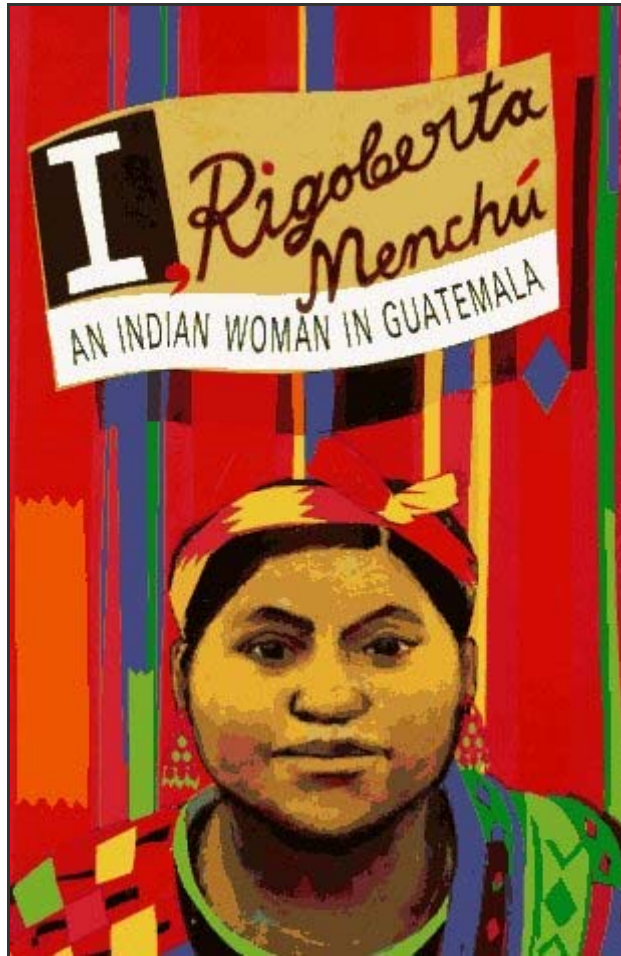


## 14 - Of Saints, Sinners and Compañer@s: Researching the Active Bearers of Internationalism<sup>1</sup> (1999)

[Source: Waterman, Peter. 1999. 'Of Saints, Sinners and Compañeras: Internationalist Lives in the Americas Today', *Working Paper Series*, No. 286, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague. 32 pp.]



Saint, Sinner or Compañer@? This is one of two controversial books connected with the name of the 1992 Nobel Prize winner. Source: [www.library.cornell.edu/.../ref/eng390jc.html](http://www.library.cornell.edu/.../ref/eng390jc.html)

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<sup>1</sup> After almost one decade, the shortcomings of the resources for this item really show. And this during a period in which such printed and online resources have expanded very considerably. Rather than update the lists at the end of the chapter, I leave them as an indication of how rapidly electronic resources date – and a reminder to myself of the necessity of systematically updating this item!

*For most of human history, political and military elites have directed the foreign affairs of their tribes, kingdoms and nations as they have seen fit, largely unencumbered by the concerns of the common people over whom they rule. Recent history, however, has witnessed a difficult, faltering, yet clearly perceptible, upheaval from below. In recent decades, those ideals have been amplified into a 'participation revolution' around the world. From Algiers to Prague to Beijing, from Soweto to Santiago to San Francisco, ordinary people are increasingly acting on the idea that all people, and not just elites, ought to participate significantly in shaping the decisions and structures that effect their lives. This 'participation revolution' has not left untouched the domain of international relations and foreign policy making - long restricted to the control of elites. (Christian Smith, *Resisting Reagan: the US Central America Peace Movement*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1996, p. xvi).*

*[G]rasping the flow, finding and communicating present realities that transgress nation-state imaginaries, resembles what Walter Benjamin depicted as seizing a flash in a moment of danger, a praxis for historians. The real task of the historian, Benjamin insisted, was not to relive the past by empathy, not to set the present aside in order to recover the way...it really was. Instead, Benjamin called upon historians to be cognisant of debts and danger, debts owed to the dead who had struggled and sacrificed and danger in the present. This historian realises that 'even the dead will not be safe 'without historians' active intervention, that memory of losses and sacrifices will be lost or distorted in the interests of the presently powerful, and most importantly, that memories of past struggles, the flashes seized, can become inspiration for political movements in the present and future. (John D. Kelly, 'Time and the Global: Against the Homogeneous, Empty Communities in Contemporary Social Theory', *Development and Change*, Vol. 29, 1998. Pp. 839-71).*

*[T]here are two ways of contributing to this moment. One is to try to analyse the past with distance. The second to break the silence. The best way of doing this - there is no other - is to speak; or at least to write. This means to present testimony. And presenting testimony is, perhaps, already writing history. Because the history that will be written by future historians will be an interpretative history, done on the basis of testimonies. That of today, that of our days, has to be, instead, a testimonial history. This is not the history of the historians; it is that of the actors, and even if this is not the most true, it is at least the most authentic. (Fernando Mires, 'Chile: Rompiendo el silencio' [Chile: Breaking the Silence], *Servicio Informativo ALAI*. No. 279, August 26, 1998, pp. 12-16*

## Introduction: of icons and internationalisms

I had just presented a first draft of this paper,<sup>2</sup> in which I had included a thumbnail sketch of 1992 Nobel Peace Laureate, Rigoberta Menchu, when a public and international controversy broke out around her. This concerned both her first book, *I, Rigoberta Menchu* (Menchu 1987) and her second one, *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998a). Rigoberta was, in my original paper, the one such living contemporary agent. In so far as I was arguing for research on internationalism based on either testimonies or interviews, this controversy raised complex questions about the active agents of such and how to study them.

*I, Rigoberta Menchu* (IRM) contributed to making this indigenous Guatemalan woman activist an international icon, and provided a part of the stimulus for US/Western European solidarity movements to propose her for the Nobel Peace Prize she was awarded in 1992. It was after this, and with her consequent international reputation, that Rigoberta became a major public figure, speaking to an indigenous, national and international audience on a range of peace, democracy, indigenous rights and related issues.

The controversy about the use/abuse of the Latin American *testimonio* actually began earlier amongst anthropologists and other academics in the US (Chronicle of Higher Education 1999, Gugelberger 1996, Lancaster 1998).<sup>3</sup> It passed into the public sphere with the publication of a book on Menchu and IRM by David Stoll (1998). This threw doubt on both the literal veracity of her first testimony and its claim to represent the whole indigenous Guatemalan community. Whilst, I think, treating Menchu with some respect, Stoll argues that the testimony was a product of the relationship between her, her community, the armed insurrectionary movement she then identified with, and the international peace and justice movement itself. Despite the *New York Times* press spin on the book, with Rigoberta as a 'tarnished laureate' (Rohter 1998) Stoll has also publicly stated that he considers the Rigoberta phenomenon as having contributed to the peace process within Guatemala (Fernandez Garcia 1998). This was, however, not the first controversy about the first book, since, as Stoll records, there has been a long and complex series of disputes between Rigoberta and her Venezuelan/French interviewer/editor, Elizabeth Burgos Debray, concerning both the text and the income from IRM. Since the publication in English of Rigoberta's second

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<sup>2</sup> This first version was addressed to a conference on 'Transnational Organising in the Americas', within the Hemispheric Dialog (HD) programme, at the University of California Santa Cruz (UCSC), December 1998. Given my own limited knowledge of and access to both the hemisphere and its internationalisms, this event provided ideas, information and stimulus to a rewrite. The conference participants, the academics of UCSC, the Bay Area (San Francisco and surrounds), and California more generally, turned out to be particularly well qualified to speak about internationalism. This may be due to California's vanguard role in globalisation, its status on the frontline between 'first' and 'third' worlds, as well as its intimate, complex and conflictive relationship with waves of Latino/a immigrants (some of whom contributed significantly to the conference). My thanks for discussions and comments, in particular, go to Sonia Alvarez, Alison Brysk, John Borrego, Eric Holt-Jimenez, Jonathon Fox, Susanne Jonas, Margaret Keck, Norma Klahn, Ronnie Lipschutz, Paul Lubeck, James O'Connell, Manuel Pastor, Juan Poblete. I am particularly indebted to my discussant, Mimi Keck (who still owes *me* a printed copy of her penetrating comments!). Jonathon Fox is one of the few people are trying to theorise this area. He also pressed me, in person and by email, to a degree that may take longer to respond to than the period I had for reconsideration. Mary Garcia Castro made a polemical attack on my paper - which she considered ahistorical, anti-communist and eurocentric - and won applause amongst Latino/a students present. A pity, since I share her political background and many of her research interests. I hope she may come to see me as an interlocutor to be talked with rather than an opponent to be condemned. Relevant writings of a number of these people can be found in the bibliography. Appreciation should also be expressed to a seminar on the revised paper at the Institute of Social Studies, January 1999, where Eric Ross reproduced, non-polemically, some of Mary's concerns.

<sup>3</sup> For the most-compressed imaginable summary of the issues, see Gugelberger 1998, which discusses the second book of Rigoberta precisely in terms of its differences from her first.

book, *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998a), another row has blown up. The co-editors of this one accused Verso Books of intellectual theft in deliberately leaving their names not simply off the cover but out of the book as a whole.<sup>4</sup> Verso, however, denies any intention to mislead or misuse, explaining the matter as due to their translation having been done from a manuscript which did not carry these names, and the following failure of the copyright holders to point out any shortcoming in the English draft supplied them for commentary. They have also promised rectification (Verso 1998). The accusation of intellectual theft against Verso by Rigoberta's collaborators nonetheless suggests the sensitivity surrounding her books.

The controversy, more significantly, suggests what happens when the world's voiceless begin to find tongue, when for the first time the subaltern speaks.<sup>5</sup> These voices are neither innocent nor simple, nor can they be taken as *the* voice of a particular community or universe. Nor are they even *heard* without the mediation of comparatively wealthy, sophisticated or powerful Others, with their own already-developed skills, institutions and agendas - political, communicational or academic. Rigoberta has, over the years between her two books, been partially formed by the 'international of goodwill' that both campaigned for and gave her the Nobel. But this is not to disparage the international solidarity movements either, or even the funding agencies largely dependent on liberal-democratic states or capitalist corporations/foundations. It is rather to recognise a turning point in the history of international solidarity movements. For, as Stoll's book reveals (though this is not his intention), these have, over the last 20-30 years, operated largely on a one-way, top-down, North/West-to-South/East axis and direction. This has been a 'substitution solidarity' (see below) in which the rich/powerful/free, left/democratic/liberal movements, in the North/West, have related to the poor/weak/oppressed in the South/East. As Stoll further reveals, these solidarity movements needed such icons. And the regional/national/local movements behind the icons-to-be needed the international solidarity movements. But this was also during the period of North-South and East-West dichotomies. And that was before globalisation made us aware of the South in the North and the North in the South, or that global problems, global identities and new global social movements existed (or could exist) across, despite of, and against these increasingly blurred frontiers (Pollack 1998).

Regardless of the critique and controversy, *Crossing Borders* (CB) provides a unique contribution to an understanding of the new internationalisms. This is largely due to the manner in which it illustrates, in practical, personal and eminently readable terms, recent academic writing on what is variously called 'global civil society', 'the new internationalisms' or 'transnational advocacy networks' (see below). Rigoberta's CB will

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<sup>4</sup> The Spanish-language original of *Crossing Borders* (Menchu 1998b) has a very different appearance. Entitled, *Rigoberta Menchu: Granddaughter of the Mayas*, it indicates the two collaborators on its front cover. It also has preliminary statements by a Spanish leader of Amnesty International, of the Uruguayan writer, Eduardo Galeano, and of one of the collaborators himself. In an acknowledgement, Rigoberta expresses her thanks to this man and his colleague. The copy I have seen was a *third* 1998 edition, which indicated, moreover, that the book had won a major Spanish prize for 'International Co-operation'. CB was thus reinforcing her iconic status within the framework of what used to be called 'development aid'.

<sup>5</sup> The reference here is to Spivak 1988, who suggested that s/he could not. As for the iconisation of the marginalised indigenous or outcaste third world woman, this did not begin with Rigoberta, although it might end with her. Before her there was Domitila Barrios de Chungara (Barrios 1979), a woman of the indigenous mining communities in Bolivia. After her has come Phoolan Devi, the Indian bandit leader, immortalised in what many consider to be the best Indian movie ever, *Bandit Queen*. There was, on its release, a considerable national and international controversy around this movie, with Phoolan Devi suggesting her story had been ripped-off and distorted by the Indian-British production team responsible for it. Feminists crossed swords and theories, some stating that the movie was sexually exploitative, others that it showed an independent and empowered outcaste village woman wreaking vengeance on her higher-caste rapists in a manner available to her. Yes, they did use her. Yes it is a great movie. Or - if you prefer - the other way round.

reach many more readers than the writing of people like Stoll or myself. If these readers now look at her and her work as my colleagues look at me and mine, this can only contribute to creating the kind of public necessary for a self-reflective and self-critical global solidarity culture.

Rigoberta, the person, her testimonies, her iconic status, it seems to me, stand at another frontier crossing - between an old *internationalism* (a relation between nations, nationals, nationalities, nationalisms) and the new more complex, more critical, more self-conscious global solidarities. If the case, finally, raises questions about the role and value of testimony in the creation of international or global community, it also possibly spells the end of iconisation in creating a contemporary solidarity.<sup>6</sup> Internationalists, it seems to me, need to see Rigoberta, as neither saint nor sinner but rather as a *compañer@* (a richly ambiguous – and androgynous - figure - meaning friend, workmate, associate, sexual partner, or political comrade. It is in the light of the above that we should consider study of the new internationalists.

### **Argument: a new global solidarity culture needs internationalist voices**

So, this is an argument for an academic research project or programme on internationalists. Whilst originally based on the case of the Americas, I think the project has global relevance. This paper is also an argument for a research focus that does not yet exist, but which I consider not only innovatory but urgent. It is an argument, further, for carrying it out in a way that might encourage 1) input from such internationalists and 2) access to the output by both such people and the broader public concerned. This is not necessarily research which I will be able to carry out myself, although I would be happy to contribute. The paper is therefore meant to stimulate discussion, and, indeed, the independent research work of others. So much for motivation.

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<sup>6</sup> The de-iconisation may be already occurring within the 'First World-Third World movement'. This is suggested by the response to the controversy of a veteran of Dutch solidarity with Latin America, Mario Coolen (as reported in *Trouw* 1998). Coolen received Rigoberta on her first visit to Europe in 1981, and recognises the extent to which she has become entrapped both in the fame of her Nobel Prize and in the building of her own 'development empire'. At the same time, however, he defends her work - but as creating a 'corporate personality' representative of her people. And he is suspicious of the motives of Stoll. Coolen accuses him of undermining international support work for the Guatemalan *indígenas*, of creating the impression that things were not so bad for them in Guatemala, and of playing along with a familiar US strategy intended to undermine the participation of the *indígenas* in the forthcoming elections. Rigoberta herself has been reported, in the Guatemalan press, as insisting on the literal truth of IRM. The veteran Uruguayan revolutionary and writer, Galeano, has defended Rigoberta the icon and bitterly attacked Stoll for reproducing US imperial and racist attitudes (Galeano 1999). Arturo Taracena, a major actor in the creation of the first book, has broken a 16-year silence to comment critically on the roles in the controversy played by both Elizabeth Burgos Debray and David Stoll. Taracena, a Guatemalan historian, one-time revolutionary, long-time friend of Rigoberta and co-ordinator of the campaign for her Nobel, says in part: 'Rigoberta did not win the Prize only because of the book. It was because of her political organising, her leadership role and her political capacity. Rigoberta won the Nobel Prize for an entire trajectory. She was where she had to be at the right time. She was in the United Nations, in Geneva, she campaigned for human rights and for indigenous rights, not only in Guatemala, but throughout the Continent; she managed and maintained a leadership role at a global level. She came back to Guatemala, and she was captured. The Nobel wasn't given to her as a writer; besides, the book came out 10 years before she won the Prize. The Nobel Prize was a message to all of Latin America from Europe regarding the question of indigenous peoples and the construction of democracy and peace, but many people refuse to see that'. (Aceituno 1999). Grandin and Goldman (1999) comment as follows: 'perhaps Western readers expect only simplicity and naiveté from Indian women. And perhaps it was this expectation that Menchú skillfully used to publicise the wholesale slaughter being conducted by the Guatemalan military [...] Similar to what he accuses Menchú of doing, Stoll arranges and suppresses events to support his claims. Stoll would have us believe that if not for the guerrillas, the military might not have become the most bloodthirsty killing machine in the hemisphere. Yet by reducing Guatemala's conflict to the back-and-forth sparring between the guerrillas and the military, Stoll willfully -- or ignorantly -- misrepresents the history of Guatemalan political opposition and repression. It is unfortunate that at this moment, when truth commissions and exhumations are opening the secrets of the recent past to scrutiny, Stoll's work provides both these stereotypes with a scholarly patina'. For another well-qualified critic of Stoll's account, see Rarihokwats (1999). And for a thoughtful Peruvian journalist's evaluation of this issue, see Lauer 1999.

Now for the argument itself. It seems to me that any humane, varied, sustainable democratic and pluralistic notion of civil society, descends from often unrecognised predecessors, is shaped by distinct hegemonic structures and processes, but is also self-evidently dependent on certain active agents. As Christian Smith puts it in his study of the US-Central America peace movement of the 1980s: social movements do not consist simply of abstract structures and contexts, of impersonal forces and events. Social movements are, at bottom, real, flesh-and-blood human beings acting together to confront and disrupt. They are the collective expressions of specific people, of concrete men and women struggling together for a cause. Bringing our focus down to real, concrete human beings in this way raises a set of questions. Namely, exactly what kinds of people participated? Why did *they* tend to join or become recruited into the movement: What personal characteristics or circumstances may have predisposed them to become activists? (Smith 1996:168)<sup>7</sup>

To which I would add: what lessons can we draw in order to increase the active membership and effective leadership in such movements?

The case for writing about our particular movement *auto/biographically* is as follows. This genre is not an art or skill confined to the academy or professional writers. Neither is the reading thereof. Auto/biography can, it seems to me, make the work of internationalist activists accessible to publics that academic, political or even journalistic writing on internationalism can hardly touch. It should be remembered - also by the internationalists themselves - that internationalist activity can seem exotic *and even suspect* to the public they hope to reach or claim to speak for. The popularisation of internationalism therefore remains a permanent challenge. In the UK recently, and possibly elsewhere, the auto/biographical literary (and TV?) genre has been going through a boom. This may be due to a widespread crisis of identity, or even a generalised loss of social meaning. This in turn may be a consequence of the increasingly fast and often brutal transition to a new neo-liberalised, globalised and networked capitalism (GNC)<sup>8</sup> and the consequent undermining of such (now-traditional) structures, aspirations, life-cycles or relationships as lifetime wage-work, social welfare,

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<sup>7</sup> Although not cast in terms of internationalism, the book of Christian Smith (1996) on the 1980s US movement for peace in Central America is a rare if not unique example of a serious study of internationalism and internationalists in the Americas. It is not only the most extensive such study of which I am aware: it also examines its subject in terms of social movement theory. It has, furthermore, a long chapter (169-210) examining both activists and leaders on the basis of interviews and their own writings. And it pays major attention to the moral/ethical motivation. A crucial additional element is the attention given to the movement's relationship with public discourse and the mass media. Smith's case studies concentrate on Sanctuary (mobilising 70,000 US citizens to provide sanctuary, illegally, for Central American refugees within the US) and Witness for Peace (activating some 4,000 to risk their lives by traveling to Nicaraguan war zones). These movements came from and appealed largely to religious communities in the US. He pays only peripheral attention to CISPES (Committee in Solidarity with the People of El Salvador), and then primarily as a leftist gadfly. A pity, since giving it equal space would have required him to compare/contrast his religious and secular/leftist activists. I suspect, however, that this would not have changed his finding that this movement was one primarily of wealthy, white, university educated women and men, primarily from the human service professions. Smith's evident identification with and concentration on the moral/ethical element in this international solidarity movement nonetheless enables him to surpass the customarily aseptic analysis of US social movement theory (the only one he appears to be aware of). Moreover, he is aware of and makes us aware of contradictions within his movements. Those interested in the *next* wave of internationalism in the Americas, and want to advance such, need to read this book. I hope in the future to give it more attention than this footnote and the occasional main-text quotation. For an excellent interview-based journalistic account of one of Smith's movements, see Crittenden (1988).

<sup>8</sup> This is my name for this new phenomenon. But my argument relates to that of Manuel Castells (1996-8. Reviewed Waterman 1999) and to that of Felix Guattari (1998). I have only just discovered the latter item, which dates from 1991, and welcome his concept of an 'integrated global capitalism' and, particularly, his argument on the manner in which this produces a certain kind of subjectivity. It seems to me, however, that whatever capitalism proposes, it is people and peoples who dispose. An IGC can hardly produce only one subjectivity, however much it might imply or even promote such. Guattari, who died in 1992, in any case becomes one of the pioneers of what I call 'theoretically critical and socially committed globalisation theory'.

the family (nuclear or not), gender and generational roles, the national community, an authoritative state, life-advancing science, empowering education. In certain parts of our increasingly globalised world, the sense of loss gives rise to an enthusiastic consumptionism (often vicarious) or apathetic/sensation-seeking spectatorship, in others to mass fundamentalisms (religious, ethnic, occasionally socialist-nationalist or national-socialist). These responses have their own active bearers, whose lives or lifestyles may be projected nationally and internationally. It is time to present other lives, other models, and in ways that encourage critical engagement rather than passive admiration or thoughtless emulation.

The auto/biographical genre, with its customarily chronological and narrative form, its varied possible combinations of the public and private (and questionings of such), its ethical messages or dilemmas, apparently meets a current social need. In this case it could also provide vital feedback and raw material for interested activists and researchers. And it could deliver raw materials for further processing by cartoon-book makers, academics, dramatists, radio, video, TV, designers/producers of multimedia computer works.<sup>9</sup> These can, in turn, feed back to mass audiences unreachable by written work - as well, of course, to the activists, organisers and educators themselves. In so far, moreover, as the new global solidarities tend to increasingly take the form of *communications internationalisms* (see below), this project both expresses and furthers such. I know of few writings on or by such activists, whether recently or in the past. What exists may be only part of the life of a figure known or seen rather as a Traveller, a Feminist, a Communist, a Poet, a Revolutionary, a Pacifist, an *Indígena*, a Human Rights Activist. There is certainly more writing, particularly in Spanish and Portuguese, but also in English - including that sometimes forgotten America in the non-hispanic Caribbean.<sup>10</sup> More bibliographical work would expand such databases on internationalism as may already exist.<sup>11</sup> The same possibility and necessity exists for audio-visual materials and computer websites.

## Relation to the literature

This current paper is obviously inspired by my recent book (Waterman 1998a), as well as other work of my own dealing with labour internationalism or alternative international communication and culture (see Global Solidarity Site in resources below). Whilst there is an increasing amount of other work to be drawn on,<sup>12</sup> I will try to suggest, as briefly as possible, the relevance of my own.

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<sup>9</sup> For an example of the use of (auto-)biographical materials by a creative artist, consider the novel by the Mexican writer Elena Poniatowski (1997) on the life of the Italian-US-Mexican photographer and international Communist activist, Tina Modotti. The English edition is half the length of the Spanish original, reported to have been a spectacular success on its publication in Mexico a few years earlier. Poniatowski reports in her acknowledgements the 350-page interview granted to her by another internationalist Communist activist, Tina's one-time lover and comrade, Vittorio Vidali, another Italian who had also been active in Mexico in the 1930s-40s. Hereby hangs another tale. For a more conventional biography of Modotti, see Hooks 1993.

<sup>10</sup> I am thinking of the Pan-Africanists, Marcus Garvey, George Padmore and C.L.R. James (Appiah and Gates 1997, Buhle, Buhle and Garvey 1992).

<sup>11</sup> A search of books and journals in both academic and general bookshops in Lima, December 1998-January 1999, however, revealed but one (exceptionally) relevant item. Nor were either bookshop owners or left intellectuals able to advise me concerning my interest. Indeed, the only other book I could find on a new internationalism was on the successful international campaign against landmines, and that was in English. The search continues.

<sup>12</sup> There is, for example: 1) *historical* work by James Billington (1980), which has many fascinating and relevant insights on revolutionary internationalists (not only 19<sup>th</sup> century, not solely European, and not only male); 2) recent *theoretical* work of: Manuel Castells (1996-8) concerning social movements in a globalised and networked society; by David Harvey (1996) on space, place, the necessary movement of protest from workplace to community; by Boaventura de Sousa Santos (1995) on the continuing necessity for and changed character of utopias; by Meyer and

My book addresses itself to the three elements of its title: globalisation, social movements and the new internationalisms. *Globalisation* is understood in terms of a globalised networked capitalism (GNC), a period marked by

*high or radical* modernity, characterised further as that of a *complex high-risk globalised information capitalism*. Globalisation must be understood as multi-determined: by the market, surveillance, militarisation, industrialism, patriarchy, technocracy, informatism, racism, etc. (Waterman 1998a:203)

The globalisation and informatisation of capitalism is further understood as providing the conditions necessary for an internationalism Marx thought already existed in 1848!

The *social movement* that Marx considered the bearer of human emancipation was, however, the proletariat of the industrialised capitalist world. This working class later spread internationally but became less internationalist with the development of the industrial(ising) nation state, a liberal-democratic/state-collectivist/populist polity, social services, and nationalism/chauvinism/imperialism. It has also become increasingly socially differentiated and dispersed, both nationally and internationally. Whilst labour internationalism is slowly beginning to revive, the major international(ist) social movements of our day are rather those concerning human rights, peace, women, ecology, indigenous peoples.

The *new internationalisms* must therefore be thought of in the plural, with no ontological or teleological privilege granted to one of them. The new internationalisms can be thought of in terms of a *global solidarity* movement - meaning one addressed to the increasing number of global problems produced by a GNC. In so far as the new international(ist) social movements operate largely in network form, address themselves to the provision of concealed or limited information, to the creation of new meanings about that which is available, and work largely through both broadcast and narrowcast media (particularly the internet), they can also be considered *communication internationalisms*. Such new international(ist) social movements provide the main (not sole) force for the creation of some kind of global civil society. A GCS is itself understood as in conflict with both statism and capitalism, as well as with patriarchy, racism, fundamentalism, militarism and environmental destruction.

Finally a word about *solidarity* in the light of a complex, globalised and informatised capitalism. I have already mentioned the necessity for a more complex or

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Geschiere (1998) revealing the extent to which globalisation has its own history (or requires a rethinking of such) and is expressed and experienced in complex and different ways in multiple locales; by Archibugi, Held and Koehler (1998) on 'cosmopolitan democracy' (the political/institutional aspect of civilising global - and national - society); by Zillah Eisenstein (1998) on globalisation, cyberspace and transnational virtual sisterhoods; 3) by John French and colleagues (French, Cowie and Littlehale 1994) on the past and present of *union internationalism* in the Americas; by Kim Moody (1997) on both official and unofficial labour internationalism in the Americas and more widely; and by Jeremy Brecher and Tim Costello (1994), pioneers of a new labour and community internationalism in the US; 4) by Sonia Alvarez (1998) on *feminism and internationalism* in Latin America and other contributions to the same volume on cultural politics (Alvarez, Dagnino and Escobar (1998); 5) by Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998) on 'transnational advocacy networks', and several related others (Fox and Brown 1998, Lipschutz 1996, Lynch 1998, Smith, Chatfield and Pagnucco 1997); 6) by Martin Manalansan IV (1997) and Aaron Pollack (1998) on *political and epistemological differences within/between global(ised) movements*; 7) by John Gerassi (1971) for its expression of nationalist-populist *Third World internationalism*, Burbach and Nunez 1987a, b) for a pioneering attempt to update this, and Fernando Mires (1991) for the crisis of internationalism in general and its Third World variant in particular; 8) by Allen Hunter (1995) and NACLA Report (1995) on the *complexities of contemporary internationalisms in the US*; 9) by Gustavo Lins Ribeiro (1998) on *political activism and cyberspace* in general, and by Wendy Harcourt (1999) on that of women in particular. Other items are mentioned in the body of the paper, in footnotes or in the bibliography.

multifaceted understanding. Such an understanding could, I think, be profoundly liberating (Waterman 1998a:235-8):

*Identity* or identity creation is what commonly underlies socialist calls for international solidarity, usually in reference to oppressed and divided classes or categories in opposition to powerful and united oppressors (capitalists, imperialists). By itself, however, an *Identity Solidarity* can be reductionist and self-isolating, excluding unalikes. In so far as the identity is oppositional, it is a negative quality, often determined by the nature and project of the enemy or opponent (as with much traditional socialist internationalism).

*Substitution* implies standing up, or in, for a weaker or poorer other. This is how international solidarity has been usually understood amongst Development Co-operators and 'First-World Third-Worldists'. By itself, however, a *Substitution Solidarity* can lead to substitutionism (acting and speaking for the other), and it can permit the reproduction of existing inequalities. This is a criticism of Development Co-operation, which may function to create a single community of guilt and moral superiority within 'donor countries', whilst creating or reproducing further feelings of dependency and/or resentment in countries where social crises have evidently been worsening.

*Complementarity* suggests the provision of that which is missing, and therefore an exchange of different desired qualities. A *Complementary Solidarity* would mean that what was moving in each direction could differ but be equally valued by participants in the transaction. In so far as it meant that some kind of physical goods (cash, equipment, political support) were mostly moving in one direction and that some kind of moral or emotional goods (expressions of appreciation and gratitude) were mostly being received, we could be involved in an 'unequal exchange' of a problematic character.

*Reciprocity* suggests mutual interchange, care, protection and support. It could be taken as *the* definition of the new global solidarity. Global *Reciprocity Solidarity*, however, could be understood as a principle of equal exchange, in which (as with states) one is exchanging political equivalents, or (as with capitalists) on the basis of calculated economic advantage. And it could therefore imply that one would defend the rights of others only if, or in expectation of, reciprocation by the other.

*Affinity* suggests mutual appreciation or attraction, and therefore a relationship of mutual respect and support, in which what is sought, appreciated or valued by each party is shared. Affinity would seem to have more to do with values, feelings and friendship. An *Affinity Solidarity* would seem to allow for global linkages within or between ideologies or movements, including between people without contact but acting in the same spirit. In so far as it approximates friendship, it would seem to be inevitably particular, if not particularistic.

*Restitution* suggests the putting right of a past wrong, the recognition of historical responsibility, a 'solidarity with the past', a solidarity across time rather than space. A *Restitution Solidarity* comes close, however, to inter-governmental war reparations, with the consequent danger of buying off guilt.

The value of such an differentiated understanding would seem to be the following: 1) that it is multi-faceted and complex; 2) that each type holds part of the meaning and that each is only part of the meaning; 3) that it is subversive of simple binary or (r)evolutionary oppositions between bad and good, old and new, material and moral solidarity; 4) that it enables critique of partial or one-sided solidarities; 5) that it could be developed into a research instrument, permitting, for example, surveys of the

meaning(s) of solidarity for those involved. The last point seems entirely relevant to the proposed project.

### Questions of method: questioning methods

For those intending to do either narrative auto/biographies or systematic interviewing, it would be useful to consider the following:

- examples of auto/biographies, diaries or memoirs<sup>13</sup> (not necessarily exemplary ones - they could usefully include those of US 'trade union imperialists'),
- socio-historical methodology (particularly that of oral history),<sup>14</sup>
- interview techniques (relevant or adaptable interview schedules?)<sup>15</sup> and tools (audio- and videotape?).

For the first, one could start with auto/biographies, published either in English, Spanish/Portuguese - sometimes, possibly, in all three. The advantage of published work is that it is evidently already in the public sphere and therefore open to public scrutiny and critique. This material does not require the negotiation of a relationship with the person concerned. The problems with published work are, of course, many and familiar. These works obviously represent particular (self-)presentations, requiring considerable background knowledge for their evaluation. They may not themselves be focussed on the internationalist activities or their subjects: indeed, the subjects may not even see such activity as internationalism.

I have, further, a major question in my mind<sup>16</sup> about whether it is possible to deal, in one study, with both the icons of internationalism (such as Che Guevara and Rigoberta Menchu) and its unknown soldiers or officers. The answer must be: yes, no and maybe. In so far as we are here dealing with virgin territory, I feel that we need, initially, a map indicating the main features of the terrain. Or - to change metaphors - the major voices that are either speaking or can be found and encouraged to speak. We are not dealing, as does Smith (1996) with a well-established international solidarity movement, or a number of social movement organisations, with membership lists, publications, collections of news clippings, coverage in the media, leaders who have themselves written, and a certain number of existing studies. The internationalist voices that I have so far found or heard, *tend* to be those from earlier generations and

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<sup>13</sup> I have (re)discovered a collection of interviews with US *internacionalistas* (this was the local name for them) working in Nicaragua during the Sandinista period (Ridenour 1986). I still have to work this into my argument since they would seem to undermine my typology just below. They could, I suppose, be considered latter-day *agitators*, but only if this term is stretched so as to allow for propaganda-of-the-deed, since they were mostly providing technical expertise (and were even excluded from political participation). They could, thus, be seen as descendants of the International Brigades that committed themselves to the Spanish Revolution during the Civil War. Like the *brigadistas*, they risked their lives in the struggle against foreign-sponsored counter-revolutionaries. They should also be considered in relation to two other categories: 1) the missionaries who often carry out technical roles in the countries they are sent to (there were many church people amongst the *internacionalistas*); and 2) the development cooperators (*cooperantes*) who often identify with the countries, movements or people amongst whom they work but who are customarily confined to technical roles. Ridenour himself is a *communicator*, and one who combines identification with both of his subjects (the *internacionalistas* and the Nicaraguan revolution) with a certain critical distance. Ridenour also allows his interviewees to express or reveal contradictions of or with Nicaragua and in their own positions or personalities. The book certainly reveals the strengths of this kind of work for communicating internationalism.

<sup>14</sup> The handbook of Valerie Yow (1994) is of particular interest because of its class and gender sensitivity.

<sup>15</sup> Smith (1996) employs multiple methods in his study of the US Central America peace movement of the 1980s. These include various survey instruments. Although he explains his methodology, he does not provide us with copies of his survey or interview questions.

<sup>16</sup> Planted by Jonathon Fox, to whom are due my reluctant thanks.

those of people who could be considered icons. In so far as this piece is intended only to encourage or provoke research, I will leave this matter open for further consideration of interested readers and putative researchers.

### **A heuristic model: agitators, agents and communicators**

To stimulate the thought of both myself and others I want to suggest that the active agents of the new internationalisms are no longer the internationalist *agitators* of the 19th century (preaching, organising and leading the national-democratic or social revolution wherever they happened to be). Nor are they the internationalist *agents* of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (the overt or covert representatives of nation-states or state-oriented political parties and organisations). They are, primarily, *communicators* (communicating internationalism to, networking with, and thus facilitating internationalism by and between specific social sectors or movements).<sup>17</sup>

Although largely drawn from European history and contemporary experience, this typology has, I would like to hope, some more general value. It could, perhaps, be argued that these types refer to three *aspects* of internationalism rather than three *phases*. I have no doubt that this is the case. The predominance of a certain *type*, however, surely relates to three successive phases of capitalist and state-national history. These are those of 1) early industrial and nation-state development, 2) the generalisation of such, and 3) the current one of a globalised and informatised capitalism. Whilst an argument can, I think, be mounted for this as an empirical/historical statement, I am here proposing it more as a heuristic device (stimulating, inspirational) for examining, through biographies and autobiographies, the lives of internationalists. Let me expand.

The first two types - the *agitator* and the *agent* - are implicitly recognised by Eric Hobsbawm (1988). The third is my own. Speaking primarily of Europe and the 19th century, Hobsbawm identifies as his first type:

a small body of men and women to whom the states and the nation(alities) to which they belonged were genuinely irrelevant, the future revolution being, as it were, their only real 'country'. In this sense Brecht's Comintern agent 'die Laender offer wechselnd als die Schuhe' [changing countries more often than shoes - PW] remained in the same territory wherever he or she found themselves [...] In the Second International period we find such people frequently among anarchists, quite often as migrants or re-migrants from one national movement to another, notably among people born in eastern Europe...Such persons would clearly have put their energies with equal zeal into the struggle in Switzerland or Portugal if this had seemed politically desirable. (Hobsbawm 1988:12)

But, talking of the period following the Russian Revolution, he identifies a second type:

In the Comintern period [the Communist International, 1919-43 - PW] these international cadres became institutionalised...Under the impact of the collapse of 1914 the Comintern deliberately developed this form of internationalism...in the form of loyalty to the international party line and the USSR. How far this duty was actually felt to be compelling

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<sup>17</sup> In the first draft of this paper, I used the word *networker* rather than *communicator*. The revised term is due precisely to reflection on such cases as those presented below. Further evidence, reflection, or critical commentary can be expected to lead to further fine-tuning, or even to the playing of another instrument entirely.

outside the cadre of professional cadres and functionaries, is a question which still awaits research. (ibid)

The research is still awaited.<sup>18</sup> But, in the meantime, it seems to me important to note that Hobsbawm's two types have more significance than he himself recognises. He is, in the first place, talking about internationalists in two distinct periods of capitalist and state development:

- The first period - let us say 1815-1914 - is one of the formation and spread within Europe (and its semi-peripheries) of a nation-state-dependent industrial capitalism. This was a period in which the new mass class of workers was only just undergoing transformation from subjects to citizens, and initially felt more affinity with workers and the poor elsewhere than with old ruling and new capitalist elites.
- The second period - let us say 1918-68, is that of the maturation and universalisation of this model (often having more success in the state-national form than in the industrial-capitalist content!). This was the period of maximum incorporation of the working and popular classes into the state-nation, with socialism often acting as a left-populist nationalism.

Hobsbawm refers, in his second phase, only to the Comintern/Soviet Union. Whilst the USSR was not capitalist, it was certainly industrialising, modernising, nation- and state-building, reproducing many features of industrial capitalism and nation-statism in its internal and - in particular - its external relations. Whilst the Comintern/Soviet Union may therefore provide us with the prototypical internationalist activist, others were produced by Social Democracy within industrialised capitalist democracies, as later by third-world(ist) Populist movements and states. I call the second type of internationalist the *agent*, since this word neatly covers both one who *represents* and one who *spies*. The first operates in the public, the second in the covert sphere. All three left or socialist traditions - the Social Democratic, the Communist and the Populist - produced internationalist agents, operating across this spectrum. (So, incidentally, did the business-union tradition in the USA, the long identification of which with national capital and state-nationalism tended to maximise the *agent* role).

The third type of internationalist, the *communicator*, is my own addition to the typology. I see her/him as a product of a third period of capitalist and state development:

This third period is marked, firstly, by a crisis in the state/capitalist developmental mode, and secondly by the present movement toward a globalised networked capitalism (GNC). Let us date the *crisis* from 1968. Let us date the *transformation* from 1989. These are, of course, crucial political dates for the left. 1968 is the year of the anti-statist, anti-authoritarian rebellions (in Senegal and Mexico as well as Paris and Prague), resulting in the pluralisation of internationalisms, later expressed in the development of women's, environmental, human-rights and other such movements. 1989 marks another peak of protest, leading however to the triumph of an informatised and service capitalism globally, penetrating, isolating or destroying

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<sup>18</sup> In the case of Latin America, however, we do have such evidence and argument in the book of Manuel Caballero (1986). His work is confined to the second period, but here it shows the extensive overlap not simply between the two kinds of agent but also between the Soviet institutions sponsoring such. As a body supporting national revolutions in the cause of an international one, the Comintern was obliged to work clandestinely as well as publicly. As, however, the Comintern became increasingly subordinated to the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs (the Narkomindel, or People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs), the confusion between revolutionaries and functionaries was only increased. In the early years, however, the agents were both proud and open about their double role (Caballero 1986:33-37).

not only the remnants of Communism and Populism but also threatening and undermining the state-nation and state-nationalism of the industrial capitalist period.

Let me try to characterise this new type of internationalist:

The *communicator* is primarily a networker, a media-activist, educator and catalyst. S/he may both agitate and represent, but has as primary concerns and activities:

- the provision or creation of information/ideas/images unknown to or concealed from the public international sphere;
- the creation of new meanings and values around that which is public internationally;
- the empowerment of those excluded from the international public/political spheres to formulate their own understandings of the global, to become globally active, and to create appropriate relations in the light of such.

The *communicator*, operating across socio-geographic-political frontiers, in cyberspace as well as socio-political place, is the creator and bearer of the new global political solidarities and of global solidarity cultures. In so far as there is a common logic or ethic amongst such activists, this could be characterised as that of radical democracy and pluralism. Radical democracy means the democratisation of all social relations: the economic, political and socio-cultural; from the local to the global levels; within society, between movements, within movements, within homes - and even within beds. Pluralism means recognition of the multiplicity and complexity of hegemonic power and, therefore, the necessary multiplicity and multifariousness of contributions to emancipation. Networking opens up the possibility for large numbers of people to become active bearers/agents of internationalism, without the special qualities/capacities (including heroism or death-wish), that past internationalism have confined to an elite.

This third type is, of course, as much a proposed norm as an empirical generalisation. But the others are ideal types too, as has been suggested above and will be shown below.

It is not difficult to find evidence for the existence of the three proposed types. It is, however, also possible, to find:

- *agents* in the first period, acting for organisations and even for (would-be) states;<sup>19</sup>
- second-period *agents* who also agitate (as did many Comintern and Social-Democratic internationalists);<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> Despite the Northern blockade of Southern cotton shipments during the American Civil War, 1861-5, and at a time of mass unemployment, Lancashire cotton workers nonetheless supported the North. The union government had its own agents in Britain, who either directly or indirectly contributed to this end (Harrison 1957, 1965, Foner 1981). Shortly after the historic London dock strike of 1889, leaders of the London dockers took the ferry over to Rotterdam in order to support a strike there, and later worked for an international dockers' union. However generous and necessary this activity, their intention was not so much to create a federation or confederation of equal port or national unions, but to incorporate these new forces into their developing British one (Waterman 1998a: 88-9).

<sup>20</sup> I would like to consider I did this on the two occasions that I worked for international Communism (rather than the Comintern) in Prague. The first time was for the International Union of Students, in the mid-1950s, the second for the World Federation of Trade Unions, in the mid- to late-1960s. I was certainly an agitator for internationalism both before and after I became an agent (Waterman 1993, Waterman 1998a:Postscript). On the social-democratic side, we should consider those who worked for the International Transportworkers' Federation in the 1930s-40s. These obviously acted as public agents of the ITF and/or their national unions. But they equally obviously were doing agitational work (often against the Comintern and its union operations). They were obliged, by fascism, to enter into

- third-period *communicators* who agitate and/or represent (in public, in lobbies, clandestinely).<sup>21</sup>

All three contemporary types are, moreover, conscious or unconscious inheritors of *earlier* internationalist traditions, as will be suggested below.

The point is that in so far as we are only talking of three types of internationalist, we are also limiting ourselves to the capitalist and state-national period. Yet there are earlier traditions of what we should probably generalise as 'solidarity beyond frontiers' or 'community across borders'. We cannot, for example, forget or ignore the *cosmopolitanism* of the European Enlightenment and the explicit or implicit *universalism* of the great proselytising religious traditions of West, South and East Asia. These traditions also had their agitators, agents and communicators. They have a continuing influence in or on contemporary internationalisms (including, of course, conservative, authoritarian and even totalitarian ones). If we consider only the immediate precursors of 19th. century internationalism, we will find both the *liberal-bourgeois cosmopolitan* and the *radical-democratic* (though not necessarily pluralistic) one. The word 'cosmopolitan' is not, as might appear, of Greek origin. It was an 18th. century attempt to give a secular liberal universalism some classical European licence. The radical-democratic universalism, which preceded socialist and labour internationalism, certainly itself drew from both the cultural cosmopolitanism of its bourgeois-liberal predecessor and from the ethical universalism of Judaeo-Christian religious tradition. The internationalism of Marx and Engels is clearly and powerfully marked both by European cosmopolitanism and Judaeo-Christian universalism.

The contemporary *communicator*, it seems to me, must either implicitly or explicitly choose between such elements and traditions, as well as clarifying the novelty of her/his own status. I would argue that this status *is or should be* radically new. If globalisation seems to merely universalise and intensify the (inter-)relations of capital and state, and therefore to geographically universalise, socially generalise and also subjectively intensify the contradictions of capitalism and modernity, informatisation represents an *epochal* transformation, in which age-old divisions and hierarchies are put into question. Informatisation/computerisation not only undermines divisions between the economic, political and socio-cultural, it potentially breaks down the division between the verbal-rational and the audiovisual-affective modes of expression and communication. And it makes culture/communication increasingly central to social life. The failures of, or limitations on, past internationalisms were surely due to their failure to become culturally embedded.<sup>22</sup> *Internationalism*, as has already been suggested, is itself an essentially *political/territorial* notion that both politically and etymologically incorporates - and is thus dependent on - that which it aspires to surpass: the nation-state, nationalism, nationality. In so far as they gained influence or power, the old internationalisms tended to take shape in the political party or the mass organisation (at best representative-democratic) and the nation-state (at best liberal-democratic). Whatever the communicational/cultural achievements of past internationalisms (and they were very considerable), they tended to subordinate these to political ends. The *communicator*, however, operates primarily within

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clandestine solidarity activity. And then were eager recruits into the intelligence and espionage work of the Allied Powers during World War II. (Waterman 1998a:88-9).

<sup>21</sup> Thus, Rigoberta Menchu was not and is not simply a media icon. She was and is also an agitator and agent, working both to create and then to represent an internationalism for and of indigenous peoples. See further below.

<sup>22</sup> For a rare study of the popular base of, or response to, internationalism, see the study of Victor Silverman (1993) on British and US workers in the period 1939-49. Silverman reveals the complex, delicate and varied collective subjectivities underlying such popular internationalism as there was in a period of high international consciousness. For a related work, which considers internationalist consciousness as revealed by British union conferences and publications, see Vogler (1985).

communicational/cultural space. This is neither territorially limited nor organisationally controllable (which is not to deny the relative power over them of Walt Disney Inc., Bill Gates and the US state). The new radical-democratic internationalist *communicator* may work within or between nation-states and organisations, but s/he acts also as a subversive element within - or innovatory alternative to - such. How far, to paraphrase Hobsbawm, this possibility is felt to be compelling outside the cadre of contemporary internationalists is, of course, another question which awaits research.

## Conclusion

It seems - and with this thought we must bring the paper to an end - that the creation of a new internationalism requires not so much the right ideology but a particular kind of behaviour, a way of relating to other people, and to their ideas. A communications internationalism is not simply an internationalism that *uses* the media or communicates *through* it. A communications internationalism is also an internationalism that *communicates* in the sense of *creating a sense of community*. And here we return to the necessity and possibility of a growing number of ordinary citizens of all countries (armed with information, disposed to tolerance and flexibility, culturally sensitive, equipped with technology, committed ethically) creating global solidarity communities of their own. In order to achieve this, we need to show people internationalist activists to whom their response *may be* 'I admire her/him', but *must be* 'I should do that', 'I could do that' and even 'I would enjoy doing that'.

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## Resources

[As suggested in the first footnote to this chapter, the resource list below has been out-dated over the last decade, particularly by the opening up of Cyberia. This also goes for references to most of my own 1999 electronic resources.]

**Dictionaries and handbooks.** I have used these whilst writing this and related papers. They are useful not only for the provision of names and dates but also for what they themselves reveal of their own presentation, interpretation - and silences - concerning the cosmopolitan/international (see above: Appiah and Gates 1997, Buhle, Buhle and Georgakas 1992, Institut fuer Marxismus-Leninismus 1986). Appiah and Gates is an excellent handbook but has no entries on women or feminism as such. BB&G 1992 has a number of valuable entries (such as Garveyism and C.L.R. James) but is surprisingly thin on internationalism, for which it has no specific entry. The IM-L, despite its (East) German Communist origin, has nothing on the internationalist German Communist heroines, Olga Benario or Tamara Bunke (the German/Argentinean 'Tania' who accompanied Che Guevara in Bolivia and died there also).

**Amazon electronic bookstore.** The major US electronic bookshop [www.amazon.com](http://www.amazon.com) often works better than a library or database, and most of the books can be ordered (or looked up in a local library). It can be usefully searched for 'international', 'labour' and even 'international labour' (to give one relevant example). It also lists some Spanish titles. Amazon now operates in and from the UK and Germany, providing a more rapid ordering service in Europe. Searches of Amazon for 'internationalism' and 'global solidarity' can be found under: <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/amazinterbook1.html>.

**Cultural Survival International.** <http://www.cs.org/main.html> This provides an on-going international site for information and debate on indigenous issues, including both academic and activist voices, and has had considerable coverage of the Rigoberta Menchu controversy.

**Cities, Citizens and Power.** <http://www.chavez.demon.nl/> A Uruguayan Ph.D. student at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands, Daniel's particular interest is urban democracy, development and movements, from the city to the global level. He has a more general interest in regional civil societies internationally. He has web skills, as can be seen from his self-designed site. He lists useful Latin American links, and, at

time of writing, has ambitions to extend these to global civil society. The site is bilingual.

**The Global Solidarity Site (GloSoSite).** <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/>, is divided into two major parts, one personal, the other general. The personal side includes my own books, articles, and, particularly, recent review articles related to networking, labour and other internationalisms, and a global solidarity culture/communication. The general side includes articles and documents by others, some mentioned above, others relating to the theme. A sidebar on the home page provides a limited number of relevant linkages, mostly to sites that themselves provide good links and other resources in their specialised areas. GloSoSite is currently being improved and extended. The latest version of this paper can, e.g., be found under <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/internacipap.html/>

**Mayday Database.** <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/ALISIS.MFN.html> is my personal computerised bibliography, on WinIsis, with some 3-4,000 entries, many of them concerned with internationalism, some with internationalists and some with the Americas. The data is not always systematic and there are no abstracts and the data is not searchable except by names and keywords, either online or after downloading. I am negotiating with my Internet Service Provider, Antenna, to convert this into a searchable on-line bibliography of an increasingly familiar type.

**Patria Grande: Una pagina con sabor latinoamericano.** <http://spin.com.mx/~hvelarde/> This is an imaginative and attractive site, created by Hector Velarde, from Mexico. Covering outstanding individuals (some mentioned in this paper or the bibliography), countries, ideas and further relevant links and resources, this site reflects the spirit of *bolivarismo*.

**Sociofile bibliography on internationalism.** This major academic database (to be found in US and other libraries as a CD-ROM) covers a period of more than 20 years, is a major resource for research. My search, using the keyword 'internationalism\*', turned up 384 entries. Many may be irrelevant to 'internationalism' and 'internationalists' but it nonetheless reveals angles usually forgotten in movement-oriented research on these topics. These include 'internationalism' or 'internationalists' in sociology, social work, education and science. This is very much a US database (though Spanish-language entries can be found), and 'internationalism' in this country is most frequently understood as meaning the opposite, in foreign policy or international relations, to 'protectionist'! I have saved a copy of my search on GloSoSite. But, although I have marked it with @ and @@ for relevance to my project proposal, readers are advised to go to the source: <http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/sfinternatbib.html>.