

**Long Before Seattle:
Historical Antecedents to the Current Global Justice Movement
and Lessons for Increasing Movement Effectiveness**

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Summary

“Long Before Seattle” explores five antecedents to today’s global justice movement:

- ✓ The Tupac Amaru II uprising in Peru, 1780-1781
- ✓ The Anti Slave Trade movement, 1787-1807
- ✓ The First International Workingman’s Association, 1864-1872
- ✓ The Movement Against Congo Colonization, 1890-1910
- ✓ The Anti-Imperialist movement, 1899-WWI

An analysis of these movements shows that for at least two centuries before the 1999 Seattle protests, people have organized multicultural and transnational resistance to exploitative forms of economic globalization. The article also attempts to draw lessons from the past that can help today’s movement become more effective.

Questions

What other movements provide examples of historical antecedents to the current global justice movement?

What other lessons can today’s movement learn from past social change movements?

E-mail your ideas to mprokosch@FairEconomy.org. Responses will be posted to the UFE web site.

Long Before Seattle

As the tear gas cleared from the 1999 “Battle of Seattle,” there was one thing that both sides agreed on: the protest that had exploded there was a new phenomenon. The goals, tactics, alliances, and structure of the movement clearly represented a break with the past. Protesters rejoiced that a new mode of organizing had been unleashed. Police bemoaned the unpredictable patterns of protest and developed updated training curricula to deal with the strange new world of transnational social movements against corporate globalization.

But, to a large degree, both police and protesters were wrong. For over two centuries, as international capitalism has overtaken mercantilism and traditional modes of production,

activists have united across borders to protest economic change—and to demand alternative changes in the rules and patterns of global trade in raw materials, manufactured goods, agricultural products, and labor.

I will briefly outline five historical examples of transnational movements against global economic integration. I will then compare these social movements with the current global justice movement, which has been active from the villages of Chiapas (1994-present) to the urban centers of Seattle (1999), Washington (2000), Prague (2000), and Quebec (2001), and includes hundreds of less well publicized events and campaigns in Africa, Asia, Europe, the Caribbean, Latin America, and North America. My focus will be on identifying continuities as well as ways in which the current global justice movement is truly unique. I will also attempt to draw lessons from these historical struggles for today's global justice movement.

Tupac Amaru II

The Tupac Amaru II uprising of 1780-1781 in what is now Peru and Bolivia can be seen as a bridge between local anti-colonial rebellion and transnational social movements against exploitative economic integration. The uprising was sparked in part by the free-market reforms imposed by the Spanish government through the colonial regime in the mid-eighteenth century. These changes opened trade between all the Spanish colonies and Spain. They were also designed to increase taxes while ending the extreme abuses of the forced labor and tax collection practices of the colonial administration.¹ The increase in taxes generated widespread resistance.

¹ Klaren, Peter Flindell. *Peru: Society and Nationhood in the Andes*. New York. Oxford University Press, 2000. p. 114.

Ultimately, the reforms failed to end the colonial abuses, and alienated a broad range of sectors, from Spanish and mestizo merchants to indigenous people, including José Gabriel Condorcanqui, a *curaca* (traditional leader), trader, and descendant of Tupac Amaru I, the last Inca to rule an Andean state.²

Frustrated with the economic reforms and brutality of colonial government, Condorcanqui changed his name to Tupac Amaru II and organized an army of 6,000.³ Like previous rebellions, the uprising was violent, and drew its inspiration in part from looking back to a vision of cultural, spiritual, and economic systems from before the European conquest.⁴ Like the social movements that followed it, the uprising was inspired in part by Enlightenment ideas of self-governance, freedom, and “natural rights.”⁵ The movement was intercultural, and could even be considered to be international, spreading from Lower Peru to Upper Peru (now Bolivia), and involving Spaniards as well as Mestizos, Creoles (whites born in the Americas), Afro-Peruvians, and indigenous people of various nationalities.⁶ While church officials perpetrated some of the abuses that sparked the rebellion, a handful of priests initially supported Tupac Amaru II.⁷

Women played an extremely important leadership role in the rebellion, especially Tupac’s wife, Michaela Bastidas Puyucahua, Commissar of War.⁸

² Klaren, p. 115. Tupac Amaru I was the last Inca to rule an indigenous Andean state. He was captured and executed by the Spaniards in 1572. Klaren, p. 59.

³ Campbell, Leon G. “Social Structure of the Tupac Amaru Army in Cuzco, 1780-81,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1981. p. 680.

⁴ Klaren notes the influence on Tupac Amaru of Garcilaso de la Vega’s *Royal Commentary of the Incas*, first published in 1609, and a popular affirmation of Inca culture in the 1700s. Klaren, p. 116.

⁵ Tupac Amaru II had lived in Lima, where he was exposed to radical ideas from continental Europe, and learned of the independence struggles of the English colonies in North America. Klaren, p. 115-116.

⁶ Campbell, 1981.

⁷ Campbell, Leon G. “Church and State in Colonial Peru: The Bishop of Cuzco and the Tupac Amaru Rebellion of 1780,” *Journal of Church and State*, 1980 22 (2) p. 251-270.

⁸ Klaren, p. 115; Campbell, Leon G., “Women and the Great Rebellion in Peru 1780-1783,” *Americas (Academy of American Franciscan History)* 1985, 42(2): 163-196.

The uprising ultimately lost in two ways. First, it lost the battle of propaganda, when the colonial regime convinced whites and mestizos that the movement was a race war against them,⁹ and convincing the Pumacahua clan and their allies to remain loyal to the Spanish side.¹⁰ Then the uprising lost militarily (after Tupac failed to follow his wife's tactical advice); Tupac was captured, then tortured and killed, after being forced to watch the execution of his wife and family.¹¹ Despite the lack of military success, the uprising is credited by some as contributing to the independence movement that gained power in the coming years and led to Peru's independence in 1821.¹²

The International Movement Against the Atlantic Slave Trade

While Tupac mobilized his forces in Peru, the movement against the Atlantic slave trade was gaining strength in Europe and North America. At its peak, from 1787 to 1807, the movement was strongest in the UK, where virtually all sectors of society were mobilized, from the textile workers of Manchester¹³ to Methodist Church founder John Wesley,¹⁴ from artisans in small Scottish towns to wealthy businessmen in London,¹⁵ from rural housewives¹⁶ to Prime

⁹ Klaren, p. 118.

¹⁰ Klaren, p. 118.

¹¹ Klaren, p. 119.

¹² Klaren, p. 450.

¹³ Drescher, Seymour. "Whose Abolition? Popular Pressure and the Ending of the British Slave Trade." *Past and Present*, No. 143, p. 142.

¹⁴ Anstey, Roger. *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition 1760-1810*. Humanities Press: N.J., 1975, p. 240-241. One of Wesley's last letters is a letter of support for Wilberforce, leader of the anti-slave-trade campaign. "Go in the name of God, and in the power of His might, till even American slavery, the vilest that ever saw the sun, shall vanish away before it."

¹⁵ Drescher.

¹⁶ Midgley, Clare. *Women Against Slavery: The British Campaigns, 1780-1840*. Routledge: London, 1992. p. 36.

Ministers.¹⁷ The movement also included significant collaboration among the British, the Americans, the French, and people of African origin, including various nationalities from Africa's West Coast, black sailors,¹⁸ free blacks, escaped slaves and former slaves from the Americas,¹⁹ and even sons of African royalty sent to Europe to round out their education.²⁰

Many analysts see the anti-slave trade movement as the first modern social movement, and the innovator of social change methodologies used by virtually every social movement that followed it.²¹ The tactics used by the campaign included popular theater (including *Oroonoko*, the most frequently produced play of eighteenth-century England)²², speaking tours and rallies, political poetry, pins designed by Josiah Wedgwood,²³ letter-writing campaigns, direct lobbying, petitions, electoral politics, and commercial boycotts.

International networking was essential to the success of movement. For example, former slaves from the U.S. South went on speaking tours in England, bringing thousands of new supporters into the movement, and English religious denominations shared their strategies with their counterparts in the U.S., which helped to strengthen the movement here.²⁴

¹⁷ Drescher, p. 165.

¹⁸ Bolster, Jeffrey. *Black Jacks: African American Seamen in the age of Sail*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997.

¹⁹ Equiano, Olaudah. *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano, Written by Himself*. Bedford Books: Boston, 1995 (first published 1789).

²⁰ Sypher, Wylie. "The African Prince in London." *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 2, No. 2. (April, 1941), p. 237-247.

²¹ Keck, Margaret, and Kathryn Sikkink. *Activists without Borders*. Cornell University Press: Ithaca. 1998. p. 93.

²² *Oroonoko* was a tragedy about a noble African prince who became enslaved. Oldfield, J.R. *Popular Politics and British Anti-Slavery*. Manchester University Press: Manchester, 1995, p. 51-56. *Oroonoko* was first published as *Oroonoko: or, the Royal Slave: A True History*, by Mrs. A. Behn (London: printed for William Canning, 1688).

²³ Wedgwood's cameos with the picture of a kneeling slave and the insignia "Am I not a man and a brother?" were the must-have fashion accessory of the time. (Oldfield)

²⁴ Oldfield, p. 51-56.

The movement eventually succeeded beyond the dreams of its originators; not only was the trade banned in England and the U.S., but the English Navy was used to intercept ships off the coast of Africa, search them, and send any Africans found back to Africa.²⁵ The banning of the slave trade also helped create momentum for the abolition of slavery itself.²⁶ The movement thus permanently altered the rules of the global economy and set a precedent for citizen movements promoting the value of human rights above the value of commerce.

European Workers and the First International Workingman's Association

The same radical ideas of justice and equality that spurred the abolition movement also led to an international movement focused on the rights of workers in the globalizing economy of the mid-nineteenth century. In the early 1800s, as a result of the industrial revolution, an increasing number of Europeans worked in factories in dire conditions: excessive work hours, low wages, abusive bosses. The global economy brought in new technologies that threatened jobs, and foreign-made goods that threatened domestic production.²⁷ Labor unions, which had developed out of craftsmen's guilds, began using strikes, work slowdowns, and destruction of machinery to fight for better wages, better work conditions, and protective tariffs. In England in the 1850s, factory owners fought back by importing workers from poorer European countries to replace

²⁵ Klein, Herbert. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge University Press, 1999. p. 183-206. Unfortunately, the Africans were sent to Sierra Leone, not their original communities, leading to generations of conflict in Sierra Leone. Also, many ships continued to participate in the slave trade despite the ban.

²⁶ Klein, p.183-206.

²⁷ It was this environment that inspired Marx to write that "The need for a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere... All old-established industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations."Marx, Karl. *Communist Manifesto, Selected Works*, Vol. 1, p. 109-10, 1977 edition, Progress Publishers.

striking workers, including cigar makers, tailors, and builders.²⁸

The unions then developed an international strategy. They formed the First International Workingman's Association in 1864.²⁹ The International successfully intervened in 1866 to prevent the bosses of striking tailors in England from hiring strike breakers from Belgium, France, and Germany by convincing their comrades overseas not to become "scabs."³⁰ In 1867, a delegation of striking Parisian bronze workers visited London to seek support for their right to unionize; the International subsequently sent hundreds of pounds from British unions and contributed to the success of the strike.³¹ While the First International only lasted until 1872, it played a key role in the development of national labor unions³² and working-class consciousness in Europe. In turn, these new unions and new ideas made significant changes not only in labor conditions, but also in national policies, from freedom of speech laws to the expansion of the franchise beyond the realm of propertied classes. Many union activists, recognizing parallels between "wage slavery" and the enslavement of Africans in the Americas, also played a role in the eradication of slavery overseas, along with veterans of the anti-slave trade movement.³³ In short, like the global justice movement, the international workers' movement was a multi-issue movement that included domestic as well as global goals.

Early Human Rights Activists Working Against Colonization of the Congo

²⁸ Milner, Susan. *The Dilemmas of Internationalism*. Berg, New York, 1990. p.18-25.

²⁹ Milner, p. 22.

³⁰ Milner, p. 22-26.

³¹ Milner, p. 20.

³² Milner, p. 17-43.

³³ Slavery in the Americas officially ended with the ban on slavery in Brazil in 1888. Williamson, Edwin. *The Penguin History of Latin America*. Penguin Books: London, 1992. p. 252-253.

The movement against King Leopold's colonization of the Congo provides additional evidence of continuity between the social movements of the 19th century and the current global justice movement. From 1890 to 1910, an incredibly cruel form of colonization took place in Congo, characterized by forced labor gathering rubber in the jungle, murder of Africans for sport, and chopping off of hands of any who rebelled, or the children of those who rebelled.³⁴ The movement against colonization was sparked, in part, by a manager from an English shipping company, who recognized that his company's "free trade" with Congo was not really free. Edmund Morel observed, as he supervised the loading and unloading of ships in Belgium, that a great wealth of ivory and rubber was being imported from the Congo, but only soldiers and guns were being exported.³⁵ Along with exposes by two African Americans who had lived in Congo, and the support of an Irish republican, Morel led a solidarity movement that eventually included activists in England, the United States, Italy, and even Australia.³⁶

Morel and his followers saw governments as their key targets. While they had limited power to confront the Belgian state directly, they attacked it by pressuring non-Belgian states to sanction King Leopold.³⁷

New technologies played a large role in the development of the movement: transportation developments and the telegraph made international communication and cooperation move feasible, the camera was used to document the atrocities, and slideshows helped spread these

³⁴ Hochschild, Adam, *King Leopold's Ghost* (Houghton Mifflin, 1998), photos (no page numbers).

³⁵ Hochschild, p. 2.

³⁶ Hochschild, p. 2.

³⁷ Hochschild, p. 172-177.

images to a wide audience.³⁸ Like today's multinational corporations, the King fought back with his own information campaign: strategically placed advertisements and articles in newspapers the King supported financially, brochures and booklets distributed to the elite decision makers, and high paid lobbyists in American and England.³⁹ Eventually, however, the activists succeeded in tarnishing the King's reputation, and portraying his rule as a "crime against humanity," a term that African-American George Washington Williams invented to describe Leopold's lethal role in the Congo.⁴⁰ The movement's success in education did not translate to a complete change in policy, but gradually, some reforms were made, and the worst abuses of the colonial regime ended with the death of King Leopold.⁴¹

The Anti-Imperialist Movement: U.S.-Philippine Solidarity

The anti-slave trade, workers', and proto-human rights movements directly fueled one of the most dynamic movements of the turn of the century, the U.S. anti-imperialist movement, which, to a degree, worked in solidarity with the Philippine independence movement. The U.S. government, personified by Presidents McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt, had observed the European nations grabbing territories in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. With no remaining land in North America, and determined to access "free trade" opportunities in China, the U.S. decided that the Philippines would be a perfect colony.⁴² The Filipinos were fighting against brutal Spanish colonizers. The U.S. sided with the Filipinos only long enough to defeat Spain—

³⁸ Hochschild, p. 209-217.

³⁹ Hochschild, p. 235-252.

⁴⁰ Hochschild, p. 112.

⁴¹ Hochschild, p. 275-291.

⁴² Schirmer, Daniel B. and Shalom, Stephen Rosskamm, ed. *The Philippines Reader: A History of Colonialism, Neocolonialism, Dictatorship, and Resistance*. South End Press: Boston, 1987, 5-9.

then turned its guns on the local population.

The transformation of the U.S. into a colonial power catalyzed a dynamic anti-imperialist movement. The movement involved elderly activists who had previously been involved in the movement against slavery and the international slave trade, and many African Americans, who saw the lethal racism in U.S. treatment of the Filipinos.⁴³ (The U.S. had invented “reconcentration camps” and “water torture” in the Philippines in an attempt to pacify the independence fighters.⁴⁴) Workers in general, and union leaders in particular, opposed imperialism because they believed that the poor would bear the cost of empire through higher taxes and loss of life in war, without benefiting from expanded international trade.⁴⁵ Intellectuals such as Mark Twain and William James argued that empire was incompatible with the ideals expressed in the Constitution, and was a threat to democracy at home as well as abroad.⁴⁶ While some of the anti-imperialists were motivated by racism, most supported the idea of Filipino self-government, as articulated by Aguinaldo, the leader of the independence movement.

Cooperation and collaboration between the U.S. and the Aguinaldo movement was difficult because of the logistics of war and communication, but U.S. activists were able to see clearly the injustice of the government response, and they stood up for the rights of the Philippine people, although their actions prompted others to label them as traitors. William James wrote, in 1899, that the U.S. government was “openly engaged in crushing out the sacredest thing in this great

⁴³ Schirmer and Shalom, p. 31-32.

⁴⁴ Patterson et al, Major Problems in American Foreign Relations Volume 1. Houghton Mifflin Company, New York: 2000.

⁴⁵ Foner, Philip, and Richard Winchester, eds., *The Anti-Imperialist Reader (Volume I): A Documentary History of Anti-Imperialism in the United States, from the Mexican War to the Election of 1900* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1984; and Philip Foner, *The Anti-Imperialist Reader (Volume II): The Literary Anti-Imperialists* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1986).

⁴⁶ Schirmer and Shalom, p. 31-32.

human world--the attempt of a people long enslaved to attain to the possession of itself, to organize its laws and government, to be free to follow its internal destinies according to its own ideals.”⁴⁷ The American Anti-Imperialist League wrote that “We maintain that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. . . . We earnestly condemn the policy of the present National Administration in the Philippines. It seeks to extinguish the spirit of 1776 in those islands.”⁴⁸ Collaboration between the U.S. activists and the Aguinaldo movement was difficult because of the logistics of war and communication, but the U.S. anti-imperialists found ways to communicate directly with the Filipino rebels, as shown by secret documents captured by the U.S. Army. Many U.S. citizens, including disillusioned soldiers who had returned from combat in the Philippines, spoke publicly in favor of the Filipinos, although their actions prompted others to label them as traitors and even threaten them physically. Several African American soldiers went even further; they defected from the U.S. Army and joined the Filipino side. Corporal David Fagan, one of the defectors, became an officer in the guerrilla army and helped lead Filipino troops in their war against the U.S. occupation.⁴⁹ In many ways, the anti-imperialist movement failed; U.S. occupied Philippines until the 1930’s and supported US-friendly dictators there through the 1980s. But the anti-imperialist movement did raise the cost of empire to the point that the U.S. ceased to try to gain new territories overseas, preferring indirect methods of control. The anti-imperialists also set a precedent of grassroots U.S. support for democracy movements overseas, even when those movements were actively opposed by the U.S. government, a tradition that continued with support for the Spanish Republicans in the 1930s, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas in the 1990s, as well as various liberation movements in Africa from the 1950s to the present.

⁴⁷ Schirmer and Shalom, p. 28.

⁴⁸ Schirmer and Shalom, p. 30.

⁴⁹ Foner, *ibid.*

Lessons for the New Millennium

Each of the five social movements presented has characteristics that resemble the current global justice campaigns as well as significant differences. Each also provides lessons for today's activists.

Tupac Amaru II: Indigenous and Female Leadership

The Tupac Amaru II uprising presents striking parallels with the Chiapas uprising of 1994. The foot soldiers and leaders in both cases were mostly indigenous, and both movements generated support from sympathetic whites and mestizos, especially within the clergy. Both used violence. Leaders of both movements very consciously drew upon—and promoted—indigenous values and the prior history of indigenous resistance; they both also drew upon ideals of human rights that are rooted in the European Enlightenment. But while Tupac's uprising relied heavily on military tactics, and was intended to defeat the Spanish militarily, the Zapatistas have used low-level violence more as a method of forcing the government to change than as an attempt to take it over. Aside from the Zapatistas and the "black bloc" anarchists, the global justice activists have not used violence as a tactic, preferring "creative non-violence." The majority of violence in recent demonstrations, as in the historical cases, was perpetrated against protesters by agents of the state. Because of advances in technology, the global justice movement is truly global, as reflected in Zapatista use of the Internet, while Tupac's movement was exclusively a South American phenomenon.

One lesson of the Tupac Amaru II uprising is that vision can play a critical role in mobilizing people. Tupac was not just an “anti” organizer. He provided a vision that combined the humane aspects of pre-conquest social economy and culture with Enlightenment ideals of self-governance. Thus far, the global justice organizers have mostly united on what they are against: structural adjustment, privatization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the Free Trade Agreement on the Americas, the World Trade Organization. A positive vision, perhaps formulated in the same way as the Freedom Charter⁵⁰ of South Africa was formulated, might help generate more positive and proactive organizing. Such a vision could utilize Tupac’s method of envisioning a society that incorporates positive elements of the past, present, and future. The International Forum on Globalization and the World Social Forum have put forth some alternative models, but their visions have not yet been integrated into movement programs or strategies. Another lesson from the uprising is *Listen to the women*. While the global justice movement includes a high level of female leadership, too often men are still disproportionately represented as media spokespeople and event strategists. Remember, if Tupac had listened to his wife’s military advice, we might now speak of the Inca Republic of Peru.⁵¹

Anti-Slave Trade: Organizers, Not Activists

The anti-slave trade movement provides astonishing parallels to the global justice movement. The tactics are surprisingly similar, especially the way the creative arts were used to educate people. The Internet and list serves play the same role as the thousands of anti-slave trade

⁵⁰ The Freedom Charter, a progressive vision of post-apartheid South Africa, was created in 1955 using innovative participatory techniques at a mass conference of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa. See Elisabeth Jean Wood, *Forging Democracy from Below*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. p. 127-128.

⁵¹ Campbell, 1985.

pamphlets and newsletters that reached the furthest outposts of England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, as well as the United States and Canada. North/South alliances and multi-racial coalitions are common now, as then, but activists of both time periods have had to confront racism within the movement. The anti-slave trade leaders, interestingly, were in many ways more organized than the global justice activists; they used even the smallest meetings and events to gather signatures and petitions, for example, while the main organizers of the 2000 Washington, D.C., World Bank protest didn't even have sign-in sheets to capture the e-mail addresses of participants. The anti-slave trade activists were also more successful in convincing the masses of non-elites in Europe that the atrocities committed in Africa and the Americas concerned them; the global justice movement, at least in the U.S., has not yet become a mass movement.

Some of the lessons from the anti-slave trade movements are obvious: Train people so activists become organizers, and organizations become less disorganized. Develop creative ways to engage constituencies that have not yet been involved by reaching people where they are, as the anti-slave trade movement reached people in pubs, at the theater, and during afternoon teas. The most important lesson, perhaps, is less obvious: to create institutional change, you must engage with the system. Protest alone did not end the slave trade; a change in laws did. Likewise, a thousand people can get arrested outside the World Bank, but if a similar level of energy is not invested in lobbying Congress and parliaments to change the law, the Bank will not change its behavior.

Also, the fact that so many global justice movement tactics are virtually the same as those used 200 years ago indicates that it's time for some more creative new tactics—more “moments of

madness”⁵² that will give the moment attention in the short term, and a broader repertoire of action in the long term.

Labor Internationalism: Local to Global Perspectives

The workers’ movement of the 1860s provides some parallels to union involvement in global justice, but not as many to the movement overall. As did the First International, the labor movement uses arguments of self-interest to promote working class involvement in global justice. In both cases, intellectuals in union leadership tend to be more supportive of global solidarity than the rank and file. They work hard to challenge workers to move from perspectives of “my workplace” and “my country” to “our rights as workers everywhere.” The most dramatic change since the 1860s is the role of women and people of color as unions get involved in global justice campaigns. Also, the development of vibrant trade unions in countries like South Africa provides a different type of internationalism than that of the Europeans in the 1860s.

After the internationalist spirit peaked in the 1860s, the labor movement of the 1870s reverted to a national perspective. Especially in times of economic strife, there will be great pressure for unions to abandon internationalism and focus on domestic issues. The most important lesson from the 1860s, therefore, is for global justice activists to continue to push an international perspective and organizing strategy. Recognizing the “Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action,” leaders can use global justice activities not only to mobilize workers but also to create a

⁵² Tarrow, Sidney. “Cycles of Collective Action: Between Moments of Madness and the Repertoire of Contention.” *Social Science History* 17:2 (Summer), pp. 281-308.

long-term change in the frames with which workers analyze their own struggles and the struggles of workers in other countries.⁵³

Congo: Human Rights and Globalization

The movement for human rights in the Congo, like the global justice movement, found its toughest battle at the level of propaganda. The World Bank, IMF, WTO, FTAA all present a public face of benevolence, development, and assistance for the poor, just as King Leopold purported to be a philanthropist, interested only in the well-being of the Congolese. And today's activists have to deal with newspapers that receive economic benefits from globalization, just as the Congo activists had to deal with newspapers that received funds from the King. The activists of the turn of the century had less sophisticated technology to document the abuses, but they used "information politics" in a more sophisticated way; more than the global justice movement, they were eventually able to convince the public and the politicians that the allegedly benevolent institutions of the colony were in reality incurring injury of almost unbelievable dimensions. The global justice activists, however, have been more successful than Congo activists in bringing together voices of North and South. Today's movement is largely a movement of the people affected by globalization, not just a movement for them.

One lesson for the global justice organizers in the North is to continue to use their power to amplify the voices of the activists from the South, not to speak on their behalf. Another, related lesson is to maximize the use of information politics, so that the image of the World Bank is

⁵³ Ellingson, Stephen. "Understanding the Dialectic of Discourse and Collective Action: Public Debate and Rioting in Antebellum Cincinnati." *American Journal of Sociology* 101:100-144. 1995.

affiliated in the public mind with an image of a hungry child, just as King Leopold's image became linked to the image of a child with hands cut off. This will require a new level of media campaigning that includes editorials, building relationships with reporters, and making sure alternative media goes beyond preaching to the converted.

Anti-Imperialists: Activists as Patriots

As the Congo movement fought a propaganda war over facts, the anti-imperialists fought a propaganda war over ideas. Likewise, the global justice activists are faced with the challenge of confronting the ideology of neo-liberalism as well as its policies. In this battle, the anti-imperialist movement did a better job than the global justice movement in garnering the support of celebrities such as Mark Twain. It also attempted, with some success, to portray anti-imperialism as more patriotic than imperialism. The global justice movement, however, has been more successful in developing meaningful links with activists overseas, due, in large part, to changes in communication technology.

The main lesson from the anti-imperialists is how to appeal to patriotic ideals while criticizing your government's policies. Global justice activists in the U.S. have been portrayed as going against the national interest, although they could argue more convincingly that they are actually the true patriots by emphasizing the way the movement supports democracy and the human rights ideals enshrined in the Constitution and Declaration of Independence. In the challenge of winning the war of ideology, as in the challenge of framing and presenting the facts, today's activists could more effectively use public relations tools to challenge the ideology of neoliberalism.

Conclusion: Study History and Act on It

The global justice activists, therefore, as they plan protests against the WTO, IMF, World Bank, and the FTAA, should not think that they represent the spontaneous generation of a new protest phenomenon. Certainly, some aspects of the current movement are new—the use of the Internet for informing and organizing, mass demonstrations of coordinated small groups, and a high degree of economic literacy. But the roots of Chiapas/Seattle/Washington/Prague/Quebec are deep. Changes in technology, innovative protest styles, information politics, and analytical advances have been utilized for hundreds of years by activists seeking to oppose the devastating effects of global trade on their communities, and communities in other countries. The current protests would not be the same without the precedents set by earlier activists. Conscious study of the successes and failures of the past can help today's activists become more effective in their work for global justice.