concerns of Latinx communities on both sides of the border amounted to environmental racism.[109] Labour advocates accepted that there did exist "an unfortunate minority of NAFTA opponents whose position is racist and isolationist," however they emphasised that their campaign worked "in unity with a growing Mexican anti-NAFTA citizens coalition called the Mexican Network on Free Trade."[110] The disproportionate impact that plant closures in the United States had on black workers added another racial dynamic to the NAFTA debate.[111] Nevertheless, that representatives of the CTC were willing to share platforms with the right, and that some labour representatives slipped into offensive and racist stereotypes undermined the AFL-CIO's claims to have mended its ways. In contrast, ART activists worked more closely with civil society groups in the Global South, organised cross-sectoral trinational meetings of activists that were not solely guided by American priorities and practiced a consistent internationalism.[112]

The complexity of these cross-cutting alliances made NAFTA a political minefield for Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, who favoured free trade but also feared alienating core constituencies of his party. Clinton had served as the governor of Arkansas and was a member of the Democratic Leadership Council (DLC), a group of "New Democrats" who believed that the party needed to develop a new electoral strategy. The New Democrats disavowed New Deal liberalism and argued that the party needed new economic strategies and a new

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[108] Gary Lee, 'Labor, Environmental Coalition Opposes Bush's Free Trade Plan', *The Washington Post*, 3 May 1991; Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, 'Democrats and the Mexico Trap', *The Washington Post*, 15 April 1991.
[109] Peña, *The Terror of the Machine*, 135–73, 303–6.
[110] NAFTA is a Bad Deal for U.S. Latinos. Leaflet., n.d., Box 9, Folder 11, Frontlash Records, 0082-LBR-RG50-001. Special Collections and University Archives. University of Maryland.
[111] Spencer Rich, 'Blacks Hit Harder When Plants Close', *The Washington Post*, 27 August 1991.
[112] Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality*, 133–36.

ideological foundation.[113] They were committed to "supply side" responses to economic restructuring, with a focus on education, retraining, and targeted subsidies to stimulate growth. They placed their faith in the potential for new post-industrial sectors to create jobs in sufficient numbers to offset the loss of industrial jobs. Their preoccupation with "wealth creation" led them to disregard the massive transfers of resources from the poor to the rich that took place in the 1970s and 1980s and aligned them more closely with business interests.[114] The apparent failure of Keynesianism and the electoral success of Reagan had discredited the liberal faction of the party, providing an opening for the insurgents. Following a widely lauded speech at a DLC convention in Cleveland in 1991, Clinton became a front runner in the race for the Democratic nomination. By early 1992 his victory was assured, and he selected another New Democrat, Albert Gore, to be his running mate.[115] The synopsis of Clinton and Gore's 1992 campaign manifesto proudly claimed that their policies were "neither liberal nor conservative, neither Democratic nor Republican. They are new. They are different."[116] In practice, Clinton's desire to locate the "amorphous center" of public opinion led him to adopt many of the policies of his opponents rather than attempt to forge a new political consensus.[117] To be sure, during the 1992 election campaign Clinton spoke in a gentler, more socially liberal language on many issues, but he also promised to "end welfare as we know it." Clinton's advocacy of welfare reform was just one indicator of his acquiescence to the neoliberal economic policy regime.[118]

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[113] Kenneth S. Baer, *Reinventing Democrats: The Politics of Liberalism from Reagan to Clinton* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 2000), 50–56, 64–92, 129–42; William Galston and Elaine Ciulla Kamarck, 'The Politics of Evasion: Democrats and the Presidency' (Progressive Policy Institute, September 1989).

[114] The 'supply side' policies of the New Democrats had their roots in New Deal liberalism, but they were also consistent with the principles favoured by conservative supply side advocates insofar as they wanted to use government policy to aid the productive competitiveness of American businesses rather than to boost the purchasing power of consumers. To reframe Cebul's analysis in terms of Sklar's typology of corporate liberalism, New Democrats fashioned an idiosyncratic mix of 'state interventionist' and 'minimal regulatory' policies. Cebul, 'Supply-Side Liberalism', 142.

[115] Baer, pp. 177–202.

[116] Bill Clinton and Al Gore, *Putting People First: How We Can All Change America* (New York: Times Books, 1992).

[117] William C. Berman, *From the Center to the Edge: The Politics and Policies of the Clinton Presidency* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001), 64–65.

[118] Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order: America and the World in the Free Market Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 2–4, 137–38.

During the Democratic candidates' forum at the 1991 AFL-CIO convention, only one of the six Democratic hopefuls had voted against fast track.[119] This perhaps explains the federation's obsequious posture in relation to the new Democratic leadership. In a speech to the California Labor Federation in July 1992, Donahue assured the audience that Clinton's first meeting as the new nominee was with the AFL-CIO Executive Council, and that this was a sign that "he understands the role of the trade-union movement in national politics." This was a reference to organised labour's stake in the liberal corporate system. Like many observers in the early 1990s, Donahue admired Clinton's performance as a speaker and communicator, and he also credited him with an understanding of poverty, struggle, and idealism.[120] Noting the union movement's earlier disappointments with John F. Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, he argued that no candidate was perfect, but that "This time around, if centrist talk wins an election, I'm for it."[121] The AFL-CIO had several other agenda items that it hoped to take forward under a Democratic administration, not least a law banning the "permanent replacement" of striking workers, occupational health, and health care reforms. Therefore, whilst the labour leadership vehemently opposed NAFTA, they declined to press Clinton on his position on trade, maintaining instead what they called an "open dialogue."[122]

The timidity of the unions, and the caution of Richard Gephardt and other House Democrats provided Clinton with an opportunity to fudge the issue of free trade. In October 1992 he announced that he would sign NAFTA if he won the forthcoming presidential election, but only after the negotiation of "side agreements" that would guarantee labour and environmental standards. Rather than address the possible contradictions between domestic social welfare and NAFTA, Clinton argued that the harms caused by free trade would be offset by domestic measures including industrial policies, trade adjustment schemes, and

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[119] AFL-CIO Candidates Forum Transcript, *AFL-CIO News*, 16 December 1991, Box 18, Volume 36, AFL-CIO News.

[120] The mystique surrounding Clinton's supposed political genius has generated a literature of its own. See David Maraniss, *First in His Class: The Biography of Bill Clinton* (New York; London: Simon & Schuster, 1996); Joe Klein, *The Natural: The Misunderstood Presidency of Bill Clinton* (New York: Broadway Books, 2003); John F. Harris, *The Survivor: Bill Clinton in the White House* (New York: Random House, 2006); Nigel Hamilton, *Bill Clinton: Mastering the Presidency* (London: Arrow, 2008).

[121] Remarks of AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue to the California Labor Federation, AFL-CIO, Convention, 27 July 1992. Box 53, Folder 6, CIO and AFL-CIO Information Department, Press Releases, 0048-LBR-RG20-003. Special Collections and University Archives. [Herafter cites as AFL-CIO Press Releases.]

[122] Frank Swoboda, 'AFL-CIO Delays Pressing Clinton on Trade Accord', *The Washington Post*, 2 September 1992.

investment in human capital. The AFL-CIO were critical of this position, but they supported him in the November election.[123] Following Clinton's defeat of Bush, the Citizens Trade Campaign and the Alliance for Responsible Trade (ART, a new name adopted MODTLE) wrote to the new president to urge him to reconsider his position on NAFTA.[124] The letter provided a detailed analysis of the problems with the agreement and highlighted the inconsistencies between the trade deal and the promises that Clinton and Gore had made in their election manifesto. Besides the wide-ranging environmental and labour deficiencies, they pointed out that NAFTA's "dispute resolution mechanism" placed decisions that would have an important impact on domestic policy in the hands of an unelected and unaccountable panel of trade lawyers. Clinton had made criticism of the Republican "trickle-down" theory a primary feature of his campaign rhetoric, but in substance his own approach was little different.[125]

Although under pressure from Congressional Democrats and important party constituencies, Clinton was more attentive to the views of those within his inner circle, many of whom supported NAFTA.[126] The president's political strategist Stanley Greenberg, feared losing votes to Perot, but also believed that signing the deal would burnish Clinton's image as "forward-looking" and "optimistic."[127] The pro-business bias of Clinton's administration was indicated by the selection of Robert Rubin to head the new National Economic Council. Rubin had attended Harvard and Yale before beginning a career on Wall Street and was serving as co-chair of Goldman, Sachs when he was tapped for the role. Several other figures were instrumental in calling for an aggressive campaign in favour of the trade deal. These included Deputy Treasury Secretary Roger Altman, the vice chairman of the investment banking firm Blackstone and Chief of Staff Thomas McLarty, former chief executive of Arkla, Inc, (an energy

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[123] James F Shea and Don R Kienzle, Interview with Thomas R. Donahue, 9 April 1997, The Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training Foreign Affairs Oral History Project Labor Series, Library of Congress, http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.mss/mfdip.2004don02.

[124] Clinton's victory was aided by the fact that Perot won 19 percent of the popular vote. Benjamin C. Waterhouse, *Lobbying America: The Politics of Business from Nixon to NAFTA* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[125] ART and CTC to President-Elect Clinton re. Citizen Concerns on NAFTA, 15 December 1992, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA/MODTLE 1992.

[126] Guy Gugliotta, 'North American Free Trade Pact Could Shorten Clinton Honeymoon: Some Democrats in Congress, Labor Oppose Accord as Job Destroyer', *The Washington Post*, 15 November 1992.

[127] Peter Behr, 'Clinton's Conversion on NAFTA', *Washington Post*, Setember 1993, https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1993/09/19/clintons-conversion-on-nafta/3a5b9cb5-dfc8-4b5c-9ae6-30781f0a99fc/.

company from Clinton's home state). In 1993 Clinton also appointed David Gergen as a close presidential advisor. Gergen was a Washington political operative had previously worked with Richard Nixon, Gerald Ford, and Ronald Reagan.[128] Gergen prevailed on the president to make the passage of NAFTA a demonstration of his commitment to a centrist political strategy. In a speech at American University in February 1993, Clinton declared that "The truth of our age is this, and must be this: open and competitive commerce will enrich us as a nation." Like his Republican predecessors, Clinton accepted "competition" – the *sine qua non* of neoliberal ideology – as the foundation of economic policy. The question of who would benefit and who would lose out from global competition was quietly set aside.[129] Following the negotiation of the "side agreements" he appointed Bill Daley as "NAFTA Czar" to secure Congressional approval.[130] Then, after notifying Congressional leaders of his intention to introduce the implementing legislation, Clinton held an event at the White House where, backed by former presidents Carter, Ford, and Bush, he vowed to fight "every step of the way" to ensure NAFTA's passage.[131]

Even before Clinton had come out decisively in favour of the deal, NAFTA's supporters had begun to mobilise to win the Congressional votes that they needed. One strategy that they adopted was to expound upon the alleged success of Salinas' reform programme in news articles and multipage advertorials, in an effort to win public backing.[132] The American business press presented Salinas as a forward-thinking "modernizer" whose neoliberal domestic agenda would bring wealth to Mexico. With the final collapse of the Soviet Union in late 1991, it was easy to suggest that the state-directed economy was a relic of the past, and

[128] Gwen Ifill, 'The Economic Czar Behind the Economic Czars', *The New York Times*, 7 March 1993; John H. Cushman Jr., 'Bankers Lining Up Lobbyists Tightly Aligned With Clinton', *The New York Times*, 9 January 1993; Bob Woodward, *The Agenda: Inside the Clinton White House* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1994); David Gergen and Chris Bury, The Clinton Years, June 2000, https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/clinton/interviews/gergen.html.
[129] Dan Balz, 'Clinton Vows to Move on Free Trade', *The Washington Post*, 9 January 1993; Keith Bradsher, 'Split Goal on Trade: President's Speech Tries to Reconcile Open Markets With Help for Industry', *The New York Times*, 27 February 1993, ILGWU Alan Howard Papers. 5780/206. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Martin P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University.
[130] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 201.
[131] Karen Hansen-Kuhn, 'Final Round of the NAFTA Fight Begins', *Naftathoughts: A Newsletter on the North American Free Trade Agreement*, October 1993.
[132] 'Mexico: A World of Opportunity', *An Advertising Supplement to the Washington Post*, 10 September 1991.

that "reform" was needed to bring about the dynamic market economy of the future.[133] The Mexican president's liberalization programme even came to known as "Salinastroika."[134] The *Washington Post* celebrated "the dismantling of Mexican trade barriers" and the transformation of "many of the old-style business practices that held back the country's growth in the past."[135] In a moment of techno-utopianism *Business Week* described Guadalajara as "Mexico's Silicon Valley."[136] In an interview in August 1992 a *Forbes* writer even pleaded with the Mexican Finance Minister Pedro Aspe to come to Washington to convince the Congress of the benefits of tax cuts and supply-side economics.[137] This boosterism aided NAFTA by reassuring readers that Mexico was a reliable investment destination for U.S. firms and a responsible trading partner.[138] In an article celebrating the elimination of tariffs and the privatization of public enterprises, *Fortune* magazine announced that, "The news from Mexico sounds too good to be true… Makes any red-blooded capitalist want to pack his wares, buy a Spanish dictionary, and set up a little *tienda* south of the border tomorrow morning."[139]

The pro-NAFTA campaign also assembled an impressive lobbying machine. The Bush administration had worked closely with the private sector during the negotiation process through the Advisory Committee for Trade Policy and Negotiations (ACTPN), a body set up under the 1974 Trade Act. The ACTPN was not intended to provide broad-based democratic input into the trade debate, but rather to ensure that the position taken by the U.S. Trade Representative was responsive to U.S. business interests.[140] The AFL-CIO pointed out that the majority of the 44 members on the committee were corporate leaders appointed by Reagan and Bush, some of whom ran maquiladora operations.[141] Once negotiations had been

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[133] Jane Bussey, 'Mexico's New Revolution: President Salinas Uses Free Enterprise to Drive His Country into the Modern Age', *U.S. News and World Report*, 8 July 1991.
[134] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 6.
[135] Tod Robberson, 'In Mexico, Trade Winds of Change', *The Washington Post*, 27 October 1992.
[136] William J. Holstein, 'Mexico: A New Economic Era', *Business Week*, 12 November 1990.
[137] 'We Don't Tax Capital Gains: An Interview with Finance Minister Pedro Aspe', *Forbes*, 17 August 1992.
[138] These efforts seem to have paid off, with investment surging dramatically following the announcement of the deal. Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 254.
[139] Nancy J. Perry, 'What's Powering Mexico's Success', *Fortune Magazine*, 10 February 1992.
[140] William P. Avery, 'Domestic Interests in NAFTA Bargaining', *Political Science Quarterly* 113, no. 2 (1998): 284.
[141] John R. Oravec, 'Labor: "Fast-Track" Authority Slights Trade Issues', *AFL-CIO News*, 18 March 1991, Box 18, Volume 36, AFL-CIO News.

concluded, the Business Roundtable and the leading corporate representatives on ACTPN helped to establish a USA-NAFTA coalition to ensure that the deal would be approved by Congress.[142] The Mexican government also invested considerable resources in a public relations and lobbying campaign. Mexican officials collaborated with leading U.S. and Mexican business leaders to establish the US Alliance for NAFTA in October 1992. Some alliance members had much to gain from the trade deal. For example, American Express, was poised to benefit from the liberalization of Mexico's financial industry, an issue that American negotiators had pushed strongly in Dallas.[143]

Anti-NAFTA forces intensified their own efforts in response to this broad business mobilization. Soon after the release of the final text of the agreement, Jay Mazur, president of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) wrote to Kirkland to propose an all-out offensive. Mazur argued in favour of a broad coalition bringing together the AFL-CIO's Task Force on Trade with other coalitions in a campaign that would mobilise the rank and file in national demonstrations, public education campaigns, and lobbying efforts. He urged the leadership to adopt new tactics that would capture media attention and focus Congress on the level of popular opposition to NAFTA in the U.S., Mexico, and Canada.[144] Broad-based grassroots actions did indeed continue to take place across the country, as unionists, environmentalists, and their allies called for "fair" trade instead of "free" trade.[145] CJM invited journalists to the border to see conditions in the maquiladoras first hand. They worked with national news media to publicise the health risks associated with toxic dumping by American transnationals such as Stepan Chemical that moved to Mexico to evade environmental laws. According to research by ABC's *Prime Time Live*, Stepan was possibly linked to a disturbing rise in anencephalic babies (babies born without part of their brains) in the Brownsville/Matamoros area.[146] Coalitions worked to pass state and city resolutions opposing NAFTA, and met directly with senators and representatives to express their concerns.[147] The

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[142] Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*, 254–55.
[143] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 113–15, 202.
[144] Jay Mazur to Lane Kirkland, 22 August 1992, Box 17, Folder 10, Jay Mazur Papers.
[145] 'Coalition Alerts Californians to Economic Shock of Trade Pact', *AFL-CIO News*, 14 September 1992, Box 5, Folder 1, George Meany Memorial Archives.
[146] Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, 'Press Release', 6 August 1992, Box 16, Folder 27, Jay Mazur Papers.
[147] Karen Hansen-Kuhn, 'Grassroots Campaign Planned', *Naftathoughts: A Newsletter on the North American Free Trade Agreement*, February 1993.

spectre of press conferences, rallies, caravans, town meetings, and protests taking place across the country was enough to concern their opponents.[148]

Despite this groundswell, Kirkland remained reluctant to take a stand, fearful that doing so could jeopardise labour's standing with the president and the Democratic leadership. At the twentieth AFL-CIO constitutional convention in San Francisco in October 1993, the labour leader extolled Clinton's virtues. He declared, "By and large, his agenda is our agenda, and we are and will be his most reliable troops. But we do have one major difference of opinion. Among the poison pills left behind by George Bush is a lethal one called NAFTA. Regrettably, the President has concluded that he has no choice but to pursue it and we are of a deeply-held contrary opinion." Despite the apparent deadliness of the impending trade deal, Kirkland assured the audience that "I tell you, without reservation, that President Clinton comes to this hall as a proven friend of labor…"[149] Kirkland was too committed to the corporate arrangements of the past to recognise the extent to which Clinton had proven himself a far truer friend of capital. Clinton was instead looking towards the neoliberal future. At the signing of the side agreements just one month prior to Kirkland's speech, Clinton had argued that "In a fundamental sense, this debate about NAFTA is a debate about whether we will embrace these changes and create the jobs of tomorrow, or try to resist these changes, hoping we can preserve the economic structures of yesterday."[150]

Defeat

In the lead up to the final vote, it became clear that Clinton was prepared to use the full weight of the presidency to bear on the issue. He campaigned actively for NAFTA in the press, hoping that public opinion would sway the vote. White House staff members were recruited to coordinate an intense telephone lobbying campaign that targeted wayward Congress members, some of whom received as many as 30 telephone calls a day from cabinet members

[148] Eliza Newlin Carney, 'Suiting Up for Combat on Trade Pact', *National Journal*, 2 January 1993.
[149] Lane Kirkland, 20th AFL-CIO Constitutional Convention, San Francisco, California, 4 October 1993, Box 54, Folder 4, AFL-CIO Press Releases.
[150] William J. Clinton, 'Remarks at the Signing Ceremony for the Supplemental Agreements to the North American Free Trade Agreement', The American Presidency Project, 14 September 1993, https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-signing-ceremony-for-the-supplemental-agreements-the-north-american-free-trade.

and other notables.[151] Clinton made side arrangements for representatives of certain states, such as Florida, that were concerned about the impact of the deal on specific industries. To the chagrin of the Citizens Trade Campaign and Public Citizen, he also employed pork barrel politics, effectively buying the vote of key Congressional representatives. For example, Clinton's Transportation Secretary promised to secure the construction of the East Houston Bridge in exchange for the pro-NAFTA vote of Texas Representative Gene Green.[152] Collectively, these measures were sufficient to seal the deal. On 17 November, the House voted in favour by 234 votes to 200, and on 20 November the Senate followed suit.[153]

The passage of NAFTA was a significant defeat for the forces arrayed against neoliberalism. The deal itself had been negotiated behind closed doors, with little democratic oversight or scrutiny, but with significant input from business interests. Pro-NAFTA advocates were able to promote an ideology of "free trade" that associated neoliberal policies with a tide of abundance that would "lift all boats" in Mexico, the United States, and Canada. President Salinas was presented as a modernizer and visionary because of his commitment to the privatization programme. Moreover, when Clinton came out in favour of the deal, opponents could no longer attack "Bush's NAFTA." Clinton instilled the idea of free trade with a liberal cosmopolitanism that appealed to centrists. However, these ideological constructions did much to obscure the structural preconditions of the trade deal. The crisis of the 1980s had driven Mexico's leaders in a desperate search for foreign investment, and U.S. transnationals, keen to slip the constraints imposed by environmental and labour regulations at home, were only too happy to oblige. Once engaged in the negotiations, Mexico found itself in a poor negotiating position relative to its powerful northern neighbour. Although ostensibly concerned with freeing trade from artificial rules and barriers, international negotiations of this kind were conducted through a complex process of bargaining between unequal political configurations. Powerful states like the U.S. could use their political and market power to obtain concessions from weaker states. The ACTPN provided a channel for U.S.-based

[151] Haroon A. Khan, 'Determinants of Congressional Support for NAFTA and Clinton's Economic Package', *The Journal of Developing Areas* 38, no. 2 (2005): 151.
[152] Citizens Trade Campaign and Public Citizen, 'NAFTA Vote "Buying" to Cost Taxpayers Billions: A Partial Accounting of the Federal Pork Traded for NAFTA Votes', 12 November 1993, The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Folder NAFTA.
[153] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 204.

transnationals to ensure that the U.S. government would represent their investment interests without making unnecessary concessions. According to the neoliberal theory of trade, the unfettered movement of goods would create an equilibrating "world of signals" based on global competition, but NAFTA's architects were instead constructing an uneven world of oligopolistic interests, one that was dependent on asymmetries of state and corporate power.[154]

Corporatism aided the victory of neoliberal "free" trade in numerous ways. In Mexico, the strong ties between union leaders and an authoritarian state contained resistance to the neoliberal policies of the PRI. In the United States the conservatism and nationalist orientation of the American labour movement meant that it was slow to respond to the globalization of production, and slow to recognise the value of transnational labour solidarity. The AFL-CIO's partners in Mexico, the "official" unions such as the CTM, were not prepared to oppose the Mexican government's trade policies, and independent Mexican unions such as the FAT were suspicious of the American labour movement's prior Cold War orientation. The continued dependence of American unions on the Democratic Party had blunted the capacity for the labour movement to mobilize independent opposition and undercut its claims to represent the working class. Conservatives and business leaders were quick to dismiss labour's concerns and to depict the Democratic leadership as captive to a special interest group. Despite the considerable resources that business groups dedicated to promoting NAFTA, public opinion of the deal was largely unfavourable until the last few months preceding the Congressional vote. In contrast, a clear majority of corporate executives were in favour of the deal.[155] Clinton proved that he was willing to wield the powers of the state on behalf of U.S. capital, but political considerations led the AFL-CIO to neuter its criticisms of a president who adopted positions at odds with the interests of organised labour. The alliance of Clinton with House Minority Whip Newt Gingrich on the issue of NAFTA was a telling sign of the consolidation of a neoliberal consensus on economic policy.[156]

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[154] Slobodian, *Globalists*, 218–61.

[155] Eric M. Uslaner, 'Trade Winds: NAFTA and the Rational Public', *Political Behavior* 20, no. 4 (December 1998): 341–60; Avery, 'Domestic Interests in NAFTA Bargaining', 284.

[156] Gingrich led the Republicans to a spectacular victory in the 1994 midterm elections and was in many ways a fierce critic of Clinton. However, in economic matters they had much in common. Their cooperation in the NAFTA fight was one indicator of this, as was their common enthusiasm for the emancipatory promise of

The consequences of the passage of NAFTA were profound. In Mexico, the deal was devastating to the livelihoods of small farmers, who were unable to compete with cheap imports of staple foods, such as beans and corn, from the U.S. Mexico was obliged to end price supports and other programmes that were needed by the rural poor. These conditions contributed to the Zapatista uprising in the southern state of Chiapas in 1994 (see Chapter 4).[157] The neoliberal programme of President Salinas, which included the privatisation of the financial industry, left the country vulnerable to external shocks. When investors were alarmed by political instability in Mexico in March of 1994, just a few months after the signing of the NAFTA agreement, they swiftly withdrew their funds, plunging the country into renewed crisis. Salinas, the neoliberal icon of the American business press, was forced to flee the country after becoming implicated in a corruption scandal.[158] Although border industrialisation continued to accelerate, the employment opportunities provided by the maquiladoras were inadequate to absorb the surplus labour created by economic dislocation. Ironically, whilst the cheerleaders of "free" trade promised a world without borders, at the time that the NAFTA debate was reaching its climax, border patrol officials in El Paso were implementing "Operation Blockade," a new strategy to deter undocumented immigrants from entering the United States through urban areas.[159] Just two years after NAFTA came into effect, Congress passed the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act (IIIRIR), another law that revealed the Clinton administration's preoccupation with individual "responsibility" as the best way to approach social problems.[160] The neoliberal settlement under NAFTA nurtured conditions for the free movement of capital, but it sanctioned the deployment of state power to prevent the free movement of people.[161]

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information technology. Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart*, 261; Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*, 155–56, 163–64.

[157] Ronald L. Mize and Alicia C. S. Swords, *Consuming Mexican Labor: From the Bracero Program to NAFTA* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 194–98; Alyshia Gâalvez, *Eating NAFTA: Trade, Food Policies, and the Destruction of Mexico* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2018), 15.

[158] Cameron and Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA*, 210–19.

[159] Jason De Leon and Michael Wells, *The Land of Open Graves: Living and Dying on the Migrant Trail* (University of California Press, 2015), 30–37.

[160] Louie, *Sweatshop Warriors*, 76; Kelly Lytle Hernandez, *Migra!: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), 208.

[161] David Graeber, *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007), 320.

Within the United States, it took time for the consequences of NAFTA to become fully apparent. The side agreements negotiated by Clinton soon showed themselves to be little more than window decoration. Even where violations were investigated under the labour accord, the North American Agreement on Labor Cooperation (NAALC), there were no formal means of address beyond the requirement to hold a public seminar on the issues.[162] Clinton survived the damage that the deal did to his relationship with a key Democratic constituency and continued to implement domestic neoliberal reforms. The New Democrat project was informed by anxieties about the defection of the so-called "Reagan Democrats," and the more generalised disaffection of the white working class. However, Clinton was too distracted by daily polls and "Middle Class Dreams" to consider the likely long-term realities of neoliberal globalization for the U.S. working class.[163] The dynamics of race and class that fed political polarization along cultural lines continued to obscure the social distress caused by economic dislocation.[164]

Despite the defeat, the magnitude of the opposition to NAFTA demonstrated the growing strength of resistance to neoliberalism. Clinton was only able to assert his authority over Congress by resorting to last-minute politicking. Moreover, globalization would no longer be treated as a subject of exclusively academic interest. Over the course of the 1990s it would move further towards the centre of public discourse. Despite the dark clouds for organised labour, there was also a silver lining. The NAFTA fight drew independent U.S. and Mexican unions such as the UE and the FAT into greater cooperation, breathing new life into practices of transnational solidarity. The failure of the AFL-CIO leadership to effectively oppose NAFTA also brought about an insurgency that deposed Kirkland in 1995. The new labour leadership made space for a more effective and democratic movement to emerge, one less tied to the corporatist politics of an earlier era.

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[162] Dale Hathaway, *Allies Across the Border: Mexico's 'Authentic Labor Front' and Global Solidarity* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2000); David Bacon, *The Children of NAFTA: Labor Wars on the U.S./Mexico Border* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004); Robin Alexander, *International Solidarity in Action* (E-Book: United Electrical, Radio & Machine Workers of America, 2022), https://www.internationalsolidarityinaction.org/.

[163] David Roediger, *The Sinking Middle Class: A Political History* (New York: OR Books, 2020), 26–84.

[164] Thomas Byrne Edsall and Mary D. Edsall, *Chain Reaction: The Impact of Race, Rights, and Taxes on American Politics* (New York: Norton, 1991); Only following the Great Recession were the floodgates of opposition finally released once again. Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*, 231–34, 243–60.

TEN TERRIBLE TRICKS OF TRADE

PRODUCT	COUNTRIES	BARRIER	SALES LOST BY U.S. annual, estimated
Grain	European Community	Price supports, variable duties	$2.0 billion
Soybeans	European Community	Price supports	$1.4 billion
Rice	Japan	Ban	$300 million
Beef	European Community	Ban on growth hormones in livestock	$100 million
Commercial aircraft	Britain, France, W. Germany, Spain	Subsidies to Airbus Industrie	Over $850 million
Telecommunications equipment	European Community, S. Korea	Standards stacked against imports	No estimate
Telecommunications satellites	Japan	Ban on import by government agencies	No estimate
Pharmaceuticals	Argentina, Brazil	No patent protection	Over $110 million
Videocassettes, films	Brazil	Requirements to subsidize and market local films	Over $40 million
Computer software	Thailand	Poor patent protection	No estimate

Figure 2-1 Excerpt from Rahul Jacob, 'Export Barriers the U.S. Hates Most', Forbes, 27 February 1989.

AFL-CIO NEWS Saturday, May 14, 1988

60 DAYS IT'S ONLY FAIR

Advance notice a burning issue to workers who never got it

House Speaker Jim Wright is joined by members of Congress who helped shape the trade bill as he defends advance notice as "only fair."

The first in a series of press conferences across the nation is held in Minneapolis to back plant closing provision in the trade bill. From left, Minneapolis Mayor Donald M. Fraser, City Councilman James Schiebel, State AFL-CIO President Don Gustafson and St. Paul Mayor George Latimer.

Shutdown without warning 'reward' for service

ART BERENS and PAM WITMAN—Members of the Auto Workers who were laid off by The Donaldson Co. in St. Paul, Minn. The firm, which employed 275 workers, was a manufacturer of large air cleaners and mufflers. As president of the local union, Berens and his negotiating committee were told to meet with company negotiators at 1 p.m. on May 24, 1985, for the purpose of discussing a new contract. When company negotiators arrived, they informed the union representatives that the company had closed down its plant that morning. At the same time, the same announcement was being read to the rest of the workforce at the plant. Berens had worked for the company for 27 years. Witman had been with the company for eight years. At the time of the closing, the company was in the midst of its 70th anniversary of operations. Since the company closed, Berens and Witman have worked extensively with the UAW's dislocated worker programs. Since becoming involved with the program, they have been successful in finding jobs for 160 workers who were the victims of plant closings.

Art Berens

Pam Witman

BUD SCHULTE and DENISE MARTIN—Members of the Food & Commercial Workers at Iowa Pork Inc., a meat packing company in St. Paul, Minn. On May 7, 1987, the company told its 260 workers that it would stop all operations at the close of business on May 8. Schulte had been with the company for nearly six years and had just purchased a new home at the time of the plant closing announcing. As part of his mortgage application, he had requested and received three letters from company management indicating that he had a bright future with the company. Martin, a single parent, had been with the company only one week at the time of the closing announcement. She had left another job in order to go to work for Iowa Pork. Neither Schulte nor Martin has found a new job.

Bud Schulte

Denise Martin

RICK SAALFELD—Member of the Food & Commercial Workers who had worked for a Land O' Lakes meat packing operation in Schuyler, Neb. The company announced plans to close Dec. 15, 1982. The first shift heard about the plant closing on the radio. The plant closing was effective at the close of business on the date of the announcement. The closing affected some 1,100 workers in a town of only 5,200 people.

Rick Saalfeld

HANK SCHRENKO—A member of the Iron Workers. He had worked for O.M. Edwards Co. in Syracuse, N.Y., a manufacturer of subway doors and windows. Last Sept. 8 the 160 employees of the plant were called together at 11 a.m. and told that the company was closing, effective immediately. Employees were told to remove all personal belongings and be off the company property in 15 minutes. Their last pay checks were held for two weeks and once issued, some of the checks bounced. At the time of the shutdown, the company was in the midst of its 100th anniversary and held some 75 percent of the market. Schrenko had been employed with the company for 13 years. He is married and has three children.

Hank Schrenko

JOHN JORGENSON—A Flint Glass Worker at the Newell Co. in Clarksburg, W.Va. Newell staged a hostile takeover of the plant's operations from Anchor Hocking Inc. The takeover took effect last July and on Aug. 10, the new owners told the company's 942 workers that they now planned to close the plant. The plant ceased all operations on Nov. 1. Jorgenson had worked for the company for 20 years before the shutdown. He is married with two children and has not been able to find work since the shutdown. Less than 1 percent of the company's workforce has been able to find new jobs.

John Jorgenson

CHRIS SHORT—A business agent with the Woodworkers at Coos Bay, Ore. Over the past decade, Short has witnessed numerous plant shutdowns in the upper northwest with little or no prior notification given to the affected workers. As an example, some 615 woodworkers at three sawmills owned by Smurfit Newsprint Co. were told on Christmas Day 1986 that they only had one more week to work. Although the firm was later sold, a majority of the workers have still not found work.

Chris Short

WALLY BARRETT—A member of the Teamsters working at C & W Transport Co. (trucking firm owned by Gerber Baby Foods in Eau Claire, Wis.). On Feb. 12, 1987, the company told its 398 employees in Wisconsin—and 1,700 nationally—that it planned to cease all operations over the next three days. Six months prior to the closing, employees had given back 15 percent of contract wages in an effort to keep the company alive. Barrett had worked for C & W Transport for nearly nine years. This plant closing represented the fourth time in his 30-year career in the trucking industry that his employer had announced a shutdown with little or no notification. At the time of the shutdown, two of Barrett's six children were still living at home. He is now working only part-time.

Wally Barrett

WILFRED MENDEZ—A Machinist at Fairchild Republic Aircraft in Long Island, N.Y. After working for 10 years with the company as an aircraft mechanic, Mendez was notified last November that the company would no longer continue to operate. On the day that employees were notified, they were told by company officials that "this day is your last day." Prior to closing, the company had employed some 6,500 workers at the height of its operations. Mendez has a wife and three children. He has not yet been able to find work in the area and is considering the option of moving to Florida for employment. Upon returning from a job search in Florida, he was notified by the state that his unemployment pay had been suspended while he was out of state looking for work.

Wilfred Mendez

PATSY EDWARDS—A member of the Steelworkers who had worked 14 years for the Pabst Blue Ribbon aluminum canning facility in Tampa, Fla. On March 29, 1988, some 117 employees were notified that the plant would close permanently the next day. The first crew notified of the closing was given 45 minutes to leave the plant property. Other shifts learned of the closing from news media accounts before being officially notified upon reporting to work. Edwards is a single parent, the mother of two children.

Patsy Edwards

ROBERT WALLS—A member of the Woodworkers at Boise Cascade in International Falls, Minn. The building materials plant, with 600 employees, announced on Dec. 6, 1984 that it was closing, effective immediately. Employees were given a day and a half to clean out their lockers. Walls lacked one month having 41 years of service with the company. Average seniority at the plant was 25 years. Company offered no training or assistance to the displaced workers.

Robert Walls

ANTHONY MULBERRY—A former member of the Steelworkers at W.H. Haskell Co., a fabricated steel company in Pawtucket, R.I. On Feb. 4, 1987, Mulberry and some 100 other employees of the company were given a 10-minute notice that the plant was shutting down operations, effective immediately. Plant owners told employees they were stopping operations because the banks had refused financing for future operations, even though the company had back orders for 10 million bolts for nuclear submarines. Mulberry had been employed by the company for 30 years. His father had also worked for Haskell for 47 years. He is married, father of eight children.

Anthony Mulberry

Radio campaign

The following is the text of the radio ads run by labor federations in seven states—California, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island and Wisconsin. In addition to the AFL-CIO, the ad campaign was sponsored by the Auto Workers, Steelworkers, Teamsters, AFSCME, Electronic Workers, Machinists and Electrical Workers.

Wisconsin

It's been hard on Wisconsin . . . the trade problem. In the past ten years, we've lost hundreds of factories and businesses. From Kenosha to Green Bay, we've seen thousands of jobs leave our state—often with little or no notice, despite the Wisconsin law requiring that workers be warned of an impending shutdown. And our families . . . our communities . . . our way of life has suffered.

Congress has just passed overwhelmingly a bipartisan trade bill that may help keep plants like this open and keep good jobs in Wisconsin. And when a plant does have to close, it would give people a few weeks' notice to find a new job—maybe without having to go on unemployment. But the President has threatened to veto (has vetoed) that bill.

That's why we need Senators Proxmire and Kasten and our members of Congress to vote to override that veto. Contact them by phone or mail, and tell them it's time to stand up for America and for a little fairness for American working people.

We need the new trade bill. And that's why the Wisconsin State AFL-CIO paid for this message.

The Wisconsin ads are running in Milwaukee-Racine on six radio stations: WISN-AM, WTMJ-FM, WRIT-FM, WLTQ-FM and WMYX-FM; in Green Bay, on WDUZ, WIXC-FM, WNCY and WLOR-FM; and in Madison, on WIBA, WIBA-FM, WMGN-FM, WTDY and WTSO.

The following introductions were used for specific states. Each message is the same as the Wisconsin ad, with appropriate senators' names added.

California

It was like any other fall morning in October 1987. People showed up for work as usual at the Milne Trucking Co. in Alameda County. But instead of punching in and going to work, they were told the plant would close in two days. Hundreds of men and women went home that day to tell their families they didn't have a job anymore . . .

The California ads in Sacramento on stations KCTC-FM, KFBK, KFBK-AM, KRAK and KRAK-FM, and in Fresno, on stations KFRG-FM, KFRC, KFRC-FM, KMJ, KMJ-FM and KOZE-FM.

Minnesota

Dec. 6, 1984. Boise Cascade announces it is closing its building materials plant in International Falls. Six hundred workers—many with 10, 20 and 30 years on the job—are given a day-and-a-half to clean out their lockers. They go home that night to tell their families they don't have a job anymore . . .

The Minnesota ads in Duluth-Superior, Minneapolis-St. Paul, WCL on KDAL-FM, WDAY-FM, WDDM and WDBC, in Minneapolis-St. Paul on KSTP-FM, KSTP, KSTP-FM, WCCO and WCCO.

Nebraska

Dec. 15, just ten days till Christmas in 1982. Workers at the Land O'Lakes meatpacking plant in Schuyler, Neb., are on their way home from work when the news comes over the radio that management is closing the plant. One thousand people in a small community of just three thousand arrive home that night shocked. They tell their families that Christmas will be a little less bright this year because they don't have jobs anymore . . .

The Nebraska ads in Lincoln on stations KFOR, KLIN-FM and KLIN-FM, and in Omaha on stations KFAB, KFAB-FM, KOIL/FM, WOW and WOW-FM.

New York

Sept. 8, 1986. Workers at the O.M. Edwards Co. in Syracuse show up for work as usual. But instead of punching in and starting their jobs, they're met by police who tell them the plant is closed. There's no notice given . . . Workers are not even allowed to clean out their lockers. Over 100 men and women went home that fall morning to tell their families they didn't have a job anymore . . .

The New York ads in Buffalo-Niagara Falls on stations WBEN, WBEN-FM, WGR, WGR-FM and WYER-FM and on Long Island on stations WALK-AM-FM, WBAB AM-FM and WBLI-FM.

Oregon

Dec. 26, the day after Christmas 1986. Employees of the Smurfit Sawmill Co. show up for work as usual at three Oregon mills. But this is not just any other day of work. Instead, they are told their mills will close within a week. More than 600 men and women go home that night to tell their families the new year won't be quite so bright because they don't have a job anymore . . .

The Oregon ads on radio stations KGON and KZFW in Eugene and on Portland/Vancouver, Wash. stations KEX, KUPL, KUPL-FM, KYTE, KYTE-FM and KXL-FM.

Rhode Island

It was less than 18 months ago. The Corner Ladder Co. announced it was closing its plant in Cranston. One hundred and twenty workers—many with long-term seniority—are given no advance notice. Those men and women go home that night to tell their families they don't have a job anymore . . .

The Rhode Island ads on Providence stations WLKW-FM, WPRO and WPRO-FM.

Figure 2-2 Unions and their Democratic allies appeal to the principle of fairness and launch a radio campaign that brings their cause to the public. 'Advance Notice a Burning Issue to Workers Who Never Got It' (AFL-CIO News, 14 May 1988), Box 9, Folder 29, George Meany Memorial Archives, Verticle File Collection, 0051-LBR-RG98-002. Special Collections and University Archives. University of Maryland.

Figure 2-3 Photo by Lila Salcido showing a maquila worker from Ciudad Juarez holding a glass filled with drinking water taken from a drum that formerly contained toxic chemicals. Box 16, Folder 27, ILGWU. Jay Mazur Papers. 5780/203. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives. Martin P. Catherwood Library. Cornell University.

3. Social Movement Unionism and the Labour Renaissance in California

The passage of NAFTA marked an important turning point for the American labour movement. It also helped to bring to the fore an alternative tradition of labour organising to the one practiced by the AFL-CIO leadership. A new approach to worker mobilization, which came to be known as "social movement unionism" during the 1990s, presented a different kind of challenge to neoliberalism. In these years a dynamic labour movement emerged in the state of California that sought to rebuild the power of workers and challenge the pro-business consensus that dominated both the Republican and Democratic parties. However, unions first began to adapt to the economic and political changes that had strengthened the power of capital and diminished the strength of the labour movement in the 1970s and 1980s. Employing innovative organising strategies, they were able to win contracts for marginalised service sector workers who had been neglected by mainstream union leaders, and by cultivating strong social justice networks with other progressive groups they launched a successful campaign for the implementation of a living wage ordinance in Los Angeles.

The labour movement developed a language and a set of practices that constituted a critique of the neoliberal status quo in California. They did this by confronting business leaders, politicians, and the public with the reality of persistent inequality and exploitation in the postindustrial economy. Crucial to the new approach was the use of what Rick Fantasia and Kim Voss have called "public shaming rituals."[1] These rituals might include occupying spaces that low wage workers were typically excluded from in order to disrupt the unwritten rules and assumptions that underpinned the social order. Alternatively, they might involve publicly dramatizing the abuse experienced by workers as a way to reinsert ethical and social questions into popular thinking about the workplace. As Cynthia Cranford points out, these rituals resemble what Pierre Bourdieu has called "symbolic action." Cranford describes these tactics as "discursive acts of resistance meant to disrupt taken-for-granted ideas."[2] Such

[1] Rick Fantasia and Kim Voss, *Hard Work: Remaking the American Labor Movement* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), p. 142.
[2] Cynthia J. Cranford, 'Gendered Resistance: Organizing Justice for Janitors in Los Angeles', in *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income*, ed. by Jim Stanford and Leah F. Vosko (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004), p. 320.

actions helped the union to secure support because they cultivated worker solidarity and reinforced the moral legitimacy of their cause.

Social movement unionists also sought to reframe what it meant to be a worker. With the collapse of the "labor metaphysic" and the transformation of gendered and racialised patterns of social reproduction, unions were obliged to fashion a more sophisticated analysis of the different modalities of class as a lived reality.[3] Social movement unionists sought to challenge ingrained social hierarchies both inside and outside of the labour movement, and in doing so they demanded not just higher wages, but also better working conditions, health care, and recognition of workers' agency and dignity. To borrow the terminology used by philosopher Nancy Fraser, these labour struggles were a practical experiment in the search for both "recognition" and "redistribution."[4]

The Origins of Social Movement Unionism

Social movement unionism was the product of three key developments within the labour movement since the 1970s. The first development was the gradual diminishment of antagonism between the new social movements and some sectors of the labour movement. The organization that most perfectly illustrated the integration of tactics more commonly associated with the civil rights movement was the United Farm Workers (UFW), founded by Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta in 1962. The UFW emerged just as a left-liberal alliance was

[3] As Jefferson Cowie has argued, during the 1970s, "One of the great constructs of the modern age, the unified notion of a 'working class,' crumbled, and the new world order was built on the rubble." Jefferson Cowie, *Stayin' Alive: The 1970s and the Last Days of the Working Class* (New York: New Press, 2010); The focus on California provides the grounding for an analysis of political struggle in the 1990s. The lives of workers in this state were structured by the large-scale processes set into motion by the globalising postindustrial economy. The approach taken here therefore resonates with that adopted by scholars of new working-class studies. As John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon argue, "What is new about new working-class studies, then, is its approach: a clear focus on the lived experience and voices of working-class people; critical engagement with the complex intersections that link class with race, gender, ethnicity, and place; attention to how class is shaped by place and how the local is connected to the global." *New Working-Class Studies*, ed. by John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018).

[4] Fraser's formulation implies a set of social rights that are grounded in identity and go beyond the formal rights of citizenship. Hannah Arendt's notion of the 'right to have rights' perhaps helps to illuminate how such a framework might be applied to the case of undocumented workers. However, recognition can also be understood in more universal terms to refer to the fundamental dignity of all persons, and resistance to the instrumentalism of labour commodification and the disposability of human beings. Nancy Fraser, *Justice Interruptus: Critical Reflections on the 'Postsocialist' Condition* (New York: Routledge, 1997).

transforming California politics. However, agricultural workers had historically been excluded from federal labour rights guarantees such as the right to organise and engage in collective bargaining and legislators in Sacramento failed to address this lacuna at the state level. It was only by adopting a much broader range of confrontational tactics, including boycotts and militant protests, together with extensive coalition-building that farm workers won collective bargaining rights as well as unemployment rights under the California Agricultural Labor Relations Act, signed by Jerry Brown in 1975.[5] Similarly, in 1973 when Karen Nussbaum and Ellen Casserly, who had both been involved in the anti-war and women's movements, founded 9to5 as an advocacy organization, they laid the foundations for a new kind of working-class activism that drew on the political dynamism of the feminist movement.[6] The expansion of the labour force to include more white women, and the empowerment brought to minority workers by civil rights activism, therefore created conditions for new approaches to organising, often led by those who had previously been marginalised within the ranks of the labour hierarchy.[7]

The second development, intertwined with the first, was a swell of rank-and-file activity in the 1970s and 1980s. The willingness of workers to engage in wildcat strikes and militant organizing was in stark contrast to the attitudes of the AFL-CIO leadership. George Meany once remarked, "Why should we worry about organizing groups of people who do not want to be organized? . . . Frankly, I used to worry about the membership, about the size of the membership. But quite a few years ago, I just stopped worrying about it."[8] Because of these conservative attitudes it was easy to interpret the inability of the union leadership to stem the decline in membership or the loss of jobs from traditional industries as a failure of will. The undemocratic structure of many unions also undermined systems of accountability and,

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[5] Jonathan Bell, *California Crucible: The Forging of Modern American Liberalism* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), pp. 112, 165–66, 256; Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of The Union: A Century of American Labor*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 199; Randy Shaw, *Beyond the Fields: Cesar Chavez, the UFW, and the Struggle for Justice in the 21st Century* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2008).

[6] Lane Windham, *Knocking on Labor's Door: Union Organizing in the 1970s and the Roots of a New Economic Divide*, Justice, Power, and Politics (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 152–64.

[7] Alice Kessler-Harris, *Women Have Always Worked: A Concise History*, Second Edition (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2018); Arlie Hochschild and Anne Machung, *The Second Shift: Working Parents and the Revolution at Home* (London: Viking, 1989).

[8] Quoted in *Rebel Rank and File: Labor Militancy and Revolt from Below During the Long 1970s*, ed. by Aaron Brenner, Robert Brenner, and Cal Winslow (London: Verso, 2008), p. 3; Lichtenstein, p. 247.

in some cases, led to widespread corruption.[9] Reformers within the labour movement, such as the activists who formed the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), recognised that in order for unions to be effective they would need to challenge internal union structures that impeded effective organizing.

The third development was a greater awareness of how labour unions operated in other countries. The term "social movement unionism" was first used by academics to describe the militant tactics used by unions in the Global South, especially in India, South Africa, Brazil, and South Korea. Unions in these countries often operated outside of the formal political arena as part of broader pro-democratization movements.[10] The grassroots drive to reinvigorate the labour movement therefore drew upon the inspiration provided by these examples of how labour activism might be done outside of a formal "industrial relations" framework.[11]

Though somewhat imprecise and flexible in its meaning, the term "social movement unionism" was deployed from the 1980s onwards to critique business unionism and to challenge corporate power. It implied a set of creative strategies and fluid tactics, a broader understanding of social justice both inside and outside of the formal workplace, a more inclusive union culture, and an emphasis on organizing new members rather than on simply servicing existing members.[12] Of course, in the past, unions had long sought alliances and used diverse tactics to achieve their aims.[13] What had changed was the recognition that the

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[9] The leadership of the huge Teamsters union had been notoriously associated with organized crime. Lichtenstein, pp. 144–47.

[10] Peter Waterman, 'Strikes in the Third World: Introduction', *Development and Change*, 10.2 (1979), 177–80; Gay Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1994).

[11] Gay Seidman, 'Social Movement Unionism: From Description To Exhortation', *South African Review of Sociology*, 42.3 (2011), 94–102 (pp. 98–99); Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997); Ironically, just as the example of South African unionism was inspiring American labour activists, the African National Congress (ANC) was being pressured by economists and policy advisors based in the United States and Europe to abandon the Freedom Charter that had been at the heart of the struggle against apartheid since 1955. The ANC came to embrace neoliberal reforms following its adoption of the Growth, Employment, and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy in 1996. Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (London: Penguin, 2008), pp. 194–217; Alan Emery, 'Privatization, Neoliberal Development, and the Struggle for Workers' Rights in Post-Apartheid South Africa', *Social Justice*, 33.3 (2006), 6–19.

[12] For a useful discussion of social movement unionism as a set of practices see Fantasia and Voss, pp. 126–31.

[13] Nelson Lichtenstein notes that, 'This was precisely the role played by the neighborhood-based unionism of the needle trades in the Progressive era, and by the CIO two decades later, when rent strikes, boycotts,

strategies adopted as part of the postwar social contract were no longer immediately effective in the neoliberal era. Given the structural changes within the economy, the union movement would need to rebuild power in order to provide an effective counterweight to the political and economic influence of business interests.

Sí Se Puede!: Justice for Janitors

On 15 June 1990, a group of janitors and their supporters gathered in Roxbury Park in Beverly Hills for a rally before proceeding south along Olympic Boulevard towards Century City. Since 30 May the janitors had been out in a strike for better wages and a health plan, marking the culmination of a year-long dispute with their employers. The demonstrators were met by more than one hundred police officers dressed in full riot gear, who forced them off the sidewalk and into the middle of the street. When the LAPD ordered them to disperse, the demonstrators implemented non-violent civil disobedience techniques. When they sat down in the street and linked arms they were expecting to be arrested peacefully. Instead, they were met with a show of force. Police officers began to beat demonstrators with their batons, driving them back and causing them to fall over each other as they were forced to withdraw to Beverly Hills. Fifteen minutes of violent attacks resulted in 60 people being injured, 16 of them seriously. One of the wounded protestors, a pregnant woman from the community, suffered a miscarriage. Crucially, all of this was filmed and broadcast to the nation by NBC. Later that evening, Mayor Tom Bradley announced an investigation by the Los Angeles Police Commission, whilst the janitors' union announced its intention to sue the LAPD and vowed to continue with its campaign for fair pay and treatment. The TV footage and the mayor's reaction turned this defeat into a victory, one that would help to revitalize the labour movement in Los Angeles and across the state.[14]

That the Justice for Janitors was a campaign launched by the SEIU is significant because the union was best placed to take advantage of changes in thinking about labour organizing in

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demonstrations of the unemployed, ethnic mobilizations, and political insurgencies generated an organizing culture that permeated every activity and structure of the working-class community.' Lichtenstein, p. 262.

[14] 'Century Cleaning to Rehire Worker Fired for Organizing.' *Voice of Local 399*, June 1990, Box 7, Folder 4, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. [Hereafter cited as United Service Workers West Records.]

the 1970s and 1980s. Founded in Chicago in 1920 as the Building Service Employees International Union (BSEIU), and affiliated with the AFL rather than the CIO, the union had always been representative of workers who were located outside of the industrial workforce. BSEIU began organizing in San Francisco, a union stronghold, in the 1930s, and in the 1940s it established Local 399 in Los Angeles. The expansion of the cleaning industry initially facilitated union growth in membership and success in securing better pay and working conditions for workers. However, conditions in the industry declined from the 1970s onwards. Building managers began to contract out cleaning and other facilities management functions to external private firms that were operating in a non-union environment. Larger service companies sought savings by reducing worker pay and benefits and by "double-breasting" (creating a separate subsidiary to hire non-unionised workers alongside the already unionized workers employed by the parent company). This was facilitated by the increased supply of "low-skilled" workers as a result of increased immigration to Los Angeles, especially from Mexico and Central America, of perhaps 5 million people since 1965.[15] By the mid-1990s approximately 50 per cent of foreign-born residents were from Mexico and 10 per cent were from El Salvador and Guatemala combined. Cleaning firms used existing immigrant networks to recruit new workers. The result was the formation of an ethnic niche within the "secondary" labour market of the dual economy.[16] This secondary service economy was entirely non-union in its early years, making it hard for the SEIU to capitalize on the downtown commercial office boom of the Bradley years, which spilled out along the Wilshire Corridor and to other parts of the city.[17]

However, the rejuvenation of the SEIU under the reformist leadership of John Sweeney, helped to usher in a wave of change. Sweeney leveraged opportunities for aggressive organizing, merging with public sector unions and independent organizations like 9to5, and diversifying into other occupations such as hospital workers. The union dedicated a quarter

[15] Edward W. Soja, 'Los Angeles, 1965-1992: From Crisis-Generated Restructuring to Restructuring-Generated Crisis', in *The City: Los Angeles and Urban Theory at the End of the Twentieth Century*, ed. by Allen John Scott and Edward W. Soja (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996), p. 442.
[16] Roger Waldinger, 'Not the Promised City: Los Angeles and Its Immigrants', *Pacific Historical Review*, 68.2 (1999), 253–72 (pp. 257–65).
[17] Roger Waldinger and others, 'Helots No More: A Case Study of the Justice for Janitors Campaign in Los Angeles', in *Organizing To Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, ed. by Kate Bronfenbrenner and others (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 103–9.

of its income to organizing, five times what was typical for unions at the time. Moreover, many of the people who Sweeney brought into the union were New Leftists of one persuasion or another, veterans of the social movement of the 1960s and 1970s, who supported SEIU's determination to extend its reach into minority communities and into groups of workers, such as home workers, previously considered unorganisable.[18]

To be successful, SEIU had to rethink basic organizing strategies. Cleaning companies were the nominal employers but were always losing and gaining accounts at different worksites because of short-term cancellation clauses in contracts. Building owners often switched to a rival company on short notice in search of better deals. They determined conditions in the industry, but a union couldn't easily challenge their power. They were not the actual employers, and they were protected from secondary boycotts under the NRLA rules (under a provision of the Taft-Hartley Act). SEIU organizers realized that winning an election with one cleaning company meant little. They had to organize all the workers in the industry at once, and they had to convince workers of the efficacy of the union even before it had had won formal recognition.[19]

Stephen Lerner, a former organiser with the UFW, and then director of the Building Service Division of the SEIU, argued that the union had to build power through "multi-layered comprehensive campaigns" rather than through "one-dimensional NLRB campaigns." He declared that "we go to war armed with dozens of weapons instead of being reduced to fighting through the [National Labor Relations] Board. We say to workers, the community and employers: The issue is not what percentage of workers will vote for the union. The issue is the conditions workers work and live under and how we can gain the power to win the union and improve conditions."[20] Whether it was referred to as a "comprehensive campaign," an "organizing model," or a "community model," the principle was the same: to use multiple strategies, community alliances, confrontational tactics, and the participation of workers

[18] Eileen Boris, *Caring for America: Home Health Workers in the Shadow of the Welfare State* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 146.
[19] John Howley, 'Justice for Janitors: The Challenge of Organizing In Contract Services', *Labor Research Review*, 1.15 (1990), 14 (pp. 64–69).
[20] Stephen Lerner, 'Let's Get Moving: Labor's Survival Depends on Organizing Industry-Wide for Justice and Power', *Labor Research Review*, 1.18 (1991), 18.

themselves to build power. By presenting workplace grievances as an important element of a wider social justice agenda, the architects of the Justice for Janitors campaign gained support from community groups and local politicians, convinced workers of the value of the union, attracted media attention, and utilized the "court of public opinion" to pressure employers. This did not mean that they abandoned traditional legal instruments, such as aggressively challenging employer labour law violations through the NLRB, but it did mean that they were determined to embrace a more holistic approach.[21]

In late 1988 the union scored some early victories against smaller firms, for example by pressuring tenants into persuading Century Cleaning to rehire a worker who had been illegally fired for wanting to join a union.[22] This emboldened union organizers to target International Service System (ISS), a Danish-owned corporation that had internationalized its operation in the 1960s to extend across Scandinavia, Western Europe, Latin America, and the U.S. The company first entered the American market in 1978 by taking over Prudential Building Maintenance Corporation in New York, and began a period of further expansion through an aggressive acquisition strategy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, just as intense competition and contracting was undermining working conditions for janitors.[23] In 1989 ISS employed 250 of the 400 janitors contracted to clean the large Century City office complex.[24] Campaign researchers noted that in other countries ISS had been unionized, and indeed a union chapter had been formed in Denmark as early as 1944. However, when the company took over a California janitorial firm in 1988, it refused to negotiate with the union. When the SEIU won a master agreement with other downtown companies in April 1989, ISS held out. The union continued to escalate the pressure on the company by organizing marches and demonstrations of hundreds of people and engaging in a leafletting campaign of county buildings that contracted with the company. A key weapon in their struggle was the ability to disrupt business as usual, to embarrass the cleaning company and to bring indirect pressure to bear by appealing to the interests of tenants. When ISS fired two workers, Elida Portillo

[21] Andy Banks, 'The Power and Promise of Community Unionism', *Labor Research Review*, 1.18 (1991), 18.
[22] 'Century Cleaning to Rehire Worker Fired for Organizing.' *Voice of Local 399*, August 1988, Page 2, Box 7, Folder 4, United Service Workers West Records.
[23] Jesper Strandskov and Kurt Pedersen, 'The Foreign Expansion of a Service Company: The Case of ISS A/S', *Business History*, 50.1 (2008), 40–61.
[24] Waldinger and others, p. 111.

and Epifanio Rodas, for engaging in union activities and wearing Justice for Janitors t-shirts, 350 of the janitors and their supporters responded by staging a sit-in at the Wilshire Boulevard office building, as well as filing formal complaints to the NLRB for unfair labour practices.[25]

Through their campaign literature, public protest, and direct actions, organisers emphasised the injustice of exploiting immigrant workers. They sought to accent how wealth and poverty converged in the high-rise building blocks of downtown Los Angeles. By day, these offices were populated by white collar workers - bankers, lawyers, and other business professionals - who earned good pay and a wide range of benefits, but at night they were occupied by janitors who were paid the minimum wage, denied pension and healthcare plans, and often deprived of overtime and holiday pay. Moreover, the prosperity brought by real estate development was increasing the cost of living for low-income workers by driving up rents. A Justice for Janitors briefing paper pointed out that this situation was not in the public interest. Not only did most janitors lack health insurance, thereby overburdening the county public health system, but lived in crowded conditions "in order to make ends meet. It is not uncommon to find 5-7 adult janitors sharing slum apartments because the monthly earnings do not cover the cost of decent housing."[26]

Early in the campaign, organiser Jono Shaffer distributed fliers accusing Century Cleaners of "Slave Labor Practices in Modern Times!" (Figure 1) and urging tenants to call the building manager to demand fair treatment. In an accompanying letter, Shaffer pointed out that workers receiving the minimum wage in California were living below the poverty line. As Los Angeles was being transformed into a "global city" by world-famous architects, union organisers at SEIU Local 399 accused ISS and other companies of turning glittering office blocks into "vertical sweatshops."[27]

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[25] "ISS: Something Rotten from Denmark?... Why Janitors are Fight for Justice in Los Angeles", Box 7, Folder 3, United Service Workers West Records.
[26] 'Briefing Paper on Local 399 - ISS Dispute', Box 39, Folder 5, United Service Workers West Records.
[27] "ISS: Something Rotten from Denmark?... Why Janitors are Fight for Justice in Los Angeles"; 'From the Basement to the Boardroom... Los Angeles Should Work for Everyone: Bringing Justice to Los Angeles' Underpaid Janitors.' A Report for SEIU Local 399 Justice for Janitors Campaign, Box 7, Folder 16, United Service Workers West Records.; Andrew Gomez, 'Organizing the "Sweatshop in the Sky": Jono Shaffer and the Los Angeles Justice for Janitors Campaign', *Labor*, 15.2 (2018), 9–20; Andrew Gomez's oral history interviews with Jono Shaffer are an invaluable resource for historians of the Justice for Janitors campaign. The analysis

The union used these moral arguments to appeal to community leaders and politicians for their support. They sent a letter to Tom Hayden (author of the *Port Huron Statement* but at the time serving on the Labor and Employment Committee of the California State Assembly) highlighting the importance of outside help because of the inequalities of power that existed between immigrant union members and their employers.[28] The union also collected a list of key tenants at Century City, gathered petitions, and asked supporters to sign "A Pledge for Justice in Century City" (Figure 2). They won sympathy from the media, from left-leaning editor of *L.A. Weekly* Harold Meyerson in particular, and they solicited support from groups as diverse as the Hollywood Women's Political Caucus, the Southern California Ecumenical Council's Interfaith Task Force on Central America, and Stanley Sheinbaum (a prominent progressive Jewish activist who was a fundraiser for Daniel Ellsberg and a member of the so-called "Malibu Mafia"). State Equalization Board Chairman Conway Collis, Mayor of Inglewood Ed Vincent, Councilman Zev Yaroslavsky and California State Controller Gray Davis (a future governor) all weighed in with their support.[29]

ISS responded by alleging that the SEIU was a weak and ineffective union. "When the union states that wages have dropped by 55% in the past 7 years," one ISS letter declared, "they are referring to their own failure to protect the interest of their prior membership. Sad, but true." "The union did nothing," ISS declared, to stem the loss of contracts to non-union contractors in San Francisco, San Mateo, and Santa Clara County. Why "would [one] wish to become a union member. What is the economic gain? The union gains monthly dues, but do the members gain? The janitors are lured on by promises, not reality."[30] The union fired back, pointing out that 80% of the office space in Century City was contracted to ISS and as such,

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contained within this dissertation draws upon details from these interviews throughout. Jono Shaffer and Andrew Gomez, Donde Haiga un Trabajador Explotado, Ahí Estaré Yo: Justice for Janitors' Workers, Organizers, and Allies, 2011, UCLA Library, Center for Oral History Research <http://54.187.40.237/catalog/21198-zz002dx6b7> [accessed 15 May 2020]; As Mike Davis pointed out in his polemical but brilliant interpretation of Los Angeles, many of the investors in L.A. downtown renaissance, people such as billionaire Eli Broad, were also major campaign contributors for Mayor Bradley and many of L.A.'s city councillors. Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 2006), p. 76.

[28] Bill Ragen to Tom Hayden, 21 March 1990, Box 39, Folder 18, United Service Workers West Records.

[29] Ed Foglia to James D. Mosman, 14 March 1990, Box 39, Folder 18, United Service Workers West Records.

[30] 'ISS Serviceworkers - Century City Area.' ISS Report, Box 39, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.

"ISS does not follow the market; it makes the market."[31] In one flyer, the union stated "The Federal Government has issued complaints alleging 69 incidents of illegal harassment and intimidation of workers by ISS in Century City. The State of California is investigating charges of sexual harassment by ISS supervisors. Cal OSHA has cited ISS for numerous violations of health and safety codes. We don't want any more hot air or silly excuses. We want a guarantee that our rights will be respected."[32] The union also argued that their campaign was not just about pay but also working conditions, workers' rights, and human dignity.[33]

The intransigence of the company, as well as the public support that the campaign had generated, emboldened organizers to press for a strike against all ISS buildings, which began on 29 May. Union janitor Miguel Morales declared that "ISS refuses to treat us fairly. In the middle of all this luxury, we are treated like mules. When we take steps to get better treatment, ISS responds by breaking the law. With our strikes in the different buildings, we have shown that we will not put up with abuses. By this vote, we are showing ISS that we will not settle for anything less than fair and decent treatment." Another janitor, Laura Diaz remonstrated, "Everybody tells us that it is a matter of simple economics; they do not want to pay any more than the minimum. To us that translates into: 'Be poor and shut up.' Well, we're not going to accept that… This is nothing we want to do. But ISS' greed leaves us no choice." The strike action built toward the Century City demonstration on June 15. The civil disobedience training that union members had received allowed them to render themselves socially visible in a visceral way that could no longer be ignored.[34] In a symbol that emphasised the social movement character of the campaign, many of the protestors adopted the rallying cry of the United Farm Workers, "Si Se Puede! Yes We Can!"

By July, the company had conceded defeat. ISS signed a master agreement providing the janitors with an immediate raise, guaranteed paid vacation leave and sick pay, and the promise of a health insurance scheme to be implemented the following year. 800 janitors and

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[31] 'Briefing Paper on Local 399 - ISS Dispute'.
[32] 'We're Tired of Hot Air & Silly Excuses!' Leaflet, Box 39, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.
[33] Albert O. Hirschman, *Exit, Voice, and Loyalty: Responses to Decline in Firms, Organizations, and States* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1970); Richard B. Freeman, *What Do Unions Do?* (New York: Basic Books, 1984).
[34] 'Century City Janitors Vote General Strike: Civil Disobedience Planned.' *The ISS Organizing News*, Volume II, Number 5, Box 39, Folder 5, United Service Workers West Records.

their supporters gathered at Century City for a victory demonstration. One worker, Alfonso Garcia, observed that he had seen a lot of discrimination at work. Then I saw it in the way the police treated us. Now, with the union, the discrimination is over. Everyone will be treated equally. I'll get respect just like the white-collar workers, like everyone else."[35]

As big a victory as Century City was, union strategists realised that the gains could only be sustained by continuing to organise the industry and mobilizing every resource.[36] Only continued union vigilance could ensure that ISS would remain faithful to the provisions of the contract. Moreover, many other non-union companies were operating across Southern California, and they would continue to try to undercut ISS and other firms who had recognised the SEIU. Two months after the victory at Century City, a group of janitors travelled to Seattle, Portland, Sacramento, Oakland, San Francisco, and San Diego to seek support, attract media attention, and raise funds for the expansion of the Justice for Janitors campaign. On this tour they sang "No Nos Morevan" ("We Shall Not Be Moved"), took part in demonstrations, and visited the homes of company bosses and leafletted their neighbours. They were now targeting American Building Maintenance Industries (AMBI), a company that employed "double-breasting" strategies to keep labour costs low. One of the workers, Elba Molina, had taken part in the Century City strike but had lost her job when one of AMBI's subsidiaries had taken over the account for her building from ISS. This experience only reinforced her resolve to organize the entire industry.[37]

The union drew repeatedly on the symbolic power of the Century City victory, not only to mobilise the workers, but also to persuade building managers to use union contractors.[38] Organisers further developed their systematic critique of the exploitation of marginalised workers, inequality, and corporate welfare. They emphasized the stark contrast between the vast wealth accumulated in places like Westwood, Beverly Hills, West Hollywood, and Mid-Wilshire, and the poverty wages paid to the people who maintained the property and

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[35] 'ISS Signs 399's Master Building Service Agreement.' *Voice of Local 399*, July 1990, Box 7, Folder 4, United Service Workers West Records.
[36] Waldinger and others, pp. 111–16.
[37] 'Hot on the Trail.' *Building Service Update*, Volume IV, Number 4, Fall/Winter 1990, Box 7, Folder 5, United Service Workers West Records.
[38] 'Century City Anniversary!' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.; 'Janitors Appeal to Building Owners: Don't Let This Happen Here!' Leaflet.

lifestyles of the rich and famous. The union continued to organise small demonstrations, at which the protestors would chant "Se ve! Se siente! La union esta presente! You can see it! You can feel it! The union is here!" The term "Luxury by Day, Sweatshop By Night" was a slogan adopted to describe offices all over the Westside.[39] In Beverly Hills, janitors marched from store to store to ask "Is there anything here we can afford at $4.25 an hour wages?"[40] (See Figure 3). These were further instances of the "public shaming ritual" tactics that the union had employed at Century City and on the janitors' tour.[41]

Such rituals were intended to interrupt the moral economy that validated the social inequalities of the postindustrial city. These inequalities were particularly stark in a state that was home not only to a booming information industry in Silicon Valley and the globe's most influential entertainment industry, but also a vast workforce of low skilled workers toiling in minimum wage jobs in the service industry. In 1988 the Gross State Product of California was approximately $533 billion, making it the seventh largest economy in the world.[42] However, it was clear that whilst many Californians were growing richer, some workers were having to accept lower wages and poor working conditions.

Resisting Urban Neoliberalism

No sooner had the union won its first big victory than California was hit by two serious economic crises. In the early 1990s the state experienced a recession as the end of the Cold War brought about a reduction in federal spending on defence. A further wave of restructuring saw the loss of 100,000 jobs between July 1990 and July 1991 alone. Many of these job losses resulted from lost contracts in the aerospace industry, others were due to companies relocating manufacturing facilities yet again, this time from the Sunbelt to

[39] Ken Ellingwood, 'Union Strategy Targets High-Rise "Sweatshops" to Organize Custodians', *Los Angeles Times*, 31 May 1992; 'The Highrises of Westwood: Luxury by Day, Sweatshops by Night.' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.
[40] 'Janitors in This Building Live on Poverty Wages!' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 16, United Service Workers West Records.
[41] Fantasia and Voss, p. 142.
[42] Jon David Vasche, 'A Perspective on the California Economy', *California State Legislature, Office of the Legislative Analyst*, 1988, 47; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Washington D.C., 'Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1990 (110th Edition)', 1990; This trend would only continue. By 2005 its $1.5 trillion economy was the fifth largest in the world. Kevin Starr, *California: A History* (New York: Random House, 2005).

northern Mexico. From June 1990 to December 1992, California accounted for 38 per cent of all job losses in the United States. Then, in April 1992, uprisings in Los Angeles shone a spotlight on the economic crisis in America's inner cities, and the significant physical destruction that resulted raised the question of how to rebuild the city. Political leaders in the state needed to find a response to the economic crisis that they hoped would restore growth. By the early 1990s, neoliberal policies had a much wider cultural and political currency, to the extent that they had become received wisdom; they were enthusiastically adopted by public administrators and urban policymakers. When California's leaders turned to Peter Ueberroth, a prominent businessman made famous by his successful management of the 1984 Los Angeles Olympic Games, it was therefore unsurprising that the solutions that he proposed were saturated in the pro-market, pro-business thinking of the day. In response, unions and other progressive groups mobilised to oppose the reconstruction of the city and the state in ways that would exacerbate the existing inequalities that, according to their own analysis, had been a major contributing factor to the uprisings.

With the onset of the recession, the union had sought to connect the janitors' struggle with the problems faced by the wider community in Southern California.[43] Building owners were using the economic climate as an excuse to refuse pay increases for the janitors. The union therefore needed to work hard to ensure that building managers would not pass the costs of the recession onto their vulnerable low-wage workers. Justice for Janitors organizers sought to undermine the claim of building owners that they could not afford to raise wages for janitors. Quoting an article in the *Los Angeles Business Journal*, they revealed that occupancy rates in the Westside had changed little over the previous two years. They also linked the state's growing budget deficit, which was partly due to declining tax revenues, to the failure of firms to make proper provision for their workers. Taxes were going up, union organizers argued, because "taxpayers must foot the bill for the health care of millions of working people whose employers do not provide them with health insurance."[44]

[43] The commercial real estate industry was by no means immune to the vagaries of the capitalist economy, and it too experienced difficulties. Kevin Starr, *Coast of Dreams: A History of Contemporary California* (London: Penguin, 2006), pp. 238–46.
[44] 'Westside Real Estate Industry chuckles... What Recession?' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.

The recession of 1990-1991 also preoccupied politicians in Sacramento. In 1991 Republican Pete Wilson succeeded George Deukmejian as California Governor.[45] Faced with a two-year shortfall of approximately $12 billion, he announced the formation of a Council on California Competitiveness (CCC) dominated by representatives from the business community and chaired by Peter Ueberroth. At the heart of the Council's report, "California's Jobs and Future," were a number of highly ideological assumptions. "Government's proper economic role," the report argued, "lies in creating the climate in which businesses can compete and thrive on their merits." As such, the faltering economy was the fault of a government that had intervened too much and had smothered growth with excessive regulation. For the CCC, the lack of affordable housing resulted not from soaring rent but from the restrictions imposed by "slow growth" advocates; and not from the lack public housing, but from state mandates on inclusionary housing programs and housing trust funds for new development. Noting the problems in the state's school system, the report nonetheless reassured readers that California did "not necessarily need more money per child" but rather "freedom of school choice" and voucher systems for private schools. For the CCC, government investment in education was needed not to produce educated citizens but to train them for work in the California economy, since "Getting a job is a necessity, but it is not a right." The CCC's report complained that excessive taxation was "driving business and investment out of our state" and concluded that a low regulation, low tax regime was the only way to reignite growth. [46]

Even before the CCC report was released on 23 April 1992, Los Angeles had slipped into a yet more urgent crisis. Police brutality and repression added to an already volatile mix of racial discrimination, unemployment, and heightened ethnic tensions. On 16 March 1991 Latasha Harlins, a 15 year-old black girl was shot in the back of the head as she attempted to leave a store in South Figueroa Street in South Central LA. Soon Ja Du, the shopkeeper's wife, had falsely suspected Harlins of trying to steal a $1.79 bottle of orange juice. Two weeks later, the

[45] On Deukmejian see Ruth Wilson Gilmore, *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis, and Opposition in Globalizing California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2007), pp. 94–95.
[46] Council on California Competitiveness, *California's Jobs and Future*, 23 April 1992 <https://ee.caeconomy.org/resources/P20> [accessed 3 April 2020] Ironically, many of the problems with the California State government were a legacy of Proposition 13, which had sharply cut state property taxes in the 1970s. The proliferation of fees and exactions from local governments that supposedly stifled small businesses had emerged in the wake of this measure as municipalities and towns desperately sought creative solutions to revenue shortfalls.

LAPD was caught on camera pulling Rodney King from his car and brutally beating him. The lenient sentence administered in the trial of Soon Ja Du for voluntary manslaughter, and the acquittals in the Rodney King police brutality trial impelled protesters to take to the streets chanting, "No Justice, No Peace." Over the next five days, the city burst into a huge wave of anger and civil unrest. The uprising resulted in 54 deaths, over 2,300 injuries, the destruction of 1,100 buildings, and one billion dollars' worth of damage to property.[47]

The immense scale of this rebellion led to inevitable speculation about its causes and renewed debates about the roots of the urban crisis. Solutions to economic deprivation and poverty in America's inner cities fell into two camps. The first camp is best illustrated by Secretary for Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp's editorial for the *Washington Post*, in which he argued "We cannot afford to resort to the bureaucratic, government redistributionist solutions that followed Watts in the 1960s. Instead, government must break down the barriers to ownership, job creation and entrepreneurship from East Harlem to East Los Angeles."[48] The position of the second camp was outlined in a special report in the *Los Angeles Times* by Jesse Jackson, who argued for greater government intervention, a federal industrial policy, and job creation. It was left to labour leader María Elena Durazo to make the union argument that, "The economic reality for huge numbers of Angelenos must not be rebuilt, it must be changed… Recovery must ensure that every job includes dignity, security, living wages, health care and a voice at work."[49] Mike Davis echoed this analysis, and pointed to the neglected subject of Latino involvement in the uprising and the "deteriorating living conditions of Los Angeles' enormous Spanish-speaking proletariat."[50] Understood as a whole, the structural analyses provided by the second camp implied that the drastic reduction in government support mandated by neoliberal policies, combined with economic restructuring, had caused a cycle of "declining wages, rising wage inequality, and increasing racial inequality."[51]

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[47] Brenda E. Stevenson, *The Contested Murder of Latasha Harlins: Justice, Gender, and the Origins of the LA Riots* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. xv–xxviii.
[48] Jack Kemp, 'A New Agenda for Ending Poverty', *The Washington Post*, 3 May 1992, section C7.
[49] A Los Angeles Times Special Report: Understanding the Riots, 'Part Five: The Path to Recovery' (Los Angeles Times, 1992).
[50] Mike Davis, 'Who Killed Los Angeles? A Political Autopsy', *New Left Review*, 1.197 (1993); Mike Davis, 'Who Killed Los Angeles? Part Two: The Verdict Is Given', *New Left Review*, 1.199 (1993).
[51] Rhonda M. Williams, 'Accumulation as Evisceration: Urban Rebellion and the New Growth Dynamics', in *Reading Rodney King/Reading Urban Uprising*, ed. by Robert Gooding-Williams (New York: Routledge, 1993).

Perhaps the most revealing aspect of Kemp's assessment was his account of a telephone conversation with Mayor Bradley, "I was fascinated by his first words in response to the riots: 'Now maybe Congress will pass the enterprise zone bill and get some jobs into the inner city.'" In the early 1990s a bipartisan consensus was emerging in favour of the creation of such zones, which provided tax incentives and grants for businesses in the belief that this would help them to revitalise blighted urban areas. This was the same solution as had been proposed in the CCC report, namely that cities needed to make themselves more "business friendly," and that this would lead to market-led growth and renewed prosperity.[52] In the late 1970s Mayor Bradley had appealed to powerful downtown interests for help, and in the wake of the riot he again turned to business leaders for their assistance.[53] The person he and Governor Wilson chose to lead the non-profit organization charged with leading recovery, Rebuild L.A., was Peter Ueberroth. In June 1992, Bradley appeared before the Senate Finance Committee to persuade them that Enterprise Zones were the best way to revive the inner city.[54] In September, Bradley and Ueberroth wrote to the Chair of the House Ways and Means Committee, Senator Dan Rostenkowski to congratulate Congress for passing Enterprise Zone legislation.[55] Ironically, President Bush discreetly sunk the bill because it contained some minor revenue raising-increases, what he saw as "special interest" give-aways. Left wing critics also argued that competition for private investment would instead lead to a "race to the bottom." Nevertheless, Bradley, Ueberroth, Kemp, and the Democratic leadership were by this time all in favour of a pro-business growth agenda.[56]

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[52] On the development of a bipartisan consensus on urban policy and the 'Third Way' see Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), pp. 273–328.

[53] When the Bradley coalition came to power in 1973 it had combined 'tax-increment' financing with other measures as part of its development strategy for revitalising L.A.'s downtown. Raphael J. Sonenshein, *Politics in Black and White: Race and Power in Los Angeles* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 163–75; This 'business subsidy' strategy was by no means unique to Los Angeles. Peter K. Eisinger, *The Rise of the Entrepreneurial State: State and Local Economic Development Policy in the United States* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

[54] Testimony Before the Senate Finance Committee on Economic Enterprise Zone Legislation by Mayor Tom Bradley, City of Los Angeles, 3 June 1992, Box 4371, Folder 3, Mayor Tom Bradley Administration Papers (Collection 293). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA. [Hereafter cited as Mayor Tom Bradley Administration Papers].

[55] Tom Bradley and Peter Ueberroth to Dan Rostenkowski 25 September 1992, Box 4103, Folder 16, Mayor Tom Bradley Administration Papers.

[56] Timothy P. R. Weaver, *Blazing the Neoliberal Trail: Urban Political Development in the United States and the United Kingdom* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 25–71; Bill Clinton would go on to enact his own Enterprise and Empowerment Zone initiative. Clinton's New Markets Initiative was influenced

The Justice for Janitors campaign realized that they had to develop a strong voice in the debate about how to relaunch economic growth and how to create good jobs for the state's poor. President of SEIU Local 399, James Zellers, urged the city's residents to reject "the self-serving corporate offers of more crippling poverty-level jobs." Highlighting the impact of contracting out in both the private and public sectors, he argued that the problems of the poor could not be solved by "job training" or "job creation" if this merely channelled people into low-wage jobs. He also pointed out that Rebuild L.A.'s twenty-two-point list of what companies could contribute to the rebuilding effort did not even mention wages or working conditions.[57] Organisers also sought to use Bradley and Ueberroth's own rhetoric to pressure building owners (Figure 4). They pointed out that the janitors cleaning offices on Wilshire Boulevard were mostly living in areas most affected by the physical destruction wrought by the uprising. If the building owners and tenants wanted to contribute to rebuilding the city, they could do so by paying their workers a living wage and providing them with health insurance.[58] Justice for Janitors campaigners supported efforts to rebuild the city, but they charged that "corporate greed and irresponsibility must be challenged. The recent violence was a direct product of the deep frustration and anger that years of sub-poverty wages have created in Los Angeles, a city divided between haves and the have-nots."[59]

In February 1993 the union announced a week of actions in support of the "Workers Bill of Rights for an L.A. Renaissance" (Figure 5). These actions included a five day fast by janitors and union representatives to highlight "corporate indifference" to janitors' working conditions.[60] Among those participating was Ricardo Alvarez, a janitor from Guatemala, who earned $5.00 per hour and no benefits for cleaning offices on Wilshire Boulevard. Alvarez's wife needed treatment for heart disease, but the family could not afford it. Another janitor

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by Michael Porter's article "The Competitive Advantage of the Inner City," which featured in the *Harvard Business Review* in 1995. Like Rebuild L.A., Porter believed that encouraging private capital to invest was the key to inner city revitalization. Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 250–51.

[57] James Zellers, 'Third World Wages Won't Rebuild L.A.', *Los Angeles Times*, 29 January 1993.

[58] 'A Penny and Half Invested Today Could Save Millions in the Future!' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 16, United Service Workers West Records.

[59] 'Corporate Greed is the Seed to Unrest' Leaflet (Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.

[60] 'Dear Friend of Justice for Janitors.' Letter 28 January 1993, Box 6, Folder 12, United Service Workers West Records.

who participated in the fast, Wenceslao Valdez, worked in downtown Los Angeles and received family health benefits as a result of the union's earlier organizing efforts. The different situations of these two janitors dramatically highlighted the potential difference that the campaign along the Wilshire corridor could make to the lives of workers.[61] The week of actions culminated in a march to the offices of Rebuild L.A. to present Peter Ueberroth with the Workers Bill of Rights, which called for health insurance as a right, not a privilege, the right to organise, the right to equal pay for equal work, and the right to a living wage.

Ueberroth was not receptive to these demands. A glossy advertising section from *Fortune* magazine, created by Rebuild L.A. and its corporate partners, included advertisements from Shell and Coca-Cola. The magazine was full of marketing platitudes from the so-called "visionaries of the private sector." (One advert by Arco asserted that, "This isn't about fixing buildings. It's about mending broken spirits.") The magazine also featured adverts from companies such as Toyota (the Japanese car company's U.S. subsidiary headquarters were located in Torrance, Los Angeles County) that had been targeted by the union for their poor treatment of workers.[62] When Ueberroth later made a comment about the "dignity" of minimum-wage labour at the launch of a job training programme by Toyota, Justice for Janitors again protested outside Rebuild L.A. headquarters. *The Los Angeles Times* noted, "Although there have [been] varied criticisms of Rebuild L.A. since its creation in May, Thursday's rally was the most direct attack on the organization's approach to solving the city's problems."[63] The union's message to California's political leaders was clear: "Stop the War on the Working Poor!"[64]

In the years after the uprising, the Justice for Janitors continued to develop creative methods for highlighting the widening gulf between rich and poor in Los Angeles. One tactic that could be used effectively, however, was the "public shaming ritual" that organisers had used since the campaign's inception. In October 1992, they unveiled "a new weapon in their struggle for

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[61] Biographical Notes, Box 6, Folder 16, United Service Workers West Records.
[62] 'The Renaissance of Los Angeles: How Rebuild L.A. and the Visionaries of the Private Sector are Reshaping and Revitalizing Los Angeles' Neglected Communities' A Special Advertising Section Reprinted from the May 17, 1993 Issue, *Fortune Magazine*.
[63] Henry Weinstein, 'Janitors Lash Out at Rebuild L.A.', *Los Angeles Times*, 18 December 1992.
[64] 'Stop the War on the Working Poor! March to Demand that Rebuild L.A. Begin with a Foundation of Economic Justice' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 16, United Service Workers West Records.

Justice, MOPMAN, janitor superhero and defender of justice." Mopman would lead janitors as part of the first national Justice for Janitors Day, on which they would "unmask Toyota USA as one of the Enemies of Justice." In a press release it was explained that Toyota was being targeted for its use of Advance Building Maintenance, a non-union contract firm that did not offer health insurance and that had intimidated workers because of their union activities.[65] Mopman became a regular character in the union's repertoire, and also featured in some of its Spanish language educational literature (Figure 6). In 1993, he made an appearance at the Academy Awards, and Hollywood stars were treated to a "special presentation" of the "MOPSCARS" awards.[66] *Variety* reported that on the day of the Oscars, security was provided by more than 500 members of local law enforcement officers and Pinkerton Security guards. The Justice for Janitors protestors, "banging drums and shaking soda pop cans filled with small rocks" were followed by mounted riot police whilst police helicopters circled overhead.[67]

Public institutions were also targeted since they had increasingly turned to outsourcing to reduce costs in the wake of Proposition 13. The L.A. County Museum of Art (LACMA) was awarded the MOPSCAR award for "Worst Performance by a County Agency" for its contract with Marriott, "one of the most notorious anti-union, anti-worker companies in the United States."[68] The Los Angeles City Government was awarded a "dishonourable mention" in the 1994 "Top Trash" awards for contracting out services.[69] The union campaign sought to show

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[65] 'Superhero Mopman Leads Janitors in Los Angeles to Unmask the Enemies of Justice' Press Release, 1992, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.

[66] 'Friday Night Janitor Jazz at the Museum' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.

[67] John Evan Frook, 'Tight Grip on Oscar Security', *Variety*, 29 March 1993; The makeshift instruments described by Frook are *chinchines*, a type of rattle popularly used in Mexico and Guatemala. Andrés Amado, 'Chinchines', ed. by Laurence Libin, *The Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) <https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-3000000233> [accessed 16 January 2021].

[68] 'SEIU's Los Angeles "Justice for Janitors" Campaign Takes Its Act to the Academy Awards...' Press Release, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.; 'The 1993 MOPSCAR Awards' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.; Marriott was "notorious" indeed, since its anti-union policies had earlier been exposed by a leaked management handbook, as reported in the New York Daily News. Serge F. Kovaleski, 'No Room for Unions? Marriott's Manual Warns Against 'Em', *New York Daily News*, 14 February 1992, p. 7; The NLRB later ordered Marriott to cease and desist from a prohibition on workers from wearing Justice for Janitors insignia and from interrogating them about union activity. Sidney Rosen to Michael C. Ford re. National Labor Relations Board, Marriott Corporation Case 31-CA-19652, 27 May 1994, Box 5, Folder 18, United Service Workers West Records.

[69] 'America's Top Trash: The 1994 Enemies of Justice for Janitors.' Leaflet, Box 15, Folder 26, United Service Workers West Records.

how this practice provided a public subsidy to companies with bad employment practices. The union newsletter quoted worker Sam Cleary, who argued that "Public officials are using privatization as a way to escape their obligations to employees performing public services."[70]

Sometimes public shaming rituals took on a theatrical quality. Justice for Janitors protests integrated music, costumes, chanting, and spectacle. Demonstrators would carry large puppets depicting oppressive bosses, or a huge mop to "sweep away injustice." They would carry banners that read "No More Corporate Greed" and "L.A.'s Two Faces: Glamour and Wealth, Poverty and Despair." It was also common for protestors to carry enlarged photos of the infamous Century City police attack, a powerful symbol of the movement that continued to be commemorated by an annual Justice for Janitors Day every 15 June."[71] During a campaign to win an area-wide contract with the City of Pasadena, the City issued a statement defending its "legal obligation" to obtain for its citizens "necessary services at the lowest feasible possible cost." In addition to this "cost efficiency" argument, the City attempted to evade further scrutiny by suggesting that it was obliged to defer to other government agencies such as the NLRB when it came to investigating alleged abuses of workers' rights.[72] The union responded by giving the City its "Turkey of the Year" award for "its failure to act on overwhelming evidence that janitors that clean city buildings are being exploited." To dramatize the award, protestors dressed up and paraded around in turkey outfits.

The street theatre dimensions of the campaign helped to create momentum for the union going in to its 1995 contract negotiations. The theme of the 1995 drive, "One Union, One Industry, One Contract" revealed Justice for Janitors' drive for a single master contract with the same benefits and pay for all workers.[73] A report released by the campaign in December 1994 highlighted that the costs of janitor's wages accounted for only $0.02 for every dollar of

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[70] 'International Justice for Janitors Day in L.A.' *Voice of Local 399*, August/September 1994, Box 34, Folder 4, United Service Workers West Records.

[71] Maureen Marr to Drummond Ayres, New York Times re. 'Kick-off of Contract Campaign: Janitors Convention, Sat., Dec. 10th.' 1 December 1994, Box 15, Folder 26, United Service Workers West Records.; 'The Parade for Justice!!! Featuring Costumes, Mops, Theatre, and FUN!!!' Leaflet, Box 36, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.

[72] City of Pasadena to Justice for Janitors Organizing Committee. 7 October 1994, Box 36, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.

[73] 'We'll Give You ONE Good Reason to Support the Justice for Janitors Campaign '95.' Booklet, Box 44, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.

landlords' rental expenditure. In order to meet the terms of the union's proposed contract, and "bring a living wage to all of the hard working janitors in L.A." the report claimed that building owners would only need to pay one more penny for every dollar spent. However, the report also built on the arguments that were made in the wake of the L.A. uprising, pointing to the fact that many of the union's members lived in the most deprived areas of Los Angeles, such as Pico-Union, South Central, Watts, and Compton. Supporting these workers with fair and adequate wages would therefore help to address the socially and geographically uneven distribution of resources in the city.[74]

The union also pointed to the fact that pro-business policies had resulted in the flow of large public subsidies to businesses at the expense of the California taxpayer.[75] This was a strategic response to the Republican "Contract with America," a ten-point programme that Newt Gingrich had used aggressively in the 1994 midterm elections to unify the party around principles of fiscal conservatism, balanced budgets, and small government. Union members sought to highlight the hypocrisy exhibited by conservative politicians who on the one hand wanted to erode the social safety net but on the other hand sanctioned runaway corporate welfare. In Glendale, Justice for Janitors activists used direct action techniques to make this point, occupying the office of Republican Representative Carlos J. Moorehead to protest his support for the "Contract with America" and shouting, "Tax the rich, not the poor!"[76]

Ultimately, Justice for Janitors prevailed in the 1995 contract campaign. In December 1994 Pasadena City Council approved a proposal to pay all employees working more than 110 hours a month the prevailing wage for janitors working in downtown Los Angeles (a raise of around 50%) and to provide family medical benefits for these workers. A master contract agreement was reached on 3 April 1995 and subsequently ratified by union members.[77]

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[74] 'The Cost of Justice in the Los Angeles Commercial Real Estate Market: A Janitor's Eye View.' Report. Justice for Janitors, SEIU Local 399. 10 December 1994, Box 44, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.
[75] 'Paper Looks at Hefty Subsidies Awarded Commercial Building Owners While Tax Axe Falls Heavily on Homeowners and Individual Taxpayers.' Press Release, 21 March 1995, Box 44, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.
[76] Steve Ryfle and Doug Alger, '8 Arrested in Protest of GOP's "Contract"', *Los Angeles Times*, 29 April 1995, p. B8.
[77] '1995 Justice for Janitors Contract Campaign: Campaign History in Press Clips.' Box 13, Folder 1, United Service Workers West Records.

Gender, Race, and The Making of a Movement

Justice for Janitors has generated a great deal of commentary because of its dramatic successes during a period of neoliberal hegemony. The gains of the campaign were small in comparison to the national losses of the union movement, but the victories of these marginalised workers suggested that continued decline was not inevitable. However, the SEIU was only one component of the labour resurgence in California. Janitors were one subsection of a vast low wage workforce in the state, and unions were attempting to organize migrant workers in the manufacturing and agricultural sectors as well as the service sector. These efforts led to greater cooperation between labour, community organizations, and political representatives. The social movement character of the labour mobilization of this period was crucial to unions' success because California's new working class was incredibly diverse. Whether at work or outside of it, workers lives were shaped by the mutually constituted social hierarchies of gender, race, and class. Communities of workers were also separated from each other by barriers of language and culture, and sometimes conflicting interests. Worker empowerment would require a wider understanding of the broad range of problems faced by working people.[78]

In the 1970s academics had noted the "feminization of work" and the "feminization of poverty." People of colour also made up an increasing proportion of rank-and-file union membership, but unions were slow to respond to these developments.[79] The SEIU adapted more quickly than others, and Sweeney recognized that the future survival of the labour movement would rest on its resolve to organise the women and people of colour who made up a major segment of the service economy workforce. By 1994, Sweeney was using his success as SEIU president to lead an insurgent faction within the AFL-CIO to depose Lane Kirkland and to defeat his designated successor, Tom Donahue. Sweeney's rise, which

[78] As historian Robin D. G. Kelley noted, "Working people live in communities that are as embattled as the workplace itself. Black and Latino workers, for example, must contend with issues of police brutality and a racist criminal justice system, housing discrimination, lack of city services, toxic waste, inadequate health care facilities, sexual assault and domestic violence, and crime and neighborhood safety." Robin D. G. Kelley, *Yo' Mama's Disfunktional!: Fighting the Culture Wars in Urban America* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1999), p. 145.
[79] Louise Kapp Howe, *Pink Collar Workers: Inside the World of Women's Work* (New York: Avon Books, 1978); Diana M. Pearce, 'The Feminization of Poverty: Women, Work and Welfare', *The Urban and Social Change Review*, 11.1–2 (1978), 28–36.

culminated in him being elected president of the AFL-CIO in October 1995, signalled a departure from the insular "business unionism" of previous decades.

A new wave of organizations affiliated with the AFL-CIO also emerged during this period. The Asian Pacific American Labor Alliance (APALA) was founded in 1992 and brought together the community activist networks that had been established in San Francisco and Los Angles with those in New York. APALA's first president, Kent Wong served as a staff attorney at the SEIU in 1985 before becoming director of UCLA labour center in 1991.[80] Wong has cited the inspiration of labour activism amongst Asian migrants in the 1970s, for example the Farm Worker Organizing Committee, founded by Filipino worker Philip Veracruz.[81] APALA was therefore created with the aim of transforming the wider labour movement by infusing it with the dynamic social justice organising tradition developed by Asian American community organisations.[82] It was Wong who proposed the idea of a "Full Participation" conference to Bill Lucy, President of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and Norman Hill, president of the A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI). In accordance with this plan, 400 leaders from the Asian, Black, Latinx, and women's labor groups gathered to call for greater representation within the labor movement. Lucy delivered a list of eleven demands to the leadership contenders.[83] The subsequent expansion of the AFL-CIO executive board to include greater numbers of women and people of colour signalled that, under Sweeney, the union movement would finally begin to respond to these demands for fair representation.[84] However, this shift at the top reflected earlier efforts at the bottom by rank-and-file workers in unions to fight

[80] Wong has pointed to anti-Japanese rhetoric in the 1980s and the murder of Vincent Chin, a Chinese American who was brutally attacked by unemployed autoworkers in Detroit in 1982, as widely reported examples of widespread anti-Asian racism within the labour movement. On the alleged 'Japanese Threat' to American jobs see Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000), pp. 160–86.

[81] See also *Legacy to Liberation: Politics and Culture of Revolutionary Asian Pacific America*, ed. by Fred Ho (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2000).

[82] Kent Wong, interview with author, 2021.

[83] These groups included APALA, APRI, the CBTU, the Coalition of Labor Union Women, the Labor Council for Latin American Advancement, and Frontlash. Louis Uchitelle, 'Blacks See Opening in A.F.L.-C.I.O. Leadership Fight', *The New York Times*, 15 July 1995, section U.S., p. 6.

[84] Lichtenstein, pp. 256–57; Progress under Kirkland had been slow. When Barbara Hutchinson of the American Federation of Government Employees joined the Executive Council in November 1981, she was only the second woman and the second African American to do so. AFL-CIO officials had been reluctant to lead organizing drives aimed at women workers, even though union density was falling, and despite the fact that women were often not only a growing proportion of the workforce but were also significantly underpaid relative to their male colleagues. Timothy J. Minchin, *Labor Under Fire: A History of the AFL-CIO since 1979* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017), pp. 102–3.

for greater inclusion. It marked just one important landmark in a much longer struggle by women and people of colour to create their own workers movements, combat racism and sexism within the mainstream labour movement, and pry open leadership opportunities within union locals.[85]

This grassroots activism is illustrated by the rise of María Elena Durazo to the presidency of Local 11 of the Hotel Employees and Restaurant Employees (HERE). Since the mid-1970s membership of the local had fallen precipitously, and union leaders refused to provide Spanish translations of union meetings to rank-and-file members, despite the fact that 70% of them were Hispanic and often did not speak fluent English. In fact, in 1984 the leadership actually spent $100,000 of union money on trying to prevent translation from happening.[86] In 1987 the local was placed into trusteeship by the international as a result of electoral improprieties. Durazo was subsequently elected to the presidency in May 1989, with 85 per cent of the vote. Because the union had been in disarray for so long, she had to undertake an overhaul of its operations and rebuild its membership base by appointing new organizing and research staff.

The daughter of migrant field workers from Mexico who spoke little English, Durazo from a young age had accompanied her older brother on United Farm Workers, Chicano Rights, and anti-war marches in Fresno. She won a scholarship to attend college where she was active in student politics. She was also inspired by Mexican American activists Bert Corona and Soledad Alatorre, both of whom were involved in the labour movement. This prompted her to take up a job working for the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) as a sweatshop organizer.[87] She then worked for a labour law firm, Levy, Goldman and Levy, whilst also

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[85] Efforts in the 1990s to organize workers previously considered to be 'unorganizable' by industrial unions should be considered within a wider historical context. To take just one notable example of the cross-fertilization of feminism, racial justice, and economic justice within marginalised workers' movements see Premilla Nadasen, *Household Workers Unite: The Untold Story of African American Women Who Built a Movement* (Beacon Press, 2015).

[86] Laura Pulido, *Black, Brown, Yellow, and Left Radical Activism in Los Angeles* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), p. 220.

[87] It became clear from the late 1970s that undocumented workers were becoming an integral part of the workforce in textile and garment industries in the United States. The ILGWU was therefore one of the first unions to recognise that its long-term survival depended upon reversing the labour movement's historical hostility to these workers. Phil Russo, the director of organizing for the Western States Region of the ILGWU, began to organise immigrant workers and also lobbied for a progressive amnesty law in the early 1980s. After

studying for a juris doctorate at the People's College of Law. Despite these achievements, Durazo was still only in her mid-thirties when she was elected to the Local 11 presidency. She possessed not only a formidable set of professional skills and experience at all levels of the union organization, but also a personal understanding of the experiences of the largely immigrant workforce.[88] The ascension of Durazo to the presidency of Local 11 signalled the arrival of a new generation of women labour activists who would be essential to creating a labour movement that was more committed to recruiting new members from a broader social base.[89]

Durazo was a militant. In June 1992, she had her union distribute 2,500 copies a videotape entitled "City on the Edge" to city leaders as well as chambers of commerce and convention planners throughout the U.S. The videotape juxtaposed L.A.'s luxury hotels and beaches alongside scenes of urban social deprivation. Though not a polished piece of filmmaking, it

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the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 the union helped immigrant workers to apply to regularise their status. Robert Lindsey, 'Unions Move to Organize Illegal Aliens in the West', *The New York Times*, 3 June 1979, section Archives; Leah Haus, 'Openings in the Wall: Transnational Migrants, Labor Unions, and U.S. Immigration Policy', *International Organization*, 49.2 (1995), 285–313.

[88] Mark Nelson, 'The Durazo Direction', *Hispanic Business*, May 1990; Bob Sipchen, 'Labor of Love', *Los Angeles Times*, 9 March 1997, section Life and Style; María Elena Durazo and Vivian Rothstein, UCLA, Institute for Research on Labor and Employment Library, UNITE HERE Local 11 Oral History Project, 2016 <https://calisphere.org/item/2beaa736-8159-48d8-8e2e-3aab25658e9c/> [accessed 25 January 2021].

[89] Women had always played an important role in the tradition of labour and civil rights activism in California. This tradition included the contributions of women such as Jewish union organizer Rosa Pesotta, Guatemalan-born feminist Luisa Moreno, African American Editor-Publisher of the California Eagle, Charlotta Bass, and Mexican-American UFW leader Dolores Huerta. John H. M. Laslett, *Sunshine Was Never Enough: Los Angeles Workers, 1880-2010* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012); Margaret Rose, 'Traditional and Nontraditional Patterns of Female Activism in the United Farm Workers of America, 1962 to 1980', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 11.1 (1990), 26–32; Vicki L. Ruiz has noted that Durazo's determination to use her own education for the benefit of the community echoed key themes within the Chicano Student Movement. Vicki L. Ruíz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America*, 10th Anniversary Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 105, 137–38; Women were also crucial to the labour upsurge in the 1990s. Their ranks included HERE Local 681 President Angela Keefe and HERE Local 11 organizer Susan Minato, amongst many others. Michael Flagg, 'Women Gaining a Toehold in Leadership of Southland Trade Unions', *Los Angeles Times*, 2 August 1992; Takeshi Nakayama, 'In Her Mother's Footsteps', *Rafu Shimpo*, 6 April 1994; Justice for Janitors also depended upon the crucial work of dedicated Latina activists such as Ana Navarette, Rocio Saenz, and Rosa Ayala. 'TQS News: A Contemporary Newsletter of Eclectic Chicano Thought, Vol. 10, No. 6 (November-December 1993)', ed. by Octavio I. Romano, Box 11, Folder 7, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, UCLA.; Maria A. Gutierrez de Soldatenko, 'Justice for Janitors Latinizing Los Angeles: Mobilizing Latina(o) Cultural Repertoire', in *Latino Los Angeles: Transformations, Communities, and Activism*, ed. by Enrique Ochoa and Gilda L. Ochoa (Tucson, AZ: University of Arizona Press, 2005), pp. 225–45; The campaign began to more actively recruit women leaders such that, by the end of the decade, women were more equally represented on the executive board and on committees than they had been the case at the outset of the Century City campaign. Cranford, pp. 318–19.

certainly attracted the attention of the media. One journalist wrote, "The message is simple: Come to L.A. and be robbed, shot, and buried in a shallow grave off the 405. Hell, bring the whole family… Riots explode, it tells us, where poverty festers… heeding its truths isn't a bad idea. Let's face it, guys. We just aren't in a city of angels anymore." The video was widely condemned by the tourist industry in Los Angeles, as well as Mayor Bradley. Nevertheless, shortly after its release, many hotels in L.A. signed a contract with Durazo's union.[90]

HERE Local 11's successful campaign to bring the power of public opinion to bear on hotel owners created momentum for the state's labour movement as a whole. Keen observers were beginning to suggest that unions were constructing a new model for organizing in California that could be replicated in other parts of the country.[91] Writing in the *Los Angeles Times*, historian Mike Davis wrote admiringly of HERE 11's "experiment in '21st-Century labor protest.' Traditional union tactics have been completely re-thought," he wrote, with the "formal strike" and a stationery picket line abandoned in favour of leafletting, human billboards, flying pickets, delegations to city officials, and inevitably, mass civil disobedience. Indeed, the hotel workers speak of building not just a union but a social movement, like those of the 1930s and 1960s."[92] Indeed, from the beginning Durazo sought to align her union with the civil rights tradition and she had reached out to the Reverend James Lawson Jr., the leader of Holman United Methodist Church to solicit his support. Lawson was not only a civil rights pioneer but an icon of the movement for economic justice who had previously served as chair of the 1968 Memphis Sanitation Strike committee before moving to Los Angeles in 1974. Lawson also agreed to organise a series of workshops for HERE unionists to teach them about the principles of nonviolent direct action and techniques for community organising. The meetings with Lawson became a site for the consolidation of a progressive movement in California, bringing together labour and community leaders to develop common strategies for social change. Under the leadership of Durazo, and with the assistance of the "Holman group," HERE Local 11 became another source of institutional power in Southern California for social movement unionism.

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[90] Al Martinez, 'How to Get Attention', *Los Angeles Times*, 25 June 1992, p. B2; Steve Proffitt, 'Maria Elena Durazo: Controversial Local Union Head Takes No Prisoners to Win the Point', *Los Angeles Times*, 27 September 1992, p. M3.
[91] Peter Rachleff, 'Seeds of a Labor Resurgency', *The Nation*, 21 February 1994, pp. 226–29.
[92] Mike Davis, 'Trying to Build a Union Movement in Los Angeles', *Los Angeles Times*, 20 March 1994.

As a Latina and the daughter of immigrants, Durazo also understood the complex challenges facing this community. Managers in labour intensive industries tended to favour Latinx migrant workers because they perceived them to be easily controlled. In part this perception was informed by an historical set of racist assumptions about Latin Americans, but it also reflected highly unequal power relations.[93] Racist attitudes had also underpinned the labour movement's historical hostility to immigrants. For these reasons, the task of building an institutional infrastructure adequate to the task of organizing such workers across ethnic lines was not an easy one.[94] However, in the late 1980s the labour movement had begun to respond to changing circumstances following the passage of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986. Progressive labour organisers responded by creating organisations that helped workers to file for amnesty and provided benefits to workers short of full union membership.[95] Although originally conceived in quite limited terms, these organizations provided important institutional support for labour organizing in the 1990s.[96]

It is also likely that anti-immigrant sentiment in the U.S. made Mexican workers more receptive to unionisation. In the past, these workers would have returned home if they were unable to find work or if they were dismissed from their jobs. However, with the militarisation

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[93] Undocumented immigrant workers were particularly vulnerable to exploitation because their uncertain legal status meant that they did not have access to regular channels of legal recourse, and the threat of deportation was a potent weapon in the hands of employers. If employers underpaid their workers or violated employment law, it was difficult for workers to reclaim wages or address abuses because they often lacked awareness of their rights and were unlikely to approach government agencies. If particular individuals sought to organise their fellow workers, then their managers could simply fire them or report them to the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Because of this relationship, it was often assumed by employers and union leaders alike that immigrants could not be organized. In the 1980s empirical research by Rita J. Simon and Margo DeLay found that legal status was the most important factor in predicting the hourly rate of pay for immigrant women from Mexico. Rita J. Simon and Margo DeLey, 'The Work Experience of Undocumented Mexican Women Migrants in Los Angeles', *The International Migration Review*, 18.4 (1984), 1212–29.

[94] In California, organized labour had been a vocal supporter of the Exclusion Acts, and in the 1940s union activists had made "citizen's arrests" of alleged "wetbacks" before turning them over to the INS. Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), p. 161.

[95] Crucial in this regard were the Labor Immigrant Assistance Program (LIAP) and the California Immigrant Workers Association (CIWA). Efforts to organise immigrant workers were also driven by David Sickler, an organiser who had worked with gay and lesbian activists to launch a boycott against Coors beer in the 1970s. *From Coors to California: David Sickler and the New Working Class*, ed. by Kent Wong and others (Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Center for Labor Research and Eductation, 2019).

[96] Robert Lazo, 'Latinos and the AFL-CIO: The California Immigrant Workers Association as an Important New Development', in *Latino Employment, Labor Organizations, and Immigration*, ed. by Antoinette Sedillo López (New York: Garland, 1995), IV, 100–121.

of the border, the risks posed by repetitive, circular journeys were much higher.[97] Consequently, undocumented workers had a greater investment in their communities and were more willing to work collectively to improve their working conditions and protect their rights. Immigration from Guatemala, El Salvador, and Nicaragua differed from immigration from Mexico because of the role that the Reagan Administration played in fuelling wars in Central America in the 1980s. The human cost of these conflicts was huge: a quarter of a million deaths in the period 1974 to 1996, over a million people displaced within their home countries, and over three million seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. Many of these refugees were unable to regularise their status in the U.S.[98] Guatemalan, Salvadoran and Nicaraguan immigrants also tended to come from a much broader range of socio-economic backgrounds than Mexican immigrants. Many were well educated, had an experience with unions in their home country, and possessed skills that were useful for labour activism. These workers understood that they were being exploited, but nonetheless, the threats of employers in the U.S. paled in comparison to the violence and intimidation they had been subjected to in Central America. It is likely that the willingness of these immigrant workers to organize reflected the fact that this wider context shed a different light on the risks involved.[99]

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[97] Many Mexican workers in the 1960s and 1970s had seen employment in the United States as a temporary arrangement, they were "target earners" who frequently returned to their home country. However, Mexican immigration had been institutionalised by through social networks that were necessary to the functioning of the bracero programme. When the programme terminated in 1965 the established patterns of immigration continued, although now it was classified as illegal by the U.S. state. Anti-immigrant sentiment prompted an expansion, and militarisation, of border enforcement in the 1970s and 1980s. The intensification of "security" measures increased the numbers of apprehensions of undocumented immigrants, creating the impression of a crisis. This in turn precipitated the passing of the Immigration Reform and Control Act (IRCA) in 1986. Michael J. Piore, *Birds of Passage: Migrant Labor and Industrial Societies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Douglas S. Massey, 'America's Immigration Policy Fiasco: Learning from Past Mistakes', *Daedalus*, 142.3 (2013), 5–15; Douglas S. Massey and Kerstin Gentsch, 'Undocumented Migration to the United States and the Wages of Mexican Immigrants', *The International Migration Review*, 48.2 (2014), 482–99; *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, ed. by Ruth Milkman (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2000), p. 13.

[98] Susan Bibler Coutin, *Nations of Emigrants: Shifting Boundaries of Citizenship in El Salvador and the United States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2007); María Cristina García, *Seeking Refuge: Central American Migration to Mexico, the United States, and Canada* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006) The Reagan administration refused to grant Salvadorans and Guatemalans refugee status as a group because to do so would amount to public recognition of the complicity of the United States in their oppression by authoritarian regimes. They were labelled "economic migrants," along with most other Latin Americans (like the first generation of Cubans before them, Nicaraguans were considered to be legitimate refugees fleeing a "pro-Soviet regime"). According to García, 'From 1983 to 1990, only 2.6 percent of Salvadoran asylum applicants were successful, and only 1.8 percent of Guatemalan applications for the same period were granted.' Relatively few Argentines or Chileans were able to migrate to the United States as a result of U.S. backed repression in their home countries.

[99] Waldinger and others, pp. 116–18.

Two breakthrough campaigns in the early 1990s proved that immigrant workers were not as easily intimidated as employers believed, both involving successful wildcat strikes by Latinx workers.[100] The militancy of immigrant workers themselves was therefore a vital ingredient in the success of the labour renaissance during the 1990s.

Mainstream unions such as SEIU and HERE were also supplemented by new institutions that were specifically geared to the needs of immigrant workers. Worker centers had originally been developed by African Americans in the South, but increasingly they were being created to address the needs of other communities, and they proliferated rapidly in the mid-1990s.[101] These organizations provided services and advocacy for ethnic communities that composed various economic niches within the California economy. Notable among the worker centres in California was the Korean Immigrant Worker Advocates (KIWA). KIWA was founded in 1992 by Danny Park and Roy Hong in the aftermath of the L.A. uprising and began interethnic organizing on behalf of Korean and Latinx workers in the restaurant industry in Koreatown. Roy Hong had worked for the SEIU at both a local and international level, but KIWA also drew inspiration from the Korean pro-democracy movement of the 1980s.[102] Like the Justice for Janitors campaign, KIWA sought to highlight how the corporate centred approach adopted by Rebuild L.A. benefited certain sectors of the population and disadvantaged others. They argued that middle class business owners in Koreatown received funds for investment in their businesses but working-class Koreans, who were also affected by the economic dislocation caused by the uprising, received little aid. KIWA's Displaced Workers Campaign also sought

[100] Six months after the signing of the ISS contract at Century City, 900 workers at American Racing Equipment in Rancho Dominguez engaged in a spontaneous strike led by leaders from Honduras, El Salvador, and Mexico. The wildcat strike led the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers to create a new local at the plant and to negotiate a contract on behalf of the workers. David Sickler, 'Multi-Union Organizing: Speech by David Sickler 12/7/95 at UCLA', *Labor Research Review*, 1.24 (1996), 13 (pp. 106–7); Carol Zabin, 'Organizing Latino Workers in the Los Angeles Manufacturing Sector: The Case of American Racing Equipment', in *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, ed. by Ruth Milkman (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2000); In October 1991 Jesus Gomez began organizing fellow drywall workers when his employer refused to address an underpayment in wages and, in June 1992, 1,800 of these workers began a wildcat strike that secured the support of various organizations and unions and eventually a contract. Ruth Milkman and Kent Wong, 'Organizing the Wicked City: The 1992 Southern California Drywall Strike', in *Organizing Immigrants: The Challenge for Unions in Contemporary California*, ed. by Ruth Milkman (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2000).

[101] Janice Fine, *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006).

[102] Glenn Omatsu, 'Immigrant Workers Take the Lead: A Militant Humility Transforms L.A. Koreatown', in *Immigrant Rights in the Shadows of Citizenship*, ed. by Rachel Buff (New York: New York University Press, 2008), p. 269.

to break down the "model minority" myth that sustained Black-Korean tensions.[103] Such work therefore complemented the movement building efforts of black community activists such as Anthony Thigpenn and Karen Bass, who had been working to construct multiracial coalitions in South LA since the 1980s.[104]

HERE was therefore a vital node within a wider network of community and labour organisations that facilitated coalition building across ethnic lines. HERE and SEIU were cooperating from the outset of the Justice for Janitors campaign, and Durazo spoke at the Justice for Janitors convention in 1992. During the months leading up to the convention the two unions had also organised a recession response march and rally to demand better pay, job security, and health insurance, under the banner "Invest in Us."[105] Both HERE and SEIU acknowledged that for their members the fight for health insurance, good wages, sick leave, and job protection could not be separated from the issue of immigration rights.[106] A resolution at the 1992 conference recognised the need to build national solidarity with janitors in other cities and "to increase the political power of all workers regardless of immigration status."[107] Indeed, this need became urgent in the early 1990s.[108]

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[103] Hoon Lee, 'Building Class Solidarity Across Racial Lines: Korean-American Workers in Los Angeles', in *Beyond Identity Politics: Emerging Social Justice Movements in Communities of Color*, ed. by John Anner (South End Press, 1996), pp. 47–61.

[104] Melina Abdullah and Regina Freer, 'Bass to Bass: Relative Freedom and Womanist Leadership in Black Los Angeles', in *Black Los Angeles: American Dreams and Racial Realities*, ed. by Darnell M. Hunt and Ana-Christina Ramón (New York: New York University Press, 2010), pp. 323–42; Donna Murch, 'The Color of War: Race, Neoliberalism, and Punishment in Late Twentieth-Century Los Angeles', in *Neoliberal Cities: The Remaking of Postwar Urban America*, ed. by Andrew J. Diamond and Thomas J. Sugrue (New York: New York University Press, 2020), pp. 128–53.

[105] 'Hotel Workers and Janitors United Recession Response: Invest in Us!' Leaflet, Box 6, Folder 17, United Service Workers West Records.

[106] As with HERE, the SEIU initially struggled to make itself responsive to the life experiences of Latinx workers and their specific needs. In particular, they lacked bilingual staff and it took time to build up this capacity during the course of the campaign. However, SEIU did begin to provide Spanish language materials to workers in order to educate them about their rights in the United States, and how to respond to employers who demanded proof of their legal status. Amy Bridges, 'The Sun Also Rises in the West', in *The City, Revisited: Urban Theory from Chicago, Los Angeles, and New York*, ed. by Dennis R. Judd and Dick Simpson (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), pp. 79–103 (pp. 91–92).

[107] The resolution stated that "Some immigrants have come to this country by choice, while others were forced out of their countries by political and/or economic upheaval, and still others were kidnapped and brought here as slaves. Most have, upon arrival, been exploited at substandard wages in miserable working conditions. Many have led or joined workplace organizing efforts. By fighting for the full rights of immigrants and refugees, SEIU is fighting for civil and labor rights here, and for democracy and self-determination in the countries of their origin." SEIU 399 Janitors Convention: Recession Response Program. Booklet, Box 6, Folder 13, United Service Workers West Records.

[108] The history of white supremacy in California is long but these years saw an upsurge in xenophobia and racism. Tomas Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley,

The recession in California had not only hurt Governor Pete Wilson's chances of re-election, but also led voters to search for a scapegoat for the state's problems. Faced with a strong liberal challenger in the 1994 gubernatorial election, Kathleen Brown (daughter of former governor Pat Brown, and sister of former governor Jerry Brown), Wilson knew that he could exploit these fears, and decided to use immigration as a wedge issue to defeat his opponent. He did so by coming out in favour of Proposition 187 (often referred to as the "Save Our State" initiative) which was a voter initiative written in November 1993 by a group of right-wing activists who were seeking to restrict immigration to the state. Wilson came out in favour of the measure which, besides mandating greater coordination between the police and the Immigration and Naturalization Service, also called for the withholding of welfare benefits and state services from undocumented immigrants.[109] Nativist sentiment could be reconciled with a neoliberal economic agenda by emphasising how immigrants supposedly acted as a "drain" on state resources.[110] Wilson's move towards a hard-line anti-immigrant stance was facilitated by the willingness of some Democrats to also call for anti-immigration measures.[111] The role that U.S. foreign policy had played in generating immigration, and in particular

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CA: University of California Press, 1994); Elmer Clarence Sandmeyer, *The Anti-Chinese Movement in California* (Urbana, IL: The University of Illinois Press, 1939); John Higham, *Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925* (New York: Atheneum, 1963); Roger Daniels, *Concentration Camps USA: Japanese Americans and World War II* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971); Michi Nishiura Weglyn, *Years of Infamy: The Untold Story of America's Concentration Camps*, Updated Edition (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1996); Erika Lee, *At America's Gates: Chinese Immigration During the Exclusion Era, 1882-1943* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kelly Lytle Hernandez, *Migra!: A History of the U.S. Border Patrol* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010); Eileen H. Tamura, *In Defense of Justice: Joseph Kurihara and the Japanese American Struggle for Equality* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013).

[109] Starr, *Coast of Dreams*, pp. 197–207.

[110] Kitty Calavita, 'The New Politics of Immigration: "Balanced-Budget Conservatism" and the Symbolism of Proposition 187', *Social Problems*, 43.3 (1996), 284–305; Conservatives in Orange Country, led by Ronald Prince and Barbara Coe, were the initial architects of the measure. Daniel Martinez Hosang argues that these grassroots restrictionist groups had loose links to extremist propaganda groups such as FAIR, but that their proximity to earlier 'homeowners rights' and 'taxpayers' movements may also explain their nativist views. Daniel Martinez Hosang, *Racial Propositions: Ballot Initiatives and the Making of Postwar California* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010), p. 166; In this respect, the battle over Proposition 187 may be understood, like Proposition 13 before it, as another manifestation of what George Lipsitz calls 'the possessive investment in whiteness.' George Lipsitz, 'The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: Racialized Social Democracy and the "White" Problem in American Studies', *American Quarterly*, 47.3 (1995), 369; This was made possible because of racialised constructions of Mexicans as "dependent" and lacking the "white work ethic." Robin Dale Jacobson, *The New Nativism: Proposition 187 and the Debate over Immigration* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), pp. 66–88.

[111] Jonathan Xavier Inda notes the similarities between the rhetoric used in Diane Feinstein's campaign advertisements and that used in Pete Wilson's infamous 'they keep coming' advert. Jonathan Xavier Inda, 'The Value of Immigrant Life', in *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader*, ed. by Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007), p. 144.

Ronald Reagan's support for repressive regimes in Central America, was not a major component of public debate on the initiative.[112]

The unions recognised the threat to their grassroots campaign for better wages and working conditions and they mobilized their members in opposition to the initiative. Representatives of the SEIU and the State Federation of Labor, the California Federation of Teachers, the California Medical Association, Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and Assemblyman Richard Polanco to form a "No on S.O.S." fundraising committee, Taxpayers Against 187. SEIU Locals 399 and 660 were particularly militant in organizing against the initiative.[113] However, there existed deep divisions over strategy within the anti-Proposition 187 forces.[114] These divisions, combined with the failure of the Democratic party to take a stand, led to the measure being approved 59 percent to 41 percent by voters on 8 November 1994.

Proposition 187 was a victory for the reactionary right, however, it also had the effect of mobilizing the Latinx community.[115] October 1994 had seen a demonstration of over 70,000 people (perhaps as many as 100,000) against the measure, and thousands of children walked out of school in protest.[116] Many Latinos, whether they had been born in the United States or elsewhere, recognised that Proposition 187 was racially coded and saw themselves as targets of nativist sentiment.[117] The passage of the measure was therefore a transformative moment

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[112] As Mai Ngai has argued, '... Our understanding of immigration has been powerfully influenced by nationalism. Americans want to believe that immigration to the United States proves the universality of the nation's liberal democratic principles; we resist examining the role that American world power has played in the global structures of migration.' Ngai, p. 11; It should also be noted that Proposition 187 targeted the alleged costs to American taxpayers of illegal immigration but remained silent on the exploitative immigrant labour regime which created taxable revenues for American companies. Leo R. Chavez, 'Immigration Reform and Nativism: The Nationalist Response to the Transnational Challenge', in *Immigrants Out! The New Nativism and the Anti-Immigrant Impulse in the United States*, ed. by Juan F. Perea (New York: New York University Press, 1997).
[113] Kelley, p. 133.
[114] Hosang, pp. 178–94; Rodolfo F. Acuña, *Anything but Mexican: Chicanos in Contemporary Los Angeles* (London: Verso, 1995), p. 158.
[115] Although the measure was ultimately voided as unconstitutional by the courts, it did influence subsequent federal legislation. Clinton's Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act (PRWORA) of August 1996 included provisions denying public assistance to immigrants. Starr, *Coast of Dreams*, pp. 202–7.
[116] The Associated Press, 'The 1994 Campaign: Immigration Issue, California Students Leave School To Protest Alien Ballot Measure', *The New York Times*, 29 October 1994, section U.S.; Patrick J. McDonnell and Robert J. Lopez, 'L.A. March Against Prop. 187 Draws 70,000: Immigration Protesters Condemn Wilson for Backing Initiative That They Say Promotes "Racism, Scapegoating."', *Los Angeles Times*, 17 October 1994.
[117] David E. Hayes-Bautista, *La Nueva California: Latinos from Pioneers to Post-Millennials*, Revised Edition (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2017), p. 107.

for Latinx political consciousness in California, and it provided labour leaders with a politicised constituency to help them build union power.[118]

Foremost among these new leaders was Miguel Contreras who was elected president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor (LACFCL) in May 1996. Contreras had been an organiser for UFW before joining HERE in 1977. Contreras was also a key supporter and ally of María Elena Durazo during her own bid for the leadership of HERE Local 11.[119] In his acceptance speech, Contreras vowed to support the growing social movement union surge in California, "A new spirit of grass roots activity must replace the era of check-book politics."[120] He helped Gilbert Cedillo of SEIU Local 660, a union organiser who had played a part in the fight against Proposition 187, to run for political office. He also worked with Durazo and SEIU vice-president Eliseo Medina to cultivate a Labour-Latinx alliance in California, and to transform the AFL-CIO's immigration policy.[121] When the Justice for Janitors campaign began

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[118] Caroline J. Tolbert and Rodney E. Hero noted that, 'A Los Angeles Times exit poll found the illegal immigration initiative polarized the electorate along racial lines, with broad support among white voters while losing among other ethnic groups. Whites voted almost 2 to 1 in support of Proposition 187. Latinos, in contrast, opposed the measure 77% to 23%. The poll also shows that 53% of black and Asian voters opposed the measure, suggesting the measure may have been broadly conceived as antiminority and/or anti-Latino.' Caroline J. Tolbert and Rodney E. Hero, 'Race/Ethnicity and Direct Democracy: An Analysis of California's Illegal Immigration Initiative', *The Journal of Politics*, 58.3 (1996), 806–18; The passage of the measure prompted many Latinos to begin the naturalization process, thus expanding the size of the Latinx electorate. Latinx voter turnout also increased significantly in the years subsequent to the vote. Adrian D. Pantoja, Ricardo Ramirez, and Gary M. Segura, 'Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos', *Political Research Quarterly*, 54.4 (2001), 729–50; Coutin, pp. 178–83; Hayes-Bautista, p. 107.

[119] For a valuable discussion of Contreras, the LACFL, and coalition building in Los Angeles see Larry Frank and Kent Wong, 'Dynamic Political Mobilization: The Los Angeles County Federation of Labor', *WorkingUSA: The Journal of Labor and Society*, 8.2 (2004), 155–81.

[120] 'Miguel Contreras Elected to Head Federation as Secretary-Treasurer' *Federation News*, Los Angeles County Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, Volume XV, Issue 6, June 1996, Box 16, Folder 4, UNITE HERE Records (Collection 2325). Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.; Contreras had what Fernando Gapasin and Howard Wial have called a 'transformative orientation,' and believed that central labor councils should play an active role in coordinating labour union locals and supporting organizing efforts. Fernando Gapasin and Howard Wial, 'The Role of Central Labor Councils in Union Organizing in the 1990s', in *Organizing To Win: New Research on Union Strategies*, ed. by Kate Bronfenbrenner and others (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 54–67.

[121] Ruth Milkman, Kent Wong, and Miguel Contreras, 'L.A. Confidential: An Interview with Miguel Contreras', *New Labor Forum*, 10, 2002, 52–61; Randy Shaw, 'Building the Labor-Clergy-Immigrant Alliance', in *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America*, ed. by Kim Voss and Irene Bloemraad (University of California Press, 2011), pp. 82–100; Laslett, pp. 296–97, 309–13; In an interesting turn of fate, one of the children who took part in the school protests, Sandra Diaz, later became the political director of SEIU Service Workers West. Pilar Marrero, 'Proposition 187 Shook Latino Voters and Changed California Politics', *KCET*, 2019 <https://www.kcet.org/news-analysis/proposition-187-shook-latino-voters-and-changed-california-politics> [accessed 25 April 2020]; Unions were key organizers of the 2006 immigrant rights protest marches in California. Cassandra Engeman, 'Social Movement Unionism in Practice: Organizational Dimensions

a march in Sacramento in March 1997 as part of its campaign against Somers Building Maintenance, it did so in partnership with HERE, the AFL-CIO, and the Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, among other organizations.[122]

The Living Wage Campaign

By mid-decade the labour renaissance in California was well underway, and union leaders were searching for ways to consolidate the gains won by the innovative organizing drives of SEIU and HERE. Despite the success of these efforts, the experiences with Rebuild L.A. and Proposition 187 had demonstrated that increasing the membership was not a sufficient bulwark against the larger structural forces that undermined workers' power. Strengthened by new local leaders, a change of guard within the AFL-CIO executive, and a reenergised grassroots movement, it was possible to think again about the mechanisms by which unions could confront the hierarchies that were imposed by neoliberal ideology and that subordinated the needs of workers to the demands of capital. The social movement approach suggested that a wider political strategy was needed.

These were difficult times for the union movement as a whole. The Democratic Party was no longer a reliable ally of organized labour, a fact made patently clear during the battle over NAFTA (discussed in Chapter 2). From the outset of his presidency, Clinton had been pushed further and further to the right by unrelenting attacks by conservatives and by the free market instincts of some of his own advisors. With his presidency already tainted by the Whitewater scandal in 1993 and the furore over gays in the military, and the decisive defeat of his healthcare plan, Clinton was persuaded by the success of Newt Gingrich and the Republicans in the 1994 midterm elections to embrace a strategy of "triangulation" in an effort to secure a second term in 1996.[123] Clinton had already promised to "end welfare as we know it" during the 1991 campaign, but by pushing through reforms in 1996 he instituted a system that

of Union Mobilization in the Los Angeles Immigrant Rights Marches', *Work, Employment and Society*, 29.3 (2015), 444–61.

[122] 'Worker's Rights, Immigrants' Rights - It's All One Struggle!' *SEIU Local 1877 News*, Spring 1997, p. 3, Box , Folder 6, United Service Workers West Records.

[123] William C. Berman, *From the Center to the Edge: The Politics and Policies of the Clinton Presidency* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

redefined the relationship between the state, welfare, and work along neoliberal lines.[124] Whilst the primary aim of this legislation was supposedly to reduce "welfare dependency" and to restore notions of "social obligation" to the system of public assistance, its practical effect was to exacerbate poverty and push more welfare recipients into the dysfunctional low-wage secondary labour market, further lowering wages.[125] By valorising work, the reforms did later refocus some progressives' attention on the plight of the working poor, but the rhetoric surrounding welfare obscured the fact that many welfare recipients were in fact already in the labour market.[126] The consensus between Democrats and Republicans that the moral limits of public policy and citizenship should ultimately be determined by the logic of the market, suggested that the prospects for challenging or contesting neoliberalism at the federal level were severely limited.

In this hostile environment, it is not surprising that state and local initiatives would become the focus of much union activity. Unions that had active grassroots were able to marshal the greatest support at the municipal level where the lobbying power of business was also weakest. Crucially, it was at the local level that unions could form alliances with other organizations that formed what might be called "social justice networks." These networks emerged from the complex and multivalent strands of political activism that flowed from the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left. Many of these organizations overlapped, and they drew their creative energy from a diverse social base, from left wing intellectuals, multiracial alliances, and faith-based activism. What united them was a rejection of the neoliberal status quo that was established in the late 1970s and 1980s. The turn to social movement unionism brought the labour movement into these networks, and in the mid-1990s this renewed efforts to secure economic justice for low wage workers.

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[124] Katz, pp. 194–202.
[125] Kelley, pp. 82–83.
[126] Joel F. Handler, *The Poverty of Welfare Reform* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995); Barbara Ehrenreich, *Nickel and Dimed: On (Not) Getting By in America* (New York: Henry Holt, 2001); The more immediate effect was to further ingrain neoliberal values of personal responsibility and family self-sufficiency. Wendy Brown, *Undoing the Demos: Neoliberalism's Stealth Revolution* (New York: Zone Books, 2016); Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (New York: Zone Books, 2017).

The call for "living wages" had been a core element of labour movement ideology since the 1870s, however the exact definition of a living wage was elusive.[127] It was not until 1938 that a federal minimum wage was introduced under the Fair Labor Standards Act, but this reflected the view that wages should be guaranteed only insofar as they provided the bare means of subsistence.[128] The real value of the minimum wage fell dramatically between the late 1960s and the 1990s. The most pronounced decline, in real terms, was evident during the Reagan presidency, when the minimum wage remained constant in nominal dollars.[129] It is likely that this overall decline, along with other institutional products of the neoliberal transition such as the weakening of trade unions, structural changes within the economy, and increased immigration, contributed to what Paul Krugman has called the "great divergence," that is a significant expansion in wage and income inequality.[130] In order to address widening inequality, and to ameliorate the relative fall in standards of living for low-income workers, activists in the 1990s created a new movement at the municipal level, aiming to win living wages for the working poor.

The modern living wage campaign is traditionally dated to the ordinance passed in Baltimore in 1994, although there were less well-known antecedents in Des Moines, Iowa in 1988 and in Gary, Indiana in 1991.[131] In Baltimore, the campaign was launched not by unions but by a multiracial community organization, Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development (BUILD), which was founded in 1977 and affiliated with Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF). BUILD was involved in a wide range of social issues, from voter registration

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[127] Lawrence B. Glickman, *A Living Wage: American Workers and the Making of Consumer Society* (Ithaca, NY, 2015), pp. 62–66.

[128] During the Progressive era, middle class reformers appropriated the term, and reinterpreted it as a minimum wage, a wage floor, which led to a raft of social legislation at the state level, before the Supreme Court found such laws unconstitutional in *Adkins v. Children's Hospital* (1923). Glickman, pp. 131–35.

[129] Two modest increases, in the April 1990 and April 1991, brought the minimum up from $3.35 to $4.25. David S. Lee, 'Wage Inequality in the United States during the 1980s: Rising Dispersion or Falling Minimum Wage?', *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 114.3 (1999), 977–1023; California and a few other states also increased their state minimums in the late 1980s. Taeil Kim and Lowell J. Taylor, 'The Employment Effect in Retail Trade of California's 1988 Minimum Wage Increase', *Journal of Business & Economic Statistics*, 13.2 (1995), 175–82.

[130] As Krugman points out, at best, median income in the United States grew only very modestly since 1973 (if it did not in fact decline), despite significant increases in productivity. The gains of growth during the neoliberal era went almost entirely to the those at the very top of the wealth and income hierarchy. Paul R. Krugman, *The Conscience of a Liberal: Reclaiming America from the Right* (London: Penguin, 2009), pp. 124–52.

[131] Wade Rathke, *Citizen Wealth: Winning the Campaign to Save Working Families* (San Francisco: Berrett-Koehler Publishers, 2009), p. 50.

to gun control, housing, education, and healthcare, but it was also involved in opposing privatization schemes proposed by Mayor Kurt Schmoke (a Democrat). In 1992 IAF organizer Jonathan Lange was brought on board to do campaign research, and it became apparent that many of the people who were reliant on BUILD's social services were low wage workers who were employed by service firms with city contracts. Launching a New Social Compact in Baltimore campaign in June 1993, BUILD sought to leverage public contracts to ensure a "living wage" for workers, albeit one that only just lifted them above the poverty line. Crucially, the campaign gained the support of AFSCME, which saw the living wage campaign as a way of resisting further privatization, and together they created a low-wage worker organization, the Solidarity Support Committee. As a public sector union, AFSCME had weathered the storm of the 1980s better than others, and it therefore had valuable resources and expertise to bring to the campaign. BUILD drew much of its own support from local church congregations. The success of this coalition inspired activists and social movement unionists to try to replicate the campaign in other cities.[132]

During the 1990s, 122 cities passed a living wage ordinance.[133] Although these measures varied significantly in terms of their design and coverage, they all relied upon "social justice networks," either by creating new coalitions from scratch, or replicating networks from campaigns in other cities.[134] The Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), another IAF affiliate, was one of the most important non-union actors. ACORN had been founded in 1970 by Wade Rathke, a former SDS member and anti-war protestor who later joined the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO). ACORN was conceived as a multiracial advocacy organization that sought to build power for low-income communities.[135] ACORN was involved in living wage campaigns in a number of cities, including Denver,

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[132] Janice Fine, 'Community Unionism in Baltimore and Stamford', *WorkingUSA*, 4.3 (2000), 59–85; BUILD Baltimore, 'About BUILD' <https://www.buildiaf.org/about-build/> [accessed 8 May 2020].
[133] Katz, pp. 132–34.
[134] For a summary of living wage proposals in the United States between 1989 and 1997, together with details of the provisions, see Robert Pollin and Stephanie Luce, *The Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy* (New York: The New Press, 1998), pp. 204–14.
[135] Gary Delgado, *Organizing the Movement: The Roots and Growth of ACORN* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 1986); John Atlas, *Seeds of Change: The Story of ACORN America's Most Controversial Antipoverty Community Organizing Group* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2010); On the NWRO see Annelise Orleck, *Storming Caesars Palace: How Black Mothers Fought Their Own War on Poverty* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2005).

Houston, Minneapolis, St. Paul, and Boston, New Orleans, and Chicago, and it also established a Living Wages Resource Center under the auspices of ACORN staffer Jen Kern, to provide advice and guidance to local campaigns.[136] As in Baltimore, religious organizations and churches were important components of living wage coalitions in other cities, particularly the Religious Society of Friends (Quakers) and Catholic churches. The New Party was also a component of the network in the 1990s.[137] Founded in 1989 by Daniel Cantor, a former Jesse Jackson campaign staffer, and Joel Rogers, a young law professor, the New Party attempted to revive fusionism (where more than one party on the ballot endorses the same candidate, a practice common in the late nineteenth century) as a vehicle for progressive politics in an era of neoliberal hegemony. Ultimately this strategy did not succeed but, aside from highlighting the democratic deficiencies of the two-party system, it did play a role in strengthening the social justice networks that sustained the national living wage movement. Cantor and Rogers had established links with ACORN and with AFSCME and the SEIU earlier in their activist careers.[138] Locals from these two unions were important to the municipal campaigns across the United States, as was Jobs with Justice, a social movement organization founded by the AFL-CIO (discussed in Chapter 4).[139] The dynamics of particular campaigns for the living wage varied, depending upon local political conditions.

In L.A., a living wage ordinance was the logical outgrowth of a decade of intense organising. Both SEIU and HERE campaigns had already used the language of living wages in their critique of working poverty, escalating costs of living, and neoliberal urban development policies that reproduced inequality. In 1993 Durazo joined Tom Walsh of HERE 814, and Kent Wong and other scholars from UCLA's urban planning department and labour centre to form the Tourism Industrial Development Council (TIDC, later renamed the Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy, LAANE). Madeline Janis-Aparicio, a lawyer and former executive director of the Central American Resource Center (CARECEN), became the new organization's Executive

[136] Stephanie Luce, 'ACORN and the Living Wage Movement', in *The People Shall Rule: ACORN, Community Organizing, and the Struggle for Economic Justice*, ed. by Robert Fisher (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2009).
[137] Stephanie Luce, *Fighting for a Living Wage* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2004), pp. 35–36.
[138] Micah L. Sifry, *Spoiling for a Fight: Third-Party Politics in America* (New York: Routledge, 2002), pp. 223–57.
[139] For example, SEIU Local 880 was a key player in the Chicago campaign. Keith Kelleher, 'Growth of a Modern Union Local: A People's History of SEIU Local 880', *Just Labour: A Canadian Journal of Work and Society*, 12 (2008).

Director.[140] These initiatives, under Janis-Aparicio's guidance, flowed into the Los Angeles Living Wage Coalition, founded in 1995. Over the next few years, the L.A. Living Wage Coalition would draw together the LACFL, AFSCME, CIWA, SEIU, HERE, and other unions, as well as a broad range of community groups such as KIWA and ACORN Tenants Union.[141] James Lawson also founded Clergy and Laity United for Economic Justice (CLUE) to support the campaign.

Legislative victory required that the L.A. Living Wage Coalition acquire political allies. The most important figure in this respect was Jackie Goldberg, L.A. City Councillor and Chair of the Council's Personnel Committee. A former student activist who had been involved in Berkeley's Free Speech Movement, Goldberg had an unusual C.V. for a politician. Having previously founded a feminist guerrilla theatre, she was elected president of the Los Angeles School Board, served on the Board of the AIDS Project Los Angeles, and then worked as a deputy to Supervisor Gloria Molina, before becoming the first openly gay woman to be elected to L.A. city office in 1993. Representing an LGBTQ+ stronghold in the 13th district, she had also won endorsements from the unions and influential state Democrats. Before Goldberg took up the Living Wage campaign, she had already successfully campaigned for health benefits for domestic partners of city employees, helped pass a gun control measure, and persuaded the city to launch a constitutional challenge to Proposition 187.[142] Not only was she a progressive labour supporter but she also possessed the political skill to manoeuvre the Living Wage ordinance through the city council. The Living Wage Coalition tested its strength by passing a Worker Retention Ordinance in December 1995. This law required city contractors to retain all employees who had been working for at least 8 months under the

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[140] TIDC was formed in response to a 1992 UCLA Community Scholars programme study entitled 'Accidental Tourism' that argued that the tourist industry needed to be rebuilt in a more equitable way after the 1992 uprising. Edward W. Soja, *Seeking Spatial Justice*, 16 (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), pp. 234–40; 'New Tourism Group Hopes to Put South-Central L.A. on Visitor Maps', *Los Angeles Business Journal*, 18 July 1994; Los Angeles Living Wage Campaign Grant Application. 6 January 1997, Box 15, Folder 'Correspondence', Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (Collection 2252). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles. [Hereafter cited as LAANE].

[141] Madeline Janis-Aparicio, Steve Cancian, and Gary Phillips, 'Building a Movement for a Living Wage', *Poverty & Race Research Action Council*, February 1996.

[142] 'Courageous. Determined. Outspoken.' 1993 City Council Campaign Flyer, Box 1, Folder 2, Jackie Goldberg Papers, (Collection 2196). UCLA Library Special Collections, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles.; James Rainey, 'Profiles in Power: Jackie Goldberg and Her Lesson Plan for L.A. Politics', *The Los Angeles Times Magazine*, 5 March 1995, pp. 10–15.

old contract, for a period of at least 90 days, after which their work performance could be reviewed. The ordinance passed by a 10-2 vote.

Business groups were taken by surprise, as was Richard Riordan, the Republican mayor who had succeeded Tom Bradley in 1993. A lawyer and millionaire entrepreneur, Riordan was even more sensitive to the demands of Los Angeles' businesses than his predecessor, setting up an Economic Development Incentives Task Force to assess ways to make Los Angeles more competitive. In a letter to the Westchester/LAX Chamber of Commerce, Riordan's deputy, Gary Mendoza, stated that under the mayor's leadership, "the City of Los Angeles is reinventing itself as an entrepreneurial partner to growing companies throughout the City." Describing the Living Wage ordinance as "a serious threat to the progress we have made," he argued that it would "undermine our ongoing economic development efforts" and "increase the City's structural deficit."[143] Business leaders responded to Riordan's wake-up call by forming the Coalition to Keep LA Working, beginning a drive to raise $150,000, and hiring a communications firm to fight the measure.[144] Riordan's business allies argued that the living wage ordinance would negatively impact the state's economy, causing the loss of many jobs. For Mayor Riordan, like Governor Wilson, economic development could only be fostered by the creation of a "business friendly" environment. This entailed lowering taxes and providing firms with generous incentives to locate within the state. In his view, private companies could provide services more efficiently than the public sector, and at a lower cost to the taxpayer. These benefits would allegedly be lost if the city created additional burdensome regulation.

Living Wage Coalition activists saw things differently. Corporate welfare policies and privatization, they argued, were counterproductive if they generated only poverty wage jobs. The idea that growth would naturally benefit everyone was flatly contradicted by the experiences of many workers who often had to take multiple jobs in order to survive. As the sociologist Stephanie Luce pointed out, L.A. imposed very little in terms of requirements on those receiving city contracts. And, despite the fact that incentives and subsidies offered to businesses totalled over $250 million, the city did not even collect data necessary to

[143] Gary S. Mendoza to Richard Musella, 29 August 1996, Box 15, LAANE.
[144] Jean Merl, 'Business Group to Battle "Living Wage" Plan', *Los Angeles Times*, 14 November 1996.

determine whether they delivered any of the expected returns.[145] As Jackie Goldberg remarked of the Riordan strategy, "I was around when we tried trickle-down. I didn't see very much trickling. So now I'm ready to try trickle-up."[146]

To strengthen the living wage campaign, Janis-Aparicio asked labour economist Robert Pollin to conduct research into the likely impact of the ordinance on the California economy. Wage floors, whether as a result of minimum wage, prevailing wage, or living wage laws, had been hotly debated by economists since they were first proposed by campaigners in the nineteenth century. The conventional neoclassical model essentially differed little from the "iron law of wages" of the nineteenth century, albeit augmented by the theoretical innovations of the marginalist, Keynesian, and monetarist revolutions.[147] According to this view, the "natural law" of supply and demand dictated that any attempt to artificially set the wage rate would increase unemployment. In *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement*, Milton and Rose Friedman, declared that the choice was simple. "The law of demand [stipulates that] the higher the price of anything, the less of it people will be willing to buy. Make labor of any kind more expensive and the number of jobs of that kind will be fewer." The Friedmans went on to claim that a "minimum wage law required employers to discriminate against persons with low skills. No one describes it that way, but that is in fact what it is."[148]

The Friedmans' views were representative of neoliberal orthodoxy. But, as living wage advocates countered, markets never functioned as the Friedmans imagined they had. Legal regimes, government subsidies, and political and cultural understandings of value had all profoundly shaped the character of markets; recently, these interventions had contributed to the massive maldistribution of resources.[149] Moreover, a worker's position at the bargaining

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[145] Stephanie Luce, 'Business Subsidies in Los Angeles: Getting a Return on Our Investment', 1996, Box 15, LAANE.
[146] Jean Merl, 'Rising War Over Raising Pay', *Los Angeles Times*, 28 October 1996.
[147] The 'iron law' as interpreted by George Stigler was rendered, 'Each worker receives the value of his marginal product under competition.' George J. Stigler, 'The Economics of Minimum Wage Legislation', *The American Economic Review*, 36.3 (1946), 358–65.
[148] Milton Friedman and Rose D. Friedman, *Free to Choose: A Personal Statement* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1980), pp. 233, 237.
[149] For the specific impact of postwar and neoliberal era institutions on wage distribution see Frank Levy and Peter Temin, 'Institutions and Wages in Post–World War II America', in *Labor in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Clair Brown, Barry J. Eichengreen, and Michael Reich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

table with their employers was not shaped solely by an abstract measure of their productivity, but by complex hierarchies of power and moral worth. Historically, market exchange had taken place within a very large number of social settings and had existed alongside a wide range of competing systems of value.[150] Neoliberal ideology, or what George Soros and others called "market fundamentalism," sought to reconstruct society so that it conformed to the ideal of "perfect competition" and to reify social life to the extent that the market became the final arbiter of all value. But these values were not ones, labor activists in California argued, that workers had to accept.

Robert Pollin went a step further, assembling data to show that in practice wage floors did not create unemployment, and that most businesses could absorb the minimal cost increases entailed by the measure. Some, it turned out, would even benefit from reduced absenteeism and staff turnover.[151] In Pollin's view, the facts did not support the claim made by Gary Mendoza that "entire industries could be wiped out or move overseas." Pollan's study did not convert many conservatives, but it did bolster the living wage advocates and gave them the arguments they needed to expand their movement.[152]

As it unfolded, the campaign adopted what Stephanie Luce calls an "outside track" and "inside track" strategy.[153] The Living Wage Campaign challenged the Mayor directly: "Do you only represent the interests of a few large business owners or do you represent all of us?"[154] Adopting the public shaming tactics of the Justice for Janitors campaign and HERE Local 11, they also arranged for actor David Clennon to appear on the steps of City Hall dressed as the Ghost of Jacob Marley. In this piece of street theatre, Mayor Riordan was cast as Ebenezer Scrooge, and Marley's Ghost warned him to cease his opposition to the Living Wage

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[150] Naomi Lamoreaux has captured many historians' scepticism towards the validity of the 'transition to capitalism' narrative when she states that 'many problems that economic actors face today would have been familiar in their essentials to economic actors a thousand years ago.' Sven Beckert and others, 'Interchange: The History of Capitalism', *Journal of American History*, 101.2 (2014), 503–36 (pp. 509–10).
[151] David Card and Alan B. Krueger, *Myth and Measurement: The New Economics of the Minimum Wage* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1995); Pollin and Luce, pp. 1–53.
[152] Robert Pollin and others, *A Measure of Fairness: The Economics of Living Wages and Minimum Wages in the United States* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008), pp. 34–41.
[153] Luce, *Fighting for a Living Wage*, pp. 57, 150–80.
[154] Living Wage Coalition to Richard Riordan, 2 October 1996, Box 15, LAANE.

Ordinance (Figure 7).[155] Unions kept up the pressure on the city council by holding a press conference in which Durazo and Contreras were joined by other local labour leaders.[156] Meanwhile, Jackie Goldberg took the inside track, offering compromises in terms of both coverage and total cost in order to ensure that the measure was drafted in such a way that it could be passed. With liberals holding a solid majority on the council, Goldberg was confident that she could gather sufficient votes to override a mayoral veto.[157] The campaign was also helped by a report from the Chief Legislative Analyst and City Administrative Officer that concluded that the costs to the city would be limited and within reasonable limits.[158]

John Sweeney gave the campaign its final boost when he visited Los Angles in February 1997 to attend a meeting of the AFL-CIO executive council. Sweeney gave a special address to the Los Angeles City Council on behalf of the Living Wage Ordinance, urging them to "ensure that taxpayers' dollars actually improve the quality of life for Angelinos rather than drive working families ever deeper into poverty and despair."[159] This concerted effort finally paid off when the measure was finally passed in March and Riordan's veto overridden the following month.

Legacies

At the Los Angeles convention Sweeney declared, "A new labor movement can be the core of a new progressive social movement. If we can make it here in Los Angeles, against the multinational corporate power, against the race-baiters and the immigrant-bashers, then we can make it anywhere."[160] His appearance in Los Angeles to support the Los Angeles Living Wage Campaign marked the coalescence of diverse efforts at the local, state, and national level, to reenergise the labour movement in the 1990s. The militant tactics of SEIU Locals 399 and 1877 and HERE Local 11 won important gains for their members, securing higher pay,

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[155] 'Marley's Ghost Will Visit Mayor Riordan's Office: Will Warn Him to Cease Opposition to Living Wage Ordinance.' Press Release, 1996, Box 5, LAANE.; 'A Message to Mayor Riordan from the Ghost of Jacob Marley' Leaflet, Box 15, LAANE.
[156] 'Labour Unions Stand Firm Behind Living Wage Ordinance; Call on City Council, Mayor, to Pass Current Draft' Los Angeles County Federation of Labor Press Release. 12 March 1997, Box 5, LAANE.
[157] Kevin Uhrich, 'The Politics of Poverty Pay', *LA Weekly*, 31 February 1997, p. 15.
[158] Jean Merl, 'Report Backs Latest "Living Wage" Plan', *The Los Angeles Times*, 14 February 1997, p. B6.
[159] Text of Sweeney Address Before the Los Angeles City Council, dated 22 January 1997. AFL-CIO, Box 5, LAANE.
[160] Glenn Wesley Perusek, *Shifting Terrain: Essays on Politics, History and Society* (New York: Peter Lang, 2006), p. 145.

health care, and a collective voice for workers who had been exploited by their employers. However social movement unionism was also an important vehicle for demonstrating that even in an era of global economic restructuring and corporate power, unions could still fight and win gains for workers. Social movement unionism provided an analysis of the mechanisms of power and domination that were often overlooked or obscured in public debate, as well as a strategy for identifying and challenging structural inequalities.

California was an important focal point of the union renaissance in the 1990s, and the Justice for Janitors campaign has since become a part of labour lore. The early successes of this campaign helped to establish a new formula for unions, one that combined the tactics of the social movements of the post-1960s era with a vision of economic justice. The campaign for a living wage reached back into labour's past to search for ways to confront renewed challenges in the neoliberal era. It brought together unions, community organizations, faith groups, and politicians to find collective solutions to the problem of working poverty. Justice for Janitors, HERE Local 11, APALA, and KIWA were successful because they mobilised the grassroots and challenged longstanding patterns of sexism and racism both within the labour movement, and outside of it. As a result, they empowered marginalised Asian and Latinx communities in California, and helped to alter the balance of power within the state.[161]

During these years, the successes of the labour movement in California were complemented by important struggles in other states. However, it should also be noted that many of the challenges that unions faced were not easily remedied at the local or state level.[162] The hegemony of neoliberal ideas within the Democratic Party as well as the electoral dominance of the Republicans within state and local government placed severe limits on what could be achieved by mobilization at the grassroots. Nevertheless, social movement unionism as

[161] Key leaders of the labour renaissance, including Miguel Contreras and Eliseo Medina, played an important role in organising the huge immigrant rights marches of 2006. Shaw, 'Building the Labor-Clergy-Immigrant Alliance'.

[162] The most dramatic victory for social movement unionism in this period was won at the national level, when members of the reformist leadership of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) led a successful campaign against UPS in 1997. Lichtenstein, p. 256.

practiced in the 1990s, has left an enduring legacy in the struggle against neoliberalism, not just in the United States, but around the world.[163]

[163] *Living Wage Movements: Global Perspectives*, ed. by Deborah M. Figart (New York: Routledge, 2004); *The Dirty Work of Neoliberalism: Cleaners in the Global Economy*, ed. by Luis L. M. Aguiar and Andrew Herod (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006); Annelise Orleck, *'We Are All Fast-Food Workers Now': The Global Uprising Against Poverty Wages* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018).

CENTURY CLEANING CONTRACTORS:

SLAVE LABOR PRACTICES IN MODERN TIMES!

Every night Century employees clean some of Los Angeles' most prestigious office buildings. They suffer under extreme work loads, and often receive no breaks or any pay for working overtime. They work for wages below the poverty level without any benefits or job protection, at buildings throughout Southern California.

Century workers want to provide a better life for their families. They want a union contract but they cannot do it alone...

HELP CENTURY JANITORS GET A FAIR DEAL!

This building uses Century Cleaning Contractors. Please call your building manager and say that Century janitors deserve fair treatment on their jobs!

JUSTICE FOR JANITORS!

SEIU Local 399 • (213) 680-9567
1247 W. 7th Street, LA 90017

JA/
haseu #399
afl cio
3-21-89

Figure 3-1 "Century Cleaning Contractors: Slave Labor Practices in Modern Times!", Box 39, Folder 15, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

A Pledge for Justice in Century City

As office tenants in Century City we recognize the valuable service that janitors provide in our buildings. We support their efforts to win respect and dignity on the job. We call on Century City's building owners and managers to cooperate with Justice for Janitors in order to ensure that:

- No janitor is discriminated against for participating in Justice for Janitors in order to improve their working conditions;
- The prosperity and progress enjoyed in Century City is broadened to include the hard-working janitors who help maintain the property;
- Janitors are properly trained for the jobs they are expected to perform and that all relevant federal, state and municipal laws are respected.

I, the undersigned, agree to support the efforts of Century City Tenants for Justice and agree that my name can be used as a supporter of Justice for Janitors.

Stuart Herman, Attorney Herman & Wallach 4-19-90

Name & Title Telephone 213-5529681 Date

1875 Century Park East #1760 LA Ca. 90067

Address, Suite, City, State, Zip

Figure 3-2 "A Pledge for Justice in Century City," Box 39, Folder 1, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

Janitors in This Building Live on Poverty Wages!

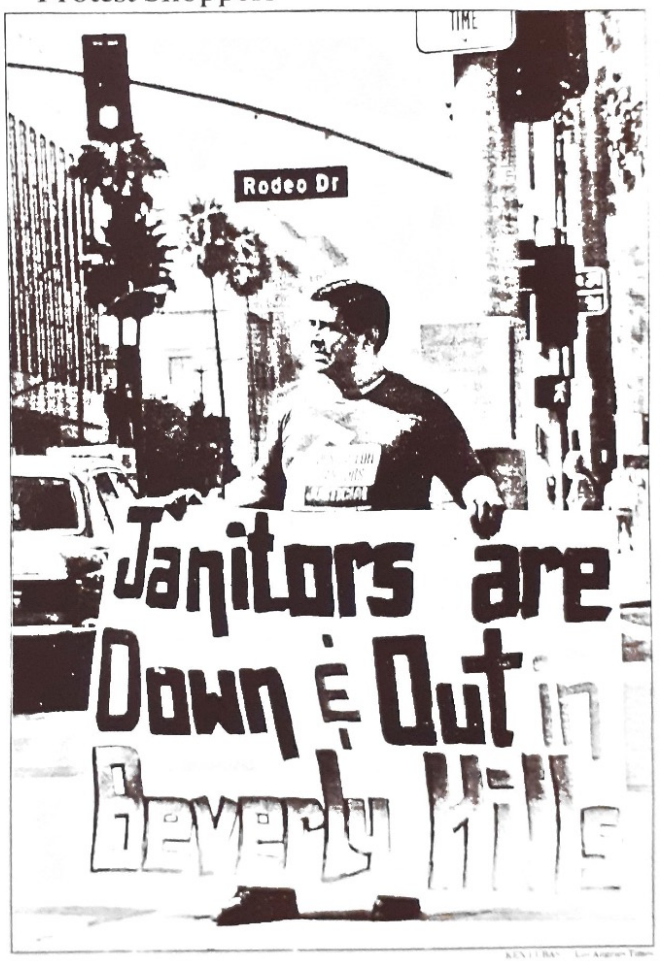
Beverly Hills is a city of exhuberant luxury and also a city of despair. At night the area becomes a sweatshop for the janitors who keep the office buildings cleans and polished to the highly scrutinized detail of Beverly Hills' demanding clientele.

This building is cleaned by janitors who earn wages below the federal poverty level with no health benefits or paid sick leave. In Century City and downtown Los Angeles working conditions similar to those in this building drove janitors to take militant, aggressive actions in order to win improvements. Its appalling that owners and managers of luxury buildings like this one continue to hire exploitative poverty wage janitorial contractors.

The Justice for Janitors campaign is now working in Beverly Hills to fight for better working conditions and the justice that workers in this area deserve.

Please help the Beverly Hills Janitors win dignity and respect on the job. Call your building manager and ask him/her to use a responsible cleaning contractor that treats its employees with respect.

Protest Shoppers



Jose Domingo Diaz holds a sign at the corner of Rodeo Drive and Wilshire Boulevard as part of a protest by members of Janitors for Justice. The group, protesting low wages in Beverly Hills for custodial workers, marched from store to store, asking clerks: "Is there anything in here we can afford at $4.25 an hour wages?" Protesters say few unionized janitors work in Beverly Hills, have no medical and health benefits, and also receive minimum wage instead of union wages.

Justice for Janitors

Hospital & Service Employees Union Local 399, 1247 W. 7th Street, LA, CA 90017 (213) 680-9567

Figure 3-3 "Janitors in This Building Live on Poverty Wages!" Box 6, Folder 16, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

'I Work on Wilshire as a Janitor. I earn $600 a month and my family has no health insurance."

Saul Flores, a Wilshire Blvd. janitor in August, 1992

* * *

"Los Angeles Cannot Permanently Exist as Two Cities... One Amazingly Prosperous, The Other Increasingly Poorer in Substance and Hope"

Tom Bradley, April, 1989

* * *

'For 40 Years Corporate America has Moved Every Decent Job Out of the Inner City"

Peter Ueberroth, August, 1992

In 1982 nearly all janitors working on Wilshire Blvd. earned almost three dollars per hour more than they do today. In addition they had family health insurance which was stripped away when buildings, such as Trizec, Brookhollow, and American Trading, switched to non-union companies like Advance Building Maintenance, DMS and others. Not coincidentally the poverty wages earned now mean that alot of the workers who clean buildings on Wilshire live in areas most devastated by the recent urban unrest.

The Los Angeles business community is making important statements about the need to invest in a healthier local economy. But without corporate action and responsibility it remains nothing more than rhetoric. The building owners and property managers of Wilshire Boulevard can take a proactive stand to "Rebuild Los Angeles" in a way that will bring dignity and respect to those who clean the buildings as well as for those who meet in their boardrooms.

A mere penny and a half a square foot a month would bring health insurance and a living wage to janitors on the Wilshire Corridor. A small price given the billion dollar price tag that Los Angeles faces to rebuild after the recent outburst of violence and destruction.

"A penny and half invested today could save millions in the future!"

Justice for Janitors, SEIU Local 399 - August 1992. Theme for campaign to win health insurance and decent wages for janitors on Wilshire Blvd.

Justice for Janitors

SEIU Local 399 1247 W 7th Street Los Angeles, CA 90017 (213) 680-9567

Figure 3-4 "A Penny and Half Invested Today Could Save Millions in the Future!" Box 6, Folder 16, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

Justice for Janitors Organizing Committee

Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, CLC

Local 399 • 1247 West 7th St. • Los Angeles, California 90017 • 213-680-9567

Workers Bill of Rights for an L.A. Renaissance

For millions of people, Los Angeles is not a good place to live or work. Wages are declining, many benefits have been eliminated and most corporations treat this area as an extension of the third world. Deindustrialization, sub-contracting and union-busting of well paid private sector jobs and the privatization of well paid public sector jobs are the primary causes of the economic and social crises facing our community Los Angeles is in dire need of a renaissance. That renaissance requires corporate social responsibility that leads to long term investment and a commitment to creating an economy based on high wage jobs.

This Workers Bill of Rights must be the litmus test for corporate behavior in our community. Companies must be held accountable to these minimum standards if we are to have any hope for the future of our city.

Workers Bill of Rights:

Health Insurance a Right Not a Privilege
87% of the uninsured people in California either work or are the dependents of people who are working. Employers should pay for health insurance and not expect the taxpayers to subsidize their businesses through public health coverage for uninsured workers.

The Right to a Living Wage
The minimum wage in California is not enough to live on yet hundreds of thousands of LA workers are expected to do just that. We must support increasing the minimum wage and put an end to violation of State and Federal wage and hour laws.

The Right to Equal Pay for Equal Work
Corporations should not hide behind sub-contracting, temporary agencies, employee leasing and other schemes as a method of cutting wages, benefits and eliminating job-security. When companies decide to sub-contract, they must use their power to insure that the conditions for sub-contracted workers are equivalent to those enjoyed by their own employees. In addition, Corporations must insist that sub-contractors abide by all applicable State and Federal laws.

The Right to Freely Organize, Join and Belong to Unions
Collective action is the most fundamental right of a democratic society. Worker organization means better benefits, job security and improved wages and thus are positive for our city and this region's economy. Only when workers have a voice on the job, can we form a true social partnership that can work together for a brighter future. Companies should not use their resources and power to avoid unionization in any manner. Instead they should welcome unionization out of respect for both workers rights and the law.

Name _____ **Title** _____

Organization/Company _____

Address _____ **City** _____ **State** _____

Zipcode _____ **Phone** _____ **Fax** _____

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Figure 3-5 "A Workers Bill of Rights for an L.A. Renaissance," Box 6, Folder 12, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

Figure 3-6 "'Immigrant Worker' Know Your Rights!" Box 6, Folder 16, Service Employees International Union, United Service Workers West Records (Collection 1940). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

A Message to **Mayor Riordan** from the Ghost of Jacob Marley
(who appeared to Ebenezer Scrooge):

Stop Opposing the Living Wage Ordinance

I AM THE GHOST OF JACOB MARLEY, who came to warn Ebenezer Scrooge to change his ways. For a very brief time, I will be visible to you--and audible--because I carry a message of the utmost importance and urgency. I speak to you with an indescribable anguish and sadness and remorse because I no longer have the power to do good on this earth.

MARLEY --that is, myself--was a Man of Business. My partner was a man whose name is surely familiar to you--Ebenezer Scrooge. (Scrooge's biography was written by one Charles Dickens, who called his little book "A Christmas Carol.") The firm of Scrooge and Marley was famous--no --no infamous--in all of London.

SCROOGE and I were men of a worldly mind. We were men of Business. We were responsible men. We were practical men! We were tight-fisted and hard-hearted men. We extracted more labor from our employees--and paid them less than any other firm in that vast and sprawling City.
You Mayor, oppose a Living Wage Ordinance, because you are concerned about business. Such was I! Oh such was I!

BUSINESS! Human kind was my business. The common welfare was my business. Charity, mercy, forbearance and benevolence were all my business. The dealings of my trade were but a drop of water in the comprehensive ocean of my business! In your own city I look into the homes where the poor are forced to dwell. How I long to offer help and solace, but have lost the power forever! In San Pedro lives a family with four children. Their father has cleaned a building for this city's Harbor Department for ten years, without a paid day off.

THE family is crowded into two rooms because his wage--barely more than $10,000 a year!-- is not enough to pay for decent housing. I see the children celebrating a meager Christmas, and trying to smile so that their father will not feel unhappy or ashamed because he can give them no toys. They have so little hope--except that this Christmas that family has heard about the Living Wage Ordinance, which could lift them out of poverty. How they long for its passage!

YOU see that I am fettered. I wear the chain I forged in life. I made it link by link, and yard by yard, I girded it on of my own free will and of my own free will I wore it. Is its pattern strange to you? Or would you know the weight and length of the strong coil you bear yourself? It is a ponderous chain!

I have come for your sake. As part of my penance, I have been sent to warn you, to offer you chance and hope of escaping my fate.You must cease your opposition to the Living Wage Ordinance. It is simple justice, and no good can come of your opposing it. Continue to oppose it, and you cannot hope to shun the path I tread.

MY time here is at an end. Look to me no more.

Help LA Work For a **LIVING WAGE**
(Minimum wage = $9,500/yr) (Poverty Level = $15,600/yr)

The LA Living Wage Coalition, made up of over 100 community, religious and labor organizations, advocates that companies receiving contracts or financial assistance from the City should pay wages of at least the poverty level for a family of four $15,600 per year

The LA Living Wage Coalition: 634 S. Spring St., Ste. 1016 Los Angeles, CA 90014; (213) 486-9880; (213) 486-9886 fax; TidcLA@aol.com

Figure 3-7 "A Message to Mayor Riordan from the Ghost of Jacob Marley" Box 15, Los Angeles Alliance for a New Economy (Collection 2252). UCLA Library Special Collections. Charles E. Young Research Library. UCLA.

4. Challenging Corporate Globalization: Food, Sweatshops, and the WTO

Globalization became the fundamental organising discourse of public life in the United States following the end of the Cold War. Discussed widely within the media, in academia, and in policy circles, commentators were anxious not only to speculate about the role of American power within the New World Order, but also to make sense of what came to be called the New Economy (new computer, communications, and information technologies) on the movement of goods, ideas, and people around the world.[1] In fact, awareness of the interdependence of nation-states, expanding international trade and integration of national and regional markets, the power of multinational corporations, and the global diffusion of tastes, fashions and culture had been growing since the 1960s, but it was only in the 1990s that these processes moved to the centre of political life.[2] During this period, two very different visions of globalization emerged, one reflecting neoliberal orthodoxy, and the other opposed to it.

Although the Cold War was over, it continued to cast a long shadow over public discourse; the supposed merits of free market capitalism continued to be primarily measured against the conclusive failings of Soviet state socialism and central planning. The neoliberal model of globalization was therefore profoundly shaped by the late Cold War opposition that counterposed "the state" against "the market."[3] With the return of vigorous growth in the

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[1] The debate largely revolved around a set of intractable questions. How new was the phenomenon of globalization? What was driving it? Was it unidirectional and irreversible? Did it serve the interests of the United States? Was it undermining the authority of the nation-state? Commonly cited texts included Paul M. Kennedy, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers: Economic Change and Military Conflict from 1500 to 2000* (New York: Random House, 1987); Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 1992); Samuel P. Huntington, 'The Clash of Civilizations?', *Foreign Affairs*, 72.3 (1993), 22–49; Manuel Castells, *The Information Age: Economy, Society, and Culture, Volume I: The Rise of the Network Society*, Second Edition (Oxford: Blackwell, 2010); Dani Rodrik, *Has Globalization Gone Too Far?* (Washington, DC: Institute for International Economics, 1997); Daniel Yergin and Joseph Stanislaw, *The Commanding Heights: The Battle Between Government and the Market Place That Is Remaking the World* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998); Susan Strange, 'The Westfailure System', *Review of International Studies*, 25.3 (1999), 345–54; That Bill Clinton's favourite book on the subject was Robert Wright's *Nonzero* is revealing in all sorts of ways. Derek H. Chollet, *America Between the Wars, Fom 11/9 to 9/11* (New York: BBS Public Affairs, 2008), p. x; Robert Wright, *Nonzero: The Logic of Human Destiny* (London: Little, Brown and Company, 2000).

[2] Marshall McLuhan had theorised the 'global village' in 1962, and in the 1970s ecologists were responding to René Dubos' injunction to 'think globally, act locally.' Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2008).

[3] Reagan's vision of a Manichean world, and his rhetorical attacks on the 'evil Empire' were particularly effective in burnishing his popularity amongst certain elements of the Conservative coalition, but they also served to eliminate any finer distinctions that might be made within broader political discourse about the

United States in the second half of the decade, it seemed reasonable to claim that the wealth that private enterprise generated was finally beginning to "trickle down" to those at the bottom. Two decades after the discrediting of Keynesian theory within policy circles, few politicians doubted the assumptions of neoclassical economics. It was therefore accepted that attempts to redistribute wealth through state intervention would create "market distortions" and inhibit growth, thus ultimately hurting the very people that well-meaning policymakers sought to help. Instead, markets should be allowed to determine prices and politicians should focus on containing inflationary pressures that might threaten economic stability. The interests of the poor would be best served by "growing the pie," which would raise living standards for all.

A necessary corollary of the neoliberal theory of growth was the idea that each nation should pursue its comparative advantage within a system of global "free" trade. According to this logic, "open" economies would harness the power of the market to "drive" technological innovation and economic dynamism. Reducing or eliminating trade barriers would generate global competition, unleash entrepreneurial innovation, and promote "flexible specialization" and allocative efficiency.[4] The relatively sluggish growth of Europe, it was argued, resulted from inefficient labour markets, burdensome regulation, and "red tape." The bursting of the asset price bubble in Japan, and that country's "lost decade" of economic stagnation took the

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relationship between the state and the market. Whatever view one takes about Reagan's role in ending the Cold War, the consequences of this rhetorical offensive for the post-Cold War world were significant and enduring. Long gone were the days when intellectuals were enamoured with the 'mixed economy.' Robert C. Rowland and John M. Jones, 'Reagan's Strategy for the Cold War and the Evil Empire Address', *Rhetoric and Public Affairs*, 19.3 (2016), 427–64; Daniel Bell, *The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1964); Howard Brick, *Transcending Capitalism: Visions of a New Society in Modern American Thought* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016).

[4] On 'flexible specialisation' see Michael J. Piore, *The Second Industrial Divide: Possibilities for Prosperity* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Ironically, although the Japanese tradition of 'lifelong employment' was frequently criticised in the United States, it was the adoption of Japanese production methods such as 'Just-In-Time' that facilitated greater labour market flexibility within the United States. Newly reorganised American firms were then said to be exerting competitive pressure and eroding Japanese employment practices. On 'lean production' see James P. Womack, Daniel T. Jones, and Daniel Roos, *The Machine That Changed the World: The Story of Lean Production* (New York: HarperCollins, 1991); On the impact of 'lean production' on workers and union organising see Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997); Ultimately, employment prospects for Generation X in Japan turned out to be no more stable or secure than anywhere else. David H. Slater, 'The Making of Japan's New Working Class: "Freeters" and the Progression from Middle School to the Labor Market', *The Asia-Pacific Journal*, 8.1 (2010), 1–38; Christopher Gerteis, *Mobilizing Japanese Youth: The Cold War and the Making of the Sixties Generation* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021), pp. 144–47; Mary C. Brinton, *Lost in Transition: Youth, Work, and Instability in Postindustrial Japan* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

shine off the state managed model of capitalism that had birthed an "economic miracle" and seemed so threatening to American confidence in "shareholder capitalism" during the 1980s.[5] U.S. strength, and its hegemonic position within the world system in the late 1990s, therefore seemed to make "globalization" synonymous with the inevitable diffusion of the American free market model. In fact, it was widely believed that there was simply no alternative.[6] This perspective was best summarised by New York Times journalist Thomas Friedman in his book *The Lexus and the Olive Tree*, first published in April 1999. For Friedman, globalization could be captured in the somewhat awkward metaphor of the "Golden Straitjacket," a garment that, when donned, severely restricted the range of political choices available to national governments. The Golden Straitjacket committed decision makers to a set of policies roughly equivalent to laid out by John Williamson in his account of the "Washington Consensus." When a government consented to follow the "the rules of the free market" in the global economy then it would be rewarded with guarantee of vigorous economic growth. Such a vision reimagined the role of government officials, transforming them from representatives who derived their political mandate from popular elections into managers and technocrats

[5] Kozo Yamamura, 'The Japanese Political Economy after the "Bubble": Plus Ca Change?', *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 23.2 (1997), 291–331; Ronald Dore, *Stock Market Capitalism, Welfare Capitalism: Japan and Germany Versus the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); Sanford M. Jacoby, *The Embedded Corporation: Corporate Governance and Employment Relations in Japan and the United States* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

[6] On TINA discourse as it has been employed in Europe see Astrid Séville, 'From "One Right Way" to "One Ruinous Way"? Discursive Shifts in "There Is No Alternative"', *European Political Science Review*, 9.3 (2017), 449–70.

who served only the interests of investors.[7] There was, in Friedman's view, a straightforward trade-off to be made between democratic self-determination and prosperity.[8]

Activists and critics had been developing a very different account of globalization, one characterised by the "global race to the bottom." According to this understanding, the free market acted as a disciplinary mechanism to insulate the interests of capital from popular accountability. The social movements of the 1970s and 1980s had provided the analysis and political mobilization that was necessary to make sense of, and oppose, certain features of the emerging neoliberal world order, such as structural adjustment, debt, the erosion of labour rights, and the environmentally and socially destructive extraction of natural resources. However, this emerging critique of neoliberal globalization was disparate and somewhat inchoate. It was not until the 1990s that activists began to construct a more systematic critique of neoliberalism as the hegemonic ideology that shaped global economic policy. Through the gradual integration of various transnational networks, they came to understand the problems that they were trying to address were symptoms of a single system. They discovered that myriad local struggles waged by social groups were often being fought against the same opponents. Invariably, these opponents were the multinational corporations that benefitted from a world order predicated on the unrestrained flow of capital. Many commentators within the political mainstream understood globalization as a mysterious, abstract, natural, and homogenising process, one determined by impersonal

[7] Sociologist Pierre Bourdieu described the national technocratic class as a kind of 'state nobility,' one that sustained its own right to rule through a 'philosophy of competence.' For Bourdieu, France and other European nations were also victims of the 'Anglo-American' ideology of neoliberalism. Pierre Bourdieu, *Acts of Resistance: Against the New Myths of Our Time*, trans. by Richard Nice (Cambridge: Polity, 2004); On the peculiarities of French neoliberalism and the role of the bureaucracy in implementing neoliberal policies in that country see Monica Prasad, 'Why Is France So French? Culture, Institutions, and Neoliberalism, 1974–1981', *American Journal of Sociology*, 111.2 (2005), 357–407; Elite-driven neoliberal reforms in France were met with significant popular opposition. This is perhaps best illustrated by the three-week national strike led by public sector works in France in November and December 1995. The strike was mounted in response to public welfare 'reforms' (cuts) introduced by Prime Minister Alain Juppé following the election of President Jacques Chirac. Dick Howard, 'The French Strikes of 1995 and Their Political Aftermath', *Government and Opposition*, 33.2 (1998), 199–220; Steve Jefferys, 'Down But Not Out: French Unions after Chirac', *Work, Employment & Society*, 10.3 (1996), 509–27; It should be noted that the austerity programme was proposed by Juppé as a means for France to meet the Maastricht criteria of Economic and Monetary Union (EMU). Popular reaction was therefore symptomatic of resistance to the 'neoliberal constitutionalism' of the European project. George Ross, 'Europe and the Misfortunes of Mr. Chirac', *French Politics and Society*, 15.2 (1997), 3–8; On neoliberal 'constitutionalism' see Quinn Slobodian, *Globalists: The End of Empire and the Birth of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), pp. 182–217.

[8] Thomas Friedman, *The Lexus and the Olive Tree* (London: HarperCollins, 1999).

"market forces." However, as Noam Chomsky observed, the system of "free" trade was in fact cultivated by an alliance of political and business elites within the United States and in the most powerful states, and it was increasingly being enforced through undemocratic and unaccountable international organizations that operated in secret and were shielded from democratic scrutiny.[9] Activists therefore had to demonstrate that neoliberal globalization was in fact shaped by a set of political choices that served the interests of a specific constituency, and they also needed to demonstrate the harm that the system was inflicting on the majority of people both within the United States and around the world.

There were two primary focal points for transnational anti-corporate activism. The first revolved around the control of land and global food production. The second focused on industrial production, and in particular labour abuses in the footwear and ready-made garments sector. In both cases, activists came to understand that global systems of production in the "post-Fordist" economy were organised in such a way that intensified the exploitation of workers. However, the "deterritorialization" that allegedly characterized neoliberal development was not uniform and homogenous, as globalization's cheerleaders often suggested, but rather comprised multiple differentiated and localised labour regimes.[10] Pre-existing inequalities of wealth and the international division of labour meant that whereas groups in the Global South were primarily (but not exclusively) concerned with exploitative industrial working conditions and the impact of globalization on agricultural commodity production, groups in the Global North were more attentive to issues related to food processing, retail, and consumption. Despite these differences, subordinated social groups in both the south and the north recognised that they had more interests in common

[9] Noam Chomsky, *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998).

[10] On the philosophical concept of 'deterritorialization' see Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *Anti-Oedipus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Robert Hurley, Mark Seem, and Helen R. Lane (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2008); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, trans. by Brian Massumi (London: Bloomsbury, 2013); On Hardt and Negri's concept of 'the mobile multitude' as a movement of resistance to global 'Empire' see Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Empire* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000); For a critique of the conceptualisation of 'deterritorialization' as smooth, homogenous space see. Aihwa Ong, *Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations in Citizenship and Sovereignty* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 121–38 As Ong argues, 'Hardt and Negri's claims about the formation of a unified space of counter-Empire blithely neglects analysis of the actual, multiple, and segregated conditions of workers in the Empire's networks.' Ong's suggestion that neoliberalism creates 'situated modes of labor control' provides a more empirically grounded theory of how resistance to neoliberalism is generated.

with each other than they did with those who controlled the means of production. The northern "core" and the southern "periphery" of the global economy were connected by global supply chains, which were dominated and controlled by a small number of multinational corporations. It was this nexus that progressive intellectuals turned their analysis to in the late twentieth century.

The interest of U.S.-based unions, NGOs, and farm organisations in global political economy began in the 1970s but attempts by Republican administrations to further liberalise trade in the late 1980s and early 1990s prompted new concerns. The "Super 301" provision of the 1988 Trade Act was aimed at the Newly Industrialised Countries (NICs) and gave the U.S. Trade Representative an instrument for coercing foreign governments to either unilaterally liberalise their economies or to acquiesce to a new round of expanded multilateral talks.[11] The push to expand "free trade" through multilateral trade agreements also ran parallel to the effort to negotiate bilateral and trilateral agreements such as CUFTA and NAFTA. Multilateral trade negotiations had long taken place under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), but agricultural goods and services did not feature prominently in negotiations until the liberalization agenda was significantly expanded during the Uruguay Round (1986-1994). The formal terminology of trade liberalization, with its promises of "harmonisation," "reciprocity," "non-discrimination," and a "rules-based order," suggested that the issues were primarily technical rather than political. This obscured the persistent and structural asymmetries within the global trading system, many of them a legacy of colonialism. Bargaining power within the negotiations was also distributed unevenly, with the so-called "Quad" of major trading nations – United States, the European Union, Japan, and Canada – largely able to dictate terms to poorer countries.[12]

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[11] The Uruguay round was a major extension of the free trade regime insofar as a greater number of countries from the Global South participated in the negotiations. It is also notable that earlier rounds had focused more narrowly on industrial goods, but services were also included within the Uruguay negotiations. As Bello explained in *Dark Victory*, this legislation was prompted by the U.S. trade deficit, particularly with Japan and Korea, but it also provided a mechanism for disciplining leading developing countries like India. Carla Hills, the U.S. Trade Representative under George H. W. Bush, confirmed this aggressive approach when she threatened to pry open markets with a crowbar if necessary. Brian McDonald, *The World Trading System: The Uruguay Round and Beyond* (Basingstoke, UK: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 26, 32–33; Geoffrey Allen Pigman, 'United States Trade Policies at Loggerheads: Super 301, the Uruguay Round and Indian Services Trade Liberalization', *Review of International Political Economy*, 3.4 (1996), 728–62.

[12] The G77 had also become more divided since the days of the NIEO, and some countries had broken off to form the Cairns Group, which agitated for the elimination of farm subsidies (especially in the Global North)

The historical inequalities that existed between north and south, exacerbated by the debt crisis and structural adjustment, made the task of constructing transnational solidarity networks challenging. The realisation that the economic processes that favoured the power of multinationals were structured and supported by the institutions of global governance helped to focus activists on that task. Confronting those institutions – the G7, IMF, World Bank, GATT, and the WTO – forged a political alliance from a great diversity of groups heretofore scattered throughout the world. Activists in the U.S took the initiative by demonstrating to northern publics that decisions made by corporate managers and political leaders in the Global North could often have devastating effects on communities in the Global South. By building solidarity with struggles being fought in the south, they hoped to highlight the human costs of the "slow violence" that was the product of neoliberal globalization.[13]

Land and Freedom: Food Security and Global Trade

Conflicts over global food production and unequal exchange date back to the 1970s, when activists first started to question the role that multinationals and northern governments had in perpetuating global inequalities. The world food crisis, which became particularly acute between 1972 and 1975, was an important watershed. The G77 had been raising the alarm about this issue for years, to no avail. In 1974 a World Food Conference was held in Rome to address the issue, but U.S. representative Henry Kissinger and the EEC blocked the creation of national and regional food reserves.[14] The United States had consistently argued that the solution to world hunger was to be found in ensuring the growth of world food production,

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that harmed their agricultural exports. Rorden Wilkinson and James Scott, 'Developing Country Participation in the GATT: A Reassessment', *World Trade Review*, 7.3 (2008), 473–510.

[13] Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6.3 (1969), 167–91; Rob Nixon, *Slow Violence and the Environmentalism of the Poor*, Harvard University Press (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 45–67; Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate* (London: Allen Lane, 2014), p. 276; Thom Davies, 'Slow Violence and Toxic Geographies: "Out of Sight" to Whom?', *Environment and Planning C: Politics and Space*, 2019, 1–19.

[14] Former Kissinger advisor C. Fred Bergsten communicated something of the U.S. orientation towards the Global South in the 1970s when he warned that assertive Third World governments posed a threat to American economic interests. Bergsten later founded an influential thinktank, the Peterson Institute for International Economics (PIIE), which advocates for free trade policies. Bergsten's views are therefore representative of a longstanding tradition within liberal thought that sees United States national security as being closed tied to a world order that is sustained primarily by open markets. C. Fred Bergsten, 'The Threat from the Third World', *Foreign Policy*, 11, 1973, 102–24; *C. Fred Bergsten and the World Economy*, ed. by Michael Mussa (Washington, DC: Peterson Institute for International Economics, 2007).

exports of agricultural surpluses from countries able to produce more than they consumed, and efforts to increase productivity in deficit countries through the application of modern technology. The emphasis on production as the solution to the crisis meant that less attention was given to relief efforts than to future development projects and a campaign urging southern farmers to increase the use of (expensive, imported) high-yield seeds, pesticides, and fertilizers.[15] The distribution of food aid was uneven and badly coordinated, not least because it was largely dictated by strategic priorities rather than need. When officials from the UN's Food and Agricultural Organization began to use language that invoked social rights to food, American influence helped to reframe this as *the right of individuals to produce or purchase food*.[16]

In the United States, critics on the left were developing a very different approach. In 1971, Frances Moore Lappé published her bestselling book *Diet for a Small Planet*, which sought to expose the negative effects of intensive agriculture and highlight how underconsumption of food in developing countries was connected to overproduction in the Global North. The Transnational Institute (TNI), an international affiliate of the Institute of Policy Studies (IPS), sparked the opposition to conventional thinking at the World Food Conference. Established in Amsterdam in 1973 with the assistance of political scientist Susan George and directed by Pakistani political theorist and activist Eqbal Ahmad, the TNI ran a project parallel to the official conference.[17] An American who had moved to Paris in the 1950s, George had been involved in anti-war work in Europe, and helped to organise a conference on solidarity with Chileans who were suffering under the Pinochet coup.[18] She was one of the principal authors

[15] During these years, a combination of low productivity and poor harvest, the higher cost of fertilizer, and low global reserves as a result of higher demand from the Soviet Union, combined to create a humanitarian disaster. This was an extreme illustration of the devastating impact of fluctuating commodity prices on countries in the Global South.The distribution of food aid was uneven and badly coordinated, not least because it was largely dictated by strategic priorities rather than need. The United States even imposed an embargo on food aid to Bangladesh in mid-1974 as a punishment for violating its blockade of Cuba. Christian Gerlach, 'Famine Responses in the World Food Crisis 1972–5 and the World Food Conference of 1974', *European Review of History: Revue Européenne d'Histoire*, 22.6 (2015), 929–39.

[16] Lucy Jarosz, 'The Political Economy of Global Governance and the World Food Crisis: The Case of the FAO', *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)*, 32.1 (2009), 37–60.

[17] In the early 1960s Ahmad had lived in North Africa and worked with Franz Fanon before moving to the United States to teach at the University of Illinois and Cornell University's School of Labor Relations. In the late 1960s he became a well-known anti-Vietnam War activist. On Ahmad's career see Eqbal Ahmad and David Barsamian, *Confronting Empire: Interviews with David Barsamian* (London: Pluto Press, 2000).

[18] Susan George, 'Chile: What Is To Be Done?', 1974, Box 76, Folder 59. Institute for Policy Studies. Institute for Policy Studies Records, 1959-2005. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.; Shortly after the Rome Conference,

of the TNI report entitled *World Hunger: Causes and Remedies* in November 1973, which argued that the global system of food production and distribution rather than a lack of food was responsible for the food crisis.[19]

This analysis was extended in the 1976 book, *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger.*[20] George constructed a picture of the global food system, incorporating a critique of the Green Revolution and the role of transnational corporations, multinational development agencies, and U.S. foundations in imposing an export model of intensive agricultural production in the Global South.[21] George argued that the technocratic solutions to the food crisis promoted by northern interests simply increased the incorporation of developing countries into a world food market that prioritised profitable investments over the wellbeing of the poor. US scientists pushed higher yield seed varieties, first introduced in the Americas, as the solution to world hunger. However, these crops were also dependent upon expensive inputs such as chemical fertilisers, pesticides, and modern machinery that had to be imported from the "developed" world. As G77 leaders had pointed out, fluctuating commodity prices meant that whatever gains were made in terms of productivity were often cancelled out by declining terms of trade. The focus on producing cash crops to earn foreign currency also meant that less land was dedicated to growing food to feed the local population,

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George wrote to Marcus Raskin to propose that the TNI use future UN conferences as an opportunity for political work. The focus on food therefore preceded, and may have influenced, the decision to work on the international monetary system (discussed in Chapter 1). Susan George to Marcus Raskin 22 December 1974; Susan George and Kees Biekart, 'Reflections: Susan George', *Development and Change*, 38.6 (2007), 1161–71 (p. 1162).

[19] Transnational Monthly, 'World Hunger: Causes and Remedies', *Transnational Institute*, 1974 <https://www.tni.org/my/node/5577> [accessed 11 September 2020].

[20] Susan George, *How the Other Half Dies: The Real Reasons for World Hunger* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977).

[21] The literature on the Green Revolution is well established, and U.S. foundations, development agencies, and historians have scrutinised non-governmental organizations for their role in exporting the American agricultural model. Deborah Fitzgerald, 'Exporting American Agriculture: The Rockefeller Foundation in Mexico, 1943-53.', *Social Studies of Science*, 16.3 (1986), 457–83; Vaclav Smil, *Enriching the Earth: Fritz Haber, Carl Bosch, and the Transformation of World Food Production* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001); Heike Wieters, 'Of Heartfelt Charity to Billion Dollar Enterprise: From Postwar Relief to Europe to Humanitarian Relief to "Everywhere" - CARE, Inc., in Search of a New Mission', in *International Organizations and Development, 1945-1990*, ed. by Marc Frey, Sönke Kunkel, and Corinna R. Unger (Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014); Prakash Kumar and others, 'Roundtable: New Narratives of the Green Revolution', *Agricultural History*, 91.3 (2017), 397–422 (pp. 405–6) As Nicole Sackley has observed, the role of multinational corporations has received conspicuously scant attention. This needs to be addressed if we are to understand the Green Revolution during the neoliberal era.

resulting in higher prices, a greater prevalence of malnutrition and, during poor harvests, famine.

George was an early critic of the tendency to conceal the exploitative realities of global capitalism in an apolitical "humanitarian" discourse.[22] The United States presented its aid programme, created by Congress under Public Law 480, (the "Food for Peace Law") as a benevolent gift to "developing" countries. But most food aid sent abroad came with strings attached. The Green Revolution, as it developed domestically in the United States, produced large surpluses, and the aid programme provided a means for exporting these surpluses. Disposing of US surpluses abroad would both maintain domestic prices and develop foreign markets. Once established, the practice of producing food through an intensive, large scale agricultural model was self-perpetuating because developing countries became dependent upon U.S. imports of equipment, fertilizers, and pesticides. U.S. government policies were therefore responsible for shaping the global food system, and the primary beneficiaries of that system were American agribusinesses.[23]

In 1975, Frances Moore Lappé met with Joseph Collins at the first national Food Day in Ann Arbor, Michigan. Collins was an associate at IPS, the co-author of an early and influential critique of the role of multinational corporations in the global economy, and a co-author of the TNI Rome conference report.[24] Together, Lappé and Collins founded the Institute for Food and Development Policy (known as Food First). They also published a book, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* (1977), which drew on Guyanese historian Walter Rodney's analysis of colonial wealth extraction, a process was having profound implications for the economies of newly independent countries in the Global South. The book also made a call to democratize

[22] For a discussion of 'humanitarianism' as the subject of historical inquiry see Matthew Hilton and others, 'History and Humanitarianism: A Conversation', *Past & Present*, 241.1 (2018), e1–38 As Eleanor Davey argues, 'humanitarianism' is a construct that cannot be separated from the ideological and political context in which is supposedly practised.

[23] Raj Patel describes wheat as 'US agriculture's battering ram' because of the precipitous decline of domestic wheat production in South Korea and other countries the Global South due to American food aid. Imports of American wheat surpluses altered the food habits of the populations that received them, creating future demand. Raj Patel, *Stuffed and Starved: From Farm to Fork, the Hidden Battle for the World Food System*, Revised Edition (London: Portobello Books, 2013), p. 267.

[24] Richard Barnet, *Global Reach: The Power of the Multinational Corporations* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1974).

the U.S. food economy to put family farmers in the U.S. in a position to resist pressure being exerted on them by corporate farming and the monopsony power of large supermarket retailers and fast-food chains.[25] In the 1980s, Food First continued to expand its role as a "counter-hegemonic" organization. It provided an institutional home for the development of critical analysis and research that was necessary for democratic social movements to mobilize against neoliberalism. It helped to germinate seeds of resistance to corporate globalization, providing institutional support for various activists who would go on to play important roles in the global justice movement. For example, in 1988 former Food First activists Medea Benjamin, Kevin Danaher, and Kirstin Moller founded Global Exchange, an organization dedicated to promoting international solidarity, social and economic justice, and human rights. Global Exchange later co-founded the "50 Years Is Enough" campaign and was one of the organisers of the Seattle protests. Food justice therefore became a primary route into the politics of globalization and trade.

Another important figure who moved amongst these activist intellectual networks was Filipino sociologist Walden Bello. Born in Manilla, Bello came to the U.S. in the late 1960s to undertake graduate studies at Princeton. By the time he completed his doctoral research in 1973, Ferdinand Marcos had declared martial law in the Philippines and Bello joined the movement to overthrow the dictatorship. To effectively lobby Congress, it was first necessary to obtain information about how the U.S. was financing the Marcos regime. Opposition groups within the U.S. began to expose the connections between Marcos, U.S. aid, American strategic interests in the Philippines, and multilateral development agencies. It was through undertaking this research that Bello uncovered the much greater role played by the World Bank in sustaining the Marcos dictatorship. Over three years, he and his associates managed to covertly collect thousands of documents from the World Bank building, which they used to construct a picture of its influence on economic policy within the Philippines. This sparked Bello's interest in the export-led development model being pushed by the Bank, and resulted in the publication of a book, *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines* (1982). In the mid-1980s Bello worked with John Cavanagh at IPS to promote analysis of the political

[25] Frances Moore Lappé, Joseph Collins, and Cary Fowler, *Food First: Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* (Boston, MA: Houghton-Mifflin, 1977), pp. 75–90, 407–9.

and economic implications of U.S. policy in the Philippines and to represent the views of Filipino groups like the Freedom from Debt Coalition in the American press.[26] In 1987 Bello also joined Food First as an analyst of Asia-Pacific issues in 1987, served as Executive Director from 1990 to 1994, and published numerous books critiquing pro-corporate globalization. [27] In 1995 he established another important institution in Bangkok called Focus on the Global South (FGS). The new institute was designed to promote regional solidarity in East Asia, and was the product of collaboration among Bello, his Indian co-director Kamal Malhotra, and prominent scholars and activists from Thailand, South Korea, and Japan. Food politics therefore became one prominent conduit for amplifying broader southern critiques of corporate globalization, American militarism, and international trade policy.[28]

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[26] John Cavanagh and Walden Bello, 'A Deepening Crisis', *AfricAsia*, February 1985, pp. 50–51; Walden Bello and John Cavanagh, 'U.S. Should Close Its Philippine Bases', *Newsday*, 19 September 1985; Robin Broad and John Cavanagh, 'Death in Bataan, Death of an Economic Model', *Midweek*, 4 March 1987, pp. 8–11, 42–43; Philip M. Lustre, 'Anti-Debt Group Says PAP Purpose Is Bases Protection', *Daily Globe*, 29 May 1989.

[27] The Reagan administration characterised Marcos as a loyal U.S. ally, and even presented him with a case displaying American medals he was supposedly awarded for his service during World War II. In contrast, the opposition were described by the Heritage Foundation as "anti-American," sympathetic to Marxism, and a threat to stability in Southeast Asia. This rationale helped to publicly justify U.S. aid that was really extended to secure the renewal of leases for American military bases in the Philippines. Jose V. Fuentecilla, *Fighting from a Distance: How Filipino Exiles Helped Topple a Dictator* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013), pp. 49–51, 62, 88, 99 Born in Manilla, Bello came to the U.S. in the late 1960s to undertake graduate studies at Princeton. By the time he completed his doctoral research in 1973, Ferdinand Marcos had declared martial law in the Philippines and Bello joined the movement to overthrow the dictatorship. In order to effectively lobby Congress, it was first necessary to obtain information about how the U.S. was financing the Marcos regime. Opposition groups within the U.S. began to expose the connections between Marcos, U.S. aid, American strategic interests in the Philippines, and multilateral development agencies. It was through undertaking this research that Bello uncovered the much greater role played by the World Bank in sustaining the Marcos dictatorship. Over three years, he and his associates managed to covertly collect thousands of documents from the World Bank building, which they used to construct a picture of its influence on economic policy within the Philippines. This sparked Bello's interest in the export-led development model being pushed by the Bank, and resulted in the publication of a book, *Development Debacle: The World Bank in the Philippines* (1982). On Filipino resistance to the American military and nuclear presence see Roland G. Simbulan, 'People's Movement Responses to Evolving U.S. Military Activities in the Philippines', in *The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle Against U.S. Military Posts*, ed. by Catherine Lutz (London: Pluto Press, 2009), pp. 145–80; Leah Scrivener, '"Changing Contexts, Consistent Principles": A Conversation with Walden Bello', *Food First*, 2013 <https://foodfirst.org/changing-contexts-consistent-principles-a-conversation-with-former-food-first-director-walden-bello/> [accessed 21 June 2021].

[28] Walden Bello, 'Pacific Panopticon', *New Left Review*, 2002 <https://newleftreview.org/issues/II16/articles/walden-bello-pacific-panopticon> [accessed 15 August 2019].

The Farm Crisis in the United States

The food crisis emerged once again in the popular consciousness in the United States in the mid-1980s. Musician Bob Geldof organised a rock concert, Live Aid, to raise money for a humanitarian assistance effort to relieve a famine in Ethiopia. In doing so, Geldof reduced a complex political reality into an exercise in celebrity moralism.[29] The causes of the famine in Ethiopia were multiple and specific to that country, but they took place against a backdrop of international agricultural dislocation.[30] In the United States, small-scale farmers were plunged into financial crisis by the collapse of commodity prices, falling exports, and high interest rates.[31] By 1985 the total amount of farm debt was $212 billion, more than the combined debt of Brazil, Mexico, and Argentina.[32] As the number of farmers defaulting on their loans rocketed, the musician Willie Nelson, John Mellencamp, and Neil Young borrowed the model developed by Live Aid to establish a fundraising campaign to assist those who were facing foreclosure. Farm Aid raised $27 million over the next twenty years and provided much needed seed money for grassroots initiatives.[33]

Perhaps one of the most important consequences of the crisis was to consolidate the diverse American farm community around a common agenda and organizational structure. Rural America had been haughtily consigned to the dustbin of history by modernization theorists in the postwar years, but many farmers, particularly in the Midwest, remained animated by a deep tradition of political radicalism dating back to the nineteenth century. In the postwar years, the National Farmers Organization (NFO) had attempted to organise farmers into

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[29] Alexander Poster, 'The Gentle War: Famine Relief, Politics, and Privatization in Ethiopia, 1983-1986', *Diplomatic History*, 36.2 (2012), 399–425; Tanja R. Müller, 'The Long Shadow of Band Aid Humanitarianism: Revisiting the Dynamics between Famine and Celebrity', *Third World Quarterly*, 34.3 (2013), 470–84.

[30] Between 1950 and 1990, the share of the workforce in agriculture in the global workforce declined by a third, in part through the displacement of peasants from their land. Farshad Araghi, 'The Great Global Enclosure of Our Times: Peasants and the Agrarian Question at the End of the Twentieth Century', in *Hungry for Profit: The Agribusiness Threat to Farmers, Food, and the Environment*, ed. by Fred Magdoff, John Bellamy Foster, and Frederick H. Buttel (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), pp. 145–60.

[31] Between 1970 and 1980 farm mortgage debt rose by 59 percent. At the same time, net farm income fell dramatically. Barry J. Barnett, 'The U.S. Farm Financial Crisis of the 1980s', in *Fighting for the Farm: Rural America Transformed*, ed. by Jane Adams (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2003), pp. 165–68.

[32] Osha Gray Davidson, *Broken Heartland Rise of America's Rural Ghetto* (Iowa City, IA: University of Iowa Press, 1996), p. 16.

[33] Michael S. Foley, *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), pp. 201–32.

collective bargaining units, and in the 1970s, members of the U.S. Farmers' Association (USFA) were active in the antiwar movement. Some farmers moved in countercultural circles that familiarised them with the "natural foods" movement's critiques of industrial agriculture.[34] In the 1980s leftists were attracted to the social movement oriented North American Farm Alliance (NAFA), which incorporated feminism, environmentalism, and anti-militarism into its rural advocacy.[35] However, there also existed a more conservative tendency, which was represented in the 1970s in the American Agricultural Movement (AAM), which organised huge tractor-cade protests in Washington in the last years of the Carter administration. The AAM leadership's anger at the failure of the Democrats to address their concerns had prompted some of them to campaign for Reagan in the 1980 election. By the mid-1980s they were reaping a bitter harvest. Reagan opposed farm subsidies, arguing that they encouraged "dependency" on the federal government. According to this perspective, the decimation of rural communities was an unfortunate but necessary consequence of the need to allow supply and demand to determine agricultural prices.[36] What brought together these ideologically incongruent groups was a common commitment to the principle of parity, that is the establishment of agricultural prices at a level sufficient to allow farmers to maintain their purchasing power in relation to non-agricultural goods.[37] This common ground allowed 171 farm organizations from 25 states to come together in Des Moines, Iowa to establish the National Family Farm Coalition in 1986 (NFFC). The NFFC strategy encompassed everything from lobbying legislatures, voter registration, boycotts, and direct action. Public education was also considered important to overcome the divide between rural and urban communities.

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[34] Maria McGrath, *Food for Dissent: Natural Foods and the Consumer Counterculture since the 1960s* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts, 2019).

[35] Patrick H. Mooney and Theo J. Majka, *Farmers' and Farm Workers' Movements: Social Protest in American Agriculture* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1994), pp. 90–97; Bruce E. Field, *Harvest of Dissent: The National Farmers Union and the Early Cold War* (Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1998).

[36] Foley, pp. 218–21.

[37] The concept of parity had a long history, but it was institutionalised in the United States under the New Deal by the Agricultural Adjustment Act of 1933. Robert L. Tontz, 'Evolution of the Term Parity in Agricultural Usage', *The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, 35.4 (1955), 345–55; Parity was the American domestic answer to the problem of unequal exchange that preoccupied development economists and 'dependency' theorists such as Hans Singer and Raúl Prebisch in the 1940s and 1950s. In the 1970s these ideas were abandoned along with the import-substitution development strategy. Structural adjustment programmes undermined prices everywhere by eliminating price supports and encouraging the overproduction of export commodities. Jeffrey G. Williamson, *Trade and Poverty: When the Third World Fell Behind* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2011).

The founding of the NFFC built unity around a major legislative effort to address the farm crisis, through supply management, led by Senator Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) and Representative Richard Gephardt (D-Missouri).[38] The bill did not pass, but it succeeded in publicising the plight of rural communities. The anger of farmers, and the threat posed by a progressive alternative programme, slowed the assault on price supports.[39] Despite this setback, the Reagan administration continued to argue that the crisis issued not from deflationary policies in the 1980s but from the "counterproductive farm policies" of the past. The administration favoured the "decoupling" of agricultural policy from the production decisions of individual farmers, a move that would allow market signals to determine prices. The emphasis on boosting "efficiency" and the international competitiveness of agricultural goods clearly aligned with the interests of the largest agribusinesses in the U.S. The unstated implication was that inefficient small-scale producers, hitherto only kept in business by ill-advised government handouts, would be forced to "exit" the market.[40] With this aim in mind, American officials turned to multilateral policy forums such as the G7 and the OECD to advocate for a reduction of subsidies as the primary method for reducing agricultural surpluses.[41]

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[38] Originally called the National Save the Family Farm Committee, the group's name underwent a couple of minor amendments. National Save the Family Farm Coalition Position Statement, 1986, Box 1, Folder 26. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers, 1974-1993. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. [Hereafter cited as Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.]; National Save the Family Farm Coalition, 'National Rural Crisis Action Campaign: A Price, A Place and A Plan: Justice for Rural America', Box 1, Folder 26. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.; 'Rural Activists from 25 States Meet to Launch "National Rural Crisis Action Campaign"', Press Release, National Save the Family Farm Committee, 1986, Box 1, Folder 26. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.; George Naylor, interview with author, 2022.

[39] Peter T. Kilborn, 'Reagan Plan to Cut Farm Aid Felled by Agriculture Crisis', *The New York Times*, 18 July 1985, section A <https://www.nytimes.com/1985/07/18/us/reagan-plan-to-cut-farm-aid-felled-by-agriculture-crisis.html> [accessed 27 August 2022]; Larry Green, '15,000 Farmers Angrily Protest Reagan Policies', *The Los Angeles Times*, 28 February 1985 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1985-02-28-mn-12677-story.html> [accessed 27 August 2022]; Gerald M. Boyd, 'Reagan Pledges His Commitment to Help Farmers Overcome Crisis', *The New York Times*, 13 August 1986, section A, p. 1; Mary Summers, 'From the Heartland to Seattle: The Family Farm Movement of the 1980s and the Legacy of Agrarian State Building', in *The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State: Political Histories of Rural America*, ed. by Catherine McNicol Stock and Robert D. Johnston (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 306–9.

[40] Ronald Reagan, 'Statement on Signing the Food Security Act of 1985', *The American Presidency Project*, 1985 <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-signing-the-food-security-act-1985> [accessed 27 August 2022].

[41] Yasuhiro Nakasone, 'Tokyo Economic Summit Conference Declaration', *The American Presidency Project*, 1986 <https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/tokyo-economic-summit-conference-declaration> [accessed 27 August 2022].

Farmers of the World Unite

When Bush became president in 1989, he made Clayton Yeutter his Secretary of Agriculture. Yeutter had served as Reagan's Trade Representative, and he remained committed to decoupling by pursuing the elimination of "trade-distorting measures" through multilateral trade agreements.[42] Family farm activists recognised the threat that this posed to democratic oversight of agricultural policy. The president of the Idaho Rural Council charged that Yeutter wanted to "remove farm policy from the hands of Congress and turn it over to appointed GATT trade negotiations."[43] The NFFC stated that "Nations have the right to develop and maintain domestic price support and supply management programs to assure stability and security for both their producers and consumers… It is inappropriate and dangerous to concede decisions on national food security to non-elected officials such as the U.S. Trade Representative."[44] Reflecting the historic link between agricultural policy and conservation during the New Deal era and the rising popularity of the concept of "sustainability", family farm groups also warned about the environmental impact of liberalization under GATT. Analysis by the Institute for Agricultural and Trade Policy (IATP, founded in 1986) argued that market reforms would threaten environmental standards, intensify the pressure on marginal land, and entail the unsustainable use of pesticides, fertilizers, and other energy-intensive inputs.[45]

One of the key figures of the struggle against "free trade" in agriculture was Mark Ritchie, the president of IATP. Ritchie had been involved in social justice movements in California in the early 1970s and co-founded several food coops. Ritchie went on to play a leadership role in

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[42] Statement, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Office of Information. Prepared for Delivery by Secretary of Agriculture Clayton Yeutter, Washington D.C., April 10, 1989, Box 2, Folder 38. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.
[43] Pam Baldwin, 'Geneva, Switzerland Is Too Far Away', 1989, Box 2, Folder 38. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.
[44] 'NFFC Position on GATT', Box 2, Folder 37. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.
[45] Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 'The Environmental Implications of the GATT Negotiations', Box 2, Folder 38. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.; Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 'Free Trade vs. Sustainable Agriculture', Box 37, Folder 35. Michael Sligh Papers, 1972-2019. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. [Hereafter cited as Michael Sligh Papers.]; On 'sustainable development' see Stephen J. Macekura, *Of Limits and Growth: The Rise of Global Sustainable Development in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

the Nestle boycott before taking up a job as a trade policy analyst for the Minnesota Department of Agriculture. In 1980 Ritchie organized a conference at Iowa State University for the USFA on the history of agrarian protest, which put younger farmers in touch with previous generations of rural radicals such as Scott Nearing and Fred Stover.[46] He took seriously the injunction of the time to "Think Globally, Act Locally," but he argued that it was also necessary to "think locally and act globally."[47] In July 1983 he was a delegate to the International Farm Crisis Conference in Ottawa, Canada titled "Forging the Links," which brought together farmers from nine counties around the world. The International Solidarity Statement began mournfully, "As food producers of the world… we have shared together a common tragedy – the erosion of family farm agriculture around the globe." However, it went on to lay out a common platform to keep farmers on the land, to secure fair prices for agricultural goods through supply management, and to establish a fair system of international trade.[48] Among the groups that NAFA made contact with in this period were a group of farmers in the Larzac region of France, who would later make international news for their direct action tactics.[49] The work done during these years helped to lay the foundation for future cooperation over trade.

Ritchie spent the latter part of the 1980s in Europe, making links with activists there and building relationships with European trade negotiators.[50] He was therefore well placed, upon his return to the United States, to play a primary role in organising the disparate assemblage of agricultural groups into a nationally coordinated grassroots campaign focused on international trade. The Fair Trade Campaign (FTC) was officially launched in April 1990 at a press conference in Washington D.C. and was planned to unfold in four phases. The first phase

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[46] Mary Summers, 'From the Heartland to Seattle: The Family Farm Movement of the 1980s and the Legacy of Agrarian State Building', in *The Countryside in the Age of the Modern State: Political Histories of Rural America*, ed. by Catherine McNicol Stock and Robert D. Johnston (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2018), p. 310; George Naylor, 'Interview with Author', 2022.

[47] Paul K. Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), p. 29; 'Local Networks, Global Action: A Conversation with Mark Ritchie on Food and Co-ops,' *Cooperative Grocer*, 1990, Box 35, Folder 2. Michael Sligh Papers.

[48] International Farm Crisis Meeting in Ottowa, Canada, *American Agriculture News*, 26 July 1983, 'International Solidarity Statement', Box 1, Folder 40. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.

[49] North American Farm Alliance, Rural Organizing Program, 1983-1984, 'Forging The Links', Box 1, Folder 40. Thomas Saunders and Pamela Saunders Papers.

[50] Susan Ariel Aaronson, *Taking Trade to the Streets: The Lost History of Public Efforts to Shape Globalization* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2011), pp. 146–49.

would involve a mass lobbying effort aimed at Congress, and the final phase would culminate in a series of major meetings in the U.S. and in Brussels in the last week of November 1990 during the last stages of the negotiations.[51] Around this time, the FTC's campaign on GATT and the campaigns being run by labour, public interest, and environmental groups on NAFTA began to converge in opposition to Fast Track.[52]

The GATT talks were due to conclude in December 1990, but there were early signs that agreement was unlikely because of disagreements between the two largest trade blocks, the U.S. (backed by the Cairns Group of agricultural exporting countries) and the European Community (E.C.). Both sides favoured reductions in subsidies, but they disagreed over the level of cuts. At a last-ditch meeting in Brussels, Belgium, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills warned that "The time for rhetoric has passed. Now is the time for straight talk and bottom lines." She articulated the U.S. government's position in frank terms, "this Round will be a success only if it serves as a sword to slash away trade barriers, not a shield behind which to maintain or erect them."[53] The Bush administration understood trade negotiations to be about the construction of a set of "non-discriminatory" global rules that would govern relations between formally equal sovereign nations. In contrast, the family farm movement pointed to the material environmental and social costs of free trade and the economic inequalities that existed within as well as between nations. For small producers in both the Global North and the Global South, free trade in agricultural goods would be a "GATTastrophe," one that benefited only the very largest agribusinesses, who would continue to force down prices. The transnational movement building that had been ongoing since the 1980s helped to mobilise 30,000 farmers on the streets of Brussels. The demonstration was conducted in a confrontational style more representative of protest in Europe and the Global South than was perhaps usual in the United States. Farmers tore down trees and traffic signs and burned tires in the streets to demonstrate their anger, and they were met by police using

[51] Fair Trade Campaign, 'Campaign Goals', Box 34, Folder 27. Michael Sligh Papers.; League of Rural Voters Education Project, 'Trading Our Future?', 1990, Box 34, Folder 27. Michael Sligh Papers.
[52] Fair Trade Campaign Update, 'Fast Track Challenge to Fast Track Authority', 1991, Box 34, Folder 29. Michael Sligh Papers.
[53] Opening Statement by United States Trade Representative Carla A. Hills, 1990, Box 34, Folder 26. Michael Sligh Papers.

tear gas and water cannons. Amid these scenes, it was difficult for European negotiators to back down, and Hill's hope of reaching an agreement was dashed, at least temporarily.[54]

The continuing struggle against the GATT talks also prompted farmers in the Global South to begin organising internationally.[55] In May 1992 eight of these farm organizations gathered in Nicaragua and issued the Managua Declaration, which charged that "neoliberal policies" were bringing "farmers throughout the world… to the brink of irredeemable extinction." The declaration rejected the use of "the burden of the external debt and fiscal deficits as a pretext for the imposition of neoliberal policies by international financial institutions." In addition, it denounced GATT for its role in the impoverishment of farmers and promoting the interests of "monopolies and transnational corporations."[56] A subsequent meeting in Mons, Belgium in May 1993 resulted in the establishment of La Via Campesina ("The Peasants' Way"), a movement of small farmers that was autonomous from existing international agricultural organizations that were seen as privileging the interests of large farmers. In contrast, La Via Campesina was conceived as an organization that explicitly rejected trade liberalisation and neoliberal development models, and instead advocated for the principle of "food sovereignty," defined in the Mons Declaration as "The right of every country to define its own agricultural policy according to the nation's interest and in concertation with the peasants

[54] Tim Dickson, 'Farmers of the World Unite in Brussels', *The Financial Times*, 4 December 1990, pp. 1, 26; Peter Guilford and Michael Binyon, 'GATT Talks Head for Disaster Amid Farm Riots', *The Times*, 4 December 1990.

[55] The National Farmers Union (NFU) in Canada had been particularly interested in understanding how rural issues were being addressed in other countries and had participated in agricultural study tours in Nicaragua in the 1980s. On these tours, Canadian women from the NFU made connections with Nicaraguan women from the National Union of Agriculturalists and Ranchers (Union Nacional de Agricultores y Ganaderos, UNAG), an organization that was established under the Sandinista government. At the GATT meeting in Montreal in 1988 the NFU also began a dialogue with leaders from the Peasant Movement of the Philippines (Kilusang Magbubukid ng Pilipinas, KMP) and other farmer groups from the Global South. These connections, together with further regional networks in Europe and Latin America, provided the basis for developing international cooperation and solidarity between small farmers organizations across the world. Annette Aurelie Desmarais, *La Vía Campesina: Globalization and the Power of Peasants* (Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2007), pp. 78–85.

[56] La Via Campesina, 'Managua Declaration (April 1992)', 1996 <https://viacampesina.org/en/managua-declaration/> [accessed 1 July 2021]; It was hardly surprising that this criticism should be most vocally advanced by farmers in the Global South. The United States and the European Union supported 'free' trade when that meant access to global markets, but they also found it politically expedient to appease domestic corporate agricultural interests. The 'Blair House' agreement in November 1992 provided for a system of agricultural supports in the two core trading blocs. At the same time, countries in the Global South were being asked to abolish agricultural supports because they constituted 'unfair' barriers to trade. Patel, p. 105.

and indigenous organizations, guaranteeing their real participation."[57] La Via Campesina rearticulated and reaffirmed the "moral economy of the peasant" for the era of neoliberal globalization.[58]

Intensive Agriculture and Biotechnology

The creation of groups like La Via Campesina demonstrated that popular social movements were beginning to recognise the links between global governmental institutions, neoliberal ideology, and corporate interests. Family farmers consistently identified big corporations as the main beneficiaries of, and lobbyists for, free trade policies. Agribusinesses also operated on a low-cost, large-scale model which promoted the hyper intensification of agriculture, placing extreme price pressures on smaller producers. This was dramatized by the conflict over recombinant Bovine Growth Hormone (rBGH), which was synthesised to speed up milk production in cows. In the U.S., the campaign against rBGH was originally started by one man, John Kinsman, a family farmer who moved in progressive circles in the 1980s. In 1985 the Wisconsin-based dairy farmer read about research being done on the use of growth hormones at Cornell and other universities. When he discovered that similar research was being conducted at the University of Wisconsin, and that the milk produced by animals experimented upon with the hormones was being used in products served to staff and students on campus without their knowledge, he decided to draw attention to the fact. Kinsman began visiting the university every day to hand out flyers and to spread the word about his concerns.[59]

Opposition to rBGH soon grew, and in 1992 Kinsman founded the Family Farm Defenders (FFD), an organisation that was designed to marshal grassroots against the National Dairy Board, which had supported the use of hormones. Backed by the Wisconsin Citizen Action group, FFD charged that the board no longer represented the interests of small farmers and

[57] La Via Campesina, 'Mons Declaration (May 1993)', 2006 <https://viacampesina.org/en/mons-declaration/> [accessed 1 July 2021].
[58] James C. Scott, *The Moral Economy of the Peasant: Rebellion and Subsistence in Southeast Asia* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1976).
[59] Family Farm Defenders Press Release, 'John Kinsman Took on the Chemical Companies Single-Handed', Box 1, Folder 27. Family Farm Defenders Records, 1985, 1990-2013. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison. [Hereafter cited as Family Farm Defenders Records.]

did little to address the continuing decline of farmer income.[60] By Spring of 1993 the campaign had already collected signatures from over 15,000 farmers. As FFD and its supporters pointed out, the U.S. produced a surplus of milk, but the introduction of new methods for increasing milk production would only exacerbate the problem and further depress prices. For Kinsman and other farmers, their cows were not simply profit-making machines, but were the source of their family livelihood. They feared that further intensification of milk production would be harmful to the welfare of their animals (for example by increasing the prevalence of mastitis amongst their herds) and require greater use of antibiotics.[61] As a matter of public policy, they argued, price should not trump all other considerations.[62]

It soon became clear that environmental and consumer advocates shared some of these anxieties. Many consumers had reservations about consuming products subject to unfamiliar new technologies and wondered about the possible health consequences. When consumer groups became interested in the issue, it attracted mainstream media attention. The only people who stood to gain from rBGH, it was argued, were agribusinesses like the St. Lous, Missouri-based Monsanto.[63]

Family farmers, consumer advocates, and environmentalists recognised that companies like Monsanto were the primary advocates for free market, input-intensive, export-oriented agricultural policies, and that they were prepared to use technology to consolidate their control over all aspects of the global food industry. This strategy extended to the commodification of the essential biological building blocks of life itself. The 1970s had seen a boom in the U.S. biotechnology industry; advances in geonomics and biomolecular engineering had made it possible to create genetically modified organisms (GMOs). In 1980

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[60] Testimony Submitted by Ruth Simpson, Associate Director of Wisconsin Citizen Action. Dump The National Dairy Board. Dairy Summit, 21 June 1993, Box 1, Folder 40. Family Farm Defenders Records.
[61] On parallel conflicts over the use of agricultural antibiotics see Mark Finlay and Alan I. Marcus, '"Consumer Terrorists": Battles over Agricultural Antibiotics in the United States and Western Europe', *Agricultural History*, 90.2 (2016), 146.
[62] Mike Ivey, 'Drowning in Milk: Surplus Floods Market; Costs Tumbling Down', *The Capital Times*, 2 June 1994, pp. 1B-3B, Box 1, Folder 30. Family Farm Defenders Records.; The Family Farm Defender. Volume 1, Number 1., 1993, Box 1, Folder 33. Family Farm Defenders Records.; Farmers Alliance for Real Milk, 'Fact Sheet: Bovine Growth Hormone', Box 1, Folder 10. Ruth Simpson Papers, 1986-1990. Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.
[63] Aaron Freeman, 'Monkeying With the Milk', *Multinational Monitor*, June 1994, pp. 14–17, Box 1, Folder 30. Family Farm Defenders Records.; Bob Arnot, 'The Great American Milk War', *Good Housekeeping*, June 1994, p. 52, Box 1, Folder 30. Family Farm Defenders Records.

the US Supreme Court ruled in *Diamond, vs. Chakrabarty* that human-made life could be patented, and in 1987 the US Patent and Trademark Office (USPTO) accepted the argument that the products of such research were patentable inventions.[64] These developments equipped agribusinesses with the technical and legal tools they needed to transform natural resources into marketable products over which they could claim proprietary rights.[65]

At the same time, critics of the Green Revolution were alarmed by the growing power of U.S. multinationals who controlled global markets for agricultural inputs, and who had renewed their focus on markets in the Global South following successful attempts by campaigners to regulate or ban the use of pesticides such as DDT in the North. Under structural adjustment, countries in the South were forced to privatise the parastatal institutions that had distributed seeds to farmers, and control of seed distribution had fallen into the hands of the multinationals. The World Bank and other international agencies were also promoting such exports by financing development aid packages that bundled together agricultural technology developed by the multinationals as part of their export-led growth model.[66] Concern over corporate control of seeds and other agricultural inputs grew during the 1980s, and in 1987 a conference was held by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Geneva to discuss the social impact of such developments. A major concern was that multinationals would be able to use GATT negotiations to extend their control and that this would threaten the livelihoods of small farmers. There was good reason for this concern, because the Uruguay negotiations included an agreement on Trade-Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPs). TRIPs protected investments in biotechnology by extending patents for 20 years, and empowered

[64] Stephen B. Scharper and Hilary Cunningham, 'The Genetic Commons: Resisting the Neo-Liberal Enclosure of Life', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 50.3 (2006), 195–202.
[65] When environmental groups such as Greenpeace later took up the issue of genetic modification, they helped to transform Monsanto into a potent symbol of everything wrong with the modern food system. 'Greenpeace Launches Week of Activities in New Orleans to Protest Export of Monsanto's Genetically Engineered Soybeans', 1996, Press Advisory. Box 32, Folder 40. Michael Sligh Papers.; Greenpeace Outreach Update, 'Genetically-Engineered Food Claims Are Hard to Swallow', 1997, Box 32, Folder 40. Michael Sligh Papers.
[66] Noah Zerbe, 'Seeds of Hope, Seeds of Despair: Towards a Political Economy of the Seed Industry in Southern Africa', *Third World Quarterly*, 22.4 (2001), 657–73; David Naguib Pellow, *Resisting Global Toxics: Transnational Movements for Environmental Justice.* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2007), pp. 157–58.

multinationals with the legal mechanisms to issue private licensing contracts that prevented small farmers from saving and sharing seeds, a widespread traditional practice.[67]

These issues were taken up and popularised by activists such as the Indian ecofeminist and scientist Vandana Shiva. Shiva had volunteered with the Chipko movement in the 1970s and later conducted research into the social and environmental effects of World Bank-financed monoculture production in Bangalore. The Bhopal disaster of 1984 turned Shiva into a prominent critic of the Green Revolution.[68] In 1995 Shiva's organisation, the Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology (RFSTE), launched a legal case against the U.S. multinational W. R. Grace for attempting to patent a product based on the anti-fungal properties of the Neem tree, accusing it of "biopiracy," the neo-colonial appropriation of traditional knowledge for private profit.

The legal case launched by Shiva was partly inspired by the actions of members of the Karnataka Farmers' Association (Karnataka Rajya Ryota Sangha, KRRS), who were often seen carrying neem twigs during demonstrations.[69] On 2 October 1991, the KRRS protested the GATT negotiations, and in December 1992 it targeted the offices of the American multinational Cargill, setting light to papers and seeds. In further actions against Cargill, Kentucky Fried Chicken, and Monsanto, KRRS farmers used Gandhian symbolism to frame their struggle for food sovereignty in anti-colonial terms. Their organization created a programme to translate and distribute the texts of key trade agreements so that they could

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[67] Pat Roy Mooney, 'The Law of the Seed – Another Development and Plant Genetic Resources', *Development Dialogue*, 1.2 (1983); Gary Fowler and others, 'The Laws of Life; Another Development and the New Biotechnologies', *Development Dialogue*, 1.2 (1988); Vandana Shiva, *The Vandana Shiva Reader* (Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky, 2015), pp. 1–7; Agreements included provisions to facilitate the surveillance of farmers to ensure compliance. Karine Peschard and Shalini Randeria, '"Keeping Seeds in Our Hands": The Rise of Seed Activism', *The Journal of Peasant Studies*, 47.4 (2020), 613–47 (p. 615); In 1998 it was revealed that Monsanto had developed a type of 'suicide seed' that would render any seeds collected from the crop sterile. Ricarda A. Steinbrecher and Pat Roy Mooney, 'Terminator Technology: The Threat to World Food Security', *The Ecologist*, 28.5 (1998).

[68] The Chipko movement was a movement of rural women who used Gandhian techniques of nonviolent resistance to halt deforestation by commercial logging companies. Vandana Shiva, *The Violence of the Green Revolution: Third World Agriculture, Ecology and Politics* (London: Zed Books, 1991).

[69] Anna Winterbottom, 'Becoming "Traditional": A Transnational History of Neem and Biopiracy Discourse', *Osiris*, 36 (2021), 262–83; Shiva elaborated on these ideas in Vandana Shiva, *Biopiracy: The Plunder of Nature and Knowledge* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1997); The EU ruled in favour of the activists in 2000, and the company lost an appeal against the decision in 2005. 'India Wins Landmark Patent Battle', *BBC News*, 9 March 2005 <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/sci/tech/4333627.stm> [accessed 5 July 2021].

be discussed and debated by the peasants themselves. In 1993 the group mobilized 500,000 farmers in the area of India around Bangalore to protest the final draft of the GATT text.[70] Small farmers across the Global South therefore constituted a significant opposition to the rollback of social protections, the liberalization of trade, and the privatisation and commodification of natural resources. They were joined by other grassroots organizations, such as the National Alliance of People Movements (NAPM), an Indian coalition that mobilized in opposition to the New Economic Policy, a structural adjustment programme adopted by India under pressure from the IMF and World Bank following the economic crisis of 1991.[71] KRRS actions demonstrated the interconnection of the wider family farm movement's concerns about biotechnology, intellectual property, the environment, food safety, trade, and economic domination.

The Birth of the WTO

At the policy level, opposition to GATT within the Global South was coordinated by groups like Third World Network (TWN), an organisation that was founded following a conference held by the Consumers Association of Penang (CAP) in November 1984.[72] Led by Malaysian economist Martin Khor, TWN brought together activists who were concerned about the debt crisis, structural adjustment, the destruction of the tropical rainforest, pollution, and many other issues.[73] Activists connected to the Third World Network were alerted to the threat posed by the GATT by Indian journalist Chakravarthi Raghavan. Raghavan produced the *South-North Development Monitor* (SUNS), a daily bulletin from Geneva that provided details

[70] Patel, p. 43; As Ruth Reitan observes, the KRRS was inspired by Gandhian philosophy, but it also drew upon neo-Marxist theory and the radical democratic tradition. The first GATT protest was launched on Gandhi's birthday. The 1993 action against Cargill was made in response to the company's plans to begin salt mining in Gujarat and had clear echoes of the salt march led by Gandhi at the beginning of the Quit India movement. Ruth Reitan, *Global Activism* (London: Routledge, 2007), pp. 156–59.

[71] Like the farmers, small-scale fishers had begun to organise both nationally and internationally in the 1970s and 1980s and became an important constituency of the NAPM in the 1990s when the Indian government began to allow deep sea fishing by foreign firms and industrial fishing began to devastate the fish stocks upon which local people depended for their livelihoods. Michael Levien, 'India's Double-Movement: Polanyi and the National Alliance of People's Movements', *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, 51 (2007), 119–49; Subir Sinha, 'Transnationality and the Indian Fishworkers' Movement, 1960s–2000', *Journal of Agrarian Change*, 12.2–3 (2012), 364–89.

[72] *Third World: Development or Crisis*, ed. by S. M. Mohammed Idris (Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 1985); Matthew Hilton, 'The Consumer Movement and Civil Society in Malaysia', *International Review of Social History*, 52.3 (2007), 373–406; Adler, pp. 42–43, 95–98.

[73] Roberto Bissio, 'Martin Khor: The Practice of Change', *Development and Change*, 52.4 (2021), 1009–21.

of what was happening in the Uruguay Round. He also warned about the implications of the trade agreement for poor countries in his book, *Recolonization: GATT, the Uruguay Round, and the Third World* (1990).[74] Raghavan's analysis was widely deployed by activists in Europe, the U.S. and around the globe.

The Uruguay Round also extended the reach of trade agreements to "new issues" such as Non-Tariff Barriers (NTB), intellectual property (TRIPS), and investment (TRIMS). When the final agreement was concluded in 1994, it authorised the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO). The WTO eliminated many of the special arrangements that had been made for developing countries, and it was equipped with far more powerful tools for ensuring compliance with multilateral agreements, allowing rich states to use a broader range of sanctions to punish poor states for perceived transgressions of the rules. It also subordinated democratic decision-making to the requirements of a comprehensive trade regime and subjected national policy formation to judicially binding constraints. Essentially, the new international organisation ensured that neoliberal policies – both trade and "trade related" – could be insulated from democratic accountability. The WTO also lacked transparency. Because negotiations were undertaken in secret, it was difficult for discussions to be subjected to proper scrutiny or for the public to be persuaded to take an interest in the far-reaching consequences of what seemed like mundane discussions about tariffs. The political representatives of poor countries were themselves side-lined by procedural rules that were set by the richer states and by their exclusion from closed-room consultations.[75]

Martin Khor and others within TWN later took up these concerns and began to mobilize NGO opposition to the undemocratic structure of the WTO, to defeat a proposal by northern states

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[74] Chakravarthi Raghavan, *Recolonization: GATT, the Uruguay Round & the Third World* (Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 1990); 'Recolonization: GATT and the Third World, An Interview with Martin Khor Kok Pen', *Multinational Monitor*, November 1990, pp. 15–19.

[75] This was dramatized at the 1996 WTO Ministerial in Singapore, where only 30 countries were invited to participate in the decision-making process conducted in the "Green Room" prior to the summit declaration. The outcome of such closed room negotiations would then be presented to the developing countries as a fait accompli. WTO agreements are based on the "most favoured nation" principle, which means that they are extended to all members, including those countries that were unable to actively participate in the negotiations. On the neoliberal origins and anti-democratic nature of the 'free trade' regime see Stephen Gill, 'Constitutionalizing Inequality and the Clash of Globalizations', *International Studies Review*, 4.2 (2002), 47–65; Slobodian.

for a Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), and to work with government representatives from the Global South.[76] Before the 1996 Singapore conference, they collaborated with Bhagirath Lal Das, India's Ambassador and Permanent Representative to GATT and the former Director of International Trade Programmes at UNCTAD, to discuss problems with the WTO at seminars for representatives from over 60 countries in the UN. TWN and SUNS became important hubs for disseminating information to delegates from the southern countries at the WTO Ministerial Conferences leading up to Seattle. The southern countries, led by Tanzanian Ambassador Ali Mchumo, coalesced around an agenda focused on "implementation issues" arising from the Uruguay Round, with an eye toward reforming the WTO. Northern countries, meanwhile, pressed ahead with further liberalisation and the "new issues."[77]

Food, Consumption, and the Culture of Corporate Globalization

In the Global North, agricultural and trade policies had consequences for constituencies beyond the family farm movement. As consumer and public health advocates pointed out, the perverse incentives created by the food industry contributed to growing food inequality, spectacular waste, environmental degradation, and an obesity epidemic.[78] Consumer advocates focused their ire on the same multinational power seen as exploiting agriculturalists in the Global South.[79] Not only were companies such as McDonalds and Coca Cola ubiquitous in the lives of ordinary Americans (in a way that agrobusiness giants like

[76] The MAI was a proposal initiated by Northern states through the Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) in an attempt to circumvent opposition from developing countries within the WTO. Martin Khor and Tom Kruse, *Putting the Third World First: A Life of Speaking Out for the Global South* (Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 2021), pp. 38–42, 101–22; For a broader account of the MAI see Alessandro Bonanno, *Stories of Globalization: Transnational Corporations, Resistance, and the State* (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), pp. 217–39.
[77] Khor and Kruse, pp. 123–28, 148–52.
[78] In the late 1970s, almost half of the U.S. population was classified as overweight, and 15 percent were classified as obese. By 2010 three quarters of the U.S. population was classified as overweight, and a third were classified as obese. As epidemiologists Richard G. Wilkinson and Kate Pickett point out, the causes of obesity are complex, however the food environment is an important factor. Moreover, obesity is no longer positively correlated with income and status, as it had been in the past. By the early 1990s disproportionately affected poor women compared to rich women. Kate Pickett and Richard Wilkinson, *The Spirit Level: Why Equality Is Better for Everyone* (New York: Bloomsbury, 2009).
[79] Raj Patel has used the image of the 'hourglass figure' to describe the food production and distribution chain. The market power of a few large firms is sustained by their control of global distribution and logistics. Economies of scale allow these companies to exercise considerable monopsony power over small producers. Patel, pp. 19–22.

Cargill and Monsanto were not), but they were also powerful symbols of the global reach of a distinctly American brand of capitalism.[80] As journalist Eric Schlosser later noted, the hamburger had become the quintessential American meal, and McDonald's soon spread its "golden arches" insignia everywhere. In 1986 the *Economist*, even developed the "Big Mac Index" to measure purchasing power parity around the world. As the company expanded, it contributed to structural transformations within American agriculture and the expansion of the low-wage service sector.[81] In 1993 the sociologist George Ritzer published *The McDonaldization of Society*, an influential work that examined the corporation as a case study for broader trends within the postindustrial economy. Because of its practice of paying minimum wages and opposing all efforts at unionisation, McDonald's became a symbol for the subordination of labour more generally. For the novelist Douglas Coupland, the "McJob" was a defining feature of life for Generation X.[82] It also became a symbol of cultural imperialism; the political scientist Benjamin R. Barber saw the creation of a "McWorld" characterised by cultural homogeneity and the totalising logic of the global marketplace.[83]

For these reasons, McDonald's was increasingly targeted by protesters both in the US and abroad. Black communities posed searching questions about the social impact of McDonald's business practices. Since the 1970s McDonald's had increasingly expanded its stores in low-income neighbourhoods, and in areas in cities that did not have access to fresh food ("food deserts"). Aggressive marketing fast food to young people within these communities magnified pre-existing racial and class health disparities.[84] The company was also strongly criticised by animal rights activists because of the link between the rise of fast food, factory

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[80] On 'Americanisation' and multinationals see Reinhold Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the United States in Austria after the Second World War*, trans. by Diana M. Wolf (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1994); Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2005).

[81] To illustrate the extent of these transformations, Schlosser noted that the U.S. had more prison inmates than farmers. Eric Schlosser, *Fast Food Nation: The Dark Side of the All-American Meal* (Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin, 2001), pp. 9–15.

[82] Douglas Coupland, *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture* (London: Abacus, 1996); Schlosser notes that workers in Mason City, Iowa joined the United Food and Commercial Workers union in 1974, but the union lasted only four years. This episode was the exception rather than the rule. Schlosser, p. 65.

[83] Benjamin R. Barber, 'Jihad vs. McWorld', *The Atlantic*, 1992.

[84] Marcia Chatelain, *Franchise: The Golden Arches in Black America* (New York: Liveright, 2020), pp. 17–18; Robert Gottlieb and Anupama Joshi, *Food Justice* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), pp. 66–67.

farming, and the proliferation of Concentrated Animal Feeding Operations (CAFOs).[85] The human costs of this food system, particularly for the workers in food processing factories, were also extremely high.[86] However, corporations like McDonald's possessed a lot of resources that could be used for marketing and public relations purposes. In the UK, in 1990, the company sued two activists for libel after they distributed a pamphlet called "What's Wrong with McDonalds?" The spectre of a giant multinational using the British courts to outlaw public criticism of its business practices helped to dramatize the very issues that the company was hoping to suppress. In 1996 the McLibel defendants launched a website called *McSpotlight* to share information about the case, in collaboration with the US McLibel Support Campaign in Chicago and activists in Finland and New Zealand.[87]

In 1999, the Farmers' Confederation (Confédération Paysanne), a Via Campesina member founded in France in 1987, carried out an audacious action against McDonald's. In August, three hundred members gathered for a rally outside of a McDonald's that was being constructed in the small town of Millau. Led by José Bové, a farmer who had been radicalised in his youth by the political upheavals of May 1968, the French farmers began to dismantle the McDonald's as a symbol of the industrial agriculture and what they called "malbouffe" ("junk food").[88] The trigger was the imposition by the U.S. of sanctions on the E.U. for banning the importation of hormone-treated beef. French farmer anger focused both on U.S. efforts to force genetically altered food into Europe and on whether elite international trade bodies such as the WTO should be allowed to restrict the ability of countries to regulate product standards in order to protect the public interest. Some interpreted Bove's actions as anti-American. But they were not. When some of the Millau protestors were jailed, American consumers and members of the NFFC sent over 30,000 francs for their bail fund. To repay this

[85] On this point, consider the relationship between McDonald's and Tyson Foods. Gottlieb and Joshi, pp. 35–38.
[86] Bryant Simon, *The Hamlet Fire: A Tragic Story of Cheap Food, Cheap Government, and Cheap Lives* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).
[87] 'The Launch of McSpotlight - 16th Feb 1996, London - Chicago - Helsinki - Auckland', *McSpotlight* <https://www.mcspotlight.org/media/launch.html> [accessed 7 July 2021].
[88] Donald Reid, 'Larzac in the Broad 1968 and After', *French Politics, Culture & Society*, 32.2 (2014), 99–122; Herman Lebovics, *Bringing the Empire Back Home: France in the Global Age* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 13–57.

act of transnational solidarity, and to spread their message, Bové and his fellow French farmers conducted a tour of the U.S. in the weeks leading up to the Seattle protests.[89]

The Octopus: The U.S. Labour Movement and The Global Factory

As agriculture was being integrated into global markets, industry was also being transformed by technological change and economic restructuring. In the United States, deindustrialization proved devastating to communities in the industrial Midwest in the 1970s and 1980s. "Runaway" factories were moving to the Sunbelt South, across the border to Mexico, and then further afield to East Asia.[90] The emergence of postindustrial America was therefore accompanied by the (re)industrialisation of the Global South. One of the earliest industries to begin this journey was the cotton textile industry. As a labour-intensive industry with low barriers to entry, the cotton empire had long been a mobile one. In the past it had relied on the power of the state to force open new markets and facilitate the commodification of labour.[91] In the new era of globalization, these objectives could be achieved by less direct but more insidious means. Structural adjustment programmes eliminated barriers to capital mobility and put downward pressure on wages. The elimination of government supports and food subsidies made agricultural work more precarious and impelled the migration of agricultural workers to urban centres. Liberalization programmes facilitated foreign direct investment by multinationals. Whereas in the past manufacturers had accumulated power over the market, by the 1990s retailers like Wal-Mart were able to leverage monopsony power over producers that were dispersed across a global terrain and far smaller and weaker than the mercantile giants themselves.[92]

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[89] For local producers, the sale of milk for Roquefort production provided a significant portion of their income. José Bové, François Dufour, and Gilles Luneau, *The World Is Not for Sale: Farmers Against Junk Food*, trans. by Anna de Casparis (London: Verso, 2002), pp. xi, 31.

[90] Barry Bluestone and Bennett Harrison, *The Deindustrialization of America: Plant Closings, Community Abandonment, and the Dismantling of Basic Industry* (New York: Basic Books, 1982); Jefferson Cowie, *Capital Moves: RCA's Seventy-Year Quest for Cheap Labor* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999); Steven High, *Industrial Sunset: The Making of North America's Rust Belt, 1969-1984* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003); *Beyond The Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*, ed. by Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (Ithaca, NY: ILR Press, 2003).

[91] Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (London: Penguin, 2015), pp. 379–443.

[92] Nelson Lichtenstein, 'The Return of Merchant Capitalism', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 81, 2012, 8–27; Beckert, pp. 427–43.

The shifting terrain required the elaboration of new strategies for advancing workers' interests, but in the United States the labour leadership was slow to respond. As described in Chapter 2, the AFL-CIO remained constrained by the pact that it had struck with capital in the postwar years, and it embraced a protectionist campaign against imports.[93] The U.S. textile industry continued to enjoy some protection from international competition because of the Multifibre Arrangement (MFA) agreed under the GATT in 1973. However, this only prompted U.S.-based multinationals to further shift their production overseas. The Federation's commitment to Cold War foreign policy meant that it was complicit in a political programme that suppressed wages in the Global South.

Nevertheless, the AFL-CIO did launch several important initiatives. Jobs With Justice was founded with the aim of constructing local coalitions composed of unions, worker centers, community organizations, student groups, religious groups, and progressive political organizations. In July 1987, 11,000 people participated in a rally at the Miami Convention Center, "to protest the abuses inflicted on American working people by a new generation of robber barons." In this case, the workers in question were employees of Eastern Air Lines and the robber barons were the corporate executives in the airline industry, which had been deregulated by the Carter administration and experienced a spate of mergers and acquisitions in the late 1980s due to the Reagan administration's hands-off approach to antitrust policy.[94] During the 1990s unionists from Jobs With Justice led a "New Priorities" campaign for a "peace dividend" after the end of the Cold War that would redirect military budgets towards

[93] Dana Frank, *Buy American: The Untold Story of Economic Nationalism* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2000), pp. 131–86.

[94] 'Jobs With Justice', Adopted by the AFL-CIO Convention in Miami, Florida. October, 1987. Box 8, Folder 27, Jobs With Justice Records, Collection Number 6369. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library. [Hereafter cited as Jobs With Justice Records.]; 'What Are the Issues at Eastern Air Lines?', Handout for the Jobs with Justice Rally Prepared by the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, District 100. July 29, 1987. Box 8, Folder 27, Jobs With Justice Records.; E. Han Kim and Vijay Singal, 'Mergers and Market Power: Evidence from the Airline Industry', *The American Economic Review*, 83.3 (1993), 549–69; Louis Galambos, 'When Antitrust Helped, And Why It Doesn't Now', *Washington Post*, 13 June 1999; The campaign also reflected the long shadow of the civil rights movement. Jesse Jackson was a prominent supporter, and the year after the Miami convention, Jobs With Justice joined with the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in a month-long pilgrimage for economic justice from Memphis to Atlanta to mark the twentieth anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr. 'There Once Was a Rally in Miami...', Box 2, Folder 7, Jobs With Justice Records.

healthcare, employment programmes, and environmental protection.[95] They also supported campaigns aiming to reverse privatisation, force companies to divest from South Africa, and oppose welfare reform.[96] Jobs With Justice was a core component of various local Living Wage coalitions, and groups on the West Coast played an important role in organising the protests in Seattle.

Another significant initiative had been the creation of the National Labor Committee (NLC) in September 1981 by the progressive wing of the labour movement. In the 1980s, the NLC challenged the AFL-CIO's position on Central America, which was tacitly supportive of the Reagan administration's attempt to undermine the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and other leftist movements in the region.[97] In 1984 and 1985 NLC sent delegations to Guatemala in support of Coca Cola workers who had occupied a bottling plant in Guatemala City for over a year to protest labour law abuses, and also helped to organise demonstrations within the U.S.[98] The NLC was therefore an instrument for constructing a more expansive vision of transnational labour solidarity that extended to many of the independent trade unions that the AFL-CIO would not support (because of their pro-Sandinista position, for example).[99] When peace talks defused the Sandinista issue, the NLC redirected its efforts to the issue of regional economic integration.[100]

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[95] 'The Campaign for New Priorities: A Talking Paper', May 15, 1991, Box 8, Folder 37, Jobs With Justice Records.; 'Common Agenda: Organizer's Update', Common Agenda Coalition, November 1991. Box 8, Folder 37, Jobs With Justice Records.

[96] 'Call to Action: National Day of Action for Welfare/Workfare Justice! December 10, 1997.', Box 9, Folder 8, Jobs With Justice Records.; 'Welfare Reform, As We Know It: First-Hand Accounts from the Frontlines', Box 9, Folder 8, Jobs With Justice Records.

[97] Nelson Lichtenstein, *State of The Union: A Century of American Labor*, Revised and Expanded Edition (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013), p. 248.

[98] Hank Frundt, 'To Buy the World a Coke: Implications of Trade Union Redevelopment in Guatemala', *Latin American Perspectives*, 14.3 (1987), 381–416 (p. 402).

[99] Originally the NLC was an institution for coordinating action by dissenting unions and their local allies. It facilitated Congressional lobbying, sponsored fact-finding missions in Central America, arranged for speaking tours of Central American labour leaders, and gathered labour supporters for the Mobilization for Justice and Peace in Central America and Southern Africa in April 1987. Andrew Battista, 'Unions and Cold War Foreign Policy in the 1980s: The National Labor Committee, the AFL-CIO, and Central America', *Diplomatic History*, 26.3 (2002), 419–51.

[100] These efforts were supported by Central American Solidarity Groups such as Witness for Peace, as well as NGOs such as the Guatemala Labor Education Project in Chicago. Ralph Armbruster-Sandoval, 'Globalization and Cross-Border Labor Organizing: The Guatemalan Maquiladora Industry and the Phillips Van Heusen Workers' Movement', *Latin American Perspectives*, 26.2 (1999), 108–28; David Jessup and Michael E. Gordon, 'Organizing in Export Processing Zones: The Bibong Experience in the Dominican Republic', in *Transnational Cooperation among Labor Unions*, ed. by Michael A. Gordon and Lowell Turner (Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 179–201; Mark Anner, 'Local and Transnational Campaigns to End Sweatshop Practices', in

In 1990 Charles Kernaghan, the new NLC executive director, began investigating the offshoring of industrial jobs. An important early report entitled *Paying to Lose Our Jobs* (1992) the use of USAID funds to promote "private enterprise" and the establishment of Export Processing Zones (EPZs) and generated significant public attention.[101] NLC increasingly argued that domestic and foreign policy were intertwined, and that US aid and other political interventions in El Salvador were enhancing the neoliberal project of promoting capital mobility, supporting oppressive governments, and suppressing labour rights. This project was creating a system of upward redistribution that benefited multinational corporations but was detrimental to the living standards of workers everywhere. This analysis was also evident in the NLC's report on Haiti, *Haiti After the Coup: Sweatshop or Real Development* (1993), which argued that the offshoring of US jobs and the abuse of worker rights abroad were facilitated by structural adjustment, foreign direct investment by American firms, and U.S. aid polices that favoured export promotion.[102] The NLC advocated for reform of USAID programmes in Haiti in consultation with Haitian leaders and a broad coalition of Haitian peasant and union groups.[103] NLC initiatives, however, were hampered by small budgets and few staff. Charles

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Transnational Cooperation Among Labor Unions, ed. by Michael A. Gordon and Lowell Turner (Cornell University Press, 2018), pp. 238–55.

[101] Kernaghan and his associates set up a shadow company to investigate what funds were being made available to firms seeking to relocate production in search of cheap labour. When they visited an EPZ in Honduras, they were informed that zone authorities kept a computerised blacklist of potential union agitators so that they could be easily identified by employers operating there. Charles Kernaghan, 'Paying to Lose Our Jobs', in *No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers*, ed. by Andrew Ross (New York: Verso, 1999), pp. 79–93 The link between USAID and EPZs began under the Reagan administration's "Trade, not Aid" policy.

[102] The neoliberal trade regime in Haiti was in many ways a consequence of U.S. Cold War aid policy in the postwar era and the Reagan administration's support for Haitian dictator Jean-Claude 'Baby Doc' Duvalier. In the late 1980s a broad-based Haitian democracy movement emerged to the dictatorship, resulting in the election of Jean-Bertrand Aristide as Haitian president in 1990. Brought to power by popular mobilization, the new government adopted a more pro-poor orientation, and Aristide soon proposed a modest rise in the country's minimum wage. This policy was opposed by USAID and export manufacturers as harmful to Haiti's international competitiveness and Aristide was deposed by a military coup in September 1991. Alex Dupuy, *The Prophet and Power: Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the International Community, and Haiti*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007); Jean-Claude Gerlus, 'The Effects of the Cold War on U.S.-Haiti's Relations', *Journal of Haitian Studies*, 1.1 (1995), 34–56; Barbara Briggs and Charles Kernaghan, 'The US Economic Agenda A Sweatshop Model of Development', *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 27.4 (1994), 37–40; On structural adjustment in Haiti see Jean-Germain Gros, 'Indigestible Recipe: Rice, Chicken Wings, and International Financial Institutions: Or Hunger Politics in Haiti', *Journal of Black Studies*, 40.5 (2010), 974–86.

[103] 'Proposals to USAID Administrator J. Brian Atwood by the National Labor Committee on July 27, 1993', (Letter dated August 10, 1993), Box 5, Folder 17. ILGWU. Alan Howard Papers. 5780/206. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Martin P. Catherwood Library, Cornell University. [Hereafter cited as Alan Howard Papers.]

Kernaghan was engaged in a constant struggle to persuade the NLC's union backers to continue to finance the operation. Kernaghan understood the NLC's mission to be fundamentally concerned with engaging the public in worker rights issues by tying them to mainstream public debates. Because his resources were limited, he increasingly resorted to "guerrilla tactics," to generate controversy and attract media exposure. He was, in other words, a late twentieth century muckraker.[104]

Since business opponents of these labor insurgents had access to much greater resources and political power, it was necessary to develop an effective strategy. As the Canadian journalist Naomi Klein would note in her best-selling book *No Logo* (1999), the Achilles heel of the modern corporation turned out to be its reliance on advertising and marketing to generate false needs.[105] As Klein explained, management theorists had managed to persuade the leaders of large corporations that they were no longer simply primarily producing material goods, but rather creating *brands*. The modern brand was perhaps the purest expression of postmodernism in the age of "late capitalism," under which consumption became the primary means for certain strata of the population to accumulate cultural capital and social status.[106] The power of the brand lay also in its capacity to conceal the complex social and political relations of global production behind a veneer of cultural signification. Activists discovered that the investment of corporations in their brand identity could be a vital point of leverage for exposing the inequalities that sustained the neoliberal regime of consumption.[107]

Labour activist Jeffrey Ballinger was instrumental in pioneering this approach in the United States.[108] In the late 1980s and early 1990s Ballinger was assigned to the AFL-CIO's Asian

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[104] Kernaghan compared the NLC's annual budget of a few hundred thousand dollars with the over nine million raised by the right-wing National Right to Work Committee. He noted that even the National Organization for the Reform of Marijuana Laws attracted more in cash donations than the NLC. Memo from Charles Kernaghan to Jack Sheinkman re. 'The Future of the NLC', 3 January 1995. Box 5, Folder 18. ILGWU. Alan Howard Papers.
[105] Joshua Cutts, 'Herbert Marcuse and "False Needs"', *Social Theory and Practice*, 45.3 (2019), 353–70.
[106] On 'cultural capital' see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. by Richard Nice (London: Routledge, 1986).
[107] Naomi Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (New York: Picador, 1999), pp. 3–26; Fredric Jameson, *Postmodernism, or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1992); Bourdieu, *Distinction*.
[108] Ballinger was a veteran of the union campaign against J. P. Stevens, one of the most significant labour struggles of the 1970s. Jeffrey Ballinger, interview with author, 2021; Timothy J. Minchin, '"Don't Sleep with Stevens!": The J. P. Stevens Boycott and Social Activism in the 1970s', *Journal of American Studies*, 39.3 (2005), 511–43.

Institute (one of four institutes that were consolidated into the Solidarity Center in 1997) and worked out of the Federation's Jakarta office. The World Bank had cultivated the Indonesian dictatorship as a major borrower, financing the Transmigration programme (a huge and disastrous resettlement scheme) and sinking the country deep into debt. Under World Bank influence, the country adopted deregulatory policies and an export-led growth strategy in the 1980s.[109] In response, Indonesian workers began to organize independent unions, hold strikes, and publicise the conditions that existed within foreign-owned factories producing for Western companies, and in particular the U.S. shoe brand Nike.[110] Indonesian authorities imprisoned prominent union leaders such as Muchtar Pakpahan. Still, news of Indonesian conditions reached the U.S., in large part because of Nike's high profile. In the early 1990s, Nike had risen to prominence in the minds of American consumers, dominating the athletic shoe market and making sales in excess of $3 billion.[111] As Ballinger illustrated in an article in *Harper's Magazine* in August 1992, a pair of Nike shoes sold for $80 in the United States, but the labour costs had been reduced to a mere 12 cents.[112] The following year, Ballinger established Press for Change, an organisation dedicated to reporting on Nike shoe factories in Indonesia and soon the Nike campaign itself was going global.

Meanwhile, labour activists were highlighting the resurgence of sweatshops not only in southeast Asia but also in the United States itself, a result of efforts by the Reagan and Bush administrations to weaken domestic labour legislation and the further extension of "flexible" production within the domestic garment industry.[113] In 1992 the Asian Immigrant Women Advocates (AIWA), supported by the ACLU and the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates

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[109] Susan George, *A Fate Worse than Debt* (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 155–61.
[110] Dan La Botz, *Made in Indonesia: Indonesian Workers since Suharto* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 2001), pp. 192–203.
[111] Geraldine E. Willigan, 'High-Performance Marketing: An Interview with Nike's Phil Knight', *Harvard Business Review*, August 1992.
[112] Jeffrey Ballinger, 'The New Free-Trade Heel: Nike's Profits Jump on the Backs of Asian Workers', *Harper's Magazine*, August 1992, 46–47.
[113] Gus Tyler, *Look for the Union Label: A History of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union* (Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe, 1995), pp. 276–85; On the 'return' of the sweatshop, the question of defining 'sweatshops,' and the specific relationship between fashion and flexible production within the women's garment industry see Nancy L. Green, 'Fashion, Flexible Specialization, and the Sweatshop: A Historical Problem', in *Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective*, ed. by Daniel E. Bender and Richard A. Greenwald (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 37–55; Michael Piore, 'The Economics of the Sweatshop', in *No Sweat: Fashion, Free Trade, and the Rights of Garment Workers*, ed. by Andrew Ross (New York: Verso, 1999), pp. 135–42.

(KIWA, discussed in Chapter 3), launched a campaign against Jessica McClintock Inc. on behalf of Chinese women working in the garment industry in San Francisco. The campaign attracted significant media attention and played a role in shaping a national conversation about sweatshop labour.[114] San Francisco was a major centre of immigrant labour exploitation, but Los Angeles could legitimately be described as the "sweatshop capital of the United States." The discovery of 72 trafficked Thai workers in a factory in El Monte, California in August 1995, generated further outrage.[115]

Sweatshops and The Clinton Administration

The importation of goods produced by child labour was becoming another flash point. Since the late 1980s efforts had been made to introduce the Child Labor Deterrence Act into Congress, and the legislation had found a champion in Senator Tom Harkin (the same liberal Democrat who had also allied with the family farm movement). The issue came to a head in December 1992 when an NBC *Dateline* segment highlighted the use of child labour in the production of garments for Wal-Mart in Bangladesh. This exposé, combined with the threat of the U.S. legislation, successfully pushed the industry in that country into accepting an independent monitoring system. In fact, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute (AAFLI) of the AFL-CIO had already been working on the ground with Bangladeshi activist Rosaline Costa

[114] They did so by employing many of the tactics used by social movement unionists in earlier campaigns. For example, they placed a full-page advert in the New York Times to publicly shame the company. They also held a public hearing in May 1993 to give voice to the workers and to build support from local community organizations and elected officials. Janice Fine, *Worker Centers: Organizing Communities at the Edge of the Dream* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), pp. 16, 43, 61–62, 109–12, 70, 104; Fu Lee, 'Immigrant Women Speak Out on Garment Industry Abuse', in *Chinese American Voices: From the Gold Rush to the Present*, ed. by Judy Yung, Gordon H. Chang, and Him Mark Lai (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2006), pp. 359–62.

[115] The workers were not freed, but instead detained by the INS. Worker centres and their community allies acted as advocates and coordinated legal representation for the workers. Edna Bonacich and Richard P. Appelbaum, *Behind the Label: Inequality in the Los Angeles Apparel Industry* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Julie A. Su and Chanchanit Martorell, 'Exploitation and Abuse in the Garment Industry: The Case of the Thai Slave-Labor Compound in El Monte', in *Asian and Latino Immigrants in a Restructuring Economy: The Metamorphosis of Southern California*, ed. by Marta C López-Garza and David R. Diaz (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2001); Scott L. Cummings, 'Hemmed In: Legal Mobilization in the Los Angeles Anti-Sweatshop Movement', *Berkeley Journal of Employment and Labor Law*, 30.1 (2009), 1–84; On modern slavery see Kevin Bales, *Disposable People: New Slavery in the Global Economy*, Third Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2012) and ; Kevin Bales and Ron Soodalter, *Slave Next Door: Human Trafficking and Slavery in America Today*, Second Edition (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010); Genevieve LeBaron, Jessica R. Pliley, and David W. Blight, *Fighting Modern Slavery and Human Trafficking: History and Contemporary Policy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2021).

and local NGOs to organise workers in the garment industry there. Labour activists recognised that the number of children working in the factories was a barrier to effective organising efforts, and they believed that if the AAFLI were able to secure a role in monitoring compliance with Bangladeshi laws it would also have greater access to the workers.[116] However, the Bangladesh Garment Manufacturers and Exporters Association (BGMEA) was able to exclude the unions from the monitoring process. They also sought to frame the Harkins Bill as a "protectionist" measure that unfairly imposed northern standards on the Global South. This argument exploited legitimate concerns that excluding children from factory work would deny their families needed income, and that children might then be pushed into the informal sector, where conditions and pay would be even worse. It was an effective strategy because the Clinton administration backed a narrow agenda that highlighted the issue of child labour to the exclusion of other labour concerns such as working conditions and pay for adult workers. As a result, public debate was focused on the potentially damaging consequences of the Harkin Bill itself, rather than conditions within the industry, the need to provide educational opportunities for children in Bangladesh, or the larger national and global political frameworks in which these problems needed to be addressed. In isolation, the bill was too blunt an instrument for advancing the cause of labour in the Global South.[117]

The Harkin bill failed, but not before it provided an opportunity for Charles Kernaghan to stage a headline-grabbing intervention involving chat show host Kathie Lee Gifford. Gifford was an ideal target, because a certain percentage of the profits from her personal clothing label, sold by retail giant Wal-Mart, was donated to the Association to Benefit Children. Kernaghan used hearings before the Democratic Policy Committee in April 1996 as an opportunity to highlight

[116] In fact, Bangladeshi laws did not permit child labour within light industry, but the government lacked the capacity and the political will to enforce existing regulations. Like many other countries in the Global South, Bangladesh had been subjected to IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes and adopted an export-led growth strategy in the 1980s. The interests of the garment industry and political elites were therefore quite closely aligned. Hafeez Rahman, 'Structural Adjustment and Macroeconomic Performance in Bangladesh in the 1980s', *The Bangladesh Development Studies*, 20.2/3 (1992), 89–125.

[117] James P. Kelleher, 'The Child Labor Deterrence Act: American Unilateralism and the GATT', *Minnesota Journal of International Law*, 3.119 (1994), 161–94; Madiha Murshed, 'Unraveling Child Labor and Labor Legislation', *Journal of International Affairs*, 55.1 (2001), 169–89; Michael E. Nielsen, 'The Politics of Corporate Responsibility and Child Labour in the Bangladeshi Garment Industry', *International Affairs*, 81.3 (2005), 559–80.

that this merchandise was being produced in Honduras by children earning 31 cents an hour. In subsequent hearings, the NLC had arranged for Wendy Diaz, a fifteen-year-old worker from Honduras to provide evidence. Diaz, who started working in the garment factory when she was 13 years old, explained that supervisors forced children sewing Kathie Lee's garments to work "every day, from 8 a.m. to 9 p.m." and sometimes "all night long working, until 6 a.m." She also spoke of the intimidation and physical and sexual abuse that young women and girls were subjected to at the plant, which she also described as "hot, like an oven." The company did not provide health care, sick pay, maternity pay, or paid leave for vacations.[118] Honduran and Dominican and workers expressed shock when they were brought to the United States and shown the price of the finished goods on shelves in stores. Gifford's initial response to these revelations was to present herself as a victim of "a vicious attack." Images of her crying live on her morning television show two days after the hearing caused a sensation.[119]

Ultimately the pressure of public exposure forced Gifford to respond to the criticism levelled by the NLC and other campaigners. She acknowledged that "I have learned that each one of us, whether in Congress, in corporate America, in a television studio, or in a shopping mall, has, as a moral imperative, the need to address this issue."[120] The intensification of media interest in the mid-1990s, as a result of the El Monte case and the allegations made against Nike and Kathie Lee Gifford, was instrumental in transforming sweatshops into a mainstream political concern.[121] Bill Clinton was committed to a neoliberal policy regime, and the most powerful members of his administration, particularly Robert Rubin and Lawrence Summers at Treasury, were strongly in favour of a deregulatory agenda.[122] However, Clinton's Secretary of Labor, Robert Reich, was at least more publicly sympathetic to the plight of workers and he had launched a modest "No Sweat" campaign in the summer of 1993. Reich had begun to

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[118] 'Child Labor: Hearings Before the Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights' (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1996) <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008518492> [accessed 10 August 2021].
[119] Steven Greenhouse, 'A Crusader Makes Celebrities Tremble', *The New York Times*, 18 June 1996, section B, p. 4; Charles Bowden, 'Charlie Kernaghan, Keeper of the Fire', *Mother Jones*, 2003.
[120] 'Child Labor', pp. 136–38.
[121] Josh Greenberg and Graham Knight, 'Framing Sweatshops: Nike, Global Production, and the American News Media', *Communication and Critical/Cultural Studies*, 1.2 (2004), 151–75.
[122] Joseph E. Stiglitz, *The Roaring Nineties: Seeds of Destruction* (London: Allen Lane, 2003), p. 160; William C. Berman, *From the Center to the Edge: The Politics and Policies of the Clinton Presidency* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2001).

meet with labour and industry groups to formulate a strategy, and Gifford saw these efforts as an opportunity to publicly atone for her own involvement in perpetuating sweatshop conditions within the garment industry. Reich had relatively little real political power, and his approach was predicated on an acceptance of the status quo established during the Reagan era. The Department of Labor understood "the shortfall of resources to ensure comprehensive enforcement of labor standards" to be "a fact of life." The aim was not to directly address the economic and political inequalities that led to the exploitation of workers, but rather to establish "minimum standards."[123] Such a vision was characteristic of what would come to be known as the "Third Way."[124]

The administration's position shifted the terrain of struggle. On the anniversary of the raid in El Monte, on 2 August 1996, Clinton met with industry, labour, and human rights leaders at the White House and announced, in the Rose Garden, the formation of a new Apparel Industry Partnership (AIP). Present at the announcement were Kathie Lee Gifford and Nike founder Phil Knight. The AIP task force was charged with developing ways to assure compliance with labour standards and to "signal to consumers that the products offered for sale are produced without exploitative labor."[125] It was a consummate political manoeuvre, at once shifting primary responsibility for addressing the issue away from government and onto other interested parties but also presenting the president himself as a benevolent protector against abusive labour conditions. Clinton claimed that he did not know "what strategies [the AIP] will come up with" but union leaders had already concluded that political considerations meant that the administration would only support a labelling system to notify consumers about the circumstances under which a garment had been produced.[126] Clinton would not support using government power to change the circumstances themselves. The announcement came in 1996, an election year; Clinton was careful to depict the new labour initiative as "pro-consumer" rather than as "anti-business." The issue was no longer the

[123] 'Child Labor', p. 100.
[124] Anthony Giddens, *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1998).
[125] 'Apparel Industry Partnership Announcement at the White House Fact Sheet.', Department of Labour, August 1996. Box 1, Folder 36. UNITE Legislative Department Records #6000/007. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library.; [Hereafter cited as UNITE Legislative Department Records.]; 'Remarks by the President in Apparel Industry Partnership Statement', The White House. Office of the Press Secretary. 2 August 1996. Box 1, Folder 36. UNITE Legislative Department Records.
[126] Alan Howard to Jay Mazur re. 'Labelling issues/ Reich meeting', 29 July 1996. Box 1, Folder 36. UNITE Legislative Department Records.

exploitation of workers but the question of consumer "confidence" in the products that they were purchasing. The Clinton administration was therefore rhetorically sympathetic to a limited and ameliorative reform agenda pushed by human rights and consumer groups but remained silent on the root causes of economic injustice. The adoption of a neoliberal human rights discourse could be used to contain the parameters of discussion.[127]

Lenore Miller of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union and Alan Howard, Jay Mazur and several other leaders from UNITE! represented the U.S. labour movement within the AIP.[128] The unions immediately formed a bloc with the NGOs to establish a common platform and operate as an adequate counterweight to industry interests. As Howard noted, UNITE! recognised from the beginning that "the employers' objective in this project was to soften and deflect public criticism of their labor practices with a minimum of cost in dollar terms and minimal concessions on the right to organize." The union had accepted a role in the process, perhaps on the basis that declining to do so would have invited criticism that they were acting in bad faith. They hoped that whatever minimum concessions they could extract from the AIP process would "translate into a net increase in our leverage on the central question, for us, of organization." However, the AIP soon reached an impasse over the conduct of external monitoring to ensure that companies were complying with agreed standards. For the unions and NGOs it was vital that monitoring involve independent groups that were trusted by the workers, but industry representatives were strongly in favour of handing over monitoring to the Big Six accounting firms. The unions and NGOs recognised that the accounting firms were clients of the garment industry companies, and as such they could never be relied upon to be impartial. However, unlike the industry representatives, the union-NGO alliance also had to negotiate a range of different institutional imperatives. For the unions, sweatshops were defined not only by long working hours, poor conditions, legal violations, and other abuses, but also by the failure of the employer to pay living wages.

[127] Some finer distinctions are needed in any analysis of the relationship between human rights and neoliberalism. There is no fundamental or inherent logical contradiction between the concepts of human rights and economic justice, and indeed they could be understood as complimentary. Human rights could at times be a valuable tool within the labour movement's tactical repertoire. The issue at stake in this particular case is the way in which such a discourse was tied to governmental power and used to promote a particular ideological project. Samuel Moyn, *Not Enough: Human Rights in an Unequal World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018).

[128] UNITE! Was a consolidated union formed in 1995 as result of a merger between the ILGWU and the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, ACTWU.

Whilst consumer and human rights groups were largely sympathetic to this interpretation, they saw it as less fundamental to their mission. By early 1998 the unity of the progressive groups was beginning to fray, and by November of that year UNITE! had concluded that they needed an exit strategy. The unions were joined by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility (ICCP) in rejecting the AIP as unworkable.[129]

The garment industry pressed on with plans for a system of "self-regulation" under the AIP and its governing body, the Fair Labor Association (FLA). Unions were able to mobilise opposition from several constituencies because by the latter half of the decade, public debate about the social costs of neoliberal globalization began to take off. One important constituency was cultivated by the AFL-CIO following the victory of the New Voice insurgents. In the summer of 1996, the Federation's Organizing Institute began a programme known as Union Summer, which recruited college students to undertake a four- to five-week internship, providing them with training and organising experience. One of UNITE's projects involved researching the links between collegiate apparel and sweatshops, and this led one of the student participants, Tico Almeida, to establish an anti-sweatshop campaign at Duke University in late 1997. The Duke campaign led to the founding of a student network, United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) in spring 1998. Students were involved in negotiating codes of conduct with the university administrations, pressing for disclosure of licensee factory locations so that further research could be done about labour conditions there. However, when universities began to sign up to the FLA, USAS also began to mobilise in opposition to the "voluntary" measures and weak standards enshrined in the AIP codes. Soon USAS was using direct action to pressure universities to withdraw from the FLA and to join their rival organization, the Worker Rights Consortium (WRC). The WRC was not intended to act as a non-governmental monitoring or regulatory mechanism, but rather to provide institutional support for anti-sweatshop campaigning and to create space for workers to organise themselves. It therefore attempted to shift the sweatshop debate away from the

[129] Human Rights, Labor and Religious Members of the Partnership to Companies in the White House Apparel Industry Partnership re. 'Status of Our Work', 26 March 1997. Box 1, Folder 14. UNITE Legislative Department Records.; Alan Howard to UNITE! Executive re. 'White House Apparel Partnership', 9 October 1997. Box 1, Folder 28. UNITE Legislative Department Records.; Alan Howard to Jay Mazur re. 'White House Partnership Strategy', 10 January 1998. Box 1, Folder 36. UNITE Legislative Department Records.; Steven Greenhouse, 'A.F.L.-C.I.O. and Retail Union Reject Sweatshop Pact as Lax', *The New York Times*, 6 November 1996, section A, p. 15.

paternalism of child labour legislation and the public relations model favoured by the White House and its corporate allies, and towards a concept of consumer-worker solidarity.[130]

Sweatshops became a site of struggle between two very different models of globalization. The neoliberal model understood sweatshops as a transitory phenomenon, a regrettable but necessary and ultimately uplifting stage in the modernization of impoverished nations in the Global South. On a panel discussion at Harvard in 1997 economist Jeffrey Sachs bemoaned "not that there are too many sweatshops but that there are too few." Paul Krugman argued that the East Asian Tiger economies provided a replicable model of development for other countries in the Global South.[131] Representatives of right-wing think tanks argued that increased regulation would increase production costs, drive overseas manufacturers out of business, and therefore hurt the very people that progressive campaigners were trying to help. Some even accused northern activists of "cultural imperialism" for attempting to impose "first world" labour standards on the "Third World."[132] These sentiments carried significant cultural currency in the euphoric years following the end of the Cold War, during which any attempt to ameliorate the effects of the "free market" system seemed misguided, perhaps even impossible.[133]

There were several fundamental problems with the arguments rolled out by the cheerleaders of the sweatshop. The East Asian Tiger economies presented a special case insofar as they relied heavily on industrial policy adopted by developmentalist states. Japan, having avoided

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[130] Nella Van Dyke, Marc Dixon, and Helen Carlon, 'Manufacturing Dissent: Labor Revitalization, Union Summer and Student Protest', *Social Forces*, 86.1 (2007), 193–214; Liza Featherstone and United Students Against Sweatshops, *Students against Sweatshops* (London: Verso, 2002); Kitty Krupat, 'Rethinking the Sweatshop: A Conversation about United Students against Sweatshops (USAS) with Charles Eaton, Marion Traub-Werner, and Evelyn Zepeda', *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 61, 2002, 112–27; Joel Lefkowitz, 'Students, Sweatshops, and Local Power', in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 74–80; Eileen Boris, 'Consumers of the World Unite!', in *Sweatshop USA: The American Sweatshop in Historical and Global Perspective*, ed. by Daniel E. Bender and Richard A. Greenwald (New York: Routledge, 2003), pp. 203–24.

[131] Allen R. Myerson, 'In Principle, a Case for More "Sweatshops"', *The New York Times*, 22 June 1997, section 4, p. 5.

[132] *Child Labor and Sweatshops*, ed. by Mary E. Williams (San Diego, CA: Greenhaven Press, 1999), pp. 58–62.

[133] Fukuyama; Mark Fisher, *Capitalist Realism: Is There No Alternative?* (Winchester, UK: Zero Books, 2009); The debate over sweatshops and labour market regulation therefore provided another example of the 'perversity thesis' that has long been a defining trope of conservative thought. Albert O. Hirschman, *The Rhetoric of Reaction: Perversity, Futility, Jeopardy* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 1991).

direct colonisation in the nineteenth century, had laid the ground for industrial development in the region in the prewar years. In the postwar years, South Korea, Taiwan, and Hong Kong were key allies of the United States in East Asia, and all these countries benefitted from significant inflows of U.S. aid and technology transfer. American Cold War military spending also helped to stimulate export-led growth in the postwar years, and Japanese foreign investment acted as a major stimulus thereafter, particularly in Malaysia and Thailand. This experience differed radically from that of many other countries in the Global South that had often endured centuries of colonial under-development and enjoyed no privileged access to international capital flows following independence. With the advent of structural adjustment, the capacity of these states to facilitate the necessary investment in physical and human capital was degraded, domestic savings were reduced by low growth rates, and net capital flows turned negative as their economies were reoriented towards debt service rather than domestic development. Washington Consensus policies, when applied uniformly across the Global South, created intense competition within the same labour-intensive sectors, and asserted downward pressure on prices and wages, limiting any potential gains to be made from adopting an export-led growth strategy.[134] In 1997, the onset of the East Asian financial crisis illustrated the perils of neoliberal development model, as policymakers were rendered impotent in the face of huge speculative capital flows.[135]

Neoliberal accounts of economic development were resistant to such a historically grounded understanding of colonialism and neocolonialism because they remained attached to the positivist assumptions of neoclassical economics. Within the liberal tradition more generally, the measure of social justice was taken to be the making of "free" contracts, and this was premised on the foundation myth of the "social contract."[136] However, little attention was

[134] In many East Asian societies, land reform was also a component of postwar public policy. Richard Stubbs, 'War and Economic Development: Export-Oriented Industrialization in East and Southeast Asia', *Comparative Politics*, 31.3 (1999), 337–55; In the Global North, most countries had industrialised by following a strategy that was the very opposite of this approach, protecting infant industries from competition until they were strong enough to compete internationally, facilitating investment in education and health care, and introducing labour protections and social insurance. Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem, 2002); Kevin Gray, 'U.S. Aid and Uneven Development in East Asia', *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 656 (2014), 41–58.
[135] Liberalization of the capital account made many of these countries vulnerable to capital flight. In contrast, China was shielded from the crisis because it continued to impose capital controls. Joseph E. Stiglitz, *Globalization and Its Discontents* (London: Penguin, 2002).
[136] David Graeber, *Debt: The First 5,000 Years* (New York: Melville House, 2012).

given to the social and historical context in which contracts were agreed. The argument that workers in the Global South should accept abusive work conditions and a tiny percentage of the value generated by their labour was premised on the idea that not only did workers enter contracts "freely" but that there were also no socially viable alternatives within a liberal legal framework. The discrediting of orthodox Marxism, and its apparently unsophisticated labour theory of value, meant that the left also lacked a sufficiently robust theoretical framework to address the fundamental issue presented by sweatshops, namely the super-exploitation of workers in the Global South as a result of extreme power differentials.[137] Neoliberal ideology also functioned to contain political alternatives such as debt cancellation, reform of the global economy to favour labour rather than capital, restoration of sovereignty to nations in the Global South, the redistribution of resources to address centuries of wealth extraction by the Global North, the strengthening of international labour institutions, or stricter regulation of international capital flows. To put it another way, because neoliberal ideologists were opposed to substantive democratic oversight over economic life, they presented a false choice between exploitative jobs or unemployment and poverty.[138]

The Clinton administration's attempts to co-opt the sweatshop movement for political gain, and the efforts of corporations to co-opt the proposed monitoring system also demonstrated the malleability of neoliberal ideology. In the 1970s Milton Friedman had vigorously denied that corporations should pursue any objective, moral or otherwise, other than to earn profit. However, by the 1990s business schools soon learned to turn the creation of voluntary "codes

[137] Marxist theories of exploitation have generally been rooted in economic determinism and have adopted an insufficiently sophisticated approach to the analysis of power. Liberal theorists such as Alan Wertheimer have tended to remain too narrowly committed to a contractual model that understands exploitation as a moral exception rather than a pervasive but variable quantity within capitalist social relations. Alan Wertheimer, *Exploitation* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Denis G. Arnold, '"Exploitation" and "The Sweatshop Quandary"', ed. by Alan Wertheimer and Pamela Varley, *Business Ethics Quarterly*, 13.2 (2003), 243–56; Historians have yet to theorise the question of exploitation beyond these frameworks, however any such theory will inevitably need to account for the creation and maintenance of political and social as well as economic hierarchies. The role of the state in creating and structuring free markets, and the relationship between political and economic elites, is therefore also a central concern in developing a political economy adequate to the task of making sense of neoliberal ideology and its relation to the late capitalist economy. The work of Steven Lukes, Iris Marion Young, and David Graeber offer fruitful sources of inspiration for this undertaking. Steven Lukes, *Power: A Radical View*, Second Edition (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005); Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990); David Graeber, *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007).
[138] Jason Hickel, 'Rethinking Sweatshop Economics', *Foreign Policy in Focus*, 2011 <https://fpif.org/rethinking_sweatshop_economics/> [accessed 29 August 2021].

of conduct" into a small cottage industry and companies increasingly understood "Corporate Social Responsibility" to be a useful marketing tool. The consensus of state and corporate interests was no accident. In the United States, electoral campaigns were heavily dependent upon corporate finance, and corporate lobbying had grown spectacularly since the 1970s.[139] During an era of federal government retrenchment, boosterism became a mainstay of state politics and the New Democrats increasingly aligned their political project with post-industrial business interests.[140] As Arkansas governor, Clinton was predisposed to see corporations as allies in their pro-growth agenda, and in the mid-1980s he solicited the help of Wal-Mat founder Sam Walton to bolster the fortunes of a local textile firm. From 1986 to 1992 Hilary Clinton even served on the Wal-Mart board as its first woman director.[141] "Pro-consumer" politics was the populist cover that tied these constituencies together.

In the late 1990s business elites adopted a more rhetorically accommodationist approach, one more consistent with that of the World Bank and the Clinton administration. That approach was developed within influential international policy forums such as the International Chamber of Commerce (ICC, founded in 1919), the Business and Industry Advisory Committee (BIAC, founded 1962) at the OECD, the World Economic Forum (WEF, founded 1971), and the Trilateral Commission (TLC, founded 1973).[142] Just as the Powell memorandum signalled the galvanisation of the business lobby within the United States in the 1970s, these international business lobbying organizations had been instrumental in

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[139] In 1970 around 250 corporations and 1,200 trade associations had offices in the capital, but by 1980 this had increased to 500 and 1,739 respectively. James T. Patterson, *Restless Giant: The United States from Watergate to Bush v. Gore* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 88; Benjamin C. Waterhouse, *Lobbying America: The Politics of Business from Nixon to NAFTA* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014).

[140] Brent Cebul, 'Supply-Side Liberalism: Fiscal Crisis, Post-Industrial Policy, and the Rise of the New Democrats', *Modern American History*, 2.02 (2019), 139–64.

[141] Bethany Moreton, *To Serve God and Wal-Mart: The Making of Christian Free Enterprise* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), pp. 248–63.

[142] These policy forums were important for several reasons. First, they helped to rebuild a liberal internationalist and multilateral approach to international relations, which had been abandoned in favour of a narrow realist definition of national interest by Nixon and Kissinger during the crisis years of the early 1970s. Secondly, they helped to bring neoliberal ideas into the orbit of the Democratic Party, as is evidenced by the prominence of Trilateral Commission members within the Carter administration (Paul Volcker was also a former Trilateral Commissioner). Finally, they were important for establishing an international elite consensus on economic policy, which could be couched in the softer language of international cooperation which appealed to moderates in a way that the more ideologically charged language of the Reagan era could not. Such institutions were therefore helped to facilitate the consolidation of neoliberal hegemony in the 1990s. Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

stalling UN efforts to regulate multinational corporations following the announcement of the NIEO proposal by the G77. Weak, voluntary codes had proved to be a valuable tool for business interests in the 1970s, and so it proved again in the 1990s, only this time the UN provided institutional shelter for, rather than criticism of, global capital. The strategy of co-opting opposition was resurrected in the form of the UN Global Compact, an initiative designed to respond to the growing criticism of sweatshops and popular mobilization to defeat the MAI. The Global Compact trumpeted an inclusive "partnership" joining the private sector, governments, and the non-governmental sector; in reality, however, this arrangement placed private capital on an equal political footing with democratically elected governments, civil society, and international governmental bodies. In other words, it was an archetypal project of the international elite, later described by Samuel Huntington as "Davos Man."[143]

Critics of the neoliberal approach were constructing an alternative account of neoliberal globalization, one critical of the growing power of international capital to create a "global race to the bottom." Lacking the resources available to their corporate opponents, unionists and student activists were forced to utilise a wide array of tactics to leverage their position. They understood that transnational consumer activism could never be an adequate substitute for direct worker organising; nevertheless, they embraced it as a valuable complement to such efforts if deployed strategically to support local struggles. Whilst critics sometimes framed the anti-sweatshop movement as a largely self-interested and elitist quest for "ethical consumerism," activists resisted this caricature. They were aware of the potential perils of their chosen strategy, and that their efforts were potentially vulnerable to being channelled into a purely consumption-driven, state-managed, and industry-controlled process. But their movement was about more than conflicts over independent monitoring or the sticky task of adequately defining and implementing a programme of transnational solidarity. In the late 1990s it became an explicitly political project, as growing numbers of activists recognised that

[143] At the inauguration of the Compact in 2000, UN General Secretary Kofi Annan was joined on stage by the CEOs of major companies. Notable among them was Nike chief Phil Knight. James K. Rowe and Ronnie D. Lipschutz, 'Corporate Social Responsibility as Business Strategy', in *Globalization, Governmentality and Global Politics: Regulation for the Rest of Us?* (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 122–60; The Global Compact resembled the vision of "stakeholder capitalism," a social model advocated for by WEF founder Klaus Schwab since the 1970s. Klaus Schwab and Peter Vanham, *Stakeholder Capitalism: A Global Economy That Works for Progress, People and Planet* (Hoboken, New Jersey: Wiley, 2021); As Huntington observed, Annan himself believed that national sovereignty would eventually give way to 'individual sovereignty.' Samuel P. Huntington, 'Dead Souls: The Denationalization of the American Elite', *The National Interest*, 2004.

struggles against sweatshops could not be tackled without also addressing the rules of the global economy, which promoted capital mobility, undermined national labour movements, and generated inequality.

Grassroots Mobilization

As awareness of the systemic nature of the sweatshop problem grew, so did coordination among various activist groups. Global Exchange, an NGO that grew out of Food First and that was involved in the 50 Years Is Enough campaign, began to work with Jeffrey Ballinger on sweatshops and the Nike campaign. Global Exchange joined the AFL-CIO in organising a human rights delegation to Indonesia to document government repression following demonstrations in July 1996 and arranged for Indonesian Nike worker Cicih Sukaesih, fired for union organising, to do a speaking tour in the United States. Jesse Jackson's Operation Push sought to pressure basketball star Michael Jordan to speak out about Nike's labour practices (see Figure 4.1). In Portland, Oregon, activists formed a coalition called "Justice. Do It Nike!" Representatives of the group participated in the Global Exchange fact-finding mission in Indonesia, where they met with Muchtar Pakpahan's Indonesian Prosperity Union.[144] Jobs With Justice also supported the anti-sweatshop campaign, organising a National Day of Conscience action to protest the treatment of Nike workers and joining Chicago's Women for Economic Justice group in protesting against U.S. clothing retailer Gap.[145] Documentary filmmaker Michael Moore pulled off another media stunt when he confronted Phil Knight in his 1997 film *The Big One* and captured the Nike CEO on camera stating that he was unfazed by the idea of 15-year-olds working in Indonesian shoe factories.

[144] 'Global Exchanges: Women Workers Fight Nike', Issue No. 28. Fall 1996. 12 Pages. Box 24, Folder 44, Jobs With Justice Records.; The Oregon coalition included the Portland branches of Amnesty International, the East Timor Action Network, and Jobs With Justice, as well as Portland Peaceworks and Press for Change. 'Justice. Do It NIKE! A Resource for Activists', August 1996. Box 24, Folder 59, Jobs With Justice Records.; Ballinger, 'Interview with Author'; On Michael Jordan and Nike see Walter LaFeber, *Michael Jordan and the New Global Capitalism*, Expanded Edition (New York: W. W. Norton, 2002).

[145] 'Jobs With Justice Annual Report 1997', 8 Pages. Box 23, Folder 15, Jobs With Justice Records.; The Gap actions were held in response to a campaign launched by the NLC and UNITE! highlighting union-busting at a contractor plant in El Salvador. '"Gapatistas" Win a Victory', *Labor Research Review*, 1.24: Tough Questions, Fresh Ideas, and New Models: Fuel for the New Labor Movement (1996), 77–84.

The anti-sweatshop movement also went global, using online networks to share research, analysis, and action ideas. The grassroots Campaign for Labour Rights called for an International Day of Action against Nike on 18 April 1998, with events planned in more than 85 cities in 13 countries. Activists from the New Hampshire programme of the AFSC comprised one group that responded to the call. The AFSC wanted to demonstrate how neoliberal globalization had tied together consumers in the post-industrial malls of the U.S. heartland with exploited workers in the export processing zones of the Global South. Alongside Nike, activists targeted Disney (another company exposed by NLC for its exploitation of workers in Haiti) and Foot Locker, a major Nike retailer. In Manchester, New Hampshire, activists requested permission to distribute leaflets at a mall. The request was denied. Eight protesters distributed leaflets anyway and were promptly arrested and charged with criminal trespass. The arrests spurred local and national press interest and the activists involved soon came to be known as the "Footlocker Eight." The defendants used the courts as a platform to educate and inform the public about sweatshops in the Global South. The incident also prompted a public discussion about free speech and the privatisation of public space within the United States.[146] The collective pressure that activists exerted, together with media interest in the sweatshop issue, eventually forced Knight to concede that, "The Nike product has become synonymous with slave wages, forced overtime and arbitrary abuse."[147]

Across the United States, similar debates were being initiated by grassroots activists in the United States and around the world who were concerned with revealing the complex connections forged by neoliberal globalization. At the same time, anti-sweatshop mobilizations became tied to a broader trade agenda. The Foot Locker action took place during the same week that policymakers were meeting in Santiago, Chile to discuss a possible

[146] Nike had produced most of its shoes in Japan, but as labour costs increased there it shifted production to Korea and Taiwan. In addition, Nike had two factories in the United States, but both were closed in 1985. In the 1980s, as democracy movements in South Korea and Taiwan led to gradual improvements in worker rights and higher wages, Nike shifted production again to China and Indonesia, where repressive regimes kept wages low. The international movement of Nike's production replicated the prior movement of production within the United States as industry had gradually shifted to the Southern states in search of cheap labour and weak regulation. Arnie Alpert, 'Bringing Globalization Home Is No Sweat', in *Living in Hope: People Challenging Globalization*, ed. by John Feffer (London: Zed Books, 2002).

[147] *The Big One* (Miramax Home Entertainment, 2004); Christine Harold, 'The Big One That Got Away', in *Michael Moore and the Rhetoric of Documentary*, ed. by Thomas W Benson and Brian J. Snee (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2015).

successor to NAFTA, known as the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA).[148] It therefore helped to strengthen the alliance among groups opposed to corporate power, deregulation, and the neoliberal variant of "free" trade that in fact relied upon the imposition of anti-immigrant sentiment and militarised borders, export processing zones surrounded by barbed wire and armed security, dictatorial bosses who denied workers basic human rights, and oppressive governments that ensured the elimination of democratic institutions that might be used as a vehicle to address such conditions (see Figure 4.2). In the months leading up the WTO meeting in November 1999, the networks that emerged from this organising activity participated in National Days of Action in solidarity with USAS, as well as teach-ins, forums, and other activities in preparation for the mobilization in Seattle.[149]

Alter-globalization

In the second half of the 1990s, it became clear that struggles over agribusiness, fast food, deforestation, union organising, and sweatshops were all in some way interconnected. Moreover, these diverse struggles were taking place in parallel to popular resistance to deforestation in the Amazon and East Asia, the construction of mega dams in South Asia, the accumulation of crushing debt in Sub-Saharan Africa and in Latin America, and the imposition of austerity regimes around the world. The transnational networks that arose out of these locally and regionally embedded conflicts facilitated the exchange of knowledge and ideas. When left and progressive intellectuals began to establish a critical political economy of neoliberalism, they drew upon the situated experiences of communities who were struggling against neoliberal policies on the ground.

In early 1994 Jerry Mander, the head of the Foundation for Deep Ecology in San Francisco, convened a gathering of NGO leaders from around the world to discuss how to transform that shared analysis into a coherent account of the dominant paradigm of globalization. The International Forum on Globalization (IFG) brought together a wide range of public

[148] Alpert.
[149] 'Corporate Greed Getting You down? Privatization Worrying You? Sweatshops Making You Sick? Don't Just Sit There! Come and Protest the World Trade Organization!', Box 23, Folder 13, Jobs With Justice Records.; 'Solidarity Network', October 1999. Volume 10, Number 10. Box 23, Folder 34, Jobs With Justice Records.

intellectuals – including Walden Bello, John Cavanagh, Martin Khor, Vandana Shiva, Ralph Nader, and Lori Wallach – who were concerned about the effects of economic globalization."[150] Although these figures had no singular agenda or programme, they agreed that corporations were the primary advocates and beneficiaries of the neoliberal model. According to the IFG's 1995 position statement, neoliberal globalization was a process devised to, "weaken democracy, create a world order that is under the control of transnational corporations, and devastate the natural world."[151]

Members of the IFG recognised that it was necessary to educate and inform the public about the largescale processes – and the slow violence – that globalization perpetuated. The mainstream media treated hard-to-get trade information as un-newsworthy. Even most lawmakers were poorly informed about trade issues. In November 1995, the IFG held a public teach-in on corporate globalization at the Riverside Church in New York City that would seek to overcome that ignorance. A total of 1,500 people participated in the teach-in, and they quickly spread what they had learned through activist networks that organized additional teach-ins, conferences, and seminars. The onset of the East Asian crisis in 1997 helped the IFG to expose the failures of the neoliberal model (see Figure 4.3). The mobilization of these networks also helped to defeat the Multilateral Agreement on Investment in 1998.[152] The result was the consolidation of "corporate globalization" discourse as a powerful counter-narrative to neoliberal orthodoxy. The stage was set for the Battle of Seattle.[153]

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[150] *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World Is Possible*, ed. by John Cavanagh and Jerry Mander, Second Edition (San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler, 2004), p. 407.
[151] The International Forum on Globalization, 'Information on The International Forum on Globalization', *Bulletin of Science, Technology & Society*, 21.3 (2001), 230–32.
[152] Chomsky, pp. 129–55.
[153] David C. Korten, *When Corporations Rule the World*, 20th Anniversary Edition (Oakland, CA: Berrett-Koehler, 2001), pp. 1–18.

"In many if not all emerging markets, it is simply impossible to make significant money without overt violation of normal western ethical principles." — Lewis Pringle, a marketing executive at a Nestle-sponsored conference.

NIKE IN INDONESIA

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Brutal Political Crackdown Adds to Workers' Woes

Legal Aid and Worker Education Activities Paralyzed; Independent Union Leader Charged with Subversion

A predawn raid on the headquarters of a major political party turned into a bloody riot in the streets of Jakarta. Weeks later, the impact still is being felt as human rights activists have had to curtail their activities on behalf of workers. The military presence in industrial areas has been increased as Indonesia's repressive regime braces for an explosion of pent-up worker anger.

The young women who produce Nike shoes have secured assistance from independent worker rights activists and Indonesia's Legal Aid Institute. This aid usually comes in the form of worker rights training programs and representation before the labor courts. It is not immediately clear what impact the crackdown will have on the legal cases of scores of workers fired for protesting the low wages and abusive practices of Nike contractors.

Pakpahan's Arrest

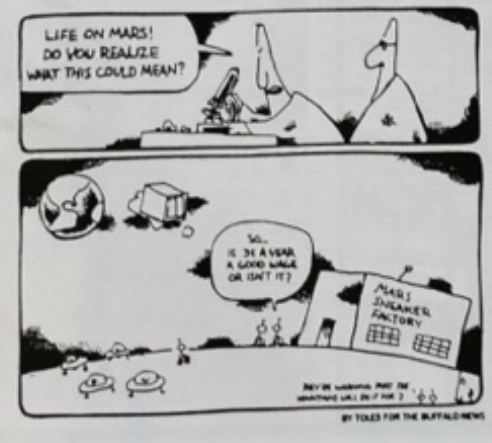
While a setback on the hard road to decent wages and fair treatment for shoe workers, the current situation is catastrophic for the fledgling independent trade union, SBSI (Indonesian Workers' Prosperity Union). The government has used the upheaval as a pretext to throw SBSI leader Muchtar Pakpahan in jail again. The subversion statute under which he is charged carries the death penalty.

Nike Indonesia Shuts Out Jackson

Calling for talks to bring a measure of justice for shoe

see **Crackdown**, *page 4*

Unjustly dismissed Nike worker Cicih (left) meets TV star Kathie Lee Gifford at a Capitol Hill hearing on sweatshops in July.



Fired Worker Tours U.S.

Cicih Sukaesih, a dismissed Nike worker, recently visited the United States from July 15-27 on a tour organized by Press for Change and Global Exchange.

Cicih is part of a group of 24 Indonesian workers who organized a petition and later a strike in 1992 demanding that their factory comply with their country's miserably low minimum wage. They were fired and have been protesting their case ever since; the case currently is before Indonesia's Supreme Court.

Cicih's tour began in Washington, D.C. on July 16-17, and it coincided with the "Fashion Industry Forum" called by Secretary of Labor Robert Reich. Her next stop was New York on July 17-18, where she met with UNITE, Human Rights Watch-Asia and a representative of the Council on Economic Priorities, as well as participating in a demonstration at the Manhattan Niketown site.

Cicih went to Chicago on July 20-21 to meet with the United

see **Fired**, *page 4*

PRESS CLIPS - 1996

Nike, Jordan challenged on conditions

Jordan's Bunker View On Nike

In America

Nike's Pyramid Scheme

Rich celebrities, sweatshop slaves.

Business Day

The New York Times

An Indonesian Asset Is Also a Liability

Low Wages Woo Foreign Business, But the Price Is Worker Poverty

In America

Nike's Bad Neighborhood

For Indonesia, the shoe fits.

From Sweatshops To Aerobics

How Nike defines women's rights

Did UO sell out to Nike dollars?

Washington Post

International Business

PANGS OF CONSCIENCE

Sweatshops haunt U.S. consumers

'ON THE INSIDE, IT'S HELL'

Nike says it does what it can to keep the military police out of its factories. That's tough in Indonesia, where police help keep workers under control

RUSH & MOLLOY

Nike's jocks don't sweat the details

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO NIKE

USA

INDONESIA

NO WORK

LOTS OF WORK

Nike Contract with Michigan Worth $8 Million

The total value of the five-year endorsement contract recently signed between Nike and the University of Michigan is $8 million.

When it comes to sponsorship at the University of Michigan, Nike gets tickets to events; signs on basketball and hockey arenas' marquees and on the boards surrounding the hockey rink; and logo recognition in media guides, schedule cards, and other sports publications and videos. Michigan gets $335,000.

In the area of services and advertising, Nike gets two full-page, color ads in football and basketball programs; promotional appearances by coaches; the men's basketball team's participation in a Nike tournament, and the coach's participation in the confidential testing of products. Michigan gets $165,000.

Regarding product supply, Nike has the right to be the exclusive supplier of shoes, uniforms and apparel, and the right to market that designation. Nike also has the assurance that the logo will not be covered, and the commitment that coaches and staff will wear Nike. Michigan gets $1 million, shoes, uniforms and practice gear for players and coaches of 23 teams, a $50,000 annual allowance of non-Nike products for apparel not provided by Nike's line, corrective shoes if an athlete has problems, $68,000 annually in products from Nike's catalog, shoes for the band at a 2-for-1 rate, student summer internships at Nike, and Nike co-construction of an outdoor basketball court.

In the Nike scholarship, Michigan gets $300,000 to endow two female athletic scholarships, $45,000 for the Chris Webber Endowment Fund, and $275,000 for the Michigan Journalism Fellows Program (subtotal $2.2 million).

In retail sales, Nike gets free space on game days at Michigan Stadium, Crisler Arena, and Yost Ice Arena, the right to design a new logo for Michigan, and the right to use the logo on products for sales. Michigan gets a royalty income of 8-10% of wholesale sales.

Fired

continued from page 1

Methodist General Board of Pensions and Health Benefits and the U.S. Guatemala Labor Education Project; she then traveled to Portland on July 22-23. In Portland she requested meetings with Nike officials, but they ignored her request. However, she did meet with local activist groups.

Her last stop was San Francisco, from July 24-26. There she met with members of Business for Social Responsibility, Progressive Assets Management, Women's Initiative in Self-Employment, labor organizations and Asian-American groups.

Crackdown

continued from page 1

workers in Indonesia, Rev. Jesse Jackson sought a meeting with Nike officials there. A factory visit was denied the civil rights leader and his delegation. Nike officials released a statement accusing the Jackson team of merely seeking a "bully pulpit."

Special thanks to Amy Prosen for her work on this issue of the newsletter.

Industry Calls Nike Onto Carpet

In his article for the World Federation Sporting Goods Industry, "Corporate Codes of Conduct: Good Tools to Improve Labor Conditions," Peter Pennartz, the executive director of a Dutch non-profit research organization, states that with increased freedom in foreign investment there comes increased corporate responsibility.

Many trans-national corporations (TNCs) have created company codes of conduct to deal with this responsibility, but it often may be difficult for the TNCs to uphold their standards if they sub-contract.

Nike's code of conduct requires that local suppliers pay the minimum wage according to local government regulations, and that the suppliers also follow the local laws on overtime, child labor, health and safety and environmental regulations. Pennartz states, though, that it is commonly known that the legal minimum wage in Asian countries is far below subsistence levels. Studies of the International Labour Organization found that 88 percent of the women workers at 10 Jakarta-area factories who earned only the legal minimum wage were malnourished.

Pennartz contends that TNCs have the ability to effect change, but often do not. For example, BATA, an Indonesian shoe factory, hires full time workers to produce Indonesian shoes and pays them nearly twice as much as the Nike "contract workers" producing shoes for export. "Contract workers" are rarely granted the status of full time workers and do not have a collective labor agreement and a seniority scale like the full-time workers. Additionally, the full-time workers receive a holiday bonus of between US $170 and US $450, while the most Nike contract workers receive is about US $50.

Pennartz also states that even with a minimum wage that is beyond the level of subsistence, the young women who work in factories like these do not manage to support their families, nor will they be able to make savings after they lose their jobs at age 24. Pennartz suggests that the ILO and expert NGOs be called in to monitor parts of the TNCs' codes of conduct. In some cases, independent firms such as Ernst & Young have been called in to evaluate conditions, but Pennartz suspects that these firms only check to see if the minimum wage is being paid. He also suggests that after such check-ups, suppliers often speed up production quotas to recoup lost profits, making working conditions even worse.

In Nike's reply to this article, Donna Gibbs stated that the independent audits of Nike-contracted factories in Indonesia done by Ernst & Young reveal that "average monthly salaries are nearly twice the minimum wage, and that compensation typically extends beyond wages to include subsidies for transportation, housing, food and health care, bonuses for attendance and improved skills, and legally-mandated paid holidays, pregnancy and menstrual leave." Here's the catch: Nike seems to have drawn together the best aspects of all their factories, and they do not say that each factory provides all of these benefits.

Nike also claims that Pennartz's statement that workers cannot save money is false. At PT Hardaya Aneka Shoes Industri, an audit determined that 30 percent of the workers surveyed saved 25 percent or more of their salary. What about the other 70 percent? Do they save at all? Also, do the workers who save 25 percent of their salary have enough to live on?

Gibbs also states that at the Chinese factory Yue Yuen, the post office estimates that the workers send a combined US $1 million home to their families each month. There are two problems with this argument. First, the issue was Indonesia, not China. Second, Ms. Gibbs declined to tell the readers how many workers there are at the factory—if there are a great number of workers, this number might not seem so impressive.

Nike also contends that Ernst & Young not only monitors minimum wage payments, but also inspects health and safety conditions, reviews savings rates among workers, investigates workers' grievances, and certifies that the employer is following child labor guidelines and is complying with local laws regarding worker insurance and union representation. The issue then may be whether these rules and laws exist . . . and if they don't, the company need not comply.

Nike also takes issue with Pennartz's suspicion that employers speed up production quotas to make up for lost profits. Nike claims that there are Nike staff members in every factory who monitor adherence to the Memorandum of Understanding as well as issues regarding product design, development and quality control. This is no assurance, however, to those who support the idea of independent monitoring.

New WFSGI Committee comes at right time

Corporate Codes Of Conduct: Good Tools To Improve Labor Conditions

The initiative of the World Federation of the Sporting Goods Industry [illegible] up a new Committee on Ethics [illegible] it may have come at a better moment. [illegible] liberalization of policies regarding commerce has given enterprises [illegible] their investment decisions and [illegible] one and abroad. More freedom [illegible] ers responsibility, including [illegible] is fact is recognized by firms [illegible] of corporate ethics. Transnationals [illegible] the central actors in domestic [illegible] ics. The emergence of an interdiction system, characterized [illegible] serving and subcontracting, [illegible]

Sportshop/News Bulletin, Feb. 1996

Figure 4-1 Newsletter highlighting Cicih Sukaesih's tour in the United States in July 1996, organised by Press for Change and Global Exchange. The national media were increasingly responsive to stories of corporate abuses in the Global South in the latter half of the 1990s. Press For Change. September 1996. Jeffrey Ballinger Personal Collection.

Figure 4-2 The presence of U.S. companies in countries like Indonesia underlines the fact that whilst neoliberal ideology emphasised the promise of personal freedom, the global "free" market economy that it served was depended upon the brutal suppression of individual and collective rights by employers and military regimes. Cover of Nonviolent Activist: The Magazine of the War Resisters League, Volume 17, Number 4, July-August 2000. Jeffrey Ballinger Personal Collection.

THE NEW YORK TIMES, FRIDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1998 A23

[GLOBAL FINANCE CRISIS: THE EYE OF THE STORM]

Should the People Who Caused the Problems be the Ones to Create the Solutions?

The crisis that put the world economy on the brink of collapse is NOT OVER. We are only in the eye of the storm. The same "experts" who drove the system to the edge are still in charge. Worse, it's the same system, with the same values. Quick fixes will not suffice for long; the system is inherently flawed. NEW VOICES ARE NEEDED AT THE TABLE — NOW.

In response to the situation, the Board and Committee on Global Finance of the International Forum on Globalization met in Siena, Italy, during September to produce the document on this page. It was then circulated for signatures; some are shown below. For more background, please use the coupon. (The statement begins at left.)

THE SIENA DECLARATION

1 The undersigned have long predicted that corporate-led economic globalization, as expressed and encouraged by the rules of global trade and investment, would lead to extreme volatility in global financial markets and great vulnerability for all nations and people. These rules have been created and are enforced by the World Trade Organization ("WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Maastricht Agreement, the World Bank and other global bureaucracies that currently discipline governments on the area of trade and financial investment. This volatility is bringing massive economic breakdown in some nations, insecurity in all nations, unprecedented hardships for millions of people, growing unemployment and dislocation in all regions, direct assaults on labor conditions, loss of wilderness and biodiversity, massive population shifts, increased ethnic and racial tensions, and other disastrous results. Such disasters are now becoming manifest throughout the world, and are increasing daily.

2 The solutions to the crisis that are being offered by the leadership of the trade bureaucracies, and most western (industrialized) states, as well as bankers, security analysts, corporate CEOs and economists — the main dissenters, designers and proponents of the activities that have led us to this point — are little more than repetitions, even expansions, of the very formulas that have already proven socially, economically and environmentally disastrous. The experts who now propose solutions to the financial meltdowns are the very ones who, only months ago, were celebrating Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and other "Asian Tigers" as poster-children for the success of their designs. Notably, these experts have been wrong in nearly every predicted outcome of their policies.

Now these "leaders" advocate that we solve the problem by *further* opening markets, *further* opening and liberalizing the rules of investment (via such disastrous formulas as the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, and an expanded IMF and/or WTO powers), *further* sapping the options of nation-states and communities to regulate commerce for the good of their own publics and environments, *further* discouragement of such models as "import substitution" that have the chance to enable farmers to feed and care for themselves, and *further* centralization of control within the same governing bodies as at present. In other words, more of the same.

According to these architects of globalization, it is only a matter of "fine tuning" or "first aid" while on the way to continued expansion of their same failed dream. They cite "conveyors" among the Third World's economy as contributing to the problem, but say nothing of the conveyors exhibited by the U.S. Treasury-Wall Street-IMF collaborations by which western bankers bail out other western bankers for their disastrous policies.

Clearly, the architects of the present crisis have not understood what they have wrought, or, if they have understood it, cannot afford to admit it.

3 As for the tens of millions of people who now suffer from this experiment, the expert solutions include no bailouts. Many of these people, formerly self-sufficient in food, are now dependent on the absentee-ownership system of the global economy. Now abandoned, they are left to seek solutions outside the system, from foraging in the (far disappointing) forests, to barter systems, to social upheaval as means of expression. Many are finding that their attempts to return to prior states of livelihood — such as small scale food farming — are impossible, as their former lands have been converted to industrial corporate agricultural models for export production. Land on which people formerly grew food to eat has been converted to corporate production of luxury commodities — such as coffee, beef, flowers, pesticides — to be exported to the wealthy nations. Poverty, hunger, landlessness, homelessness, and migration are the immediate outcome of this. Inadequate food supplies, lower food quality, and often dangerous contaminated foods are a secondary outcome. The situation is unsustainable.

4 To creators like to describe the global economic system as the inevitable outgrowth of economic, social and technological evolution. They make the case that centralized global economies that favour an export-oriented free trade model, fed by massive deregulation, privatization, and corporate-led free market activity in both commodity trade and finance — free of attributing environmental, labor and social standards — will eventually bring a kind of utopia to all people of the planet. Now it is clear that it is *utopia for corporations* that they have in mind. But even this will fail to achieve its goals, as the centralized policies it desires with structural flaws. No system that depends for its success on a never ending expansion of markets, resources and consumers, so that fails to achieve social equity and meaningful livelihood for all people on the planet, can hope to survive for very long. *Social unrest, economic and ecological breakdown are the true inevitabilities of such a system.*

"These experts have been wrong in nearly every predicted outcome of their policies."

5 It is appropriate to recall that the present structures of globalization did not grow in nature as if they were part of an evolutionary process. Economic globalization in its present form was deliberately designed by economists, bankers, and corporate leaders to institute a form of economic activity and control that they said would be beneficial. It is an intentional experimental system; there is nothing inevitable about it. Globalization as we recent form even had a birthplace and birthdate: Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, 1944. It was there that a design was agreed to by the leading industrial nations. The WTO, the IMF, the World Bank, et. al. were instruments that grew out of the design plan.

Great expectations have led to disputes. After more than 50 years of this experiment, it is breaking down. Rather than leading to economic benefits for all people, it has brought the planet to the brink of environmental and social catastrophe. The experiment has failed.

6 With the crisis now obvious in Asia, Russia, Brazil, Mexico and soon, predictably, in other places, including western industrial nations, many people and nation-states have begun to recognize the failure of the globalization experiment. They have begun to ask specifically if globalization — especially free trade in financial flows — is in the best interest of their own nation, or any nation. We have seen various corrective actions recently taken by China, India, Hong Kong, Malaysia, Russia and Chile which, by various means, have tried to counteract the destabilizing force of unregulated private investment that has proved to benefit no one but the people who advocate it. As we write, many more nations are showing renewed interest in their expressions of resistance and withdrawal from uncontrolled global capital. Importantly, the nations that have put, or maintained, controls on capital have demonstrated a higher degree of stability, and are better able to act successfully in the interests of their own resource and economic bases and in the interests of their own populations.

We applaud such actions and urge more nations to encourage and adopt currency and investment controls, as appropriate to their unique situations, rather than continuing to take dictates from distant bureaucracies who have proved they do not know what they are doing.

7 Though the current crisis needs to be reported as strictly "financial" in nature, it is worth noting that the problems are deeper and more endemic to the inherent flaws in the design of the global economic itself. All people of the world have been made tragically dependent upon the arbitrary, self-interested acts of giant corporations, bankers and speculators. This is the result of the global rules that remove real economic power from nations, communities and citizen democracies, while giving new governing corporate and financial specialists, and rules that suppress the abilities of local economies, and nations to protect resources, public health and human rights. This has left the peoples of the world in a uniquely isolated, vulnerable condition, dependent upon the whims of great, distant powers. This too is unsustainable.

8 Any truly effective solution to the current financial crisis, and the larger crises of economic globalization, must include the following ingredients, among others:

A) Recognition and acknowledgement that the current model, as designed and implemented by premier-day, corporate-led global trade bureaucracies is fundamentally flawed, and that the current crises are the inevitable, predictable result of these flaws.

B) Convening of a new Bretton Woods-type international conference which would bring to the table not only representatives of nation-states, bankers and industry, but an equal number of citizen organizations from every country to design economic models that turn away from globalization and move toward localization, re-empower communities and nation-states, place human, social and ecological values above economic values (and corporate profit), encourage national self reliance (whenever possible) including "import substitution," and operate in a fully democratic and transparent manner.

C) Create offices to build on the experiences of Chile, Malaysia, India and the other countries that have placed controls on capital investment and currency speculation. Encourage all activity that reverses present policies that expand the freedoms of finance capital and transnational corporations, while supporting the freedoms of individuals, communities, and nation-states to act in their own behalf.

D) Immediately cancel all efforts toward completion of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), or the expansion of the International Monetary Fund, and/or the WTO to include ingredients of the MAI that give added freedoms to finance capital to operate free of national controls.

Finally, the undersigned wish to state that we are not opposed to international trade and investments, or to international rules that regulate this trade and investments, so long as it complements economic activity that nation-states can achieve for themselves, and so long as the environmental, human rights, labor rights, democratic, national sovereignty and social equity are given primacy.

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INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON GLOBALIZATION
BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND COMMITTEE ON GLOBAL FINANCE
(organizations shown for identification purposes)

Also signed by panel list

Figure 4-3 The International Forum on Globalization, 'Should the People Who Caused the Problems Be the Ones to Create the Solutions?', The New York Times, 20 November 1998, p. A23.

5. The Many Roads to Seattle: Taking it Back to the Streets

As a site for the third ministerial conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in November 1999, Seattle had initially seemed promising. Situated on the Pacific Rim, it was a major port city and a hub of international trade. It was also home to Starbucks, a ubiquitous symbol of global capitalism and an aspirational lifestyle brand for many middle-class American consumers.[1] The local host committee, headed by the chiefs of two other Seattle-area companies (Bill Gates of Microsoft, and Philip M. Condit of Boeing), raised around $10 million from corporate donors and members of the Alliance of Trade Expansion to pay for the conference. For its part, the city government hoped that the 3,000 visiting delegates and their entourages would spend their cash at local hotels, restaurants, bars, and shops.[2] The political atmosphere within the United States was also conducive to a far-reaching agreement. President Clinton had survived impeachment over his involvement with Monica Lewinsky. Now near the end of his presidency, he was looking to repair his political legacy. Before the conference, Clinton insisted that widening the scope of the "rules-based trading system" was the best way to "expand opportunity." Earlier in the year he had spoken optimistically about "putting a human face on the global economy."[3] The positive spin he gave to globalization seemed persuasive because the U.S. economy, the primary engine of global economic growth, was booming. Corporate restructuring and mounting private debt had precipitated a dramatic recovery in the latter half of the decade, with the stock market reaching new heights

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[1] The first Starbucks store was opened in Seattle in 1972, but the company grew rapidly over the next two decades. Bryant Simon describes the beginnings of a 'Starbucks moment' in 1992, when the coffee chain became a publicly owned company. Bryan writes, 'Beginning in the 1990s, Starbucks got read in the larger culture much like a BMW coupe or a Kate Spade handbag—as a status symbol. And like the iPod, it was also seen as cool, as an "I got to have it" item. But it was nowhere near as expensive as the portable music player or a designer purse. That made Starbucks not just an affordable luxury, as some have called it, but an even more affordable form of status and identity making.' Bryant Simon, *Everything But the Coffee: Learning About America from Starbucks* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011), p. 7.

[2] John Burgess, 'Trade-Dependent Seattle Welcomes Delegates to Meeting but Also Sees the Protesters' Side', *Washington Post*, 30 November 1999 <https://www.washingtonpost.com/archive/business/1999/11/30/trade-dependent-seattle-welcomes-delegates-to-meeting-but-also-sees-the-protesters-side/b9ca5bea-b733-4d97-8512-7fe4d6dd9d9a/> [accessed 20 January 2022]; John Vidal, 'Business Elite Shun Seattle's Glare', *The Guardian*, 1 December 1999 <https://www.theguardian.com/world/1999/dec/01/wto.johnvidal2> [accessed 21 January 2022].

[3] The White House. The Third WTO Ministerial Conference, Seattle, Washington, 'The Clinton Administration Agenda for the Seattle WTO, 24 November 1999' <https://clintonwhitehouse3.archives.gov/WH/New/WTO-Conf-1999/factsheets/fs-007.html> [accessed 20 January 2022]; International Labour Organization. International Labour Conference, 87th Session, 1-17 June 1999. Address by Mr. Bill Clinton, President of the United States 16 June 1999. <https://www.ilo.org/public/english/standards/relm/ilc/ilc87/a-clinto.htm> [accessed 20 January 2022].

as huge sums were invested in internet start-ups and households borrowed heavily to fund consumer spending.[4] These conditions helped to consolidate the broad pro-free trade consensus within the mainstream press.[5] Conference organisers therefore expected the WTO meeting to be a formality, one that would anoint the organisation as the arbiter of a new global economic constitution, initiate a "Millennium Round" of trade negotiations, and accelerate the rollout of neoliberal reforms.

As it would happen, things turned out very differently. On 30 November 1999, the first day of the conference, thousands of activists succeeded in shutting down the WTO. Masses of protesters flooded Seattle's downtown streets, delegates were secreted away in their luxury hotels, and the convention site was surrounded. By the afternoon, the windows of large banks, and branches of Starbucks and McDonald's, had been smashed, a state of emergency had been declared by the mayor, and the National Guard was called in. The police were equipped with military-style "non-lethal" weapons, including armoured vehicles, rubber bullets, concussion grenades, and sound bombs. Soon tear gas filled the streets, and police began beating protestors. Images of these confrontations were instantaneously broadcast to the world.[6] As the protests continued throughout the week, it became clear that the authorities had drastically underestimated the level of opposition to neoliberal trade policies. At a luncheon just a day before the end of the conference, the WTO's new Director-General, Mike Moore, remarked to Clinton, "Mr. President, this conference is doomed, doomed to succeed. Failure is unthinkable."[7] However, the unthinkable soon became the inevitable. Activists dealt the WTO a humiliating blow and gave the American public a crash course in direct action tactics. As anthropologist David Graeber later noted, "Nothing could have been

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[4] Robert Brenner, *The Boom and the Bubble: The US In The World Economy* (London: Verso, 2003); Godfrey Hodgson, *More Equal Than Others: America from Nixon to the New Century* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004); Haynes Johnson, *The Best of Times: The Boom and Bust Years of America Before and After Everything Changed* (New York: Harvest, 2002).

[5] As Christopher R. Martin has put it, news audiences were told that 'the consumer is king; the process of production is none of their business; the economy is driven by great business leaders and entrepreneurs; the workplace is a meritocracy; and collective economic action is bad.' Christopher R. Martin, *Framed!: Labor and the Corporate Media* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 162.

[6] On the imagery generated from the Battle of Seattle see Terri Weissman, 'This Is What Democracy Looks Like', in *In Focus: Waiting for Tear Gas 1999–2000 by Allan Sekula*, ed. by Stephanie Schwartz (Tate Research Publication, 2016) <https://www.tate.org.uk/research/publications/in-focus/waiting-for-tear-gas-allan-sekula/this-is-what-democracy-looks-like> [accessed 22 January 2022].

[7] Kevin Buterbaugh and Richard M. Fulton, *The WTO Primer: Tracing Trade's Visible Hand Through Case Studies* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 153.

more effective in shattering the air of triumphant inevitability that had surrounded such meetings in the 1990s."[8]

The protests were certainly a moment of ideological rupture, and an important historical turning point. This was the first time that the institutions of global neoliberal hegemony were directly confronted within the U.S. by such a broad counter-hegemonic social movement. The fact that the protests took the authorities and the mainstream media largely by surprise generated uncertainty about how to interpret what had happened. Establishment figures wondered how a ragtag alliance of political radicals had managed to bring a key regulatory institution of global capitalism to a standstill. Had they not got the memo about the end of History? Commentators also struggled to make sense of a political movement that was made up of a bewildering array of protestors: NGO members from solid middle class backgrounds, environmentalists dressed as turtles, community and faith groups, Teamsters and steelworkers, Wobblies, pacifists and peace activists, Evangelical leftists, Indian farmers, French food activists, Filipino anti-imperialists, Lesbian Avengers, hippies and eco-anarchists, youth groups, student environmental and anti-sweatshop activists, street theatre and hip-hop performers, cyclists, hackers, teachers, librarians, and even taxi drivers.[9] Thomas Friedman, the cheerleader-in-chief for neoliberal globalization at the *New York Times*, was

[8] David Graeber, 'On The Phenomenology of Giant Puppets: Broken Windows, Imaginary Jars of Urine, and the Cosmological Role of the Police in American Culture', in *Possibilities: Essays on Hierarchy, Rebellion, and Desire* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2007), pp. 375–417 (p. 387).

[9] Although few LGBT groups were formally represented on the streets of the Seattle, the Lesbian Avengers - a direct action group founded in 1992 by veterans of ACT UP and various feminist organisations - had a small but visible presence. Liz Highleyman, 'Radical Queers or Queer Radicals? Queer Activism and the Global Justice Movement', in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 106–20; The confrontational and creative style of politics adopted by the group meshed well with those of the emerging global justice movement. Kirsten Leng, 'Fumerism as Queer Feminist Activism: Humour and Rage in the Lesbian Avengers' Visibility Politics', *Gender & History*, 32.1 (2020), 108–30; According to Tico Almeida - one of the founders of United Students Against Sweatshops (discussed in Chapter 4), both USAS and the Student Environmental Action Coalition (discussed in Chapter 1) sent representatives to the labour rally at Memorial Stadium. Tico Almeida, 'Personal Testimony', WTO History Project. University of Washington. <https://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/testimonies/TicoAlmeida.htm> [accessed 27 January 2022]; Grey Filastine, 'Not in Service: The Tale of Insurgent Taxis', in *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*, ed. by Notes from Nowhere (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 211–13.

outraged, dismissing the protestors as "a Noah's ark of flat-earth advocates, protectionist trade unions and yuppies looking for their 1960's fix."[10]

Friedman's reaction was likely linked to what has become an enduring myth: the belief that Seattle was "a spontaneous uprising, not the result of massive organizing, alliance building, and strategy."[11] This was far from the truth. What transpired in Seattle could not have happened without many years of prior movement building, and careful planning. As many activists have subsequently acknowledged, Seattle was not the beginning but rather the culmination of a long struggle against neoliberalism that had begun in the Global South. As previous chapters of this dissertation make clear, the Battle of Seattle marked the culmination of decades of work by activists around the world to analyse and make sense of the huge changes that had taken place within the global economy since the 1970s.[12]

There were in fact many roads to Seattle. One was taken by the public interest groups and environmental groups associated with Public Citizen and the International Forum on Globalization. In spring of 1999 these groups began organising for Seattle and formed an umbrella group called People for Fair Trade. Another was taken by the labour movement and coordinated by the AFL-CIO, which saw the WTO conference as an opportunity for the "protest of the century," commencing with a huge rally at Memorial Stadium. However, the story of Seattle is also a tale of how the left reinvented itself – and reinvented democracy – during these years.[13] The left of the 1990s was no longer a single entity but rather an

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[10] Thomas L. Friedman, 'Senseless in Seattle', *The New York Times*, 1 December 1999, section Opinion <https://www.nytimes.com/1999/12/01/opinion/foreign-affairs-senseless-in-seattle.html> [accessed 22 January 2022].

[11] David Solnit, 'The Battle of the Story of the Battle of Seattle', in *The Battle of the Story of the Battle of Seattle*, ed. by David Solnit and Rebecca Solnit (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009), pp. 5–55 (p. 7).

[12] George Katsiaficas, 'Seattle Was Not the Beginning', in *The Battle of Seattle: The New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization*, ed. by Eddie Yuen, Daniel Burton Rose, and George Katsiaficas (New York: Soft Skull Press, 2001), pp. 29–35; Lisa Fithian, *Shut It Down: Stories from a Fierce, Loving Resistance* (White River Junction, VT: Chelsea Green Publishing, 2019), pp. 76–81; For another short overview of the pre-history of Seattle see Robin Broad and Zahara Heckscher, 'Before Seattle: The Historical Roots of the Current Movement against Corporate-Led Globalisation', *Third World Quarterly*, 24.4 (2003), 713–28.

[13] For one loose sketch of this transformation see Blair Taylor, 'Long Shadows of the New Left: From Students for a Democratic Society to Occupy Wall Street', in *Revisiting the Sixties: Interdisciplinary Perspectives on America's Longest Decade*, ed. by Laura Bieger and Christian Lammert (Frankfurt, Germany: Campus Verlag, 2013), pp. 77–94; On the anarchist project of 'reinventing democracy' see David Graeber, 'The New Anarchists', *New Left Review*, 13 (2002).

assemblage of overlapping and intersecting movements.[14] This chapter follows the long road to Seattle taken by the direct action wing of the movement, composed primarily of activists from the anti-authoritarian left. It traces the origins of a new type of radical democratic politics to the explosion of new social movements in the 1970s, charts the rise of radical environmentalism in the 1980s and early 1990s, discusses the Zapatista uprising and other transnational influences on US political movements, and highlights the importance of anarchist-influenced networking and coalition building in the latter half of the 1990s. It focuses on the interrelationship of six nodes of a global activist network that was constructed during these years: the Pacific Northwest, the San Francisco Bay Area, New York City, the postindustrial Midwest, Greater London, and Chiapas.

Rebellion: Radical Democracy, Direct Action, and Anticapitalism

Activist practices at Seattle were shaped both by international currents of dissent and by distinctly American traditions of political radicalism. In both cases, activists were the inheritors of an ideological orientation and a style of protest most associated with the social movements of the 1960s and 1970s. The roots of this form of politics may in fact be dated to the 1950s, when the Old Left began to give way to a New Left. The horrors of Stalinism as well as the articulation of new dimensions of social struggle along the lines of race, gender, and sexuality, contributed to the renewal of anti-authoritarian radicalism.[15] The international

[14] Chris Dixon, 'Five Days in Seattle: A View from the Ground', in *The Battle of the Story of the Battle of Seattle*, ed. by David Solnit and Rebecca Solnit (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009), pp. 73–106; For an account of Seattle that focuses on the public interest dimension of the movement see Paul K. Adler, *No Globalization Without Representation. U.S. Activists and World Inequality* (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2021), pp. 185–215.

[15] To take just one example, consider the early history of the modern LGBTQ rights movement. The structure of the Mattachine Society, the first gay men's organisation in the United States, was modelled on the Communist party by founder Harry Hay. The failure of the party to address questions of sexuality obliged Hay to adapt the Marxist theory of a class 'for itself' to the position of homosexuals in American society. John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities: The Making of a Homosexual Minority in the United States 1940-1970* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1983), pp. 57–74; On the continutities between the 'Old' and 'New' Left see also Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Kate Weigand, *Red Feminism: American Communism and the Making of Women's Liberation* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Andrew Hunt, 'How New Was the New Left?', in *The New Left Revisited*, ed. by John McMillian and Paul Buhle (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2003); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, 'The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past', *The Journal of American History*, 91.4 (2005), 1233–63; Robert O. Self, 'The Black Panther Party and the Long Civil Rights Era', in *In Search of the Black Panther Party: New Perspectives on a Revolutionary Movement*, ed. by Jama Lazerow and Yohuru R. Williams (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008).

New Left aspired to create a humanist and democratic socialist alternative to both the unrestrained capitalism of the United States and the authoritarian "state socialism" of the Soviet Union. The new generation of radicals remained committed to a vision of economic and social justice, but they were increasingly suspicious of unaccountable vanguardist elites and generally critical of the economism and determinism of vulgar Marxism. The war in Vietnam, and the victories of anti-colonial independence movements in the Global South made anti-imperialism an increasingly important ideological commitment by the late 1960s and early 1970s. Admittedly, for many activists, the allure of state socialist alternatives – particularly the apparent promise of the Chinese Revolution – faded only gradually. "Third World Liberation" and Western Marxism remained important sources of inspiration for New Leftists.

In the United States, New Leftists were especially influenced by homegrown theories of participatory democracy. The "community organising" wing of the civil rights movement helped to instil a belief in the power of ordinary people to effect change without the need for direction by charismatic elites.[16] The influence of Christian (and especially Quaker) pacifism on the civil rights movement ensured that activists would be concerned not only with questions of economic distribution but also with the problem of political violence, military conflict, and the accumulation of atomic weapons by the Cold War superpowers.[17]

The social movements that composed the New Left in the U.S. were "polycentric," interconnected, and overlapping. However, with the end of the Vietnam War, there no longer existed a single issue that could unite these elements into a "movement of movements"

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[16] On the revival of the American radical democratic tradition see James Miller, *'Democracy Is in the Streets': From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988); Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1996); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Francesca Polletta, *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); Robert J. S. Ross, 'The Democratic Process at Port Huron and After', in *The Port Huron Statement: Sources and Legacies of the New Left's Founding Manifesto*, ed. by Richard Flacks and Nelson Lichtenstein (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), pp. 127–39; Carissa Honeywell, 'Paul Goodman: Finding an Audience for Anarchism in Twentieth-Century America', *Journal for the Study of Radicalism*, 5.2 (2011), 1–33.

[17] On the 'Americanization of Gandhi' see James J. Farrell, *The Spirit of the Sixties: Making Postwar Radicalism* (New York: Routledge, 1997); John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915-1963* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2003).

capable of mobilising mass opposition to mainstream politics in any coordinated way. This fragmentation, combined with the impact of a powerful conservative backlash, is often understood to mark the collapse of the new radicalism.[18] However the ideas, practices, and passions that the New Left generated continued to reverberate through the social, cultural, and political contradictions of the 1970s and 1980s.[19] During these years, many veterans of the anti-war and civil rights movements were active participants in the "new" social movements which were concerned with issues as diverse as community and labour organising, racial justice, nuclear power and nuclear weapons, gay and lesbian rights, and the environment. Feminism was the primary ideological catalyst for sustaining and reconstructing the new radicalism. Women had played foundational roles in the anti-war and civil rights movements, but their contributions had often been ignored and unrecognised. Weary of the sexism and chauvinism of the men who had appointed themselves the leaders of the New Left, feminists began to forge a new kind of political organisation that was anathema to hierarchical and patriarchal structures.

The evolution of this political practice began with the formation of the Clamshell Alliance in 1976, in opposition to a proposed nuclear power plant in Seabrook, New Hampshire. The Alliance appropriated theories of nonviolent direct action that were initially developed by Quaker groups such as the Movement for a New Society.[20] The Clamshell Alliance served as a model for two successor groups, the Abalone Alliance (targeting a planned nuclear power plant near San Luis Obispo) and the Livermore Action Group (which opposed the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory, which produced nuclear weapons and was affiliated with the University of California). What united them was a political praxis grounded in a commitment to radical democracy, manifesting itself in the formation of local alliances, horizontal forms of organization, consensus decision-making, affinity groups, and nonviolent direct action. At

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[18] Van Gosse, 'A Movement of Movements: The Definition and Periodization of the New Left', in *A Companion to Post-1945 America*, ed. by Jean-Christophe Agnew and Roy Rosenzweig, Blackwell Companions to American History (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2002), p. 292.

[19] Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Stephen Tuck, 'Introduction: Reconsidering the 1970s — The 1960s to a Disco Beat?', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43.4 (2008), 617–20; Simon Hall, 'Protest Movements in the 1970s: The Long 1960s', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43.4 (2008), 655–72; J. Zeitz, 'Rejecting the Center: Radical Grassroots Politics in the 1970s — Second-Wave Feminism as a Case Study', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 43.4 (2008), 673–88.

[20] Andrew Cornell, *Oppose and Propose!: Lessons from Movement for a New Society* (Edinburgh: AK Press / Institute for Anarchist Studies, 2011).

least in the early 1970s, it was hoped that these tactics might be used systemically as part of a mass movement, as described in George Lakey's book *Strategy for a Living Revolution* (1973). Underlying this collection of political practices was the principle of "prefiguration," the idea that the means of political organising should be consistent, as much as possible under present conditions, with desired ends.[21]

One important example of the prefigurative politics that emerged during the 1980s was Food Not Bombs, a group founded by eight activists, including C. T. Butler and Keith McHenry, who had participated in the Seabrook anti-nuclear campaign.[22] Food Not Bombs has been described as "the catering wing of the U.S. radical left," but it was also a vehicle for a sophisticated critique of capitalism as well as a practical experiment in mutual aid. As McHenry and Butler explained, Food Not Bombs was influenced by ideas that were circulating within the peace movement, and in particular John Galtung's notion of "structural violence" (violence that is neither personal nor direct). They argued that political elites and mainstream institutions promote a "culture of death," a social system predicated on social inequality, police repression, environmental degradation, and the spectre of nuclear annihilation. This analysis suggested that oppression and domination were complex and multidimensional, created by mutually reinforcing economic, political, and social hierarchies. In response, they attempted to create "life-affirming structures from the ground up" by recovering excess food and providing it for free to the homeless. Not only was this a manifestation of their belief that food should be a human right, not a privilege, and that the commodification of the food

[21] On prefigurative politics see Carl Boggs, 'Marxism, Prefigurative Communism, and the Problem of Workers' Control', *Radical America*, 11.6 (1977), 99–122; Luke Yates, 'Rethinking Prefiguration: Alternatives, Micropolitics and Goals in Social Movements', *Social Movement Studies*, 14.1 (2015), 1–21; Paul Raekstad and Sofa Saio Gradin, *Prefigurative Politics: Building Tomorrow Today* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2019); Barbara Epstein, *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution: Nonviolent Direct Action in the 1970s and 1980s* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1993), pp. 176–78 On ecofeminism see pp. 176-178; As Ruth Kinna points out, anarchists have long rejected the Marxist-Leninist vanguardist strategy because of a deep scepticism towards the idea that a free society can be realised through the imposition of a dictatorship. Anarchists have instead argued that true liberation can only be achieved through the political practice of non-domination. Ruth Kinna, *The Government of No One: The Theory and Practice of Anarchism* (London: Pelican, 2020), p. 171; The formation of autonomous affinity groups is most strongly associated with the Spanish anarchists of the 1920s. Murray Bookchin brought the practice to a broader radical audience within the United States in his classic 1971 book *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*. Francis Dupuis-Deri, 'Anarchism and the Politics of Affinity Groups', *Anarchist Studies*, 18.1 (2010), 40–62; Murray Bookchin, *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* (Berkeley, CA: Ramparts Press, 1971).

[22] Butler was also the author of an influential movement handbook on consensus decision making. Fithian, p. 31.

system was dehumanizing, but it also straightforwardly and publicly dramatized the perversity of food waste in a country where millions of people were going hungry.[23]

Whatever the domestic political outlook in the 1980s, most leftists recognised the need to challenge Reagan's foreign policy. Three causes particularly helped to sustain radical politics in the United States during this period. The first was the anti-apartheid movement, which was revitalised by students at colleges and universities across the United States in the mid-1980s.[24] The second was inspired by the rise of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua and the desire to oppose Reagan's support for oppressive regimes in Guatemala and El Salvador.[25] The third cause was the peace and anti-nuclear movement, which continued to mobilize the grassroots into the 1980s.[26] Although these campaigns were not aimed directly at economic policy, the

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[23] C. T. Butler and Keith McHenry, *Food Not Bombs*, Revised Edition (Tucson, AZ: See Sharp Press, 2000); Johan Galtung, 'Violence, Peace, and Peace Research', *Journal of Peace Research*, 6.3 (1969), 167–91; Sean Parson, *Cooking up a Revolution: Food Not Bombs, Homes Not Jails, and Resistance to Gentrification* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019), p. 24; Nik Heynen, 'Cooking up Non-Violent Civil-Disobedient Direct Action for the Hungry: "Food Not Bombs" and the Resurgence of Radical Democracy in the US', *Urban Studies*, 47.6 (2010), 1225–40.

[24] Sarah A. Soule, 'The Student Divestment Movement in the United States and Tactical Diffusion: The Shantytown Protest', *Social Forces*, 75.3 (1997), 855–82; Francis Njubi Nesbitt, *Race for Sanctions: African Americans Against Apartheid, 1946-1994* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004).

[25] Steve Striffler, *Solidarity: Latin America and the US Left in the Era of Human Rights* (London: Pluto Press, 2019), pp. 125–42; CISPES defined the different ideological currents within the Central American solidarity movement according to a typology with three major components: anti-interventionism, solidarity and anti-imperialism. Activists within CISPES understood their own organization to 'be in favour of the abolition of the economic system that produces foreign domination and aggression' but this did not apply to all branches of the wider movement. Nick Witham, *The Cultural Left and the Reagan Era: US Protest and the Central American Revolution* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2015), p. 6; As Christian Smith has pointed out, the diversity of the movement made questions of strategy particularly intractable. Christian Smith, *Resisting Reagan: The U.S. Central America Peace Movement* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1996), pp. 211–30.

[26] Peace activists were marginalised within the U.S. but they could nonetheless draw upon the strength of the movement abroad. For example, the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment of 1983 was inspired by the example of British women at Greenham Common. U.S. activists were part of an anti-nuclear movement that was truly international, with a presence in the Soviet Union, as well as Japan and nations of the Pacific Islands that had been profoundly affected by nuclear imperialism. The *hibakusha* - survivors of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki - were a major element of the global movement to abolish nuclear weapons. Louise Krasniewicz, *Nuclear Summer: The Clash of Communities at the Seneca Women's Peace Encampment* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1992); Seiitsu Tachibana, 'The Quest for a Peace Culture: The A-Bomb Survivors' Long Struggle and the New Movement for Redressing Foreign Victims of Japan's War', *Diplomatic History*, 19.2 (1995), 329–46; The term 'nuclear imperialism' was originally formulated by Pan-African activists in the 1960s. Jean Allman, 'Nuclear Imperialism and the Pan-African Struggle for Peace and Freedom: Ghana, 1959–1962', *Souls*, 10.2 (2008), 83–102; Rob Skinner, 'Bombs and Border Crossings: Peace Activist Networks and the Post-Colonial State in Africa, 1959-62', *Journal of Contemporary History*, 50.3 (2015), 418–38; The Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific Movement was formed in 1975, and subsequent conferences and in 1983 the People's Charter for a Nuclear-Free and Independent Pacific explicitly tied the anti-nuclear struggle to the anti-imperialist struggle. Jean-Marc Regnault, 'The Nuclear Issue in the South Pacific: Labor Parties, Trade Union Movements, and Pacific Island Churches in International Relations', *The Contemporary Pacific*, 17.2 (2005), 339–57; Anita Smith, 'Colonialism and the Bomb in the Pacific', in *A Fearsome Heritage: Diverse Legacies of the*

activists involved recognised that the figureheads of the neoliberal revolution – Reagan and Thatcher – were also committed Cold Warriors. These radicals believed that the logic of economic domination was tied in many ways, both direct and indirect, to the extension of military domination. This was the rationale for the Women's Pentagon Action of 1980, and for the 1987 action by Central American solidarity activists that shut down CIA headquarters at Langley, Virginia, and which was part of a national campaign called the March for Peace and Justice in Central America and Southern Africa.[27]

The focus on foreign policy was also an indication of the internationalisation of social movements in these years. Movement culture was itself becoming globalised, fed by transnational exchanges between activists, particularly across the Atlantic. In both Reagan's America and in Thatcher's Britain, direct action became a way to maintain a space for political dissent within a hostile dominant culture.[28] In an era when mainstream media celebrated excessive displays of wealth and power and expressions of egalitarianism were pushed to the margins, some radicals sought solace in alternative music culture.[29] Although later coopted by the culture industry, in the early 1980s punk was still grounded in a Do-It-Yourself community ethic and social practices, such as squatting, that resisted commodification.[30] In 1983 British anarcho-punks, backed primarily by London Greenpeace, but also by animal liberationists (especially hunt saboteurs), feminists, and anti-nuclear activists, organised a

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Cold War, ed. by John Schofield and Wayne Cocroft (London: Routledge, 2016); Michelle Keown, 'Waves of Destruction: Nuclear Imperialism and Anti-Nuclear Protest in the Indigenous Literatures of the Pacific', *Journal of Postcolonial Writing*, 54.5 (2018), 585–600; On the U.S. movement see Milton S. Katz, *Ban the Bomb: A History of SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy* (New York: Praeger, 1987); Lawrence S. Wittner, *Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971-Present* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2003).

[27] Fithian, pp. 25–48.

[28] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* (London: Routledge, 1979).

[29] Clinton Heylin, *From the Velvets to the Voidoids: A Pre-Punk History for a Post-Punk World* (London: Penguin, 1993); Bill Osgerby, '"Chewing out a Rhythm on My Bubble-Gum": The Teenage Aesthetic and Genealogies of American Punk', in *Punk Rock, So What?: The Cultural Legacy of Punk*, ed. by Roger Sabin (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 154–69; Gerfried Ambrosch, 'American Punk: The Relations between Punk Rock, Hardcore, and American Culture', *Amerikastudien / American Studies*, 60.2/3 (2015), 215–33; Michael Stewart Foley, *Dead Kennedys' Fresh Fruit for Rotting Vegetables* (Bloomsbury Academic, 2015); D. Simonelli, 'Anarchy, Pop and Violence: Punk Rock Subculture and the Rhetoric of Class, 1976-78', *Contemporary British History*, 16.2 (2002), 121–44.

[30] On the tensions between anarchism and punk culture in the U.K. and the U.S. see Jim Donaghey, 'The "Punk Anarchisms" of Class War and CrimethInc.', *Journal of Political Ideologies*, 25.2 (2020), 113–38; On the shifting permutations of British anarchism in this period see Benjamin Franks, *Rebel Alliances: The Means and Ends of Contemporary British Anarchisms* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2006), pp. 67–92.

series of four protests referred to as "Stop the City."[31] This British example inspired American activists to plan a series of street protests called the "War Chest Tours" aimed at militarism and corporate power. Demonstrations outside the Democratic National Convention in 1984 brought together punks, Central American solidarity groups, and anti-nuclear groups to express their rage at the two-party system and the failure of the Democrats to provide any meaningful opposition to Reaganism. These protests were less notable for their immediate achievements than for their refashioning of movement culture. The rise of the conservative movement in the 1980s produced a style of left protest that was more militant, less focused on personalism and internal group dynamics, and more focused outwards towards the structures of power within wider society. Even more significant was the conception of "Stop the City" as a kind of political carnival that fused anti-capitalism with creative expression, music, dance, and direct action (see Figures 1 and 2). This mix would come to characterise political protest in the 1990s in both the United Kingdom and the United States.[32]

The anti-authoritarian left was further nourished by the growth of radical environmentalism. Radical environmentalists were frustrated by the conservatism of the "Group of Ten," the large membership organisations that advocated for incremental change within the existing political system. Mainstream environmental groups were more willing to make political compromises, and they generally accepted that unregulated market-led growth was

[31] These groups disliked the passive format of marches and speeches favoured by large membership organizations like the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), and they wanted to strike at the heart of the capitalist system in Britain, the City of London. Taking place during the miners' strike, at perhaps the high-tide moment of anti-neoliberal resistance in Britain, the protests attracted thousands of direct actionists to the streets of London. British anarchists also supported annual actions organised by European Autonomists against the IMF and World Bank following the 1988 meeting in West Berlin (see Chapter 1). 'Annual International Action Against Banking Institutions and For Resources to Be Shared on the Basis of Need and Human Co-Operation, During the IMF/World Bank Congress, September 26th-28th 1989', London Greenpeace Action Proposal. Resistance: 1980s, 1990s, 2000s Collection, 56a Infoshop.; On the role of autonomists at the 1988 IMF/World Bank meeting see Katsiaficas, *The Subversion of Politics: European Autonomous Movement and the Decolonization of Everyday Life*, p. 109; Helen Steel and David Morris, the two activists involved in the 'McLibel' case discussed in Chapter 4, had earlier been participants in the 'Stop the City' protests. John Vidal, *McLibel: Burger Culture on Trial* (New York: The New Press, 1997), p. 55.

[32] The cross-fertilization between British and American protest culture went both ways. A discussion circulated before the 'Stop the City' protests cited the blockade of Wall Street by anti-nuclear protestors in 1979 as one precedent for their action. Rich Cross, '"Stop the City Showed Another Possibility": Mobilization and Movement in Anarcho-Punk', in *The Aesthetic of Our Anger: Anarcho-Punk, Politics and Music*, ed. by Mike Dines and Matthew Worley (New York: Autonomedia, 2016), pp. 117–55 (p. 124); L. A. Kauffman, *Direct Action: Protest and the Reinvention of American Radicalism* (London: Verso, 2017), pp. 81–88.

compatible with responsible management of the Earth's resources.[33] In contrast, radical environmentalists rejected such compromises with growth economics, which they argued would only hasten the destruction of the natural world. Radical environmentalism was influenced by the shift in understanding brought about by the growing influence of the science of ecology, which attempted to understand the complex relationships between biological organisms and their environment. In the 1970s and 1980s this led to the development of the philosophy of "deep ecology." Thinkers such as American historian Lynn White Jr. had begun to critique the "anthropocentrism" of Western natural philosophy in the 1960s, and in the 1970s these ideas were incorporated into a landmark essay by Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss which distinguished between "shallow" and "deep" ecology. For Næss, the environmental crisis was a product of the tendency to see nature as something to be conquered and instrumentalised for human ends. "Deep ecologists" argued that ecological degradation could only be halted when humans recognised themselves as only one part of a delicately balanced and interrelated whole.[34] It was this philosophical perspective that catalysed the radicalisation of environmentalism in the 1980s.

In Spring 1980, a small group of environmentalists including Dave Foreman and Mike Roselle created a new organisation known as Earth First! Inspired by Edward Abbey's 1976 novel, *The Monkey Wrench Gang*, the group embraced militant direct action – extending to "ecotage" or environmental sabotage – to halt the extraction of natural resources and new construction in wilderness areas. Earth First! leaders were initially hostile to the traditional left agenda of social and economic justice. Many radical environmentalists were critical of the group for its members' regressive, patriarchal, and racist rhetoric, particularly in relation to immigration

[33] Finis Dunaway, *Seeing Green: The Use and Abuse of American Environmental Images* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2015), pp. 187–257; Project 88, *Harnessing Market Forces to Protect Our Environment: Initiatives for the New President* (Washington D.C.: A Public Policy Study Sponsored by Senator Timothy E. Wirth, Colorado and Senator John Heinz, Pennsylvania, December 1988); C-SPAN, 'Harnessing Markets to Protect the Environment', 1989 <https://www.c-span.org/video/?7902-1/harnessing-markets-protect-environment> [accessed 5 September 2021]; For contemporary critiques of corporate environmentalism and greenwashing see Brian Tokar, *Earth for Sale: Reclaiming Ecology in the Age of Corporate Greenwash* (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1997); Joshua Karliner, *The Corporate Planet: Ecology and Politics in the Age of Globalization* (San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club, 1997).

[34] Arne Naess, 'The Shallow and the Deep, Long-Range Ecology Movement. A Summary.', *Inquiry*, 16.1–4 (1973), 95–100; George Sessions, 'The Deep Ecology Movement: A Review', *Environmental History Review*, 11.2 (1987), 105–25; Bill Devall and George Sessions, *Deep Ecology: Living as If Nature Mattered* (Salt Lake City, UT: Gibbs Smith, 1985).

and population growth. These tensions led to a struggle within the organization in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The most vocal critics of Earth First! came from two separate strands of radical environmentalism. The first strand was ecofeminism, which had emerged in the 1970s and was a major current within the antinuclear movement. Many ecofeminists, including theorist Ynestra King, rejected both the essentialism of radical feminism and the class reductionism of orthodox Marxism. Some followed neopagan activist and thinker Starhawk in embracing Wicca and feminist spirituality. They all agreed that "deep ecology" elided the centrality of patriarchy and war in perpetuating the domination of nature.[35] The second strand was the "social ecology" of Murray Bookchin, which was particularly influential within anarchist circles. Bookchin argued that the domination of nature should be considered within a broader framework that also considered how people sought to dominate nature and one another though political and social institutions.[36] What united ecofeminists, social ecologists, and green anarchists was an effort to understand the relationship between different forms of oppression and domination. Their anti-capitalist politics was rooted in an understanding of class oppression as the inevitable result of a society structured by multiple intersecting hierarchies.

During the 1990s activists began to fuse the carnivalesque street protests of "Stop the City" and the "War Chest Tours" with the uncompromising direct action of the radical environmentalists. This occurred in the context of continued transatlantic diffusion of ideas and tactics. Earth First! activists in the U.K. created a group called Reclaim the Streets (RTS)

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[35] On the varieties of ecofeminism see Carolyn Merchant, *Radical Ecology: The Search for a Livable World*, Second Edition (New York: Routledge, 2005), pp. 193–222; On anarcha-feminism, paganism, and ecofeminism within the antinuclear movement on the 1970s see Epstein, *Political Protest and Cultural Revolution*, pp. 167–78; On the Women's Pentagon Action see L. A. Kauffman, pp. 64–69; On neopaganism and Starhawk see Kathryn Rountree, 'The Politics of the Goddess: Feminist Spirituality and the Essentialism Debate', *Social Analysis: The International Journal of Social and Cultural Practice*, 43.2 (1999), 138–65; Starhawk, *The Spiral Dance: A Rebirth of the Ancient Religion of the Great Goddess* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1979); Starhawk, *Dreaming the Dark: Magic, Sex and Politics* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1982); On Starhawk's distinction between 'power-over,' 'power-within,' and 'power-among' see Starhawk, *Truth Or Dare: Encounters with Power, Authority, and Mystery* (San Francisco, CA: Harper & Row, 1987).

[36] Murray Bookchin, *The Ecology of Freedom: The Emergence and Dissolution of Hierarchy* (Palo Alto, CA: Cheshire Books, 1982); Murray Bookchin, 'Social Ecology Versus Deep Ecology: A Challenge for the Ecology Movement', *Green Perspectives: Newsletter of the Green Program Project*, 4–5 (1987), 1–23; Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman, *Defending the Earth: A Dialogue Between Murray Bookchin and Dave Foreman*, ed. by Steve Chase (Cambridge, MA: South End Press, 1991); For a broader historical analysis see Ramachandra Guha and Juan Martinez-Alier, 'Radical American Environmentalism and Wilderness Preservation: A Third World Critique', in *Varieties of Environmentalism: Essays North and South* (London: Earthscan, 1997), pp. 92–108.

in 1991. They began with the idea of using nonviolent direct action to occupy streets and deny cars access to them as a way of protesting a culture of private car ownership taking root in the U.K.[37] The Conservative government had allowed the public transport system to decline, choosing instead to expand road construction. As street blockages mounted, John Major's government passed the Criminal Justice and Public Order Act to criminalize youth dance culture by making it illegal for people to gather in large groups to listen to electronic music.[38] Some elements of the rave scene were politicised by this repression and began to join the anti-roads movement. RTS thus took the form of a giant street party, one that was organised on the model of a rave, with the exact location kept secret until the event. After one such assembly, activists symbolically crashed two second-hand cars in the middle of Camden High Street to block the road. Traffic was replaced by five hundred revellers, dancing to bicycle-powered sound systems and serving free food. Two months later a similar stunt was staged in the Angel, Islington, this time using giant tripods (upon which protesters can perch) to block the road.[39]

Increasingly, RTS aligned itself with grassroots labour struggles, including those mounted by Liverpool dockers and London Underground drivers. In March 1997 they drew a crowd of 20,000 to Trafalgar Square to demonstrate their dissent from the neoliberal discourse that was dominating mainstream coverage of the British general election. On 16 May 1998, RTS staged a "Global Street Party" (later known as M16) to protest the G8 meeting in Birmingham. Activists in thirty countries coordinated protests, with a group in the San Francisco Bay Area "reclaiming" Telegraph Avenue in Berkeley.[40] Birmingham was a portent of what was soon to come in Seattle.

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[37] Derek Wall, *Earth First! And The Anti-Roads Movement: Radical Environmentalism and Comparative Social Movements* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 63.

[38] Jim Carey, 'Towers of Strength', *Squall: Magazine for Assorted Itinerants*, Winter 1995, pp. 18–22, https://squallmagazine.com; The law infamously characterised rave music as 'sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats.' Julia Ramírez Blanco, *Artistic Utopias of Revolt* (Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing, 2018), p. 42.

[39] The use of tripods was another protest tactic that was spread through transnational contacts between activists in Australia, Britain, the United States, and elsewhere in the late 1980s and early 1990s. The first use of tripods in the U.S. was likely during the Idaho Cove/Mallard campaign in Idaho in 1992. Iain McIntyre, *Environmental Blockades: Obstructive Direct Action and the History of the Environmental Movement* (New York: Routledge, 2021), pp. 208, 212.

[40] Naomi Klein, *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies* (New York: Picador, 1999), pp. 311–23; By October of that year another RTS group had been formed in New York. Stephen Duncombe, 'Stepping off the Sidewalk:

Ya Basta!: Zapatismo, the U.S. Left, and Peoples' Global Action

Activists in the Global North who were involved in direct action during the 1980s and 1990s aimed to draw public attention to the destructive effects of a system that enclosed the commons and prioritised private accumulation over collective wellbeing. They also had an analysis of the structural violence that resulted from the allocation of resources for the production of weapons of war rather than the fundamental social services needed to support human welfare. Influenced by both anarchism and Marxist political economy, many opposed capitalism as a social and economic system. And, as we have seen, they aspired to make their movement global. It took events in Mexico, however, to bring these radicals into a closer relationship with other groups around the world who were grappling with the same problems. The Zapatista uprising provided the left with a common language to name the global political ideology that was the source of their collective grievances, and new ways to forge a more coordinated resistance.[41]

In the early hours of 1 January 1994, a group of guerrillas emerged from the Lacandon jungle and seized control of the town of San Cristóbal de las Casas in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. At the time of the insurrection, Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari was entertaining guests with champagne at a New Year's Day party at Los Pinos, the presidential residence in Chapultepec, Mexico City.[42] Evoking rituals of revolutions past, the rebels set alight the public archives in the town hall and emptied the local jail of prisoners. Then, from the balcony of the Municipal Presidential Palace in San Cristobal, they declared war against the Mexican government.[43] Although taken by surprise, Salinas was quick to mobilize the military against the rebels, who had also taken control of several other towns in the state. Twelve days of fighting and bombing ensued before popular demonstrations against government repression brought about the cessation of hostilities.[44] Although the Zapatistas

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Reclaim the Streets/NYC', in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 215–28.

[41] *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*, ed. by Notes from Nowhere (London: Verso, 2003), p. 24.

[42] Maxwell A. Cameron and Brian W. Tomlin, *The Making of NAFTA: How the Deal Was Done* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 208.

[43] Nick Henck, *Subcommander Marcos: The Man and the Mask* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2007).

[44] María Inclán, *The Zapatista Movement and Mexico's Democratic Transition: Mobilization, Success, and Survival* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

identified the "evil government" as their immediate target, it soon became clear that their broader grievances were with something much broader, what they described as the "world crime" known as neoliberalism.

Despite the short duration of the conflict, the events in Chiapas constituted a dramatic rupture in the triumphal narrative of market liberalism. The uprising was greeted with astonishment in the United States. As an editorial in *The Nation* observed shortly after the event, the Zapatista uprising was "something stunningly new, the first shots of a rebellion consciously aimed at the new world order… It is a war against the globalization of the market, against the destruction of nature and the confiscation of resources, against the termination of indigenous peoples and their lands, against the growing maldistribution of wealth and the consequent decline in standards of living for all but the rich."[45] The Zapatistas' call for a network of resistance helped to crystalise grassroots opposition within the U.S. into a more coherent movement, one that recognised something of itself in the myriad resistances that were taking place across the globe.

The roots of the Zapatista uprising can be traced back to a cultural revival that took place in the 1970s within the historically oppressed and marginalised Mayan population in Chiapas. The renewed political mobilization of indigenous communities and the continuing struggle for land reform by peasant organizations was facilitated by the influence of radical students, liberation theology catechists, and leftist organisers.[46] These groups began to invoke the name and image of folk hero and revolutionary Emiliano Zapata, who became a symbol of their struggle, and in 1983 the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional, EZLN) was founded.[47] The impact of austerity in the 1980s, the militarization of the state in response to the Guatemalan civil war, the collapse of the coffee market in 1989, and the use of government troops to protect the interests of local landowners

[45] *The Zapatista Reader*, ed. by Tom Hayden (New York: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books, 2002), p. 19.
[46] The 1974 First Indigenous Congress of Chiapas served to unite the politically divided peoples of the region, including Tzotziles, Tzeltales, Tojolobales, and Choles. On 12 October 1992 these indigenous communities marched together to San Cristóbal to destroy a monument to the conquistador Diego de Mazariegos, founder of the city and a symbol of centuries of oppression, exploitation, and colonial violence. Thomas Benjamin, 'A Time of Reconquest: History, the Maya Revival, and the Zapatista Rebellion in Chiapas', *The American Historical Review*, 105.2 (2000), 417–50.
[47] George A. Collier and Jane F. Collier, 'The Zapatista Rebellion in the Context of Globalization', *Journal of Peasant Studies*, 32.3–4 (2005), 450–60.

and repress dissent created the conditions for the growth of support for the EZLN.[48] A more immediate trigger was President Salinas' effort to revise Article 27 of the Mexican Constitution, which authorised the privatisation of the *ejidos* (collectively managed community-based landholdings that were established as legal entities during the revolution) and threatened the land rights of indigenous communities.[49] The exact timing of the uprising was also significant, since it took place on the first day on which the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect. In testimony that appeared in *La Jornada* shortly after, the Zapatista's charismatic spokesperson, Subcomandante Marcos described NAFTA as "nothing more than a death sentence to the Indigenous ethnicities of Mexico, who are perfectly dispensable in the modernization program of Salinas de Gortari."[50] The rebellion was therefore a response to the urgent crises of the present, but also to the deep and continuing burdens of the colonial era, the culmination of "five hundred years of struggle."

It also soon became clear that the Zapatista's strategy for social transformation differed radically from the traditional Marxist formula that had predominated for much of the twentieth century. The Zapatistas did not envisage themselves as members of a guerrilla vanguard, but instead as prophets of a revolutionary social movement.[51] Their original philosophy had been formed from the same mix of Marxism-Leninism, Maoism and Guevarism that had long guided guerrilla struggles across Latin America. But since 1983 they had undergone a profound ideological transformation, one that absorbed and rearticulated indigenous traditions of community consultation, dialogue, accountability, and horizontal solidarity. Such a political orientation was directly opposed to the authoritarianism of the

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[48] Zapata was an agrarian leader of the Mexican Revolution before the promise of the revolution was compromised by the Institutional Revolutionary Party (Partido Revolucionario Institucional, PRI). Lynn Stephen, *Zapata Lives! Histories and Cultural Politics in Southern Mexico* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2002); John Womack, *Zapata and the Mexican Revolution* (New York: Vintage, 1970); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), I: PORFIRIANS, LIBERALS, AND PEASANTS; Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, Cambridge Latin American Studies, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), II: COUNTER-REVOLUTION AND RECONSTRUCTION.

[49] Pete Brown, 'Institutions, Inequalities, and the Impact of Agrarian Reform on Rural Mexican Communities', *Human Organization*, 56.1 (1997), 102–10.

[50] Hayden, p. 216; The inclusion of maize and beans within the NAFTA negotiations threatened the livelihoods of two million small producers in Mexico, who would be unable to compete with cheap U.S. imports. The impact of trade liberalisation is discussed in Neil Harvey, *The Chiapas Rebellion: The Struggle for Land and Democracy* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1998), pp. 178–83.

[51] On the Zapatista rejection of vanguardism see Hayden, p. 182 Some progress was made towards constitutional reform, and the San Andrés Accords were signed in February 1996 but subsequently violated by the Mexican government.

Bolsheviks and their Castro legatees in Latin America who had pursued the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and "state socialism." The Zapatista project was defined instead by a commitment to "peace with dignity," the practice of radical democracy, and the demand for "democracy, liberty, and justice."[52] This emphasis not only avoided a potentially catastrophic armed conflict with the Mexican state, but it also sidestepped the quest for ideological purity, dogmatic conformity, and divisive sectarianism that had long hobbled the region's leftist groups. The Zapatistas merged a politics of autonomy with practical calls for radical reform. They combined a radical revolutionary imaginary with concrete demands for constitutional reform, land, work, housing, food, and healthcare.

With the advent of new information technologies such as the internet, the Zapatista message spread rapidly amongst activist communities around the world. Solidarity groups, including networks of indigenous peoples and organizations, feminist groups, and human rights activists began to translate Zapatista communiqués and other materials and distribute them via UseNet newsgroups, PeaceNet conferences, and listservs.[53] One activist, Justin Paulson, established the website *¡Ya Basta!* to make information available via the internet.[54] Mass marches took place in San Francisco and New York, and international observers travelled to Chiapas. Zapatista solidarity in the U.S. and elsewhere built upon networks that had been established as part of earlier social justice and Central American solidarity campaigns. For example, one node of the network, the Denver Justice and Peace Committee (DJPC), was a grassroots organization founded in 1976 that had been involved in the Sanctuary movement and the Nestle boycott.[55] Peace groups sent aid caravans to deliver food and medicine to the

[52] It was from these indigenous traditions that the most radical concepts and mantras of the Zapatistas evolved: 'command obeying,' 'for everyone, everything; nothing for us,' 'we are all Marcos,' 'a revolution which makes the revolution possible.' *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*, ed. by John Holloway and Eloína Peláez (London: Pluto Press, 1998).

[53] This online infrastructure had already been developed during the struggle against NAFTA. Harry Cleaver, 'The Zapatistas and the Electronic Fabric of Struggle', in *Zapatista! Reinventing Revolution in Mexico*, ed. by John Holloway and Eloína Peláez (London: Pluto Press, 1998), pp. 81–103; Harry M. Cleaver, 'The Zapatista Effect: The Internet and the Rise of an Alternative Political Fabric', *Journal of International Affairs*, 51.2 (1998), 621–40.

[54] The World Wide Web was an innovation that was only just beginning to reach mainstream popularity in 1994. Justin Paulson, 'Peasant Struggles and International Solidarity: The Case of Chiapas', ed. by Leon Panitch and Colin Leys, *Socialist Register*, 37 (2001), 275–88.

[55] The Denver Justice and Peace Committee, 'Who We Are', *Denver Justice & Peace Committee* <http://denjustpeace.org/about/> [accessed 9 October 2021]; Adler, p. 59.

insurgents and Global Exchange established a permanent office in San Cristóbal de las Casas.[56] The media were fascinated by the figure of Subcomandante Marcos. A journalist for *Vanity Fair* described him as "Mexico's poet rebel."[57] Organisers in New York City invited Marcos to speak at a "Freeing the Media" teach-in that critiqued the corporate concentration of the media and called for the creation of new independent media networks.[58] The digital networks created from this moment of mobilization were a novel component of activist culture in the 1990s.[59]

The Zapatista's revolution was unusual in its simultaneous commitment to resistance at the local, national, and international level. In August 1995 they initiated a National Democratic Convention (NDC) at Aguascalientes (a meeting place in the Lacandon jungle) to provide a forum for the creation of a broad movement of democratization and national liberation. The practice of "consultation" was then extended beyond the boundaries of the nation in January 1996 with the "First Declaration of La Realidad for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism." This declaration was addressed to "the people of the world" and called for an "intercontinental *encuentro*" (encounter) against neoliberalism. In the declaration, the Zapatistas denounced neoliberalism as a "world crime," one that concentrated power, and immiserated the majority of the globe's population. They argued that neoliberalism not only marginalised indigenous peoples, women, gays and lesbians, people of colour, immigrants, workers, and peasants, but it presented them "for power, as disposable." In the eyes of the Zapatistas, neoliberalism was "a new world war" being waged by those agents of death, "the modern army of financial capital and corrupt governments."[60] In the "Second Declaration of La Realidad," delivered at

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[56] Not all of the interactions between Northern groups and the Zapatistas can be described as straightforward or unproblematic expressions of mutual solidarity. Abigail Andrews, 'Constructing Mutuality: The Zapatistas' Transformation of Transnational Activist Power Dynamics', *Latin American Politics and Society*, 52.1 (2010), 89–120.

[57] Ann Louise Bardach, 'Mexico's Poet Rebel', *Vanity Fair*, July 1994; Oliver Froehling, 'The Cyberspace "War of Ink and Internet" in Chiapas, Mexico', *Geographical Review*, 87.2 (1997), 291–307.

[58] Greg Ruggiero and Kate Duncan, 'On the Growing Free Media Movement', *Z Magazine*, 1 October 1997.

[59] The Zapatistas also helped to inspire the growth of "hacktivism," the use of electronic technology in novel ways, for political ends. One of the earliest instances of this type of activism using the World Wide Web was the FloodNet or "Swarm" project of the Electronic Disturbance Theatre (EDT). The EDT was a small hacktivism group founded in 1998 that coordinated a "virtual sit-in" of websites belonging to organizations – mostly banks and other financial institutions, but also the Mexican government – that were symbols of neoliberalism in Mexico and that were involved in repressing the Zapatistas. Tim Jordan and Paul Taylor, *Hacktivism and Cyberwars: Rebels with a Cause?* (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 69–74.

[60] *Zapatista Encuentro: Documents from the First Intercontinental Encounter for Humanity and Against Neoliberalism*, ed. by Gregg Ruggiero (New York: Seven Stories Press, 2002).

the closing of the *encuentro*, the EZLN called for the creation of "a collective network of all our particular struggles and resistances. An intercontinental network of resistance against neoliberalism, an intercontinental network of resistance for humanity." The Zapatistas created a framework for collective action that could be used to unite the widespread but disparate elements of resistance. Their commitment to the practice of radical democracy resonated with left traditions and horizontal forms of organizing that had arisen in the United States and elsewhere in the post-1960s era. They also provided a powerful symbol that broke the spell of defeatism that was felt deeply by the left in the wake of the end of the Cold War, the fall of the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, and the passage of NAFTA. In short, they rejuvenated the revolutionary imagination.[61]

As a result of the Zapatistas' second *encuetro*, peoples' movements from around the world – including Brazil's Landless Worker's Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra, MST) and India's Karnataka State Farmers' Association (Karnataka Rajya Raitha Sangha, KRRS), as well as anti-dam activists (discussed in Chapters 1 and 4) – met in Geneva in February 1998 to establish "a global instrument for communication and coordination for all those fighting against the destruction of humanity and the planet by the global market, building local alternatives and peoples' power." This new platform, known as Peoples' Global Action, was founded upon four principles: 1) a rejection of corporate-controlled multilateral institutions; 2) a confrontational attitude, since lobbying would only be ineffective within such undemocratic institutions; 3) a commitment to nonviolent disobedience; and 4) an organizational philosophy based on decentralization and autonomy. For the PGA, trade agreements were merely the latest tools employed by global capital and corporate lobbyists to accumulate wealth and accelerate the domination and dispossession of the masses. The PGA manifesto identified neoliberal globalization with the exploitation of labour and the destruction of traditional livelihoods, gender and sexual oppression, the oppression of indigenous peoples and minority ethnic groups, the degradation of the environment, the

[61] Thomas Olesen, 'Globalising the Zapatistas: From Third World Solidarity to Global Solidarity?', *Third World Quarterly*, 25.1 (2004), 255–67; Thomas Olesen, 'Mixing Scales: Neoliberalism and the Transnational Zapatista Solidarity Network', *Humboldt Journal of Social Relations*, 29.1 (2005), 84–126; Thomas Olesen, *International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization* (London: Zed Books, 2005); Review by David Graeber, 'International Zapatismo: The Construction of Solidarity in the Age of Globalization', *NACLA Report on the Americas*, 39.05 (2006), 41–43.

homogenisation of culture, militarism, racism, and the abusive treatment of immigrants. In resistance to transnational capitalism, the PGA sought to "invent new forms of struggle and solidarity."[62]

Two practices were crucial to the construction of transnational solidarity networks. First, following the example of the Zapatistas, activists used the internet to disseminate information and share resources through email lists and websites and to reconnect regional hubs. Second, they organised the Inter-Continental Caravan for Solidarity and Resistance, bringing hundreds of activists from the Global South on tours of cities in the Global North. The caravans were a means to bring together diverse social movements to share information and analysis, and to identify common targets.[63]

The horizontal forms of solidarity being promoted by the PGA were clearly in alignment with the anticapitalist direct action movement in the United States and elsewhere in the Global North. PGA put out the call for a "Global Day of Action" to coincide with the G8 meeting in Birmingham and the WTO's Second Ministerial meeting in Geneva in May 1998 (M16). This was followed by a second Global Day of Action in June 1999 (J18), which was called to coincide with the G8 meeting in Cologne. During this action, Reclaim the Streets held a "Carnival against Capital" in the City of London, modelled on the earlier "Stop the City" protests of the 1980s.[64] Activists produced a spoof edition of the *Evening Standard* ("Evading Standards"), complete with a cover story authored by "Watt Tyler" and "Emma Goldman" on the East Asian Financial Crisis. Inside, readers were warned that, "It's clearly not in the interests of the powerful to tell us that the many crises of the late twentieth century are the results of the

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[62] 'Peoples' Global Action against "Free" Trade and World Trade Organization' c. 1999. Global Social and Political Developments Collection, COLL00241, Inventory Number 4, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[63] The PGA established regional networks in Latin America, Europe, North America, and Asia. The internet was a valuable organizing tool, but grassroots movements in the Global South had uneven access to electricity and internet access. Language represented another barrier to communication between different groups. It was therefore necessary for the diffusion of information and exchange to be supplemented by other place-specific and movement-specific means of communication. Paul Routledge and Andrew Cumbers have suggested that the caravans drew on the historical precedent of U.S. activist solidarity convoys to Central America in the 1980s (p. 108). Paul Routledge and Andrew Cumbers, *Global Justice Networks: Geographies of Transnational Solidarity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 103–38; David Featherstone, 'Spatialities of Transnational Resistance to Globalization: The Maps of Grievance of the Inter-Continental Caravan', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 28.4 (2003), 404–21.

[64] 'Norman', 'Stopping The City', 1999, J18 Collection, 56a Infoshop.

same policies, that they are all reactions to an economic system that puts profit, growth and the 'free' market above anything else."[65] The newly converging movement adopted the slogan "our resistance is as transnational as capital" (see Figure 3) a claim that was increasingly becoming a reality. The J18 website broadcast live footage from London and Australia to the world.[66] In parallel to the RTS events in London, 10,000 people took to the streets of Port Harcourt as part of a "Carnival of the Oppressed" to protest the devastation of the Nigerian Delta by oil giant Shell, and the execution of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other activists by the Nigerian military dictatorship.[67] Actions took place in forty different countries, from Brazil to Nepal, to Zimbabwe, with a total of 58 mobilizations across 54 cities.[68]

Housing, Healthcare, and Public Space

Within the United States, the hegemony of neoliberal ideas at the level of national policy formation had channelled opposition to the state and local level. The "new social movements" and urban community activism that had grown out of the New Left helped to sustain local grassroots campaigns that opposed state budget cuts, advocated for marginalised communities, or supported municipal living wage ordinances (as described in Chapter 3).[69] White flight, deindustrialization, and fiscal austerity created conditions of

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[65] 'Evading Standards,' 18 June 1999. Special Edition. Spoof edition of newspaper *Evening Standard*. 1999. Reclaim the Streets Movement Collection, COLL00097, Inventory Number 1, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam. <https://hdl.handle.net/10622/COLL00097.1> [accessed 19 July 2021].

[66] 'June 18th 1999: A Day of Protest, Action and Carnival in Financial Centres Across the Globe.' Leaflet. J18 and Anti-Globalisation Collection, MayDay Rooms Archive, London.; Katherine Ainger, 'A Global Carnival of the Dispossessed', in *The Battle of Seattle: The New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization*, ed. by Eddie Yuen, George Katsiaficas, and Daniel Burton Rose (New York, NY: Soft Skull Press, 2001), pp. 77–79; John Jordan, 'Our Resistance Is as Transnational as Capital', in *Globalize Liberation: How to Uproot the System and Build a Better World*, ed. by David Solnit (San Francisco, CA: City Lights Books, 2004), pp. 9–16.

[67] Owens Wiwa, 'Carnival of the Oppressed: Resisting the Oil Occupation of the Niger Delta', in *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*, ed. by Notes from Nowhere (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 196–201; For background on structural adjustment in Nigeria under the military dictatorship, Shell's involvement in the country, and the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP) see Toyin Falola and Matthew M. Heaton, *A History of Nigeria* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); Klein, *No Logo*, pp. 379–87; Laurence Cox and Ken Saro-Wiwa, 'Ken Saro-Wiwa in Political Context: Social Movements in the Niger Delta', in *Silence Would Be Treason: Last Writings of Ken Saro-Wiwa*, ed. by Íde Corley, Helen Fallon, and Laurence Cox, New Edition (Nairobi, Kenya: Daraja Press, 2017), pp. 42–52; Roy Doron and Toyin Falola, *Ken Saro-Wiwa* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2016).

[68] Notes from Nowhere, p. 185; Lesley J. Wood, 'Taking to the Streets Against Neoliberalism: Global Days of Action and Other Strategies', in *Transforming Globalization: Challenges and Opportunities in the Post 9/11 Era*, ed. by Bruce Podobnik and Thomas Reifer (Leiden, Netherlands: Brill, 2005), p. 75.

[69] As William Sites argues, there are certain methodological difficulties in determining how far discrete urban struggles may be categorised as explicitly 'anti-neoliberal.' Many community organisations were founded before the neoliberal turn in urban governance, others emerged during the neoliberal era but in response to

unemployment, insecurity, and poverty that fuelled local struggles in major American cities.[70] In this context, community organizations like ACORN (discussed in the Introduction and in Chapter 3 in relation to Living Wage campaigns) turned to squatting as a way of reclaiming vacant buildings to house the homeless. The growth of post-industrial sectors such as finance, insurance, real estate, and information technology reversed the flow of capital back into cities like New York, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, exacerbating pre-existing inequalities and social tensions in them. In New York, Tompkins Square Park in the East Village became a gathering place for the homeless as well as for residents during the long summer evenings. However, when wealthier people began to move in, a curfew was imposed on the park. The curfew in turn prompted demonstrations, and on 8 August 1988, these escalated into a battle between police and protestors that raged until 4 a.m. the following morning. The Tompkins Square riots were a sign that gentrification was a new terrain of struggle in the neoliberal era.[71]

The Reagan administration's policies had deepened the housing crisis by cutting government support for low-income housing and precipitated the growth of a movement of the homeless and their allies. In October 1989 250,000 people gathered in Washington D.C. for a rally to demand federal action.[72] The recession years of the early 1990s saw the rise of Homes Not

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specific local conditions. However, many groups did adjust their organising strategies in response to the evolving political terrain that shaped urban policy making. As is argued here, some groups developed an analysis that explicitly identified and opposed neoliberal ideological frameworks. William Sites, 'Contesting the Neoliberal City?: Theories of Neoliberalism and Urban Strategies of Contention', in *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, ed. by Helga Leitner, Jamie Peck, and Eric S. Sheppard (New York: Guilford Press, 2006), pp. 116–38.

[70] Kim Phillips-Fein, *Fear City: New York's Fiscal Crisis and the Rise of Austerity Politics* (New York: Metropolitan Books, 2017); 'The Politics of Austerity: The Moral Economy in 1970s New York', in *Neoliberal Cities: The Remaking of Postwar Urban America*, ed. by Andrew J. Diamond, Thomas J. Sugrue, and Kim Phillips-Fein (New York: New York University Press, 2020).

[71] C. Carr, 'Night Clubbing: Reports From the Tompkins Square Riots', *The Village Voice*, 16 August 1988, pp. 1, 10, 17; Michael S. Foley, *Front Porch Politics: The Forgotten Heyday of American Activism in the 1970s and 1980s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2013), pp. 256–57; The squatters movement of the 1980s fed into the establishment of a radical political milieu in New York's Lower East Side in the early and mid-1990s. Alan W. Moore, 'ABC No Rio as an Anarchist Space', in *Radical Gotham: Anarchism in New York City from Schwab's Saloon to Occupy Wall Street*, ed. by Tom Goyens (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2017), pp. 201–20; For contrasting accounts of this process see Christopher Mele, *Selling the Lower East Side: Culture, Real Estate, and Resistance in New York City* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2000) and; Richard Florida, *The Rise of the Creative Class* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) Gentrification, and political responses to gentrification, were not uniform. Attention should be paid to the shifting political economy that shaped the historical process of gentrification in different locations at different times.

[72] Michael S. Foley, pp. 233–79.

Jails, a sister organization to Food Not Bombs, in San Francisco. Between 1992 and 1998 Homes Not Jails opened hundreds of homes for occupation and used banner drops and other public actions to push the city to address the homelessness crisis.[73] In Philadelphia, the Kensington Welfare Rights Union (KWRU) used civil disobedience, public demonstrations, and the setting up of tent cities to protest cuts in social services and welfare in Pennsylvania and the country as a whole.[74] Reagan and Bush's indifference and inaction in relation to the AIDS crisis, together with their bowing to the prejudices of the religious right, also strengthened alliances between groups such as the AIDS Coalition To Unleash Power (ACT UP) and Women's Health Action and Mobilization! (WHAM!) that advocated for universal healthcare, public housing, and other public services.[75]

In New York, a recession in the late 1980s and early 1990s reminded some observers of the 1975 fiscal crisis. Democratic mayor David Dinkins was under pressure to balance the city's budget, and his failure to do so provided an opening for Republican candidate Rudolph Giuliani to edge ahead of him in the 1993 election. Giuliani promised to eliminate the deficit and crack down on crime. He proposed to reduce the overall size of the city government, reduce taxes, sell off city assets, and curb alleged "welfare fraud." With the exception of the police force and capital spending, the city's budget was to be drastically reduced.[76]

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[73] Hannah Dobbz, *Nine-Tenths of the Law: Property and Resistance in the United States* (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2012), p. 105; Parson, pp. 99–118.

[74] The KWRU grew out of the welfare rights movement of the 1960s. In some cases, the links were direct. For example, Roxanne Jones was a leader of the National Welfare Rights Organization and went on to work with the KWRU in the 1990s whilst she served in the Pennsylvania state senate. Premilla Nadasen, *Welfare Warriors: The Welfare Rights Movement in the United States* (New York: Routledge, 2005), p. 240; Diana Zoelle and Jyl J. Josephson, 'Making Democratic Space for Poor People: The Kensington Welfare Rights Union', in *Charting Transnational Democracy: Beyond Global Arrogance*, ed. by Janie Leatherman and Julie A. Webber (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[75] Tamar W. Carroll, *Mobilizing New York: AIDS, Antipoverty, and Feminist Activism* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2015); Many of these activists embraced militant direct action and were opposed not only to the Republicans' domestic policy but also their foreign policy in Central America and the Persian Gulf. Emily K. Hobson, *Lavender and Red: Liberation and Solidarity in the Gay and Lesbian Left* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2016), pp. 155–85; Benita Roth, *The Life and Death of ACT UP/LA: Anti-AIDS Activism in Los Angeles from the 1980s to the 2000s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017); In 1991 ACT UP joined a progressive coalition that worked to make single-payer health care a central issue within the Democratic Party. Melinda Cooper, *Family Values: Between Neoliberalism and the New Social Conservatism* (New York: Zone Books, 2017), p. 209.

[76] Fred Siegel, *The Prince of the City: Giuliani, New York and the Genius of American Life* (San Francisco, CA: Encounter Books, 2005), pp. 110–19.

Public education was one of the hardest hit services in New York.[77] In March 1995, students at the City University of New York (CUNY) formed a "Coalition Against the Cuts" to fight tuition fee increases and budget cuts planned by New York's Republican governor, George Pataki. The coalition organised a "Shut the City Down" march of 25,000 people to City Hall Park (Figure 4).[78] Protestors were met by police in riot gear and at least 60 people were arrested, including one faculty Chair from City College. The action received favourable coverage on the front page of the *New York Times* and forced Pataki to modify his budget proposals.[79] Following the demonstration, participants formally organised the Student Liberation Action Movement (SLAM!) not only to oppose the gutting of public education but also to advance a radical alternative vision for a democratically controlled university (Figure 5).

Many organizations in the 1990s were small and single-issue but activists were beginning to draw the connections between a wide range of social problems that resulted from neoliberal policies. Thus, in April 1995 SLAM! formed an alliance with other activists working on homelessness, AIDS, disability, and police brutality. They set out to restrict access to Manhattan to protest the myriad effects of Giuliani's policies. Four major access points to the city – Brooklyn Bridge, Manhattan Bridge, the Brooklyn Battery Tunnel, and the Queens Midtown Tunnel – were targeted with blockades and die-ins. Underpinning their action was the recognition that budget cuts could easily position marginalised groups against one another, and that the best strategy of opposition was to present a united front. In New York, people of colour were leading these actions at a time when the national environmental and peace movements had yet to confront questions of race in any meaningful way.[80]

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[77] On the evolution of urban neoliberalism in New York more generally see Kim Moody, *From Welfare State to Real Estate: Regime Change in New York City, 1974 to the Present* (New York: New Press, 2007).
[78] Suzy Subways, 'SLAM! Herstory Project', *SLAM! Herstory Project* <https://slamherstory.wordpress.com/> [accessed 5 December 2021].
[79] 'Shut the City Down!', Coalition Press c. 1995, CUNY Coalition Against the Cuts, 12 Pages, CUNY Digital History Archive, accessed December 6, 2021, https://cdha.cuny.edu/items/show/1271.; Maria Newman, 'Students Leave Classes to Rally Against Budget', *The New York Times*, 24 March 1995, CUNY Digital History Archive, accessed December 7, 2021, https://cdha.cuny.edu/items/show/491.
[80] Hsiao, Andrew and Houppert, Karen, 'Birth of a Movement? Behind the Rush Hour Revolt', *The Village Voice*, 9 May 1995, CUNY Digital History Archive, accessed December 6, 2021, https://cdha.cuny.edu/items/show/2281.; Esther Kaplan, 'This City Is Ours', in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 41–51.

The effort to shrink public university budgets was part of a broader governing agenda that was pro-business, anti-welfare, and morally conservative.[81] Neoliberal think tanks such as the Manhattan Institute (which had financed the publication of Charles Murray's book *Losing Ground* in the 1980s) encouraged attacks on the "undeserving" poor for their alleged moral dysfunction and dependency.[82] Pataki packed the boards of academic institutions with reliable allies who supported the aim of fiscal retrenchment and were prepared to use "culture wars" tactics to undermine and discredit public education.[83] At the same time, New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani launched a crackdown on adult entertainment venues as part of a "quality of life" campaign.[84] Activists formed the group SexPanic! to question exactly whose "quality of life" was being improved. The areas affected by Giuliani's zoning laws had long constituted a subcultural centre for the city's LGBTQ community, but they were now being sanitised to please real estate developers and big box chains like Disney that wanted to move into Times Square.[85]

The shrinking of public space manifested itself in the city's decision to auction off community gardens to private developers. In a sign of the convergence of the local and the global, one of those gardens had been dedicated to the memory of Brazilian environmentalist Chico Mendes (See Chapter 1). Angry locals accused the Mayor of being in the pocket of real estate mogul

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[81] On the relationship between the 'new social conservatism' and neoliberalism see Cooper.

[82] Alice O'Connor, 'The Privatized City: The Manhattan Institute, the Urban Crisis, and the Conservative Counterrevolution in New York', *Journal of Urban History*, 34.2 (2008), 333–53; Daniel Stedman Jones, *Masters of the Universe: Hayek, Friedman, and the Birth of Neoliberal Politics* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 167; Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor: America's Enduring Confrontation with Poverty*, Second Edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 177.

[83] At the State University of New York (SUNY) the object of conservative outrage was a conference sponsored by the Women's Studies Program called 'Revolting Behaviour: The Challenges of Women's Sexual Freedom.' Lisa Duggan, *The Twilight Of Equality: Neoliberalism, Cultural Politics, and the Attack on Democracy* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), pp. 22–42.

[84] For an inside account of the influence of the Manhattan Institute on Giuliani's political agenda in the lead up to the 1993 Mayoral election see Siegel, pp. 57-66. As Siegel's account makes clear, the early 1990s saw a convergence of Republican and Democrat thinking about neoliberal urban governance. David Osborne, a key intellectual influence on then Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, attended events at the Manhattan Institute in early 1992 to promote his book *Reinventing Government*. David Osborne and Ted Gaebler, *Reinventing Government: How the Entrepreneurial Spirit Is Transforming the Public Sector* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1992).

[85] Samuel R. Delany, *Times Square Red, Times Square Blue* (New York: New York University Press, 1999); In his analysis of the conflict, queer theorist Michael Warner observed, "One of the hallmarks of 1990s politics is a tendency to see the state as responsible for ensuring the expansion of market capital, rather than a check to the market. So we hear more about 'public/private partnerships,' and less about the rights of citizens who don't happen to be corporations." Michael Warner, *The Trouble with Normal: Sex, Politics, and the Ethics of Queer Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999), pp. 161–62.

Donald Capoccia.[86] The subsequent fight to protect the gardens brought community groups together with activists from ACT UP, SexPanic!, WHAM!, Earth First! and the Lower East Side Collective (LESC). The first Reclaim the Streets action in New York, held in October 1998, was organised by LESC activists to protest Giuliani's campaign to privatize public space.[87]

Alliances and Tensions

Whilst urban community groups were staging battles to protect public services, public spaces, and public health, environmentalists continued their fight to protect the ancient redwoods in California's Humboldt County. Although ideologically diverse, radical environmentalism in the U.S. increasingly gravitated towards a social justice framework. During the 1990 Redwood Summer campaign, union organiser and feminist Judi Bari persuaded Earth First! to abandon the controversial practice of "tree-spiking" and ally with community groups and workers within the timber industry instead. In 1989, Bari had joined Local 1 of the International Workers of the World (IWW or "Wobblies") with the aim to provide "support for timber workers who are fighting their employers' destruction of forests, jobs, and working conditions."[88] Bari challenged the archetypal framing of the Earth First! activist as a "big man goes into big wilderness to save big trees." She argued that effective campaigns required a long-term community-based organising strategy, rooted in a "common interest against the big corporations." Such thinking dovetailed with the broader anti-corporate politics that was finding expression in other activist circles in the 1990s.[89] Under Bari's influence, the progressive faction of Earth First! developed a social agenda for the group and ousted co-

[86] Green Army and Tierras Verdes, 'Mayor Money Bag$: The Flow of Corruption', Flyer. n.d. Mendez Mural Community Garden Collection, MSS 100. Box 2, Folder 7. Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.
[87] Brad Will, 'Cultivating Hope: The Community Gardens of New York City', in *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*, ed. by Notes from Nowhere (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 134–39; Benjamin Shepard, *Play, Creativity, and Social Movements: If I Can't Dance, It's Not My Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2011), pp. 77–166; Stephen Duncombe, *Dream: Re-Imagining Progressive Politics in an Age of Fantasy* (New York: The New Press, 2007), p. 67.
[88] Judi Bari, 'Minutes of the Founding Meeting of IWW Local #1', *Industrial Workers of the World*, 1989 <https://archive.iww.org/history/library/Bari/Local111-19-1989/> [accessed 1 October 2021].
[89] Judi Bari, 'The Feminization of Earth First!', in *Timber Wars* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 1994), pp. 219–25.

founder Dave Foreman and other conservative leaders, who had at times expressed opinions that were not that distant from those of the extreme right.[90]

The campaign for the preservation of California's North Coast ancient redwoods brought radical environmentalism closer to mainstream political consciousness; the bombing of Bari's car in May 1990 was a sensational story that the national media could not ignore. The campaign also grew more organised. The confrontational direct action techniques adopted by Earth First! delayed loggers and generated media interest, while local groups such as the Environmental Protection Information Center (EPIC) filed lawsuits; mainstream environmental groups such as the Sierra Club, meanwhile, lobbied legislators. Coordinated action by these activists ultimately prompted presidential intervention in 1996 and the conclusion of a compromise deal in 1999.[91]

The Redwoods Wars of the 1990s also led to the development of new tools for engaging in direct action. The most important innovation was the use of more sophisticated lockdown devices, such as "sleeping dragons" that allowed activists to use their own bodies to effectively blockade protest sites.[92] Although the courts had become a key site of struggle for forest defenders, the power and influence of extractive industries meant that these fights were never evenly balanced. Legal processes were too slow to prevent illegal logging activity, and court fines for such behaviour were rarely severe enough to provide a financial disincentive to break the law. This became clear following the Republican surge in the 1994 midterm elections. Western Republicans, backed by logging industry interests, were emboldened by this political victory to take advantage of extensive fires on federal lands that occurred in that year. In 1995 Congress passed an amendment to a popular budget bill that would suspend environmental laws that activists used to check logging on federal land in Washington and Oregon. Clinton provided some symbolic resistance to this plan because he

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[90] Robert Gottlieb, *Forcing the Spring: The Transformation of the American Environmental Movement* (Washington, DC: Island Press, 1993), pp. 255–62; Jeffrey Shantz, 'Judi Bari and "The Feminization of Earth First!": The Convergence of Class, Gender and Radical Environmentalism', *Feminist Review*, 70, 2002, 105–22; Keith Makoto Woodhouse, *The Ecocentrists: A History of Radical Environmentalism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), pp. 183–234.

[91] The terms of the compromise remained controversial amongst radical and grassroots activists. Darren Frederick Speece, *Defending Giants: The Redwood Wars and the Transformation of American Environmental Politics* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2016).

[92] L. A. Kauffman, pp. 139–42.

was courting the green vote for his re-election campaign, but he eventually gave way and signed the so-called "Salvage Rider" law in July.[93]

Environmentalists recognised that the only way to stop further destruction of the forests was to put their bodies on the line. Movement veterans Mike Roselle and Twilly Cannon decided to hold a "Forest Education Camp" to train young activists in the necessary techniques, and the Ruckus Society was formed out of this effort. They were joined by other veterans such as John Sellers, a former director at Greenpeace, who later described the group as "a strategic and tactical clearing-house and support network" for direct action movements.[94] In November 1996 the group held a "coming-out party" by hanging a giant banner denouncing timber magnate Charles Hurwitz from the Golden Gate Bridge.[95]

Hurwitz was the head of the Houston-based Maxxam Corporation, whose purchase of the family-run Pacific Lumber Company in 1985 was financed by "junk bond king" Michael Milken. To repay the debt incurred by this takeover, Hurwitz planned to dramatically intensify the extraction of timber from the Headwaters Forest. Once the logs had been extracted, "planned burnings" would be used to clear the area, and fast-growing tree species such as Douglas-fir would be planted to create dense monoculture forests. Environmentalists were appalled not only by the wholesale destruction of a uniquely diverse natural habitat, but also by the threat that this posed to the survival of several native species, including the Northern Spotted Owl, the Marbled Murrelet, and the Coho Salmon, whose survival ought to have been guaranteed by the 1973 Endangered Species Act. The human consequences were also significant. Environmentalists argued that local communities would be better served by sustainable forestry rather than clearcutting, as the former would make timber industry jobs viable long term. Clearcutting would not only destroy the old growth redwoods, but it would also disrupt the natural processes that maintained the forest ecosystem. The redwood trees played an important role in absorbing excess rainfall, distributing water, and maintaining the fertility

[93] Timothy Egan, 'As Logging Returns, Recrimination on Why', *The New York Times*, 5 December 1995, section A, p. 16.
[94] John Sellers, 'Raising a Ruckus', *New Left Review*, 10 (2001) <https://newleftreview.org/issues/II10/articles/john-sellers-raising-a-ruckus> [accessed 15 August 2019].
[95] Mike Roselle, *Tree Spiker: From Earth First! To Lowbagging: My Struggles in Radical Environmental Action* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009), pp. 199–219; Michael Donnelly, 'Gaian Hero Twilly Cannon and the Origins of the Ruckus Society', *CounterPunch*, 4 April 2016.

and integrity of the soil. Mountainsides lacking such vegetation were vulnerable to erosion of topsoil. A dramatic illustration of these dangers occurred in the early morning of 31 December 1996, when the homes of seven families living in the small hillside community of Stafford were swept away by a mudslide caused by heavy rains. No lives were lost that day, but the dispossessed families argued that their way of life had been destroyed by clear-cutting timber practices on the slopes above the town.

As struggles over the forest escalated, local authorities attempted to criminalize environmental activism. By 1997, the limitations placed on legal strategies increasingly pushed activists towards direct action to halt road construction. During their Cove Mallard campaign in rural Idaho, Earth First!ers began to dig up roads, construct blockades, and undertake tree-sits.[96] The latter technique also proved to be critical to the California campaign when in December of that year a young woman named Julia Hill ascended a two hundred foot tall redwood known by activists as "Luna." New to environmental activism, Hill was motivated by a deep spiritual and moral conviction that Pacific Lumber's cutting practices were wrong. Her religious upbringing had instilled in her a profound tenacity and self-discipline. Braving risks to her physical safety, intimidation by company security, and extreme weather that resulted in her suffering from frostbite, Hill began to attract media interest when she reached a hundred days of tree-sitting. By the time she ended her tree-sit in December 1999, 738 days after her initial occupation, she had become an international celebrity.[97] The Headlands campaign and Hill's tree-sit effort persuaded Pacific Lumber to sign an agreement protecting Luna and the surrounding area, making it a milestone victory for the environmental movement.

Meanwhile, Earth First! activists and unionists had joined hands in 1998 to "End Corporate Dominance" in the timber industry.[98] Mike Yaegar, a rank-and-file member of United Steelworkers of America (USWA), had reached out to Darryl Cherney, a member of Earth First!

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[96] Roselle, p. 172.
[97] Julia Butterfly Hill, *The Legacy of Luna: The Story of a Tree, a Woman, and the Struggle to Save the Redwoods* (San Francisco, CA: Harper San Francisco, 2000).
[98] Austin Earth First! 1996, 'End Corporate Dominance!', Earth First! Movement Writings Collection, Multimedia Library, Environment & Society Portal. Rachel Carson Center. Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich. [Hereafter cited as Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.]; Wall, p. 171.

and the administrator of a website called "Jail Hurwitz." Yaeger had recognised that the environmentalists and the steelworkers had a common enemy, Maxxam corporation, which had also bought Kaiser Aluminium and forced workers there to accept pay cuts to ensure the long-term viability of their jobs during a period in which steel prices were being forced down by fluctuations on the international market. When prices began to rise, Maxxam began again to make large profits and refused to share them with its workforce. When 3,000 steelworkers went on strike, Maxxam locked them out, replacing them with subcontractors. These strikebreakers had themselves been laid off by Pacific Lumber when its license was temporarily revoked by the California Department of Forestry for violating the Forest Practices Act.[99] Cherney and Yaeger began organising meetings and solidarity events involving Earth First!ers and steelworkers. In November Cherney travelled to Spokane to attend union meetings and pickets to establish a rapport with the workers. Environmentalists also joined with USWA workers, Wobblies, and members of ILWU Local 23 members to shut down Tacoma Port and prevent the delivery of raw alumina to the Kaiser factory in the area. Earth First! activists hung a banner from the 200-foot ore crane that read "Hurwitz cuts jobs just like he cuts trees."[100] This agitation continued over the next two years, in California and then in Texas, when Steelworkers joined environmentalists in Houston for a series of marches, roadshows, and media events outside the federal courthouse during Hurwitz's trial for his alleged mismanagement of the United Savings Association of Texas.[101] For the protestors, Hurwitz was a greedy corporate baron, and the person most responsible for destroying their savings, homes, livelihoods, and the natural resources that they depended upon for their survival (see Figure 6).

The informal coalition arrayed against Hurwitz and Maxxam became institutionalised in May 1999 with the founding of the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment. The new

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[99] Hill, pp. 176–81.

[100] 'Striking Kaiser Workers Close Docks', pp. 6–7, *The Dispatcher*, Vol. 56, No. 10, November 1998. International Longshore and Warehouse Union Archives. <https://archive.ilwu.org/>. [Hereafter cited as ILWU Archives].; Wreckin' Ball, '"Union/Eco Alliance Costs Hurwitz Half a Mil" in Maenz, Kris, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, 3 (1 February 1999), 10.', Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.

[101] 'Steelworkers/Headwaters Activist Alliance, Report from Darryl Cherney', Carton 2, Folder 15, Earth Island Institute Records, BANC MSS 2009/129, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. [Hereafter cited as Earth Island Institute Records].; Darryl Cherney, 'Workers Strike Maxxam', Rubenstein, Michael, et al., eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, no. 2 (21 December 1998), 17. Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; 'Workers, Environmentalists Protest Hurwitz', *Houston Chronicle*, 17 February 1999, p. 3C.

organisation was in part the brainchild of David Foster, director of District 11 of the USWA, together with environmental "Archdruid" David Brower. Together they arranged for a full-page advert in the *New York Times*, asking groups to sign up to the "Houston Principles," a manifesto that took aim at corporate globalization and the trade agreements that were eroding environmental and labour protections (see Figure 7).[102] The involvement of Brower's Earth Island Institute (EII) ensured that the Alliance would attract significant interest within the movement. Almost 200 organizations soon joined, including Friends of the Earth, the Sierra Club, RAN, the Teamsters, and the American Federation of State Employees, and in August they put together a planning committee for the WTO meetings.[103]

The labour-environmental alliance signified the growing convergence of a wide range of social movements around a common agenda. Activists who had earlier focused their energies on single issue campaigns were increasingly recognising common foes, attempting to bridge social divisions, and working in coalition.[104] For example, throughout the 1990s, leftists were involved in various campaigns against nuclear testing and extractive industries, which brought them into the orbit of indigenous peoples who were defending their treaty rights and way of life across the Americas. In 1990, the mobilization of the Mohawk nation in Kanehsatake (Oka, Quebec) to defend their land against development was a major catalyst for the radicalisation of Canadian activists.[105] In October 1992 representatives of the Western Shoshone nation

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[102] 'Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment', Carton 2, Folder 15, Earth Island Institute Records.
[103] 'Planning Meeting, Friday August 27 - Monday August 30', 1999. Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment. Carton 2, Folder 15, Earth Island Institute Records.
[104] The development of an environmental justice movement that bridged the divide between indigenous and non-indigenous activists, although not without its setbacks and limitations, was a major departure from the environmentalism of earlier decades. The 'preservationist' movement in the United States, and its attachment to 'wilderness' was inextricably intwined with white supremacy, the dispossession of native peoples, and the myth of the 'vanishing Indian.' Countercultural environmentalists of the 1970s, especially those who became interested in New Age spiritualism, often appropriated native cultures and perpetuated racist stereotypes. In the 1980s and 1990s, some of the big environmental groups had also taken positions that were at odds with the interests and rights of certain indigenous peoples. Dina Gilio-Whitaker, *As Long as Grass Grows: The Indigenous Fight for Environmental Justice from Colonization to Standing Rock* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2019), pp. 99–119; Finis Dunaway, 'Gas Masks, Pogo, and the Ecological Indian: Earth Day and the Visual Politics of American Environmentalism', *American Quarterly*, 60.1 (2008), 67–99; The struggles against extractive industries, internationally in the 1980s, and within the United States in the 1990s, laid the groundwork for future organising. Nick Estes, *Our History Is the Future: Standing Rock Versus the Dakota Access Pipeline, and the Long Tradition of Indigenous Resistance* (London: Verso, 2019).
[105] Lesley J. Wood, interview with author, 2022; For background see Gerald R. Alfred, *Heeding the Voices of Our Ancestors: Kahnawake Mohawk Politics and the Rise of Native Nationalism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995); Linda Pertusati, 'The 1990 Mohawk-Oka Conflict: The Importance of Culture In Social Movement Mobilization', *Race, Gender & Class*, 3.3 (1996), 89–105.

were joined by peace activists in several days of ceremonies at the Nevada Test Site to mark 500 years of resistance to settler and nuclear colonialism.[106] In northeast Wisconsin, Earth First! activists joined with the Sokaogon Chippewa to oppose plans made by the Exxon subsidiary Crandon Mining Company to construct a huge metallic sulphide mine near the headwaters of the Wolf River. Unionists and the state AFL-CIO also came out in opposition to the mine in recognition of environmentalists' support for workers across the Midwest during the labour struggles of the early 1990s.[107] In Minneapolis, Earth First! activists, inspired by British anti-road protestors, blocked the rerouting of a highway through Minnehaha Park and established an autonomous zone they called the Minnehaha Free State. They were joined in this fight by members of the Mendota Mdewakanton Dakota, the Indigenous Environmental Network, and the American Indian Movement, as well as the NAACP.[108]

These campaigns illustrate the transformation of Earth First! from an organization dedicated to wilderness preservation and biocentrism to one concerned as well with social and environmental justice. Discussions of race, gender, and class increasingly populated the movement's journal. One thoughtful contributor argued that the close link between modern capitalism and cities meant that those who wanted to dismantle capitalism had to attend to

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[106] Rebecca Solnit, *Savage Dreams: A Journey into the Hidden Wars of the American West*, 20th Anniversary Edition (Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2014); Ken Butigan, *Pilgrimage Through a Burning World: Spiritual Practice and Nonviolent Protest at the Nevada Test Site* (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 2003), pp. 76–77; At the same time the Western Shoshone were constructing transnational alliances with Kazakh anti-nuclear activists in the Soviet Union. George Gregory Rozsa, 'The Nevada Movement: A Model of Trans-Indigenous Antinuclear Solidarity', *Journal of Transnational American Studies*, 11.2 (2020), 99–123.

[107] Ben Manski, 'Wisconsin Resistance to Exxon Mining', *Rossell, Matt, et al., (Eds)., Earth First! Journal, 16, 1 (1 November 1995), 8.*, p. 8, Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; On these labour struggles and their connection to economic restructuring see Stephen Franklin, *Three Strikes: Labor's Heartland Losses and What They Mean for Working Americans* (New York: The Guilford Press, 2001); Steven K. Ashby and C. J. Hawking, *Staley: The Fight for a New American Labor Movement* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2009); On Exxon and the Crandon mine see Al Gedicks, *The New Resource Wars: Native and Environmental Struggles Against Multinational Corporations* (Bostom, MA: South End Press, 1993); Al Gedicks, 'International Native Resistance to the New Resource Wars', in *Ecological Resistance Movements: The Global Emergence of Radical and Popular Environmentalism*, ed. by Bron Taylor (Albany, NY: State University of New York Press, 1995), pp. 89–108 (pp. 103–6).

[108] Bob Greenberg, 'Minnehaha Free State Declared', *Rtkintz, John Bowling, Josh Laughlin, Gigi Gee, Jim Bowler, Eds., Earth First! Journal, 18, 8 (22 September 1998), 6-7.*, Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; Patchouli, 'Minnehaha Under Siege', Jensen, Kurt, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, 1 (1 November 1998), 1, 25., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; Bob Greenberg and Solstice, '68 Arrested at the Highway 55 Reroute', Maenz, Kris, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, No. 8 (21 September 1999), 7., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; For a full account of this struggle see Mary Losure, *Our Way or the Highway: Inside the Minnehaha Free State* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

urban constituencies. Errol Schweizer argued that "if the tree-dwellers get together with their urban counterparts and start shaking the system at its core, more things may change. The cities are not going away, so we'll just have to reclaim them. EF! will become a real threat to the system when it hits the streets as well as the forests."[109]

The movement's journal also covered international events, such as the Ogoni people's mobilization against Shell in Nigeria and Green Belt Movement actions in Kenya.[110] Activists could access first-hand accounts by American participants in the Zapatista's first *encuentro*, follow the McLibel trial in Britain, and read reports by spokespeople from India's National Alliance of Peoples Movements.[111] The journal also placed images of the Global Days of Action, organised by Reclaim The Streets and People's Global Action in May 1998 and June 1999 (M16 and J18), on its front page. The masked protestors, dancing, and music present at these events provided a model of what a large-scale protest against neoliberal globalization might look like.[112]

A resurgence of diverse anarchist organising initiatives formed another wellspring of political action in the 1990s. Opposition to the Gulf War was one early catalyst for growing interest in antiauthoritarian left politics, particularly in the Bay Area. Young people who were

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[109] Errol Schweizer, '"Radical Ecology from the Urban Jungle" in Schweizer, Errol, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 18, 7 (1 August 1998), 3.' Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; It should be noted that Earth First! was never a membership organization, but rather a movement organization. As such, the group encompassed a very wide range of contradictory tendencies. By the mid-1990s the social justice wing had become predominant, but there were others who were attracted to the increasingly extreme anti-modernist, anti-civilizational, and misanthropic views of 'primitivists' such as John Zerzan. Some sections of the radical environmental movement - members of the Earth Liberation Front - resorted to arson and other attacks on private property, others even expressed sympathy with the views of the Unabomber Ted Kaczynski. Bob Greenberg, 'The Urbanization of Earth First! New Directions for the Movement' and John Zerzan 'Green Steal' in Coronado, Rod, et al., eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, no. 5 (1 May 1999), 3-4. Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.

[110] John E. Peck, 'Shell Assassinates Opponents', Dawn, Kimberly, Ed., *Earth First! Journal* 16, No. 2 (22 December 1995), 16., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.

[111] Orin Langelle, 'Journey to Chiapas' Selva Lacandon', Paloma, Jim Flynn, Ross Freeman, and Craig Beneville, Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 16, No. 6 (20 June 1996), 26., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; Thomas Kocherry, 'Globalization: Development or Destruction?', Maenz, Kris, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, No. 8 (21 September 1999), 16., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; 'McLibel Verdict Ignites McActions', Berrey, Cathie, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 17, No. 7 (1 August 1997), 14., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.

[112] Ayelet Hines and Craig Evarts, 'Lighten Up! Globalization Ain't So Bad! Worldwide Parties Reclaim The Streets', Evarts, Craig, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 18, 6 (21 June 1998), 1, 21., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; Mark Lynas, 'Savages Strike a Blow Against Capitalism', LaPietra, Tim, et al., Eds., *Earth First! Journal* 19, No. 7 (1 August 1999), 1, 27., Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.

sympathetic to left ideas were casting around for political traditions that could be useful at that particular historical juncture; many gravitated towards anarchism.[113] As David Graeber characterised it, this period was not one of "grand mobilizations" but rather of "molecular dissemination."[114] In order to overthrow oppressive social and political structures, anarchists argued that it was necessary to create autonomous political spaces and counter-institutions that would not only help to grow the movement, but would also plant the seeds of a free society. The theory of "dual power" held that these institutions would in time supplant oppressive institutions of state-managed capitalism. Alongside the proliferation of Food Not Bombs groups, activists founded branches of the Anarchist Black Cross (providing solidarity, aid, advocacy, and political education for incarcerated people) and clinic defence groups (in response to the escalating tactics adopted by Operation Rescue and other right-wing groups in the early years of the decade). Cooperatives, pirate radio collectives, non-profit bookstores and infoshops, and anarchist bookfairs were also part of this prefigurative strategy.[115]

Broader social and cultural developments fed into the resurgence of anarchist politics. College campuses, such as those at CUNY and The Evergreen State College in Olympia, Washington, provided venues for a resurgence of student radicalism during these years. These spaces facilitated the exchange of information, as did the circulation of zines, which were an important element of the alternative youth culture that had grown out of the punk and DIY scene of the 1980s and proliferated during the rise of queer politics and Riot Grrrl in the early 1990s.[116] The cultural underground spawned anarchist collectives such as CrimethInc. in the

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[113] Barbara Epstein, 'The Antiwar Movement During the Gulf War', *Social Justice*, 19.1 (47) (1992), 115–37; Robin L. Riley, '"So Few of Us and So Many of Them": US Women Resisting Desert Storm', *International Feminist Journal of Politics*, 7.3 (2005), 341–57; It should be remembered that by this time the CPUSA was being kept on life support by Soviet financial donations, and the Soviet Union itself was largely cooperating with US-led multilateral security policy objectives. Daniel Rosenberg, 'From Crisis to Split: The Communist Party USA, 1989–1991', *American Communist History*, 18.1–2 (2019), 1–55; Svetlana Savranskaya and Tom Blanton, 'Inside the Gorbachev-Bush "Partnership" on the First Gulf War 1990', *National Security Archive*, 2020 <https://nsarchive.gwu.edu/briefing-book/russia-programs/2020-09-09/inside-gorbachev-bush-partnership-first-gulf-war-1990> [accessed 15 January 2022]; Chris Dixon, interview with author, 2022.

[114] David Graeber, 'The Rebirth of Anarchism in North America, 1957-2007', *Historia Actual Online*, 21, 2010, 123–31.

[115] On one such infoshop in Chicago see 'The A-Zone and a Decade of Anarchy in Chicago', ed. by Alex Iwasa (Second Edition. Anarchist History) <https://anarchisthistory.tumblr.com/post/114451491822/new-zine-on-the-history-of-chicagos-a-zone>.

[116] Stephen Duncombe, *Notes from Underground: Zines and the Politics of Alternative Culture* (New York: Verso, 1997); One of the most famous riot grrrl bands, Bikini Kill, was formed by a group of students at Evergreen. Annelise Orleck, *Rethinking American Women's Activism* (New York: Routledge, 2015), p. 208; Peter Bohmer, 'A History of Student Movements and Activism at Evergreen State College and the Greater Nation',

mid-1990s.[117] New chapters of the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation were also formed across the United States and in Mexico and Canada.[118] The focus within Love and Rage on racial and gender oppression as well as economic justice reflected not only the influence of thinkers associated with the journal *Race Traitor* (founded in 1993) but also the development of black anarchist critiques of the movement.[119] The militancy of SLAM! in New York stemmed in part from the involvement of members of Love and Rage. The Midnight Notes Collective, an anti-authoritarian left group of intellectuals that had been associated with the Wages for Housework movement of the 1970s, contributed an analysis of structural adjustment in the Global South and published an influential critique of what they called "the new enclosures." Collective members were also enthusiastic advocates of solidarity with the Zapatistas, and members of the group attended both the first and second *encuentros*.[120] The writings of Noam Chomsky and other intellectuals associated with *Z* magazine were another

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CounterPunch, 5 October 2016 <https://www.counterpunch.org/2016/10/05/a-history-of-student-movements-and-activism-at-evergreen-state-college-and-the-greater-nation/> [accessed 20 January 2022].

[117] CrimethInc. Workers' Collective, *Days of War, Nights of Love: CrimethInc. For Beginners* (Salem, OR: Free Press, 2001); Donaghey.

[118] *A New World in Our Hearts: Eight Years of Writings from the Love and Rage Revolutionary Anarchist Federation*, ed. by Roy San Filippo (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2003).

[119] Lorenzo Kom'boa Ervin, *Anarchism and the Black Revolution: The Definitive Edition* (London: Pluto Press, 2021); Dana M. Williams, 'Black Panther Radical Factionalization and the Development of Black Anarchism', *Journal of Black Studies*, 46.7 (2015), 678–703; Andrew Cornell, *Unruly Equality: U.S. Anarchism in the Twentieth Century* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2016), pp. 291–300.

[120] *The New Enclosures*, ed. by Midnight Notes Collective (Jamaica Plain, MA: Midnight Notes, 1990), 'Midnight Notes, Autonomist, Cleaver, Goldner, Misc.' Folder, 56a Infoshop; *One No, Many Yeses: Midnight Notes 12*, ed. by Midnight Notes Collective (Jamaica Plain, MA: Midnight Notes, 1997), 'Midnight Notes, Autonomist, Cleaver, Goldner, Misc.' Folder, 56a Infoshop; Two of the group's members, George Caffentzis and Silvia Federici, had travelled to Nigeria in the 1980s where they witnessed first-hand the extent of resistance to structural adjustment. As coordinators of the Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa (CAFA) they helped to raise awareness within the North American academic community about the education policies being enforced in Africa by the World Bank, and later produced a book documenting the struggles taking place within African universities. 'The Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa Petition to the African Studies Association', c. 1994. Committee for Academic Freedom in Africa Collection. MayDay Rooms Archive, London.; *A Thousand Flowers: Social Struggles Against Structural Adjustment in African Universities*, ed. by Silvia Federici, George Caffentzis, and Ousseina Alidou (Asmara, Eritrea: Africa World Press, 2000); George Caffentzis, 'Two Themes of Midnight Notes: Work/Refusal of Work and Enclosure/Commons', in *Toward the Final Jubilee! Midnight Notes at Thirty Years*, ed. by Craig Hughes (New York: Autonomedia, 2010), pp. 24–30; Carla da Cunha Duarte Francisco and others, 'In Conversation with George Caffentzis', in *Commoning with George Caffentzis and Silvia Federici*, ed. by Camille Barbagallo, Nicholas Beuret, and David Harvie (London: Pluto Press, 2019), pp. 11–20; Gustavo Esteva, 'An Encounter of Discovery: The Traditions of People of Reason and the Reasons of People of Tradition: A Report on the Second Intercontinental Encuentro', in *Auroras of the Zapatistas: Local and Global Struggles of the Forth World War*, ed. by Midnight Notes Collective, Second Edition (New York: Autonomedia, 2001), pp. 55–63 <https://libcom.org/library/midnight-notes-13-2001-auroras-zapatistas>.

important influence. Their writings generated interest in libertarian socialist ideas, left critiques of American empire, and opposition to neoliberal globalization.[121]

Grassroots radical politics on the West Coat came to be most strongly associated in the late 1990s with Oregon. In the 1970s feminism and the back-to-the-land movement had seen the creation of new countercultural communities within the state, alongside the small timber towns that had existed there for generations. Much of the forest in Oregon, unlike the Headlands Forest in California, was on federal land and therefore owned and managed by the U.S. Forest Service. Despite its public character, it was still treated largely as a natural resource to be extracted and sold to private timber mills. For a long time, the timber industry was the main source of employment within the state, and revenues from timber sales helped to fund services within the mill towns. This economic system began to break down in the 1980s when intensive logging dramatically reduced the remaining forests, and a depressed housing market slowed the demand for lumber. Throughout this period, automation was reducing the number of jobs that the industry created. Although little discussed at the time, private forests were also being acquired by real estate trusts and investment funds that were intent on accelerating unsustainable logging. These companies benefitted from a reduction in the severance tax (a tax based on the value of trees logged) that was passed by state lawmakers in the early 1990s. The tax reform deprived local governments of the revenues needed to fund essential social services. As Portland and other cities received an infusion of capital from tech and cultural industry firms relocating from California, rural areas suffered from economic decline and the problems that often accompany social deprivation. These developments, combined with improvements in scientific knowledge of forest ecosystems and stricter environmental regulation, created the conditions for political polarisation. Some Oregonians turned to the culture war politics of the populist right and others turned to left environmentalism and anticapitalism.[122]

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[121] Noam Chomsky, *Deterring Democracy* (London: Vintage, 1992); Noam Chomsky, *The Prosperous Few and the Restless Many* (Berkeley, CA: Odonian Press, 1993); Noam Chomsky, *World Orders, Old and New* (London: Pluto Press, 1994); Noam Chomsky, *Profit Over People: Neoliberalism and the Global Order* (New York: Seven Stories Press, 1998); Noam Chomsky, 'Anarchism, Marxism, and the Hope for the Future', in *Chomsky on Anarchism*, ed. by Barry Pateman (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2005), pp. 178–89.

[122] Arlene Stein, *The Stranger Next Door: The Story of a Small Community's Battle over Sex, Faith, and Civil Rights* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2001), pp. 39–65; Tony Schick and Rob Davis, 'Big Money Bought Oregon's Forests. Small Timber Communities Are Paying the Price', *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, 11 June 2020 <https://www.opb.org/news/article/oregon-investigation-timber-logging-forests-policy-taxes-spotted-owl/>

The initial trigger for a resurgence of left radicalism in the region came when forests in Oregon were consumed by a huge fire in 1991. The next year Tim Ingalsbee and Catia Juliana founded Cascadia Earth First!, with the aim of preventing a series of "salvage" log sales across the state.[123] Following the passage of the 1995 "Salvage Rider" law, environmentalists established a blockade known as Cascadia Free State on Forest Service Road 2408 to prevent logging trucks from reaching the Warner Creek watershed in the Willamette National Forest. One prominent activist, Tim Ream, supported the blockade by undertaking a 75 day fast outside of a Federal Building. Ultimately environmentalists managed to pressure the Clinton administration to reverse its policy and protect Warner Creek. Their success attracted young radicals to Oregon, and especially to the Whiteaker neighbourhood of Eugene.[124] Their growing size and militancy, in turn, ramped up tensions with the police, particularly after Cascadia Free State was forcibly cleared by Forest Service officials. Across the Northwest, the police were adopting aggressive policing tactics, including so-called "pain compliance" techniques, which controversially included applying pepper spray directly to protestor's eyes with a cotton swab.[125] In Eugene, activists responded by setting up a local CopWatch group and broadcasting police abuses on their media channels.[126] When environmentalists began a tree-sit in Eugene in July 1997 to prevent them from being cut down by the Symantec corporation, police beat them with clubs and doused them with pepper spray.

[accessed 11 January 2022]; Rob Davis and Tony Schick, 'How a Public Institute in Oregon Became a De Facto Lobbying Arm of the Timber Industry', *Oregon Public Broadcasting*, 4 August 2020 <https://www.opb.org/article/2020/08/04/oregon-forest-resources-institute-osu-timber-industry-investigation-lobbying/> [accessed 11 January 2022]; For an account of the timber wars that is attentive to globalization and its social effects in Oregon see Aaron Scott, 'Timber Wars', Oregon Public Broadcasting. 2020. <https://www.opb.org/show/timberwars/> [accessed 14 January 2022].

[123] 'Cascadia' referred to a bioregion in the Northwest, which was defined not by political boundaries but by ecological attributes. Bioregionalism was popularised by Kirkpatrick Sale and the U.S. Greens. Kirkpatrick Sale, *Dwellers in the Land: The Bioregional Vision* (San Francisco, CA: Sierra Club Books, 1985); William B. Henkel, 'Cascadia: A State of (Various) Mind(s)', *Chicago Review*, 39.3/4 (1993), 110–18.

[124] David Samuels, 'Notes from Underground: Among the Radicals of the Pacific Northwest', *Harper's Magazine*, May 2000, 35–47; Kera Abraham, 'Flames of Dissent, Part II: Eco-Anarchy Rising', *Eugene Weekly*, 9 November 2006 <https://www.eugeneweekly.com/2006/11/02/flames-of-dissent/> [accessed 4 January 2022].

[125] Maria L. La Ganga, 'Police Sued Over Use of Pepper Spray on Protesters', *Los Angeles Times*, 31 October 1997 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1997-oct-31-mn-48656-story.html> [accessed 14 January 2022].

[126] The Warner Creek struggle is documented in *PickAxe* (PickAxe Productions, 1999) <https://crimethinc.com/videos/pickaxe> Lewis and Ream also produced a weekly cable access programme documenting radical politics called Cascadia Alive! The recordings are archived in the Special Collections of the University of Oregon.

Until this point, most radical environmentalists were nonviolent in both their philosophy and in their practice. But a blockade at Fall Creek in Spring 1998 attracted a new crowd of younger protestors who were less committed to nonviolence and more willing to resist harassment by the authorities. The conflict came to a head when hundreds of protestors engaged in property destruction against corporate targets. Riot police responded with teargas and arrests. The disturbances attracted national attention; mainstream media conflated the words of a few self-appointed spokespeople and the actions of the most militant fringe with the political orientation of the movement as a whole.[127]

Whilst some activists in Eugene were drifting towards spontaneous and disruptive tactics, anarchists elsewhere were strengthening their organizational capacities and broadening coalitions. A Network of Anarchist Collectives, and the Active Resistance conferences held in 1996 in Chicago and in 1998 in Toronto, strengthened movement infrastructure.[128] The Chicago conference aimed to disrupt the Democratic National Convention, as protestors had done before in 1984. However, this time there was much greater coordination between anarchists and community groups that were campaigning on housing, immigrant rights, and lesbian and gay issues. Active Resistance was an ambitious ten-day movement-building effort that emphasised political education, the construction of alternative social models and

[127] Geov Parrish, 'The New Anarchists', *Seattle Weekly*, 2 September 1999, pp. 18–19; Kim Murphy, 'A Revolutionary Movement Hits Small-Town America', *Los Angeles Times*, 3 August 1999 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-aug-03-mn-62104-story.html> [accessed 14 January 2022]; Journalists were fascinated by philosopher John Zerzan who advocated extreme misanthropic and anti-civilizational views in the anarcho-primitivist journal Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed. However, Zerzan's views were marginal within the anarchist movement as a whole and were frequently subject to vitriolic criticism by Murray Bookchin and others on the humanist wing of the movement, many of whom recognised the troubling affinities between some variants of deep green thought and far right thought. Murray Bookchin, *Social Anarchism or Lifestyle Anarchism: An Unbridgeable Chasm* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995); Janet Biehl and Peter Staudenmaier, *Ecofascism: Lessons from the German Experience* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 1995); Zerzan was similarly scathing of his critics and denied that he condoned political violence against people. John Zerzan, 'That Thing We Do', *Anarchy: A Journal of Desire Armed*, Spring/Summer 1998, pp. 53–62, 'Primitivist Writing, Critique, Zerzan Collection,' 56a Infoshop.; In fact, much of the anarchist scene in Eugene was kept alive by the work of anarchist women who volunteered their time for Food Not Bombs and created an urban gardening organization. Kera Abraham, 'Flames of Dissent, Part III: Eco-Anarchy Imploding', *Eugene Weekly*, 22 November 2006 <https://www.eugeneweekly.com/2006/11/22/eugene-weekly-11-22-06-2/> [accessed 4 January 2022]; Kiera James Anderson, 'We Made the Change by Talking About It: Movement Narratives of Antiviolence Activism in the Radical Environmental Organization Cascadia Forest Defenders', *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*, 39.2 (2018), 136–70.

[128] Lesley Wood, 'Anarchist Gatherings 1986-2017', *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies*, 18.4 (2019), 892–908.

economic frameworks, community organizing, and skills sharing. It became a forum for discussing an array of political projects, ranging from anti-racism work and prison abolition to rural collectives, mutual housing networks, animal rights, hacktivism, and culture jamming.[129] Street protests taking place alongside the conference were carnivalesque in their exuberance and creativity. Participants created giant puppets that could be used to publicly dramatize their political message.[130] At the front of the procession, they carried a twenty-foot Corporate Power tower, and on the final day of the conference they staged a symbolic uprising as part of a "Festival of the Oppressed."[131] Active Resistance inspired the creation of a series of Art and Revolution "convergences" the following year. These convergences were activist gatherings that combined workshops with other types of political education. The aim was to extend the use of creativity and culture in left political protest. David Solnit organised the first with Dana Schuerholtz in Seattle in early 1997, and then established a San Francisco Bay Area collective together with arts organizer Alli Starr. Artists and performers were trained in nonviolent civil disobedience techniques and consensus process facilitation. During a short period of time, six Art and Revolution collectives were established along the West Coast and activists began to employ puppetry and street theatre in anti-sweatshop campaigns, Earth First! actions, and farm worker struggles.[132]

One locus of activity was Evergreen State College, a public liberal arts and sciences college in Olympia, Washington. Founded in 1971, Evergreen was an institutional expression of the

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[129] Active Resistance, Chicago, August 21-31 1996. Labadie Collection. Special Collections Research Center. University of Michigan Library.

[130] This style of protest was inherited from radical groups of the 1960s, such as the Freedom Singers, the Living Theatre, and Bread and Puppets. Bradford D. Martin, *The Theater Is in the Street: Politics and Performance in Sixties America* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); Some of these groups continued to operate in the 1990s. Bread and Puppets, for example, turned its attention to globalization issues, having produced a play entitled 'Mr. Budhoo's Letter of Resignation From the I.M.F. (50 Years Is Enough)' earlier that year. For more on Budhoo and the 50 Years Is Enough campaign, refer to Chapter 1. Lawrence Van Gelder, 'Theater in Review', *The New York Times*, 20 March 1996, section Theater <https://www.nytimes.com/1996/03/20/theater/theater-in-review-016071.html> [accessed 16 January 2022].

[131] David Solnit, 'Anarchy in Chicago: Active Resistance at the Democratic Convention: Planting Seeds for an Anarchist Movement', *Fifth Estate*, Fall 1996, pp. 1, 3.

[132] Jen Angel, 'David Solnit and The Arts of Change', *The Journal of Aesthetics and Protest* <http://www.joaap.org/webonly/solnit_angel.htm>; David Solnit, '25 Years of Giant Puppets, Mass Action & Public Spectacle', *Fifth Estate*, Fall/Winter 2014 <https://www.fifthestate.org/archive/392-fallwinter-2014/25-years-giant-puppets-mass-action-public-spectacle/> [accessed 15 January 2022]; During the J18 actions in San Francisco, Art and Revolution performed a protest dance outside Victoria's Secret to draw attention to the company's use of sweatshop labour. Tom Price, 'The World Trade Organization: Writing the Constitution for a New Global Economy', pp. 8–9, *The Dispatcher*, Vol. 57, No. 6, June 1999. ILWU Archives.

countercultural New Left.[133] Members of the faculty were particularly active in 1990s political campaigns, including the struggle against NAFTA and teacher organising against the neoliberalization of education.[134] Students were themselves organized through the multi-issue Evergreen Political Information Center (EPIC). Olympia itself had a strong anti-capitalist base for a city of modest size. In the 1990s Earth First! was active in the area; other radical groups took on anti-sweatshop campaigns and globalization issues.[135] In November 1997 activists from Olympia travelled to Vancouver, Canada, to protest the Economic Leaders Meeting of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC). The meeting was being held at the University of British Columbia. Police greeted demonstrators with violence and pepper spray. These confrontations strengthened relations between Olympia activists and their Canadian hosts and inspired feelings of solidarity with activists in the Global South.[136]

The West Coast networks that emerged from these activities were crucial to the planning of the Seattle protests. An initial call sent out from San Francisco Art and Revolution in February 1999. Another went out several months later, this one issued by the Seattle-based November 30 Global Day of Action Collective (N30).[137] The Seattle Collective had put out their call on the

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[133] In the 1960s New Left radicals had launched their own attempt to create 'parallel institutions.' Staughton Lynd and Andrej Grubacic, *Wobblies and Zapatistas: Conversations on Anarchism, Marxism and Radical History* (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2009), pp. 68–69.

[134] Larry Kuehn, 'The Education World Is Not Flat: Neoliberalism's Global Project and Teacher Unions' Transnational Resistance', in *The Global Assault on Teaching, Teachers, and Their Unions: Stories for Resistance*, ed. by Lois Weiner and Mary Compton (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), pp. 53–72.

[135] Peter Bohmer, interview with author, 2022.

[136] Chris Dixon, *Another Politics: Talking Across Today's Transformative Movements* (Oakland, CA: University of California Press, 2014), pp. 9–10; A regional organization designed to promote trade and economic cooperation founded in 1989, APEC was composed of twenty-one countries: Australia, Brunei, Canada, Chile, China, Hong Kong, Indonesia, Japan, South Korea, Malaysia, Mexico, New Zealand, Papua New Guinea, Peru, the Philippines, Russia, Singapore, Taiwan, Thailand, the United States, and Vietnam. NGOs, left groups, and others had been organising against APEC since 1995, and Filipino activists hosted a significant protest against the 1996 meeting in Manila. John Price, 'Shadowing APEC: Nongovernmental Organizations Build Regional Alliances', *Asian Perspective*, 22.2 (1998), 21–50; In Vancouver, the main groups that organised against the conference were the student groups APEC Alert, East Timor Alert Network, and the No-to-APEC coalition which was driven by immigrant rights and Filipino-Canadian youth activists. The participation of Indonesian dictator Suharto in the conference was a lighting rod for both human rights and economic justice concerns. *Pepper in Our Eyes: The APEC Affair*, ed. by W. Wesley Pue (Vancouver, Canada: University of British Columbia, 2000); Habiba Zaman, *Breaking the Iron Wall: Decommodification and Immigrant Women's Labor in Canada* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2006), p. 149.

[137] November 30 Global Day of Action Collective, 'November 30th, 1999 A Global Day of Action, Resistance and Carnival', *Do or Die: Voices from the Ecological Resistance*, December 2000; The N30 coalition involved local members of the IWW and organisers from the Nonviolent Action Community of Cascadia (NACC), a peace group originally formed under the name Conscience and Military Tax Campaign-U.S. in New York in 1979. The group moved to Seattle in 1986 and adopted its new name in 1995. Jason Adams and Jeremy Simer, 'Industrial

J18 listserv, noting that actions against the WTO had been approved by both Peoples' Global Action and the IWW in their summer conferences that year.[138] Bay Area activists David Solnit and Sonja Sivesind coordinated efforts to develop a preliminary plan for the N30 mass actions. The proposal was then shared with Global Exchange, the Rainforest Action Network, and the Ruckus Society. In August, these groups merged, adopting the name, Direct Action Network Against Corporate Globalization (DAN). At this point, it was agreed DAN would shut down the WTO conference on the first day of the meeting.

Organizing intensified as the conference date approached. Activists in Seattle, Olympia, Portland, Vancouver, San Francisco, and Santa Cruz held meetings within their own communities.[139] DAN produced a broadsheet that aimed to educate people about the WTO and to mobilize people for the forthcoming actions (Figure 8). The broadsheet was printed in the *Earth First! Journal* and distributed around the country along with nearly 100,000 postcards that called for a "festival of resistance."[140] The J18 Global Day of Action was a major influence on the conceptualisation of the Seattle protests, as was Seattle's radical history.[141] The Ruckus Society held a "Globalize This!" training session that attracted a great deal of media interest.[142] Participants were issued detailed information about fund raising, media outreach, and other necessary activities needed to support the week of action.[143] Anti-WTO coalitions, like the Bay Area Fair Trade Campaign headquartered in San Francisco, were

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Workers of the World', 2000, WTO History Project, University of Washington <https://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/interviews/Adams.pdf>; Fithian, p. 80.

[138] IWW Call to Action Against the WTO, Summer 1999, 'Organise Locally for the International Day of Action Against the WTO November 30,1999' <https://archive.iww.org/history/resolutions/Convention_WTO_1999/> [accessed 20 January 2022].

[139] Stephanie Guilloud, 'Spark, Fire, and Burning Coals: An Organizer's History of Seattle', in *The Battle of Seattle: The New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization*, ed. by Eddie Yuen, George Katsiaficas, and Daniel Burton Rose (New York, NY: Soft Skull Press, 2001), pp. 225–31 (p. 227).

[140] David Solnit, 'The Battle of the Story of the Battle of Seattle', p. 27.

[141] *Earth First! Journal*, 19, 8 (21 September 1999). Earth First! Movement Writings Collection.; "Shut Down the World Trade Organization: Come to Seattle Nov. 29 – Dec 3, 1999." Direct Action Network Broadsheet. #ShutdownWTO20 Organizers' History Project Website <https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/call-to-action>.

[142] Han Shan and Jeremy Simer, Ruckus Society: Program Coordinator, 2000, WTO History Project, University of Washington <https://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/interviews/Shan.pdf>.

[143] 'Direct Action Network Against Corporate Globalization', Outreach and Information Packet. Carton 59, Folder 42, Rainforest Action Network Records, BANC MSS 2006/161, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. [Hereafter cited as Rainforest Action Network Records].

preparing for Seattle by holding regular meetings in major West Coast cities.[144] The Portland branch of Jobs with Justice was particularly active, helping to mobilize a city-wide organization called Portlanders Against the WTO.[145] The National Lawyers Guild joined the DAN coalition, and Katya Komisaruk – a veteran of the antinuclear movement of the 1980s – helped to coordinate a legal team to provide support for those taking part.[146] Art and Revolution began a weeks-long roadshow to provide dance and theatre workshops and to encourage the formation of affinity groups for the action.[147] All this activity culminated in a nine day meeting held at an abandoned nightclub at 420 Denny Way in downtown Seattle. The convergence space, as it was called by activists, was a place to create artworks and puppets, and for experienced activists like Lisa Fithian and Starhawk to provide training for the upcoming actions.[148]

Convergence

The mobilization against the WTO began in New York in October with a People's Global Action caravan assembled to raise awareness about the harm caused by corporate globalization in the Global South. It would visit over 20 communities across the country before arriving on the West Coast on 24 December.[149] On 27 November, in a replication of the stunt pulled off by RTS activists at J18, a front page was added to 25,000 issues of the *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*, one of the two most widely available newspapers in the city. A 400-strong contingent from

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[144] 'Bay Area Fair Trade Campaign: Planning the Protest of the Century to Confront the World Trade Organization', Information Packet. Carton 59, Folder 41, Rainforest Action Network Records.
[145] 'Jobs With Justice Highlights', Box 8, Folder 34, Jobs With Justice Records, Collection Number 6369. Kheel Center for Labor-Management Documentation and Archives, Cornell University Library.
[146] Kari Lydersen, 'Jail Solidarity in Seattle', in *The Battle of Seattle: The New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization*, ed. by Eddie Yuen, George Katsiaficas, and Daniel Burton Rose (New York, NY: Soft Skull Press, 2001), pp. 131–37.
[147] David Solnit and Jeremy Simer, Art and Revolution/Direct Action Network, 2000, WTO History Project, University of Washington <https://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/interview_index.htm>.
[148] Fithian, pp. 81–83; For a concise summary of how affinity groups, spokescouncils, jail solidarity, and consensus decision-making worked in practice in Seattle see Starhawk, 'How We Really Shut Down the WTO', in *Webs of Power: Notes from the Global Uprising* (Gabriola Island, British Columbia: New Society Publishers, 2002), pp. 16–20.
[149] Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 'The Road to Seattle Issue VIII', 1999 <https://www.iatp.org/sites/default/files/2019-07/Road%20to%20Seattle-Issue%208.pdf>; Chris Dixon, 'Remembering for the Future: Learning from the 1999 Seattle Shutdown', *Upping the Anti: A Journal of Theory and Action*, 2019 <https://uppingtheanti.org/blog/entry/remembering-for-the-future-learning-from-the-1999-seattle-shutdown> [accessed 1 February 2022].

Critical Mass cycled through the city, and a 1,000-person procession paraded through the Capitol Hill neighbourhood (for a map of key sites see Figure 9).[150]

On the 28 November 20,000 activists surrounded the Kingdome football stadium and parking lot in a human chain. The action was organised by the Jubilee 2000 Northwest Coalition to demand debt cancellation for the world's poorest countries. Hanna Petros, a coalition member and founder of development NGO Ustawi, had invited South African activist and poet Dennis Brutus to speak about the need for reform of the global trade system. This helped U.S. activists to see how the WTO, structural adjustment, and debt were interrelated.[151] Many participants in these actions felt that they were on the threshold of something truly momentous. Peace activist Ken Brutigan later described a service dedicated to the debt crisis and held at Seattle's St. James Cathedral that night, as "the single most moving event" of his decades-long career in faith-based social movements. For Brutigan and many others, Seattle was a pilgrimage, one that paid homage to Gandhi and King, the forefathers of nonviolent struggle.[152] The International Forum on Globalization held a week-long programme of teach-ins, led by luminaries of the alter-globalization movement such as Walden Bello of Focus on the Global South (see Figure 10). A two-day conference at the 2,500-seat Benaroya Seattle Symphony Hall, organised by IFG, along with Public Citizen, trade unions, and other groups consolidated NGO opposition to the conference under the slogan "No new round, turn around."[153] Teamsters, steelworkers and other union members marched with hundreds of

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[150] Dixon, 'Five Days in Seattle: A View from the Ground', p. 82.

[151] Bronwyn Mauldin, 'Jubilee 2000 Northwest: Breaking the Chains of Global Debt', in *From ACT UP to the WTO: Urban Protest and Community Building in the Era of Globalization*, ed. by Benjamin Shepard and Ronald Hayduk (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 81–87.

[152] Ken Butigan, 'Email to Author', 31 October 2020; Ken Butigan, 'We Traveled to Seattle: A Pilgrimage', in *Globalise This!: The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*, ed. by Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000), pp. 44–47; Jim Wallis, founder of Sojourners, preached at the service. The evangelical left is often overlooked in accounts of progressive politics and the new social movements of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. The presence of these groups at Seattle is another indicator of the diversity of the anti-WTO coalition. Jim Wallis, 'Seattle: Changing the Rules', *Sojourners*, April 2000 <https://sojo.net/magazine/march-april-2000/seattle-changing-rules> [accessed 25 January 2022]; For background on Sojourners see David R. Swartz, *Moral Minority: The Evangelical Left in an Age of Conservatism*, Politics and Culture in Modern America (Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012); Brantley W. Gasaway, *Progressive Evangelicals and the Pursuit of Social Justice* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2014).

[153] Jeffrey S. Juris, *Networking Futures: The Movements Against Corporate Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), p. 35; *Voices from the WTO*, ed. by Stephanie Guilloud, 2000 <https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/voices-from-the-wto>; Amongst the speakers were Victoria Tauli of Philippines, Hassan Adebayo of Ghana, Kjeld Jakoboen of Brazil, and Thomas Kocherry of India.

environmentalists dressed as turtles.[154] The common theme of these actions was simple: That decisions about the rules of the global economy should not be made in secret without a full and informed democratic debate. This message was dramatically illustrated by a 170-foot banner attached to a crane by the Rainforest Action Network, which showed "Democracy" and the "WTO" pointing in opposite directions (see Figure 11).[155]

The following day, early on a grey and drizzly morning, the direct actionists made their way to the Washington Convention and Trade Center. A sense of portentousness grew. As Jennifer Whitney, a member of a radical marching band called the Infernal Noise Brigade, recalled, "I realized something that I had suspected for some time, and was now absolutely sure of – we were making history."[156] Protest organizers began to execute their plan, dividing downtown Seattle into thirteen "pie slices," each of which would be blockaded by a separate group in whatever way they thought best. Marchers approached the site from two directions, one from the Seattle Central Community College on Capitol Hill, and the other from Victor Steinbrueck Park by Pike Place Market. Once assembled at the intersections surrounding the Convention Center and the Paramount Hotel they locked down, set up tripods, or else simply sat down in the streets with their arms linked.[157] By 10am the police had attempted, in vain, to clear a corridor for delegates to travel from their hotels to the opening ceremony; in frustration, they began to beat protestors and doused locked-down activists with pepper spray.[158] But the police were already outnumbered even before the blockade was further reinforced by the arrival of the People's Assembly march at 11am.[159] With delegates now

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Thomas Kocherry, 'The Battle of Seattle' <https://www.iatp.org/sites/default/files/Battle_of_Seattle_The.htm>; The IFG also hosted televised debates with prominent advocates for 'free' trade such as Jagdish Bhagwati. International Forum on Globalization, 'Globalization and the World Trade Organization', *C-SPAN*, 1999 <https://www.c-span.org/video/?153921-1/globalization-world-trade-organization#> [accessed 26 January 2022]; Martin Khor and Tom Kruse, *Putting the Third World First: A Life of Speaking Out for the Global South* (Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 2021), pp. 133–34.

[154] Don McIntosh, 'Looking Back on the Battle in Seattle', *Northwest Labor Press*, 2019 <https://nwlaborpress.org/2019/11/looking-back-on-the-battle-in-seattle/>.

[155] For video footage see *WTO Protests 1999 - N29 Crane Banner Hang*, 1999 <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P1aAKCclsOI> [accessed 1 February 2022].

[156] Jennifer Whitney, 'Infernal Noise: The Soundtrack to Insurrection', in *We Are Everywhere: The Irresistible Rise of Global Anticapitalism*, ed. by Notes from Nowhere (London: Verso, 2003), pp. 216–27 (p. 224).

[157] Dixon, 'Five Days in Seattle: A View from the Ground', p. 89.

[158] Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair, *Five Days That Shook the World: Seattle and Beyond* (London: Verso, 2000), pp. 24–27.

[159] The People's Assembly was composed of 400 delegates from twelve countries and was coordinated by the Seattle-based Filipino anti-imperialist organization Sentenaryo ng Bayan. Ace Saturay, '"Freelancers": A Report

unwilling to leave their hotels, the opening ceremony was abandoned. At 1pm Secretary of State Madeleine Albright called the Governor from inside the Westin hotel to demand that action be taken. Tear gas soon consumed the streets as police dressed in riot gear began an assault on the protestors.[160]

Amid the chaos, the windows of large banks and corporate chains such as Nike and Gap (which used sweatshop labour) were smashed by activists dressed entirely in black. For the mainstream press, these images soon came to represent "violent" Seattle actions and reporters identified them with "Eugene anarchists" and as disciples of John Zerzan. No doubt, these acts reflected the presence of some Oregonians. However, the "black bloc" tactic, which was designed to make it difficult for the authorities to identify and later prosecute individual protestors, was not used solely by anarchists from this state. It included activists from across the United States, and further afield.[161] The protesters favouring violence never amounted to more than a small minority of those who had assembled. Nevertheless, media focused on them. "Anarchist violence" was used to discredit the protestors and was later advanced as a justification for widespread and indiscriminate police brutality. To the mainstream media, the WTO protests seemed to have come from nowhere, and the dramatic story of a street riot could be used to sell newspapers and grip the attention of television viewers.[162]

But the protesters were not without media resources of their own. The 1980s had seen the creation of independent non-profit media companies such as Deep Dish TV and Paper Tiger

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Back from the Seattle International People's Assembly', in *Voices from the WTO*, ed. by Stephanie Guilloud, 2000, p. 22 <https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/voices-from-the-wto>.

[160] Graeber, 'On The Phenomenology of Giant Puppets: Broken Windows, Imaginary Jars of Urine, and the Cosmological Role of the Police in American Culture', p. 386.

[161] The black bloc did not imply membership of a particular group or adherence to a specific political philosophy but rather it was a protest tactic that had its origins in the autonomist movement in Europe in the 1980s. L.A. Kauffman, 'Who Were Those Masked Anarchists in Seattle?', *Salon*, 10 December 1999 <https://www.salon.com/1999/12/10/anarchists/> [accessed 6 October 2019]; ACME Collective, 'N30 Black Bloc Communique, 4 December 1999', in *The Battle of Seattle: The New Challenge to Capitalist Globalization*, ed. by Eddie Yuen, George Katsiaficas, and Daniel Burton Rose (New York, NY: Soft Skull Press, 2001), pp. 115–19; Francis Dupuis-Deri, *Who's Afraid of the Black Blocs?: Anarchy in Action Around the World*, trans. by Lazer Lederhendler (Oakland: PM Press, 2014) Of course, there were also many self-identified anarchists within DAN and other groups who had committed themselves to action guidelines that precluded even limited and targeted private property destruction such as smashing windows.

[162] On media misrepresentation see Rebecca Solnit, 'The Myth of Seattle Violence: My Battle with the New York Times', in *The Battle of the Story of the Battle of Seattle*, ed. by David Solnit and Rebecca Solnit (Oakland, CA: AK Press, 2009), pp. 57–71.

Television, and in December 1995 the Pacifica Radio network began to broadcast the grassroots news programme *Democracy Now*! on community radio stations across the United States.[163] By the latter half of the 1990s, new digital technology (the minidisc recorder, portable video recorders, laptop computers) and the advent of the internet empowered activists to record, edit, and broadcast from wherever they were on the ground.[164] During the Active Resistance conference in Chicago activists established CounterMedia, an effort to provide independent and democratic media coverage of a political event. In mid-October in Austin, Texas, at a Public Grassroots Media Conference, Accion Zapatista activists came on board to make the idea a reality. In Seattle the Independent Media Center occupied a 2,400-square-foot collective space on Third Avenue in downtown; three other spaces were rented for "citizen-journalists" to use for audio and visual production.[165] The existence of this infrastructure meant that protesters could challenge mainstream accounts of the protests when necessary. Indymedia had international reach and provided a counternarrative to the one that focused solely on violence. Footage taken during the protests was subsequently turned into a documentary film that borrowed its title from the new slogan of the movement, *This Is What Democracy Looks Like* (2000).[166]

In the early afternoon, as the street battle was escalating, the AFL-CIO-sponsored march was passing down Pine Street, within a short distance of the blockade. The labour leadership had held a separate rally at Memorial Stadium in an effort to disassociate themselves from the more radical elements within the direct action movement. However, not all unionists had decided to join the official march; many Steelworkers and Longshore workers had instead joined the direct action contingent.[167] Some union activists – like Lisa Fithian, who had

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[163] Pacifica Radio was founded in 1949 by peace activist Lew Hill in 1949. Amy Goodman, David Goodman, and Denis Moynihan, *Democracy Now! Twenty Years Covering the Movements Changing America* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2016), pp. 1–29.

[164] Ben Manski, 'The Democratic Turn of the Century: Learning from the U.S. Democracy Movement', *Socialism and Democracy*, 29.1 (2015), 2–16 (p. 6); Norman Stockwell and Ben Manski, 'Indymedia and Media Activism at the Turn of the Millennium', *Socialism and Democracy*, 34.1 (2020), 216–27.

[165] Todd Wolfson, *Digital Rebellion: The Birth of the Cyber Left* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), pp. 61–91.

[166] '"Don't Hate the Media, Be the Media": Reflections on 20 Years of Indymedia, a Radical Media Movement', *Democracy Now!*, 2019 <https://www.democracynow.org/2019/11/27/indymedia_independent_media_seattle_wto_1999> [accessed 27 January 2022].

[167] Whitney, pp. 224–25.

participated in direct actions with the Central American solidarity movement and then subsequently worked for the Justice for Janitors campaign in Washington in the 1990s – straddled the divide between unions and social movements, and ultimately decided to join the latter in the streets.[168] Others, like Bob Hasegawa, who led Teamsters Local 174, were social movement unionists who sympathised far more with the democratic principles of the progressives than they did with the conversative leaders of their own Internationals.[169] When union marshals tried to divert labour marchers away from the convention site, several hundred unionists – steelworkers, longshore workers, and others – broke away and joined the battle.[170] As the scene became more chaotic, the police began to use concussion grenades to try to disperse the crowd, and hauled protestors away to jail. Under intense pressure from Madeleine Albright, Seattle Mayor Paul Schell declared a "civil emergency" and imposed a downtown curfew from 7pm.[171] By the end of the day 500 people had been arrested and hauled off to the King County Jail. However, protestors had already achieved their aim, albeit temporarily, of shutting down the WTO.

Even as the mayor imposed a no-protest zone in the blocks surrounding the Convention Center, the protests continued across the city throughout the week, giving other groups the opportunity to make their voices heard. Before arriving in Seattle, José Bové and eleven other French farmers had travelled to the U.S. to visit their American allies in the National Family Farm Coalition and to attend political events across the country. On the first day of the conference, Bové joined members of Family Farm Defenders, Global Exchange, the Pure Food Campaign, and the Black Farmers and Agriculturalists Association for a "slow food" picnic

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[168] Fithian, pp. 25–126.

[169] Hasegawa was active in Teamsters for a Democratic Union and APALA (discussed in Chapter 2). As he later reflected on Seattle, 'Hoffa took the right position on the WTO but for the wrong reasons. Hoffa is very much an isolationist... We are not going to stop global trade. People have been trading since the beginning of time, and they are going to continue to trade. We just need to make sure that that trade is in the constraints of democratic accountability to the citizens of the world. Our participation [in the protests] drew a distinction between Local 174's politics and the rest of the Teamsters union. But Local 174's politics are also in line with the progressive politics of the Central Labor Council, and the broader community, the environmentalists and the community-based organizations, and the student youth movements.' Kent Wong, *Voices for Justice: Asian Pacific American Organizers and the New Labor Movement*, ed. by Julie Monroe and Kathleen Yasuda (Los Angeles, CA: Center for Labor Research and Education, UCLA, 2001), pp. 63–71; Bob Hasegawa and Jeremy Simer, Teamsters Union Local 174, 2000, WTO History Project, University of Washington <https://depts.washington.edu/wtohist/interviews/Hasegawa.pdf>.

[170] Jeff Engels, 'The Battle in Seattle - 20 Years After...' (#ShutdownWTO20 Organizers' History Project Website) <https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/more-reflections-and-analysis/jeff-engels>.

[171] Dixon, 'Five Days in Seattle: A View from the Ground', pp. 91–93; Cockburn and St. Clair, pp. 29–31.

outside a downtown McDonald's. Bové gave a speech to 200 supporters and handed out Roquefort cheese that he had smuggled through U.S. Customs. The crowd soon grew to several thousand strong. La Via Campesina, a Global South group, organised a workshop on globalization and agriculture, which took place over several days and was attended by delegates from thirty countries. Many farmers from around the world marched alongside AFL-CIO protestors, others joined the International People's Assembly. NGO organizers had designated the second day of the conference, 1 December, "Food and Agriculture Day" and 5,000 peasants, farmers, students, environmentalists, and others gathered at Pike Place Market for a rally, and then marched to the Seattle headquarters of Cargill.[172] Indigenous peoples' groups from the Philippines and across the Americas were also present at the protests, and they issued a powerful condemnation of the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture, biopiracy, and extractive export industries.[173]

The "street heat" helped to maintain pressure on the WTO conference, which had resumed behind closed doors. Crucially, even many of the delegates found themselves locked out of negotiations. The conference replicated the arbitrary and undemocratic structure of earlier meetings in Singapore and Geneva whereby a small number of powerful rich countries were able to determine the programme and ministers from poor countries were often not even informed about what discussions were taking place or what decisions were made. In the aftermath of those earlier meetings, NGOs like Focus on the Global South and Third World Network began to work together with ministers to ensure that they had greater access to information and to establish a more united front. Representatives from the Global South organised themselves around the "implementation issues" agenda (addressing problems with the existing agreements), whereas the Quad (the most powerful of major trading nations, including the United States, the European Union, Japan, and Canada) and other countries in

[172] José Bové, François Dufour, and Gilles Luneau, *The World Is Not for Sale: Farmers Against Junk Food*, trans. by Anna de Casparis (London: Verso, 2002), pp. 156–65; John E. Peck, 'Twenty Years Later the "Spirit of Seattle" Lives On! – How the Food Sovereignty Movement Helped Bring Down the World Trade Organization (WTO)', *Family Farm Defenders*, 2019; Cockburn and St. Clair, pp. 20–21; Marc Edelman, 'Peasant—Farmer Movements, Third World Peoples, and the Seattle Protests against the World Trade Organization, 1999', *Dialectical Anthropology*, 33.2 (2009), 109–28; Mark Musick, 'Road From Seattle: Post-Seattle Analysis', *Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy*, 1999 <https://www.iatp.org/documents/road-seattle>.
[173] Indigenous Peoples' Caucus, 'Indigenous Peoples' Seattle Declaration', in *Globalize This!: The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*, ed. by Kevin Danaher and Roger Burbach (Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press, 2000), pp. 85–91.

the Global North wanted to expand the remit of the WTO ("new issues"). It was clear that there would be no easy resolution to these conflicting agendas in Seattle. Delegates from the Global South were angered not only by their exclusion from certain WTO activities, but also by the poor organization of the meeting and the lack of hospitality provided for them in the conference hall. The fact that Charlene Barshefsky, the US Trade Representative, had opted to act as both the primary representative of US trade policy and as chair and host of the meeting raised suspicions that the United States was manipulating WTO arrangements for its own purposes. This seemed to be confirmed when on the third day Barshefsky unilaterally decided to call exclusive Green Room sessions to formulate a draft trade agreement. Emboldened by the energy outside of the conference, African Ministers publicly condemned the talks for their lack of transparency and legitimacy, and the "Millennium" round collapsed without an agreement or even a formal declaration.[174]

Seattle was a shocking and unexpected victory for critics of corporate globalization, signalling that even if neoliberal policies were still ascendant, popular opposition could no longer be ignored. As even the senior vice president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce was forced to admit, "In America trade policy has been conducted by elites inside the Washington Beltway. Now the issue is very visibly moving out into the streets. Those who want to promote trade are going to have to make their case much more vigorously to all the American people."[175] As one journalist put it shortly after the collapse of the conference, "On the tear-gas shrouded streets of Seattle, the unruly forces of democracy collided with the elite world of trade policy. And when the meeting ended in failure late Friday, the elitists had lost and debate was changed forever."[176] But there was little clarity about the real significance of this victory. Environmentalists and unions celebrated their new alliance, memorably announced on a sign held aloft by longshoreman Brad Spann during the protests, "Teamsters and Turtles: Together at Last."[177] Consumer rights advocates worried that all the media attention had been focused

[174] Raj Patel, 'Anti-WTO Activist', *Grist*, 2 December 1999 <https://grist.org/article/patel-anti-wto/>; Buterbaugh and Fulton, pp. 153–55; Khor and Kruse, pp. 123–42; Martin Khor, 'The Revolt of the Developing Nations', in *Battles in the WTO: Negotiations and Outcomes of the WTO Ministerial Conferences* (Penang, Malaysia: Third World Network, 2020), pp. 111–16.
[175] Richare Lacayo, 'Rage Against the Machine', *Time*, 6 December 1999 <https://edition.cnn.com/ALLPOLITICS/time/1999/12/06/wto.html> [accessed 30 January 2022].
[176] Jonathan Peterson, 'Inside, Outside Forces Change WTO Forever', *Los Angeles Times*, 5 December 1999 <https://www.latimes.com/archives/la-xpm-1999-dec-05-mn-45935-story.html> [accessed 30 January 2022].
[177] Cockburn and St. Clair, p. 17.

on images of black-clad youth instead of their carefully planned public relations campaign for communicating "the issues." Leftists like Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St. Clair denounced "the myth of respectable triumph in Seattle" that overstated the importance of liberal NGOs and union leaders and elided the role of the "the true heroes of the Battle in Seattle – the street warriors" in securing victory.[178] It is perhaps more accurate to conclude that no single element could have achieved such a victory alone. To the contrary, as activist Lisa Fithian later recalled, "I believe that Seattle was successful because of – not in spite of – our differences in approach."[179] It was the decades of movement building that made the WTO protests possible, and that helped to bring together a movement for global justice. Seattle was therefore both an end and a new beginning.[180]

[178] Cockburn and St. Clair, pp. 58–69.
[179] Fithian, pp. 80–81.
[180] Naomi Klein, *Fences and Windows: Dispatches from the Front Lines of the Globalization Debate* (London: Flamingo, 2002); Paul Kingsnorth, *One No, Many Yeses: A Journey to the Heart of the Global Resistance Movement* (London: Free Press, 2003); David Graeber, *Direct Action: An Ethnography* (Edinburgh: AK Press, 2009); Geoffrey Pleyers, *Alter-Globalization: Becoming Actors in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011).

Figure 5-1 Flyer, "Stop the City" Collection, 56a Infoshop.

ARE YOU SICK OF ... The Exploitation of the Third World ... the Mass Murder of Animals ... the Rape of the World's resources ... The Crazy Creation of Death Machines and Bombs that threaten us with total Destruction ?

ARE YOU SICK OF ... High Unemployment ... Cuts in Benefits and Education ... Closure of Hospitals and Libraries ... Police Brutality ... Food Mountains when people are starving ?

If you are then you have one or more reasons to STOP THE CITY on 29th March 1984. The first STOP THE CITY protest took place last September 29th. Although the press mostly either ignored or distorted what was a liberating, colourful and historic event, 1500 people did come to 'The City' and did express in an effective, non-violent way their feelings about how the City helps destroy life, not sustain it. In London, the 'city' – Stock Exchange, banks and business head-quarters – is the heart of the finance system. Although billions of pounds change hands there each year, it is a place that is morally bankrupt. People come a poor second to profits. This is the logical place to take Direct Action on March 29th. On that day the profits from the entire year will be totalled up, and much of that profit will be blood-money – the product of exploitation. This is also Harrisburg Day.

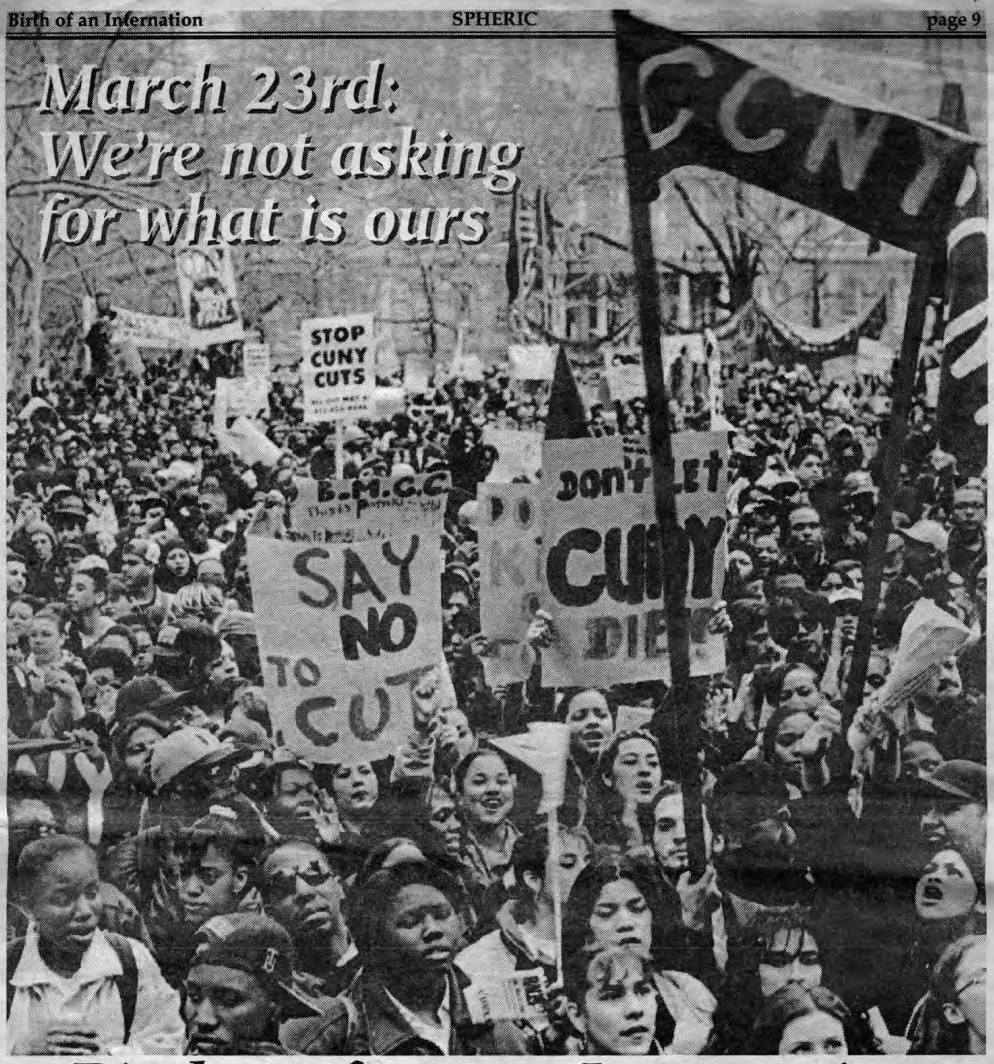
We're calling upon anyone who is saddened and frustrated by what a powerful and greedy min-ority are doing to our world, and with our money. This misuse of our money is now creating real poverty in this and other countries and we have a society which is sexist, racist and increasingly state-controlled. We feel that the STOP THE CITY is a way for people to realise the power of their constructive actions together, against the City's obscene obsession. The people in power may have authority, but they are criminally irresponsible in human terms. We feel that it is time we raised our voices at the outrages perpetrated for profit. STOP THE CITY is a way to do this.

This is our chance to show our opposition to the adding up of money wrung from human misery. Anyone who wants is welcome to join in, either with the above ideas or just to do whatever feels good. Come to 'the City' on March 29th. and see what we can achieve together.

Please bring costumes, musical instruments, bikes, your imagination and energies and he' reclaim 'the City' in a celebration of our common humanity.

Figure 5-2 Flyer, "Stop the City" Collection, 56a Infoshop.

Figure 5-3 Leaflet, J18 and Anti-Globalisation Collection, MayDay Rooms, London.



• Birth • of • an • Internation •

On the cool midday of March 23rd, 1995, a 16-year-old Puerto Rican girl from Spanish Harlem squeezed her way through thousands of protesters, past the weak stage security and with unself-conscious courage approached the stage manager demanding to speak. She explained that she had stayed up half the night writing a speech and no one would hold her back. Chaos was already ruling the stage as every guy with five friends demanded his turn on the mike. Politicians including Al Sharpton and Borough President Ruth Messinger were turned away from the stage, yet this young woman took her turn. She told the story of her life, her family coming to New York, her schooling and hopes. She asked why people so obviously hostile to her and her family were even able to make decisions that so poorly effected them. She spoke in Spanish and English and declared she would never be quiet. The crowd roared in response. How was it that the largest student protest New York has seen since the 60's was more interested in the words of a young woman from Harlem, than the practiced speeches of liberal government officials? How was it that people came out on the 23rd to speak for themselves?

To understand what happened and to figure out which way to go in our struggle for education and self-determination, we need to study the many lessons and different stories from Spring '95. Spheric has collected stories from a variety of viewpoints in an attempt to present the full breath of opinion. By printing an article, Spheric is in no way endorsing the opinions of the writer, we are only trying to give a complete picture.

We hope this collection serves as a springboard rather than an ending. The struggle which we all unleashed is about more than just classrooms and books, it was about we the people standing on our own feet for once. And while we didn't stop the budget ax, we have learned much about power in America, the power of people united, and that our future really rests only in our own hands.

Figure 5-4 "Birth of an Internation," Spheric Newspaper, Volume X, Number 1, c. 1995, page 9. CUNY Digital History Archive. Accessed December 6, 2021, https://cdha.cuny.edu/items/show/6

Who Is SLAM! What Do They Want?

1 We are fighting for the right of all people to free quality higher education.

2 We are fighting for a University that serves the people. We want full and direct democratic control of the University by the University community of students, workers, and faculty. We call for the immediate transfer of control of the University from the Board of Trustees, which respresents the interests of a tiny ruling elite, to a democratically elected University Council of students, workers, and faculty.

3 We are fighting for an education that aids us in our struggles for liberation and in the creation of a new society. We call for the democratic reorganization of the curriculum, methods of teaching, and the grading system.

4 We are fighting for unconditional freedom of political expression on campus; including free access to the campus by all memebers of the community and an end to all practices of University administration intended to suppress political activity.

5 We are fighting for the immediate cancellation of all bonds and other outstanding debts that drain money from the University to further profit the rich.

6 We are fighting for conditions of life that enable us to learn. These include free quality food, shelter, healthcare, childcare, transportation, tutoring, and remediation for all members of the University community.

7 We are fighting for an autonomous University. We insist on the immediate severing of all University ties with corporate, financial, governmental and military institutions that contribute to the maintenance of the existing oppressive social order.

8 We are fighting for an end to police terror on and off campus. We call for the police to be permanently banned from the University, for the dismantling of the SAFE unit, and for campus security to be placed under democratic control of the University community.

9 We are fighting for a truly democratic society in which all decisions are made by those who are effected by them, a society commited to meeting the basic needs of all people, and to protecting the planet we share.

10 We are fighitng for an end to all forms of oppression and exploitation: to white supremacy and all forms of racism, to the oppression of women, to the repression of the full diversity of consensual human sexuality, and to the profit system and the rule of the rich.

POWER to the PEOPLE

SLAM!

SLAM! is a democratically organized student group open to individuals who are willing to work and believe in the above principles. For further information on getting down with the SLAM! crew, please call:

212•772•4261

Student Liberation Action Movement

Figure 5-5 Who is SLAM! What Do They Want?" in Spheric Newspaper, Red, White, and Blues, Volume X, Number 4, 1997. CUNY Digital History Archive. Accessed December 7, 2021, https://cdha.cuny.edu/items/show/671.

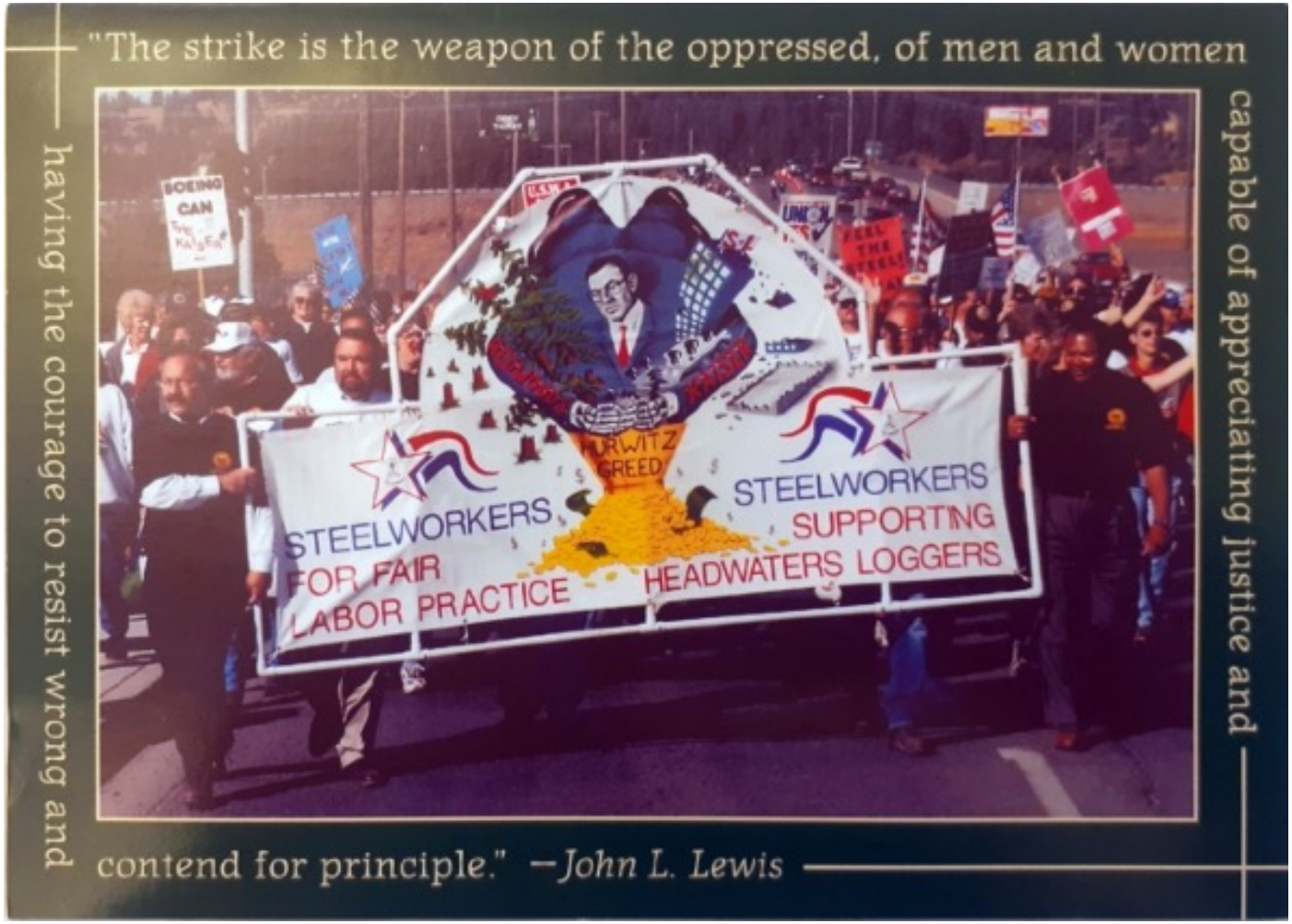


Figure 5-6 Photograph USWA banner denouncing Hurwitz's greed. Carton 2, Folder 15, Earth Island Institute records, BANC MSS 2009/129, The Bancroft Library. University of California. Berkeley.

Houston Principles

PREAMBLE

On May 19, 1999 environmental and labor leaders confronted CEO Charles Hurwitz in Houston to demand that his Maxxam Corporation, which owns Kaiser Aluminum and Pacific Lumber Company, be held accountable for its impact on working people, communities and the environment.

The Maxxam Corporation has become an icon of corporate irresponsibility as evidenced by Maxxam's Pacific Lumber Company clear-cutting ancient redwoods in Northern California, and by Maxxam's Kaiser Aluminum Corporation locking-out striking steelworkers in five cities.

Recognizing that we have a common interest in making corporations more accountable for their behavior world-wide, environmental and labor leaders have formed the Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment and circulated the following statement, dubbed the "Houston Principles."

Whereas:

- The spectacular accumulation of wealth by corporations and America's most affluent during the past decades has come with a huge price tag.
- Corporations have become more powerful than the government entities designed to regulate them.
- The goal of a giant, global corporation is to maximize wealth and to wield political power on its own behalf. Too often, corporate leaders regard working people, communities, and the national world as resources to be used and thrown away.
- Recognizing the tremendous stakes, labor unions and environmental advocates are beginning to recognize our common ground. Together we can challenge illegitimate corporate authority over countries and communities' governing decisions.
- While we may not agree on everything, we are determined to accelerate our efforts to make alliances as often as possible.

We believe that:

- A healthy future for the economy and the environment requires a dynamic alliance between labor, management, and environmental advocates.
- The same forces that threaten economic and biological sustainability hurt working people, communities, and the earth.
- Labor, environmental and community groups need to take action to organize as a counter-balance to abusive corporate power.

The environmental and labor advocates who have signed these principles resolve to work together to:

- Remind the public that the original purpose behind the creation of corporations was to serve the public interest-namely working people, communities, and the earth.
- Seek stricter enforcement of labor laws and advocate for new laws to guarantee working people their right to form unions and their right to bargain collectively.
- Make workplaces, communities and the planet safer by reducing waste and greenhouse gas emissions at a global level.
- Demand that trade agreements include enforceable labor and environmental standards.
- Promote forward-thinking business models that allow for sustainability over the long term while protecting working people, communities, and the environment.

This groundbreaking alliance of labor and environmentalists invites all people to join with us in a spirit of creative cooperation. Together, we can forge a partnership that protects people and the planet.

Figure 5-7 The "Houston Principles" printed in a Coalition for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment brochure. Carton 2, Folder 15, Earth Island Institute Records. BANC MSS 2009/129. The Bancroft Library. University of California. Berkeley.

SHUT DOWN

THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

COME TO SEATTLE NOV. 29–DEC. 3, 1999

MASS NONVIOLENT DIRECT ACTION
TUES. NOV. 30, 1999

FESTIVAL OF RESISTANCE
NOV 29-DEC 3

SEATTLE

(206) 632-1658
CAN@DRIZZLE.COM
WWW.AGITPROP.ORG/ARTANDREVOLUTION

GLOBALIZE LIBERATION - NOT CORPORATE POWER

WAR
LOW WAGES
DEFORESTATION
GENTRIFICATION
GRIDLOCKED CITIES
GENETIC ENGINEERING
THE RICH GETTING RICHER
CUTS IN SOCIAL SERVICES
INCREASING POVERTY
MEANINGLESS JOBS
GLOBAL WARMING
MORE PRISONS
SWEATSHOPS

All this didn't just spring from nowhere but is the result of an economic and political system that is GOING GLOBAL. The resistance to it, if it is to be effective, must also be global.

From November 29 to December 3, 1999, leaders of transnational corporations, governments, and an army of bureaucrats will descend upon Seattle, Washington to further their drive for profits, to control our political, economic and cultural life, and nature. Their new strategy to concentrate power and wealth, while neutralizing people's resistance, is the creation of a permanent institution, the WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION.

Tens of thousands of people will converge on Seattle and transform it into a festival of resistance. The events include mass nonviolent direct action, reclaiming our streets with giant puppets, street theater, celebration, music, and pleasure. Vibrant sounds of community, creativity and resistance will provide a glimpse of life as it might be while confronting hundreds of deadening businessman, bureaucrats, and politicians. A NEW WORLD IS POSSIBLE and a global movement of resistance is rising to make it happen.

On Tuesday, November 30, participate in a mass mobilization and direct action to

SHUT DOWN THE WTO

Cosponsored by (to date): Direct Action Network, Global Exchange, Rainforest Action Network, Ruckus Society, and People's Global Action.

Figure 5-8 "Shut Down the World Trade Organization: Comes to Seattle Nov. 29 – Dec 3, 1999." Front page of DAN Broadsheet. #ShutdownWTO20 Organizers' History Project Website. https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/call-to-action

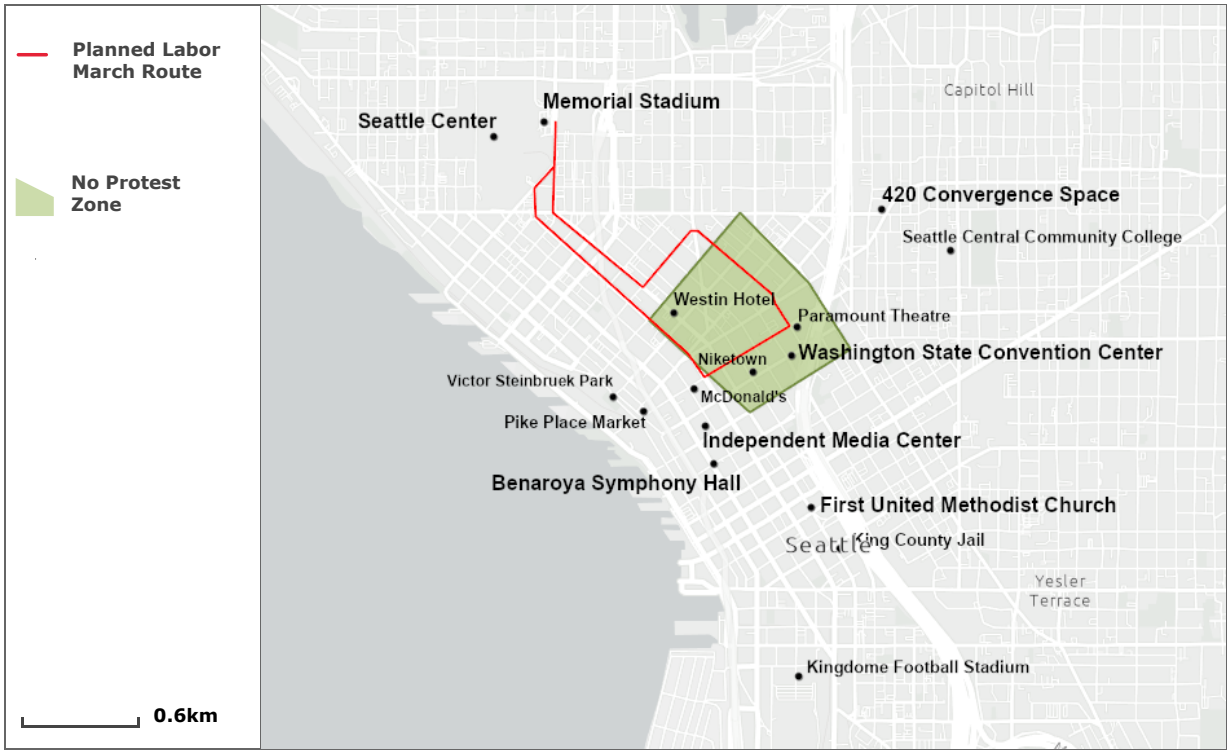


Figure 5-9 Map of downtown Seattle showing key sites. (Source: Richard Saich, Battle of Seattle Protest Sites, ArcGIS Online, 2022. Map compiled using data from "Shut Down the WTO Action Packet" (available from #ShutdownWTO20 Organizers' History Project Website, https://www.shutdownwto20.org/what-happened/call-to-action) and Map of Downtown Seattle in Voices from the WTO ed by Stephanie Guilloud, 2000).

THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON GLOBALIZATION PRESENTS

ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION AND THE ROLE OF THE WORLD TRADE ORGANIZATION

TEACH-IN

FRIDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 26
& SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 27

BENAROYA HALL
[3RD AVENUE & UNIVERSITY STREET]
SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

THE INTERNATIONAL FORUM ON GLOBALIZATION PRESENTS

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TEACH-IN

BENAROYA HALL 3RD AVENUE & UNIVERSITY STREET SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

FRIDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 26, 1999

▲ *Session One:* 7:00 P.M. - 10:00 P.M.

THE MULTIPLE IMPACTS OF ECONOMIC GLOBALIZATION

OPENING NIGHT. Broad presentations on the big picture: economic globalization's grave effects on nature, culture, workers, human rights, sovereignty, and democracy. Special attention on the driving engines of globalization—global corporations—and the theories, and WTO rules that pave their way.

Maude Barlow *Council of Canadians, Canada*
John Cavanagh *Institute for Policy Studies, U.S.*
Susan George *Transnational Institute, France*
Martin Khor *Third World Network, Malaysia*
David Korten *People-Centered Development Forum, U.S.*
Jerry Mander *International Forum on Globalization, U.S.*
Vandana Shiva *Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, India*
Lori Wallach *Public Citizen, U.S.*

SATURDAY NIGHT, NOVEMBER 27, 1999

▲ *Session Three:* 8:00 P.M.- 11:00 P.M.

SPECIAL EVENT: VIEWS FROM THE SOUTH

A rare opportunity to hear a roundtable discussion featuring the most prominent voices of Third World opposition to the new instruments of re-colonization: globalization, the WTO and transnational corporations. Mainstream media rarely cover these viewpoints, but it has been the South that has borne the extra burden from corporate-led globalization. Featured speakers:

Walden Bello *Focus on the Global South, Thailand*
Tewolde Berhen Gebre Egziabher *Institute for Sustainable Development, Ethiopia*
Martin Khor *Third World Network, Malaysia*
Sara Larrain *RENACE (Chilean Ecological Action Network)*
Helena Norberg-Hodge *Int'l. Society for Ecology and Culture, Ladakh*
Vandana Shiva *Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology, India*
Victoria Tauli-Corpuz *Indigenous Peoples' Network for Policy Research & Education, Philippines*
Owens Wiwa *Movement For The Survival Of The Ogoni People, Nigeria*

ADDED EVENT: DAY ON AGRICULTURE

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 2, 1999, 9 A.M. - 6 P.M.

At United Methodist Church, 811 5th Avenue, Seattle

A free all day special event focused on the full impacts of the globalization of industrial agriculture from the point of view of farmers, consumers, food safety, world hunger, public health, and the environment. Much discussion will concern biotechnology and its effects.

This event is presented by the International Forum on Food and Agriculture (a division of IFG); the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy; and Public Citizen

ADVANCE TICKETS *Use the enclosed envelope, or contact the IFG at 415-771-8094. Or call Ticketmaster at 206-628-0888.*

SATURDAY DAY, NOVEMBER 27, 1999

▲ *Session Two:* 8:30 A.M. - 6:30 P.M.

A DAY-LONG SERIES OF PANEL DISCUSSIONS

Presenting focused panels on: Biotechnology; Global Finance/Investment; Effects on Forests, Rivers, Oceans; Labor Rights; Corporate Power; Agriculture and Food Safety; as well as a special panel on an alternative Citizens' Millennium Agenda. Additional speakers include:

Agnès Bertrand *Observatoire de la Globalisation Economique, France*
Brent Blackwelder *Friends of the Earth, U.S.*
Tony Clarke *Polaris Institute, Canada*
Herman Daly *University of Maryland, U.S.*
Kevin Danaher *Global Exchange, U.S.*
Patti Goldman *Earthjustice Legal Defense Fund, U.S.*
Yao Graham *Third World Network, Ghana*
Richard Grossman *Program on Corporations, Law and Democracy, U.S.*
Randall Hayes *Rainforest Action Network, U.S.*
Colin Hines *Protect the Local, U.K.*
Mae-Wan Ho *Institute of Science for Society, U.K.*
Danny Kennedy *Project Underground, U.S.*
Andrew Kimbrell *Int'l Center for Technology Assessment, U.S.*
Tim Lang *Center for Food Policy, U.K.*
Anuradha Mittal *Institute for Food & Development Policy, U.S. & India*
Pat Roy Mooney *Rural Advancement Foundation International, Canada*
David Morris *Institute for Local Self-Reliance, U.S.*
Meena Ramen *Consumers Association of Penang, Malaysia*
Jeremy Rifkin *Foundation on Economic Trends, U.S.*
Mark Ritchie *Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, U.S.*
Anita Roddick *The Body Shop, U.K.*
Peter Rossett *Institute for Food and Development Policy, U.S.*
Barbara Shailor *AFL-CIO, U.S.*
Steven Shrybman *West Coast Environmental Law Association, Canada*
Hassan Sunuu *Organization of African Trade Union Unity, Ghana*
David Suzuki *Suzuki Foundation, Vancouver, B.C.*
Hassan Yussuff *Canadian Labour Congress, Canada*

FOR MORE INFORMATION *on these and other related events contact the IFG at 415-771-8094; or write to 1555 Pacific Ave., San Francisco, CA 94109 web: www.ifg.org email: ifg-ifg.org*

Figure 5-10 International Forum on Globalization Teach-In Programme. World Trade Organization. Box 6. Nonviolent Action Community of Cascadia Records (DG 239). Swarthmore College Peace Collection.

Figure 5-11 Photograph of the Rainforest Action Network banner on 29 November 1999. From: Gregory Scruggs, '20 Years Ago, Seattle Redefined the Modern Protest', Bloomberg, 29 November 2019 <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-11-29/what-seattle-s-wto-protests-mean-20-years-later> [accessed 26 January 2022].

Conclusion

This dissertation has argued that the rise of neoliberalism was accompanied by diverse forms of resistance, at the local, national, and global level. It maintains that there is a need to reassess the conventional view that this period was characterised by acquiescence to organised wealth and power.[1] It is certainly true that when the Democratic Party was transformed into a vehicle for free market economics in the 1980s, social and cultural identity became the axis of electoral politics, and neoliberalism became hegemonic within the electoral domain of American politics.[2] However, this has led historians to overlook the continued salience of class and other struggles that were taking place beyond the formal political sphere. By examining the evolution of the new social movements that emerged during this period, a far richer landscape of opposition is revealed.

As the preceding analysis has shown, understanding the nature of opposition to neoliberalism in the late twentieth century requires abandoning the "labour metaphysic" and the economism that underpinned it. This operation entails dispensing with prior assumptions about what constitutes a legitimate form of political organisation. During this period, the politics of class were inflected through a much broader range of political and social formations than has been commonly recognised. The modes of resistance that were produced by the reconstruction of capitalism were different from those produced by earlier upheavals, often taking place through networks, coalitions, and other forms of horizontal solidarity. Social movement actors were also motivated by a much broader range of concerns, such as democratic participation, the preservation of the environment, and sexual, gender and racial justice. In order to integrate these concerns, they needed to work hard to overcome entrenched divisions within their ranks.

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[1] Steve Fraser, *The Age of Acquiescence: The Life and Death of American Resistance to Organized Wealth and Power* (New York: Basic Books, 2016); Gary Gerstle's characterisation of Bill Clinton as the 'Democratic Eisenhower' perfectly captures this point. Gary Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order: America and the World in the Free Market Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022), 152–59.

[2] James Davison Hunter, *Culture Wars: The Struggle to Define America* (New York: Basic Books, 1991); Andrew Hartman, *A War for the Soul of America: A History of the Culture Wars* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).

Resistance to neoliberalism has also been overlooked because of its grassroots and transnational character. The global reach of transnational capital required a more concerted effort to disentangle the ideological, political, and economic dimensions of neoliberalism. The globalization of production meant that struggle took place at the local as well as the global level. Political actors were as likely to forge alliances with groups that were geographically distant from them as they were with groups nearby. Despite these challenges, activists experimented with new varieties of labour organization, transnational economic and environmental advocacy, and community empowerment. In doing so, they won important material victories for working class people within the United States and beyond its borders. The efforts of U.S. social movements must be understood not in isolation, but as one component of a much broader and deeper wave of resistance that began in the Global South in the 1970s. Viewed in this way, a new periodisation of resistance comes into view, one that places far more importance on the two decades that preceded the Battle of Seattle.

The democratic critique that social movement actors levelled against the neoliberal state also deserves to be taken seriously. In the early 1990s commentators often tended to see the free market, liberalism, and democracy as inextricable elements of a cohesive social order.[3] In contrast, critics charged that neoliberal policies were often advocated for by large corporations and other economic interests, and that this had a distorting effect on political discourse in the United States. Whenever attempts were made to insulate policy from popular participation, activists worked to bring this issue to light. Through public debate, protest, and other forms of dissent, they held the powerful to account for the social and environmental consequences of their decisions. The poor and other marginalised groups had the least access to decision-makers, yet they were often the ones who were most adversely affected by neoliberal reforms. This is a reminder of the fact that the extreme inequalities of wealth produced by unconstrained capitalism are deeply corrosive of the social foundations of democracy and social solidarity. As we now know, the exclusions and material suffering that neoliberalism produced has ultimately brought about a powerful and disturbing reaction of a different kind, but the consequences could have been far worse without the moderating influence that opposition exerted.

[3] The classic statement is Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man* (London: Penguin, 1992).

The achievements of the social movements discussed here are therefore best measured not merely in terms of their immediate or short-term victories, but also in terms of their contribution to the longer-term erosion of neoliberal hegemony. The Battle of Seattle ended one chapter of resistance to neoliberalism, but it opened another. The neoliberal order had survived over two decades of discontent and following the triumph of George W. Bush in the 2000 election, it was set to continue in another iteration.[4] However, the popular mobilizations and other forms of resistance charted in the previous chapters served to frustrate the advance of neoliberalism and mitigate its worst effects in significant ways. Activists halted efforts by elite policymakers to push neoliberalism to its logical extremes, allowing marginalised groups to voice their calls for fair treatment. Just as importantly, the movements described here laid the foundations for future struggle, providing a framework for understanding neoliberalism as both an ideological construction and as an economic system. By denaturalizing the assumptions of "market fundamentalism" critics revealed the anti-democratic and pro-corporate agenda that undergirded neoliberal economics. Activists also exposed the exploitative dimensions of global capitalism, educating the public about the complex workings of modern supply chains and the interconnectedness of the world economy. Above all, during a time of prolonged conservative ascendancy, they kept alive the hope for a more just and equitable future.

Without the efforts of activists to oppose the imposition of structural adjustment policies and to advocate for debt cancellation, the social costs imposed on the Global South may have been far higher. Although the commitments made by rich countries to address the issue were inadequate, it is doubtful there would have been any concessions without pressure from below. The discrediting of the Washington Consensus was achieved by a process of attrition, and in the years after Seattle this opened a margin of policy independence for countries in the Global South. Similarly, the level of opposition to World Bank development projects made it impossible for business to continue as usual. As a result, the rubber-stamping of huge dams and other environmentally and socially destructive projects was stalled.

[4] On Bush and neoliberalism see Gerstle, *The Rise and Fall of the Neoliberal Order*, 189–222.

The campaign against the passage of NAFTA failed, but activists used that defeat to develop a movement infrastructure that secured several subsequent victories on the issue of "free trade." In 1997, they successfully halted the passage of the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), a deal that would have greatly accelerated the domination of peripheral economies by transnational capital. The defeat of the "Millennium Round" of trade talks at Seattle helped to initiate a new phase of struggle led by what came to be known as the Global Justice Movement. Protests in Washington D.C. (April 2000), and Prague (September 2000) attracted large numbers of demonstrators. The growing strength of the movement was evidenced by the approximately 300,000 people who gathered in Genoa, Italy in July 2001 to protest the G8 meeting in that city. These developments were a product not only of what one researcher has called "the Seattle effect" but also of the many years of movement building that led up to the 1999 protests. Activists also helped to slow the progress of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) initiative, launched in Miami, Florida in 1994. The Hemispheric Social Alliance, modelled on the movement networks established in the 1990s, helped to ensure the visibility of popular opposition to the FTAA until the proposal was finally abandoned by world leaders in 2005.[5] The later failure of the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) and the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP) reflected the fact that "free trade" was no longer perceived to be inevitable or democratically legitimate. When Bernie Sanders' insurgent campaign turned the Democratic Party against free trade in 2016, it was a legacy of his association with the political movements of this earlier period.[6]

The Global Justice Movement that grew out of the Seattle protests laid the foundations for continued resistance to neoliberalism around the world. The primary institutional focus for this movement was the World Social Forum (WSF), which was first held in Porto Alegre in January 2001. In Latin America the sweeping victories of progressive movements known as the "Pink Tide" displaced neoliberal governments in the 2000s. Some of these leaders, notably Brazilian president Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, had connections with anti-neoliberal

[5] Jeffrey S. Juris, *Networking Futures: The Movements Against Corporate Globalization* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2008), 27–60.
[6] Douglas A. Irwin, 'The Truth About Trade: What Critics Get Wrong About the Global Economy', *Foreign Affairs* 95, no. 4 (August 2016): 84–95.

circles in the United States in the 1990s, and had participated in the WSF.[7] In Europe, annual EuroMayDay demonstrations were organised by precarious workers in the years after 2001.[8] In the United States, the Direct Action Network that was established in the lead up to the Seattle protests developed into a loose network across several major cities. Members of the New York branch played an important role in launching Occupy.[9]

The mobilizations in the 1980s and 1990s also had longer term implications for the future of the American labour movement. Although membership density continued to fall, the seeds of renewal had been planted. The alliance between unions and immigrant rights groups was cemented by huge rallies held in 2006, which brought millions of people onto the streets in 160 cities across the United States. In Los Angeles alone it is estimated that as many as 650,000 people participated.[10] Throughout the United States, the service sector proved to be one of the most dynamic sources of union militancy over the 2000s and 2010s. The national conversation about inequality that Occupy initiated provided an opening for labour organisers in the fast-food industry. The union that launched the iconic Justice for Janitors campaign in the 1980s and 1990s, the SEIU, was also the driving force behind the "Fight for $15" campaign, launched in New York in 2012.[11]

The integration of labour and environmental politics, pioneered by grassroots groups in the 1980s and 1990s, has become more pressing as the reality of climate change has become more widely recognised. The climate justice movement has its roots in the interlinking of the

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[7] Geoffrey Pleyers, *Alter-Globalization: Becoming Actors in the Global Age* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2011), 246–49.
[8] Guy Standing, *The Precariat: The New Dangerous Class* (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 1–7.
[9] Francesca Polletta, *Freedom Is an Endless Meeting: Democracy in American Social Movements* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004); David Graeber, *The Democracy Project: A History, A Crisis, A Movement* (London: Allen Lane, 2013).
[10] Irene Bloemraad and Kim Voss, eds., *Rallying for Immigrant Rights: The Fight for Inclusion in 21st Century America* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2011); Marcel Paret and Guadalupe Aguilera, 'Golden State Uprising: Migrant Protest in California, 1990–2010', *Citizenship Studies* 20, no. 3–4 (18 May 2016): 359–78.
[11] Annelise Orleck, *'We Are All Fast-Food Workers Now': The Global Uprising Against Poverty Wages* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2018), 96–97; Josh Sanburn, 'Fast Food Strikes: Unable to Unionize, Workers Borrow Tactics From "Occupy"', *Time*, 30 July 2013, https://business.time.com/2013/07/30/fast-food-strikes-unable-to-unionize-workers-borrow-tactics-from-occupy/; Lynne Turner, 'United New York: Fighting for a Fair Economy in "The Year of the Protester"', in *New Labor in New York: Precarious Workers and the Future of the Labor Movement*, ed. Ruth Milkman and Ed Ott (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2014), 88–109; David Rolf, *The Fight for Fifteen: The Right Wage for a Working America* (New York: The New Press, 2016).

various issues that were raised in this earlier era of resistance to neoliberalism, integrating local and global politics, an analysis of the structural inequalities of the global economy, the need to rethink intensive agricultural practices and resource extraction, and to halt and reverse deforestation. The coalitions formed between environmentalists and indigenous peoples that were first explored in the 1980s, have also become more commonplace. The uprising of the Standing Rock Sioux and their allies against the Dakota Access Pipeline in April 2016 is only the most dramatic and widely reported example of this political alliance in the United States.[12]

Despite these important legacies, it cannot be claimed that the dialectical relationship between neoliberalism and resistance has ceased, or even that the mutation of neoliberalism has come to an end. To the contrary, neoliberalism has further intensified the exploitation of workers in the Global South, the displacement of family farmers and indigenous peoples, and the growth of inequality both within the United States and globally. The abandonment of poor and minority communities in New Orleans by the Federal government in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina in August 2005, the failure to reform the financial industry following the 2008 financial crash, and the deaths of 1,100 garment workers in the Rana Plaza disaster in Dhaka, Bangladesh in April 2013 are just some of the prominent symptoms of the continued grip of neoliberalism on America and the world.[13] In the United States, the *Citizens United* Supreme Court ruling of 2010 has allowed corporations to further consolidate their power within the political system.[14] Abroad, they have capitalised on deregulatory reforms put in place in 1991 to begin speculating on global food prices and to take control of large swathes

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[12] Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon, eds., *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices From the #NoDAPL Movement* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 2019).

[13] On Hurricane Katrina see Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (London: Penguin, 2008), 406–22; On the financial crisis, austerity, and the non-death of neoliberalism see Colin Crouch, *The Strange Non-Death of Neoliberalism* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011); John Quiggin, *Zombie Economics: How Dead Ideas Still Walk Among Us* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Mark Blyth, *Austerity: The History of a Dangerous Idea* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Paul Krugman, 'The Austerity Delusion', *The Guardian*, 29 April 2015; Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: The Delayed Crisis of Democratic Capitalism*, Second Edition (London: Verso, 2017); On Rana Plaza see Richard Appelbaum and Nelson Lichtenstein, eds., *Achieving Workers' Rights in the Global Economy* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2016); Nelson Lichtenstein, 'Two Cheers for Vertical Integration: Corporate Governance in a World of Global Supply Chains', in *Corporations and American Democracy*, ed. Naomi R Lamoreaux and William J. Novak (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017), 329–58; Orleck, *We Are All Fast-Food Workers Now*, 118–24.

[14] Jane Mayer, *Dark Money: How a Secretive Group of Billionaires Is Trying to Buy Political Control in the U.S.* (Brunswick, Victoria: Scribe, 2016).

of land (commonly referred to as “land grabs”) across the Global South.[15] Globally, they have opposed all efforts to tackle the climate crisis and the sixth mass extinction.[16] These realities make the task of understanding the roots of resistance, and the translation of that understanding into sustained action, all the more urgent.

[15] Jason Hickel, *The Divide: A Brief Guide to Global Inequality and Its Solutions* (London: William Heinemann, 2017), 232–38.
[16] Naomi Klein, *This Changes Everything: Capitalism vs. the Climate* (London: Allen Lane, 2014).

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Mendez Mural Community Garden Collection, Fales Library and Special Collections, New York University Libraries.

#ShutdownWTO20 Organizers' History Project

Private Collections:

Jeffrey Ballinger Personal Collection.

Bruce M. Rich. Private Collection

The Development Group for Alternative Policies. Private Collection

World Bank Archives:

Subject Files Relating to Major Issues of Interest to the Vice President and Chief Economist (DECVP), Records of the Office of the Chief Economist, Records of the Office of the Vice President, Development Economics and Chief Economist and later Senior Vice President, Development Economics and Chief Economist (DECVP), World Bank Group Archives, Washington, D.C., United States.

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