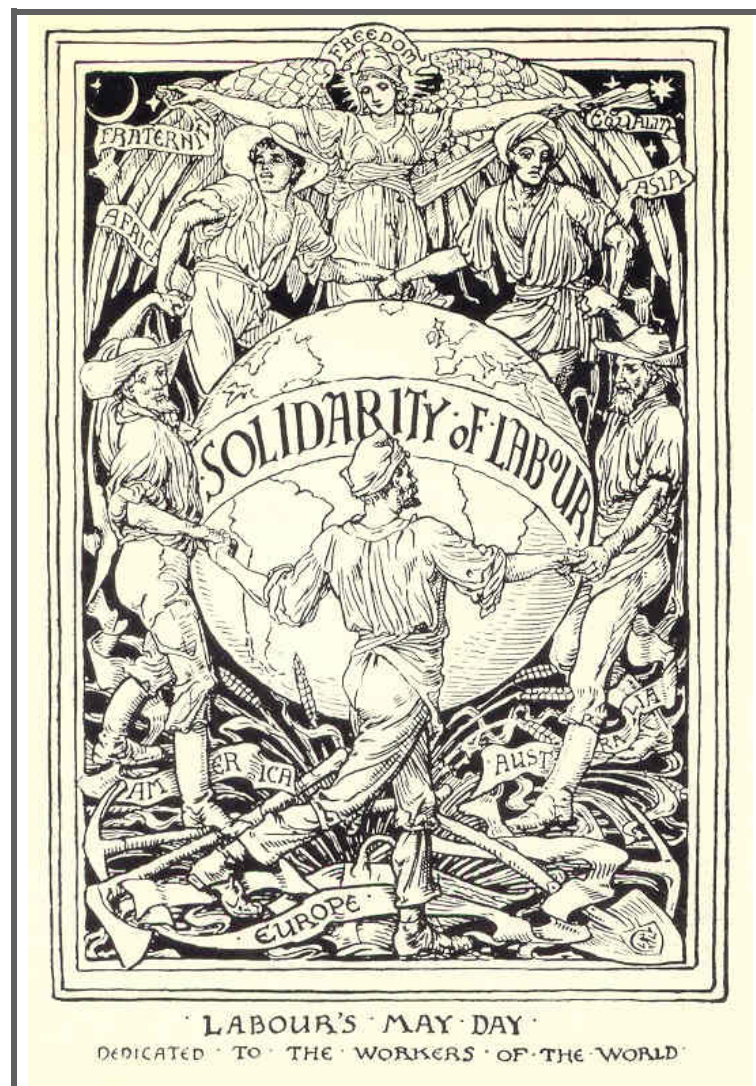


## 4 - The Future of the Past: Labour and New Social Movements in a Globalising World System (2005)

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



Walter Crane, 'International Solidarity of Labour', 1889. From *Cartoons for the Cause*. Call for the first international celebration of May First, Labour Day.

<http://www.iisg.nl/exhibitions/art/indexcrane.html>

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

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

The main title above is that of the 39th session of the International Conference of Labour and Social History (ITH in German), Linz, Austria, September 11-14, 2003. The subtitle is, of course, my own. The Conference title might suggest a continuity, a new alliance, a flow from the past into the future. Yet I am more inclined to identify a turning point in international labour studies and labour internationalism. The end of one period of labour history was actually suggested by a *previous* such Linz ITH Conference, the 35<sup>th</sup>, in 1999, which was on

### ***'The Labour Movement: A Failed Project of Modernity?'***

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

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

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

My feeling is, namely, that with a globalised networked capitalism, the history of labour/labour history has to start again. But this time labour has to be understood as one crucial-but-equal part of what is calling itself the 'global justice and solidarity movement' (GJ&SM). This movement is beginning to put in question both the capitalist system *and* the labour movement - the major subaltern social movement of national-industrial-colonial (and a major one of anti-colonial) capitalism.

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

## **The 39<sup>th</sup> Linz Conference 2003: between the old and the news**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There was, finally, I think, another overlapping tension between a generally reflective/academic approach toward labour and social movements and an engaged

one, in which findings and proposals are at least intended to be fed back, in dialogical manner, to the new movements themselves.<sup>1</sup>

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

### **The 35<sup>th</sup> Linz Conference 1999: a prefigurative critique?**

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

But the contribution to *that* 1999 conference most relevant, I thought, to *this* 2003 one was that of Daniel James (2000). Quoting Charles Tilly, James suggests that labour history can be seen as focussed on twin stars in a condition of tension: the development of national labour organisations, and the connections between the organisation of production, class formation and worker action. Around these stars can be found the 'cosmic debris' at the 'chaotic periphery' – local, regional and national studies, working class differentiation (by sex, race and nationality), daily life, the family, culture. Daniel James is more concerned to apply this metaphor to Latin American labour studies than to critique Tilly. But I note how Tilly's model focuses on the national, marginalises other determinants/contradictions - and quite ignores the international! And I was wondering about the extent to which the 1984 Tilly spectre was not haunting our 2003 conference...

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

Labour is constantly invoked but largely as an abstract analytical category ready to be mobilised, to be incorporated, occasionally to resist... (L)abour...has little agency or autonomy... Despite the imposing marshalling of historical fact and detail the analysis lacks complexity, motivation and a real notion of causality. Their analysis is

---

<sup>1</sup> That labour studies might be so committed does not mean that they are by this token emancipatory in intention or effect. The point is revealed in two such recent studies of *national* union movements, that of Robert Taylor (2003) on the UK and that of Dan Clawson (2003) on the USA. These actually illustrate the difference between an explicitly 'social democratic' and 'social movement' approach – both phrases appearing in the titles. Taylor's is an original attempt to revive, under conditions of neo-liberal globalisation, the historical social-democratic project. Clawson's is an argument to the effect that unionism can only revive to the extent that it 'fuses' itself with the new social movements – including the internationalist ones.

based on a rigorous determination by the political[-economic? PW] process. Yet theirs is a notion of politics devoid of ideology, political language, political symbols and beliefs. (James 2000:162).<sup>2</sup>

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The first is that, in the epoch of globalisation, the model still seems a little fixated on the *national*. For me, the first period might rather refer to the radical-democratic internationalism, or cosmopolitanism, of which Tom Paine and Flora Tristán were leading figures (the second evidently as a transitional one). The second period I

---

<sup>2</sup> At the other pole to the political-economic determinists would seem to be the work of Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri. In a brief exposition (2003/1999) of their yet-to-be-published book, they make a convincing case for starting social analysis from social resistance or protest and treating hegemonic political-economic strategies as responses. Whilst guilty of inventing two of the new century’s most problematic left concepts – Empire and Multitude – these authors deal with the impact of informatisation/globalisation on the working class, the generalisation of proletarianisation, the increasing spread and depth of capitalist contradictions, and the way the old labour inter-*nationalism* is being transformed into something much more potent.

would characterise as one of a Craft or Corporate Internationalism (something that continues to this day). National Internationalism is a term I have myself used (Waterman 1998:26,103), whilst pointing out that it was common, also, to unions on the capitalist periphery during this period. I would also, however, be inclined to stress the continuing hegemony of National Internationalism.

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

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

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

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

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

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

## Now for the Zapatistas

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

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

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

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

To me this suggests a movement – or movement leader – who not only reaches out beyond her constituency (indigenous, campesino, female) to recognise and appeal to other women, in an (old) socialist and (new) feminist spirit, and who understands the necessity of a 'movement within the movement'.<sup>3</sup> And who makes an intellectual/emotional appeal to *women workers* that would be difficult to find on any international *union* site!<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> For those too young to remember this – and they are increasing - I am here playing, but seriously, with 'Revolution in the Revolution' (Debray 1967).

<sup>4</sup> She also throws a certain amount of doubt on the argument of a political-economic-determinist Conference participant who declared that rural petty-commodity production gives rise to chiliastic movements.

More reality, this time definitely virtual.

I began to write this note in the airport of Vienna, on my way home from Linz. And I was writing it on my Palm M130 PDA (personal digital assistant...I think), which has a foldout keyboard. And I was wondering whether my Palm might not also have the possibility of plugging into some device in the airport which would transmit my unfinished thoughts to my fellow participants, and at least one interested website, in 40 winks.<sup>5</sup> The relationship between this 'real virtuality' (Castells 1996:373) and that, slow, ageing, crisis-confronted movement (and somewhat disoriented or disjointed conference?) presents itself as an irony of left history that Isaac Deutscher (1966) was not required to address. I am, of course, perfectly well aware of the distance between the bulk of the world proletariat - and the even greater bulk of the world's working people - and my Palm. But I am equally aware of the epochal revolution this device symbolises for work, workers, for a renewed or reinvented labour internationalism, and for an international labour studies reinvented in the light of globalisation (Waterman 2003a). Informatisation, like mechanisation, electrification and automation earlier, is integral to the present revolution within capitalism – both as process and product. Yet, whilst even the participant from Calcutta (aka Kolkota) had email, and the conference was electronically coordinated, 'informatisation' was hardly mentioned at this event. Though I did make it one of my 'ten theses' below.

## **Ten theses**

It was a privilege to be invited to introduce the final discussion at the Linz Conference. I was just recovering from a keynote presentation at another conference – at which an admittedly still sleepy audience refused, with remarkable accord, to laugh at my keynote jokes. In fact, as I informed one of the Linz Conference organisers, I had more or less prepared my propositions before the event. This was possible, in part, because I had the programme, some abstracts and one paper (the one that wasn't presented). It was also because Linz was the third of three international labour conferences I have spoken at in 2003 (the fourth and last one is more of a consultation). Addressed to the future of international labour studies, the propositions went (or go now, following the ensuing discussion) something like this:<sup>6</sup>

### **1. Work**

We need to recognise the multiple forms of 'work for capitalism', as well as the manner in which 'atypical' labour is expanding at the expense of 'typical' waged labour. We need to remember that there were two early slogans of the labour movement, a liberal one which called for 'a fair day's wage for a fair day's work', and a revolutionary socialist one, calling for the 'abolition of wage slavery'. We need to spell out the slogan suggested by Andre Gorz, 'The Liberation of Time from Work', and concern ourselves with the increasing experiments in 'solidarity economics' (a major theme at the World Social Forums).

### **2. Workers**

We have to surpass the narrow understanding of 'working class', either by expanding it to all the kinds of 'atypical' labourers, or by using some such term as

---

<sup>5</sup> This is LabourNet Deutschland at <http://www.labournet.de/>, a site with increasing interest in theoretical and strategic discussion around international labour and social movements.

<sup>6</sup> For more extensive argument around these propositions, see the various references to Waterman below. These also reveal sources for many of the propositions. And the papers themselves mostly have extensive bibliographies.

'working people'. In either case we have to surpass the privileging of the traditional wage worker.

### 3. Form

We need to surpass a fixation on the traditional form of worker representation in the trade union organisation/collective-bargaining institution. The pyramidal – and nominally representative-democratic<sup>7</sup> – organisation (national to global) has to be understood in terms of networking and communication. It is in these terms that the new movements of 'labour's others' are increasingly articulated, locally, nationally, internationally. And these forms are likely to suggest themselves spontaneously to the new information workers (from computer operators to software designers).

### 4. Social Movements

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

### 5. Democracy

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

### 6. History/Geography

All history is written backwards. Theoretically-critical and socially-committed understandings of globalisation/informatisation can provide new ways of understanding the *past* of labour movements. The growing area of labour geography, within the general school of radical social geography, not only helps us surpass political-economic determinism, but requires us to reflect upon spatial difference and determination in relation to labour identity and protest, again from the local to the global. It could also surpass the increasingly empty oppositions of global to national, or global to local, in international labour studies.<sup>8</sup>

### 7. Cyberspace

Cyberspace is only a 'virtual reality' in the way that cinema once was. But whereas it was possible for state and capital to wipe out the worker cinema movement of the 1920s-30s, the infinite area of cyberspace cannot be fully occupied by either, nor can the 'gift economy' cyberspace created be fully incorporated by the capitalist one it

---

<sup>7</sup> 'Nominally democratic' in so far as many unions suffer from the low participation affecting liberal democracies more generally. The further the organisation gets from the shopfloor, moreover, the more nominal becomes the democracy. So, whilst the ICFTU might claim that it 'represents' 158 million workers in X number of countries, it is doubtful whether more than a small percentage know it represents them, even in Brussels where it is situated.

<sup>8</sup> Given the extent to which locales are globalised, and to which the hegemonic global is particularised (by transnationals, by the West, by (inter-)state bodies, by Rich White Men with Diner's Club Cards), many questions arise about how, for example, 'localisation' or 'globalisation' might be understood by waged and other workers, within or around a Coca Cola plant in Kerala, India.

represents. Cyberspace must be understood not simply as a tool (for doing something better, faster and on a wider scale), but also as a community (a place of shared interests, identities, meanings and struggles) and as utopia (see below). The short history of international labour's engagements with cyberspace - and earlier ones with cultural internationalism - require more intensive study than they have so far received.

## **8. Ethnography/anthropology**

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

## **9. Solidarity**

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

## **10. Utopia**

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

## **Conclusion: the future of the past**

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

## **References**

- Castells, Manuel. 1996. *The Information Age: Economy, Society and Culture: Vol. I: The Rise of the Network Society*. Blackwell Publishers: Malden (Mass) and Oxford. 556pp.
- Clawson, Dan. 2003. *The Next Upsurge: Labour and the New Social Movements*. Ithaca NY: ILR Press.

- Debray, Régis. 1967. *Revolution in the Revolution*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Deutscher, Isaac. 1966. *Ironies of History: Essays on Contemporary Communism*. London: Oxford University Press. 278 pp.
- Groppo, Bruno, Winfried Garscha and Christine Schindler (eds). 2000. *Die Arbeiterbewegung – Ein gescheiteres Projekt der Moderne?* (The Labour Movement – A Failed Project of Modernity?). Leipzig: Akademische Verlaganstalt. 245 pp.
- Hardt, Michael and Antonio Negri. 2003/1999. *Marx's Mole is Dead!* [www.nu.ac.za/ccs](http://www.nu.ac.za/ccs).
- James, Daniel. 2000. 'Latin American Labour History: An Assessment of the State of the Field in the 1990s', in Bruno Groppo, Winfried Garscha and Christine Schindler (eds). 2000. *Die Arbeiterbewegung – Ein gescheiteres Projekt der Moderne?* (The Labour Movement – A Failed Project of Modernity). Leipzig: Akademische Verlaganstalt. Pp. 159-83.
- Jie-Hyun Lim. 2000. 'From the Labour Emancipation to the Labour Mobilisation', in Bruno Groppo, Winfried Garscha and Christine Schindler (eds). 2000. *Die Arbeiterbewegung – Ein gescheiteres Projekt der Moderne?* (The Labour Movement – A Failed Project of Modernity). Leipzig: Akademische Verlaganstalt. Pp. 73-91.
- Lenz, Ilse. 2003. 'Globalisation, Gender and Work: New Divisions, New Convergences. Gender, Work and Globalisation'. Paper to the Conference on Labour and New Social Movements in a Globalising World System, Linz, Austria, September 11 to 14, 2003.
- Rowbotham, Sheila. 2000. 'New Entry Points from US Women's Labour History', in Bruno Groppo, Winfried Garscha and Christine Schindler (eds). 2000. *Die Arbeiterbewegung – Ein gescheiteres Projekt der Moderne?* (The Labour Movement – A Failed Project of Modernity). Leipzig: Akademische Verlaganstalt. Pp. 50-72.
- Taylor, Robert. 2003. 'Social Democratic Trade Unionism: An Agenda for Action', *Catalyst Working Paper*. London: Catalyst. 51 pp.
- Van Holthoon, Frits and Marcel van der Linden, Marcel (eds), *Internationalism in the Labour Movement, 1830-1940*. (2 Vols). Leiden: Brill.
- Van der Linden, Marcel (ed). 2000. *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*. Berne: Peter Lang. 624 pp.
- Van der Linden, Marcel. 2003. 'The ICFTU at the Crossroads: An Historical Interpretation', Paper to the Conference on Labour and New Social Movements in a Globalising World System, Linz, Austria, September 11 to 14, 2003
- Waghorne, Mike. 2000. 'Getting a Seat in the WTO Restaurant', *Transnational Associations* (Brussels), No. 4, pp. 163-72.
- Waterman, Peter. 1998/2001. *Globalisation, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms*. London: Mansell/Continuum. 320 pp.
- Waterman, Peter. 2001. 'The Problematic Past and Uncertain Future of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions'. *International Labour and Working Class History*. No. 59.
- Waterman, Peter. 2003a. 'Adventures of Emancipatory Labour Strategy as the New Global Movement Challenges International Unionism' <http://www.labournet.de/diskussion/gewerkschaft/smu/smuadvent.html>.
- Waterman, Peter. 2003b. 'International Labour Studies 2000+: The International Labour Movement Between Geneva, Brussels, Seattle/Porto Alegre and Utopia'.
- Waterman, Peter. Forthcoming 'Whatever is the Global Justice Movement Doing to the New International Social Movement Unionism?', *The Journal of World-Systems Research*.