PALGRAVE STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The Transnational Activist

Transformations and Comparisons from the Anglo-World since the Nineteenth Century

Edited by Stefan Berger & Sean Scalmer

Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

INSTITUT FÜR SOZIALE BEWEGUNGEN

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. We conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. This new series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

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Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements
ISBN 978-3-319-66205-3 ISBN 978-3-319-66206-0 (eBook)
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0

Library of Congress Control Number: 2017950698

Printed on acid-free paper

This Palgrave Macmillan imprint is published by Springer Nature
The registered company is Springer International Publishing AG
The registered company address is: Gewerbestrasse 11, 6330 Cham, Switzerland

Series Editors' Preface

Around the world, social movements have become legitimate, yet contested, actors in local, national and global politics and civil society, yet we still know relatively little about their longer histories and the trajectories of their development. Our series reacts to what can be described as a recent boom in the history of social movements. We can observe a development from the crisis of labour history in the 1980s to the boom in research on social movements in the 2000s. The rise of historical interests in the development of civil society and the role of strong civil societies as well as non-governmental organisations in stabilising democratically constituted polities has strengthened the interest in social movements as a constituent element of civil societies.

In different parts of the world, social movements continue to have a strong influence on contemporary politics. In Latin America, trade unions, labour parties and various left-of-centre civil society organisations have succeeded in supporting left-of-centre governments. In Europe, peace movements, ecological movements and alliances intent on campaigning against poverty and racial discrimination and discrimination on the basis of gender and sexual orientation have been able to set important political agendas for decades. In other parts of the world, including Africa, India and South East Asia, social movements have played a significant role in various forms of community building and community politics. The contemporary political relevance of social movements has undoubtedly contributed to a growing historical interest in the topic.

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicise these relatively recent political developments; they are also trying to relate them to a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organisations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the longue durée, we recognise that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we realise that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the dominance of national history over all other forms of history writing led to a thorough nationalisation of the historical sciences. Hence social movements have been examined traditionally within the framework of the nation state. Only during the last two decades have historians begun to question the validity of such methodological nationalism and to explore the development of social movements in comparative, connective and transnational perspective taking into account processes of transfer, reception and adaptation. Whilst our book series does not preclude work that is still being carried out within national frameworks (for, clearly, there is a place for such studies, given the historical importance of the nation state in history), it hopes to encourage comparative and transnational histories on social movements.

At the same time as historians have begun to research the history of those movements, a range of social theorists, from Jürgen Habermas to Pierre Bourdieu and from Slavoj Žižek to Alain Badiou as well as Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe to Miguel Abensour, to name but a few, have attempted to provide philosophical-cum-theoretical frameworks in which to place and contextualise the development of social movements. History has arguably been the most empirical of all the social and human sciences, but it will be necessary for historians to explore further to what extent these social theories can be helpful in guiding and framing the empirical work of the historian in making sense of the historical development of social movements. Hence the current series is also hoping to make a contribution to the ongoing dialogue between social theory and the history of social movements.

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We

bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between historians on the one hand and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists on the other.

Unlike most of the concepts and theories developed by social scientists, we do not see social movements as directly linked, a priori, to processes of social and cultural change and therefore do not adhere to a view that distinguishes between old (labour) and new (middle-class) social movements. Instead, we want to establish the concept 'social movement' as a heuristic device that allows historians of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to investigate social and political protests in novel settings. Our aim is to historicise notions of social and political activism in order to highlight different notions of political and social protest on both left and right.

Hence, we conceive of 'social movements' in the broadest possible sense, encompassing social formations that lie between formal organisations and mere protest events. But we also include processes of social and cultural change more generally in our understanding of social movements: this goes back to nineteenth-century understandings of 'social movement' as processes of social and cultural change more generally. We also offer a home for studies that systematically explore the political, social, economic and cultural conditions in which social movements can emerge. We are especially interested in transnational and global perspectives on the history of social movements, and in studies that engage critically and creatively with political, social and sociological theories in order to make historically grounded arguments about social movements. In short, this series seeks to offer innovative historical work on social movements, while also helping to historicise the concept of 'social movement'. It also hopes to revitalise the conversation between historians and historical sociologists in analysing what Charles Tilly has called the 'dynamics of contention'.

This new edited volume on *The Transnational Activist* provides a novel and original take on social movement activism by investigating "the activist" in his or her transnational entanglement. While standard definitions of what an activist is are easy to find, social movement studies have so far rarely zoomed in on what being an activist has meant.

Activists have linked social movement organisations between and within different countries; they have acted as power brokers within movements; they have also been the visible signs that a social movement existed.

But an activist was not simply someone who acted and who was active in a social movement, as a convenient shorthand might suggest. He or she has also been a social figure that was loaded with symbolic meanings that reflected and refracted struggles over power and other political contestations. It is in investigating "the transnational activist" as a social figure that this volume's most significant contribution lies. Its chapters that range from the late nineteenth century to the present offer a vast canvas of social, political and historical contexts in which "the transnational activist" emerges as an always contested figure. The chapters also emphasise how some activists mobilised the figures of other activists to generate symbolic resources. They highlight how social figures of certain activists, such as Gandhi, were invested with meanings and activated by social movements.

Thus, the authors are able to pierce through—and historicise—tropes of "the activist" as "hero" or "villain", depending on one's particular political views. Instead, they highlight how the descriptions of transnational activists were deeply anchored in specific discursive contexts.

Bochum, Germany — Stefan Berger
Stirling, UK — Holger Nehring

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CHAPTER 1

The Transnational Activist: An Introduction

Stefan Berger and Sean Scalmer

The activist, the *Oxford English Dictionary* instructs, is one engaged in or advocating vigorous political activity, an active campaigner. The now ubiquitous term gained currency in English in the early part of the twentieth century, applied first to British supporters of "direct action," originating in France, and Russian Bolshevism.[1] Right from the start, therefore, 'activism' implied an internationalist inspiration or connection.

It is an identity and association not yet registered in detailed historical scholarship. Political history has principally been written within a national framework,[2] and as a result it has mostly granted transnational relationships only limited attention. 'The activist' has conventionally

[1] *Oxford English Dictionary* (online). See the definition of 'activist,' 2a and 2b, and the earliest references.

[2] Henk te Velde, 'Political Transfer: An Introduction', *European Review of History*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2005, p. 205.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_1

been treated as a creature of national politics: the history of the 'transnational activist' remains to be written.

This is a lack only recently acknowledged. Contemporary sociology, of course, was relatively quick to recognise the significance of global processes.[3] Global social movements are now the subject of a large and growing body of literature.[4] More recently, historians, often inspired by historical sociologists, have also begun to explore social movements in the global historical perspective.[5] There is now also a first English-language journal portraying social movements in historical perspective and thereby accompanying the more established social science journals on social movements.[6] Rich studies consider the relationship between transnational social movements and global capitalism,[7] international

[3] See, for example: Ulrich Beck, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies,' *Theory Culture and Society*, vol. 19, no. 1–2, 2002, p. 17.

[4] The most influential collections are Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005; Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, eds., *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002. The most influential single work is Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006. On the transnationalisation of social movements in Europe, see also Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani, *Social Movements and Europeanisation*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.

[5] Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring, *Social Movements in Global Historical Perspective: An Introduction*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017. One of the most inspiring historical sociologists in this field was undoubtedly Charles Tilly. Among his many seminal contributions to the field, see in particular Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood, *Social Movements 1768–2012*, London: Routledge, 2012; Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow, *Contentious Politics*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

[6] *Moving the Social: Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements* has been published in English since 2012. See http://moving-the-social.ub.rub.de/index.php/Moving_the_social [Access Date 7 July 2017].

[7] Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics and Crisis and Transformation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012; Donatella della Porta, Massimiliano Andretta, Lorenzo Mosca, and Herbert Reiter, *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*, Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2006; Savyasaachi and Ravi Kumar, eds., *Social Movements: Transformative Shifts and Turning Points*, New Delhi and Abingdon: Routledge, 2014.

institutions,[8] and new information technologies.[9] The 'transfer' or 'diffusion' of collective campaigns—the "most familiar" and "oldest" form of transnational contention[10]—has attracted especially detailed treatment.[11]

Much of this research has granted especially full attention to the import of structural forces in the promotion of transnational social movements. Scholars influenced by the Marxist tradition, proponents of the so-called world-systems theory, have explored how the dynamics of the capitalist world economy have shaped the trajectory of social movement mobilisation around the globe. They have traced the complex and dialectical relationships between capital mobility, social movement unrest, and state action. They have also argued that moments of crisis

[8] For example: Elisabeth Jay Friedman, Ann Marie Clark, and Kathryn Hochstetler, *Sovereignty, Democracy, and Global Civil Society: State-Society Relations at the UN World Conferences*, New York: State University of New York Press, 2005; Chadwick Alger, 'The Emerging Roles of NGOs in the UN System: From Article 71 to a Millennium People's Assembly,' *Global Governance*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2002, pp. 93–117.

[9] For example: Thomas Olesen, 'The Uses and Misuses of Globalization in the Study of Social Movements,' *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 4, no. 1, May 2005, pp. 49–63; Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*, London: Pluto Press, 2012; Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*, Cambridge, UK and Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2012.

[10] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest*, p. 3.

[11] Among the most interesting studies: David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, 'Alternative Types of Cross-National Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena,' in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, London: Macmillan, 1999, pp. 23–39; Doug McAdam, '"Initiator" and "Spin-Off" Movements: Diffusion Processes in Protest Cycles,' in Mark Traugott, ed., *Repertoires and Cycles of Collective Action*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995, pp. 217–239; Deborah Barrett and Charles Kurzman, 'Globalizing social movement theory: The case of eugenics,' *Theory and Society*, vol. 33, 2004, pp. 487–527; Sean Chabot, 'Transnational Diffusion and the African-American Reinvention of the Gandhian Repertoire,' *Mobilization*, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 201–216. A sustained attempt to treat the process historically is that by Sean Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

in the world economic order—such as the present time—promote anti-systemic or transgressive activism.[12]

Similarly, the role of organisations has also attracted much perceptive scholarship, especially in the social sciences where, starting from the 1980s, scholars have produced insightful and often comparative studies on transnational social movement organisation and its impact on diverse issues such as peace, the environment, women's rights, civil rights, human rights, and global justice.[13] The assumption of much of that social science literature has been that, until the 1960s, the nation-state was the main framework in which social movements operated. Hence, much of the newer research concentrated on the transnationalisation of social movement activism from the 1960s onwards, emphasizing in particular the processes of diffusion, domestication, and externalization. The existing literature has traced the spread of ideas and practices (sometimes referred to as frames) from one country to another. It has also portrayed the way in which global issues have been received in different nation-states and at sub-state level, leading to similarities and differences in the mobilisation of social movements against such global problems.

[12] For the first major application of world-systems theory to the history of social movements, see Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K. Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements*, London: Verso, 1989. For a rich attempt to apply this framework to the long-term trajectory of the labour movement: Beverly J. Silver, *Forces of Labor: Workers' Movements and Globalization Since 1870*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003. For an exciting application of this approach to contemporary movements that challenge corporate-led globalisation: Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics of Crisis and Transformation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.

[13] See, for example, Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, Syracuse/New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997; Jackie Smith, Ron Pagnucco, and Winnie Romeril, 'Transnational Social Movement Organisation in the Global Arena,' *Voluntas:* International Journal of Voluntary and Non-Profit Organisations, vol. 5:2, 1994, pp. 121–154; Sabrina Zajak, *Transnational Activism, Local Labor Governance and China*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; Ghimire Kléber, *Organization Theory and Transnational Social Movements*, Lanham/Maryland: Lexington Books, 2011.

Finally, the existing literature has emphasized how supranational institutions, from the United Nations (UN) to transnational regional associations such as the European Union, have increasingly become the direct addressees of social movement mobilisation. Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow have defined 'transnational collective action' as "coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions."[14]

The role of transnational activists in deeper historical perspective has perhaps inspired less systematic and concentrated scholarly interest.[15] Certainly, it should be acknowledged that leading treatments of the 'diffusion' of social movement contention have confirmed the centrality of cosmopolitan and globally connected actors. Everett Rogers' *Diffusion of Innovations*, the classic work of diffusion theory, especially privileged the role of "cosmopolitan opinion leaders" in the process of transfer, emphasising their status as role models for later adopters or followers.[16] In Rogers' latest iteration of the theory, innovators are described as "cosmopolites,"[17] and students of political diffusion also have increasingly adopted or reworked this key concept.

[14] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction,' in: eidem, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham/Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2006, p. 2f.

[15] Although it should be mentioned that several contributions to the Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements take a transnational look at social movements, e.g., its flagship publication by Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring, eds., *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective. A Survey*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, but also: Ilaria Favretto and Xabier Itcaina, eds., *Protest, Popular Culture and Tradition in Modern and Contemporary Western Europe*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017; Christian Salm, *Transnational Socialist Networks in the 1970s. European Community Development Aid and Southern Enlargement*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016; Jon Piccini, *Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s: Global Radicals*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

[16] Sean Chabot and Jan Willem Duyvendak, 'Globalization and Transnational Diffusion Between Social Movements: Reconceptualizing the Dissemination of the Gandhian Repertoire and the "Coming out" Routine,' *Theory and Society*, vol. 31, 2002, p. 699.

[17] Everett M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 5th edn., New York: Free Press, 2003, p. 283.

Sidney Tarrow's *The New Transnational Activism* (2006) is the most influential and important of these works. Tarrow argues that the "increased" presence of "transnational activism" is a product of a "fundamental sociocultural change." This change is the growth of a "stratum of individuals" who travel abroad regularly, are well acquainted with foreign literature and the arts, and collaborate with those based in cities overseas. Members of the stratum include, among others, civil servants and business executives[18]; global activists are their radical cousins.

The cultural formation of the global activist makes this significant figure into what Tarrow calls a "rooted cosmopolitan." As the unorthodox and almost oxymoronic connotations of this neologism suggest, the "rooted cosmopolitan" is neither free-floating nor completely tethered. Rather, the term describes an individual who reaches outward physically and cognitively to make connections with other worlds, and yet also maintains strong ties to the experiences and networks of that person's own society.[19] Bridging the local and the global, they help to forge new political relationships and thereby to foster the transfer of political campaigns and techniques.

Yet, as Tarrow explicitly includes social movements of the political right, we wonder whether 'cosmopolitan' is the right expression to use for those individuals. Cosmopolitanism is so much connected in European intellectual traditions with humanism and the Enlightenment[20] that it seems to suggest an open, tolerant, and intercultural approach to transnationalism. Hence, the designation would appear ideologically too narrow to describe all forms of transnationalism connected to social movements. It would be rather odd to refer to imperialist, nationalist, or, indeed, fascist transnational activists as cosmopolitan. It may reflect the well-known fact that social movement studies have traditionally been blind in the right eye and have privileged the study of left-of-centre social movements. But this predilection, which remains a central weakness, should not lead us to adopt problematic conceptual terms. Hence we propose, in this volume, the more neutral term

[18] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 35.

[19] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, chap. 3.

[20] Stefan Berger, 'National History and Humanism: Reflections on a Difficult Relationship,' in Chun-Chieh Huang and Jörn Rüsen, eds., *Chinese Historical Thinking. An Intercultural Discussion*, Taipei: National Taiwain University Press, 2015, pp. 125–134.

'transnational activist,' as it seems to us more suitable as an umbrella term covering many different ideological and institutional forms of transnationalism.

Although Tarrow's work is clearly the most developed exploration of the concept of the transnational activist, others have shared in his general approach. A number of scholars have identified synonymous public figures over recent years: "citizen pilgrims,"[21] "global spiders,"[22] "grassroots globalists,"[23] and "translators"[24] are chief among these. Subsequent research has also applied the concept of the "rooted cosmopolitan" in fine-grained research: contrasting this actor's continuing respect for local culture and causes with the "footloose experts" of global business and government,[25] and identifying a "rooted" and "local" politics, linked with "struggles from below," as an important and distinctive challenge to dominant approaches to the international order.[26]

Nonetheless, if the existence and the potential significance of the transnational activist is now widely acknowledged, the history of this actor is still something of a mystery. Five central controversies remain unresolved: periodisation, context, action, form, and dynamics.

Most commentators have associated the figure of the transnational activist with contemporary history. One leading European newspaper, for example, has claimed that the emergence of a "truly international generation of protesters" is a product of only very recent events.[27] The Internet

[21] Richard Falk, 'The Making of Global Citizenship' in Bart van Steenbergen, ed., *The Condition of Citizenship*, London: Sage, 1994, pp. 138–139.

[22] Hermann Maiba, 'Grassroots Transnational Social Movement Activism: The Case of People's Global Action,' *Sociological Focus*, vol. 38, no. 1, February 2005, pp. 57–58.

[23] As noted in Jonathan Fox, 'Unpacking "Transnational Citizenship,"' *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 8, 2005, p. 181.

[24] Rachel E. Stern, 'Unpacking Adaptation: The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong,' *Mobilization*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2005, p. 434.

[25] Shalini Randeria, 'Footloose Experts vs. Rooted Cosmpolitans: Biodiversity Conservation, Transnationalisation of Law and Conflict Among Civil Society Actors in India,' *Tsantsa*, no. 8, 2003, pp. 74–85.

[26] Raffaele Marchetti, 'Mapping Alternative Models of Global Politics,' *International Studies Review*, vol. 11, 2009, p. 145.

[27] *Der Spiegel*, cited in Felix Kolb, 'The Impact of Transnational Protest on Social Movement Organisations: Mass Media and the Making of ATTAC Germany,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, p. 95.

looms large in many of these accounts, with its provision of an "organizational infrastructure"[28] for globally networked campaigns providing support for seemingly "unparalleled" worldwide movements.[29] Scholars seem to turn most often to the Zapatista movement,[30] and the 'Global Justice Movement,'[31] in discussions of a global culture of activism, and youthful campaigners are often presented as "more highly globalised" and more "profoundly networked" than their predecessors.[32] Sometimes implicitly, often explicitly, the 'global activist' is presented as a creature of the Internet age.

Much of the debate around globalisation is ahistorical, however,[33] and claims for novelty are not often based on developed historical comparison.[34] As is now widely accepted, 'globalisation' itself has a relatively long lineage with waves of globalisation going back a long time and not being restricted to the West. Certainly the world around 1900 already

[28] Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 1997, p. 107.

[29] Richard Kahn and Douglas Kellner, 'New Media and Internet Activism: From the 'Battle of Seattle' to Blogging', *New Media and Society*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2004, p. 88.

[30] They are discussed in some depth in (e.g.) Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, 'When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements,' *Mobilization*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1–22; Sidney Tarrow and Doug McAdam, 'Scale Shift in Transnational Contention,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, pp. 121–147.

[31] Jeffrey Scott Juris and Geoffrey Henri Pleyers, 'Alter-activism: Emerging Cultures of Patriotism among Young Global Justice Activists,' *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, February 2009, p. 70; Simon Prince, 'The Global Revolt of 1968 and Northern Ireland,' *Historical Journal*, vol. 49, no. 3, September 2006, p. 867.

[32] For example, Juris and Pleyers, 'Alter-activism,' p. 58.

[33] Bryan S. Turner, 'Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism,' *Theory, Culture and Society,* vol. 19, no. 1–2, 2002, p. 51.

[34] Wolfram Kaiser, 'Transnational Mobilization and Cultural Representation: Political Transfer in an Age of Proto-Globalization, Democratization and Nationalism, 1848–1914,' *European Review of History*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2005, pp. 403–404; Sean Scalmer, 'Social Movement Studies and the Nature of Contemporary Movements: New Challenges, Enduring Habits,' *Australian Journal of Political Science*, vol. 50, no. 4, December 2015, pp. 761–771.

looked incredibly global in many different ways.[35] Similarly, such global connections and circulations took on strongly political forms. The concept of 'popular sovereignty' circulated across the Atlantic in the years before 1776.[36] Anti-slavery became an international cause from the late eighteenth century,[37] and both the doctrine of "free trade" and the concept of a "right" to national self-determination were promoted across the world in the decades that followed.[38] The great uprisings in North America and France at the end of the eighteenth century had a widespread impact in Europe and elsewhere.[39] Nationalist leaders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries often spent time in exile,[40] and some became genuinely international figures.[41] Marx, Lenin, and Gandhi could all be considered authentically global actors in an era of newsprint, steamships, and the telegraph.

[35] Goran Therborn, 'Globalizations: Dimensions, Historical Waves, Regional Effects, Normative Governance,' *International Sociology*, vol. 15, no. 2, June 2000, pp. 151–179; A.G. Hopkins, 'The History of Globalization—and the Globalization of History?,' in A.G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History*, London: Pimlico, 2002, pp. 11–46; Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World. A Global History of the Nineteenth Century*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2015; Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, eds., *Competing Visions of World Order: Global Moments and Movements, 1880s–1930s*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.

[36] Benjamin Lee, 'Peoples and Publics,' *Public Culture*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1998, p. 372.

[37] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, p. 3.

[38] Wolfram Kaiser, 'Transnational Mobilization and Cultural Representation: Political Transfer in an Age of Proto-Globalization, Democratization and Nationalism, 1848–1914,' *European Review of History*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2005, p. 410.

[39] On the international spread of the 1848 uprisings: Kurt Weyland, 'The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America,' *International Organisation*, vol. 63, no. 3, July 2009, pp. 391–423. On the international transfer of the barricade from its use in France: Dennis Bos, 'Building Barricades: the Political Transfer of a Contentious Roadblock,' *European Review of History*, vol. 12, no. 2, July 2005, pp. 345–365.

[40] C.S. Blanc, L. Basch, and N.G. Schiller, 'Transnationalism, nation-states, and culture,' *Current Anthropology*, vol. 36, 1995, pp. 683–686.

[41] See the case of Garibalid (e.g.): Lucy Riall, *Garibaldi: Invention of a Hero*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007.

A number of scholars have recognised these developments. Mark Traugott has chronicled the transnational diffusion of the 'barricade' over several centuries.[42] Craig Calhoun has recently traced social movements back to the radicalism of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and has also detailed the many links interconnecting those radical movements.[43] Much comparative work on nineteenth- and twentieth-century labour movements as well as work on labour internationalism has also long delineated the strong forms of transnational activism present within labour movements.[44]

This scholarship has been reinforced by broader historiographic developments. Methodologically, an older tradition of comparative history has been challenged since the 1990s by the concept of an 'histoire croisée,' often translated into English as 'entangled history.' Its early representatives, such as Michel Espagne, Michael Werner, and Benedicte Zimmermann, accused comparative history of artificially isolating their units of comparison without any concern for the many interactions that might have existed between them. Subsequently, their research has shown that many such interactions existed between European nation-states. They identified particular groups of people, often those who travelled often or had access to foreign languages and transnational information channels, as acting as intermediaries, receiving and adapting ideas and practices. Those intermediaries also included artisans travelling through Europe and being committed to early forms of artisan

[42] Mark Traugott, *The Insurgent Barricade*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.

[43] Craig Calhoun, *The Roots of Radicalism. Tradition, the Public Sphere and Early Nineteenth-Century Social Movements*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

[44] See, for example, Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The History of the Left in Europe 1850–2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012; Donald Sassoon, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century*, new edition, London: I.B. Tauris, 2014; Stefan Berger, *The British Labour Party and the German Social Democrats. A Comparison, 1900–1933*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994, especially chapter 6; Kevin J. Callahan, *Demonstration Culture: European Socialism and the Second International 1889–1914*, London: Troubador, 2010.

socialism.[45] Although there is no reason why comparative history should not take entangled history on board and integrate entanglements into comparison,[46] all these traditions have increasingly pointed to transnational connections in social movement activism.

Clearly, it is possible to identify the 'transnational activist' in earlier decades and even centuries. But when did this figure first appear? Marcel van der Linden has traced a thousand years of social movement history in Europe, including medieval religious protests, associated, for example, with Jan Hus in Bohemia and medieval artisan and guild protests.[47] And what are the historical conditions that nurtured the emergence of transnational social movements? Do the transnational activists of the Internet age differ in number or nature from those of earlier years? These historical questions have not yet been seriously examined.

Even if the longevity of the global activist is confirmed, the changing context in which this figure appeared merits much fuller investigation. The steamship and the telegraph nurtured transnational social movements,[48] but contemporary global communications and transport are obviously much faster and more dispersed. Present-day media rapidly transmit images, arguments, plans, and political tactics.[49] International political institutions—governmental and nongovernmental—clearly aid transnational

[45] Michel Espagne and Michael Werner, *Transferts: Les Relations Interculturelles dans L'Espace Franco-Allemand* (Paris 1988). See also Michael Werner and Benedicte Zimmermann, 'Beyond Comparison: "Histoire Croisee" and the Challenge of Reflexivity,' *History and Theory*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2006, pp. 30–50.

[46] Stefan Berger, 'Comparative History', in Stefan Berger, Heiko Feldner, and Kevin Passmore, eds., *Writing History: Theory and Practice*, 2nd edn., London: Bloomsbury, 2010, pp. 187–208.

[47] Marcel van der Linden, 'Social Movements in Europe, 1000–2000', in Berger and Nehring, eds., *Social Movements*.

[48] Michael Hanagan, 'Irish Transnational Social Movements, Migrants, and the State System,' in Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, eds., *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005, pp. 53–73.

[49] Juris and Pleyers, 'Alter-activism', p. 70.

diffusion,[50] as does the development of a more "global culture."[51] The labour market for many professions is increasingly transnational, and this has also rendered occupational cultures more cosmopolitan.[52] The increasingly global character of the economic system creates pressures and models that encourage critics and campaigners to target organisations beyond the nation.[53] Social structure, it has been argued, is more and more "transnational."[54] For most observers, all this implies that the 'transnational activist' is likely to become more prominent and important in the coming years: so far, however, this is a likelihood affirmed rather than established. Excellent recent research has begun to consider changes since World War II,[55] but there is little scholarship attempting to consider these issues over the longer term. Hypotheses and hunches therefore currently dominate the field.

In any case, what, precisely, do "rooted cosmopolitans" do? Existing scholarship has so far identified two primary actions. First, these individuals might act to connect actors from different sites of contention.[56] This process has been dubbed "brokerage," and it occupies a

[50] Selina Gallo-Cruz, 'Organizing Global Nonviolence: The Growth and Spread of Nonviolent INGOs, 1948–2003,' in Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz, eds., *Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, Vol. 34), Emerald Group Publishing, p. 236, p. 240. Less structured institutions, such as the World Social Forum, have been specifically identified as crucial to the emergence of global social movements in Raffaele Marchetti, 'Mapping Alternative Models of Global Politics,' *International Studies Review*, vol. 11, 2009, pp. 146–147.

[51] Deborah Barrett and Charles Kurzman, 'Globalizing Social Movement Theory: The Case of Eugenics,' *Theory and Society*, vol. 33, 2004, pp. 487–527.

[52] Ulf Hannerz, *Transnational Connections: Culture, People, Places*, London and New York: Routledge, 1996, pp. 104–106.

[53] Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest, *Social Movements in the World-System: The Politics and Crisis and Transformation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.

[54] Ulrich Beck, 'The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies,' *Theory Culture and Society*, vol. 19, no. 1–2, 2002, p. 29.

[55] See the impressive Smith and Wiest, *Social Movements in the World-System*.

[56] della Porta and Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism,' p. 3.

central place in many influential studies.[57] Second, they may help to translate political methods from one context and culture to another.[58] In the act of translation, they might adapt or remake a repertoire of political performance so that it is better suited to local circumstance and struggles.[59]

But even if there is an emergent consensus around the import of these key processes, many issues remain more or less unresolved. Some scholarly treatments emphasise the importance of intellectual labour to the process of diffusion, with the construction of "models" or "concepts" of collective action apparently necessary before these might be easily transferred to new contexts.[60] Other scholarship, however, suggests that "cognitive short cuts" and sometimes rash inferences about international events may also promote the diffusion of political movements;[61] some research even identifies the practical importance of misunderstandings in important cases of past political transfer.[62] Recent work has demanded a more precise investigation of these questions,[63] and this

[57] The concept was introduced in Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001. Among its major uses since: Chabot and Duyvendak, 'Globalization and Transnational Diffusion Between Social Movements'; Ion Bodgan Vasi, 'Brokerage, Miscibility, and the Spread of Contention,' *Mobilization*, vol. 16, no. 1, 2011, pp. 11–24.

[58] Sean Scalmer (e.g.), 'Translating Contention: Culture, History, and the Circulation of Collective Action,' *Alternatives*, vol. 25, 2000, pp. 491–514; David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford, 'Alternative Types of Cross-National Diffusion in the Social Movement Arena', in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, London: Macmillan, 1999, pp. 23–39.

[59] See (e.g.) Sean Chabot, 'Transnational Diffusion and the African-American Reinvention of the Gandhian Repertoire,' *Mobilization*, vol. 5, 2000, pp. 201–216; Sean Scalmer, 'The Labour of Diffusion: The Peace Pledge Union and the Adaptation of the Gandhian Repertoire,' *Mobilization*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2002, pp. 269–286.

[60] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, rev. edn., London: Verso, 1981, pp. 80–81; Scalmer, 'Translating Contention,' p. 495.

[61] Kurt Weyland, 'The Diffusion of Revolution: '1848' in Europe and Latin America,' *International Organisation*, vol. 63, no. 3, July 2009, p. 392, p. 401.

[62] Sean Scalmer, 'The Labor of Diffusion.'

[63] Rachel E. Stern, 'Unpacking Adaptation: The Female Inheritance Movement in Hong Kong,' *Mobilization*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2005, p. 422.

would require much richer and more comparative historical study than has so far been attempted.

It would appear to us that many transnational histories of social movements have, in the past, focussed on the dispersal of ideas and were linked to intellectual history traditions. Only more recently have historians considered historical practices of social movements and how these influence the character and direction of social movement activism. Sven Reichardt's study on alternative milieus in the 1970s,[64] Petra Terhoeven's analysis of transnational left-wing terrorist networks in the same decade,[65] Detlef Siegfried and Axel Schildt's work on social movements in the 1960s,[66] and Knut Andresen's and Harm van Steen's work on the social movements of the 1980s,[67] are all examples of books that have taken the practice of social movements more seriously and have thereby extended the realm of social movement history beyond the realm of a history of ideas. Recent work on the transnational circulation of the barricade and on the practice of nonviolence also sits within this tradition.[68]

A fuller study of the history of the transnational activist also implies a deeper interrogation of this figure's primary forms. In a stimulating but sketchy proposal, Sidney Tarrow has identified two "types" of transnational activist, especially prevalent in immigrant and national politics but also present in other campaigns. The "nesting pigeon" settles in a new community, but remains strongly tied to its native home, enjoying a "regular routine" of return visits. Frequently involved in "ameliorative activities" and "ethnic festivals," this activist bears the imprint of the cultures and opportunities of the host society and can also apply its resources to interventions in native politics.[69]

[64] Sven Reichardt, *Authentizität und Gemeinschaft. Linksalternatives Leben in den siebziger und frühen achtziger Jahren*, Frankfurt/Main: suhrkamp, 2014; see also his earlier comparative work on Italian fascist and German National Socialist paramilitary organisations that already also looked at the transfer of practices: Sven Reichardt, *Faschistische Kampfbünde*, Cologne: Böhlau, 2002.

[65] Petra Terhoeven, *Deutscher Herbst in Europa. Der Linksterrorismus der siebziger Jahre als transnationales Phänomen*, Munich: de Gruyter, 2015.

[66] Axel Schildt and Detlef Siegfried, eds., *Between Marx and Coca Cola. Youth Cultures in Changing European Societies, 1960–1980*, Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2006.

[67] Knud Andresen and Bart van der Steen, eds., *A European Youth Revolt: European Perspectives on Youth Protests and Social Movements in the 1980s*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016.

[68] Traugott, *The Insurgent Barricade*; Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*.

[69] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*.

If the "nesting pigeon" is most closely identified with "ameliorative activities," Tarrow associates the "bird of passage" with a more dangerous and "destructive potential"; examples include "diaspora nationalists," "religious revivalists," and "clandestine organizers." Not simply distinguished by the more reactionary form of their politics, these activists cultivate a different relationship to their homelands: less directly involved and informed, and more likely to romanticise a national past than to confront the messier complexities of the present. In many respects, they identify with societies that "no longer exist."[70]

The differences between these two types are great, and yet Tarrow also emphasises the resemblances. Both types rely upon similar experiences of international movement and mobility and often on overlapping networks and technologies. In practice, individuals may even move from one type of activism to another, or, as Tarrow puts it provocatively: "nesting pigeons transmute easily into birds of passage."[71] Do Tarrow's distinctions illuminate preceding generations of global activism? Or did earlier periods of globalisation imply different versions of this transnational campaigner? Is it possible to identify dominant forms or ideal types? These questions merit serious historical research.

Finally, there remain many questions regarding the broader historical dynamics of transnational diffusion. Nearly all studies of diffusion so far attempted have given attention to only a single process of reception and adaptation: the transfer of a protest action or campaign from one place in the world to another. In practice, however, these reinvented actions may themselves become new objects of diffusion: the process may be conceptualised as more "continuous," "dynamic," and recursive.[72] The most enduring and significant of transnational activists have sometimes been embedded in several waves of diffusion and transfer: translating and reinventing practices developed

[70] Ibid., pp. 53–54.

[71] Ibid., p. 56. Of course, as the editors would contend, the reverse is also perfectly possible, that is, a 'bird of passage' transforming itself into a 'nesting bird.'

[72] Conny Roggeband, 'Translators and Transformers: International Inspiration and Exchange in Social Movements,' *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, December 2007, p. 249.

elsewhere, promoting the adapted forms to comrades and campaigners in other parts of the world. Close attention to the career of activists may therefore help students of social movements to pay fuller attention to these longer and more complicated rhythms of give and take, which certainly is likely to be among the most useful contributions of this kind of research.

We should, however, also consider in what way transnationalism as a concept, an idea, and a practice has not been helpful. Social movements themselves have often been transnational in their aspirations and sought to spread their particular ideas and practices. The German Social Democracy, for example, often perceived itself as the schoolmaster of other social democratic movements in Europe before 1914.[73] In the context of imperialism, labour movements were 'exported' to all parts of the world, but their peculiar understanding of the development of industrial and financial capitalism often did not fit the local circumstances, which meant that those exported movements often failed to mobilise broader segments of the population.[74]

It may be worth examining in greater depth to what extent various other social movements, including many of the new concerns such as the feminist, environmental protection, or animal rights movements, suffer from similar defects arising from their own universalizing but ultimately Western assumptions. Seonjoo Park has asked, in relationship to transpacific feminist movements, to what extent Western concepts of feminism are appropriate to East Asia.[75]

Furthermore, transnationalism was also a marked feature of imperialist movements seeking to export, under the guise of diverse civilizational projects, their particular norms and values to all four corners of the world. In all these cases, scholarship on transnationalism should problematize rather than celebrate the practice of transnational activism. A trend that emerges powerfully from this collection on transnational activism has to do with the many universalizing assumptions that have underpinned such activism. Most of the activism examined here

[73] J.P. Nettl, 'The German Social Democratic Party, 1890–1914, as a Political Model,' *Past and Present*, vol. 30, 1965, pp. 65–95.

[74] Stefan Berger, 'Labour Movements,' in Berger and Nehring, *Social Movements.*

[75] Seonjoo Park, 'Transpacific Feminism: Writing Women's Movement from a Transnational Perspective,' in Berger and Nehring, eds., *Social Movements.*

is rooted in Western-centric thinking, which is even true for the activism we encountered in relationship to anti-imperialist and postcolonial nationalist movements such as in Indonesia and India. We may indeed ask to what extent the concept of social movement activism is a Western concept exported to other parts of the world. Postcolonial approaches to the writing of history have been doing this very effectively for a long time, showing the extent to which transnationalist practices have placed entire regions of the world into the 'waiting room of history.'[76] These approaches stand in contrast to much of the 'global history' written in the West, much of it Western centric. As Tom Bender has pointed out, US global history often serves very directly the foreign policy needs of the global superpower USA.[77] Also, much of more recent global history has been processed by historians of China, suggesting another emerging power centre on the global stage has its own interests in meeting the challenges of global history.[78]

Stimulated by sociological debates about global social movements but convinced that historical research can make a special and necessary contribution, this book offers a collective historical examination of the 'transnational activist' in the Anglo world. The spatial and political concentration is deliberate and important.

The British Empire was a web of unequal relationships, institutions, and ideas that over time encompassed the diverse peoples of an Atlantic archipelago, North America, the Caribbean, Southern Asia, Africa, and Oceania. Structured by a division between metropole and colony,[79] it was also marked by imposition of the English language and of contested

[76] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincialising Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 8.

[77] Thomas Bender, *A Nation Among Nations: America's Place in World History*, New York: Hill and Wang, 2006; *Rethinking American History in a Global Age*, Thomas Bender, ed., Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

[78] Xupeng Zhang, 'In and Out of the West: On the Past, Present and Future of Chinese Historical Theory,' *History and Theory*, vol. 54, no. 4, 2015, pp. 46–63; Xupeng Zhang, 'National Narratives in Chinese Global History Writing,' in Stefan Berger, Nicola Brauch, and Chris Lorenz, eds., *Handbook of Historical Narratives*, Munich: DeGruter, 2018, forthcoming.

[79] Catherine Hall, 'What Did A British World Mean to the British? Reflections on the Nineteenth Century,' in Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., *Rediscovering the British World*, Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005, p. 22.

forms of English political government and administration. English historiography at first failed to recognise the import of colonial history.[80] The history of the British Empire was initially written as the story of the nominally 'white' settler colonies (called the 'Dominions' or a 'Greater Britain'), neglecting the colonies of Southern Asia and Africa.[81] American history has largely been written within a national (sometimes even nationalist) framework.[82] However, several generations of devoted scholarship have established the significance of the colonial world[83] and the import of ties linking colony with colony.[84] A growing body of work has examined the existence of a 'British world' (a concept conventionally excluding the United States)[85] or an 'Anglo world' that embraces the whole of North America, as well as Great Britain and the former Dominions.[86]

Students of colonialism have emphasised the presence of "imperial networks" or "circuits" that spanned Britain's former possessions.[87] Historical examinations of social movements in the twentieth century have drawn attention to patterns of political transmission and influence

[80] J.G.A. Pocock, 'British History: A Plea for a New Subject,' *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 47, no. 4, December 1975, pp. 601–621.

[81] A point made in Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, 'Introduction,' in *Rediscovering the British World*, Phillip Buckner and R. Douglas Francis, eds., Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005, pp. 9–10.

[82] David Armitage, 'Greater Britain: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis?,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 2, April 1999, pp. 427–445.

[83] For an influential and trenchant statement: Chakrabaty, *Provincializing Europe*.

[84] Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds (e.g.), *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press, 2008.

[85] For a critique of this exclusion: Marilyn Lake, 'British World or New World? Anglo-Saxonism and Australian Engagement with America', *History Australia*, vol. 10, no. 3, December 2013, pp. 36–50.

[86] For an exciting application of this approach: James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783–1939*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

[87] See, for example: Tony Ballantyne, 'Rereading the Archives and Opening Up the Nation State: Colonial Knowledge in South Asia (and Beyond),' in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking With and Through the Nation*, Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2003; Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire,' *History Workshop Journal*, vol. 54, 2002, pp. 24–48.

connecting India, South Africa, the United States, and the United Kingdom.[88] James Curran and Stuart Ward have also begun to consider the meaning of empire from the perspective of the periphery, reversing the traditional flow of interest from the metropole to the periphery.[89] Further, Catherine Hall has drawn attention to the manifold ways in which the empire has been 'writing back' and influencing the metropolitan centre.[90] Of course, it also should not be forgotten that empire building was always intricately bound up with nation building, both in the metropolitan centre of the United Kingdom and in the colonial peripheries of the empire.[91]

Recent histories of the Anglo world and of colonialism therefore establish the import of transnational relationships over several centuries and the possible relevance of these relationships to social movement campaigning. Building on these discoveries, this volume seeks to place the 'transnational activist' in the context of imperial relationships and movements and to bring these into dialogue with the more familiar 'global' activism of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

At the same time we would not want to create, in the form of the Anglo world, yet another illusion of an allegedly self-contained and self-sufficient historical unit, because there were, of course, many transfers, exchanges, and connections between the Anglo world and other sub-national and often imperial spaces such as the Francophone world. Hence, we are also extremely pleased to have Talbot Imlay's chapter as part of the collection, as it demonstrates, first, the existence of a Francophone world (and no doubt there is also a Scandinavian-, a Hispano-, a Lusophone, a Germanophone, and a Slavophone world, to restrict ourselves only to Europe). However, this chapter also underlines the links that existed between those worlds, as it discusses the

[88] For example: Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*; David Hardiman, *Gandhi: In His Time and Ours*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2005; Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in the United States and India*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012.

[89] James Curran and Stuart Ward, *The Unknown Nation: Australia after Empire*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2010.

[90] Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects. Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1867*, Oxford: Wiley, 2002.

[91] Neil Evans, '"A World Empire, Sea-Girt": The British Empire, State and Nations, 1780–1914,' in Stefan Berger and Alexei Miller, eds., *Nationalizing Empires*, Budapest: Central European University, 2015, pp. 31–98.

connections and transfers between French, French Canadian, and English language socialists.

The collection is not exhaustive—far from it—but nonetheless it considers a relatively long time period (from the early nineteenth century to the near present) and activists involved with a wide range of movements: campaigns for Indigenous rights, national liberation, labour, peace, human rights, and gender equality. It examines a variety of colonial and postcolonial contexts (encompassing Ireland, Canada, Australia, India, and the metropole, among other spaces), although giving perhaps notable prominence to transnational activists with some ties to Australia. Such attention reflects the desire to draw attention to a rich historical case rarely considered by metropolitan scholars.[92] Australia's status as a settler colony makes transnational linkages and processes especially visible, and it has also inspired a range of scholarship influenced by the transnational turn.[93] It has a long history of strong and precocious social movements.[94] For these reasons, it has a particular value for a volume concerned with transnational activism in the Anglo world.

What is the precise subject of each of the chapters? And what do they argue? Starting us off in the early nineteenth century, Penelope Edmonds presents the transnational activism of a group of Quakers strongly informed by the values of European humanitarianism. She takes us back furthest in time, demonstrating how illuminating the notion of transnational activism can be for an earlier period, something confirmed by the study of Craig Calhoun on early nineteenth-century social movements.[95] The Quakers' anti-slavery campaigns were powerfully linked to

[92] On the habit of metropolitan scholars to grant peripheral locations less attention in the development of social and political theory, see Raewyn Connell, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in Social Science*, Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

[93] See, for example, Ann Curthoys and Marilyn Lake, eds., *Connected Worlds: History in Trans-National Perspective*, Canberra: ANU Press, 2005; Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008; Sean Scalmer, *Dissent Events: Protest, the Media, and the Political Gimmick in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2002; Neville Kirk, *Transnational Radicalism and the Connected Lives of Tom Mann and Robert Samuel Ross*, Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017.

[94] A case argued in Sean Scalmer, 'The History of Social Movements in Australia,' in *The History of Social Movements in Global Perspective: A Survey*, Stefan Berger and Holger Nehring, eds., London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017, pp. 325–352.

[95] Calhoun, *Roots of Radicalism*.

evangelical humanitarianism, of which they were the strongest proponents in Britain. As Edmonds underlines, transnational travel and international networks were a crucial element in their campaigns. Focussing on the nine year tour of James Backhouse and George Washington Walker that took them to several British colonies, Edmunds underlines that 'eye-witnessing' was crucial to the kind of human rights activism that the Quakers were undertaking.

The vital role of such eye-witnessing is also confirmed by other chapters in this volume, for example, that on Roger Casement by Mariana Bolfarine. Casement in fact always carried a camera, realising the importance of providing visual evidence of his personal eye-witnessing. It was this, plus the telegraph and the postal system, that transported his reports back to the metropole while he himself was still travelling. The twin technologies of reproduction and communication made his travel meaningful and gave power and authenticity to his eye-witnessing. At a time when television and the Internet could not yet bring authentic pictures into everyone's living room almost instantly, such reports from eye-witnesses fulfilled a crucial role of legitimating specific political demands and goals: in the case of the Quakers, demands for penal reform, the abolition of slavery, and the right to education for Aboriginal people. Edmonds' article shows how moral sentiment was intricately bound up with cross-cultural encounters within an overall imperial context.

The British empire is also a crucial context for Roger Casement, the subject of Bolfarine's chapter. Casement first became famous as a whistle-blower on human rights abuses in the Belgian Congo that he documented on behalf of the British foreign office. Later on, he reported on the ill-treatment of Indigenous populations in Latin America. Whether it was in the Congo or in Peru, Casement criticised the triad of Christianity, civilisation, and commerce under whose mantle the most hideous crimes against humanity were performed. Eventually he turned his attention to his native Ireland and became a supporter of Irish nationalism and independence. He used his transnational networks, particularly in the US, to support the cause of Irish nationalism. For his part in the Easter rising, he was hanged by the British.

Casement's transnational activism is intriguing as it started within the context of a liberal British imperialism, whose values Casement endorsed. It was the abandonment of those values that he criticised both in the Congo and in Peru. His commitment to the cause of Irish nationalism, however, struck at the core of this liberal imperial idea of Britain,

and it is an intriguing question how he came to be so disillusioned with the empire that had formed his personality. How did his transnational activism on behalf of and in the service of the British imperial state turn against this very state? These idiosyncrasies in the personality of Casement provide a fascinating case study of transnational activism for Bolfarine's chapter.

The British empire and attitudes towards this empire also loom large in Sean Scalmer's chapter on Mahatma Gandhi, whose transnational activism marks one of the most iconic instances of a transnational transfer from the periphery to the metropole. Yet, as Scalmer argues, Gandhi's policies of non-violence were not exclusively Indian but represented a transnational mixture of Indian and Western ideas from the start. As with Casement, the success of these policies depended on late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century forms of mass communication. Scalmer points in particular to the work of 'translators' in the West who could communicate the meaning of Gandhi's ideas to Western audiences. The global Gandhi, Scalmer contends, was only possible against the background and in the context of the British empire. Empire to Gandhism was both a key target in his struggle for independence and, at the same time, an important resource for his transnational appeal. The latter would have been impossible without the English language, and English political and constitutional traditions, including traditions of protest and counter-cultures, such as the one on vegetarianism that Gandhi had encountered in London. Gandhi admired those British traditions and movements, and his contact with dissenting Christians was of vital importance for his own intellectual development. The key 'translators' of Gandhi came from within that Christian tradition, which was also closely aligned to imperial knowledge and humanitarian action. Scalmer's chapter thus is able to point out that transnational activists such as Gandhi were both agents and objects of their transnationalism.

For both Casement and Gandhi, transnational activism stood in the service of national independence, and other chapters also point to the intimate relationship between transnationalism and nationalism, for example, the chapter on East Timor by Hannah Loney. Yet, there was also an internationalist transnationalism that was strongly connected to the labour movement. Liam Byrne's chapter focuses on a particular expression of these politics, examining Tom Mann and John Curtin as transnational socialist activists in the context of the Second International. Their socialist internationalism was directed against the British empire

and yet it was unthinkable without that empire. As Byrne points out, the two activists could not have been more different on one level: Mann travelled the length of the empire and campaigned tirelessly wherever he was, whereas Curtin stayed in Australia all his life and became Labor Prime Minister of his country during the Second World War. It could indeed be asked whether Curtin can be described as a transnational actor at all? And whether his is not a case of someone who was deeply influenced by a true transnational actor at all, and whether the comparison between the two raises questions around personal mobility, class, movement networks, and transnational activism.

As the case of Mann indicates, reputation was important for transnational actors as it allowed them to exert influence almost immediately on arrival in a different national context. Byrne's chapter also highlights how the diffusion of knowledge came about through such activism. Mann's foundation of the Victorian Socialist Party (VSP) was a deliberate attempt to translate the British experience of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) to Australia. As the ILP had ultimately converted the Labour Party in Britain to a form of socialism, so the VSP was designed to achieve the same with the Australian Labor Party (ALP). Mann's transnational activism inserted a high dose of anti-militarism into Australian Labor, and Curtin was a key 'translator' of this sentiment. Such anti-militarism was to have an influential role in World War I, because elements of the labour movement led two successful campaigns to resist the imposition of military conscription for overseas service. But as Byrne's chapter shows, Curtin was not only the key translator of Mann's anti-militarism; he also translated the values of Second International socialism and its understanding of capitalist imperialism to Australian workers supporting the ALP.

The revolutionary socialism to which Mann was committed in the context of the British empire also informed the actions of the transnational activist examined in Talbot Imlay's chapter, the French socialist Marceau Pivert. As Imlay shows, internationalist socialism managed to connect the worlds of Anglophone and Francophone activism. Pivert had strong relationships with socialists in Britain, including activists in the ILP. He worked tirelessly to commit the French Socialist Party (SFIO) to revolutionary socialism and steer it away from reformism: a campaign in which he could build on his international contacts. Similar to Mann and Curtin, Pivert's socialism was characterised by a strong aversion to war that led him to the War Resisters' International in the interwar period,

another important forum for transnational activism transgressing the Anglo world.

As a revolutionary socialist who refused to become a communist after 1917, Pivert was looking for a new home—a 'third way' between a increasingly reformist Social Democracy and a dictatorial communism. In the interwar period he was active in the Vienna Union, and after 1945 his transnational activism incorporated the de-colonizing world in Asia and Africa, where he encountered many issues also faced by transnational activists from the Anglo world. Pivert's socialism, as Imlay points out, remained Eurocentric, and his championing of a socialist movement for a United States of Europe only underlined this further. Although he was sympathetic to the independence movements in Vietnam and Algeria, he was against full independence and instead championed the British Commonwealth as a possible model for a future Union française. Once again his gaze went from his own Francophone world to the Anglo world, demonstrating how transnational activism could cross linguistic and cultural borders.

In the de-colonizing world after 1945, nationalist movements often combined their struggle for independence with communism. Thus, in Indonesia, for example, a mass communist movement under President Sukarno was in the midst of transforming the country when a right-wing military coup installed, with the approval of the US and the 'free' Western world, a dictatorship under President Suharto in which hundreds of thousands of communists and alleged communists were brutally murdered. Katherine McGregor's chapter focuses on the human rights campaigner Carmel Budiardjo, fighting for the release of Indonesian political prisoners. Her parents had been Polish-Jewish immigrants to Britain. Indeed, her case, as that of other transnational activists in this volume, highlights the importance of family influences on their later transnationalism. Many of the activists discussed here, such as Gandhi, Galhos, Street, or Thompson, had highly international and intercultural upbringings.

Budiardjo became politicised and internationalised through student politics at the London School of Economics in the Second World War. She also became a member of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB). In London she met many student activists from occupied Europe and, after 1945, from countries undergoing or seeking de-colonisation. Working in international student politics in Yugoslavia and in Prague after the war, she met her future husband, an Indonesian national

studying in Prague. Eventually she moved with him to Indonesia, where she settled down to contribute to the building of socialism in her adopted country. Working as a translator and researcher for the Indonesian government, she sought to integrate into Indonesian society as much as possible, thereby resembling very closely Tarrow's 'nesting bird,' as discussed previously. In the violent anti-Communist repression in Indonesia after 1965, she was imprisoned, and after her release campaigned tirelessly in the West on behalf of those who remained imprisoned in Indonesia. She built powerful alliances through lecturing tours and various networking activities using the language of human rights to attract attention to what remained very much a forgotten issue in the Cold War Western media.

Formerly colonised nations, such as Indonesia, could themselves turn coloniser, as the case of East Timor amply demonstrates. Hannah Loney's chapter focuses on transnational activist Bella Galhos, who was born in East Timor two years before its annexation by Indonesia in 1975. Galhos defected to Canada to highlight the oppression of the East Timorese by their invaders. Hers is another fascinating case of transnational nationalism. She successfully brought together various organisations, including churches, trade unions, women's rights groups, and human rights organisations, highlighting in particular issues of human rights abuses against East Timorese women, including cases of enforced sterilisation and rape. Her activism was only made possible through the initial support she received from a Canadian solidarity organisation for East Timor that facilitated her defection and subsequent career as campaigner. Her case also highlights the general importance of exile and exile organisations for transnational activism that goes far beyond East Timor. In fact, all forms of exile and enforced migration produced powerful variants of transnational activism. The exiles from both fascism and communism provide ample evidence for this in the twentieth century, but also in the nineteenth century the many revolutions in Europe produced exiles who often became strong transnational activists.

Socialist internationalism and its various institutional expressions in the form of the socialist and communist Internationals were important forums for transnational activists, but a variety of other social movements, including the feminist, peace, environmental, and animal rights movements, also witnessed strong transnational activism. The volume contains examples for each of those. Chloe Ward's chapter is dedicated to Jessie Street, a feminist campaigner with a strong interest in

anti-colonialism, the peace movement, and the Indigenous rights movement. Indeed, Street is a prime example of how transnational activists could appear (sometimes at the same time, sometimes at different times) as representatives of different but overlapping social movements. Their identities often included varied but interlocking commitments to issues of gender, race, religion, ethnicity, and class.

Ward's chapter highlights how strongly the making of a transnational feminist was shaped by the framework of the British empire. She moved seamlessly from Australia to London and back again. An important precondition for her transnationalism was her British passport, which allowed her access to worldwide travel. Ease of travel and communication are confirmed by many chapters in the collection as vital preconditions for transnational activism. Having become a 'fellow traveller' of the Soviet Union in the 1930s, her pro-Sovietism made her untenable in Western eyes for a position at the UN, where initially she had campaigned vigorously for women's rights after 1945.

Pro-Sovietism was also a charge levelled against the Western peace movements of which Street was an integral part. Stefan Berger and Christian Wicke highlight the case of the transnational peace activist and historian E.P. Thompson, who left the CPGB in 1956, disillusioned with the Soviet intervention in Hungary and the response of the British party to those events. Subsequently, he became a key figure in the British New Left. A founding member of the European Nuclear Disarmament (END) network in the 1980s, his was a vision of a 'socialist humanism' that was democratic, and he championed a bottom-up movement of democratic socialists from both sides of the Iron Curtain. Berger and Wicke demonstrate how Thompson's rootedness in an English radical and socialist tradition combined with a strong transnational activism brought him to many countries and caused him to join forces with like-minded socialist humanists from across the world in the pursuit of peace and socialism. The authors of this chapter take issue with the perception of Thompson as a 'little-Englander'—deeply mistrustful of everything foreign and international—and instead present him as a 'rooted' transnational activist, whose very rootedness in a specific national radical tradition allowed him to reach out in a transnational way.

Berger and Wicke pick up directly a theme that is also present in many other articles of the collection which highlight the strong interconnection between the national and the global. Transnational activism was often aimed at implanting national legislation, whether over the

protection of forests or animal rights or the implementation of women's rights or workers' rights. Hence, the globalisation of activism does not mean a substantial weakening of the national framework for social movement activities. In fact, Loney's chapter even focusses on a transnational campaign to ensure nation-state rights for a particular place, East Timor. And Chloe Ward's chapter emphasizes how Street remained influenced by Australian national norms and values with her marked internationalism in the sphere of women's rights and peace.

This strong interconnection between national rootedness and transnational activism can also be gauged from Iain McIntyre's chapter on the formation of a global network of social activists campaigning for the preservation of the world's rainforests. His focus on Australia's Rainforest Information Centre (RIC) emphasises the importance of local rootedness for transnational success. The RIC had already developed a distinguished track record of preserving forests in Australia when they turned transnational. Although most chapters in this collection focus on individual transnational activists, McIntyre rather foregrounds the group as a collective actor. We still have prominent individual transnational actors, such as, more recently, Julian Assange, who has become synonymous with a transparency movement, but it is perhaps more characteristic of more recent social movements that these are perceived and perceive themselves as collectives, with a rather deep-seated scepticism of individual 'heroes.' Furthermore, although other chapters overwhelmingly are concerned with ideas, McIntyre homes in on practices of the group and how they were transferred to different national contexts.

His chapter asks a number of interesting questions regarding the factors contributing to transnational activism. Is it easier for middle-class, highly educated activists with the ability to regulate their work to act transnationally? To what extent is transnational activism related to issues of class, education and work organisation? In the RIC indeed many activists were middle class, highly educated, and flexible in their work patterns. They were representative of the classical post-materialist generation often connected to new social movements. Concepts of diffusion and brokerage, McIntyre contends, were crucial in understanding the transnational activism of RIC.

Considering the connections of RIC with US-based activists, McIntyre's chapter contends that the American movement adopted strategies of blockading environmentally destructive developments from their Australian counterpart, and, inversely, the American organisation

influenced the campaigning style of RIC, so that it increasingly used more tour-like entertainment techniques rather than straightforward lectures to gain new members and more support. Disruptive campaigning strategies have, of course, long been an important tool in social movement campaign techniques and are confirmed as vital in other chapters in this collection. The article also highlights the importance of alternative media, including journals, that kept similar movements informed about each other's practices and ideas.

Intriguingly, McIntyre also mentions the alternative production of knowledge by those transnational groups engaged in on rainforest preservation. Such knowledge production was often an intricate part of transnational social activism, although to this day we know very little about this theme. The final case study in this volume also highlights the importance of new knowledge production and diffusion through social movement activism. Gonzalo Villanueva's chapter on animal rights activism underlines the importance of transnational investigative campaigning for the success of having new protective laws for animals adopted in parliament. Yet the pure researching of and lecturing about a particular issue was rarely enough to grab the media's attention, which is why more disruptive styles of campaigning often followed the generation and diffusion of new knowledge.

Villanueva focuses on the activist Lyn White and her campaigns against live animal exports from Australia to countries in the Middle East, Indonesia, and Turkey. White ran a series of high-profile public campaigns that were politically so successful that live animal exports to Egypt were banned in Australia. The chapter underlines the ordinariness of transnational activists. White was a police officer, rather shy by nature, who had grown up in a lower middle class suburban family. Nothing, it would seem, predestined her for her activism. Yet, at age 37 she decided to quit her job with the police and become a full-time animal rights campaigner. The skills she learnt in the police force were of vital importance to her investigative activism and undercover operations. As in Galhos' case earlier, local allies were crucial to White's success. Without the help of animal rights organisations in Egypt, all her investigative skills would have come to nothing.

Personal connections between different, highly specific localities, such a recurring argument in this collection, were often vital for the success of transnational activism. McGregor calls this, in her chapter, 'people-to-people connections.' Villanueva highlights this dimension by giving the

example of the friendship between White and the sister of the king of Jordan. Personal connections thus were important between campaigners but also between campaigners and outside allies. These personal connections also form a major topic in the chapters by McIntyre, Scalmer, and Loney.

As in many chapters in this volume, Villanueva stresses the importance of the media for the success of transnational activism. Contemporary activism, and with McIntyre's and Villanueva's chapters we have reached the very recent past, seems particularly adept in using the new digital media for their particular purposes. The fact that in today's world, everyone everywhere can have access to what is happening even in the remotest part of the world, conceivably changes the opportunities for social movement activism, suggesting a wealth of new opportunities. Certainly, the Arab spring has recently highlighted the power of the Internet and of mobile phones for social movement activism, also stimulating new scholarly analyses.[96]

Much of the transnational activism that we encounter in the chapters of this volume is about transparency. Social movements have been an important part of making transparent matters that were, in the eyes of the activists, obscure, arcane, and hidden. Putting things into the open has long been a powerful campaigning strategy of social movements: it dates back at least as far as the American muckrakers at the beginning of the twentieth century, and perhaps much further.[97] Many social movements themselves have wished to be models of transparency while at the same time demanding transparency from the state and other societal institutions.[98]

It is our hope that these varied case studies help to illuminate unresolved debates around the periodisation, context, action, form, and dynamics of the transnational activist. More broadly, we hope to initiate

[96] Eric Turner, 'New Movements, Digital Revolution and Social Movement Theory,' in *Peace Studies*, vol. 25, no. 3, 2013, pp. 376–383. See also Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*, London: Pluto Press, 2012.

[97] Louis Filler, *The Muckrackers*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993.

[98] Michael Schudson, *The Rise of the Right to Know: Politics and the Culture of Transparency 1945–1975*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015.

and model a greater dialogue between historians and sociologists committed to the study of social movements. The historical studies collected here have profited from the path-breaking theoretical and empirical work of leading sociologists. Thus, we are very pleased that the eminent sociologist, Donatella della Porta, has agreed to reflect on the findings and import of our historical research.

CHAPTER 2

Activism in the Antipodes: Transnational Quaker Humanitarianism and the Troubled Politics of Compassion in the Early Nineteenth Century

Penelope Edmonds

In 1832, British Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker, sailing in the British government cutter *Charlotte*, pursued the face of antipodean 'slavery' in the southern oceans. The travelling pair were convinced of its proliferation, especially in the Bass Strait, a rough sea frontier between the colony of Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) and the mainland colony of New South Wales, Australia. Over the course of three weeks, with the support of George Arthur, Lieutenant Governor of Van Diemen's Land, the Quakers would seek to witness the 'sufferings' of Aboriginal women and then to physically remove or 'emancipate' them from the apparent depredations of local sealers.[1]

[1] Penelope Edmonds, 'Collecting Looerryminer's "Testimony": Aboriginal Women, Sealers, and Quaker Humanitarian Anti-slavery Thought and Action in the Bass Strait

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_2

Collecting the testimony of these women and the sealers, many of whom were escaped or former convicts, was the key to the Quakers' investigative enterprise. At Circular Head, a small port on the northwest coast, Backhouse and Walker, along with Commandant William James Darling, sought to witness the 'sufferings' of two Aboriginal women who lived with sealers. They invited 'Jackey' and 'Jumbo' to leave the sealers and come on board the *Charlotte* to 'have some biscuit and soup.' Suspecting that the women would not express their 'real desires' as they were 'under some peculiar restriction thro' fear of the sealers,' Commandant Darling 'ordered the two women into the cabin' of the cutter to interview them.[2] Although the women's English language was partial and halting, the Quakers attempted to witness their 'testimony', as they termed it. They enquired of the woman known as 'Jackey' if she 'would like to leave the Sealers, and go to the establishment on Flinders Island to live there with her own people.' 'No' was her answer. They then requested she tell him no 'gammon,' or falsehoods, and that if she 'wished to go he had the power to take her and that the Sealers should not hurt her.' As Backhouse related, 'Her countenance at once lost its gloom and with a burst of joy she exclaimed "Yes, I will go!" She now laughed heartily.' Again, of Jackey the Quakers 'enquired if [the sealers] ever beat her.' She replied 'Yes!' Backhouse asked: 'With a stick?' The woman replied: 'No. With a rope.' Backhouse closed the vignette: 'She remained in the cabin the rest of the day talking and laughing, with all the demonstrations of pleasure that escape from bondage might be supposed to produce.'[3]

The story of witness to the suffering of Aboriginal women, whom the Quakers took to be enslaved, was published in Backhouse's religious travelogue, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, and consumed by an avid evangelical metropolitan and colonial reading public.[4]

Islands,' *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 2014, pp. 13–33. On the Black War, see Lyndall Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines: A History Since 1803*, Sydney: Allen and Unwin, 2012.

[2] James Backhouse, Letter book, Friends House Library (hereafter FHL), 30 October 1832, p. 81.

[3] James Backhouse, Letter book, FHL, 30 October 1832, p. 81.

[4] James Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1843, pp. 99–100.

Above all, the Quakers' close attention to Jackey as a subject of compassionate concern reveals the multiple and overlapping humanitarian agendas that would reach their peak in the Australian colonies in the 1830s: anti-slavery, anxiety about the physical punishment of slaves and women, penal reform, and the degraded state of escapee or emancipated British convicts who would flee to the Bass Strait sealing islands. Their concern was, especially, the fate of Aboriginal peoples violently dispossessed by British settlers and government, a subject to which Backhouse would increasingly turn during his nine-year antipodean tour.[5]

The Society of Friends, or Quakers, was formative in the anti-slavery campaigns of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and crucial to the flowering of an evangelical humanitarianism critical of Britain's moral conduct in the colonies.[6] Yet despite this, critical work concerning Quakers as distinctively networked and highly travelled 'activists' whose reach extended to the antipodean colonies and the Pacific has been, until recently, a neglected sphere.[7] In line with new work that closely historicises transnational activism, this chapter considers the nine-year multi-colony tour (1832–1841) of Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker as active campaigners in the pursuit of their particular moral empire in the Antipodes. The chapter explores their multi-reform agenda and, importantly, charts the shift from abolition to a concern for violently dispossessed Aboriginal peoples in these new colonies of settlement, reflecting a new and growing concern for humanitarians in the 1830s.

A key focus in historical scholarship on transnational human rights activism has been on the emergence of international nongovernment organisations (INGOs) as a twentieth-century phenomenon, particularly since the end of the Cold War era. INGOs are also associated with the formation of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, which formalised the term nongovernmental organization to refer to international

[5] Edmonds, 'Collecting Looerryminer's "Testimony,"' pp. 13–33.

[6] Brycchan Carey, *From Peace to Freedom: Quaker Rhetoric and the Birth of American Anti-slavery, 1658–1761*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013.

[7] Penelope Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern": Quakers James Backhouse and George Washington Walker Tour the Antipodean Colonies, 1830s–1840s,' *Journal of Commonwealth and Imperial History*, Special Issue on Humanitarianism, vol. 40, no. 5, 2012, pp. 769–788.

non-state actors who contributed to its project of global governance.[8] Alternatively, the INGO is often considered to have arisen in the late nineteenth century with the establishment of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1839 and to have proliferated during the First World War.[9] This chapter, however, seeks to broaden historical consideration of what constitutes 'transnational human rights activism' and the nongovernmental 'transnational activist' by looking to the witnessing practices of Quakers as a significant precursor of modern transnational humanitarian activism, in an era when global governance was nevertheless driven by empire and close engagement with its colonies and colonised peoples.

Locating Backhouse and Walker as nongovernmental actors within their transnational networks and what might be termed 'affiliate groups,' the chapter examines the historical conditions and enabling factors for their journey, as part of a long tradition, or 'repertoire,' of Quaker transnational religious travel and witnessing. Backhouse and Walker's activism took on particular meaning in this 'Age of Reform,' both contesting and enabling settler colonial governance. Using diverse interpretive approaches including new work on transnational social movements and reflections on humanitarian travel writing, textuality, and networked action, in this chapter I propose that these Quakers therefore should be viewed as 'institutional opponents:' that is, as agents of empire who were also critical of its methods and advocated for political and moral reform. The chapter argues that special attention be paid to the central practice of Quaker witnessing of 'sufferings' and the collection of testimony as evidence—techniques routinely used by present-day activists and often referred to by sociologists as 'human rights methodology'—for the promotion of social change through reporting powerful eye-witness accounts of oppression or injustice.[10]

[8] David Lewis, 'Nongovernmental Organizations, Definition and History, in *International Encyclopedia of Civil Society*, Helmut K. Anheier and Stefan Toepler, eds., Heidelberg: University of Heidelberg, 2010, pp. 1056–1062.

[9] Thomas Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 3–4.

[10] See Dorothy Q. Thomas, 'Holding Governments Accountable by Public Pressing,' in Joanna Kerr, ed., *Ours by Right: Women's Right as Human Rights*, London: Zed Books, 1993, p. 83; Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, p. 15.

By looking to the past, we also see the emergence of perennial questions about the deeply ambiguous and at times troubled role that humanitarian moral sentiments and eye-witness testimony may play, particularly in light of current debates about the 'new humanitarianism.' As Didier Fassin observes: '[M]oral sentiments are focussed mainly on the poorest, most unfortunate, most vulnerable individuals: the politics of compassion is a politics of inequality.' At the same time, 'the condition of possibility of moral sentiments is generally a recognition of others as fellow: the politics of compassion is a politics of solidarity.'[11] Humanitarian governance and its mobilising 'humanitarian reason' thus hold a central tension between inequality and solidarity, and may come to serve as 'consensual force,' even justifying military intervention or colonisation.[12] Arguing for historical continuity, I suggest that such tensions around moral sentiment and witnessing, cross-cultural encounters, and the imperial invasion of indigenous lands have been ever present, emerged from the imperial world, and are exemplified by the study of these Quaker activists.

Last, although the concepts of 'activism' and 'transnational activism' must be carefully historicised, conversely, historical scholarship nevertheless stands to benefit from the analytical insights of new sociological and political theory, thus promising fresh views of early nineteenth-century globalised humanitarianism as a form of antecedent human-rights activism. Crucially, such work prompts further thinking around what forms of networked, globalised, or 'transnational' political activism and what temporal periods constitute valid subjects of study in pursuit of the global activist, even those that seem to fail or miss, or which misinterpret their target of concern.

Historicising the Quaker Transnational Activist: Thinking Through Nation and Empire

Only in the late 1990s did scholars begin to examine critically the political activity, anatomy, and tactics of transnational advocacy movements. One of the central themes of such work has been to interrogate the processes of transnational collective action and, as Donatella della Porta and

[11] Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason: A Moral History of the Present*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 2012, p. 3.

[12] Ibid.

Sidney Tarrow have noted, to study the 'coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions.'[13] There has been, however, a tendency for this relatively new field of enquiry to be characterised by a presentism, with some authors citing the rise of the Internet as a catalyst for the rise of transnational social movements.[14] By extension, the transnational activist is thus seen to be a product of the forces of contemporary globalisation and communication technologies. Such a view can be countered by a historical approach: historians of empire, especially those of new imperialism, have been inherently attuned to the multi-sited and transnational dimensions of empire and offer alternative readings which may problematise, extend, or test ways of understanding network theory and transnational social movements.

The existence of a highly networked and globalised Quaker abolitionist and humanitarian multi-reform agenda for empire in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries challenges and complicates assertions by some scholars, such as della Porta and Tarrow, that '[m]odern social movements developed with the nation state, and the nation state has for many years been the target for protest.'[15] The deep entanglements of empire and modernity notwithstanding, antecedent forms of political activity and protest that we now term transnational can be found in such humanitarian movements of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, especially in the colonial realms of British expansion. Such political activity and protest were pursued by actors who, at that stage, could not have imagined the collective of 'nation' within these sites of empire. Their actions, however, were networked, global, and transcolonial, and since the imperial turn in scholarship, a closer examination of such political and humanitarian activity has prompted scholars to critique the privileging of the nation-state and to

[13] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction', in *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, ed. Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2005, p. 3.

[14] See, for example, Sean Scalmer's discussion of this presentism in Sean Scalmer, 'Mediated Nonviolence as a Global Force: An Historical Perspective,' in Bart Cammaerts, Alice Mattoni, and Patrick McCurdy, eds., *Mediation and Protest Movements*, Bristol, UK and Wilmington, NC: Intellect, 2013, pp. 115–132.

[15] della Porta and Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism.'

think productively both with and through the nation as the apparent sole site and arbiter of political action.[16]

The political scientist Sidney Tarrow has sought to counter presentist arguments that suggest we are entering an 'unheralded age of global movements' and has called for 'comparatively bold historical studies' of transnational movements. Seeking to historicise transnational social movements, Tarrow rightly observed the close connections in the late eighteenth century between the American Revolution, the Dutch Patriot movement, and the French Revolution.[17] Scholars of contemporary transnational movements have also readily noted for some time now that historical movements such as the anti-slavery cause offer precursor models that warrant attention.[18] Seeking to query the apparent novelty of transnational advocacy networks as a phenomenon of the late twentieth century, Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink have traced in brief the transatlantic anti-slavery movement from 1833 to 1865 and the international pressure for the abolition of slavery in the United States. Echoing Thomas Haskell's idea of 'recipes' for political action that can be carried through over time and into new political causes, Keck and Sikkink highlighted the 'collective action repertoires,' such as boycotts and mass petitioning, that were key tactics in the abolitionist movement, stretching across continents. Further, as Eric Foner rightly observed, anti-slavery provided a 'language of politics' and a 'training in organisation for critics of the emerging order.'[19]

New imperial and postcolonial studies have tended to view religious history as a minority concern, but more recently, a new imperial

[16] On the new imperialism and questions of the nation, see, for example, Antoinette Burton, 'Introduction: On the Inadequacy and Indispensability of the Nation,' in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003, pp. 1–26.

[17] Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, Chap. 11 and p. 182. See also Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, p. 40; Huw T. David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century: Transatlantic Activism and the Anti-slavery Movement,' *Global Networks*, vol. 7, no. 3, 2007, p. 368.

[18] Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, p. 6.

[19] Eric Foner, *Politics and Ideology in the Age of the Civil War*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980, p. 76. Also see Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, p. 43; Thomas L. Haskell, 'Capitalism and the Origins of Humanitarian Sensibility,' Parts I and II, *American Historical Review*, vol. 90, April 1985, p. 90, and June 1985, pp. 547–566.

religious history has emerged that views religion, and at times its possibilities for activism, as central to British imperial endeavour in its creation of 'moral empire.'[20] There has been, then, increased attention to the politics, tactics, and networked and activist aspects of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century humanitarian endeavour. Similarly, there has been a renewed consideration of moral and social advocacy networks across the globe, or the so-called new humanitarianism, where in particular INGOs have been increasingly prominent in world politics. These humanitarian actors have become subject to increasingly rigorous critical analysis. In 2010 Samuel Moyn, in his influential study of the history of human rights, observed that the history of INGOs has been 'barely assayed.'[21] In answer to this, Thomas Davies explored the development of transnational civil society through the lens of INGOs, locating their deeper roots in transnational religious orders such as the Roman Catholic Church, the Orders of the Benedictine and Cistercian monks, Protestant groups such as the Moravian Church, and, in Asia, the Church of the East.[22] These religious INGOs are notable, he observes, for their deep pasts, global reach, and historical tenacity, and 'also for the crucial role they played in the development of horizontal relationships among people in different contexts before the emergence of the public sphere.'[23] Davies makes particular mention of the Quakers as having a significant role in the development of transnational activism and of their critical role in anti-slavery and peace activism.[24] Such avenues of interrelated scholarship as outlined here offer ways to bring to light historical continuities and to problematise moral activism and the 'politics of compassion.'

Although many sociologists and political scientists acknowledge the pivotal early role of the activities of Quaker and other dissenting denominations in the anti-slavery movement, and characterise this as the 'backbone' of the movement in Britain and United States based on an evangelical humanitarianism, few have gone further to analyse closely

[20] See for example, C.A. Bayly, *Imperial Meridian: The British Empire and the World, 1780–1830*, London and New York: Longman, 1989; Catherine Hall, *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830–1860*, Oxford: Polity, 2002.

[21] Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2010, p. 316.

[22] Davies, *NGOs*, p. 21.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

their networked political and religious tactics, or 'repertoire,' in detail. An exception is sociologist Huw T. David, who, in seeking to build on Keck and Sikkink's study of the international campaign against slavery in America in the mid-nineteenth century, identified transnational advocacy on this issue occurring more than half a century earlier. Focussing on close links between American and English Quakers in abolitionist activism from the mid-1750s to the mid-1780s, David argued that Quaker anti-slavery mobilisation in this period was marked by 'transnational cooperation' and the 'dissemination of ideas,' forming transnational 'networks' that were not yet more formal 'coalitions' or 'social movements.'[25] David examined this anti-slave-trade Quaker activism according to models developed by Khagram, Riker, and Sikkink of network development and found these models to be 'broadly applicable.'[26] In particular, David sought to examine how the 'seeds of abolitionist sentiment were nurtured' by focusing on the 'seminal role of Quakers' and identified a 'distinct network structure of Quakerism,' which came to mobilise 'a wider denominational coalition into a powerful social and political movement.' Thus, David has argued that the Quakers, with their particular skills in international mediation and conciliation and their foundational role in the transatlantic anti-slavery movement, may be described as the world's 'first transnational human rights movement.'[27]

David, as most scholars, has focussed on the transatlantic aspects, but the Antipodes after the American Revolution are also a valuable subject of enquiry. The 1830s represented a particular moment when the rapidly expanding colonies of Australia and the Cape Colony (South Africa), for example, became intense sites of metropolitan British humanitarian concern. Indeed, the rise of British humanitarianism occurred simultaneous to an aggressively expanding British settlement in these antipodean British colonies and intense violence against indigenous peoples in the 1830s—an apparent 'paradox' that has been highlighted by Alan Lester

[25] Huw T. David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 370.

[26] Sanjeev Khagram, James V. Riker, and Kathryn Sikkink, eds., *Restructuring World Politics: Transnational Social Movements, Networks and Norms*, Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 2002; Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*; David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century.'

[27] David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century'; C.H. Mike Yarrow, *Quaker Experiences in International Conciliation*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978.

and Fae Dussart.[28] At this time the question of honourable colonisation and the fate of Indigenous peoples was often framed and argued within dominant Christian moral and evangelical understandings. Imperial governance and the politics and possibility of compassion became intense, intertwined subjects. Importantly, these debates were part of larger global imperial and political networks, and their attendant trans-imperial deliberations about violence and civilisation were driven, in part, by humanitarian Christian activists.[29]

The Australian colonies were a significant site of overlapping humanitarian concerns about the rapid expansion of the British Empire. Of particular interest are the ways in which the abolitionist rhetoric of slavery during this period was effectively extended to convicts, indentured labourers, and Aborigines in the service of a broad humanitarian endeavour, reflecting part of the 'discursive explosion' of abolitionist debate across colonies of slavery and settlement in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[30] As public Quakers, 'activists' Backhouse and Walker operated inside the empire and were complicit with its goals of colonisation, even if they understood their own goals to be driven by Christian compassion and benevolence. At the same time, they were overt critics of the empire and would come to indict both the British and colonial governments for the shame and stain of violent colonisation.

Independent Observers: Networks for Reform

Backhouse and Walker would be among the first Quakers to arrive in the Australian colonies and establish a major presence there. Arriving just one year before the crucial *Slavery Abolition Act* in British settlements (1833) came into force, and coming from an atmosphere of

[28] Lester and Dussart, *Colonization and the Origins of Humanitarian Governance*, p. 5.

[29] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'Between Van Diemen's Land and the Cape Colony,' in Anna Johnston and Mitchell Rolls, eds., *Reading Robinson: Companion Essays to George Augustus Robinson's Friendly Mission*, Clayton: Monash University Publishing, 2012, available [online]: http://books.publishing.monash.edu/apps/bookworm/view/Reading+Robinson%3A+Companion+Essays+to+George+Robinson%E2%80%99s+Friendly+Mission/176/OEBPS/c05.htm [Access Date 18 February 2015].

[30] On the 'discursive explosion of the abolition debate,' see Brycchan Carey, Markman Ellis, and Sara Salih, *Britain and Its Colonies, 1760–1838*, Houndmills: Palgrave, 2004, p. 1.

British ferment and humanitarian reform, these men brought their spiritual, intellectual, and political luggage with them across oceans, a driving humanitarian and evangelical Quakerism, with its concerns for justice and imperial reform.

Quakers were radical and socially marginal in the seventeenth century, but by the early nineteenth century, evangelical Quakers travelling 'under concern' were middle class, educated, influential, and well connected, and were accepted as humanitarian adjudicators who operated within the empire and yet lobbied to alter it. Backhouse and Walker were empowered to adjudicate the Australian colonies and their systems, as nongovernmental actors, and were materially supported in their investigative endeavours by Governor Richard Bourke of New South Wales and Lieutenant Governor George Arthur of Van Deimen's Land, who charged them with writing reports on the colony's treatment of convict Aborigines and the religious life of settlers. As esteemed public Quakers, Backhouse and Walker were, in the words of Arthur, 'individuals unbiased and unprejudiced' and therefore 'likely to afford not only wholesome admonition to the convicts but useful suggestions to the government.'[31] These Quakers were not missionaries: they did not seek to set up missions, nor to settle, but came from a radical dissenting faith, and were, rather, possessed of a 'somewhat iconoclastic independence from the regular imperial missionary societies,' writes Anna Johnston. Written with the tone and style of an official inquiry, their reports are often detached, and, as Johnston has observed, they 'promoted themselves as independent witnesses to religious and colonial affairs.'[32]

Backhouse and Walker's journey, with its multi-reform agenda, spanned the Australian colonies of Van Diemen's Land, New South Wales, Swan River in Western Australia, Mauritius (at that time Britain's third largest colony of sugar slaves), and South Africa's Cape Colony. This foundational trans-colonial journey had a significant impact upon colonial and imperial policy concerning imperial management of Aboriginal and enslaved peoples, convicted felons, and indentured labourers alike. With their elite connections and extensive networks of correspondents, the travelling pair were fundamental to the creation

[31] Anna Johnston, *The Paper War: Morality, Print Culture and Power in Colonial New South Wales,* Crawley: UWA Publishing, 2011, p. 52.

[32] Ibid., p. 55.

and expansion of humanitarian networks in the Antipodes, where they made major humanitarian interventions in matters concerning Aboriginal peoples, penal reform, slavery, and education. In Van Diemen's Land, encouraged by Lieutenant Governor Arthur, the Quaker pair produced eight valuable reports on the living conditions of convicts and Aborigines. In the Colony of New South Wales, they produced three reports for Governor Richard Bourke, in which they assessed the penal settlements of Norfolk Island, Moreton Bay, and Port Macquarie, and the Aboriginal station in Wellington Valley. These reports were sent to the Colonial Office and the London Society of Friends and used by reformers of the penal system and by those concerned with the treatment of Aboriginal people in British settlements.[33] They were major contributors to the Molesworth Committee (1837–1838), which reported on convict transportation and eventually led to its end. Based on their experiences in the Australian colonies, Backhouse and Walker were key correspondents giving evidence to the 1837 *Select Committee on the Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*.[34] Later, in Mauritius, they witnessed, as Backhouse wrote, a society 'just emerging from slavery,' and reported on the apprenticeship system and importation of indentured labour that took its place. During their two-year stay in the Cape Colony they travelled more than 6000 miles, toured all the mission stations, regardless of denomination, and addressed the fate of dispossessed Indigenous peoples, the treatment of Dutch colonists' slaves and indentured 'coloured' labourers, and the issues of education, children, and women.[35]

[33] Mary Bartram Trott, 'Backhouse, James (1794–1869),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1966, available [online]: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/backhouse-james-1728/text1899 [Access Date 7 February 2012].

[34] United Kingdom, House of Commons, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*, London: Published for the Society by William Ball, 1837; United Kingdom, House of Commons, *Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation; Together with a Letter from the Archbishop of Dublin on the Same Subject, and Notes by Sir W. Molesworth*, London: Henry Hooper, 1838.

[35] See James Backhouse, *Extracts from the Letters of James Backhouse: When Engaged in a Religious Visit on the Island of the Mauritius, accompanied by George Washington Walker, Sixth Part*, London: Harvey and Darnton, 1839; Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*; James Backhouse, *A Narrative of a Visit to Mauritius and South Africa*, London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1844.

Backhouse was born on 8 July 1794 to members of a well-known Quaker business family of Darlington, Durham, England. He had trained for two years in a Norwich nursery, leading to his interest in Australian plants and his later description by historians as a naturalist or amateur botanist. His association with Quaker members interested in prison reform and transportation led to his desire to visit the convict colonies.[36] Backhouse's increasing activity in schools for the poor, prisons, temperance, Bible societies, and the Quaker ministry fed his interest in service abroad. As his memoir records, 'the subject of paying a religious visit to the Australian colonies pressed so much on my mind towards the end of 1830, that I believed the time to be come for moving in it.'[37] In September 1831, after the death of his wife, and with the financial support of the London Yearly Quaker Meeting, Backhouse sailed for Australia with the younger George Washington Walker, a newly converted member of the Society of Friends.[38] Walker was brought up by his grandmother in Newcastle. He was educated by a Wesleyan schoolmaster near Barnard Castle and apprenticed in 1814 to a linen draper. Walker was 'impressed by the probity and wisdom of his Quaker employers, and he left the Unitarian persuasion of his family in 1827 and became a member of the Society of Friends,' writes Mary Bartram Trott.[39]

Indeed, it was prison reform that initially took Backhouse and Walker to the Australian colonies. By 1831, and after much consideration with the York Friends, Backhouse and Walker had made arrangements, as part of their travel to the Antipodes, to visit the 'Prisoner Population of our Convict Colonies.'[40] Throughout the early 1800s Elizabeth Gurney Fry (1780–1835), well-known British Quaker minister and prodigious reformer, travelled throughout England, Scotland, Ireland, Sweden, France, Germany, and Denmark to inspect the conditions of women in

[36] Trott, 'Backhouse, James (1794–1869).'

[37] Sarah Backhouse, *Memoir of James Backhouse, by His Sister*, York: F.B. Kitto, 1870, p. 41.

[38] Ibid.; Mary Bartram Trott, 'Walker, George Washington (1800–1859),' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Canberra: Australian National University, 1966, accessed 7 February 2012, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/walker-george-washington-2764.

[39] Trott, 'Walker, George Washington (1800–1859).'

[40] Backhouse, *Memoir of James Backhouse*, p. 47.

prisons.[41] Dubbed the 'Angel of Newgate Prison,' she was also deeply concerned with the plight of convicts transported to the Australian colonies. Fry encouraged Backhouse and Walker to journey to these colonies, where they agreed to visit and report on the welfare of the prison population there. Before their departure, a series of connections with key humanitarians and colonial elite enabled and authorised their travel to the colonies. They met with esteemed prison reformer and abolitionist Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Lord Goderich, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who gave them letters of introduction to the colonial governors. As Backhouse noted, 'Sir T. Fowell Buxton also took pains to make way for me: he accompanied me to the Colonial Office, where he said much more for me than I should have dared say for myself.'[42]

Imperial circuits were often based on military, scientific, or humanitarian personal and political connections, writes Zoë Laidlaw.[43] The travelling Quakers used networks of religious and political patronage and humanitarian circuits across the metropole and in the antipodean colonies to further their endeavours. They used both multi-denominational humanitarian and scientific networks to support their movement around the antipodean colonies. Backhouse and Walker became active correspondents within a global network of influential British humanitarians. Indeed, within two months of arriving, their first formal correspondence was to Elizabeth Fry, reporting on 'The Emigration of Free Females to Van Diemen's Land,' and to Buxton on 'Colonization the Rights of Aborigines.'[44] They were in correspondence with Quaker Thomas Hodgkin, who would later form the Aborigines' Protection Society (1837). They would correspond with and visit prominent missionaries including Dr. John Philip of the London Missionary Society in the Cape Colony, George Augustus Robinson in Van Diemen's Land, and the Reverends Samuel Marsden, John Dunmore Lang, and missionary Lancelot Edward Threlkeld in the colony of New South Wales. As the

[41] Thomas Timpson, *Memoirs of Mrs. Elizabeth Fry*, second edition, London: Aylott and Jones, 1847.

[42] Backhouse, *Memoir of James Backhouse*, p. 47.

[43] Zoë Laidlaw, *Colonial Connections, 1815–45: Patronage, the Information Revolution and Colonial Government*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005.

[44] James Backhouse, 'A Letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton on the Emigration of Free Females to Van Diemen's Land' and 'A Letter to Elizabeth Fry on the Emigration of Free Females to Van Diemen's Land,' FHL, Letter book 1831–1834, Ms. vol. 1, p. S48.

senior partner, Backhouse positioned himself as a key interlocutor within this extensive and multi-denominational humanitarian network.

Historians of empire and colonialism have lately shown the highly fertile avenues of enquiry gained through transnationalist approaches. Scholars such as Tony Ballantyne, Alan Lester, and Zoë Laidlaw deploy the idea of 'webs,' which, as Ballantyne notes, allows for an appreciation of empire as a 'structure, a complex system of overlapping and interwoven institutions, organisations, ideologies, and discourses.' Their critical interrogation of 'imperial networks,' 'circuits of empire,' and 'webs' has opened rich new seams of scholarship that go 'beyond comparison' to illuminate 'actual historical connections and disconnections between different sites of empire.'[45] Similarly, I suggest that advances in 'network theory' of transnational social movements emphasising 'modular' and 'cellular' arrangements of globalised collective action emerging from historical sociology and political science promise new ways of understanding the development of humanitarian advocacy operating throughout the British Empire.[46] This connection is especially true where questions of political connection and translation across national borders are critical.

Backhouse and Walker's political activity might be described as a type of transnational activism operating not only within the Society of Friends, but also across a range of affiliated groups, forming an affective

[45] Tony Ballantyne, 'Rereading the Archives and Opening Up the Nation State: Colonial Knowledge in South Asia (and Beyond),' in Antoinette Burton, ed., *After the Imperial Turn: Thinking with and through the Nation*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2003, p. 113. See also David Lambert and Alan Lester, eds., *Colonial Lives across the British Empire: Imperial Careering in the Long Nineteenth Century*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006; Alan Lester, 'British Settler Discourse and the Circuits of Empire,' *History Workshop Journal* vol. 54, 2002, pp. 24–48. Zoë Laidlaw, '"Aunt Anna's Report": The Buxton Women and the Aborigines Select Committee, 1835–1837,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 32, no. 2, 2004, pp. 1–28.

[46] See Arjun Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination,' *Public Culture*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2000, pp. 1–19; David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century'; Sean Scalmer, 'Translating Contention: Culture, History, and the Circulation of Collective Action,' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2000, pp. 491–514. Appadurai distinguishes between globalization from above, defined by corporations, major multilateral agencies, policy experts, and national governments, and that from below, where local, grassroots actions mediate global politics. As Appadurai notes, the 'most easily recognisable of these [grassroots] institutions are NGOs (nongovernmental organizations) concerned with mobilizing highly specific local, national, and regional groups on matters of equity, access, justice, and redistribution.' Appadurai, 'Grassroots Globalization,' p. 15.

and political 'web' that mobilised humanitarian political action. Such groups included the Society of Friends, various penal reform groups, and leading humanitarians and anti-slavery activists such as Thomas Fowell Buxton, who directed the Parliamentary Select Committee on the condition of the Indigenous populations of Britain's settler colonies, resulting in its 1837 *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on the Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*.[47] The inquiry took testimony over two years, including accounts of violence and atrocity, and its final report was written by members of Buxton's evangelical abolitionist circle, principally by his cousin Anna Gurney of the prominent Quaker family, the Gurneys.[48] The colonial violence of settlers, often former convicts, was a central theme in the 1837 *Select Committee* report investigation into the condition of the Indigenous populations of Britain's settler colonies.[49] Seeking to draw attention to the grim realities of Britain's expansion, the report described the 'appalling facts' and 'evidence of injustice and cruelty' of colonisation, and painted the far reaches of Britain's empire not as new lands or Edens but as 'dark places of the earth, full of the habitations of cruelty' where 'every law of humanity and justice has been discarded.'[50] By the late eighteenth century, through the confluence of abolitionist and humanitarian currents, Quakers had come to define slavery as a particular form of 'suffering' and the slave trade an example of 'cruelty.'[51] Similarly, in the colonies of settlement, Quaker humanitarianisms would identify cruelty that incurred suffering, and where the 'laws of humanity' were suspended. Soon after the 1837 report, Quaker Thomas Hodgkin founded the Aborigines' Protection Society (1837), described by Kenneth D. Nworah as an 'important pressure group.'

[47] Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler: The 1835–36 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates over Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire,' *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2003.

[48] Laidlaw, 'Aunt Anna's Report,' p. 6.

[49] Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler.' See also United Kingdom, House of Commons, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*.

[50] United Kingdom, House of Commons, *Report of the Parliamentary Select Committee on Aboriginal Tribes (British Settlements)*, Preface, pp. v–vi. See also Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler.'

[51] Margaret Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain: Slavery, Cruelty and the Rise of Humanitarianism*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2011, p. 18.

These metropolitan and affiliated organisations emerged from nineteenth-century philanthropic concerns and sought out reports, texts, and direct eye-witness accounts of suffering to provide evidence for their campaigns and to direct attention to peoples and situations that were deemed the most urgent and deserving. The mobility of text throughout humanitarian channels and its great reach thus moved these powerful sentiments beyond local colonial settings into interconnected colonial and metropolitan networks. Such writings reached a transnational humanitarian reading public, an affective community in both the metropole and the colonies, who were often moved in response to carefully crafted vignettes of the suffering Indigenous body and colonial depredation.

Transnational Journeys: Mobility, Textuality, and Travelling 'Under Concern'

Greater context is gained if we consider the multi-colony tour of Backhouse and Walker within a long tradition of Quaker mobility and travel with its origins in the mid-seventeenth century, and its well-established textual genre of narration of religious and investigative travel and the practice of print circulation. Backhouse and Walker's antipodean journey was investigative, political, and strategic and must be viewed as part of a rich and long lineage, or 'repertoire,' of Quaker investigative travel, known as travelling 'under concern,' a religious and political Quaker tradition officially sponsored by the Society of Friends.

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries there was a great amount of travel by Quakers across the Atlantic between Britain and the American colonies. English dissenter and founder of the Society of Friends George Fox (1624–1691) travelled throughout Britain as a radical, dissenting preacher and was often persecuted by the authorities who disapproved of his beliefs. Indeed, Fox's ministry was defined by travel as he both preached and evaded prison, and during his life he undertook tours of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales. By the mid-seventeenth century, Society of Friends missionaries were travelling internationally. As H. Larry Ingle notes, 'Quaker emissaries soon appeared in Ireland, Algiers, Constantinople, Rome, France, the Netherlands, northern Germany, and Poland, and there were also early forays into the English

colonies of Barbados, Jamaica, and the American mainland.'[52] Fox visited these British colonies between October 1671 and June 1673. Much of his work was concerned with expansion of the faith and the internal ordering of Quaker protocols. In New England Fox organised the first ever Yearly Meeting of Friends and in Barbados encountered African slaves for the first time.[53]

The rise of print culture and the circulation of text were central to this travel enterprise. Quaker writings were voluminous, manifesting in personal and official letters, diaries, reports, official installments, and reports to their own Yearly Meeting, as well as travelogues and memoirs. 'From its inception,' writes Hilary Hinds, the 'Quaker travelling ministry was also a publishing ministry.' When George Fox announced his founding vision in 1652 of a 'great people,' his first act was to write, publish, and distribute a paper on his theology: 'travelling and writing went hand in hand,' writes Hinds.[54] Advancing an argument for the transnational nature of Quaker travel and advocacy, Sarah Crabtree argues that such itinerant 'Public Friends' were the 'lifeblood' of the transatlantic Quaker community and 'worked to unite its members behind a common set of principles'; they were the 'public face of the Society of Friends.'[55]

The travelling Quaker ministry to and within American colonies was a well-beaten path by the eighteenth century. Such endeavour, at this time, was officially sponsored by Monthly (or local) and Yearly (now national) Society of Friends meetings, and was assessed and approved through internal Society of Friends decision-making processes and often financially supported by them. Travel was integral to the development of the rich Quaker transatlantic culture, and the travellers were not only men. As historian Rebecca Larson has shown, 'More than a thousand Quaker female ministers were active in the Anglo-American world before the Revolutionary War, when the Society of Friends constituted the Colonies'

[52] H. Larry Ingle, 'Fox, George (1624–1691),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004, available [online]: http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10031 [Access Date 6 Feb 2012].

[53] Ibid.

[54] Hilary Hinds, 'An Absent Presence: Quaker Narratives of Journeys to America and Barbados, 1671–81,' *Quaker Studies*, vol. 10, no. 1, 2005, p. 6.

[55] Sarah Crabtree, '"A Beautiful and Practical Lesson of Jurisprudence": The Trans-Atlantic Quaker Ministry in the Age of Revolution', *Radical History Review*, no. 99, 2007, pp. 51–79.

third-largest religious group.'[56] By the turn of the nineteenth century, Quakers had greatly intensified their public activism for peace and abolition, at times petitioning their respective governments across the globe. Quaker concern for the fate of indigenous peoples is also well known. In North America, Quakers were formal observers in 'negotiations between the US Government and Native American Indian nations and witnessed treaty signings,' and publicised the outcomes when they returned.[57] By the early nineteenth century, such travel under concern had moved well beyond the realm of the transatlantic to the British colonies of Australia, South Africa, Mauritius, and the new Pacific frontier, including Hawaii, Tahiti, and Aotearoa New Zealand. Such journeying relied upon and enabled the spread of extensive imperial networks, fuelled not only by abolitionist sentiment but more often by a multi-reform humanitarian agenda, including education, penal reform, and concern for indigenous peoples in Britain's expanding settlements and plantations.[58]

We must also locate this Quaker investigative journey and its particular repertoire of witness and textuality within the greater political context of the Age of Reform. In Britain, from the 1780s, major reformist initiatives, both moral and institutional, gave rise to changes in Parliament, the government, the law, the church, medicine, education, penal institutions, and slavery. After the Napoleonic Wars (1803–1815), major unrest had emerged in Britain that contributed to these reforms and led to the social and administrative regeneration of England.[59] These developments extended beyond Britain to its colonies, and humanitarian and public concerns about the morality and economy of empire grew at home and abroad. Slavery had been abolished in 1807, and later, with the victory of the new Whig government, the Emancipation Act of 1833 for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Settlements was passed.

[56] Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700–1775*, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1999, p. 7.

[57] Crabtree, '"A Beautiful and Practical Lesson of Jurisprudence"', p. 65.

[58] In the late 1830s Quaker Daniel Wheeler sailed in a ship purchased with Friends' funds to the Australian colonies, New Zealand and the Pacific, to examine the 'situation of the injured natives of the South Sea Islands,' as well as Australian Aboriginal peoples, convicts and women. See Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern"'.

[59] See, for example, Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes, *Rethinking the Age of Reform: Britain 1780–1850*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003; Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780–1914*, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, pp. 139, 140.

The tour is also significant for its strategic urgency within the broad sweep of imperial reform and charged political climate in the 1830s, a peak period of humanitarian ferment, and with the rise of the travelling imperial inquiry after the Napoleonic wars—the 'Age of Inquiry.'[60] As historian Zoë Laidlaw has outlined, between 1818 and 1826 there were sixteen British commissions of inquiry. Many were travelling: six travelled to non-European colonies and another three investigated Ireland.[61] Later, in 1834, Britain's 'Poor Law Commission provided the template for 74 more inquiries alone.'[62] Yet the Backhouse and Walker enquiry was also distinctive. Dissimilar to a formal colonial inquiry, it was not held in a courtroom, nor did it take place in London; it was neither a legal nor a minuted enterprise. This enquiry was conducted on the oceanic frontier. It was driven by faith, yet official, in the sense that it was formally sponsored and financially supported by the British Society of Friends and assisted by the colonial governors and the elite. This was an expensive and sometimes perilous Quaker humanitarian investigation of witnessing of a different character, with its collected testimony distributed across various humanitarian textual genres and multiple reading publics.

Journeys of Reform: Quakers as 'Institutional Opponents'

Considering networks and focusing on questions of connection, translation, and reception also enables exploration of those to whom these Quakers appealed, those who assisted them, and the nature of political information flow and policy change. Because Quakers possessed specific modes of networked political and humanitarian activity expressly driven by their faith, their political strategies and positionality can be studied. For example, in considering social protest in the mid- to late-twentieth century and transnational social movements, political scientists Jenkins and Klandermans utilise the concept of 'institutional opponents:' that is, social agents who oppose particular state policies, yet are acting within

[60] See Zoë Laidlaw, 'Investigating Empire: Humanitarians, Reform and the Commission of Eastern Inquiry,' *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, vol. 40, no. 5, 2012, pp. 749–768.

[61] Ibid.

[62] Ibid.

the formal political system, supported and sponsored by it.[63] Evangelical humanitarians such as Backhouse and Walker may be productively conceptualised in this way. For them, the state (or in this case the colonial governor or Colonial Office) was not merely the enemy, but 'simultaneously target, sponsor and antagonist, as well as the organiser of the political system and the arbiter of victory.'[64] Although highly critical of the processes of British settler colonialism, and the dispossession upon which this new society of Van Diemen's Land was formed, Backhouse did not seek its halt; rather, he argued for a Christian and humane colonisation, one based on civilisation, amelioration, and compensation for Aboriginal peoples.

By 1837 Backhouse would come to condemn the treatment and usurpation of Aboriginal peoples in the Australian colonies, yet simultaneously support colonisation and immigration. He and Walker worked hard to establish a new settler society and what they termed a 'Christian colonisation.' Governor Arthur sought their advice and they provided, as Arthur put it, 'useful suggestions to the local government.'[65] Backhouse and Walker were keenly interested in the successful emigration and Christian settlement of free male and female colonists, and they actively proffered advice on colonial affairs on the building of a settler civil society.[66] Letter books from their time in Van Diemen's Land reveal their concerns and advice to Arthur regarding settlement and the building of state infrastructure and bureaucracy, explaining to him how the Quakers registered marriages, births, and deaths, as well as proffering advice on the establishment of a postal system. Backhouse and Walker encouraged savings banks, benevolent societies and ladies' committees

[63] On Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans, see David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century,' p. 379.

[64] See the ideas of political scientists such as Craig Jenkins and Bert Klandermans, *The Politics of Social Protest*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 1995, p. 3. See also Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2006, p. 211.

[65] Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern"'; W.N. Oats, *A Question of Survival: Quakers in Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, St. Lucia and London: University of Queensland Press, 1985, p. 90.

[66] James Backhouse, 'A Letter to Thomas Fowell Buxton on the Emigration of Free Females to Van Diemen's Land' and 'A Letter to Elizabeth Fry on the Emigration of Free Females to Van Diemen's Land', FHL, Letter book 1831–1834, Ms. vol. 1, p. S48.

for prison visits based on Elizabeth Fry's model. Operating within official and elite political and imperial circuits, they were also empowered to critique them. In April 1837, as he was preparing to leave the Australian colonies, Backhouse wrote to the Governor of the Colony of New South Wales, Richard Bourke, arguing forcefully that few people of 'reflection' could 'justify the measures adopted by the British in taking possession of the territory of this [Aboriginal] people', who had committed 'no offense against our Nation; but who … had their lands usurped, *without an attempt at purchase by treaty, or any offer of reasonable compensation,* and a class of people introduced into their country, amongst which were many, both free and bond, who regardless of law … *practiced appalling cruelties upon this helpless race* … Upon every hand, it is evident that a *heavy responsibility* has thus been brought upon the British Nation; in which also the colonial government is involved'.[67]

Backhouse therefore indicted both the British nation and the colonial government. Arguing for 'reasonable compensation,' he claimed that these governments had a 'bounden duty to make all the restitution in their power, by adopting efficient measures for the benefit of the Aborigines of Australia, in affording them protection and support, and in endeavouring to civilise and settle them.'[68] Backhouse, in line with a range of humanitarians at this time, argued that the government should use funds from the sale of lands taken from Aboriginal people for their amelioration.[69] In referring to the 'heavy responsibility' and 'bounden duty' of the British administration, Backhouse tied honourable compensation to civility in a manner highly suggestive of the doctrine of trusteeship enunciated by Edmund Burke, in which the guiding principle of trusteeship was that Britain had a sacred duty to the non-European people whom it ruled.[70]

As adjudicators of empire, witnesses to suffering, and contributors to colonial reports and inquiries, Backhouse and Walker's work was

[67] James Backhouse to Governor Richard Bourke, 25 April 1837, from Van Diemen's Land, in 'Letters to the Governor of New South Wales respecting the Aborigines', *A Narrative of a Visit to the Australian Colonies*, Appendix P, cxxxiv. [Italics mine.].

[68] Ibid.

[69] See Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern"'.

[70] Andrew Porter, 'Trusteeship, Anti-slavery and Humanitarianism,' in Andrew Porter and William Roger Louis, eds., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. 3: The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 198–221.

connected to and laid the groundwork for other humanitarians and evangelical Quaker activists, some at home in London, who did not travel. Medical doctor and Quaker Thomas Hodgkin (known today for identifying the disease Hodgkin's lymphoma) is a case in point. His letters and reports across a range of humanitarian concerned were prodigious, yet he rarely left his armchair. As Laidlaw observes, Hodgkin campaigned for the rights of indigenous peoples across the British Empire, but he too was a 'sympathetic critic' of both the missionary and anti-slavery movements, and was 'not afraid to question the tactics of his fellow campaigners, nor to reflect honestly and critically on their progress.'[71] By the 1840s and especially by the 1850s, he was against imperial expansion and would be deeply frustrated that the fate of colonised peoples had not attracted the same intense level of concern and campaign action as had the anti-slavery cause in Britain. In 1836, in evidence to the Select Committee on Aborigines in 1836, Hodgkin opined that 'the slave trade and slavery was, with all its abominations, a smaller evil' than the effects of colonisation on southern Africa. Indeed, as Laidlaw points out, he made himself a controversial figure for suggesting that violence towards Aboriginal people was a greater sin than slavery, leading to disputes with the Anti-Slavery Society.[72]

Quaker Witnessing: Picturing Suffering for a Transnational Audience

Building on a long transatlantic tradition of Quaker investigative enquiry or 'travelling under concern' to witness the sufferings of others, Backhouse and Walker collected information and testimony from sealers, Aboriginal women in sealing camps in the Bass Strait, officials, settlers, military pensioners, and labouring convicts in chain gangs across the colonies.[73] Supported by colonial governors, they had the opportunity to explore the operation of the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land at all levels. In Van Diemen's Land, this included the arrangements by which convicts were 'appropriated' to settlers to work as 'assigned servants' in return for clothing, food, and lodging—but no

[71] Laidlaw, 'Heathens, Slaves and Aborigines,' p. 137.

[72] Ibid., pp. 148–149.

[73] Edmonds, 'Travelling "Under Concern."'

wage. The Quakers also travelled by sea to the more isolated penal stations, sites reserved for convicts considered to be serious offenders. They not only visited road gangs and pitied the chain gangs, where male convicts sentenced to hard labour toiled, but also the 'factories' where female convicts under punishment worked hard at the washtubs and other labour-intensive tasks. Flogging of convicts and women in the Bass Strait was one form of punishment that drew Backhouse and Walker's particular attention and greatly agitated their moral and religious sensibilities.

Pain and suffering, as witnessed by Quakers travelling 'under concern' to slave plantations and to the violent frontiers of colonised lands, were both relational and, through visual and written text, made representational to a transnational audience. The problems of testimony and suffering are worth considering in the light of what Keck and Sikkink call 'information politics.' On the Bass Strait oceanic frontier, the abolitionist tactic of using, as Keck and Sikkink note, a 'dramatic personal testimony to give … facts human meaning'[74] and to persuade an audience far away was put to work by Backhouse and Walker. This 'human rights methodology' gives centrality to testimony and 'dramatises the situation of … victims in turning cold facts in human stories intended to move people into action', they note.[75] Yet in this complex antipodean world of cross-cultural encounter between Aboriginal women and a new moral and evangelical empire, 'facts' were debatable, and issues of translation and mediation of the testimonies of these women who were construed as slaves reveal the curious travel and translation of abolitionist sentiment. This example gives us pause to consider the moments when, as Keck and Sikkink have pointed out, travelling advocates collected testimony of those they deemed to be oppressed and yet 'local people … sometimes lose control over their stories in a transnational campaign.'[76] Yet many of the women saw themselves not as enslaved, but as free, notwithstanding the real instances of sealer violence, according to Walker's unpublished diaries of the visit to Flinders Island. Although in Walker's mind the women had been held in a state of slavery, he wrote with acuity and admiration on their inherent agency, dignity, and freedom: 'I have been

[74] Keck and Sikkink, *Activists beyond Borders*, p. 19.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

led to admire in them, along with their good nature, or desire to please and to be pleased, a certain independence of character, and a dignity, I may correctly term it, which reminds the observer that they have not in their own estimation forfeited their liberty. They appear to feel that they are a free people, and voluntary free agents.'[77] In the Bass Strait some Aboriginal women desired to stay with the sealers, and clearly could maintain their cultural practices in various ways. Some sealers no doubt cared for Aboriginal women, and they may not have wished to marry each other in Christian ceremonies. More recently, key scholars such as Lyndall Ryan and Patsy Cameron have argued for the women's agency, as sealers in their own right, engaged in economic and cross-cultural relationships of mutual accommodation, where European men, too, could become indigenised.[78]

On Flinders Island in the Bass Strait in 1832, the Quakers used the language of the 'humane' in opposition to barbarity and cruelty in their eye-witness testimony of the treatment, including the flogging of Aboriginal women whom they believed to be 'enslaved' to sealers. Walker wrote: '[S]ome … bear testimony to the cruel treatment they have received from their unfeeling masters … and were treated with great inhumanity by their inhuman men.'[79] By condemning slavery they also at once asserted their own humaneness, something which 'struck at the heart of slaveholders' and their critics' moral identities, writes Abruzzo.[80] Yet the language of humanity, sympathy, and suffering too often centred on the body of the enslaved, colonized, or

[77] Journals of George Washington Walker, 13 October 1832, p. 140, State Library New South Wales (hereafter SLNSW).

[78] Lyndall Ryan, *The Aboriginal Tasmanians*, St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1981; Lyndall Ryan, 'Aboriginal Women and Agency in the Process of Conquest: A Review of Some Recent Work,' *Australian Feminist Studies*, 1986, pp. 35–43. Patsy Cameron, *Grease and Ochre: The Blending of Two Cultures at the Colonial Sea Frontier*, Launceston: Fullers Bookshop, 2011.

[79] Edmonds, 'Collecting Looerryminer's "Testimony,"' p. 29. See also George Washington Walker, 'Journals 1831–41', B709 1832, Oct 1832, p. 132, SLNSW.

[80] Abruzzo, *Polemical Pain*, p. 9.

subaltern subject, and on the infliction of pain on that body, rather than the 'rights of those subjects to be free from pain,' as Abruzzo suggests.[81] Humanitarian compassion, sympathy, and witnessing could diverge widely from rights-based talk and action. Although Backhouse wrote passionately to Buxton on the 'rights of Aborigines' in respect of the colonisation of their lands while in Van Diemen's Land, he did not invoke the 'rights' of the Bass Strait Aboriginal women. Rather, he spoke of their cruel treatment by sealers and, employing the gendered language of moral protection, urged the women be protected against exploitation or abuse. Above all, the Quakers desired that the sealers marry the women so that their union should be a Christian one.[82]

Rights discourse, and the way in which it is mobilised, is never in practice universal and too often it is gendered. Backhouse's language of morality and emancipation, of overcoming degradation, was aimed at the women's moral realignment, protection, and reform, and not at their 'rights' or freedom. Late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century humanitarianism and modern post-1948 UN Declaration of Human Rights discourse are not synonymous, and there is little direct linear connection between them. Rather, they may be traced as interrelated discourses arising from Enlightenment thought and related 'rights' talk and movements. Broadly, although the 'rights of man' were more formally concerned with the rise of liberal democracy, suffrage, and the structure and authority of the state to use its coercive power over citizens, 'rights' ideas deployed by abolitionists and humanitarians concerned international moves to recognise individual and collective duties towards others to protect against exploitation or abuse. Quakers such as Backhouse, who spoke of the 'just right of man, conferred upon him by his creator,' belonged to this latter group. The multi-sited, networked nature of Quaker reform certainly makes it a premier case study for scholars of transnational social movements, yet a historically located and specific analysis must be brought to this subject. David's claim that the Quakers may be described as the world's 'first transnational human rights movement' too readily collapses the contemporary transnational with late eighteenth-century empire and thus conflates humanitarianism with human rights.[83]

[81] Ibid., p. 48.

[82] Edmonds, 'Collecting Looerryminer's "Testimony,"' p. 29.

[83] David, 'Transnational Advocacy in the Eighteenth Century'.

The myriad tensions and ambiguities around the politics of witnessing, moral sentiment, suffering, and the constitution of self and other are also amply apparent here. As Talal Asad notes, the dialogic relationship of sympathy in the mutual constitution of self and (colonised) other is 'fundamental to asymmetrical relations of power.'[84] Such encounters between Europeans and indigenous peoples often threatened the integrity of the European colonising self, he suggests, leading to an 'antithesis between the colonizing subject of sympathy and … the colonized subject of suffering' as interdependent identities.[85] Thus, sympathy and sentiment might be considered as both the constitution and assertion of self and other, and as key 'emotional complexes shaping relations of domination and subjection.'[86]

This uneven relationship is evident in the politics of witnessing: a witness can occupy the position of the 'disembodied observer,' as Dipesh Chakrabarty explains, which lends authority to their claims.[87] Yet 'witness' can also refer to the sense of being an embodied witness to one's own suffering and trauma and of testifying to this experience. When intimate or personal experience is translated by a 'disembodied' witness, the object of compassion can lose control of her story. The dynamic between these two kinds of witnesses in Backhouse and Walker's narrative of enslaved Aboriginal women is thus unequal: the victim of suffering is subordinate to the testimony about that suffering. It is critical to explore these troubling ambiguities of moral testimony and the interplay of witnessing and testimony, for, to echo Fassin, the 'politics of compassion is a politics of inequality,' and thus may operate in eliciting the 'fantasy of a global moral community' and come to act as 'consensual force.'[88] In this way, we see how humanitarian discourses for the

[84] Talal Asad, 'Reflections on Violence, Law and Humanitarianism," *Critical Inquiry*, available [online]: http://criticalinquiry.uchicago.edu/reflections_on_violence_law_and_humanitarianism/#_ftnref31 [Access Date July 14, 2014].

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2000, p. 119.

[88] Didier Fassin, *Humanitarian Reason*, p. 3.

protection, civilisation, and uplift of Aboriginal people could too readily come to be rationalised as strategies for their control, surveillance, and dispossession.[89] The Aboriginal women, including Jackey, were taken to the remote 'Establishment for Aborigines' on Flinders Island. Here, with other Tasmanian Aboriginal people, and under the guise of protection and civilization, they were effectively incarcerated by the colonial government in the midst of the violent land wars between Aborigines and European settlers, known as the 'Black War.' Tragically, many of them would die there, not from the effects of slavery, but of disease, cold, and hunger, and from the rapacious British colonisation of their lands.[90]

Conclusion

Travelling Quakers Backhouse and Walker were engaged in vigorous political reformist activity in the Antipodes. They may be viewed as activists, or active campaigners, who worked towards a moral, religious, and social improvement and were involved in some of the most salient and pressing questions of both empire and modernity: freedom, slavery, and other forms of unfree labour and indigenous dispossession. They were not agitators or activists operating outside the empire, nor were they uncritical imperial agents. Rather, as public Quaker evangelicals they occupied a complex position as 'institutional opponents' or 'sympathetic critics' working within imperial political circuits to broker various humanitarian reforms, however faltering, in the furtherance of their particular moral empire. Indeed, they indicted the British Empire for the violent usurpation of indigenous peoples in new colonies of settlement, yet condoned settlement in principle and argued for a moral or Christian colonisation. In this way, they were reformist, working to create change within the system, but not challenging the structure—that is, colonization—itself.

This significant tour to the Antipodes was enabled and nurtured by a tradition of Quaker travel, witnessing, and textuality of at least two

[89] See Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, 'Indigenous and Settler Relations,' in Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre, eds., *The Cambridge History of Australia: Indigenous and Colonial Australia*, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 342–366.

[90] Edmonds, 'Collecting Looerryminer's "Testimony"'; Ryan, *Tasmanian Aborigines.*

centuries. Its 'repertoire' or style of witness to suffering was further influenced by the nexus of the Age of Reform and the so-called Age of Inquiry with the rise of mobility and print culture in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries. This time was a particularly heightened imperial moment that saw a crucial shift in mobilised humanitarian action from anti-slavery to concern for the welfare and protection of Aboriginal peoples in far-flung British settlements. These Quakers were also enabled by and, at times, beholden to the colonial state and colonial elite. Their activist relationship with the state, much like that of contemporary international nongovernmental organisations (INGOs), was as 'institutional opponents,' but this connection was also both fraught and symbiotic, revealing the ambiguities of sentiment and the troubled moral economy of compassion as entwined vectors of humanitarian governance and imperial power. Religious humanitarians have a long history of transnational activism, yet above all we see continuity as well as change. Although much work on religious transnational advocacy can be overly positivist, this case reminds us that the politics of compassion and witnessing are perennially problematic. The Society of Friends continues to have strong engagement with transnational activism today, and similar to other INGOs are driven by moral and religious sentiments, which have major roles in shaping the global, if fraught and complex, politics of compassion.

CHAPTER 3

Not a Man of His Own Time: Roger Casement and Transnational Activism

Mariana Bolfarine

The life of transnational activist Roger David Casement has been the subject of much debate because of controversies that have never been easy to fully elucidate. He was an imperialist, rebel, and revolutionary,[1] born on 1 September 1864, in Sandycove, Dublin, of a mixed marriage: his mother was a Catholic and his father a Protestant. After his parents' death, Casement was sent to live with relatives in Antrim, Northern Ireland, and then in Liverpool, England. In his youth, he started working for Elder Dempster Shipping Line and soon left for Africa. He arrived in the Belgian Congo in 1884 and was appointed colonial agent of King Leopold II's International Association. After allegations of

[1] I here refer to the title of Séamas O'Síocháin's biography, *Roger Casement: Imperialist, Rebel, Revolutionary*, Dublin: Lilliput Press, 2008, that traces precisely his transformations from a loyal British Consul to defender of the underdog in the Congo and in Amazonia, and finally to a fierce Irish nationalist.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_3

atrocities[2] committed against the natives, Casement journeyed to the upper Congo in 1903 to investigate and officially report to the British Foreign Office about working conditions during the rubber boom. As a result, Casement produced a report condemning the conduct of Leopold II, for which he was awarded CMG (Companion of Saint Michael and Saint George). He later met the French Journalist E.D. Morel, and they founded the Congo Reform Association (CRA) in 1904. Weakened by ill health, Casement moved away from the Foreign Office temporarily to devote his energies to the CRA and to his early interests in the cause of Irish independence.

From 1906 to 1913 Casement took up different consular postings in Brazil: as British Consul in Santos (September 1906–January 1908), in Belém do Pará (February 1908–February 1909), and as Consul-General in Rio de Janeiro (March 1909–August 1913). Given the positive results of his operations in the Congo, in 1911 the Foreign Office assigned him a second trip to Brazil and Peru, in the upper Amazon, to investigate atrocities committed against the Barbadians, British subjects who were brought to South America, and the indigenous peoples who worked as rubber gatherers for the Peruvian Amazon Company. Casement wrote two reports that were compiled into a Blue Book that reveals the dangers of the free market and unwatched capitalism in the Putumayo.[3]

Casement received a knighthood in 1911, bestowed by King George V, which he reluctantly accepted.[4] The fact of having been exposed to the Congo and Amazonian atrocities made him disillusioned with the British Empire and triggered his conversion to Irish nationalism.[5]

[2] These atrocities refer to the ill treatment and mutilations inflicted upon the Congolese natives for not collecting the rubber quotas during the reign of the absolutist monarch, Leopold II.

[3] The Putumayo is a disputed frontier between Colombia, Peru, and Brazil located in the Amazon region.

[4] Casement's reluctance to receive this honour is clear in the following excerpt of a letter to his friend Alice Stopford Green: "Your congrats have been the best, for you alone have seen there was an Irish side to it all. What you say is true – although few would believe it, can possibly believe, that I have not worked for this – for a distinction and honour – or whatever they call it, instead of, in reality, deeply desiring not to get it." See: O'Síocháin: *Roger Casement*, p. 309.

[5] Casement's disillusionment with the British Empire is made clear in passages of the *Amazon Journal* and in letters to friends. This can be seen in a reference to Oliver Cromwell in a letter he submitted to the *Irish Independent* on 20 May 1913, under the heading 'This "Irish Putumayo,'" wherein he likens the subjugation of the Irish to that of the Putumayo Indians. Soon afterwards, in a letter to Alice Stopford Green (30 May

According to Angus Mitchell, after returning from the Putumayo at the end of 1910, "Casement was a changed man. His beliefs in the 'civilizing' potential of the British Empire had evaporated and his concerns with modernity and civilization's promise of progress had disintegrated." Mitchell claims that Casement's frustration with British imperialism and his own position as Consul, "combined with the escalation of tensions in Ireland," "led to his decision to resign from the consular service, something he had been threatening to do for quite some time."[6] Following his official resignation, Casement joined the Irish Volunteers in 1913, an organization that sought the independence of Ireland from Britain.

His next step was to go the United States to financially support a mission in Germany to run guns and form a Brigade with Irish prisoners of war in Limburg.[7] His mission was unsuccessful, and he returned to Ireland from Germany in 1916 aboard a U19 submarine; he was arrested on 21 April, Good Friday, in Tralee, on the southwest coast of Ireland. He was subsequently taken to England, questioned by several members of British intelligence, and imprisoned in the Tower of London. In the meanwhile, the Easter Rising, an armed insurrection for Irish independence, took place in Dublin, and Casement was also condemned for taking part in it as 1 of its 16 leaders.[8]

Even though supporters such as the historian Alice Stopford Green and the writers Arthur Conan Doyle and George Bernard Shaw organized a petition against his execution, Casement met his death at the gallows of Pentonville Prison on 3 August 1916. But his story is far from

1913), Casement wrote about the reception of this letter, condemning British imperial practice in Ireland: "my 'grave indiscretion' in likening Connemara to the Putumayo has, after all, done *only good*. No one I find reproaches me and all were secretly glad – some openly so and at any rate widespread public attention has been called to the evil and wicked plight of those poor people – a remnant of Cromwellian civilization sitting in the embers of the hell or Connaught then decreed the doom of the Irish race." See: Brian Inglis, *Roger Casement: The Biography of a Patriot who Lived for England, Died for Ireland*, New York: Harcourt Jovanovich, 1973, pp. 355–356.

[6] Angus Mitchell, *16 Lives: Roger Casement*, Dublin: The O'Brien Press, 2014, pp. 146, 151.

[7] For more information on Roger Casement in Germany, please refer to 'A Last Page of my Diary: with an Introduction by Angus Mitchell,' *Field Day Review*, vol. 8, 2012, p. 53.

[8] Of the 16 Rising leaders whose execution was ordered by Westminster, Casement was the only one who was hanged.

being over. He was prevented from becoming a martyr because a set of so-called *Black Diaries*, of homosexual content, was conveniently found by the British Home Office and circulated among his defence and supporters. The authenticity of these documents is still the subject of much debate among historians, but the homophobia of the culture at that time nonetheless undermined his status. Heated arguments on the ongoing controversy surrounding both Casement's political motivations and his private life show that, as in the words of the Irish poet William Butler Yeats, "The Ghost of Roger Casement is beating on the door,"[9] haunting Anglo–Irish relations.[10]

The aim of this chapter is to look at Roger Casement in the light of transnational activism. Although Casement was an agent of the Empire, he unveiled in his own time some of the evils committed under the aegis of the three Cs of colonial domination—Christianity, Civilization, and Commerce. Moreover, his political achievements were closely tied to transnational communications and power.

Specifically, this chapter explores Roger Casement's emergence as a transnational activist. It argues that Casement can be considered a 'rooted cosmopolitan,' a concept first advanced by Sidney Tarrow.[11] As Sidney Tarrow explains, "the special characteristics of these activists is not their *cognitive* cosmopolitanism, but their *relational* links to other societies, to other countries, and to international institutions."[12] Casement's transatlantic actions and movements across three continents—Europe, Africa, and the Americas—nurtured his awareness of colonial violence and his capacity to bring attention to injustice. It also led him to engage in the cause of freeing his own people, the Irish, from British domination. It is important to take a close look into Casement's life and political activism, for it sheds light on earlier generations of transnational struggle, long before the Internet age.

[9]William Butler Yeats, 'The Ghost of Roger Casement,' in *The Collected Poems of William Butler Yeats*, London: Wordsworth Editions, 2000, p. 262.

[10]Mariana Bolfarine, *Between "Angels and Demons": Trauma in Fictional Representations of Roger Casement*, São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas: 2015, available [online]: http://www.teses.usp.br/teses/disponiveis/8/8147/tde-15012016-140005/ [Access Date March 21 2017].

[11]Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, Chap. 3.

[12]Ibid., p. 35.

The hypothesis of this study is that Casement's rooted cosmopolitanism will emerge in his writings in the form of travel journals and letters to key connections in Europe and the United States; namely, his relationship with Foreign Office Secretary Sir Edward Grey, British Ambassador James Bryce, British Ambassador in Washington, US President William Taft, and those involved in the Putumayo crusade: Sir William Tyrrell and Gerald Spicer, to name a few. According to historian Angus Mitchell, editor of the books *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*[13] and *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*,[14] these documents are instructive as they reveal Casement's ability to get his message heard, as well as his growing commitment to the Irish nationalist cause. To illustrate my point that Casement can be considered a rooted cosmopolitan, albeit ahead of his time, I have chosen to discuss excerpts of selected letters that reveal his actions in the Putumayo, his Irish–American connections, and his growing Irish nationalism. These texts offer a glimpse into Casement's efforts to expose and communicate the atrocities committed by the Peruvian Amazon Company to set an example to other societies.

Rooted Cosmopolitanism

First, I explore the idea of "rooted cosmopolitanism" and the ways in which it can be applied to Casement, for he encompasses some of the characteristics of rooted cosmopolitans of today, but with far fewer resources, such as the Internet and social media. In this regard, Sidney Tarrow poses the question of whether globalization will turn people who operate across borders into "rootless cosmopolitans," or will they remain citizens of nation-states who occasionally participate in international protest events as "international tourists"? Tarrow's argument is constructed around the idea that rooted cosmopolitans grow out of local settings that draw on domestic resources that are the primary underpinning of transnational contention. It is not the cognitive cosmopolitanism of these agents that is crucial, but their relational links to their own societies, to other countries, and to international institutions.

[13]Angus Mitchell, ed., *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, Dublin: Lilliput Press, 1997.

[14]Angus Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness: The 1911 Documents*, Dublin: Irish Manuscripts Commission, 2003.

It is well known that cosmopolitanism is not new; nevertheless, as Tarrow claims, it has been accelerated by increasing connections across borders and by the way in which it has become easier for citizens to mobilize within or without societies. As Casement's story illustrates, foreign travel, knowledge of foreign languages, and transnational networking go back much further than the end of the twentieth century. Long before the Internet and cheap air travel, trade, exile, immigration, and humanitarian intervention were all sources that informed "rooted cosmopolitanism."

It is important to bear in mind the dictionary definition[15] of the word "cosmopolitan" as, first, someone who belongs to all parts of the world and who is not restricted to any one country or its inhabitants, and second, as having characteristics that arise from, or are suited to, a range over many different countries, free from national limitations or attachments. Tarrow explains that the term "rootless cosmopolitanism" was initially used during Joseph Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign, and that it was revisited only in 1992 by Jeremy Waldron in 'Minority Cultures and the Cosmopolitan Alternative,' wherein he "praised cosmopolitans as individuals who do not take their set of cultural identities to be defined by any bounded subset of the cultural of the cultural resources available in the world."[16] Soon after, cultural studies founder Stuart Hall saw cosmopolitanism as "the ability to stand outside of having one's life written and scripted by any one community."[17]

When discussing the historical figure of Roger Casement, it is inevitable to consider the pattern which Tarrow argues can be found among transnational activists: "some are invested in international regimes and practices; others take advantage of them for primarily self-interested motives, but most rely on domestic resources and opportunities to launch their transnational activities and return home afterwards."[18] Therefore, transnational activists are "individuals and groups who mobilize domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance

[15] Oxford English Dictionary, 1999, cited in: Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 37.

[16] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 37.

[17] Ibid., p. 38.

[18] Ibid., p. 42.

claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents, or in favour of goals they hold in common with transnational allies."[19]

These notions of relational cosmopolitanism put forth by Tarrow can be applied to Roger Casement, for he relied mostly on missives and spatial dislocation to get his messages across, chiefly through travelling across the Atlantic Ocean. From an early stage in his career in Africa, Casement made a good impression on senior colonial administrators and would be soon moving in the highest circles. Casement was well connected, well versed in several languages, including Spanish, some Portuguese, and indigenous dialects, which made it easier to navigate across different cultures. These relationships and skills increasingly enabled an influential activism, extending across multiple causes.

Roger Casement as a Rooted Cosmopolitan

The early twentieth century was a time of scientific and technological advancement as a consequence of European imperial practice in the so-called dark continent of Africa. Yet, it was also a time of human subjugation and natural exploitation. It was there that Casement's actions as a rooted cosmopolitan began, in the Congo Free State, a territory owned by Leopold II in 1903. Then and there, Casement was chosen by the British Foreign Office to investigate barbarous crimes of murder and mutilation allegedly committed against the natives employed in the rubber industry who had failed to meet production quotas. As a result of his investigations, Casement wrote a report illustrated with pictures taken by missionaries followed by statements of the victims themselves, but which omitted the names of the criminals.

The report was published in 1903, and helped to bring down the rubber extractive economy. It also put Casement in contact with the French journalist Edmund Dene Morel, who began spreading the news of the atrocities in Europe, and with whom he formed the CRA, with supporters such as detective story author Arthur Conan Doyle,[20] and, very

[19] Ibid., p. 43.

[20] Roger Casement and Conan Doyle met in 1910, shortly before Casement left for Peru, and they remained in correspondence. Casement has also supplied Conan Doyle with the setting of the novel *The Lost World*, and one of the characters, Lord Johns Roxton, was based on the then British Consul. For more information on Roger Casement and literature, please refer to the Ph.D. dissertation '"Between Angels and Demons:" Trauma in Fictional Representations of Roger Casement,' University of São Paulo, 2015.

briefly, Joseph Conrad,[21] writer of *Heart of Darkness*.[22] It is worth mentioning that Conan Doyle also wrote the piece *King Leopold's Soliloquy*,[23] a pamphlet that describes the historical figure Leopold II defending himself while ironically expressing his own guilt.

The historian W.R. Louis writes about the importance of Casement's travelogues to the origins of human rights discourse; as he provided "evidence of 'wholesale oppression and shocking misgovernment' in the Congo, he enabled the British Foreign Office to take a decisive stand against the Congo State". As a consequence, Louis claims that "It was Sir Roger Casement who inspired E.D. Morel to found the CRA, one of the most effective propaganda instruments in the 20th century" adding that "The history of the Congo, unlike the history of his native Ireland, was profoundly influenced by Roger Casement."[24] This example is also an suggestion of the way Casement's actions reverberate across continents and shows him as a humanitarian engaged in promoting social justice. Casement himself became aware of this, and he wrote to his friend, the historian Alice Stopford Green, about the way in which in the midst of the Congo forests he also found himself, the "incorrigible Irishman," for he realised he was looking at this tragedy "with the eyes of another race—of a people once hunted themselves."[25]

Years later, Casement was appointed Consul in Santos (1906–1908), Belém do Pará (1808–1909), and Rio de Janeiro (1909–1913). On the strength of the Congo, in August 1910, he was assigned another mission

[21] Roger Casement and Joseph Conrad met in the Congo and shared a room for some weeks. Conrad has written that Casement allowed him to see the violence in the Congo, and some critics argue that it was Casement who inspired Conrad to write the renowned novella *Heart of Darkness*. In Conrad's words: "He [Casement] could tell you things! Things I have tried to forget, things I never did know. He has had many years of Africa as I had months – almost." See: Letter to Robert Cunningham Graham, 26 December 1903, in *The Collected Letters of Joseph Conrad*, vol. 3, Frederick R. Karl and Laurence Davies, eds., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986, p. 101.

[22] Joseph Conrad, *Heart of Darkness* [1902], New York: Dover Thrift Editions, 1990.

[23] Mark Twain, *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, second edition, Boston: P.R. Warren Co., 1905a.

[24] W.R. Louis 1964, cited in Inglis, *Roger Casement*, p. 1.

[25] National Library of Ireland MS 10464, Roger Casement to Alice Stopford Green, 20 April 1907, cited in: Angus Mitchell and Laura Izarra, eds., *Roger Casement in Brazil: Rubber, the Amazon and the Atlantic World 1884–1916*, São Paulo: Humanitas, 2010, p. 25.

by the British Foreign Office and was sent to the Peruvian Amazon region in the Putumayo. In this remote area, *Hevea braziliensis*, the rubber tree, flourished. The precious rubber was extracted by workers at the mercy of a system called debt bondage, a method described by the Brazilian writer Euclides da Cunha in *At the Margins of History*.[26] In short, the rubber tapper was under the control of an employer and obliged to buy overpriced food and supplies from a local store, thereby remaining bonded to the estate.

Similarly to what took place in the Congo, rumours of atrocities committed against the Indigenous populations in South America started to reach Europe, in the periodical *Truth*[27] edited by W.E. Hardenburg. Hardenburg was an American explorer who denounced all sorts of ill treatment committed against the Indigenous populations by the rubber extractive Peruvian Amazon Company, registered in London. Casement was appointed as being part of the Select Committee of Inquiry, set up by the British Foreign Office, to officially investigate the working conditions of Barbadians, British subjects employed on contracts by the Peruvian Amazon Company. However, what stood out for the Commission, and especially Casement, were the appalling conditions of the Amazonian Indians, who were emaciated by hunger, and whose skins were severely scarred by floggings with whips of twisted tapir hide, which became known as the "mark of Arana." Casement wrote a detailed report based on the notes he took in locus, published as a Blue Book; officially titled *Correspondence Regarding Treatment of British Colonial Subjects and Native Indians Employed in the Collection of Rubber in the Putumayo District*,[28] which was presented to the British Home Office in 1912; another copy was sent to the United States by Stuart Fuller, American Consul in Peru.

The report reveals a shift in late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century travel writing about colonial atrocities, which, according to Robert Burroughs, is based on its "open admission of the witness' angry

[26] Euclides da Cunha, *At the Margins of History* [1909], Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006.

[27] The periodical *Truth* was founded by the English politician Henry Labouchère in 1877.

[28] (Cd. 6266, 1912), cited in Mitchell, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 61.

response to violence."[29] Burroughs claims that Casement's Amazonian travel account is unique as it not only draws together "centre" and "periphery" but also expresses personal outrage in his discovering the "English" complicity with the Putumayo atrocities. Its style differs from his previous factual and distanced Congo report, because there he played the role of a representative of the British Empire, whereas the Amazon report is intimate, revealing his private feelings—which were slowly shifting towards Irish nationalism—his perceptions about what he was actively witnessing, and the names of the perpetrators.[30]

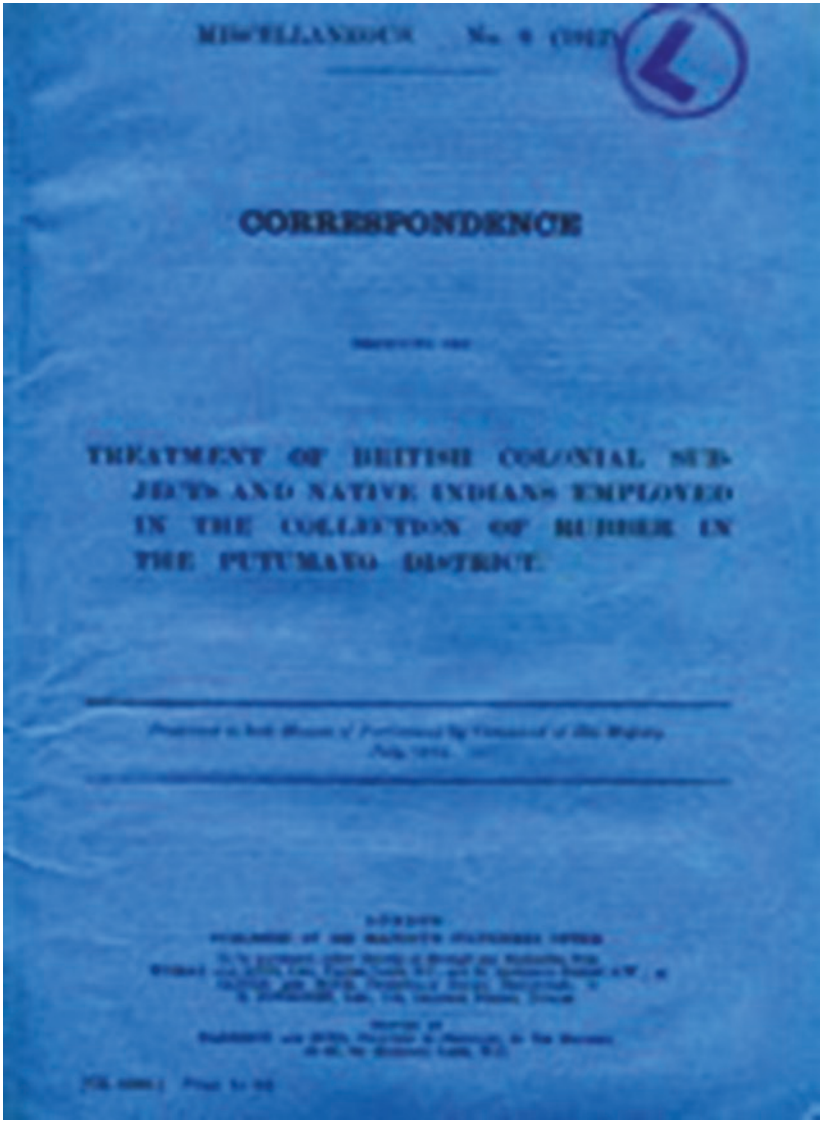
My thoughts on this issue echo those of Angus Mitchell, who has written that Casement's experience of different kinds of colonial encounters made him reconsider his own thoughts on empire and thereby allowed him to challenge the prejudices and preconceptions of the time. According to Mitchell, Casement's attitudes toward race were not fixed, but shifted as he became more aware of colonial relationships.[31] Casement's critique of colonialism in Africa and South America derived from empathy, which was uncharacteristic of white imperial subjects, as he related the plight of the Congolese to that of the Amazonians, and finally, to that of the Irish.

In an attempt to illustrate these important processes, I have chosen to quote extensively from passages from Casement's writings in the pages that follow. The quoted excerpts include writings on the Putumayo; on the impact of Casement's report in the United States; on Casement's decision to take with him to England two Putumayo Indians; and on Casement's relating the conditions of the Putumayo Indians to those of the Irish in Connemara. I also cite from Dr. Herbert Spencer Dickey's impressions of Casement, composed some twenty two years after his death. I have decided on this method of long citation because the excerpts disclose Casement's style and choice of words, suggesting his empathy and the relationships he establishes between his transnational experiences. More broadly, I hope the methods of cultural history

[29] Robert Burroughs, *Travel Writing and Atrocities: Eyewitness Accounts of Colonialism in the Congo, Angola, and the Putumayo*, London: Routledge, 2010, p. 120.

[30] Mariana Bolfarine, 'Review of *Diário de la Amazonía*,' *Estudios Irlandeses*, vol. 7, 2012, pp. 153–155.

[31] Angus Mitchell, '"Indians, you had a life – your white destroyers only possessed things:" Indigeneity in the Anti-Colonial Activism of Revolutionary Ireland,' *ABEI Journal*, vol. 12, 2010.



MISCELLANEOUS No. 9 (1912)

CORRESPONDENCE

TREATMENT OF BRITISH COLONIAL SUBJECTS AND NATIVE INDIANS EMPLOYED IN THE COLLECTION OF RUBBER IN THE PUTUMAYO DISTRICT.

Fig. 3.1 The Blue Book, containing the reports and testimonies recorded by Casement in the Putumayo, in 1910. (*Roger Casement in Brazil*, p. 43)

I adopt provide insights and communicate emotional textures that the more abstract social science literature on 'transnational activism' sometimes fails to convey (Fig. 3.1).

Casement in the Putumayo

The following passage brings into view the outset of Casement's Putumayo journey. The impressions were recorded on board the *SS Huayna* bound for Iquitos on 24 August 1910, at the outset of his investigations. It is an entry from the *Amazon Journal*, wherein Casement records a dialogue between himself and Mr. Israel, a Peruvian Maltese Jew and a British subject about 31 years old, who had gone to Iquitos 11 years before as a trader. He owned a "river" near Iquitos, which was a grant from the Peruvian government on which he employed 100 free labourers, of which he claims that none are Indians. They are both discussing the contentious subject of Indian labour, which Casement saw as sheer slavery:

> […] I did not seek to further point out that the dreary tale of raid and robbery and enslavement (I was careful not to so call it) could settle nothing. It was clear that Mr. Israel viewed the whole question solely in the light of self-interest and that he could scarcely conceive any other point of view — and our conversation soon after came to an abrupt end, when, to clinch the argument he had been sustaining he asked me, "What would you do, suppose the government were to offer you a large concession of forest land, up here, on which wild Indians dwelt and you could do nothing with it or with them until they had been conquered? What would you do?"
>
> I asked him if he wanted me really to give a personal answer. He said that was what he meant — how would I deal with such a gift? I replied that if I were a Peruvian I might probably deal with it as other Peruvians would do, but that as I was not a South American, but had been brought up in another school of thought and in accordance with a long established rule of official conduct between governing white men and subject peoples I could only answer his question in one way.
>
> "And how is that?"
>
> "I could not and would not accept any such gift of territory on any such conditions."

> "Ah," he said with vehemence — "then no further discussion of the question is possible between us. There is no possibility of agreement — our points of view are too divergent."
>
> "I think so," I said. "We view the matter from totally different perceptions of one man's relation to another." …] Should he ever read this conversation — supposing I were to some day publish a book on my travels in the Amazon — he will doubtless deny every statement I here attribute to him, and probably accuse me of being a drunkard because I drink Irish whiskey at table and he never takes anything stronger than Appolinaris. [*N.L.I.. MS 13,087 (26/i)* qtd. in *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*]

This passage reveals Casement's awareness of how unethical were the actions of the Peruvians concerning government land concessions, and how he distanced himself from that which was taking place in his surroundings by stating that he was a British subject and not a Peruvian, therefore, he could not act in such a way. Despite the fact that Mr. Israel was a British subject as well, Casement's narrative describes in detail the way in which he was aware of the different opinions held between himself and Mr. Israel. As Mr. Israel exposes his views on the exploitation of land and of human workforce as a result of conquering and enslaving the Indians, he is not thinking of the collective well-being. Casement, on the other hand, by claiming that he could not, by any means, accept a plot of land as a "gift" on such conditions, contends that he would not place his individual interests above that of the collectivity.

The final paragraph suggests that while Casement was recording the impressions of his Putumayo mission, he already intended his words to be read by others as he thought of the possibility of publishing his *Amazon Journal*, and how Mr. Israel would have felt embarrassed had he read it. The issue of national identity and Britishness is implicit here. Casement not only considers himself as British, but he also understands 'British' standards as morally superior, especially in terms of colonial administration and respect towards the colonized peoples. This attitude can be seen when he says that he had been brought up in a different "school of thought and in accordance with a long established rule of official conduct between governing white men and subject peoples."

The next passage is dated 21 October, 1910, and it refers to when Casement was already in the Putumayo returning to a rubber station called Entre Rios, after having spent some days in the most violent station called Matanzas. Casement was followed by a caravan of Indians

carrying rubber and his things and the Barbadians Bishop, Sealy, and Lane, who were his translators and stayed by his side. On the way, the group was met by many Boras and Andokes Indian rubber carriers along the path, with their heavy *Tulas*[32] strapped to their foreheads. Many of them, including an old woman, were sick, starved, and had on their bodies the marks of the floggings inflicted upon them. They did not need to speak; the violence they suffered was inscribed upon their bodies, and Casement tried to relieve their suffering:

> The sick woman groaned all night, and some of the other women came for medicine and help. I gave them what I had in the shape of relief, and then the big men, seeing this, came round me with their bruised buttocks and scarified limbs. One big splendid-looking Boras young man—with a broad good-humoured face like an Irishman—had a fearful cut on his left buttock. It was the last scab of what had been a very bad flogging. The flesh for the size of a saucer was black and scarred, and this crown of sore flesh was the size of a florin. I put lanoline and a pad of cotton wool over it. Many more came for the same treatment. One youth I had already noticed on the road with a bad cut on his back—he said José Cordoba had given it. On the road I gave him my handkerchief to try and keep the strong wood of the palm basket in which his rubber lay from pressing too hard on it. He was grateful, poor soul, a very thin Andokes boy, I think. In the evening he came and showed me many more cuts all over him, fresh ones and raw; one over the shoulder blade. I lanolined all, and with tufts of cotton wool all over him, he and the others roared with laughter. Some had cuts on the feet and shins, these from sticks and trunks. I put plaster on these as well as I could.[33]

The descriptive and factual naturalist style employed by Casement is punctuated by instances of deep sensitivity, resulting in an intimate and touching narrative. The imagistic construction of his speech makes the reader able to see the suffering of this elderly native woman through his eyes. She is carrying an unhuman weight of rubber on a *tula* attached to her forehead. Her emaciated figure and the insignificant amount of food she receives suggests starvation. She was also vulnerable supposedly because of arthritis, a condition Casement also suffered at the end of life.

[32] A large woven bag, strapped to their foreheads, in which the Indians carried rubber on their backs.

[33] Mitchell, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 271.

Fig. 3.2 Young Indians carrying rubber in Entre Ríos in *tulas*. Some of these burdens weighed 74 or 75 kilos (kilograms) and were carried for as long as 96 kilometers (km), and the carriers did not receive any food. Picture taken by Roger Casement. *Source Diário da Amazônia de Roger Casement* (2016)

In addition, there is the fear and terror caused by the figure of the chief of Matanzas, Armando Normand, known for crushing the brains of children against trees, burning them alive, or giving them to be eaten by dogs. Normand, whose face was "truly the most repulsive" he had ever seen, was "perfectly devlish in its cruelty and evil. I felt as if I were introduced to a serpent"[34] would become Casement's arch enemy, especially after this episode.

The picture is not of the old woman, but of young Indians carrying the same burden as she was carrying. Despite being a white European man, and an agent of Empire, Casement is able to empathise with these people. The British Consul puts himself in this woman's shoes—even though she does not wear any—and cannot hold back his tears while he watches her staggering and repeatedly falling to the ground (Fig. 3.2).

[34] Ibid., p. 251.

Throughout the *Amazon Journal*,[35] Casement is described taking effective action among the Indians either by caring for their wounds, by giving them food, or just by emphatically looking at them and understanding how the evils of imperialism had resulted in these atrocious crimes. It is also revealing the way in which the good-humoured face of one of the sick Indians reminds Casement of his roots. Despite being geographically distant from Ireland, his land and its people are always in his thoughts and, of course, the Congo experience certainly influenced his becoming an insightful and meticulous observer. Excerpts such as the ones aforementioned are present throughout Casement's writings, which reveal him as a man ahead of his time (Fig. 3.3).

The pictures taken by Casement, such as that of the young boy with marks of flogging, are in themselves worth commentary. Whilst on the Putumayo, Casement carried a camera with him, which is held in the National Library of Ireland, along with rolls of film. Of the photographs he took, only a few survived, and these are held in the National Photographic Archive in Dublin.[36] According to historian Jordan Goodman, what Casement left behind after the Putumayo was the use he made of these photographs as "instruments of political standpoints and action."[37] Goodman adds that the atrocities Casement captured were the first to be effectively used with the aim of raising awareness, "in the battle over what really happened, to convince the public to take sides over competing and contradictory facts and interpretations."[38]

[35] Mitchell, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*.

[36] For additional information on the Putumayo pictures, historian Jordan Goodman has published the article 'Mr. Casement Goes to Washington: The Politics of the Putumayo Photographs,' *ABEI Journal*, vol. 12, 2010, pp. 25–31. The pictures have also been published in the Portuguese version of the *Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, Laura Izarra and Mariana Bolfarine, eds., *Diário da Amazônia de Roger Casement*, São Paulo: Humanitas, 2016.

[37] Goodman, 'Mr. Casement Goes to Washington', p. 26.

[38] Ibid.

Fig. 3.3 Young boy in the Putumayo showing scars from flogging. *Diário da Amazônia de Roger Casement*, São Paulo: EDUSP, 2016, 100

On 17 March 1911, Casement handed in his report on his actions in the Putumayo with the pictures and statements of the witnesses. Soon after, he began to use his influence for the Putumayo campaign that aimed to fight for better conditions for the Indians. Moreover, a Peruvian commission of investigation was formed, led by Dr. Rómulo Paredes. Mitchell explains that Paredes "returned from the Putumayo brandishing over 200 arrest warrants and 1.300 pages of evidence exposing the horrors wrought by the Company upon the tribal people."[39] Brian Inglis asserts that, although the immediate impact of Casement's Congo report had been small, the

> report in the Putumayo created a sensation. *The Times* gave it two columns, and a long editorial: the horrors revealed, it claimed, must stir the anger and compassion of all who are not utterly dead in the sense of human right … Sir Roger Casement has, has deserved well of his countrymen and of mankind by the ability and the zeal with which he has investigates under very difficult condition an appalling iniquity[40]

Casement was first in favour of reform in terms of company management and sought investors. However, according to Séamas O'Síocháin, "by the end of July [1912] the interest of potential investors petered out …. Perhaps William Cadbury [owner of the Cadbury chocolate factory, an acquaintance of Roger Casement] captured the truth when he asked who would want to associate with discredited directors and suggested that it might be best if the company collapsed …"[41] The bankruptcy of the Peruvian Amazon Company was also driven by the successful cultivation of the rubber tree in Southeast Asia, which led to an abrupt end of the South American rubber boom.

[39] Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, p. 351.

[40] Quoted in Inglis, *Roger Casement*, p. 200.

[41] Ibid., p. 308.

The Aftermath of the Putumayo Report: North American Connections

The impact of the Putumayo affair in the United States can be seen in the following excerpt from a letter written by British Ambassador James Bryce[42] (who had been Chief Secretary for Ireland) to the Foreign Office Secretary, Sir Edward Grey, on 7 July 1911. The subject of this missive is precisely of an initiative to take action against injustice:

> […] I took the opportunity this morning to speak to the Secretary of State on the subject of the atrocities, and to convey to him the message contained in your telegram […] A the same time, paraphrases of the telegrams were left with the assistant Secretary Mr. Mitchell Innes. [who] also dwelt on the excitement which would be aroused in England if the reports of Sir Roger Casement were published, and emphasized the fact that his name in matters of this kind carried a great weight on account of the part he had in the exposure of the similar atrocities in the Congo as to which the United States taken an active and honourable part in the campaign against cruelty. Hitherto the State of the Department seems to have been hardly alive to the gravity of the situation, of the unhappy Indians, but I trust that now I have been able to rouse them to a sense of their duty to humanity and that they will give His Majesty's Government their effective support.[43]

The circulation of news relating to Casement's movements takes place by undersea cable or by post—as in the aforementioned quote—and once again these generate transatlantic action. In this letter, Casement is mentioned as an experienced and authoritative figure regarding crimes against humanity: first in the Congo, then in the Peruvian Amazon. Both James Bryce and Sir Edward Grey were aware that the publishing of the Putumayo report could bring upon transatlantic solidarity and incite the involvement of the United States in the Putumayo affair. Here, the reverberations of Casement's actions reveal the way in which he indirectly mediates human relationships across different countries and cultures.

[42] James Bryce initially supported Home Rule, but he eventually refrained from providing Ireland its autonomy. A Home Rule Bill was only produced in 1912, but was never implemented because of the imminence of World War I.

[43] Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, p. 453.

Fig. 3.4 Casement with John Devoy (1842–1928) in New York, August 1914 Mitchell, Angus, 16 Lives: Roger Casement, Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2013, no page

For several years Roger Casement had been forging closer ties with chief leaders of the Irish–American diaspora,[44] and on his return to Europe he stopped off in New York on 2 January, 1912.[45] There, he met John Devoy and Joseph McGarrity, leaders of the *Clan na Gael*, a republican Irish–American association that supported the Independence of Ireland from Britain, active in the late-nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Joseph McGarrity was an Irish immigrant in the United States, founder of the *Irish Press* that supported the War of Independence of Ireland. Devoy was an Irish rebel leader exiled in the United States, and editor of the *Gaelic American*, a New York paper that covered Irish–American issues. It is interesting to note how Devoy, in his autobiography *Recollections of an Irish Rebel*, describes his first meeting with Casement (Fig. 3.4):

[44] Mitchell, *16 Lives*, p. 207.

[45] Ibid.

> My first personal knowledge of him was acquired through a letter he wrote me from South America just before he went into the Putumayo to expose even worse horrors than those of the Congo—and neither of these exposures were made, as I later learned, in the interest of British policy, but to serve humanity.[46]

A few days later, on 9 January 1912, Casement travelled by train from New York to Washington, where he stayed with James Bryce, at the Embassy. There, he met several officials in the US State Department, including the American President, William Taft. This encounter was described by George Young, a member of the embassy staff in Washington:

> President Taft was lured to dinner in the embassy and led away to a quiet corner where Casement was let loose on him. A queer picture they made—the tall Celt, haggard and livid from the Putumayo swamps, fixing with glittering black eyes the burly rubicund Anglo-Saxon. It was like a black snake fascinating a wombat. But Putumayo gave no further trouble in Washington.[47]

Then and there, Casement played his part as a transnational activist by stating his arguments, which included the appointment of a US Consul in Iquitos, to promote action, the sending of a Catholic mission to bring relief to the indigenous peoples, as well as the need to establish closer links with Brazil.[48] Nevertheless, Taft withdrew from supporting the Putumayo cause in response to the declaration of the First World War in 1914.

Casement and Other Direct Measures

Apart from the publishing of Casement's report and his direct actions in the United States, there were further events that show the extent to which he was engaged in building transatlantic connections. To reach his aim of raising European consciousness about the Indians, Casement

[46] Quoted in Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, p. 715.

[47] Inglis, *Roger Casement*, p. 324.

[48] Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, pp. 715–716.

literally brought, from the Putumayo to England, two Indian boys. Arédomi, about 7 or 8 years of age, was exchanged for a shirt and a pair of trousers, whereas Arédomi, also known as Ricudo, about 15 years of age, was won over a game of bridge. As Casement states in the *Amazon Journal*, "I will see if I can get hold of a lad or young man willing to go. Bishop said the whole of Entre Rios would have gone with me if I had been able to take them."[49] Later in his journey, he confirms this idea:

> My hope is that by getting some of these unknown Indians back to Europe I might get powerful people interested in them and so in the fate of the whole race out here in the toils. Harley House and the APS [Aborigine Protection Society] will help and exploit the boys for all they are worth if it ever comes to raising the question in public campaign against this hellish slavery and extermination.[50]

As a transnational activist, Casement kept to his motivations. In his view, by bringing the Indians to England they would become real under the eyes of the Aborigines Protection Society. Despite the fact that slavery had been abolished in 1833, the APS was established in 1837 to preserve the interests of aboriginal peoples against the white supremacy of the British Empire. By 1909, the Anti-Slavery Society had amalgamated with the Aborigines Protection Society, which became deeply engaged in the cause of the Putumayo. Casement's connection with the APS began with the CRA, but it grew considerably after the Society's support for a Protestant/Baptist mission in the Putumayo.[51]

One can see the extent of Casement's involvement with the APS in a letter[52] he received, dated 5 July 1911, from Mrs. A.H. Barnes, wife of Louis H. Barnes, who was Casement's friend and the leader of the British Commission of Inquiry in the Putumayo investigation:

> The little boy [Omarino] is quite good & happy now. I think he missed Ricudo [or Arédomi] at first. After seeing him I don't wonder at your feeling so strongly that the poor Indians must be protected somehow. If it is only a question of money surely it could be raised somehow. If the whole

[49] Mitchell, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 334.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, p. 339.
[52] Ibid., p. 450.

Fig. 3.5 Arédomi, also known as Ricudo, and Omarino. (*Source* Diário da Amazônia de Roger Casement, 2016)

> thing were made public & real sympathy aroused in influential quarters. Wouldn't the lord mayor open a subscription list & get them to do the same in Paris & Berlin?[53]

This letter reveals the way in which Casement's web of connections had spread from Africa to South America, to Europe, and from there to North America. However, Casement's colonial experience as British Consul, which exposed him to the atrocities that were committed against the Congolese and the Amazonian Indians, diverted his energies from the Putumayo to the cause of Irish independence.

After resigning his consular post, he went back to Ireland where in 1913 he joined the Irish Volunteers, a nationalist military organization

[53] Ibid.

that sought independence from Britain. He subsequently returned to the United States to seek the support of the *Clan na Gael*. Its leaders, John Devoy and Joseph McGarrity, agreed upon sending Casement to Germany to seek support, and this ultimately led him to the gallows. It is as an Irish nationalist and a traitor to the British Crown that Casement writes of the similarities between the Putumayo Indians and the Irish (Fig. 3.5).

An outbreak of typhoid epidemic in Connemara in the west of Ireland only increased Casement's disillusionment with imperialism. After the Congo and the Putumayo, the Connemara Relief Fund[54] was the last humanitarian mission he undertook as a way of building transatlantic solidarity. Among other measures, a food distribution scheme was set up, and Casement's friend from Northern Ireland, William Cadbury, supplied free cocoa to the Carraroe National School.[55]

These relationships are made clear in an article written by Casement, which was published in the *Irish Independent* under the heading "This Irish Putumayo."[56] It compared the state of neglect suffered by the Irish in Connemara at this time to the plight of the Amazonian Indians. Soon after, in May 1913, he went to Connemara and witnessed the suffering of his own people. Upon his return to Dublin, Casement wrote on the margins of a letter he received from Charles Roberts:

> [...] Recd. in Dublin, on return from Connemara, 9 June 1913 at 11 pm very cold and tired with today's glimpse of the Irish Putumayo. Mavrone! The White Indians of Ireland are heavier on my heart than all the Indians of the rest of Earth.[57]

The fact that Casement drew attention to the common histories of these oppressed peoples suggests that Casement's Irishness was shaped after his earlier experience of witnessing imperial violence. In establishing these relational links between the Putumayo and Ireland, Casement goes beyond the limits of the race and ethnicity, for he was able to see these

[54] In Mitchell, '"Indians, you had a life – your white destroyers only possessed things"', p. 20, the author explains that the Connemara Relief Fund was created in June, 1913, and it was organized with the support of Alice Stopford Green and Douglas Hyde, both supporters of the movement called Irish Revival.

[55] Mitchell, *16 Lives*, p. 174.

[56] Mitchell, *16 Lives*, p. 183.

[57] Letter from Roberts to Casement, quoted in O'Síocháin, *Roger Casement*, p. 356.

two peoples as members of the human race. As a result, Casement grants visibility to the underdog as he places the indigenous and the Irish conditions in the forefront of colonial violence and exploitation.

Casement, Joseph McGarrity, and Dr. Dickey

As mentioned at the outset of this chapter, once Casement was able to make the connection between the suffering of the Putumayo Indians and his people, the Irish in Connemara, he no longer wished to face another Consular posting. He was left with no choice but to resign from his official duties. Matters related to the independence of Ireland were to fill his time from 1913, when he joined the Irish Volunteers and then left for Germany, to 1916, the year of the Easter Rising in Ireland, which led to his death sentence as a high traitor of the British Crown.

In the spring of 1938, years after Casement's death, the doctor Herbert Spencer Dickey[58] was in New York to meet the *Clan na Gael* leader, Joseph McGarrity. McGarrity convinced Dickey to write a biography of Roger Casement, which would be called *Casement the Liberator* or *The Incorrigible Irishman*,[59] yet they did not go ahead with the plans. On this subject, Dickey wrote a letter to McGarrity in 1938 that also suggests how sour had public opinion grown in relationship to Casement after his death:

> I have been thinking of what you said of RC's apparent failure with the Putumayo affair. That, be assured, will be taken care of later in the book. […] He did not at all do what even the competent representative of Empire would have done. He thought further and played always to produce a protective practical effect instead of just coming out of the woods and hollering to high heaven stirring up criminals and getting a lot of publicity, for which of course every one of his informants and every last Indian would have paid. Instead, **he worked from within and in a sense within**

[58] Dr. Herbert Spencer Dickey worked for 10 years in the northwest Amazon and is an important witness to Casement's 1911 journey in the Putumayo. He was closely connected with the Peruvian Amazon Company until 1913, where he met Casement in Barbados during his Putumayo investigation and accompanied him to Iquitos. He wrote an insightful memoire titled *Misadventures of a Tropical Medico* (1929).

[59] Mitchell, *The Amazon Journal of Roger Casement*, p. 35.

> **the "enemy" to bring about enough change**—or promise of it—to make sure of a better deal for the Indians—who after all were his first consideration. […] A less thoughtful and practical investigator would have tumbled down the house of cards, and just as he said, left the Indians at the mercy of smaller bands of pirates […] All this becomes clear as the diary record is pursued. I am certain that when I come to summarize, Casement will appear an astonishingly astute and balanced investigator, completely without the slightest thought of himself, his laurels or the possibility of penalties to his career. He was the rarest of all individuals—the man who wanted the best results for the other fellow, regardless.[60]

I have chosen to end with the foregoing passage because it reveals a picture of Roger Casement painted by Dr. Dickey, who had met him in the Amazon, in the midst of the Putumayo investigations. This letter can be read as a statement in which Dickey defends Casement's legacy. It is addressed to Joseph MacGarrity, who believed Casement had, despite his efforts, failed in terms of the cause of the Putumayo.

In his defence of Roger Casement, Dickey highlights an important point for my argument of Casement being a rooted cosmopolitan and transnational activist. The fact of being exposed to the downside of imperialism as a British Consul placed Casement in a point of vantage, which resulted in his wish to change the system from within. As a rooted cosmopolitan, Casement mobilized domestic and international resources, and opportunities to achieve certain demands and advances against external and internal opponents in favor of the transnational goal of bringing about social justice.

Casement was aware of the modus operandi of the British Empire, and instead of using his knowledge for self-promotion, he decided to act for three main causes: first for the Congo, where he "found himself as the incorrigible Irishman," then in the Putumayo where he wished to bring justice to the Amazonian Indians, and finally, in Ireland, where he reached the extent of seeking German support for Irish independence. Although Dickey does, to a certain extent, portray Casement in an idealized form, as a rare and unselfish individual, he goes against the stigma surrounding the image of Roger Casement after his death, as traitor then as a homosexual. Instead, he offers a glimpse of his this controversial revolutionary as a precursor of what today is known as human rights.

[60] Mitchell, *Sir Roger Casement's Heart of Darkness*, p. 733 (bold added by author).

Final Thoughts

This chapter has briefly traced the chief features of rooted cosmopolitanism as described by Tarrow[61] but applied to the movements of the Irish revolutionary Casement across borders. I have shown that in Africa and South America he was in a position of social prestige as a British Consul, and he took advantage of the expanded nodes of opportunity of this complex international society. Nevertheless, as the selected excerpts on Casement in the Putumayo have shown, Casement's exposure to atrocities led him to relate the plight of the Congolese and, especially, of the Amazonian Indians to that of the Irish in Connemara.

It is true that Casement was not always a full-time international activist. He was at first as an imperialist and employee of the British Crown, and only then a rebel and revolutionary, as shown by his involvement with the Aborigines Protection Society and his secret connections with the Irish–American republican leaders of the *Clan na Gael*. Transnational relations and struggles helped to drive this transformation: Casement ultimately returned to Ireland, changed by his international career.

To conclude, the selected excerpts have shown that the further away Casement went from Ireland, the more Irish he would become. These activists, such as Casement, rooted in specific national contexts but immersed in defence of political activities, are inserted in transnational networks of contacts and collective actions of different types. It was his movements across borders and his will to effectively act upon injustice that turned him into a transnational activist ahead of his time. That which made him first able to look at the Congo atrocities with the eyes of another race[62] also led him to look at Ireland in the same way. As an Irish nationalist he related the plight of the Amazonian Indians to that of his own people. Casement's loyalty and his heart belonged to Ireland and, in this respect, he is a rooted cosmopolitan.

[61] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 45.

[62] This is a reference to Casement's letter to Alice Green, in which he says he was looking at the tragedy of the Congo with the eyes of another race, mentioned on page 8.

CHAPTER 4

Empire and Activism: Gandhi, Imperialism, and the Global Career of Satyagraha

Sean Scalmer

Although a child of the nineteenth century, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi was unquestionably a 'global activist.' The leader of campaigns for Indian rights in South Africa and later for Indian Home Rule, he pressured leaders and cultivated alliances in the metropole as much as the periphery.[1] His actions won the attention of the Western media:[2]

[1] For example, the early petitions drafted in support of Indians in South Africa were despatched to the Colonial Secretary in London. See Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, London: Allen Lane, 2013, p. 75. The Indian Home Rule movement was supported by a large network of Britons and of organisations such as the 'Indian Conciliation Group.' See Sean Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West: The Mahatma and the Rise of Radical Protest*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 95.

[2] On Gandhi and the metropolitan news: C. Seshachari, *Gandhi and the American Scene: An Intellectual History and Inquiry*, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications, 1969, p. 58. He was the *Time* magazine 'Man of the Year' in 1930. See Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*, New York: Columbia University Press, 1993, p.108.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_4

his words "front-page top";[3] his image likened to that of a celebrity or movie star.[4] Gandhi considered his distinctive approach to protest—'satyagraha'—as a "message"[5] or a "lesson"[6] for the whole world, and even as a means of winning "universal non-violence."[7] His techniques exerted a profound and relatively immediate influence on opponents of racism and war in Britain and the United States.[8] In the years since his death, Gandhian non-violence has continued to shape political struggles around the globe.[9] He remains a frequent referent in contemporary campaigns.[10]

Yet if Gandhi's status as a 'global activist' is not open to serious question, then the import and the dynamics of his career nonetheless offer a challenge to dominant approaches to this topic. Most studies of 'social movements' consider campaigns that developed in Europe and North

[3] Robert Bernays, *Naked Fakir*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1931, p. 85.

[4] 'Wise Mr. Gandhi,' *Daily Herald*, 29 October 1931; Michael Pym, cited in J.S.H., 'The Power of India,' *The Friend*, 10 April 1931.

[5] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* [henceforth *CWMG*], vol. 13, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1964, p. 262.

[6] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 28, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1968, p. 127.

[7] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 68, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1977, pp. 390–391.

[8] For Gandhi and African-American campaigning: Sudarshan Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet: The African-American Encounter with Gandhi*, Boston: Beacon Press, 1992; and Nico Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism: The Shared Struggle for Freedom in India and the United States*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012. On the peace movement, as well as African-American activism, see Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*.

[9] See, for example, David Hardiman, *Gandhi in His Time and Ours*, New Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003; and Peter Ackerman and Jack DuVall, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, New York: Palgrave, 2000. On the rise of non-violent NGOs (many influenced by Gandhi): Selina Gallo-Cruz, 'Organizing Global Nonviolence: The Growth and Spread of Nonviolent INGOS, 1948–2003,' in Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz, eds., *Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance (Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change, vol. 34)*, Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing Limited, 2012, pp. 213–256.

[10] For example, the 2011 global protests: Pnina Werbner, Martin Webb, and Kathryn Spellman-Poots, 'Introduction', in Pnina Werbner, Martin Webb, and Kathryn Spellman-Poorts, eds., *The Political Aesthetics of Global Protest: The Arab Spring and Beyond*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014, p. 5.

America, connecting the rise and transformation of the social movement to the development of capitalism, the state, and postindustrial society.[11] This environment is very different from the colonial periphery where Gandhi made his life and waged his political campaigns. When considering the global diffusion of protest, major studies overwhelmingly posit a 'northern' origin and a 'southern' reception.[12] Gandhi's career suggests the possibility of global traffic that moves the other way. When narrating the career of 'global activism,' existing scholarship tends to emphasise contemporary movements, supported by recent technological change.[13] Gandhian campaigns exerted a global influence long before the Internet and the jet airplane. Major theories of social movements are usually presented as 'general' models. In fact, they are usually based on a quite narrow empirical foundation: treating the Global North

[11] Charles Tilly and Sidney Tarrow have offered the most detailed studies of the historical emergence of the 'social movement' as a political form. Tilly emphasises the state; Tarrow, capitalism and print. Tilly's major historical studies are Charles Tilly, *The Contentious French*, Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press, 1986, and Charles Tilly, *Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1995. A bibliography that includes his major theoretical and synthetic works is available at: http://essays.ssrc.org/tilly/resources#bibliography. For Tarrow: Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, second edition, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998, esp. Part I. For the attempt to connect post-industrial society and the rise of the so-called new social movements, see, most importantly: Alain Touraine, *The Post-Industrial Society: Tomorrow's Social History*, London: Wildwood House, 1974.

[12] A point made in Sean Chabot and Jan Willem Duyvendak, 'Globalization and Transnational Diffusion Between Social Movements: Reconceptualizing the Dissemination of the Gandhian Repertoire and the "Coming Out" Routine', *Theory and Society*, vol. 31, 2002, pp. 697–740.

[13] On the Internet: Manuel Castells, *The Power of Identity*, Malden and Oxford: Blackwell, 1997, p. 107; Richard Kahn and Douglas Kellner, 'New Media and Internet Activism: From the 'Battle of Seattle' to Blogging,' *New Media and Society*, vol. 6, no. 1, 2004, p. 88. For an emphasis on contemporary movements such as the Zaptista and the 'Global Justice Movement:' Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Clifford Bob, 'When Do Leaders Matter? Hypotheses on Leadership Dynamics in Social Movements,' *Mobilization*, vol. 11, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1–22; Sidney Tarrow and Doug McAdam, 'Scale Shift in Transnational Contention,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham and Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, pp. 121–147; Jeffrey Scott Juris and Geoffrey Henri Pleyers, 'Alter-activism: Emerging Cultures of Patriotism among Young Global Justice Activists,' *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, February 2009, p. 70.

as the representative case, failing to test their concepts in colonial and postcolonial worlds.[14]

The close study of Gandhi's political career therefore presents a valuable and relatively novel vantage from which to understand the history of the transnational activist. In its necessary attention to the imperial relationship, it establishes the import of global linkages in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries.[15] In its consideration of traffic from periphery to metropole, it complicates dominant understandings regarding transnational exchange. Important and intrinsically fascinating, Gandhi's career offers the possibility of a new genealogy of the 'transnational activist' and of transnational social movements also.

In the following pages, I examine Gandhi as a 'global activist.' Briefly, I venture two arguments. First, Gandhian non-violence was born 'transnational:' *satyagraha* was developed as a political performance directed towards metropolitan targets, drawing upon British, European, American, and Indian influences, and reflecting intercultural relationships that spanned the continents. Second, the global career of Gandhian satyagraha was enabled by the mass communications of the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, and by a repeated labour of translation, shared among a community of non-violent advocates in India and the West. The history of Gandhian protest therefore demonstrates the longevity of global activism. It also highlights the centrality of transnational networks to the forging of successful global careers and campaigns.

The British Empire and the Field of Gandhian Experiment

Gandhi's life and political struggles were strongly marked by the power and possibilities of the British Empire. Put simply, the Empire offered Gandhi a transnational target, political resources, and a potential network. All three helped to make his activism possible.

[14]A widespread practice in 'northern' social theory. For a critique and attempts to develop an alternative: R.W. Connell, *Southern Theory: The Global Dynamics of Knowledge in the Social Sciences*, Cambridge: Polity, 2007.

[15]A.G. Hopkins notes the "significant contribution" of imperialism to global processes over the nineteenth century: see A.G. Hopkins, 'The History of Globalization—and The Globalization of History?,' in A.G. Hopkins, ed., *Globalization in World History*, New York: W.W. Norton, 2002, p. 34.

First, a target. As a subject of the Empire, Gandhi was governed partly by local officials and assemblies, and partly by colonial structures, centred in London.[16] The Empire was a distinctive political environment, quite different from the citizens of the independent, self-governing nation-state, and it had significant implications for the mobilisation of political campaigns.

As students of Western social movements have emphasised, modern forms of political campaigning (such as the 'demonstration' and the 'public meeting') emerged as responses to the growing power of the nation-state: as the locus of authority moved away from local communities, so earlier, locally bound actions became less effective; political contention increasingly moved to the national level, and especially to privileged sites, such as parliaments.[17] For those colonised by the British, however, the authority of the nation was always enclosed within the greater authority of the imperial overlord: the nationally bound campaign was only rarely likely to promise success. The political organisation of the Empire therefore invited a transnational political response: effective claim-making necessarily transcended the national polity and sought to influence the metropole.[18] In the structures of Empire, the impulse to Gandhi's transnational campaigning can be clearly discerned.

If the political logic of the Empire provided a rationale for transnational protest, then Gandhi's experience of the British Empire also provided him with the political resources that might make such protest effective. As an aspiring colonial subject, Gandhi mastered the English language. Trained as a lawyer in London, he discovered British legal principles and also came to admire Britain's constitution. These influences proved to be transformative as well as powerful aids to campaigning. In

[16]The British government of India was "basically an autocracy of hierarchically organised officials headed by the Viceroy and the Secretary of State": Sumit Sarkar, *Modern India, 1885–1947*, Madras: Macmillan India, 1983, p. 12.

[17]This argument underpins Tilly's emphasis on the rise of 'national' and 'autonomous' forms of collective action (see Tilly, *The Contentious French*, pp. 392–393), as it does in the 'parliamentarization' of collective action (see Charles Tilly, 'Parliamentarization of Popular Contention in Great Britain, 1758–1834,' *Theory and Society*, vol. 26, 1997, pp. 245–273).

[18]A point recognised in relation to Gandhi by Tilly in a characteristic acute aside: Charles Tilly, *Social Movements, 1768–2004*, Boulder and London: Paradigm Publishers, 2004, p. 204. Judith Brown notes Gandhi's attempt to appeal to governments in Africa, India, and England in Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi's Rise to Power: Indian Politics 1915–1922*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972, pp. 4–5.

Gandhi's eyes, the British Constitution pledged equality of rights as well as equality before the law;[19] racial discrimination was contrary to British traditions. Further, Gandhi believed that the Constitution empowered British subjects to fight for their freedom, "so long" as no one else was injured;[20] it allowed for non-cooperation with injustice, and even for rebellion.[21] Although the British Empire subordinated the Indian, British traditions also provided the means for a challenge.

These traditions were important justifications for undertaking political campaigns. But Gandhi's ability to read English, and his time outside India, also provided him with further political resources. In close contact with dissenting Christians in England and South Africa, Gandhi eventually came to contemplate the life of Jesus, and especially to consider the radical interpretation of Christianity developed by Count Leo Tolstoy.[22] This reading of the Bible identified Christ as a proponent of "non-resistance"[23] and non-cooperation,[24] "the prince of passive resisters;"[25] it would provide a further rationale for non-violent political resistance.[26]

Close contact with Western politics offered additional political resources. Gandhi was very well informed regarding the actions of earlier British and American protesters. His entry into political activism demonstrated a keen awareness of familiar campaigning methods, among them public meetings, petitions, and deputations.[27] And he was inspired

[19] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 11, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1964, p. 113.

[20] Ibid., p. 112.

[21] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 18, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1965, p. 146.

[22] Leo Tolstoy, *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1961.

[23] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 48, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1971, p. 438.

[24] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 7, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1962, p. 119; Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 23, pp. 196–197.

[25] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 29, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1968, p. 96.

[26] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 10, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1963, p. 65.

[27] Among the best guides to Gandhi's actions as a protester are Dennis Dalton, *Mahatma Gandhi: Nonviolent Power in Action*, second edition, New York: Columbia University Press, 2012; and Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.

by more radical activism: Henry David Thoreau's 'Civil Disobedience';[28] the militant suffragettes;[29] and the 'passive resistance' protests against the British Education Act (1902) led by Dr. John Clifford.[30] Undoubtedly, these arguments exerted some influence on Gandhi's actions and political ideas.

But if incorporation within the British Empire exposed Gandhi to popular traditions of radical struggle and argument, then it also provided access to a broader network of transnational relationships. An imperial network of dissenting Christians and New Agers would become important to Gandhi's intellectual development and to his activism.[31] It would also eventually carry Gandhi's influence far beyond India and South Africa, helping to confirm his status as an important global figure.

Resident in London as a legal student, Gandhi made contact with a small community of vegetarians, spiritualists, and theosophists, partly organised around the Vegetarian Society of London. Members of these groups were not strongly marked by racial prejudice. One of them, Josiah Oldfield, shared rooms with Gandhi.[32] Two others asked Gandhi to interpret the *Bhagavad Gita* to them.[33] Theosophy was of course

[28] On Thoreau: Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 10, p. 65; Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 7, pp. 217–218 and 228–230. See also A.L. Hermann, 'Satyagraha: A New Indian Word for Some Old Ways of Western Thinking,' *Philosophy East and West*, no. 19, 1969, pp. 123–142.

[29] For examples of positive references to the suffragettes: Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 7, p. 453, and Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 8, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1962, p. 188. See also Kevin Grant, 'British Suffragettes and the Russian Method of Hunger Strike,' *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 53, no. 1, 2011, pp. 142–143.

[30] For Gandhi's awareness of Clifford's campaign: Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 13, pp. 531–532. For contact with Clifford: Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 9, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1963, p. 443.

[31] See especially: Thomas Weber, *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004; James D. Hunt, *Gandhi in London*, New Delhi: Promilla & Co., 1978; James D. Hunt, *Gandhi and the Nonconformists: Encounters in South Africa*, New Delhi: Promilla & Co., 1986.

[32] Ramachandra Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, London: Allen Lane, 2013, p. 44.

[33] Ibid., p. 45. See also Stephen Hay, 'The Making of a Late-Victorian Hindu: MK Gandhi in London, 1888–1891,' *Victorian Studies*, vol. 33, no. 1, 1989, pp. 75–98.

strongly marked by a sympathy for Hinduism;[34] its basic principles implied a residual respect for Gandhi's native religious traditions that doubtless increased Gandhi's confidence in their value.[35]

As Gandhi's recent biographer, Ramachandra Guha, has noted, these networks provided the occasion for Gandhi's first entry into public action. It was in the Vegetarian Society of London that Gandhi began his career as an organiser, writer, and speaker.[36] Justified by the interest of this small community in Indian habits and traditions, Gandhi provided insight into native diet and customs.[37] Emboldened by the authority vested in his experiences, Gandhi castigated the "stolid indifference" of most English[38] and condemned the "evils" brought by "British Rule," particularly the importation of alcohol.[39] In a speech to 'The Band of Mercy' in London 1891, Gandhi "insisted" that these opponents of animal cruelty, "to be logical," "ought to be vegetarians."[40] Closing a series of articles in *The Vegetarian*, he looked forward to a growing "unity of custom" around diet, hoping that this might also inspire a "unity of hearts" between the English and Indian peoples.[41]

This attitude was still far from the developed advocacy of *Hind Swaraj* (*Indian Home Rule*). But if the ideology remained somewhat sketchy, then the political relationships that underpinned it were already surprisingly strong. Within the bustling imperial metropolis of London, Gandhi had discovered a community largely innocent of racial prejudice and favourably disposed to cross-cultural learning. "English

[34] A point made in David Arnold, *Gandhi*, Harlow and London: Longman, 2001, p. 39. For a history of the movement, see Bruce F. Campbell, *Ancient Wisdom Revived: A History of the Theosophical Movement*, Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1980.

[35] A point made in J.T.F. Jordens, *Gandhi's Religion: A Homespun Shawl*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1998, p. 11.

[36] Weber, *Gandhi as Disciple and Mentor*, 2004, pp. 26–27; D.S. Devanesen, *The Making of the Mahatma*, New Delhi: Orient Longmans, 1969, p. 185.

[37] He published a series of articles on the theme of 'Indian Vegetarians' in *The Vegetarian* during 1891. See Mohandas K. Gandhi, *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, vol. 1, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1958, pp. 24–52.

[38] Ibid., p. 47.

[39] Ibid., p. 29.

[40] Ibid., p. 52.

[41] Ibid., p. 52.

Vegetarians," he would write to other Indians in 1894, "will more readily sympathize with the Indian aspirations (that is my personal experience)."[42] This network would help to bolster his confidence in the value of Indian traditions and ideals, as it would in the efficacy of appeal to the individual coloniser. Both convictions, in turn, would underpin his original and important version of global activism.

The relationships established in London were maintained and broadened in the colony of South Africa. In Natal, Gandhi acted as an agent and book distributor for the 'London Vegetarian Society.'[43] He continued to write for *The Vegetarian*.[44] Deepening his exploration of religious ideas, he shared discussion and literature with dissenting Christians, especially with those open to the possibility that other religions reached for "the same eternal truth."[45] Gandhi acted as a book distributor for one of these groups, 'The Esoteric Christian Union.'[46] Dining in Johannesburg's only vegetarian restaurant, he met Henry Polak, who would become one of his chief political collaborators.[47] Other Europeans who would come to support Gandhi's first campaigns also numbered among South Africa's dissenting humanitarians and spiritualists: Hermann Kallenbach, an enthusiast for Tolstoy; Joseph Doke, Gandhi's first biographer; and Gabriel I. Isaac, English Jew and vegetarian.[48] When a small group of Europeans wrote to London's *Times*, early 1909, in support of Gandhi's campaign, signatories included seven local clergymen.[49] Dissenting Christians would also be especially important supporters of Gandhi's campaigns in India.

Gandhi's own writing about 'satyagraha' sometimes discounted the import of this imperial and cross-cultural context. Repeatedly, the Indian leader emphasised that his own civilisation evinced a special connection

[42] Ibid., p. 87.

[43] Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, p. 86.

[44] For example, see articles in Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 1, pp. 81, 82–86, 89.

[45] Ibid., p. 139.

[46] Ibid., pp. 139–141.

[47] Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, pp. 163–164.

[48] On Kallenbach: Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, pp. 286–287; on Isaac: Ibid., pp. 284–285. Doke's book is Joseph J. Doke, *M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*, London: The London Indian Chronicle, 1909.

[49] Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, pp. 316–317.

with nonviolence.[50] The traditional practice of the *hartal*, he suggested, had been "in vogue among us from very early days"; his own experiments in nonviolence were but an extension of this venerable practice.[51] Similarly, Gandhi preferred Hindu terminology to present his political and spiritual ideas,[52] and it was a sacred Hindu text, the *Bhagavad Gita*, that he claimed best taught the principle of "winning over even an enemy with love."[53] As he sought to explain his actions to fellow members of the Hindu community in India, so Gandhi more often reverted to the *Gita* to justify his plans. In the 3 years around the famous Salt Satyagraha (from June 1929 until the end of August 1932), he referenced the *Gita* on more than 200 occasions in his speeches and writings. His *Collected Works* disclose more than 800 references, in total.[54]

Nonetheless, if the significance of Indian traditions must be affirmed, then this should not obscure the contribution of broader imperial influences. Gandhi was unquestionably an example of what Sidney Tarrow has called a "rooted cosmopolitan:" an individual capable of reaching outwards to other societies and cultures while also maintaining a deep and creative relationship with his own traditions.[55] A number of recent studies have emphasised the formative import of Gandhi's contact with Theosophists, New Agers, and Esoteric Christians in London and South Africa.[56] And if satyagraha was most often framed by reference to the *Bhagavad Gita*, then he also justified his actions and ideas by references to the New Testament, Thoreau, and the suffragettes.[57]

[50] Gandhi, *Hind Swaraj*, p. 95.

[51] Gandhi, cited in Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, p. 209.

[52] A point made in Kathryn Tidrick, *Gandhi: A Political and Spiritual Life*, London and New York: I.B. Tauris, 2006, pp. xi, 115.

[53] Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 28, p. 317.

[54] Calculations taken from the index to Gandhi's *Collected Works*.

[55] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, chap. 3.

[56] For example, Tidrick, *Gandhi: A Political and Spiritual Life*; Guha, *Gandhi Before India*.

[57] Over the 3 years around the salt satyagraha, June 1929 until August 1932, Gandhi referenced the Bible on nearly 20 occasions (calculations taken from the index to Gandhi's *Collected Works*).

Several historians have confirmed the significance of these influences.[58] Undeniably, they helped to shape his developing experiments. Without question, they also helped to influence his Western interlocutors.

Satyagraha was not conceived within a closed Indian world but in the settler colony of South Africa. It was not deployed against native oppressors, but towards a hostile white government. The first satyagraha campaign was waged with the support of sympathetic Britons; it succeeded several years of cross-cultural collaboration with friends in metropole and colony. And it did not rest simply on the earlier language of the 'hartal.' On the contrary, Gandhi explained that "no word" already existing in any Indian language truly denoted "the power" or nature of his South African campaigns.[59] For this reason, he propagated a new term—"satyagraha"—to signify their distinctive character.

The development of a new word, Quentin Skinner has argued, is the "surest sign" of the "self-conscious possession of a new concept."[60] The invention and the diffusion of the term satyagraha expressed the self-conscious awareness of a new political way. Gandhi and his allies developed a novel version of collective campaigning: nonviolent, loving, theatrical, transnational. The British Empire, and Gandhi's imperial experiences, helped to make it possible.

Satyagraha Beyond Gandhi: The Global Media and Imperial and Transnational Networks

Gandhi's status as a 'global activist' does not simply rest upon his transnational campaigns waged in South Africa and India. His global import rests perhaps more strongly on the influence of satyagraha upon campaigns pursued elsewhere. But how was Gandhian satyagraha globalised? And which were the key agencies that made this global career possible?

[58] For Thoreau: Lewis Perry, *Civil Disobedience: An American Tradition*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, p. 11; for British radicals, including the suffragettes: as noted of James D. Hunt, *Gandhi in London* in: Guha, *Gandhi Before India*, pp. 208–209. For a general characterization of Gandhi as drawing from Eastern and Western traditions: Bikhu Parekh, *Gandhi: A Very Short Introduction*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 3, 119.

[59] Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 13, 1964, p. 520.

[60] Quentin Skinner, 'Language and Social Change,' in James Tully, ed., *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1988, p. 120.

In part, this was a reflection of the transformation of modern communications. The invention of the telegraph in the 1840s had made possible the transmission of news reports across continents with unaccustomed speed.[61] Global news agencies were established in the years afterwards (American Associated Press and United Press International served the USA; Reuters the UK), so that even those journals without their own foreign correspondents could provide accounts of leading events and personalities.[62] At the same time, heightened competition among newspaper proprietors brought prices down and readership up.[63] By the interwar years, there was an elaborate machinery of mass reportage and reading that enmeshed the globe. Mohandas Gandhi was among the many personalities caught up in its relentless circulations.

The Indian lawyer was among the first to understand the significance of the new media world and to manipulate its agents. Gandhi has justifiably been described as a media expert,[64] blessed with great political and psychological shrewdness.[65] He has also been labelled as the "first genius who understood the possibilities available in a society of mass communications."[66] A retired Cambridge Professor speculated that Gandhi "is picturesque and knows it,"[67] and one of the King's representatives damned him for being "too keen on keeping in the limelight" and for "keeping up the publicity stunt."[68] Gandhi's unfamiliar self-presentation in a dhoti (or shawl) of coarse khaddar entranced Western audiences and provoked

[61] Michael Schudson, *Discovering the News: A Social History of American Newspapers*, New York: Basic Books, 1978, p. 4.

[62] O. Boyd-Barrett, 'Market Control and Wholesale News: The Case of Reuters,' in G. Boyce, J. Curran, and P. Wingate, eds., *Newspaper History: From the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, London: Constable, 1978, pp. 206–207.

[63] M. Engel, *Tickle the Public: One Hundred Years of the Popular Press*, London: Victor Gollancz, 1996, pp. 111, 122.

[64] Leonard A. Gordon, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 January 2002, p. 337.

[65] Ashis Nandy, *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self under Colonialism*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1983, p. 49.

[66] Umberto Eco, 'Silence is L(e)aden', in Paul Foss and Meaghan Morris, eds., *Language, Sexuality and Subversion*, Sydney: Feral Publications, 1978, p. 78.

[67] T.C. Hodson, letter to *The Times* (London), 24 January 1941.

[68] Viceroy, Letter to the Secretary of State for India, 12 October 1931, India Office Library, MSS EUR E 240/5.

great controversy.[69] His oracular utterances, fasts, and unorthodox rebellion incited an even deeper interest. To Western students of Indian politics, the Mahatma was variously described as a dramatist, a publicity agent, a playwright, a producer, a stage manager, and a star.[70]

Gandhi's political creativity made him a regular subject of reportage from the early 1920s. It was at this time that large metropolitan audiences first became aware of a major political movement, "headed by a leader and conducted by methods which astounded and bewitched Occidental reporters."[71] Attention waned somewhat during the mid-1920s, but had rebounded by 1929. It then reached unimagined heights in the first years of the new decade, as Gandhi's 'salt satyagraha' campaign mobilised participants across much of India.

Now a new generation of American correspondents joined an already substantial contingent of British newshounds. Negley Farson, Webb Miller, and William Shirer would become the most important of the visiting Yanks, alongside such older British hands as E. Ashmead-Bartlett and Robert Bernays. Members of the South Asian community in America also took up the pen, and Gandhi's emissaries (including Sarojini Naidu, Madeleine Slade, and C.F. Andrews) visited the West.[72]

Gandhi's open civil disobedience dominated the news.[73] He was named *Time* magazine's 'Man of the Year' in 1930, and the *New York Times* published more than 500 articles that referenced the Mahatma in that twelve-month period alone. In fascinated and sometimes breathless news reports published at this time, an image of 'nonviolence in action' was compressed and shared with the Western world. The correspondence of Webb Miller and Negley Farson, initially censored, proved especially

[69] S.S. Bean, 'Gandhi and Khadi, the Fabric of Indian Independence,' in A.B. Weiner and J. Schneidre, eds., *Cloth and Human Experience*, Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989.

[70] For example, F.B. Fisher, *That Strange Little Brown Man Gandhi*, New York: Ray Long and Richard B. Smith, 1932, p. 47; P. Wheeler, *India Against the Storm*, New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1944, p. 200.

[71] Clarence Marsh Case, *Non-Violent Coercion: A Study in the Methods of Social Pressure*, New York and London: The Century Co., 1923, p. 347.

[72] Leonard A. Gordon, 'Mahatma Gandhi's Dialogues with Americans,' *Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 January 2002, p. 347.

[73] C. Seshachari, *Gandhi and the American Scene: An Intellectual History and Inquiry*, Bombay: Nachiketa Publications, 1969, p. 58.

influential.[74] Newspaper coverage of Gandhi in the major broadsheets increased by one-half again over 1931. African-American newspapers also evinced considerable interest in the Mahatma at this time, as the early curiosity of the *Crisis* and the *Negro World* was succeeded by a more general enthusiasm for matters Gandhian.[75]

Metropolitan interest dulled slightly thereafter, as the Indian campaign subsided. But there was a later (although less elevated) peak of interest in the non-violent campaign he led as the Home Rule movement gained strength in the middle years of WWII, and then attracted further attention upon Indian independence in 1947. Gandhi's assassination in 1948 also served as a focus for reminiscence and argument, unloosening another "flood of publicity," on the reckoning of the noted American pacifist A.J. Muste.[76]

Fascination with Gandhi stimulated book-length studies, as well as more evanescent reportage. As early as 1908, European travellers had written of brief appointments with the Indian leader. Gandhi's South African comrade, Joseph K. Doke, had followed them into print soon afterwards with the book-length study *M.K. Gandhi: An Indian Patriot in South Africa*. Oxford scholars penned appreciations during the First World War, thereby also spurring American theologians, such as John Haynes Holmes, to the writing desk. It was Romain Rolland who published the first major biography in 1924: *Mahatma Gandhi: The Man Who Became One with the Universal Being*. Much extolled, it was soon complemented by Gandhi's own version of his life: *The Story of My Experiments with Truth*.[77]

British and American readers could soon choose from a variety of sympathetic and critical accounts. In late 1931, British civil servant Lord Meston noted "a steady flow of memoirs and sketches" on Gandhi's "life and work."[78] A year later, one contributor to the *New Statesman and Nation* warned readers, "The last five years have seen nearly as many new books about Indian questions as the preceding half century."[79] Perhaps

[74] Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 47.

[75] Kapur, *Raising Up A Prophet*, pp. 25, 45.

[76] A.J. Muste, 'Observance of Gandhi's Birthday,' *Peace News*, 2 July 1948.

[77] For a full review of the literature, see Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, chap. 1.

[78] Lord Meston, 'Gandhi,' *Sunday Observer*, 4 October 1931.

[79] G.T. Garratt, 'India,' *New Statesman and Nation*, 1 October 1932, p. 380.

more importantly, a series of more specialised publications also began to weigh the import and provenance of Gandhi's political programme. Clarence Marsh Case's original contribution, *Non-Violent Coercion*, had opened the field in 1923. The American professor was soon swamped by more influential competitors: Richard Gregg's *Power of Nonviolence* (1934), Aldous Huxley's *Ends and Means* (1937), and Bart de Ligt's *Conquest of Violence*, translated into English in 1937. Krishnalal Shridharani's *War Without Violence* (1939) served as the summit of this pre-war literature, and still more would follow in the later years of tumult and restored peace.[80]

Of course, interest in Gandhi did not necessarily imply understanding. Westerners were at first often misinformed regarding 'satyagraha' and highly doubtful of its relevance to their own societies. Two misunderstandings predominated:[81] both made the 'globalisation' of Gandhian protest a difficult and long-deferred possibility.

First, the many critics of Gandhian nonviolence consistently depicted his protests as the product of a fundamentally different culture: passive, irrational, feminine, and Eastern. According to such a view, Gandhi was a representative of "Oriental reaction."[82] His methods were based on the "mystic faith of the East," or the "instinctive Buddhism of the East:"[83] they expressed the primacy of "feeling and the emotions."[84] Westerners

[80] Case, *Non-Violent Coercion*, 1923; Richard Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, second (revised) edition, London: James Clarke and Co., 1960; Aldous Huxley, *Ends and Means: An Enquiry into the Nature of Ideals and into the Methods employed in Their Realization*, London: Chatto and Windus, 1969; Bart de Ligt, *The Conquest of Violence: An Essay on War and Revolution*, London: Routledge & Sons, 1937; Krishnalal Shridharani, *War Without Violence: The Sociology of Gandhi's Satyagraha*, New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1939.

[81] A point already recognised in Richard G. Fox, 'Passage from India,' in Richard G. Fox and Orin Starn, eds., *Between Resistance and Revolution: Cultural Politics and Social Protest*, New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1997. Fox identifies the two misreadings of Gandhism that follow, dubbing them 'Orientalist hyper-difference' and 'Western overlikeness.'

[82] C.M. MacInnes, *The British Commonwealth and Its Unsolved Problems*, London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1925, p. 124.

[83] J.F.C. Fuller, *India in Revolt*, London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1931, p. 174; n.a., 'The Revolt of Passivity,' *Nation and Athenaeum*, 6 August 1921, p. 670.

[84] Glorney Bolton, *The Tragedy of Gandhi*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1934, p. 15.

were different, it was alleged, because their political system was based on "reason."[85] Thus, they had little to learn from this "strange little brown man," living so far away.[86]

Second, ill-informed supporters were sometimes equally obstructive. Many Western enthusiasts for Gandhi's campaigns wrongly assimilated him to the conventions of formal Christianity. These observers depicted Gandhi as a "great saint"[87] and the "Greatest Christian today."[88] They described satyagraha as a "Christian thing:"[89] the "method of the Cross,"[90] the "New Testament method against evil."[91] Understood in these terms, Gandhi's techniques lost their distinctiveness. As a result, there seemed little need for Westerners to learn anything practical from the Indian's great campaigns: if the Mahatma's way was but the method of the Cross, then what better means of following its precepts than to join with fellow believers in the organisation of the established Church? The logic of identification here implied the repetition of familiar practice.

Before Westerners would experiment with Gandhism, they first needed to understand the nature of its originality and the possibility of its adaptation. This was an understanding only hard won: it was the work of a global network.

Central to this network was Gandhi himself. Not at all the passive object of Western reportage, the canny leader also directly used the media to support his own claims and to share the virtues and possibilities of the non-violent way. Gandhi composed press releases especially for inquiring journalists, and even for news agencies themselves.[92] He sent informative cables to expatriate Indians in the metropole. When

[85] Ibid., p. 15.

[86] The term used (critically and with distance) in Frederick Bohn Fisher, *That Strange Little Brown Man Gandhi*, New York: R. Long and R.R. Smith, 1932.

[87] A.K. Jameson, 'Gandhi's Early Years,' *Peace News*, 1 May 1937.

[88] E. Stanley Jones, *Mahatma Gandhi: An Interpretation*, London: Hodder and Staughton, 1948, p. 12.

[89] John Hoyland, *The Cross Moves East: A Study of the Significance of Gandhi's Satyagraha*, London: George Allen and Unwin, 1931, p. 111.

[90] John Hoyland, 'Gandhi's Message for the West,' *Peace News*, 28 April 1950.

[91] John Hoyland, *Gandhi: The Practical Peace Builder*, London: Peace Pledge Union, 1952, p. 7.

[92] Pyralel and S. Nayar, *In Gandhiji's Mirror*, New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 15.

marching and protesting he employed early forms of the sound bite.[93] The Mahatma edited independent publications that attained an influential circulation in the West (Gandhi's *Collected Works* eventually summed to about 100 thick volumes). And he eagerly embraced any opportunity to use the radio, or to answer his critics directly in hostile newspapers.[94] Consistently, he emphasised that Indian campaigns offered a "message"[95] and a "lesson"[96] for the whole world. Gandhi explicitly requested that Europeans "study the Indian movement and methods."[97] The West was "pining for wisdom," he argued only a few months before his death:[98] "Asia has to conquer the West through love and truth."[99]

Alongside Gandhi, a cosmopolitan group of supporters emerged to explain the intricacies of the Mahatma's approach and to promote its relevance to the West: they included Christian humanitarians, Indian expatriates, and African-American activists. All were shaped by broader global processes, and especially by the structures of the Empire. Together, they helped to make 'satyagraha' a global political force.

Humanitarian advocacy is sometimes presented as an outgrowth of imperial encounters.[100] Christian missionaries and humanitarians formed

[93] Hardiman, *Gandhi*, p. 253.

[94] Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 63.

[95] Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 13, p. 262.

[96] Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 28, p. 127.

[97] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 48, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1971, p. 410.

[98] Mohandas K. Gandhi, *CWMG*, vol. 87, Delhi: Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, 1983, p. 193.

[99] Ibid., pp. 192–193.

[100] For example., as noted in relation to the anti-slavery movement in particular: Andrew Porter, 'Trusteeship, Anti-Slavery, and Humanitarianism,' in Andrew Porter, ed., *The Oxford History of the British Empire, Vol. III: The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1999, p. 204; Alan Lester, 'Humanitarians and White Settlers in the Nineteenth Century,' in Norman Etherington, ed., *Missions and Empire*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005, p. 64; John L. Comaroff, 'Images of Empire: Contests of Conscience: Models of Colonial Domination in South Africa,' in Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, eds., *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*, Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1997, pp. 181–182; Elizabeth Elbourne, 'The Sin of the Settler: The 1835–36 Select Committee on Aborigines and Debates Over Virtue and Conquest in the Early Nineteenth-Century British White Settler Empire,' *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2003, pp. 1–46.

a specific imperial network, separable from those of settlers or governors. Anxious to win converts, they spread across the Empire. Inspired by religious vision, they were sometimes shocked by the apparent ungodliness of the colonial project. Supported by independent organisations, they were capable of sharing their disquiet with fellow believers in the colonies and the metropole.[101]

In South Africa and again in India, Gandhi's most prominent European supporters could be considered 'humanitarians of the British Empire'. Gandhi's humanitarian supporters organised his visits to London; hosted him; advocated Indian Home Rule; and attempted to explain the Mahatma's often unfamiliar political ideas to a metropolitan audience. They edited selections of Gandhi's works and also composed their own pamphlets and books. These actions ensured Gandhi's continuing prominence. His supporters bolstered his faith in the possibility that Britons might offer friendship rather than enmity—and they translated the principles of 'satyagraha' into a more familiar English idiom.

The backgrounds of this group were remarkably similar: most were Christians (usually nonconforming) who had travelled across the Empire and who had become involved in humanitarian service of some kind. Terse biographies might be deployed to demonstrate the wider point and to establish their role in the globalisation of Gandhian nonviolence.

John S. Hoyland, Horace G. Alexander, and Reginald Reynolds were all Quakers, members of Woodbrooke College, Birmingham[102] (the Quaker centre established in the former family home of George Cadbury).[103] Each had spent several years in India (Hoyland was a missionary for more than a decade) and had close contact with Gandhi. Alexander and Reynolds even stayed at Gandhi's ashram for sustained periods. Cumulatively, they wrote nine books on Gandhi's struggle and methods (a 'trifecta' each), from Hoyland's *The Case for India* (1929) to Alexander's *Gandhi Through Western Eyes* (1969). They actively supported Gandhi's struggle, and Reynolds even delivered Gandhi's famous 'ultimatum' to the Viceroy in March 1930, as part of the 'salt satyagraha'

[101] An historical argument offered in Peter Stamatov, 'Activist Religion, Empire, and the Emergence of Modern Long-Distance Advocacy Networks,' *American Sociological Review*, vol. 75, no. 4, 2010, pp. 607–628.

[102] Hunt, *Gandhi and the Nonconformists*, p. 18.

[103] Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 94.

campaign. All three wrote scores of newspaper articles in favour of Home Rule, and the two younger Quakers (Alexander and Reynolds) were closely involved in political projects that attempted to apply versions of Gandhism to British problems.[104]

There were others equally prolific and active in supporting Gandhi's struggle. Muriel Lester was a Christian pacifist, preacher, and social worker based in London's East End.[105] She visited Gandhi in 1926 and hosted him on his visit to the capital of the Empire in 1931. One biographer suggests that this time with Lester helped to pierce "the veil of illusion" in which Gandhi had been ensnared by hostile Britons. Lester's literary works also helped, among them *My Host the Hindu* (1931), *Entertaining Gandhi* (1932), and *Gandhi's Signature* (1949). She remained a vigorous proponent of loving action and a wide traveller on behalf of pacifist organisations for many years afterwards.[106]

Agatha Harrison was the daughter of a Methodist Minister. She was a pacifist, feminist, and a campaigner against the use of child labour in China; she became a Quaker later in life.[107] Harrison was the secretary of the leading organisation established to support Indian Home Rule, the 'Indian Conciliation Group.' Gandhi himself drew attention to her efforts, "wearing herself out in removing the cobwebs of misunderstanding."[108]

Two other prominent supporters, Mary Barr and Marjorie Sykes, taught at missionary schools in India; both also became Quakers.[109] Barr supported Gandhi's humanitarian campaigns against the treatment of the Dalit community. Later in life she participated in non-violent protests against South African racial discrimination[110] and encouraged

[104] Ibid., p. 94.

[105] Thomas Weber, *Going Native: Gandhi's Relationship with Western Women*, New Delhi: Lotus Collection (an imprint of Roli Books), 2011, p. 83.

[106] The biography referenced is Roy Walker, *Sword of Gold: A Life of Mahatma Gandhi*, London: Indian Independence Union, 1945, pp. 125–126. The works by Lester are *My Host the Hindu*, London: Williams Norgate, 1931; *Entertaining Gandhi*, London: Nicholson and Watson, 1932; and *Gandhi's Signature*, Los Angeles: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1949.

[107] Weber, *Going Native*, pp. 92–95.

[108] On Lester and Harrison, see Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 95.

[109] Weber, *Going Native*, pp. 258–260, 292–294.

[110] Ibid., pp. 273–274.

British pacifists to apply Gandhian methods also.[111] Sykes aided Gandhi's efforts to develop a program of 'basic education.' She stayed in India as a trainer of Gandhian teachers and helped also to organise training for non-violence in India and the United States.[112]

C.F. Andrews was an Anglican missionary who came to distance himself from the established church and to devote his life to serving the Indian community.[113] "Christ's Faithful" Andrews (the nickname was Gandhi's bestowal) argued unflaggingly for a closer understanding between 'East' and West.' He also brought Gandhi's message to the African-American community (especially as a guest of Alabama's famed Tuskegee Institute), edited Gandhi's autobiography for a Western audience [*Mahatma Gandhi, His Own Story* (1930)], and produced the first significant collection of Gandhi's prose in English: *Mahatma Gandhi's Ideas, Including Selections from His Writings* (1929).[114]

From the United States, Richard Bartlett Gregg shared a religious background (son of a Congregational minister) and an elite education (training at Harvard as a lawyer) with nearly all his British equivalents. Similarly, he lived in India for nearly four years in the second half of the 1920s. He dwelt also at Gandhi's Sabarmati ashram (some seven months), and returned to the subcontinent for periods of travel, teaching, and writing later on. As an educator, Gregg passed on the Mahatma's teachings; as an author he penned perhaps the most famous translation of the method of satyagraha, *The Power of Nonviolence* (1934).[115]

A succession of African-American intellectuals also travelled to India to meet with the Mahatma and to learn more of the way of non-violence. Howard University's Dean of Religion, Benjamin E. Mays, made the trip in the mid-1930s. William Stuart Nelson, Vice-President of Howard, would follow a decade or so later. Both were tireless propagandists upon their return to the Americas, a practice continued into the second half of the twentieth century. Civil rights leaders Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr. also made the

[111] Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 133.

[112] Weber, *Going Native*, pp. 296–297.

[113] Hunt, *Gandhi and the Nonconformists*, pp. 12–13.

[114] Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, p. 93.

[115] Gregg relates his visits to Indian in Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Nonviolence*, second (revised) edition, London: James Clarke and Co., 1960, p. 11.

journey across the seas to deepen their understanding of non-violent techniques; they returned as confirmed proselytisers of the Gandhian way.[116]

Traffic between India and the West flowed in both directions. Indian nationalist Syed Hossain trained at Oxford before composing his noted work *Gandhi: The Saint as Statesman* (1937). T.H.K. Rezmie organised an Indian Independence League from the United States; he used the platform of his new institution to contest inaccurate news despatches and to explain the non-violent philosophy that underpinned Gandhi's campaigns. Other Indians also drew upon their experiences in the struggle for Swaraj to interpret and promote the satyagraha way. Gandhi's personal physician, Dr. Sushila Nayar, addressed civil rights campaigners in the United States. R.R. Diwakar penned a complete monograph, *Satyagraha* (1946). Haridas Muzumdar composed several works, including *Gandhi Versus the Empire* (1932) and *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary* (1952). Krishnalal Shridharani, a veteran of the salt satyagraha and a graduate of Columbia University, was the most influential of all. One leading American pacifist described his *War without Violence* (1939) as "the most important explication" of Gandhian principles yet published.[117]

It was only after several decades of assiduous popularisation, explanation, and advocacy that a number of Westerners became convinced that Gandhian-style protests might be applied to the problems of the metropole. Even at this point, further labours were required. From the early 1940s small groups in the United States and Britain began to deploy satyagraha as a means of opposing racism and war. It was only after several years of such small-scale experiments that larger and more successful campaigns emerged, the tumultuous protests for civil rights and nuclear disarmament that came to define the politics of a vigorous 'New Left.'[118] Their forms closely resembled earlier Gandhian performances; their leaders included committed Gandhians; their major organisations were

[116]For more on these connections, see Kapur, *Raising up a Prophet*, and Slate, *Colored Cosmopolitanism*.

[117]J. Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen*, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 1998, pp. 69–70.

[118]The detailed history of these processes is relayed in Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, chaps. 4 to 6.

formally pledged to non-violence. Contemporary news reports often affirmed the Mahatma's influence on these actions.[119]

Nonetheless, Western practitioners of non-violent protest did not simply imitate the actions of the Indian icon, but rather reworked and adapted these methods to better suit their specific demands. Increasingly confident, by the early 1960s they proclaimed the need to "Forget about Gandhi!"[120] and to distance themselves from the Indian model. Apparent success removed the need to seek external legitimisation. National rather than transnational influences were increasingly affirmed.[121] Later histories, predominantly written from within a national framework, have largely shared these emphases. In consequence, the transnational and Gandhian influences on these campaigns have sometimes been obscured.

Recovering the global career of Gandhian satyagraha restores the complicated antecedents of the protests of the 1960s. Considering Gandhi and Gandhians as 'transnational activists' also provides an unaccustomed insight into the history and the theorisation of this important concept.

Conclusion

Gandhi's career demonstrates that 'global activism' is not a creation of the information age. It was already an important presence in the age of the telegraph and the steamship; it was both a response to and a product of the great empires of the nineteenth century. 'Satyagraha' was invented in the global periphery of South Africa by a London-educated Indian lawyer. Its principles bore the imprint of imperial as well as Indian influences; its targets were metropolitan as much as local.

The globalisation of Gandhism rested upon the infrastructure of an international news industry and upon the vitality of a transnational network of activists and humanitarians. As was Gandhi, this group was internationally mobile, pluralistic, and committed to cross-cultural

[119] A matter discussed at length in Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, ch. 6.

[120] Dave Dellinger, 'Forget about Gandhi!,' *Peace News*, 26 July 1963.

[121] For example, the success of the Montgomery bus boycott was increasingly invoked as an example of how nonviolent protest might be deployed to win demands. And Martin Luther King Jr. increasingly displaced Gandhi. See Scalmer, *Gandhi in the West*, pp. 168–173.

collaboration. Strongly embedded in their own societies, they might be described as "rooted cosmopolitans," willing to act as translators of ideas and activism.

How should these activists be conceptualised? In a stimulating but sketchy proposal, Sidney Tarrow has recently identified two "types" of transnational activist, especially prevalent in immigrant and national politics but also present in other campaigns. The "nesting pigeon" settles in a new community, but remains strongly tied to the native home, enjoying a "regular routine" of return visits. Frequently involved in "ameliorative activities" and "ethnic festivals," this activist bears the imprint of the cultures and opportunities of the host society and can also apply its resources to interventions in native politics.[122]

If the "nesting pigeon" is most closely identified with "ameliorative activities," Tarrow associates the "bird of passage" with a more dangerous and "destructive potential"; examples include "diaspora nationalists," "religious revivalists," and "clandestine organizers." Not simply distinguished by the more reactionary form of their politics, these activists cultivate a different relationship to their homelands: less directly involved and informed; more likely to romanticise a national past than to handle the messier complexities of the present. In many respects, they identify with societies that "no longer exist."[123]

The differences between these two types are "great," and yet Tarrow also emphasises the resemblances. Both types rely upon similar experiences of international movement and mobility and often overlapping networks and technologies. In practice, individuals may even move from one type of activism to another, or, as Tarrow puts it provocatively: "nesting pigeons transmute easily into birds of passage."[124]

Although doubtless helpful in illuminating other cases, neither of these concepts adequately captures the global network of Gandhian satyagraha. The politics pursued by this group was neither ameliorative nor destructive, but radical and non-violent. Their relationships with 'host' and with 'homeland' societies were more complex than incorporation or idealised celebration; they drew creatively from multiple sources in the attempt to combat injustice and pursue change. The core of their

[122] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, pp. 51–53.

[123] Ibid., pp. 51, 53–54.

[124] Ibid., p. 56.

activism was a search for cross-cultural understanding. This search was expressed in Gandhi's quest for non-violent conversion; it was enacted in the capacity of his supporters to learn from Gandhi's example and to translate his methods into more familiar Western forms.

This distinction is not to project the Gandhian campaigner into a competing 'type' of 'global activist,' to supplant Tarrow's unsatisfactory binary. Any multiplication of 'types' is likely to remain incomplete: rather, it may suggest the construction of 'ideal types' to be a less helpful strategy than a closer historical investigation of relationships and identities.

For more than a decade, a range of scholars have emphasised the import of 'network' relationships to the study of social movements.[125] On the basis of this study, the centrality of networks needs also to be recognised in the study of the 'transnational activist.' Gandhi's global career, and the broader career of 'satyagraha,' rested upon a particular kind of transnational community: peaceful, dialogical, cross-cultural, spanning the accustomed separation between politics and religion. The very invention of 'satyagraha' reflected the presence of these transnational relationships. Its apparent successes strengthened these ties. It was diffused through these global networks.

Generalising from the Gandhian case, 'global activists' can therefore be understood as both products and agents of transnational networks. And it is in following through the implications of this insight that the histories and the futures of these actors might be more fully understood. In carefully reconstructing the many networks that have connected activists, it should become possible to better understand how activism has been envisaged, enacted, and diffused across the boundaries of nation-states. In more fully considering the place of the activist within these networks, it should become possible to trace the many versions of the 'global activist' that have been enacted and embraced. In identifying the forces that continue to reshape such transnational ties, it should also become possible to glimpse the possibilities of new versions of global activism and of the global activist—transnational campaigns and identities yet to be imagined or performed.

[125]The position is most strongly associated with the work of Mario Diani and collaborators. See, for example, Mario Diani and Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements: An Introduction*, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1999, and Mario Diani and Doug McAdam, eds., *Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

CHAPTER 5

Translating Anti-Capitalism Throughout the Empire: Tom Mann and John Curtin as Transnational Activists, 1902–1916

Liam Byrne

At a public meeting held in Melbourne, 1936, the recently elected leader of the Australian Labor Party and the Federal Opposition, John Curtin, rose to his feet "with vigour and enthusiasm" to pay homage to an aged British Communist. His subject was Tom Mann, the radical activist who had spent a long political career spreading dissent throughout the British Empire. Mann was not present at this meeting, a celebration of his eightieth birthday, but the hall was filled with those who had once called him comrade. It was unlikely, Curtin stated, that they would "ever see a greater man."[1]

[1] 'Report of the Public Meeting Held In Celebration of Tom Mann's 80th Birthday,' Sam Merrifield Collection, State Library of Victoria, Manuscripts, MS13045, Box 15, pp. 4–5.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_5

In September of the following year Curtin received a letter from the ageing radical across the seas. He wrote to offer his congratulations as Curtin neared his first poll as party leader, reflecting with "real gratification" on "the years we had together in Melbourne, the campaigns we took part in and the hopes we held out." Although separated by a period of decades, an ocean, and political allegiance, Mann offered his best wishes to the man who had once been his protégé, hoping for his "complete success." He concluded: "Go in and win Jack, Smite the enemy hip and thigh."[2]

A quarter of a century after their joint membership of the party Mann founded, the Victorian Socialist Party (VSP), the bond remained strong between the grand old man of British radicalism and the future wartime prime minister. This very human story of the enduring friendship between two men treading divergent paths is representative of their political relationship in the early twentieth century, when Mann and Curtin were significant socialist figures within the transnational network of labour. A study of their political lives in this period has much to offer in understanding of the traditions and history of activism that crossed, transgressed, and sought to overcome, national boundaries.

This labour network operated across the globe, situated within empires as well as republics, speaking in many tongues—symbolised by its central organisation, the Second International. This network was diffuse, with each section shaped by its national, regional, and often imperial context. This chapter focuses on Mann and Curtin as two activists within this network who were shaped by their experiences living within, and organising against, the British Empire. Labour activists within the Empire often followed imperial routes of information exchange and transferral. Some sections of the network, that is, its socialist left, did so to spread dissent against the Empire itself. Mann and Curtin were activists located within the imperial context who overtly appealed to international claims of proletarian solidarity in their opposition to the Empire, imperialism, and what they considered to be the global forces of capitalism.

[2] 'Letter from Tom Mann to John Curtin 23 September 1937', John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library, 00398/28, available [online]: http://espace.library.curtin.edu.au/R/XLI91XRVFSJRYC2GSH92G3F5JE4HE7RB32G86TMYTMHAUTFU4R-01273?func=results-jump-full&set_entry=000005&set_number=002654&base=ERA01JCPML [Access Date 1 February 2015].

Mann did so throughout an extensive political career in which he frequently travelled across the British Empire, spreading dissent. Curtin did so within Australia, inspired as he was by the thoughts and actions of socialist and labour intellectual-activists elsewhere in the world. Curtin's fervent belief in anti-imperialism and internationalism led to his opposition to the First World War, and famously to his leadership of the successful trade union campaign against the introduction of conscription for overseas service into Australia in 1916. His later prime ministership would be a less radical period, but even as a national leader Curtin is remembered for a perceived antipathy to the operations of the Empire and an assertion of Australian over imperial interests.[3]

Mann and Curtin can be identified, not just as opponents of empire, but as transnational activists who mobilised locally as part of a self-identified international struggle that moved across and beyond national borders. As such, they demonstrate the long lineage of transnational contention and the identification of supranational political organisation—the Empire—and the international economic system—capitalism—as forces against which to mobilise.

This chapter considers the activity of these men in the state of Victoria, within the newly established Australian Federation, in the early twentieth century. At this time Australia was a Dominion of the British Empire with a subordinate role to the imperial metropole. But within labour's transnational network, the Australian movement claimed global significance and interest. The post-Federation political system was less restrictive than that on the European continent. Australian labour had developed a strong political wing that could exert influence over the parliamentary realm in a manner that attracted Old World observers to this antipodean social laboratory.[4]

The Australian workers' movement provided the world with its first examples of Labor government. The Labor Party in colonial Queensland first achieved this feat, briefly, in 1899. In 1904 the Australian Labor Party (ALP) was appointed as the government of the Australian

[3] James Curran explores and refutes this mythology: *Curtin's Empire*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 1–25.

[4] Jürgen Tampke, '"Pace Setter or Quiet Backwater?" German Literature on Australia's Labour Movement and Social Politics', *Labour History*, Vol. 36, May 1979, pp. 3–17.

Commonwealth.[5] Although lasting only four months, this was a significant moment that sparked interest throughout the transnational labour network. Observers from Britain, Germany, America, and China analysed the meaning of the Australian Labor Cabinet.[6] In 1908, Labor again enjoyed a brief period in power, before claiming national majority government in 1910, another world first. In the 1910 election, Labor also won a majority in the Senate, the upper house of the bicameral system. Vladimir Lenin pondered the character of a workers' party that could have such strong representation, and yet "the capitalist system is in no danger."[7] Observers in the British Labour party, for whom the first experience of executive power was still fourteen years in the future, expressed wonder at the continent where "Labour rules."[8]

It has been noted that the ALP was marked by "precocious success."[9] Elsewhere, debates over the role of workers' parties in the institutions of the state preceded their actual influence over such bodies; in Australia, these debates were concurrent.[10] Labour's purpose and function within the structures of the state were hotly contested in this period, a contestation in which Labor socialists, such as Mann and Curtin, drew on the knowledge of the transnational network of labour to influence its local incarnation in the ALP.

Empire, Globalisation, and the Transnational Activist

Through its historical consideration of the transnational activist, this volume explores the potential for historians and social movement theorists to learn from one another. There is much to be gained from such interchange. Social movement literature has provided a number of key

[5] Ross McMullin, *So Monstrous a Travesty: Chris Watson and the World's First National Labour Government*, Melbourne: Scribe Publications, 2004.

[6] Ibid., pp. 68–72. John Fitzgerald, *Big White Lie: Chinese Australians in White Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2007, p. 124.

[7] Vladimir Lenin, "In Australia," *Marxist Internet Archive*, available [online]: https://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1913/jun/13.htm [Access Date 24 August 2016].

[8] 'Where Labour Rules,' *Labour Leader*, 28 April 1911, p. 205.

[9] Stuart Macintyre, *The Labour Experiment*, Melbourne: McPhee Gribble Publishers, 1989, pp. 35–36.

[10] Ibid.

analytical insights that can enrich our knowledge of the development and diffusion of transnational activism, with the potential for historical application. Recent works in the wake of the Global Financial Crisis, for instance, have illuminated the interactions between social mobilisations protesting its effects across borders[11] and the place of this protest in the context of a long-term disintegration of contemporary democratic orthodoxy.[12]

A tendency exists in this literature to discuss transnational activism as a purely contemporary phenomenon, spurred and facilitated by the distinctive form of globalisation that has taken place in recent decades.[13] This work has usefully identified the new alliances and coalitions of activists that act across borders, target international agencies and institutions, and relate local grievances to these global processes of economic and political change.[14] These studies do tend to neglect previous forms of transnational contention as well as social structures that facilitated such protests before the most recent globalised forms.

[11] Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity: Bringing Capitalism Back into Protest Analysis*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015.

[12] Donatella della Porta, *Can Democracy Be Saved? Participation, Deliberation and Social Movements*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013.

[13] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 18. See also the influential theorist Nancy's Fraser's critique of national models of the public sphere and counterpublics, including her own work: Nancy Fraser, *Scales of Justice: Reimagining Political Space in a Globalizing World*, New York: Columbia University Press, 2009. Despite outlining that there were some transnational movements prior, David West also considers the distinctive nature of this globalised period, while challenging many assumptions of the "newness" of new social movements as opposed to the "old," the idea that the old social movements were innately national reactions is embedded into his discussion: this contrasts with the globality of the new politics of exploitation under globalisation, and those who resist it, David West, *Social Movements in Global Politics*, Cambridge: Polity, 2013, pp. 27–149. Andrés Solimano, *Economic Elites, Crises, and Democracy: Alternatives Beyond Neoliberal Capitalism*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 139–140.

[14] Donatella della Porta and Hanspeter Kriesi, 'Social Movements in a Globalizing World: An Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999, pp. 17–18; Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism: An Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, eds., *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005, pp. 1–2, 12–13.

Connections between the national and the global were more diverse historically than this literature tends to recognise. Such contemporary perspectives are framed by the experience of the post-colonial world, a world of discrete nation-states and of distinctively national movements, facing the challenges of international institutions and the projection of power by dominant nations across and beyond borders. Hence, its focus tends to be on contemporary forms of transnational movement in which the borders of the modern nation-state are those that are transgressed. This perspective is less satisfactory when analysing the experiences of activists in a world defined by empires. In the early twentieth century, for instance, the imperial and racial bond held particular power over and across borders, and economic forces swirled across the globe with ever-increasing force.[15]

The dynamics of a world defined by empire and imperial networks, as well as the (contested) sense of solidarity that developed in opposition to it in both labour and national movements, inspired a wide array of actors who habitually crossed borders, established migrant communities, communicated with each other through various media: they often considered themselves as reacting against forces that similarly traversed borders or which held interests that transcended the purely national.[16] The perspective of the socialist section of the labour movement particularly fits this mould, having generated a rich ideological tradition that connected the local, regional, and national to the global, and which complicated these identities by infusing them with a class content antagonistic to the dominant nationalist paradigms.

Does this then invalidate the usefulness of this literature and its insights when analysing these previous modes of global movement, interchange, and activism? In this chapter I seek to demonstrate the utility of such analytical tools to appreciate enduring techniques of activism and rebellion. Particularly important is the concept of "transnational diffusion" developed by a number of thinkers in recent years. Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow define diffusion as "the spread of movement

[15] See the particularly important study on the transnational experience of race and racialism: Marilyn Lake and Henry Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the Question of Racial Equality*, Carlton: Melbourne University Press, 2008.

[16] Such historical lineages to contemporary movements have been recognised in some accounts, for example, Jackie Smith, *Social Movements for Global Democracy*, Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2008, p. 5.

ideas, practices, and frames from one country to another."[17] They consider this dissemination to be "the most familiar and oldest form of transnational contention."[18] Diffusion frequently takes the form of direct interchange between activists across borders: it does not always appear in such a direct form, however, with diffusion requiring "only that challengers in one country or region adopt or adapt the organizational forms, collective action frames, or targets of those in other countries or regions."[19]

This concept has been developed further by della Porta and Hanspeter Kriesi, who provide an important analysis of the varied means of diffusion facilitating the translation of ideas from one context or milieu to another. They discuss the process of both direct and indirect diffusion, the first being the imparting of knowledge via direct "relational linkages" and the second being the broader and less personal means for knowledge to spread, such as through the media and "cultural linkages."[20] Their work focuses in particular on the means by which the "ease of communication over great distances in a globalizing world provides for the creation and maintenance of direct interpersonal and inter-organizational ties,"[21] but this helps as well in accounting for the transfer of knowledge in previous periods.

Labour knowledge was diffused throughout the transnational network in a direct manner, with this transferral conditioned by indirect forms: that is, ideas, stratagems, and arguments, crossed borders through newspapers, pamphlets, and the physical journeys of activists. Awareness of these ideas and the individuals who carried them was framed by indirect diffusion, often in the form of non-labour networks of information, as part of "an indirect learning process based on information diffused by mass media."[22] Mainstream or conservative media regularly carried news of developments within labour abroad, often

[17] della Porta and Tarrow, 'Transnational Processes and Social Activism,' p. 2.

[18] Ibid., p. 3.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Donatella della Porta and Hanspeter Kriesi, 'Social Movements in a Globalizing World,' p. 6.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid.

to warn against the prospect of similar developments domestically.[23] This diffusion helped condition the cultural and ideological ground over which individual activists of the movement would travel internationally, seeking to translate modes of contention to new contexts. For instance, Mann was able to exert immediate influence in Australia because he arrived on its shores with a reputation as a leading activist that had been communicated through forms of indirect diffusion, facilitating his efforts in direct diffusion of labour ideology and tactics from Britain.

Writing from a historical perspective, Sean Scalmer has identified similar dynamics within social movements as acts of "translation," that is, the manner through which ideas are adapted and theorised in new contexts.[24] Scalmer considers this process as occurring when intellectuals "mold new forms of collective action into "models" or "concepts" and when they frame those models as relevant and normatively appropriate to the domestic context."[25] Through these processes movement actors enable the "connection, translation, and circulation between existing local movements" and the adaptation of techniques and modes of resistance from one national context to another.[26]

Activist-intellectuals within the labour network facilitated the diffusion of knowledge through acts of translation, as did Mann, whose thought and action linked the Australian movement to the broader world of international labour: bringing fresh ideas, approaches and perspectives to the Australian context. But as della Porta and Kriesi demonstrate, diffusion is not simply a matter of ideas concerning "organizational structure, action strategies, or the ideological goals" travelling outwards from the

[23] For one brief example of many, see the warning of the *Argus* against Tom Mann's socialist teachings, and their 'non-British nature and origins.' The paper warned that "It is manifestly to continental agitators and revolutionaries that we must turn for the sources of his inspiration." See 'Mr Mann's Inspiration,' *Argus*, 17 September 1904, p. 4. Or the fear shown in the same paper of the growth of German Social Democrats, who were allegedly "Bolder and more frank than our own socialists:" 'German Socialism,' *Argus*, 19 November 1910, p. 6.

[24] Notably critiquing the trend of thought that considers global activism as a purely recent phenomena: Sean Scalmer, 'Translating Contention: Culture, History, and the Circulation of Collective Action,' *Alternatives*, vol. 25, 2000, pp. 491–514.

[25] Ibid., p. 495.

[26] Ibid., p. 492.

metropole, but "from the centre to the periphery and, sometimes, from the periphery to the centre."[27] Crucially, such ideas are not passively received, but rather actively selected, interpreted, and "modified in order to adapt them to the new environment."[28] Mann was strongly influenced by developments in the antipodes. He had to adapt to a new political context, including a Labor Party strong enough to win the government of the capitalist state. His eventual failure to win Labor to socialism was an important part of his rejection of parliamentary socialism and of the development of the syndicalism that he would take back to Britain.[29] Curtin, in contrast, operated locally while drawing ideas and stratagems from this transnational network of labour, translating them from the Second International into the Australian labour movement.

If such perspectives account for the movement of knowledge, these examples indicate that questions remain as how best to understand the status of the mobile activists themselves. Sidney Tarrow's work on transnational activism provides a useful, if incomplete, basis for analysis.[30] Tarrow recognises the diversity of actors considered "global," a diversity between those self-consciously dedicating themselves to an international identity and those who "are simply following their domestically formed claims into international society when these claims can no longer be addressed domestically."[31]

Tarrow has begun the process of categorising the different actors who have gained prominence on an international level as "rooted cosmopolitans" who advance global aims from within a particular domestic arena.[32] This category incorporates a range of actors who would not necessarily be considered as activists, such as bureaucrats of developing international structures, or lawyers. Activists do, however, receive particular attention from Tarrow, who analyses them as a "subgroup of rooted cosmopolitans," defined as "*people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in contentious political activities that involve*

[27] Donatella della Porta and Hanspeter Kriesi, 'Social Movements in a Globalizing World,' p. 8.

[28] Ibid., pp. 9–10.

[29] Joseph White, *Tom Mann*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1991, p. 124.

[30] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*.

[31] Ibid., p. 28.

[32] Ibid., p. 29.

them in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts."[33] The distinction between activists operating on this level, and others whose activity is located within the domestic arena, is for Tarrow in "their ability to shift their activities among levels, taking advantage of the expanded nodes of opportunity of a complex international society."[34]

For Tarrow, transnational activists are embodied in two types: "nesting pigeons" and "birds of passage." The former category refers to activists within migrant communities who retain national loyalties to their countries of origin and who operate politically with "their home countries as their targets." These activists adapt to the political terrain of their new environments while retaining the transnational element of connection to their homelands.[35] The latter term is associated with the more threatening and transitory experience of subversive movements who seek to practice their "long-distance nationalism" through destructive activities based upon nostalgic visions of homeland societies that may not continue to exist.[36]

Our understanding of transnational activism should not be limited to these two ideal types. Although these types are useful in the categorisation of transnational activists, they are clearly developed explicitly for the contemporary period. The movement of labour activists would sit uncomfortably with the latter identification, although certainly the clandestine networks and migrations of the most militant wings of the movement (particularly to and from the more overtly authoritarian regimes of the early twentieth century) may bear some resemblance to these "birds of passage," although of course the political goals of each would not. The "nesting pigeon" also raises interesting comparisons, perhaps not expected ones. Tarrow's idea is very much of a migratory ethnic community who experience a form of cultural disjunct within the host nation, ensuring that "ameliorative activities" to maintain connections with cultural components of their past national experiences have increased importance to them. Although these actors are stationary in this new context, Tarrow considers this type to be transnational through

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Ibid., p. 51.

[36] Ibid., p. 53.

the measures by which it seeks to draw upon its previous cultural legacies to reshape its new locale.

Does this hold any value for the analysis of those labour activists who forged their own distinctive socialist identity within a nation-state that was bound to the Empire? To put it boldly, was Mann a nesting pigeon during his time in Australia, or a more insidious bird of passage? Or, as he was travelling as a British citizen within the imperial boundaries, was he neither, despite his rebellious mission? Where would Curtin fit, occupying a position that was less transitory, but acting to self-consciously link the Australian movement with the transnational network of labour? I would argue that Tarrow's ideas hold merit in encapsulating the experience of mobile activists who brought new ideas, methods, and strategies of activism from one nation-state to another, particularly in an imperial context where alternate identities to those of the new national framework migrated with people from one part of the Empire to another. The historical experiences of Mann and Curtin, however, with the tangled loyalties of class, nation, and empire, demonstrate the complexities of international identities. Untangling this web requires an analysis of transnational communities bound not by the imagined community of nation or ethnicity, as is Tarrow's focus, but also defined by their antagonistic class loyalties even within the dominant imperial ethnic and language identity. That is, those who were clearly imperial citizens, but who sought to build a rebellious movement that refuted that loyalty for what they considered a higher one, that of the international working class.

The contemporary moment of economic and democratic crisis has rightfully provoked a return to systemic analysis to comprehend transnational activists in the era of 'globalisation,' but a historical treatment that analyses the deep roots of transnational activism has much to offer this understanding. In particular, analysing the transnational network of labour in the early twentieth century and the socialist critique of global capitalism helps extend our appreciation for the dynamics of anti-systemic contention. The dynamics of global critiques being filtered through localised demands is not a feature of the modern period alone but rather a fundamental part of how socialists such as Mann and Curtin related the struggle against empire and capitalism to their immediate context.

Mann and the VSP

Tom Mann was a figure of international stature well before he travelled to Australia. The London dock strike of 1889 propelled him to prominence across labour's transnational network as the action drew upon the support and solidarity of workers around the world. Mann would later reflect on the staunch support for London Dockers provided by Australian workers who collected £30,000 to maintain the struggle.[37] Mann was particularly well suited to the role of transnational activist. Politically, he was drawn to the radical edge of the workers movement where internationalism resonated strongly. He brought this perspective to his activism after the 1890s with a leading role in the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party. At this time he also initiated an ultimately unsuccessful campaign to organise a transnational dockworkers union.[38] Through such activities Mann was brought into close association with a wide range of socialist intellectuals and leaders, and it was with little embellishment that he would come to lecture on "Prominent Socialists I Have Known" to an eager Victorian audience, with a list of notables that included Engels, Jaures, Millerand, Vaillant, Liebknecht, and Bebel.[39]

Arriving in Victoria in 1902, Mann brought with him this substantial array of activist assets and political connections, acting as a semi-permanent link between the antipodes and the international movement until his departure in 1909, which grants a different character to his movements to others at the time. British socialists and labour leaders visited Australia in the pre-war years, with self-identified "bird[s] of passage" such as Keir Hardie, the famed ILP founder and leader of British Labour, touring, lecturing, and studying over a period of months.[40] As important as such visitations were in developing and sustaining transnational connections and linkages, their transience stifled the act of translation: the effective adaptation of ideas and practices to the new context. Others, such as Henry Champion, former secretary of the British Social Democratic Federation and leader of the 1889 London Dock Strike,

[37] White, *Tom Mann*, p. 38.

[38] Ibid., pp. 111–115.

[39] *Socialist,* 20 April 1906, p. 5.

[40] 'Keir Hardie in Australia,' *The Worker*, 19 December 1907, p. 11. The similarity of terminology with that of Tarrow is of course striking, but incidental.

settled in the new democracy on a permanent basis. These settlers operated in a manner reminiscent of Tarrow's 'nesting pigeons,' maintaining strong links to previous cultures of radicalism while submerging themselves in the local socialist movement.

Mann was located somewhere between these categories, a position that would enable him to carry political lessons and developments from Australia back to the imperial centre.[41] But first came a period of near-integration into the local context of labour activism. His most important contribution between 1902 and 1909 was to bring to Australia a brand of politics associated with the radical edge of the Second International. At its core was revolutionary internationalism—an opposition to the actions of a global ruling class that sought to denigrate and destroy the working class movement, and the identification of the interests of local capital with this broader agenda. This in turn necessitated activism that linked the workers' movement of the world in a projected international community, and the organisation of local workers to strive towards this socialist goal.

For this project, Mann founded the VSP in 1906, the culmination of the period of political development that took place from 1902 onwards, when he had accepted a role as organiser for the Labor Party.[42] The perceived timidity of Labor's parliamentary leaders led Mann to an increasingly critical position regarding labour parliamentary organisation, questioning the best means to convert the movement towards socialism. After his influential role in attempts to get Victorian and Federal Labor to adopt socialisation objectives, in 1905 he determined to found the VSP to operate within the structures of the labour movement and to win it to socialism, a project that was strikingly similar to that of the ILP in Britain.[43]

In this act of translation, Mann brought organisational forms and perspectives from Britain to Victoria, but it was necessary first to adapt this project to local conditions, which differed from those in Britain in important aspects. Most notable was the strength of the Australian Labor

[41] White, *Tom Mann*, pp. 151–152.

[42] Tom Mann, *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, London: Macgibbon & Kee, 1967, p. 143.

[43] Ibid., pp. 155–170. Ralph Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: A Study in the Politics of Labour*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964, pp. 14–15; Perry Anderson, 'Origins of the Present Crisis,' *New Left Review*, Vol. 23, 1964, p. 44.

Party in comparison to British Labour. British Labour was a loosely organised, affiliate-only organisation with a strong socialist presence, but the ALP was a tightly bound party that by 1904 had the experience of national government, a prospect then unimaginable for its British counterpart. Mann had to adapt his project to the particulars of this new context, and the VSP was his attempt to do so.

Mann's intentions for the VSP are demonstrated in his 1905 pamphlet, "Socialism."[44] The politics of this pamphlet are recognisably influenced by the core tenets of European social democratic thought, with Mann making clear his opposition to the capitalist system and to the exploitative relationships between capital and labour at its heart.[45] Socialism's project to end the exploitation of the working class, he argued, required the transference "from present day private ownership to National Ownership of all those agencies of wealth production, necessary for the supply of life's necessaries for the whole people."[46] This event would occur as part of the "historical development of humanity" through the differing stages of economic development, familiar to "every student of Sociology."[47] The phrasing of these statements demonstrates the social democratic influences on Mann's thought at the time, influences that would infuse the politics and practices of the VSP.

Mann identified the enemy of the working class as being the "capitalists," "monopolists," and "exploiters." Here, and later, Mann drew no national distinction between them nor did he indicate that the "national ownership" he supported was for the sake of one nation alone or should be restricted to just one country. He considered the capitalist classes to operate on a global scale and the task of labour to organise on a similar scope, to unite the struggle within each national context in a generalised movement for socialism. He explained that capitalism was "absolutely International," recognising "no frontiers or boundaries."[48] The "financial monopolists" who benefitted from exploitation were constantly looking for new fields for investment, and had "no scruple whatever as to

[44] Mann's biographer describes it as representing 'his shift from labourism to independent socialism.' White, *Tom Mann*, p. 134.

[45] Tom Mann, *Socialism*, Melbourne: Tocsin Office, 1905, p. 10.

[46] Ibid., p. 9.

[47] Ibid., p. 31.

[48] Ibid.

whether the people of any given country are white, brown, yellow or black," so long as the capitalists could profit.[49] The workers, he argued, similarly had no interest in being divided and should be "equally cosmopolitan," with Mann appealing for the Australian movement to join the Second International and to oppose all forms of capitalist militarism.[50] In this, Mann was seeking to draw the Victorian movement into the broader realms of international working-class organisation, and to identify the international capitalist class, of which the local ruling class represented only one part, as the primary enemy of the movement.

Mann, the founder and ideological centre of the VSP, firmly embedded this perspective in the new radical party. Explaining the purpose of the organisation in the first edition of its newspaper, the *Socialist*, he wrote that although "[m]any of us are Australian born," and others came from Britain, "we are all Cosmopolitans, endorsing in the fullest sense International Revolutionary Socialism."[51] Mann would find that his enthusiasm for international "brotherhood" on a revolutionary basis would not receive the fully fledged endorsement of all party members, with ideas on racial difference and the alleged necessity of excluding non-whites holding powerful sway over many.[52] This idea is particularly expressed in the commitment of many Victorian socialists to the racist White Australia policy.[53] But it is notable that Mann so firmly located his organisation within the broad current of international socialist thought, going on to associate the Victorian radicals with "the Socialists of America and of Europe." With them, they were in "entire accord" that "the most important work that men can engage in is that of helping on the overthrow of Capitalism, and the building up of THE SOCIALIST CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH".[54] Reflecting back on this foundation many years later, Mann painted the somewhat optimistic

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid., p. 32.

[51] 'The New Party,' *Socialist*, 2 April 1906, p. 4.

[52] Graeme Osborne, 'A Socialist Dilemma,' *Labour History: Who Are Our Enemies? Racism and the Working Class in Australia*, no. 2, 1978, pp. 112–128. Verity Burgmann, 'Revolutionaries and Racists: Australian Socialism and the Problem of Racism, 1887–1917,' Ph.D. dissertation, Australian National University, 1980, pp. 162–176.

[53] Osborne, 'A Socialist Dilemma,' pp. 113–121; Burgmann, 'Revolutionaries and Racists,' pp. 162–176.

[54] 'The New Party,' *Socialist*, 2 April 1906, p. 4.

vision of a party of workers who sought to transform Labor into a radical body of socialist change, who "[j]oyfully" declared "themselves in favour of International Socialism."[55]

Connected to this belief in working-class internationalism was opposition to capitalist militarism and to imperial expansion.[56] Mann had no love for the Empire, and this was reflected in the outlook of the party. He was closely associated with his friend and comrade Keir Hardie, and it is unsurprising that the VSP followed the developing anti-militarist perspectives of the International, particularly the dedicated motion opposing war that Hardie famously proposed at its congress in 1910—the Hardie–Vaillant resolution.[57]

As is explored next, many of the most important developments in anti-militarism that took place in Australia followed Mann's departure. But it was his legacy and the political translation he conducted that enabled this opposition to take place in the form that it did. After its growth to 1908 to a membership of 2000, making it Australia's largest pre-Communist socialist party, the VSP gradually began to disintegrate. Mann held a dedicated non-sectarian policy for the party's engagement with Labor that was challenged from this time by a grouping of members influenced by the anti-political syndicalist currents within the labour movement in New South Wales. These syndicalists spurred a civil war within the VSP over its relationship to Labor that alienated large swathes of its membership, and disillusioned Mann himself with the party he had forged.[58]

One episode did illustrate the dedication to anti-militarism that Mann sought to instil. In August 1908 the American Fleet, or Great White Fleet as it was known, docked in Melbourne. The Fleet had arrived in the context of growing military tension in the region and increasing suspicion in Australia of the Japanese Empire and its designs for

[55] Mann, *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p. 157.

[56] Geoffrey Charles Hewitt, 'A History of the Victorian Socialist Party, 1906–1932,' Masters thesis, La Trobe University, 1974, p. 21.

[57] See coverage by the VSP of this motion's adoption: 'Armaments and Arbitration,' *Socialist*, 4 November 1910, p. 4.

[58] Ian Turner provides the authoritative account of this destructive contest: Ian Turner, 'Socialist Political Tactics: 1900–1920,' *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, no. 2, May 1962, pp. 5–25.

expansion.[59] This naval tour has been identified as an embodiment of the circulation of racial sentiment among 'White men's countries' in the English-speaking world, that represented an aggressive proclamation of dominance and combined interests in the Pacific over its native populations.[60] The VSP opposed this heightening of military animosities and campaigned against the purpose of the fleet's visit, while appealing to the lower ranked sailors. To them, the party extended a welcome "as Men, and not as members of the United States' Navy" and expressed the belief inscribed deep into socialism, that workers across the globe had the same interests regardless of national citizenship. In this argument, war solely befitted "the profit mongering Capitalist Class." Only the establishment of "the Socialist Commonwealth throughout the World!" would benefit the working class, including those sailors aboard the fleet.[61]

The symbolism that Mann, as editor of the *Socialist*, chose to use could not be clearer in imparting this message. The front page of the paper carried the stereotyped image of a worker, noticeably male and moustachioed, embodying great proletarian strength, who stood astride the globe, on which was inscribed "The world is our country." Clasping the flame of liberty and the Red Flag of working-class internationalism that Mann ensured served as the banner of the party, the paper offered its "Socialist Welcome" to "our Brothers of the American fleet." In case anyone missed the message, the corner of the image held the infamous words: "Workers of the World Unite!"[62]

The related article spoke of the lofty principles of internationalism and reminded the sailors of the sacrifices made by socialists in rival nations, such as Karl Liebknecht in Germany, who was serving a sentence "simply for defending the interests of International Peace by declaring emphatically against war."[63] This article, written in the name of all VSP members, declared the organisation's willingness to "fight the Real Oppressors of the World's Workers; therefore we view with exceeding great pleasure the rapid march of *International Socialism*". This alone could bring "real prosperity in America, Europe, or Australia," and this

[59] David Day, *John Curtin: A Life*, Sydney: Harper Collins, 1999, p. 115.

[60] Lake and Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line*, pp. 196–209.

[61] 'Socialist Welcome to the American Fleet,' *Socialist*, 7 August 1908, p. 2.

[62] *Socialist*, 28 August 1908, p. 1.

[63] 'Socialist Welcome to the American Fleet,' p. 2.

would only be so when "the hour arrives for the Workers to throw off their oppressors and establish the *Socialist Commonwealth* throughout the World!"[64]

In later years Mann would reflect more critically on this unbridled enthusiasm for socialist internationalism, implying a certain naivety in the brand of socialist solidarity that "was incompetent to prevent the outbreak of war."[65] Although this may be, what is vital for our purpose is the role that Mann played in bringing a certain form of politics to Australia, and embedding them in organisational form. As the next section shall demonstrate, this act of translation had ongoing effects in the development of an anti-militarist tradition in the labour movement of the state.

John Curtin, Translating Contention

At first glance John Curtin might seem an unlikely transnational activist. Famed for his role as Australian prime minister from 1941 until his death in office in 1945, his most recognisable achievements are as the national wartime leader. It is unsurprising that his earlier political career as a socialist activist has not previously been understood in these terms. In contrast to other labour activists, such as Mann, he did not physically embody the 'transnational' through travel or migration. He remained in the state of his birth from 1885 to 1917 when he moved from Melbourne to Western Australia. He did not leave Australia at all until 1924, when he was appointed as a delegate to the International Labor Organisation.[66]

Curtin's life experience and activist biography pose important questions as to the classification of the 'transnational activist.' Although Mann's personal experience of traversing borders lends him an immediately recognisable global status, those who were unable to undertake these physical crossings are rarely considered as transnational figures. This status can be problematic, particularly when considering members

[64] Ibid.

[65] Mann, *Tom Mann's Memoirs*, p. 163.

[66] Marilyn Lake, 'John Curtin: Internationalist,' John Curtin Prime Ministerial Library, 9 October 2003, available [online]: http://john.curtin.edu.au/events/speeches/lake.html [Access Date 23 May 2015].

of a subordinate class, who may have restrictions on their capacity to travel and cross national boundaries for such reasons as economic restraints and familial responsibilities. This situation was true for Curtin, as he was tied to the state of his birth as the eldest son in a family with a father unable to work and was thus required to provide support through his full-time position as an estimator in the Titan factory.

Despite this lack of physical movement, Curtin's activism cannot be understood outside the context of the transnational forces that shaped and inspired it. Intellectually, Curtin was deeply enmeshed with the thoughts of international radicals who conceptualised ways to challenge capitalism and empire. Emotionally, he was strongly pulled towards the global solidarity demonstrated by the workers' movement and embodied for him in the Second International. Politically, he was motivated to oppose war, militarism, and empire in their local forms, a stance that would grant him increasing prominence in the movement, most notably in leading the campaign against conscription in 1916.

The strong affection between Mann and Curtin, one of his more adept students, began in 1906 when the younger man joined the elder Mann's VSP. Seeking to train a generation of socialist agitators, the organisation had an array of educational activities into which Curtin eagerly threw himself, rubbing shoulders with a layer of future labour leaders.[67] These young socialists read a range of radical texts from across the world, but the clearest mark on Curtin's thought was left by Mann: this can be seen in Curtin's earliest writings from that year, in two articles published in the *Socialist*, the first of which was a reprint of a speech he had composed for the party's speaker's class.[68]

In the second of these articles, titled "The International Spirit," Curtin argued that to the "student of social affairs" it was evident that "the incidence of economic forces throughout the world tends to render easier of discernment the similarity of general conditions in the respective countries, and the universal character of the movement" of workers.[69] Mercifully, Curtin would hone his literary style in the years to come,

[67] Liam Byrne, 'Constructing a Socialist Community: The Victorian Socialist Party, Ritual, Pedagogy, and the Subaltern Counterpublic,' *Labour History*, Vol. 108, 2015, p. 118.

[68] 'Speakers Class,' *Socialist*, 5 May 1906, p. 7. 'The International Spirit,' *Socialist*, 1 September 1906, p. 5.

[69] 'The International Spirit,' *Socialist*, 1 September 1906, p. 5.

but he persisted with the fundamental message that underlay these early efforts: capitalism was an international system, war was the product of its competitive drive, and workers across the world had a common interest in opposing it. This world-view would guide his political activity, inspiring him to agitate for closer connection between the Australian labour movement and the Second International.[70]

Curtin's role in translating these politics was enhanced after Mann left Australian in 1909. In typical style, Mann's farewell to the antipodean movement involved leading a major strike in Broken Hill. Departing for Britain he was waylaid in South Africa, just in time to lead another strike before returning to the imperial centre.[71] After this point Curtin would be at the VSP's heart, serving as its secretary for a time, but even more importantly becoming the major contributor to the *Socialist* on questions of war and militarism. In 1911 Curtin was appointed secretary of the Timber Workers' Union, serving as its delegate to the main forum of industrial labour in the state, the Trades Hall Council. These positions meant that Curtin increasingly exercised influence not just within socialist circles, but also within the mainstream of the worker's movement. From this point his writings also appeared in Victoria's main labour newspaper, *Labor Call*. In 1913 he founded a newspaper for his union, the *Timber Worker*, which he edited and to which he contributed frequently.

Curtin was a major conduit for the ideas and stratagems of the international movement into Australia's labour movement. Writing in 1909 he explained that the "people's armament" against capitalism was their intellect: their greatest weapon was knowledge. To utilise these assets required "numerous and capable expositors" who would be able to ensure that "they who listen shall understand what is being said."[72] Curtin cast himself in this role, translating ideas from the international movement for Australian workers.

In particular, his understanding of the Empire and capitalist imperialism was informed by influential European radical thinkers. Mann's opposition to war and empire was very much the product of his socialist internationalism, and he identified military conflict as dividing workers

[70] 'Australian Defence,' *Socialist*, 8 October 1909, p. 2.

[71] White, *Tom Mann*, p. 153.

[72] 'The People's Armament,' *Socialist*, 29 October 1909, p. 1.

to the profit of the capitalist ruling class.[73] Curtin developed these ideas further on a theoretical basis, disseminating his message in various movement newspapers in a manner that workers would understand, returning always to the point that the movement should oppose attempts to impose militarism domestically as part of this broader anti-capitalist struggle.[74]

The two intellectuals who framed Curtin's theoretical vision most strongly were the liberal anti-imperialist John Hobson and the French socialist Gustave Hervé. Hobson was an important intellectual influence on the British labour movement, and particularly the ILP, as well as informing Vladimir Lenin's famed critique of imperialism.[75] Drawing from Hobson, Curtin argued that when monopoly capitalism exhausted domestic markets by overproducing goods that dropped in profitability, capitalists required new markets to exploit. The aim of the great empires was to use their military might to force open colonial markets to circulate—or dump—these goods. Military expenditure was also a means for these capitalists to accrue great profits at the workers' expense.[76] Curtin argued that this was a process in which all empires, including the British, engaged. Australia, as part of the Empire, was seeking to contribute to the imperial race for profits through a series of measures that were ostensibly for self-defence, but were really for the imposition of dominance, as he argued Australia had done in Papua.[77] This anti-imperialist critique drew from the circulation of ideas in labour's transnational network and translated them for an Australian audience, identifying the need for opposition to domestic militarism as part of the broader struggle against imperialism.

Curtin was particularly adamant on this point. In a number of articles he rejected the arguments in favour of Australian 'defence' being

[73] Mann, *Socialism*, pp. 31–32, pp. 52–56.

[74] "Australian Defence," *Socialist*, 22 October 1909, p. 2.

[75] Geoffrey Foote, *The Labour Party's Political Thought: A History*, third edition, Houndmills: Macmillan Press, 1997, pp. 125–135. Vladimir Lenin, *Imperialism: The Highest Stage of Capitalism, a Popular Outline*, Marxist Internet Archive, available [online]: http://www.marxists.org/archive/lenin/works/1916/imp-hsc/pref02.htm [Access Date 16 March 2016].

[76] 'Capitalist Politics,' *Socialist*, 2 April 1909, p. 1; 'Australian Defence,' *Socialist*, 22 October 1909, p. 2; 'Back to the Abyss,' *Labor Call*, 22 October 1914, p. 9.

[77] 'Back to the Abyss,' p. 9.

proposed by successive governments.[78] Most notably, he ardently condemned the military measures proposed by the Labor Party, particularly the compulsory military training of male youth. This, he argued, was a betrayal of working-class interests in favour of capitalist militarism.[79] In this, Curtin was participating in a left-wing critique of political labour's attitude to militarism that echoed similar arguments over labour support for imperialism in Europe, but with a substantial difference. Left-wing critics in Europe identified attitudes among labour's leaders that supposedly betrayed the workers' interests,[80] but Curtin was propagating against the actions of labour representatives in government, a clear act of translation tackling the important questions of the attitude that socialists should take to Labor which had confronted Mann.

The second major intellectual influence on Curtin was the French radical Hervé and his book *My Country Right or Wrong*. Curtin was captivated by Hervé's opposition to patriotism in the tract, which he claimed to have read in a single sitting, finding further justification for his own internationalism.[81] Curtin drew upon the French radical to legitimise his perspective that militarism and nationalism were only for the benefit of the capitalists. He made particular mention of the recent measures of "the Labor Ministry in Australia" that granted "exemptions for parsons and politicians" while expecting "industrial workers" to do the fighting in any future war.[82] Hervé's message was a particularly radical one, calling for working-class action, and insurrection if necessary, to oppose the war plans of the capitalists. It was necessary, Curtin argued, for the worker to "war, not upon each other, but against Capitalist society." Against the burgeoning spirit of militarism,

> let us answer the challenge with the battle-cry of an awakening giant, whose limbs are made up of the world's workers, who know not country

[78] 'Australian Defence,' p. 2; 'Our Navy,' *Socialist*, 2 December 1910, p. 4.

[79] 'Australian Defence,' p. 2.

[80] See, for instance: Rosa Luxemburg, 'Our Broadsheet on Morocco,' and 'Peace Utopias,' in Richard B. Day and Daniel Gaido, eds., *Discovering Imperialism: Social Democracy to World War I*, Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012.

[81] 'My Country Right or Wrong,' *Socialist*, 23 December 1910, p. 1. Hervé would later fall from grace with his belligerent support of the French war effort in 1914.

[82] Ibid.

> flag, or racial differences, but who are confirmed in the oneness of the people's cause in every land.[83]

Through such writings Curtin played an important role in linking the intellectual worlds of European socialism and Australian labour. His purpose was the translation of ideas from the broader transnational network of labour and to the Australian context, embodied in his consistent opposition to the measures to develop militarism within Australia, often in direct conflict with the leadership of the ALP.

Curtin's efforts were not simply in the realm of ideas: he actively sought to draw Australian labour more closely into the orbit of the international movement. In 1912 he made a passionate plea for the ALP to end its "aloofness from the internationalists," which he considered to be "a standing menace and a perversion of principle," and to affiliate with the Second International.[84] Instead of its "vapid efforts" to "bolster up the Imperial and Jingo principles of the average capitalist politician," he argued that Labor should "link itself to the main chain of Social Democracy encircling the globe."[85] By the time Curtin made this argument, in 1912, he was not just a socialist activist but a union leader of power and prominence. The obstinate refusal of Labor Party moderates to link the party with international labour persisted, but this did not deter Curtin from continuing his efforts at translating Second International ideology and stratagems to the domestic movement.

These attempts were embodied by the desperate atmosphere of the drive to war in 1914 when, after a passionate and "fine speech," Curtin successfully won the Trades Hall Council in Victoria to accept the Hardie–Vaillant resolution.[86] Gaining the support of a major body of the movement in Australia for the Second International's pledge was a significant step in linking the local to the international movement. It also demonstrated a growth in influence for him and his ideas within organised labour, with the motion being supported unanimously by the 139

[83] Ibid.

[84] 'The Triennial Conference,' *Labor Call*, 11 January 1912, p. 5.

[85] Ibid.

[86] 'Trades Hall Council,' *Labor Call*, 4 June 1914, p. 2.

delegates of the union movement represented at the meeting of the Trades Hall Council.[87]

The tragedy of Curtin's success is that within months the Second International, in which he had placed so much faith, would itself collapse under the pressures of wartime nationalism. However, his victory remains significant. After years of propagating in favour of internationalism, and in opposition to war and empire, Curtin had succeeded in convincing a significant body of labour to endorse a pledge for working-class peace. His acts of translation had been embodied in the policy and outlook of a section of the movement.

Curtin remained true to this sentiment throughout the war. Amongst the left-wing section of the Victorian movement, composed primarily of activists who were or had been VSP members, it was Curtin who consistently gave a voice to anti-imperialism, even when the pro-empire discourse of the early war years was at full voice. Curtin's long history of agitating against militarism had helped cohere this left-wing sentiment in an anti-imperial direction, and by early 1916 the Victorian labour movement again declared its opposition to the war, calling for working-class action to end the conflict in a clear repetition of Curtin's 1914 motion.[88] Later that year the Labor Prime Minister William Hughes proposed a plebiscite to win public support to enable him to implement conscription for overseas service. The left-wing section of the Victorian movement played the crucial role in setting up the campaign against conscription, making arguments against the measure that would have been familiar to those who had read Curtin's work in previous years: conscription was not about defence, but aggression, and was a means to wrest from the workers the gains their movement had made and to impose industrial tyranny upon them. It was, in other words, the actions of the hostile capitalist class, with militarism at its core.[89]

[87] Minutes of the Trades Hall Council Meeting, May 28, 1914. UMA. 1/1/1/11. Box 1. Minutes, Council, Proper, 15 January 1914 to 15 September 1921, p. 41.

[88] Minutes of Council Meeting Held May 4, 1916, Trades Hall Council, University of Melbourne Archives, 1/1/1/11. Minutes, Council, Proper, 15 January 1912 to 15 September 1921, pp. 201–202.

[89] See, for instance: 'The Conscription Curse,' *Labor Call*, 5 October 1916, p. 4; 'Ten Reasons for Voting "NO,"' *Labor Call*, 26 October 1916, p. 9; 'Trades Unionism and Conscription,' *Labor Call*, 19 October 1914, p. 9; 'Vote NO,' *Australian Worker*, 21 September 1916, p. 1.

This campaign was successful in 1916, and later again in 1917, in opposing conscription. In 1916 John Curtin was the secretary of the campaign's national executive, one of its most prominent leaders, enacting that consistent opposition to militarism over the previous decade. In the struggle against 'old world' militarism, Curtin maintained his tradition of uniting the local arena with the international struggle against capitalism militarism. In October 1916 the trade union movement's opposition to conscription was successful, and the Australian people voted against the measure. As political sociologist Robin Archer has demonstrated, this had international significance. Australia was the only country in the world to vote on conscription. This repudiation of the government's war plans had a global impact. British Labour activists, for instance, closely followed the campaign, lamenting a similar lack of resolve in the imperial centre to oppose such militarist methods.[90] The opposition to militarism, and increasingly to the war itself, as articulated by the ALP would be praised by the ILP's Phillip Snowden, who lauded its manifesto on the war as a "much more definitely Labour and International document" than anything produced by the British Labour Party.[91]

Conclusion

The political careers of Tom Mann and John Curtin were based upon movement, both physical and ideological. Both men carefully cultivated an internationalist sentiment within the Victorian labour movement and consciously sought to connect the local context to the global as they translated ideas from the transnational network of labour into the Australian political vernacular.

As has been argued, the social movement literature of recent years provides useful analytical tools to appreciate these forms of translation and diffusion. What remains slightly less certain is the position held

[90] For examples of coverage of the conscription campaign in the British labour press, for instance, see 'Open letter to Rt. Hon. William Morris Hughes,' *Labour Leader*, 4 May 1916, p. 3; 'Australian Workers and Conscription,' *Labour Leader*, 3 August 1916, p. 5; 'A Referendum on Conscription,' *Labour Leader*, 7 September 1916, p. 5; 'Australia and Conscription,' *Labour Leader,* 14 September 1916, p. 2; 'The Conscription Referendum,' *Labour Leader*, 21 September 1916, p. 5.

[91] 'Review of the Week,' *Labour Leader*, 3 January 1918, p. 1.

by these activists. It can be said with some confidence that both were 'rooted cosmopolitans' and part of that activist subgroup that Tarrow identified. Both occupied a position of uncertainty and ambiguity between the neat categories that have at times been applied: regional, national, imperial, international. Their self-consciously class-oriented politics was a key source of this ambiguity.

Mann was a long-term visitor who facilitated the process of translation, showing similarities to, without ever fully occupying the position of, a 'nesting pigeon,' even when stripped of its ethnic connotations. Neither was he a 'bird of passage,' whose fleeting visits would only allow him to act as a signifier of political approaches from beyond the seas rather than its active adaptor. Curtin occupied neither of these positions, being forced by circumstance to operate locally rather than physically crossing borders. Despite this, he still had a crucial, and radical, role in maintaining and furthering these transnational linkages. He drew from labour knowledge elsewhere in the transnational labour network and was successful in using this to mobilise the Australian labour movement in opposition to the two great social ills he believed faced the global working class: capitalism and imperialist-militarism. In this, his was a transnational form of activism that sought to draw the local movement into a self-conscious opposition to an international enemy.

These findings challenge narratives within social movement literature that suggest a uniqueness to the dynamics of transnational activism in the era of 'globalisation.' In fact, many of these movements have included a crucial core of activists who are similar to Curtin in many ways. As a recent Friedrich Ebert Stiftung report suggests, contemporary political mobilisation against the effects of the Global Financial Crisis clearly considers global causes for the problems faced by activist groupings, and national ameliorative solutions are often sought.[92] That is, considering the connection between the national and global, identifying problems at an international level does not diminish the national component of their struggle. Just as with Curtin, many such activists consider themselves part of an international movement against austerity and seek to connect their local contexts to this broader identification.

[92] Isabel Oritz et al., 'World Protests 2006–2013,' Initiative for Policy Dialogue and Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung New York, Working Paper 2013, p. 6.

Unfinished work remains on categorising the specific position that figures such as Mann and Curtin occupied in this previous historical period. Social movement literature has much to offer, if connected with a historical perspective that appreciates the long-term, and changing, contexts that have informed the dynamics of transnational activism. The history of the transnational activist is long indeed, and the understanding of what the global was, and an imagining of what the global could be, has a long lineage in the movements of the subaltern, including the transnational network of labour. 'Think global, act local' may be the slogan of a different time, but it encapsulates much of what these men were attempting to do—just as the slogan of their time, 'Workers of the World Unite!,' demonstrates how they intended to achieve it.

CHAPTER 6

Marceau Pivert and the Travails of an International Socialist

Talbot Imlay

Writing to a friend in 1963, Jean Zyromski, a prominent member of the inter-war French socialist party (SFIO), remarked of Marceau Pivert that he would forever figure in "the history of the workers' movement as an ardent, dynamic and disinterested militant."[1] Zyromski and Pivert had been close allies on the SFIO Left before breaking with one another during the mid-1930s on the question of how to respond to Nazi Germany: Zyromski advocated resistance to the regime's expansionist designs, if necessary by military force, whereas Pivert rejected what he termed a new *union sacrée*, a reference to the decision of French socialists in August 1914 to rally to the cause of national defence. Graciousness combined with nostalgia likely influenced Zyromski: Pivert had died five years earlier, putting a definitive end to their differences. But Zyromski's admiration also reflected Pivert's career as a socialist militant. Spanning

[1]Archives nationales, Paris [hereafter ANP], Les Amis de Marceau Pivert, 22 AS/2, Zyromski to Daniel Guérin, May 30, 1963.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_6

over three decades from the mid-1920s when he joined the SFIO to his death in 1958, Pivert's career was marked by a passionate commitment to socialism that impressed friends and foes alike. This commitment expressed itself most clearly in opposition: for much of his political career Pivert belonged to minority currents within the SFIO, helping to cement his reputation as a rebel. As with many socialist rebels, his career proved to be something of a disappointment. Not only did he work himself to death, persisting in his militant activities despite increasingly fragile health, but before he died Pivert concluded that he had failed to accomplish his principal goal of transforming the SFIO into a truly revolutionary socialist party.

As might be expected, scholarship on Pivert focuses on his relationships with the SFIO and with French socialism. Jean-Paul Joubert's published thesis on the inter-war period traces the emergence of *Pivertisme*, which he describes as a revolutionary movement within the SFIO; the process culminated in June 1938 with Pivert's expulsion from the SFIO and the founding of a new party, the *Parti socialiste ouvrier et paysan* (PSOP).[2] Although Jacques Kergoat's political biography extends into the post-1945 period, he too emphasises the fraught relationship with the SFIO arising from Pivert's position as a revolutionary socialist in a non-revolutionary party.[3] Although Joubert and Kergoat were aware of Pivert's international activities, both were more interested in the national sphere. The present chapter, by contrast, focuses on the international sphere: on Pivert's role as an international socialist militant. Pivert defined himself as both a French and an international socialist, and this self-definition spurred him to cultivate links with socialist militants in Europe and beyond. Prominent among his foreign interlocutors, moreover, were British socialists, especially members of the Independent Labour Party (ILP), a left-wing group affiliated with the British Labour party until 1932 when a majority of the ILP voted to disaffiliate. During the 1930s, and even more so after 1945, Pivert worked closely with ILP

[2] Jean-Paul Joubert, *Maurice Pivert et le Pivertisme: Révolutionnaires de la S.F.I.O.*, Paris: Presses de la Fondation nationale des sciences politiques, 1977. Also see Thierry Hohl, *À Gauche! La Gauche socialiste, 1921–1947*, Dijon: Editions universitaires de Dijon, 2004; and Donald N. Baker, 'Two Paths to Socialism: Marcel Déat and Marceau Pivert,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 11, 1976, pp. 116–126.

[3] Jacques Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert: "Socialiste de Gauche,"* Paris: Editions de l'Atelier, 1994, p. 337.

and former ILP militants to create a network of revolutionary socialists to transform socialism both in France and abroad.

Pivert's career offers an interesting perspective on transnational activism during the twentieth century. In some ways, his activism was a sign of weakness. Pivert's inability to change the SFIO from within prodded him to look to like-minded militants in Europe and beyond for support. A transnational revolutionary socialist network, Pivert hoped, would become an instrument to defeat what he condemned as reformism within the SFIO and the other European socialist parties. In reality, however, Pivert's fiery brand of international socialism made it easier for internal opponents within the SFIO to ignore him, reinforcing his marginalisation within the party. As a result, his international militancy became a substitute for rather than a complement to his national militancy. This process of marginalisation, in turn, draws attention to the role of political parties in Pivert's activism. With the exception of the PSOP years (1938–1946), Pivert remained committed to the SFIO despite his growing frustration with its reformist course: the SFIO, whatever its shortcomings, constituted the principal political vehicle for the pursuit of socialism. The flipside to Pivert's attachment to the SFIO was a relative lack of interest in concrete efforts to mobilise a broad-based social movement behind his project of transforming socialism.[4] To be sure, Pivert repeatedly spoke of the working classes and the oppressed masses in France and beyond, but he did so in abstract terms, presenting them as a monolithic, transnational force waiting to be galvanised by a determined leadership. It is tempting, here, to agree with social movement scholars who tend to see political parties, with their hierarchical structures, as ill adapted to the task of grassroots mobilisation. If one adds to this general characteristic of political parties the more specific one of the decline of self-contained class identities during the twentieth century, socialist parties appear as particularly ill suited for the task.[5] But

[4]The sole exception was during the mid-1930s when Pivert became briefly involved in the creation of socialist self-defence groups to battle fascists in the streets of Paris. See Éric Nadaud, 'Le renouvellement des pratiques militantes de la S.F.I.O. au début du Front Populaire (1934–1936),' *Mouvement social*, no. 153, 1990, pp. 9–32.

[5]Donatella della Porta suggests that political parties and social movements can be complementary, enjoying a mutually beneficial relationship, but this idea arguably downplays the extent to which socialist or social democratic parties were both parties and movements as well as the tensions that arose from their hybrid structure. See Donatella della Porta, *I Partiti Politici*, Bologna: Il Mulino, 2001, pp. 175–192; and 'Democracy

Pivert's admittedly elitist approach, that is, to rely on a small group of committed militants to win over the SFIO by persuasion, was not necessarily ill conceived even if it ultimately failed, as it remains unclear how precisely Pivert and his allies might have organised a broad movement behind their revolutionary version of socialism.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines Pivert's activities during the inter-war years and especially the 1930s. Although more active in national than international politics, Pivert sought to marshal international socialism behind his challenge to the SFIO's majority. The next two sections consider the post-1945 period, when the national and international aspects of his socialist activities increasingly overlapped as Pivert sought to influence SFIO policies on several concrete issues of international politics. In so doing, he unwittingly helped to discredit internationalism within the SFIO by identifying it with internal dissidence. The concluding section offers brief remarks on the larger phenomenon of revolutionary socialists within reformist political parties.

Before 1945

Trained as a schoolteacher, Pivert was conscripted into the French army in 1914 and eventually discharged in 1917 because of injuries. After the war, he became involved in veterans' politics, founding the *Association des anciens combattants de l'enseignement public*. In 1924 he joined the SFIO and quickly emerged as a prominent militant within the party's influential Seine federation, which included Paris. During the second half of the 1920s, Pivert joined the *Bataille socialiste*, a minority current within the party led by Zyromski. Drawing its name from its newspaper, the *Bataille socialiste* advocated an oppositional stance towards France's republican regime, viewing it as a reflection of class (bourgeois) rule whose overthrow was the task of the workers' movement, and of the SFIO. More concretely, its adherents rejected socialist participation in all non-socialist governments (*ministerialisme*) as well as socialist support for national defence and military forces, deemed instruments of class

and Social Movements' in della Porta and Mario Diani, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, pp. 768–772.

domination. Underpinning the suspicion of national defence was a loathing of war, a sentiment fuelling a pacifism that in Pivert's case amounted to a rejection of war in all circumstances. Not surprisingly, the *Bataille socialiste* figured among the most vocal proponents of disarmament within the SFIO. As Pivert insisted at the SFIO national congress in May 1931, "the working class must separate itself from this policy of excessive armaments that leads ineluctably to war."[6]

Although the *Bataille socialiste* ambit was largely limited to France, Pivert did integrate the international socialist movement into his analyses of French politics. In his campaign against *ministerialisme*, Pivert exploited the Nazi seizure of power in early 1933 to argue that the SPD policy of cooperating with non-socialist governments as the "lesser evil" had failed miserably. Beyond the SPD example, Pivert sought international socialist approval for his policy of class struggle within France. Thus, at the SFIO congress in May 1934, he proposed a motion, endorsed by the Seine federation, calling on the party to pressure the Labour and Socialist International (LSI) to organise an international socialist conference to consider how the world's "revolutionary forces" could collectively pursue the class struggle to its "necessary end": the victory of revolutionary socialism. The motion enjoined the SFIO to work for the "close cooperation and convergent efforts of national sections [parties]" within the International. Pivert, however, was not willing to leave the matter to the LSI alone. In urging the SFIO to transform itself into an active instrument of revolutionary activity, he pointed to the support of a diverse and fluid group of non-communist revolutionaries that supposedly constituted a nascent but growing minority within the socialist International. In August 1933 an international socialist conference of leftist parties and groups had met in Paris, issuing a general call to socialists to create "the organization that will allow them to mobilise all the active forces of the working class [and to direct] the mass action necessary to the struggle for power." Although Pivert's precise role in the Paris conference remains obscure, he insisted that French socialists

[6]SFIO, *XXVIIe Congrès national tenu à Tours les 24, 25, 26 et 27 mai 1931: Compte rendu sténographique*, Paris: Librairie populaire, 1931, Pivert, p. 303. For the *Bataille socialiste*, see Donald N. Baker, 'The Politics of Socialist Protest in France: The Left Wing of the Socialist Party, 1921–1938,' *Journal of Modern History*, vol. 43, 1971, pp. 2–41. For the SFIO and disarmament, see Richard Gombin, *Les socialistes et la guerre: la S.F.I.O. et la politique étrangère française entre les deux guerres mondiales*, Paris: Mouton, 1970.

heed its call. The SFIO, he declared in this regard at the party's 1934 congress, must "have confidence in the will to struggle of the international socialist proletariat." The international activities of the socialist left, he continued, demonstrated that the "masses were determined to fight for the international proletariat."[7]

The growing fascist threat during the 1930s prodded Pivert to revise his single-minded commitment to revolutionary change. Under Zyromski's lead, the *Bataille socialiste* lobbied for a popular front combining all political forces on the left (including communists) to combat fascism at home. Pivert participated actively in the campaign for a popular front, urging French socialists in 1935 to set aside their differences on questions of national defence in favour of the "reconstitution of workers' unity."[8] Not surprisingly, he conceived of this "rassemblement populaire" of the Left as a means not only to defeat fascism but also to conquer political power—indeed, the two goals were one and the same. His repugnance for *ministerialisme* notwithstanding, Pivert agreed to serve in Leon Blum's socialist-led Popular Front government in 1936 as head of its information bureau, a position he occupied until February 1937 when he resigned in protest against the government's declaration of a "pause" in its reform program.

From the outset, however, Pivert qualified his support for a popular front. In an article in June 1935 he accepted the need for an "anti-fascist popular front at the national level" before going on to insist that socialist responses to the "danger of war" remained an open question.[9] This question would become pressingly pertinent in 1936 when Blum's government embarked on a massive rearmament program in reply to Nazi Germany's threatening behaviour. But even before then Zyromski had publicly raised the question for socialists on the Left with the publication

[7] SFIO, *XXXe Congrès national tenu à Toulouse les 20, 21, 22 et 23 Mai 1934: Compte rendu sténographique*, Paris: Librairie populaire, 1934, Pivert, pp. 93–94, 282–283. For the Paris conference, see Willy Buschak, *Das Londoner Büro: Europäische Linkssozialisten in der Zwischenkriegszeit*, Amsterdam: Stichting Internationaal Instituut voor Sociale Geschiedenis, 1985, pp. 83–111; and Michel Dreyfus, 'Bureau de Paris et de Londres: le socialisme de gauche en Europe entre les deux guerres,' *Mouvement social*, no. 112, 1980, pp. 29–36.

[8] SFIO, *XXXIIe Congrès national, tenu à Mulhouse les 9, 10, 11 et 12 juin 1935: Compte rendu sténographique*, Paris: Librairie populaire, 1935, Pivert, pp. 193–194.

[9] Marceau Pivert, 'Il faudra choisir…', *L'Éveil ouvrier & paysan* June 29, 1935, p. 1.

in 1935 of a pamphlet co-written with an Austrian and Russian socialist on the International and the war. Although expressing opposition to war, the pamphlet identified Nazi Germany as the principal threat to peace and insisted that international socialists had a duty to oppose its aggressive plans, a duty that encompassed support not only for the League of Nations and collective security, but also for alliances, politics, and rearmament by threatened countries. If deterrence was the immediate goal, the pamphlet also considered the possibility of a European war pitting Nazi Germany on one side and the Soviet and the Western powers on the other. In this event, all socialists must actively contribute to their nation's war effort, as a Nazi German victory (and a Soviet defeat) would be a disaster for workers everywhere. The pamphlet accordingly denounced a policy of revolutionary defeatism, exploiting the war to promote revolution at home. National defence trumped revolution.[10]

In the preface to the pamphlet, Friedrich Adler, the LSI's secretary, greeted it as a "basis of discussion" for European socialists. Eager to participate in the discussion, Pivert quickly wrote a blistering response that effectively marked his break with Zyromski. Pivert began by rejecting the argument that national defence could ever be compatible with the interests of international socialism: "*There is never a case*, under a capitalist regime, when the duty of national defence makes sense or possessed any virtue for internationalists; in other words, NEVER any collaboration with the class enemy, *and even less so in wartime than in peacetime*." Rejecting deterrence, Pivert maintained that the best means of combatting Germany (and safeguarding the Soviet Union) lay in pursuing revolution in France and beyond. That said, he did not insist on revolution in all circumstances, rejecting the principle of revolutionary defeatism because it presumed that war was acceptable and even welcome. When it came to war, Pivert's revolutionary enthusiasm took a back seat to his pacifism, which explains his ringing appeal to the "socialist proletariat" in all countries to work for unilateral disarmament.[11]

Pivert's break with Zyromski led him to found the *Gauche révolutionnaire*, a current within the SFIO dedicated to the "*revolutionary*

[10] Otto Bauer, Theodor Dan, and Jean Zyromski, *Die Internationale und der Krieg*, Vienna: No publisher, 1935.

[11] Marceau Pivert, *Révolution d'abord*, Paris: Editions "Nouveau prométhée," 1935, emphasis in original.

restoration and to the *liquidation of social-pacifist and reformist ideologies.*"[12] During the next three years, as international developments grew more threatening, the *Gauche révolutionnaire* became increasingly adamant in its positions. The choice for socialists, intoned Pivert in 1937, lay between a new "union sacrée," which meant an "imperialist war," and a declaration "that we do not want it [war] and that we will prepare the revolutionary struggle to prevent it from occurring." The following year, a *Gauche révolutionnaire* manifesto declared that "there is no duty of national defence for the mass of workers so long as they have not conquered the country's economic and political direction."[13] Mounting confrontation within the SFIO led to the decision at the June 1938 congress to expel the Seine federation, headed by Pivert, prompting the latter to form the PSOP. Writing to a friend soon afterwards, Pivert maintained that the rupture was the result of "growing discord between a policy of surrender on the part of party leaders and the truly combative will of the masses and militants." If socialists wanted to prevent war, he continued, they must "refuse all the means of combat to our adversaries and appeal to the international proletariat…"[14]

Well before the rupture with the SFIO, Pivert had looked to the international socialist movement for support. During the 1930s he became increasingly involved in the activities of the international socialist left, a network whose member groups included the ILP as well as the *Sozialistiche Arbeiterpartei* (Germany). All groups expressed an outspoken contempt for socialist reformism, an attitude that isolated them from mainstream socialism. Writing in 1936, John Paton, an ILP member, complained that the LSI and its affiliated parties were "singularly unresponsive" to the international socialist left, a situation he attributed to their "timidity and feebleness and complete absence of 'grip.'" For the international socialist left, isolation fueled a cycle of frustration and

[12]Marceau Pivert, 'Sur le défaitisme révolutionnaire,' *Le Populaire de Paris*, October 9, 1935, emphasis in original. Also see Joubert, *Maurice Pivert et le Pivertisme*, pp. 77–98.

[13]SFIO, *XXXIVe Congrès national tenu à Marseille les 10, 11 12 et 13 juillet 1937: Compte rendu sténographique*, Paris: Librairie populaire, 1937, Pivert, p. 436; and "À bas l'Union nationale," March 1938, copy available [online]: https://bataillesocialiste.wordpress.com/documents-historiques/1938-a-bas-lunion-nationale/ [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[14]Office universitaire de recherche socialiste, Paris [hereafter OURS], Fonds Maurice Deixonne, 1 APO 5/8, Pivert to Deixonne, June 17, 1938.

further isolation, reinforcing its marginalisation.[15] But for Pivert, growing marginalisation was not the only problem. As war clouds thickened during the 1930s, the same divisions that existed within the SFIO over national defence manifested themselves between left socialists at the international level. Pivert's efforts to sidestep these divisions by bringing the PSOP into a new grouping, the *Front ouvrier international contre la guerre* (FOI), ultimately proved unsuccessful. Founded at the height of the Munich crisis in September 1938, the FOI quickly became bogged down in divisive debates over the principle of revolutionary defeatism, robbing it of any influence it might have exerted.[16]

There is some irony in Pivert's exclusion from the SFIO in 1938. After all, during the next two years the party found itself profoundly divided on the question of resistance to Nazi Germany: while Léon Blum, the SFIO's parliamentary leader, advocated resistance, a considerable number of French socialists were swayed by the pacifist arguments of Paul Faure, the party's secretary-general. Although Faure had taken the lead in expelling Pivert, their political views were remarkably similar. From Faure's perspective, Pivert's sin was to have staked out his position too soon and too aggressively. But it is also likely that Pivert was too much of a socialist internationalist for both Faure and Blum. The heated debates between the *Blumistes* and *Faureistes* were inward-looking: the key question concerned the interests of the French people and not those outside France, whether socialist or non-socialist. In this context, appeals to socialist internationalism were at best irrelevant and at worst suspect.

After 1945

The outbreak of the European war in September 1939 found Pivert in the United States, where he remained until the spring of 1940 when he moved to Mexico for the rest of the war. In Mexico, Pivert continued his militant activities on behalf of the FOI, which he framed as representing a "third camp" between the "imperialism" of the Western allies and the "bloody dictatorships" of the Nazis and the Soviets.[17] With the end

[15] John Paton, *Left Turn: The Autobiography of John Paton*, London: M. Secker & Warburg, 1936, pp. 329–330. Also see Buschak, *Das Londoner Büro*, p. 146.

[16] Ibid., pp. 293–306; and Dreyfus, 'Bureau de Paris et de Londres,' pp. 41–45.

[17] Joubert, *Maurice Pivert et le Pivertisme*, pp. 212–214.

of the war, however, Pivert faced the pressing question of what to do. Much earlier, in November 1939, he had admitted that the PSOP experience had been a failure and concluded that the future lay with the SFIO's brand of socialism. I "incline towards reformism," he wrote, "an honest reformism dictated by the realistic assessment of possibilities." Consistent with this position, Pivert applied in 1946 to rejoin the SFIO, only to run up against the resistance of party leaders who doubted his loyalty. Clearly angry, Pivert confided to a friend that the SFIO "bureaucracy" resented his internationalism and suggested that he and like-minded friends would re-create "a little PSOP loyal to its flag."[18] Significantly, however, Pivert did not re-found the PSOP but instead tacitly approved the campaign organised by members of the SFIO's Seine Federation for his readmission into the party, a campaign that met with success in August 1946 when the SFIO congress voted to accept his application.[19] No less significantly, Pivert privately described the decision as a victory not only for "the left-leaning militants" but also for "a decidedly INTERNATIONALIST position."[20]

As the foregoing citation suggests, Pivert saw himself as a champion of socialist internationalism. After 1945 this internationalism expressed itself most clearly in Pivert's advocacy of socialism as a third camp or force between the United States and the Soviet Union as well as between capitalism and communism. What was needed, Pivert argued in 1947, was an "*independent, democratic* [and] *internationalist* socialist current" offering an alternative to "American reformism" and to "Stalinist totalitarianism."[21] Two years later, the SFIO's Seine federation, of which Pivert was the secretary, issued a manifesto demanding "a *Third Camp* against all the imperialisms and dictators [and that was] independent of

[18] OURS, Fonds Charles Lancelle, 13 APO/1, Pivert to Lancelle, November 30, 1939; and Centre d'histoire sociale du XXe siècle, Paris [hereafter CHS], Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/11, Pivert to Lucien Vaillant, June 2, 1946.

[19] Pivert's case was nevertheless controversial. Almost 40% of the congress delegates voted against readmitting Pivert, although the 9-member commission examining his application voted 5–4 in favour. See OURS, SFIO, *38ème Congrès national 29, 30 et 31 août et 1er septembre 1946*, pp. 342, 349; and Kerogat, *Marceau Pivert*, p. 217.

[20] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/11, Pivert to Andrée Delecourt, September 8, 1946. Emphasis in original.

[21] OURS, Fonds Jacques Piette, 27 APO/6, Pivert circular for Congrès national, July 5–6, 1947. Emphasis in original.

Wall Street and of Moscow…"[22] A visceral hostility to Stalinism characterised Pivert's advocacy, a hostility that allowed him to build bridges with SFIO leaders, the majority of whom viewed communism (and the PCF) as anathema. More controversial within the SFIO was the second pillar of Pivert's Third Force: its anti-Americanism. At a time when the United States appeared to many French socialists to be the principal bulwark against Soviet/communist expansion, Pivert's repeated insistence that "Yankee imperialism" posed equal dangers provoked irritated responses from party leaders such as Guy Mollet, the SFIO secretary-general, who favoured a more Atlanticist conception of a Third Force.[23]

Having rejoined the SFIO, Pivert threw himself into the task of winning over the party to his vision of socialist internationalism. In pursuit of this strategy Pivert possessed several instruments, chief among them the Seine federation, which he and his allies controlled and which he viewed as the "AVANT-GARDE" within the SFIO.[24] During the next two decades the Seine Federation would bombard SFIO congresses and meetings with motions and resolutions challenging party policy on a variety of issues. At the same time, Pivert and his allies within the Seine federation published several internal party publications (*Entre nous* and *Libre discussion*), which reached out to militants across France. Pivert himself gained access to the party's leadership during the first half of the 1950s through his membership in the SFIO's international affairs commission and, more importantly, in its executive committee. The result of all these efforts, however, is questionable. The Seine Federation's motions rarely passed, while SFIO leaders succeeded in silencing the *Pivertistes* by shutting down their publications and eventually excluding Pivert from the executive committee. No one was more aware of this marginalisation than Pivert himself. Just months before his death

[22] OURS, Fonds Charles Lancelle, 13 APO/1, 'Aux travailleurs conscients de la Région parisienne,' Seine Federation, October 1949.

[23] For "Yankee imperialism," see CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/6, Pivert notes, January 7, 1946. For Mollet and the SFIO, see Wilfried Loth, *Sozialismus und Internationalismus: Die französischen Sozialisten und die Nachkriegsordnung Europas 1940–1950*, Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt, 1977; and François Lafon, *Guy Mollet*, Paris: Fayard, 2006, pp. 417–429.

[24] OURS, Fonds Charles Lancelle, 13 APO/1, Pivert to Lancelle, March 24, 1950.

he noted sardonically that the party was "dead" and that he devoted his waning forces to it "by habit."[25]

In response to weakness at home, Pivert once again looked abroad for support. In his speeches and writings, he urged the SFIO to place "international work…at the forefront of its preoccupations," arguing that the international realm offered unique opportunities to "*propose* and to *promote* a completely original policy." Just as pertinently, he believed that this international work required that French socialists cooperate with their foreign counterparts. In a report to the SFIO's international affairs commission in 1948, he argued for a more sustained effort to develop relationships with other socialist parties, proposing the creation of permanent staff for the task.[26] Pivert was particularly interested in cooperating with leftist elements within Labour, whose call for a more independent foreign policy between the two superpowers on Britain's part appealed to his third force inclinations. The interest in British socialists also reflected Pivert's unhappiness with the emerging institutional structure of post-war socialist internationalism. In March 1948 European socialist parties formed COMISCO (Committee of the International Socialist Conference), conceived as a step towards the creation of a new socialist International to replace the defunct LSI. From the outset, Pivert castigated COMISCO as an elitist arrangement of party leaders detached from socialist militants. COMISCO, he noted, consisted of an occasional "confidential meeting" between "specialists" who voted resolutions that were immediately forgotten. A truly socialist International, he wrote elsewhere, must activate the socialist base, which as always he conceived of as a bloc.[27] Not surprisingly, Pivert was disappointed with the Socialist International, which succeeded COMISCO in 1951, viewing it as a collection of national parties rather than an effective instrument of socialist internationalism. Speaking at the SFIO's national congress in July 1951, Pivert scathingly remarked that the new International confirmed that "the most successful nationalization since the Liberation was that of socialist parties." Pivert's remarks provoked a heated reaction from

[25] Cited in Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert*, p. 330.

[26] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/21, "Organisation du travail international," undated but late 1940; and "Avant rapport à la Commission internationale." September 3, 1948. Emphasis in original.

[27] OURS, *Correspondance socialiste*, no. 28, March 1950; and CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/12, undated Pivert note in 1951 file.

Mollet, who exclaimed that it "is impossible, it is intolerable" to defame the SFIO as nationalist.[28]

Pivert, in any case, had no intention of limiting his international socialist activities to the International. On his return to France in 1946 he had immediately set out to knit ties with left socialists abroad and British socialists in particular. In a public letter to the ILP in June, Pivert warned of the dangers of a polarisation between a "Soviet bloc" and an "Anglo-Saxon bloc" that would preclude "all hope of socialist transformation." Writing to German socialists later the same year, he suggested the creation of a "liaison organism" to foster "real international political exchanges" between socialists.[29] Although no such organism emerged, Pivert did found a newsletter, the *Correspondance socialiste* (later the *Correspondance socialiste international*, CSI) to provide a forum for French and especially non-French socialists. In December 1950 he described the newsletter to his brother as an instrument for mobilising "international [socialist] militants," one that was "as valuable and effective as the big workers' organizations."[30] The newsletter belonged to a larger strategy comprising two related but not completely compatible tactics. One tactic consisted of using the collective strength of socialist militants on the left to influence the International's deliberations as well as the policies of individual parties. Pivert thus sought to organise left socialists into a transnational minority bloc within the International that would advocate different policies from those of the reformist majority: what he called "a good international socialist policy."[31]

The limited success of the first tactic, however, pushed Pivert towards another one: the building of an international network of left socialists that could serve as an alternative International. The latter would extend well beyond Europe to encompass the decolonising regions of the world. In an article in the CSI in January 1952, Pivert declared that the "time has come to work audaciously for a new TRIPLE ALLIANCE of revolutionary forces…: European proletarian socialists, American trade

[28] OURS, SFIO, "Congrès national extraordinaire des 4 et 5 juillet 1951," Pivert, pp. 142–143, Mollet pp. 145–146.

[29] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/11, "Salut aux camarades de l'ILP britannique," April 12, 1946; and Pivert to Camarades Henke et Willy, December 21, 1946.

[30] Ibid., 559/AP/6, Pivert to Charles Pivert, December 27, 1950.

[31] Ibid., 559/AP/30, Pivert to Bob Edwards, June 9, 1955.

unionists and the revolutionary rural inhabitants of Asia and Africa." Judging the Socialist International incapable of taking the lead, he called for the creation of a "left Socialist International." The following year, at the SFIO's congress in July, Pivert similarly spoke of an international socialist movement stretching from the "European working classes, Asian farmers…Africa, the oppressed masses behind the iron curtain as well as the American working class."[32] Somewhat more concretely, he worked tirelessly to develop transnational and transcontinental ties, patiently building a network of contacts with African and especially Asian leftists and opening the pages of the CSI to them. Once again, however, the results were disappointing. In promoting an alternative International, Pivert and his allies not only abjured any hope of influencing the existing Socialist International, but they also made it easier for opponents to equate their version of internationalism with radical dissent, which in turn heightened their marginalisation within the SFIO.

Pivert and International Issues: European Unity and Decolonisation

From the outset, Pivert was a committed proponent of European unity. Writing from Mexico in January 1945, he argued that the SFIO must be brought to "think of a socialist Europe"; several months later, in a letter to American socialists, Pivert outlined a "new international organization" for Europe that would "coordinate and guide" the integration of the continent's various countries.[33] For Pivert, European unity constituted a vital element in his search for a third way between the Soviets and the Americans and their respective social systems. Only a united Europe would possess the necessary independence to avoid affiliation with either of the superpower blocs; at the same time, only a socialist Europe could create an alternative path. "What I know," he proclaimed in May 1947, "is that there will be no non-socialist Europe." Identifying the urgent task as that of imposing "socialist solutions not in this or that country

[32] Pivert, 'Pour une gauche socialiste internationale,' *Correspondance socialiste internationale*, no. 16, January 1952, p. 1; and OURS, SFIO, 'Congrès national des 2, 3, 4 et 5 juillet 1953,' Pivert, p. 292.

[33] OURS, Fonds Charles Lancelle, 13 APO/1, Pivert to Lucien Fugère, January 9, 1945; and CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/6, Pivert to "camarades socialistes américains," April 3, 1945.

but across Europe," Pivert urged the SFIO at its annual congress the following year to launch a "European socialist offensive."[34]

True to form, Pivert did not wait for the SFIO to act. With the Seine Federation as his base, Pivert, cooperating with members of the ILP as well as the Labour left, seized the initiative in organising a meeting of European socialists in London in February 1947. The participants elected a provisionary international committee for the United Socialist States of Europe, with Pivert as president. The committee's initial task was to prepare a conference of the "large and independent socialist and trade union organizations" in Montrouge in June 1947 attended by delegates from fourteen countries.[35] Praising a "socialist United States of Europe" in a leading French socialist review, Pivert insisted that European socialists must act at once because otherwise their continent would be "balkanized, colonized, torn in two" and "[r]educed to permanent powerlessness." Once this happened, socialism would be doomed not just in France but in Europe. In an "appeal to the people of Europe" in October 1947, Pivert's international committee, regretting the global division between "American capitalism" and "Stalinist totalitarianism," presented European unity as the sole means of avoiding a disastrous choice between the two. "It is Europe's division that creates its economic asphyxiation and its political weakness, it is its division that makes it tempting prey for American and Stalinist designs."[36] Following another conference in June 1948 in Puteaux, Pivert and his European allies transformed the committee into a movement—the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe (MSEUE).

Despite his prominent role in the MSEUE's origins, Pivert would ultimately find the experience frustrating. No amount of effort and

[34] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/11, Pivert to Henri Frenay, May 26, 1947; and OURS, SFIO, '40ème Congrès national, Paris, 1, 2, 3, 4 Juillet 1948, Pivert, pp. 202–203.

[35] International Institute for Social History, Amsterdam, MSEUE, 1, circular letter, May 15, 1947. Also see Robert Belot, *Henri Frenay: De la Résistance à l'Europe*, Paris: Seuil, 2003, pp. 483–505; and Wilfried Loth, "Die Sozialistische Bewegung für die Vereinigten Staaten von Europe (MSEUE)," in Wilfried Loth, ed., *Die Anfänge der europäischen Integration 1945–1950*, Bonn: Europa Union Verlag, 1990, pp. 221–224.

[36] Pivert, 'Les Etats-Unis Socialistes d'Europe,' *La Pensée Socialiste*, no. 15, June 1947, pp. 14–17; and Historical Archives of the European Union, Florence [hereafter HAEU], Mouvement européen, p. 368, 'Comité d'études et d'action pour les États Unis socialistes d'Europe,' minutes, October 25, 1947, with attachement: 'Appel aus peuples européens.'.

hope succeeded in averting the movement's growing marginality among socialist parties. As early as 1948 a leading MSEUE member warned that the socialist parties, prisoners of a national "optic" that was as narrow as it was distorting, would not support the movement's goal. "While socialist parties will offer us rhetorical backing," he predicted, "it is unlikely that this backing will translate into concrete positions" of international politics.[37] For Pivert this reality created something of a dilemma. Fearful of being tainted with nationalism, he insisted in 1951 that the MSEUE must remain independent of socialist parties, acting instead as international socialism's "conscience." Such an oppositional position, however, promised only further marginalisation.[38] But the real difficulty was that not so much the national perspective of European socialist parties as it was that collectively the latter (with the exception of the British Labour party) came to support to a project of European integration that contained little that was distinctly socialist. Pivert, predictably, strove to win over the SFIO, exploiting every possible forum to champion the vision of a socialist Europe—however vague that vision might be. By the early 1950s, however, the priority for SFIO leaders was on European economic and political integration; a socialist Europe would have to come afterwards, if at all. Worse still for Pivert, by the early 1950s, the MSEUE, now under the presidency of the French socialist André Philip, endorsed European integration as the priority.

That said, Pivert's particular politics also complicated his pursuit of a socialist Europe. During the early 1950s, he campaigned against the European Defence Community (EDC), a project to create a European army as a way of rendering German rearmament palatable to a French (and European) public. The campaign arguably embodied the potential of rallying a cross-national coalition of European socialists, as a considerable minority within both the SFIO and Labour, as well as the majority of the SPD, opposed the EDC. In denouncing the EDC, moreover, Pivert underscored the possibility of such a coalition. The difficulty, however, was that as a pacifist Pivert opposed all rearmament in principle whereas the bulk of other socialists (French and non-French) opposed

[37] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/42, 'Rapport sur l'orientation générale du Mouvement présente par Henri Frenay', June 22, 1948.

[38] HAEU, Mouvement européen, 365, Pivert untitled article in MSEUE, *Bulletin de discussion*, no. 1, February 15, 1951, pp. 20–21.

German rearmament in particular. Thus, when following the EDC's demise in the autumn of 1954, the Western allies worked out an arrangement that would subject West German rearmament to careful controls and limits, the majority of European socialists reluctantly approved, leaving Pivert isolated. By then, in any case, he had already resigned from the MSEUE in protest against its earlier endorsement of the EDC.

Pivert's championing of anti-colonialism would prove equally, if not more, frustrating. From early on, developments in the non-European and especially the colonial world fascinated him. Writing in October 1946, Pivert admonished his supporters to show solidarity with colonial peoples, mentioning in particular those of Indochina and Algeria suffering from the violence of imperial rule.[39] Beyond solidarity, Pivert viewed the non-European world through the prism of his hopes for an international third force. Post-war international politics, he believed, were animated by a global class struggle of oppressed peoples against both "capitalist" (American) and "totalitarian" (Soviet) imperialism, a struggle (as we saw) that united European socialists, American trade unionists, and the rural masses in Asia and Africa. That socialists must do everything possible to support this struggle was self-evident not only because socialism by definition identified with the oppressed but also because Pivert was convinced that the future of international politics–and thus of international socialism–lay beyond Europe. Speaking to French socialists in January 1953, he claimed that Asia (and Asian socialists) could help to regenerate French and European socialism:

More than 1 billion members of humanity, that is, two thirds of humanity, according to the theoreticians of Indian Asian socialism, cannot live adequately, and are dying of hunger, and it is this two thirds of humanity that will allow socialism to truly regenerate itself. We have lived too long in countries that are privileged compared to the rest of the world, and we have created nationalist [and] imperialist mentalities that we must discard. Those who ignored this reality, he warned, risked being "shaken one day or another by an unexpected explosion."[40]

Pivert's conviction that the future of socialism lay outside Europe fuelled efforts to knit ties with socialists on other continents. With

[39] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/6, Pivert letter, October 23, 1945.

[40] OURS, SFIO, 'Conseil national des 24 et 25 janvier 1953,' Pivert, pp. 59–60.

backing from the SFIO's Seine Federation and working closely with Fenner Brockway, probably Labour's leading anti-colonialist militant, Pivert was instrumental in organising the Congress of European, Asiatic, and African Peoples in Puteaux (France) in June 1948 that gathered together some 300 delegates from almost 40 countries and colonies. The combined influence of Pivert and Brockway, moreover, was clearly evident in the congress' published statement. In addition to insisting that political independence for colonies constituted progress in itself, the statement also framed it as a first step towards a larger interdependence between a united Europe and its former imperial possessions. No less importantly, the statement presented an eventual "alliance" between Europe, Asia, and Africa as a powerful third force, capable of charting its own path between the two superpower blocs.[41] Speaking to the SFIO's congress the following month, Pivert lauded the congress as evidence of international socialism's global "radiance." The duty of French (and all European socialists) he emphasised, was to work for the end of colonialism and empire.[42]

Pivert's efforts were not limited to the Puteaux congress. Writing to a friend in 1950, Pivert reported that he was in regular contact with "Hindu comrades" who, because they came from countries "undergoing an ideological and social efflorescence," better understood the need for an international third force than their European counterparts.[43] Five years later, in a letter to Rammanohar Lohia, a prominent Indian socialist, Pivert extolled the value of an international third camp, adding that French militants were extremely enthusiastic about the prospect.[44] Pivert went on to suggest a joint effort on the part of "internationalist minorities" in Asia and Europe to compel the SFIO and other European socialist parties to campaign against colonialism. As Pivert was no doubt aware, Lohia had participated in the founding of the Asian Socialist

[41] HAEU, Mouvement européen, 704, Congress of European, Asiatic and African Peoples, *Political Report*, Paris, n.d. Also see Anne Isabelle Richard, 'The Limits of Solidarity: Europeanism, Anti-Colonialism and Socialism at the Congress of the Peoples of Europe, Asia and Africa in Puteaux, 1948,' *European Review of History*, vol. 21, 2014, pp. 519–537.

[42] OURS, SFIO, '40ème Congrès national, Paris 1, 2, 3, 4 juillet 1948,' Pivert, p. 6.

[43] ANP, Les Amis de Marceau Pivert, 22 AS/2, Pivert to Daniel Guérin, August 17, 1950.

[44] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/30, Pivert to Lohia, May 30, 1955.

Conference (ASC) in 1953, an organisation principally composed of Asian socialist parties. Although Pivert, similar to most European socialists, hoped to bring about a fusion of the ASC and the Socialist International, thereby creating a truly global International, his hopes foundered on the contending points of view of Asian and European socialists. Colonial policy, moreover, constituted a principal point of contention, with Asian socialists insisting that anti-colonialism be the priority of all socialists. "All forms of colonialism are a shame to mankind and a serious impediment to the growth of an equal world…", Lohia would declaim in 1956. "Socialist internationalism must stand behind all struggles against colonialism and render all possible assistance to freedom fighters." In effect, Lohia and his Asian socialist allies demanded support for national independence for all colonies.[45]

For a variety of reasons, during the 1950s European socialist parties hesitated to endorse the demand for immediate national independence, preferring reform to a radical break in the relationships between metropole and colony. As we saw, Pivert, together with European allies such as Brockway, opposed this reformist approach, seeking to prod both the Socialist International and the European socialist parties towards the adoption of a more emancipatory position. Yet at the same time, Pivert's commitment to anti-colonialism was not without problems, particularly when applied to concrete cases. With Indochina, it is true that he repeatedly denounced the attempt to re-impose French rule by force after 1945, insisting that the SFIO should work to end military operations and to support negotiations with Ho Chi Minh and his Viet Minh movement. That said, Pivert also rejected the possibility of independence on the grounds that Indochina (like France) was too small to resist the predatory ambitions of the superpowers. As he argued in 1947:

> …*our* socialist France must make the Vietnamese understand that in the modern world real national independence does not exist for a small nation or for a non-industrialised country: one offers [the Vietnamese] either the totalitarian bloc with Russia or the capitalist bloc with America; on the contrary, the problems of industrialization, of technical training,

[45] Lohia, 'Statement of Principles,' January 1956, reproduced in Lohia, *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism*, Hyderabad: Navahind, 1963, p. 488. For the ASC, see Talbot C. Imlay, 'International Socialism and Decolonization during the 1950 s: Competing Rights and the Post-Colonial Order,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 118, no. 4, 2013, pp. 1105–1132.

> of popular education confronting a country like Indochina will [only] be resolved on the basis of equality between peoples [and] by socialists committed to loyal cooperation and not conquest…

Instead of independence, Pivert offered Indochina a leading place in a revamped *Union française*, the post-war political-constitutional structure between France and its empire. This revamped Union, a Seine Federation resolution explained in the early 1950s, would include a strong dose of federalism to ensure full equality between the empire's "*united and associated peoples*" as well as the resources necessary for development.[46] The political feasibility of this transformed *Union française* is certainly open to question, but what is perhaps most striking is Pivert's assumption that the Viet Minh shared the political goals of European socialists, not to mention their underlying vision of politics.[47]

The problematic aspects of Pivert's anti-colonialism were even more evident in the case of Algeria. Pivert quickly emerged as a leading critic of the SFIO's Algerian policy, criticism that culminated in outspoken denunciations of the Mollet government's attempt during 1955–1956 to repress the Algerian rebellion through military means. Not only was military repression counterproductive, fuelling an escalation of violence in Algeria and increasing authoritarianism at home, but it also isolated French (and European) socialism from what Pivert himself conceived of as a global movement of oppressed peoples. Pivert, consequently, called for an end to French military measures, for negotiations, and for what he called the recognition of Algeria's "national vocation." But as with Indochina, he rejected the option of independence, maintaining that the war was not an ethnic struggle between a European minority and an Algerian/Muslim majority, but a class struggle that pitted the haves against the have-nots across the communitarian divide. This vision helps to explain Pivert's dislike for the *Front de Libération Nationale* (FLN),

[46] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/11, Pivert article, July 1947; and OURS, Fonds Charles Lancelle, 13 APO/1, "Pour un socialisme de classe," Fédération de la Seine, undated but early 1950s.

[47] Examining post-war projects to reform France's political-constitutional relationship with its African colonies, Frederick Cooper argues that their failure was not preordained, suggesting that the Union Francaise's potential for reform was very real. See his *Citizenship Between Empire and Nation: Remaking France and French Africa, 1945–1960*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014.

the dominant revolutionary national organisation, which he condemned not only for its use of terror but perhaps even more because of its false claims to speak for all Algerians. The government, he insisted, should bypass the FLN and appeal directly to the Algerian masses, both Muslim and European, who would respond by rejecting the false idol of national independence. As Pivert pleaded in October 1955 as the war in Algeria intensified:

> It is time for the workers of the entire world to regain awareness of their basic class solidarity; it is time that they finally direct themselves towards international socialist solutions without allowing [themselves] to be distracted. Otherwise, behind the nationalist exasperations [they will discover] the grand imperialisms that aim to dominate the world [and that will] lead them once again to barbarism and war.[48]

For Algeria, as earlier for Indochina, Pivert proposed a renewed *Union française*, pointing to the British Commonwealth as one possible model. Such an arrangement, he promised, would allow the majority of Algerians to "conquer its normal place in its country" while also protecting the "interests and security of the European minority"—a promise that, ironically, belied his own class analysis.[49]

Pivert's inability to imagine an independent Algeria was hardly unique among socialists. The SFIO's Algerian policy stoked growing internal criticism, and almost all the critics clung to the hope that some federalist-type arrangement would preclude independence. By the mid-1950s, however, the polarising effects of mounting violence could be felt both within Algeria and between Algeria and France, a process that rendered federalist proposals increasingly dubious, if not irrelevant. Pivert, as a result, found himself playing the role of the SFIO's moral, as opposed to political, conscience. "Total [executive] power, torture, kidnappings, collective assassinations," he noted in 1957 of French practices in Algeria, "socialists no longer dare to condemn what earlier revolted the simple conscience of honest people."[50] But however heartfelt and deserved, Pivert's denunciations of French (and SFIO) policy did not amount to a

[48] CHS, Fonds Marceau Pivert, 559/AP/15, "Sérieux avertissements," Pivert, October 24, 1955.

[49] FNSP, Fonds Cletta et Daniel Mayer, 1 MA 2.4, Pivert, "Paix en Algérie," June 1956.

[50] Kergoat, *Marceau Pivert*, p. 314.

constructive alternative to Algerian independence. At the same time, his denunciations left him increasingly isolated within the SFIO. Differing from many French socialist critics, Pivert refused to break with the party despite his growing despair, no doubt aware that any possible influence he might have would disappear outside the SFIO. Yet, as others left, Pivert found himself increasingly alone, which made it all the more easy for SFIO leaders to ignore his criticisms and the internationalist vision that underpinned them.

The Tragedy of Non-Communist Revolutionary Socialism

Pivert belonged to a larger phenomenon of non-communist revolutionary socialism that emerged during the First World War. Before 1914, European socialist parties were capacious enough to accommodate a variety of strands ranging across the reformist-revolutionary spectrum, even if this accommodation fostered mounting tensions within and between parties. The war, together with the Bolshevik revolution, put an end to this accommodation because the socialist movement increasingly split between the communists, who imposed a Marxist-Leninist model of revolution, and the socialists, who favoured a model of reformist change through democratic elections. In reaction to this split, a third group emerged who rejected both the rigid top-down approach of the communists/Soviets and the parliamentary reformism of the socialists, championing instead a socialism that would mobilise the masses behind a truly revolutionary program. The institutional expression of this third option was the Vienna Union, a grouping of socialist parties, including the SFIO, belonging neither to the Komintern nor to the socialist Second International. Its avowed purpose was to convince communists and socialists to cooperate in the forging of a new revolutionary socialism that would combine the strengths of both the communist and socialist Internationals. The Vienna Union's decision in 1923 to join the LSI, the reformatted Second International, marked the failure of this project. Put simply, the developing rivalry between communists and socialists left little political space for a third way.

If Vienna Union's fate augured badly for a third way, the dream of the latter would continue to attract militants on the Left. Some, such as the German socialist Paul Levi, were refugees from communism. Having helped found the German communist party in 1919, Levi quickly found the growing centralisation and authoritarian nature of the

party intolerable; in 1923 he rejoined the SPD. Others, including Pivert, never joined the communists, remaining socialists throughout the post-war period. Regardless of their precise path, these socialist militants were never comfortable within reformist socialist parties. They chafed at the compromises involved in democratic/parliamentary politics, deploring the loss of revolutionary aims and ideals. In this sense, Pivert's story is emblematic. Inspired by the vision of revolutionary change, they were activists within socialist parties committed to gradual and progressive reform. The one sizeable party that promised revolution, the communists, was anathema for much of the inter-war and post-war periods, representing a perversion of rather than a vehicle for revolution. Pivert, accordingly, found himself confined to the role of critic, without any measurable influence on SFIO policy. At best, he served as the moral conscience of the SFIO, which helps to explain the hostility of party leaders towards him. At worse, he offered a rhetorical link to the past, allowing SFIO leaders to pretend that the party remained attached to revolutionary transformation long after this was true; this would explain why SFIO leaders such as Mollet tolerated Pivert for so long. Either way, the result was considerable frustration.

The question remains: Why did a non-communist revolutionary socialism fail? Any satisfactory answer would require an extended examination of political processes in European democracies since 1914. Such a study is obviously beyond the scope of this chapter. But in closing, it is perhaps worthwhile to point to the weaknesses of Pivert's socialism and of his socialist internationalism. Just what he meant by a revolutionary transformation remained unclear, nor was he any clearer on how this revolution would be brought about. Pivert's unshakeable faith in the revolutionary potential of the masses hardly constituted a guide to action, let alone a political program. In practice, in any case, Pivert was more interested in forging a network of left militants inside and outside France than in mobilising the masses—a choice that, ironically, echoed the communist claim that revolution required a committed cadre of revolutionaries. During the course of the 1950s, Pivert increasingly directed his gaze to the colonial world in the hope that the revolutionary potential of the non-European masses would regenerate a European socialism fatally compromised by reformism. If this hope reflected the belief that class struggle provided the interpretive key to all developments, it left Pivert poorly equipped to understand the nationalist dynamics of

decolonisation. In the end, Pivert's appeal to the revolutionary masses—whether in France, Europe or beyond—raised far more questions than it answered.

CHAPTER 7

The Making of a Transnational Activist: The Indonesian Human Rights Campaigner Carmel Budiardjo

Katharine McGregor

This chapter presents a biographical analysis of the British-born transnational activist Carmel Budiardjo, who is best known for her work in campaigning for the release of Indonesian political prisoners. Research in the field of social movements has increasingly recognised the insights provided by the lives of individual transnational activists into understanding what drives and sustains social movements and related political activism.[1] As Donatella della Porta has suggested, life histories highlight how 'history is transformed in individual cognition, how public events intervene into private life, how perceptions

[1] For a survey of research in this field, see Donatella della Porta, 'Life Histories,' in Donatella della Porta, ed., *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 264–268.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_7

of the world influence action.'[2] Through my analysis of Carmel's life story I hope to provide further insights into the bases of left political activism that took place in the context of the larger Cold War and to highlight how people-to-people connections across the Anglo and non-Anglo world have influenced political activism.

Carmel's development of a cosmopolitan outlook crucially shaped her path to becoming a transnational political activist. I trace her early life as the child of Polish Jewish migrants in Britain, her increasing engagement with British society throughout high school and university as the war broke out, and then with people from different national backgrounds as a communist student activist in the post-war period. Carmel's life as a transnational activist had two different phases: the first dating from the 1940 to mid-1960s, during which she was a student, and then an academic activist focusing mostly on anti-colonialism and the promotion of socialism, and the second from the early 1970s onwards when she concentrated on campaigns for the release of Indonesian political prisoners.

Carmel developed close relationships with Indonesians on the political left through her involvement with the International Union of Students (IUS). Through these contacts I believe Carmel developed a new critical awareness of the effects of imperialism. Her life story reinforces David Featherstone's call for a reconsideration of the ways anti-colonial networks led to new connections across 'deeply uneven geographies.'[3] In the 1940 and 1950s, her activism with the IUS focused on global issues such as anti-fascism and anti-imperialism and on building international solidarity.

From the early 1950s, following her marriage to an Indonesian and her migration to Indonesia, Carmel focused on contributing to the development of a socialist society in Indonesia. I examine the consequences of that activism and of her subsequent imprisonment in an Indonesian gaol along with fellow activists on the political Left following

[2] Donatella della Porta, 'Life Histories Analysis of Social Movement Activists,' in Maria Diana and Ron Eyerman, eds., *Studying Social Movements*, London: Sage, 1992, p. 173.

[3] David Featherstone, *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*, London: Zed Books, 2012, p. 12.

the violent anti-communist repression of 1965–1968. These experiences led her to found TAPOL, a transnational advocacy organisation for Indonesian political prisoners based in London. This action was a targeted case of advocacy conducted primarily across the Anglo world because of the very limited possibilities of activism inside Indonesia.

Carmel's life story fits in some ways with Sidney Tarrow's characterisation of a 'rooted cosmopolitan' because she mobilised 'domestic and international resources and opportunities to advance claims on behalf of external actors, against external opponents.'[4] Yet, the basis of her roots shifted over time. Throughout the chapter I consider how her position as both an insider and outsider informed her activism.

The chapter also considers Carmel's position as a British activist on the political left in the broader context of the Cold War, which has shaped not only her fate but also enduring perceptions about left-wing activism.

Carmel's Early Life: The Making of a Cosmopolitan

Carmel Brickman was born in 1925 in London to Jewish parents of Polish/Russian background who had migrated to Britain as children. The Brickmans originally lived in the working-class East End, where the largest Jewish community in London was concentrated, with numerous kosher food shops and other retailers that catered to the exclusively Jewish clientele.[5] Later on her father, who was just getting by as a clothing cutter, decided to open up a small shop in Greenwich, which is south of the East End and across the River Thames.[6] It was in Greenwich, where there were not many other Jewish families, that Carmel spent her childhood. Coming from a lower middle class family may have made Carmel more alert to the challenges faced by the working class both in England, where she grew up and became a student activist, and later in her career as an economics lecturer in the country of Indonesia, which was experimenting with state socialism.

[4] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 29.

[5] Selma Berroll, *East Side/East End: Eastern European Jews in London and New York, 1870–1920*, London: Praeger, 1994, p. 25.

[6] Carmel Budiardjo, interview by author, London, 27 November 2014.

Reflecting on her early home life she described her parents as quite insular. Their lives revolved around Jewish rituals and they expected their children to socialise within the Jewish community.[7] As Jewish migrants in the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth century, her parents' families had fled from a climate of strong anti-Semitism and economic discrimination in Poland.[8] Carmel felt a sense of gratitude to Britain for giving her parents sanctuary. In Britain, however, many Jewish migrants were subject to further discrimination. Most members of the Jewish community supported the Labour Party, with only a small number supporting the conservatives or the British Communist Party. Although Carmel's parents never joined a political party, she described her family as fiercely anti-fascist,[9] a position consistent with the politics of more radical sections of the Jewish community in the East End. In 1936, for example, a number of Jewish East Enders organised a street blockade on Cable Street to protest against the anti-Semitic British Union of Fascists headed by Sir Oswald Ernald Mosley.[10] In the 1930s, anti-Semitism was on the rise across many countries in Europe. Her peers at the Catholic school which she attended teased her for being Jewish.

Her later years in high school overlapped with the outbreak of the Second World War. Living in London meant that Carmel and her family experienced war close up during the bombing campaigns from September 1940 onwards. The bombings forced Carmel's school to relocate to a small village called Crowhurst near Sussex, and from there to the seaside resort of Bexshill, and then to Ammanford in South Wales where the students stayed for a couple of years. Because her family was strict about kosher food and it was not available in South Wales, they would only make day visits to see Carmel. During evacuations the availability of kosher food became a major issue for Jewish communities, thus

[7] Budiardjo, interview.

[8] V.D. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, Leicester and London: Leicester University Press, 1990, p. 43.

[9] Ronnie Caplane, 'Rights Activist Says Genocide Continues in Indonesia,' *Jweekly*, 26 October, 1996, http: www.jweekly.com/article/full/4323/rights-activist-says-genocide-continues-in-Indonesia [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[10] See Tony Kushner and Nadia Valman, eds., *Remembering Cable Street: Fascism and Anti-fascism in British Society*, London and Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2000.

restricting their ability to relocate.[11] Carmel was billeted out to local families during this time. Lipman notes that one effect of this common practice was to 'plunge Jewish children, used to the routines of life in a more or less traditional Jewish environment, into a non-Jewish home life.'[12] During the war Carmel thus had even more exposure beyond her Catholic school environment to people of different backgrounds.

Anti-Semitism in Britain escalated during the war, including attacks on small shop owners who were accused of taking advantage of wartime shortages to sell goods at higher prices.[13] Such attitudes may have affected her father as a small shop owner. At the same time, as members of the Jewish community, Carmel and her parents would have been aware of the increasing persecution of Jews by the Nazis in continental Europe. The British press, for example, as early as 1939 reported the German plans to exterminate the Jews.[14] At the end of the war, the press published photographs of the Nazi crematoria and death camps.[15] Despite relatively open reporting on the Holocaust in Britain, Carmel stated in an interview that, although she heard stories about what was happening, she did not remember talking about it much. It is likely, however, that her Jewish background and life experiences made her sensitive to the persecution of minorities.

In 1942 at age 18, Carmel began a university degree majoring in sociology and economics at the London School of Economics. By 1938 Lipman reports that only 2% of the entire British population attended schooling at age 19 or above and of those people only 2% were Jewish.[16] Thus, Carmel would have been one of only a few Jewish women attending university at this time. Through the experiences of moving outside her family's culture Carmel was forming an increasingly cosmopolitan identity. Following Stuart Hall's definition of a cosmopolitan, by now

[11] Tony Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice: Antisemitism in British Society during the Second World War*, Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1989, p. 70.

[12] Lipman, *A History of the Jews*, p. 230.

[13] Kushner, *The Persistence of Prejudice*, pp. 59, 62.

[14] Chanan Tomlin, *Protest and Prayer: Rabbi Dr Solomon Schonfeld and Orthodox Jewish Responses in Britain to the Nazi Persecution of Europe's Jews, 1942–1945*, Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006, p. 78.

[15] *Jewish Chronicle*, 18 August 1944, as cited in Tomlin, *Protest and Prayer*, p. 81.

[16] Lipman, *A History of the* Jews, p. 212.

she already had the 'ability to stand outside having one's life scripted by any one community.'[17] She continued to follow this trend into the 1950s, expanding her connections and experiences.

Carmel's Student Activism: Becoming an Internationalist

During her time as a student at the London School of Economics, Carmel became active in the British National Union of Students (NUS). The Union was established in 1922 to represent the interests of British students abroad. Originally, the NUS was politically neutral and only concerned with issues that affected 'students as such.' During the war, however, their President Brian Simon pushed for the NUS to provide more support for students during the conflict whereas other members wanted to disband the organisation. Some in the NUS mistrusted Simon and the NUS executive because they were Communists.[18] Carmel, who was working in the international section of the NUS, was also a member of the British Communist Party at this time.[19] She was attracted to the party because of its strong opposition to rising anti-Semitism in Britain and abroad during the war.[20] Although she rarely talked about her membership in the party, in an interview in the 1990s she stated 'my left wing politics had a lot to do with my Jewish background.'[21] Yet the party's emphasis on greater equality amongst people may have equally appealed to her as a person whose parents were originally of working-class background and committed anti-fascists.

The NUS had a strong internationalist outlook, but working in the international department of the Union also gave Carmel further exposure to students from diverse countries. England was the centre of student activism in Europe, because of the German occupation on the

[17] Stuart Hall, "Political Belonging in a World of Multiple Identities," in Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds., *Conceiving Cosmopolitanism: Theory, Context and Practice*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002, p. 26.

[18] Jodi Burkett, 'The National Union of Students and Transnational Solidarity, 1958–1968,' *European Review of History*, vol. 21, no. 4, 2014, p. 543.

[19] Carmel Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag: A Western Woman Tells Her Story*, London: Cassell, 1996, p. 19.

[20] Henry Srebrink, 'The British Communist Party's National Jewish Committee and the Fight against anti-Semitism During the Second World War, Immigrants and Minorities,' *Historical Studies in Ethnicity, Migration and Diaspora*, vol. 8, no. 1–2, 1989, pp. 82–96.

[21] Caplane, 'Rights Activist Says Genocide Continues in Indonesia.'.

continent and the fact many students from the occupied countries had fled to England as political refugees.[22] Experiences of war including bombings, losing family members and homes, fighting at the front, and resisting the Nazis crucially shaped their activism.

In November 1945, Carmel attended the World Youth Conference in London as an NUS official. The conference brought together more than 400 delegates from 63 countries from a diverse range of political and religious backgrounds[23] and resulted in the founding of the World Federation of Democratic Youth (WFDY). The conference issued an oath by which delegates swore

> to weld unity amongst youths of the whole world, youths from all races, of all colour skins, from all nations and all religions. We promise to destroy the remnants of fascism from the face of the earth and to build eternal friendship amongst all peoples on earth.[24]

This idealistic oath reveals a focus on trying to overcome differences and address the legacies of racism and prejudice that had underpinned World War II. Looking back on the war, delegates also promised to remember friends who had died and to ensure young people would never again be destroyed by war.

Following the London conference, Carmel helped organise a more specific World Students' Congress in Prague in August 1946, the same year that she graduated from LSE.[25] The congress included 223 delegates who focused on formulating causes that they thought students should support in the post-war world. Delegates decided that their mission would include continuing struggles against fascism and oppression, contributing to relief work in war-damaged countries, and promoting peace, security and democratisation worldwide.[26] The

[22] Philip G. Altbach, 'The International Student Movement,' *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol. 5, no. 1, 1970, pp. 160–161.

[23] Suar Suroso, *Bung Karno Korban Perang Dingin*, Jakarta: Hasta Mistra, 2008, p. 146.

[24] Suroso, *Bung Karno Korban Perang Dingin*, p. 147.

[25] 'Invitation Commission, Notes from meeting April 10, 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[26] 'Final Program of the World Student Congress Prague, August 17–31, 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

congress promoted increased international contacts amongst students through student exchange, travel, and sports. The idea was that personal encounters would 'bolster internationalism amongst students.'[27] The conference resulted in the founding of the IUS. Through member organisations, congresses, and related publications the IUS sought to diffuse its ideas and programs to students around the world.

In 1946 the goals of the IUS reflected a commitment to global equality.[28] Further to this, the IUS recognised ongoing global inequalities of the post-war period in the form of colonial oppression. For many Asian countries such as India, Vietnam, and Indonesia, the end of the war had presented an opportunity for independence. Indonesian Republicans had declared independence in August 1945, but they were forced into a colonial war when the Dutch tried to retake the Netherlands East Indies. Recognising this struggle, the Congress preparatory committee, of which Carmel was a member, sent messages of support to Indonesian students in the quest 'for a freer and better future.'[29] Two Indonesian delegates representing 5000 Indonesian students then attended the Prague Congress.[30]

In formulating the issues on which the students should focus, congress delegates drew attention to the specific challenges for students in colonised countries. They noted:

> In colonial and semi-colonial countries the immediate task is political and economic liberation, and the students of these countries have to intensify their social, political and intellectual progress. Students of all nations should strive to aid them in this struggle.[31]

[27] 'Final Program of the World Student Congress Prague.'

[28] IUS Preamble to constitution, Available [Online]: www.stud.uni-hannover.de/gruppen/ius/constitution/Preamb.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[29] 'Report of the International Preparatory Committee upon its work, November 1945–August 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[30] 'Countries represented at the Prague Congress 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[31] 'The Task of the Student Youth in Working for Peace and a Better World Commission III,' World Student Youth Congress Prague 1946, International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands, p. 1.

The call for students from 'all nations' to aid students from colonised countries could suggest the perpetuation of colonial hierarchies. Jodi Burkett has, for example, argued that students from the NUS, the British-affiliated member organisation of the IUS to which Carmel originally belonged, viewed themselves as only ever providing aid but not receiving it as a result of "longstanding British feelings of 'obligation' or 'responsibility' or even paternalism rather than solidarity in their international relationships."[32] However, this does not seem to have been Carmel's position.

Carmel asserted that through her contact with representatives from colonised countries in the IUS she learnt, for the first time, critical perspectives on colonialism. She explained that she had been very unaware of such perspectives, and as a child she had in fact waved British flags at school to celebrate Empire Day.[33] According to David Featherstone, solidarity is 'a relation formed through political struggle that seeks to challenge oppression' which can involve 'active creation of new ways of relating.'[34] Carmel's personal story suggests that through contacts developed in the IUS and the shared commitment to challenging global oppression she became more aware of her 'implication' in colonialism and found new ways of relating to students from colonised countries.

One of the first Indonesians who Carmel met was the Indonesian IUS delegate Suripno from the National Union of Indonesian Students, who became an IUS Council member.[35] Suripno spent the war years studying in Holland and fighting underground with the Dutch Communist Party. He returned to Indonesia in 1946 a year into the independence war with the Dutch and continued to be active in international youth activities.[36] Part of Suripno's mission in Europe was to seek out stronger

[32] Burkett, 'The National Union of Students,' p. 542.

[33] Budiardjo, interview.

[34] Featherstone, *Solidarity*, p. 5.

[35] 'Members of the Executive Committee, Members of the Council International Union of Students, Praha August 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[36] Ann Swift, *The Road to Madiun: The Indonesian Communist Uprising of 1948*, Ithaca: Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, Monograph Series No. 69, Cornell University Press, 1989, p. 34.

relationships and aid from foreign governments in the face of increasing Dutch threats at home.[37]

In his early analysis of the IUS that is framed heavily in terms of Cold War rivalry, Altbach suggested that this organisation actively tried to recruit representation from the Third World so as to further Soviet influence in these countries. In his view then, the IUS was an instrument of Soviet control,[38] but this point of view ignores the motivations of individuals and their beliefs concerning what the IUS offered them. In IUS forums, for example, Suripno sought to expose examples of the extremes of Dutch violence and to call out the United States for providing aid—under the aegis of Marshall Plan aid—to the Dutch, which he alleged was being used in part to fund the war against Indonesia.[39] Thinking about Suripno, he was, in many ways, also a 'rooted cosmopolitan' advocating for Indonesia abroad.[40] He clearly felt that the IUS offered Indonesians valuable support. Indeed one resolution at the founding congress in Prague was that IUS members should continue to oppose colonialism.[41]

Following the Prague congress, Carmel travelled to Yugoslavia together with Suripno as part of an international youth brigade sponsored by the IUS to assist in rebuilding Yugoslavia. The fact that, in this case, representatives from the so-called Third World joined in 'aiding' people of the so-called Second World of Eastern Europe suggests again that the IUS was trying to foster diverse solidarities not always based on First to Third World hierarchies. The People's Youth of Yugoslavia conceived and oversaw the railway project.[42] Taking up the IUS mandate to assist with post-war relief work, the IUS brigade was tasked with assisting in building the so-called Yugoslav Youth Railway, a 150-mile railway line

[37] Ibid., p. 35.

[38] Altbach, 'The International Student Movement,' pp. 163–165.

[39] Suroso, *Bung Karno Korban Perang Dingin*, pp. 154–155. For more on the uses of Marshal Plan aid see Gouda, *American Visions of the Netherlands East Indies/Indonesia*.

[40] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 29.

[41] 'Resolutions of the World Student Youth Congress Prague 1946,' International Union of Students Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands, p. 4.

[42] Edward Thompson, *The Railway: An Adventure in Construction*, The British Yugoslav Association, London, 1948, p. viii.

through Sarajevo and Samac that would provide a transport link from Bosnia to Slavonia.

Students from twenty countries, excluding Russia and the United States, joined this project, working together with mostly Yugoslavian peasants, workers, and soldiers to excavate tunnels along the mountainside and lay tracks. There was a large delegation from Britain sourced from the British Yugoslav Association. E.P. Thomson, then a student at Cambridge University who went on to become a famous Marxist historian, headed the British brigade. In his written account of working on the railway, Thompson observed that the common saying amongst brigade members summed up his personal experience: 'We build the railway. The railway builds us.'[43] Working on the railway project offered Thomson insights into the growing socialist values of Yugoslavia and the potential of collective efforts.[44] Carmel emphasised her experience of intense camaraderie and a growing fascination with Indonesia. At night each national brigade would invite other brigades into their own camp. Railway workers would perform songs, eat, talk, dance, and sing together. It was in this context that Carmel recalled watching Suripno perform a classical Javanese dance.[45]

In 1947 Carmel returned to Prague to work at the IUS secretariat. She picked up the Czech language. She noted that, although she had friends from all countries including Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, and Romania, she felt closest to students from Asia (Indians, Burmese, Vietnamese, Chinese, Indonesians) while she was working in Prague. This feeling possibly derived from her experience of being an ethnic and religious minority in British society and her empathy thus with Asian students who were a minority in the IUS and living in an unfamiliar context. A large group of Indonesians was living in the Czech capital, and Carmel frequently mixed with them at their social events. The Indonesians often told her about their struggle against colonialism.[46]

More Indonesians came to Prague when the IUS and the WFDY jointly hosted a World Festival for Youth and Students in 1947, which was a crucial time for the fledgling Indonesian Republic as the Dutch

[43] Ibid., p. 1.

[44] Ibid., p. 3.

[45] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 11.

[46] Ibid., pp. 11–12.

had just carried out military aggression against the Republicans. As a result, some Indonesians gave up their Dutch scholarships and went to Prague.[47] Together with other Indonesian delegates from home, they used the festival to promote their opposition to the Dutch military attacks on the Republic. They called upon Dutch and other youths to work together with them to oppose the aggressions.[48] They used this large gathering of 17,000 youths from 73 countries to plead their case.

Through her role in the IUS, Carmel was given opportunities to travel the world. The IUS sent her to India in November 1947 for three months to help prepare for the February 1948 Calcutta Conference of Southeast Asian Youths and Students Fighting for Freedom and Independence.[49] The Calcutta Conference became controversial because of Western accusations that the Soviets had passed on instructions to Southeast Asian communist delegates to foment revolution on their return home.[50] Although these accusations have been proven unfounded,[51] leftist troops in Indonesia did stage a revolt against the Republican government in September 1948 in the town of Madiun. The result was a Republican-led massacre of key communist leaders including Carmel's friend Suripno. This tragedy was the first large-scale repression of the Indonesian Communist Party (Partai Komunis Indonesia, PKI) in Indonesia.

In 1948, Carmel met her future husband, Budiardjo, in Prague at the offices of the IUS. Budiardjo was studying political science on a scholarship at Charles University in Prague, which placed him amongst a relatively small cohort of elite Indonesian students studying abroad.[52] They married in 1950. In 1951, Budiardjo retuned to Indonesia with a youth

[47] Ibid., p.12.

[48] Suroso, *Bung Karno Korban Perang Dingin*, p. 150.

[49] Ruth T. McVey, *The Calcutta Conference and the Southeast Asian Uprisings*, Ithaca: Modern Indonesia Project, Southeast Asian Program, Dept. of Far Eastern Studies, Cornell University, 1958, p. 4.

[50] McVey, *The Calcutta Conference*, p. 1.

[51] McVey, *The Calcutta Conference*; and Larisa Efimova, 'Did the Soviet Union Instruct Southeast Asian Communists to Revolt? New Russian Evidence on the Calcutta Youth Conference of February 1948,' *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies*, vol. 40, no. 3, 2009, pp. 449–469.

[52] David T. Hill, 'Indonesia's Exiled Left as the Cold War Thaws,' *Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs*, vol. 44, no. 1, 2010, pp. 22–30.

delegation and she followed shortly after with their first child. In marrying Budiardjo and migrating to Indonesia, Carmel took a quite dramatic step given her background and both British and Jewish conventions in the 1950s. Her parents had deep concerns about her marrying a non-Jew, and more, a Muslim and a foreigner with different customs.[53]

Life in Indonesia: From Politics to Prison

When Carmel arrived in Indonesia, she experienced culture shock upon seeing the extremes between the rich and poor in affluent and derelict areas of the capital city of Jakarta. She encountered beggars on the side of the road.[54] In the 1950s, the Indonesian economy was weak and the government was burdened with heavy debts carried over from the war of independence and from the Dutch government more generally.[55]

Thrown into this new context, Carmel acquired the Indonesian language fairly quickly and was then able to work as a translator for the Antara news agency. Later, she obtained a job as a researcher in international economic relations for the Foreign Ministry. She took up lecturing positions at Padjadjaran State University in Bandung and then at Respublika University in Jakarta, which was run by the Chinese political organisation Baperki. Determined to make a contribution to Indonesia, Carmel frequently wrote newspaper articles about the Indonesian economy, which was facing increasing pressures in the early 1960s, including severe inflation and a large balance-of-payments deficit.[56]

As a university graduate and a lecturer, Carmel maintained a commitment to issues concerning university life and students, as well as broader politics. She joined the Indonesian Graduates' Association (Himpunan Sarjana Indonesia, HSI), eventually serving on the central executive and chairing its economics section. In this capacity she was vocal in critiquing Indonesian acceptance of IMF economic stabilisation policies in return for economic aid.[57] She opposed free market economics and the lifting

[53] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 13.

[54] Ibid., p. 15.

[55] Kian Wee Thee, *Indonesia's Economy since Independence*, Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2012, pp. 4–7.

[56] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 107.

[57] Ibid., p. 108.

of price controls on basic commodities. The general political position of HSI was opposition to imperialism and feudalism and the promotion of socialism as the best political system. HSI members were very engaged in national and international politics, and they also conducted research into issues such as land ownership and how this might improve the position of Indonesian peasants.[58] Although she was based in Indonesia, Carmel was still involved with the IUS and she continued to go overseas with IUS delegations, sometimes travelling to Australia or New Zealand. She also went to China. On these trips she would address student and faculty meetings.[59]

From the late 1950s till the mid-1960s, despite the suspension of elections, there was fierce competition to increase membership of all Indonesian political parties. The PKI rose in popularity during this period, reaching a membership of 3.5 million people by 1965 and a further 23.5 million in affiliated organisations.[60] Carmel had both direct and indirect connections to the PKI. First, Baperki, the sponsor of the university where she lectured, was on the political left although not directly aligned with the PKI. Second, the HSI was aligned with the PKI. Carmel described the HSI as functioning as a party cell providing feedback on the direction of the party.[61] Further, Carmel occasionally did translations for the PKI and she was in contact with some party leaders.[62] She describes herself as a 'semi-clandestine' party member.[63]

From the late 1950s onwards, President Sukarno began to increasingly emphasise implementing the Indonesian revolution. He attacked Western imperialism through the campaigns to reclaim Western New Guinea from the Dutch and to oppose the new nation of Malaysia, which Sukarno viewed as a British neo-colonial project. The government took some steps to advance socialism by passing, for example, the 1959 Sharecropping Law and the 1960 Basic Agrarian Law.[64] However, both the PKI and President Sukarno were frustrated by bureaucrats' attempts to

[58] Harsutedjo, interview by author, Jakarta, 10 November 2011.

[59] Budiardjo, interview.

[60] Rex Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism under Sukarno: Ideology and Politics, 1959–1965*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974, p. 366.

[61] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 19.

[62] Ibid., pp. 15, 19.

[63] Ibid., p. 19.

[64] Mortimer, *Indonesian Communism Under Sukarno*, pp. 285–286.

stall the implementation of these laws.[65] On university campuses this frustration translated into campaigns to politically retool lecturing staff.

A contemporary of Carmel in the HSI, Harsutedjo, recalled that most of his peers were convinced that Indonesia would become socialist or at least implement an Indonesian form of socialism. They were conscious of challenges from conservative groups to left-aligned organisations, yet he claimed 'we felt a sense of strength and that the government was on our side.'[66] Carmel similarly commented in her memoir that, because of the close connection between Sukarno and the PKI, she felt "political developments seemed to be moving in the direction of radical change and I often felt elated that I was on the 'winning side.'"[67] Carmel was perhaps excited about the prospect of living in what she expected to be a truly socialist society, a utopian ideal for many activists of the international left. Increasingly, President Sukarno and the PKI looked to Communist China as an ideal model for Indonesian advancement.[68] Carmel was similarly attracted to the PRC.

By 1965, Carmel considered Indonesia her home. She had two children with Budiardjo, and they lived together with his wider family, including, at times, her sister-in-law and mother-in-law, a practice very common in Indonesia. Moreover, she sought to assimilate into local society. She wrote in her memoir that, 'During the time I had lived in Indonesia, I had identified closely with Indonesian society and never lived as an expatriate.'[69] She spent all her work and leisure time with Indonesians.[70] At this stage, Carmel believed that because she was married to an Indonesian she automatically had Indonesian citizenship.

Everything changed dramatically, however, when a movement in which members of an armed group calling itself the September 30th Movement kidnapped and killed six high-ranking army generals and a lieutenant

[65] Lance Castles, 'Socialism and Private Business: The Latest Phase,' *Bulletin of Indonesian Economic Studies*, vol. 1, no. 1, June 1965, pp. 13–45.

[66] Harsutedjo, interview.

[67] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 15.

[68] On Communist China in the Indonesian imagination, see Hong Lui, *China and the Shaping of Indonesia: 1949–1965*, Singapore: NUS Press; Kyoto: CSEAS Series on Asian Studies 4, 2011.

[69] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 192.

[70] Ibid., p. 16.

on the night of 30 September, 1965. The army quickly suppressed the movement and mounted a propaganda campaign linking it to the PKI. The army then targeted known members of the PKI and members of all linked organisations, as well as other supporters of Sukarno. The brutal repression included killings of approximately 500,000 people between 1965 and 1968, and mass detentions of both short- and long-term duration. From 1965 to 1976, between 600,000 and 750,000 people were detained in connection with the Movement.[71] Other forms of violence included rape, torture within and outside gaols, the destruction or confiscation of property, and forced labour within the prisons and prison camps. It is not clear if Carmel drew immediate parallels with the Holocaust when witnessing this violence unfold, but later in the 1970s when she visited Auschwitz with Indonesian friends she certainly drew parallels.[72]

The army-led repression aimed to remove the radical nationalist President Sukarno and eliminate the Indonesian Left. The attack on the Indonesian Communist Party and the rise of a military regime in Indonesia was part of a broader global pattern in the Cold War and a process fully supported by anti-Communist Western governments who loathed President Sukarno.[73]

In the days following the Movement, Carmel began to be fearful as stories trickled in from friends about arrests and houses being ransacked. Carmel lost her job at the Foreign Ministry and at the university very quickly. Respublika University was attacked by army supporters and shut down. Almost overnight, the army declared people affiliated with the communist party or aligned organisations dangerous. Between 1965 and 1968, Carmel's husband, Budiardjo, who had been working as Assistant Minister at the Ministry of Sea Communications, was twice arrested, then released each time. Then, they were both arrested on 3 September 1968, leaving two children aged 17 and 12 at home with

[71] For an overview of the violence, see Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor, 'Introduction to the Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia: 1965–68', in Douglas Kammen and Katharine McGregor, eds., *The Contours of Mass Violence in Indonesia 1965–1968 (SEAP Series)*, Singapore: Singapore University Press, University of Hawaii Press and KITLV, 2012, pp. 1–24.

[72] Caplane, 'Rights Activist Says Genocide Continues in Indonesia.'

[73] Bradley R. Simpson, *Economists with Guns: Authoritarian Development and US-Indonesian Relations, 1960–1968*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2008.

her in-laws. Upon her arrest she was repeatedly interrogated about what she knew about the PKI and what her role in the PKI had been. In her memoir, she suggested that there was considerable hostility to her views on the Indonesian economy from the new technocrats appointed by the emerging regime, who sought to open up Indonesian markets.[74] Carmel was not tortured, but she frequently witnessed the torture of men and women and its after-effects. Carmel was held in miserable conditions for most of the time throughout her detention, with inadequate food, no bedding, and no extra clothing.

The last place of detention where she was held was a women's gaol called Bukit Duri, Thorn Hill. She was held there for 15 months and during that time, because it was a more permanent place of detention she, as did most of the other women there, wondered if she would ever be released. The fates of the great majority of political prisoners were so unclear because they almost never received a trial or sentence and they were provided with no information about their fates. Although Carmel felt very integrated with Indonesian society, her imprisonment brought up difficult questions for her. In her memoir she wrote:

> Now that I was a tapol [tahanan politik, political prisoner] I felt rather uncomfortable about seeing whether being foreign born was going to extricate me. But my fellow prisoners had little time for such qualms. 'Get out of here as fast as you can,' they would say, 'and start working for our release.' Their pleas made a strong impression on me, though I had no idea at the time how I would set about it.[75]

She described feeling torn because she did not want to be treated differently, but at the same time her background opened up opportunities not just for herself, but for her fellow prisoners.

Carmel's family tried to organise help from England although the British government was not particularly sympathetic, given that Carmel had supported the Indonesian government in opposing the British government's plans for the new nation of Malaysia. The Confrontation campaign resulted in direct combat in which British soldiers had been killed.[76]

[74] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, pp. 106–110.

[75] Ibid., p.192.

[76] Jamie Mackie, *Konfrontasi: The Indonesia-Malaysia Dispute, 1963–1966*, Kuala Lumpur and New York: Oxford University Press, 1974.

The most effective source of support came from Amnesty International (hereafter AI). Sarah Leigh, a lawyer from AI, secured Carmel's release by successfully arguing for a reinstatement of Carmel's British citizenship on the basis that she was stateless. This action provided the grounds for her release.[77] On 9 November 1971 she was freed and flown back to London where her children had already been relocated. Her husband remained in detention. She was determined to use her new freedom to campaign for the release of her fellow prisoners with whom she had shared experiences of joint political activism and imprisonment.

Carmel's Return to London and the Founding of TAPOL

By the time of Carmel's release in the early 1970s, there were fairly limited international sources of support for the hundreds of thousands of Indonesian political prisoners languishing in gaols, detention centres, and the penal colonies in remote locations in Indonesia. The Indonesian Left was very isolated politically because President Sukarno and the PKI had sided with the Chinese Communist Party at the time of the Sino-Soviet split in 1960. The government of the Soviet Union did very little to assist. As a result of the colonial connection between Indonesia and the Netherlands, there was some support from Dutch scholars and activists in a small group known as the Indonesia Committee headed by Professor Wertheim. In Germany, there was support throughout connections made with West German missionaries in Indonesia.[78] Globally, however, the issue of Indonesian political prisoners failed to attract much sympathy in the Western world, most likely because the prisoners were viewed as dangerous communists at a time when the war in Vietnam was underway.[79]

Although through Carmel's personal history she was well connected with international socialist networks, she seems to have drawn most

[77] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, pp. 200–202.

[78] Bradley Simpson, 'Human Rights Discourses and Suharto's Indonesia,' in Jan Eckel and Samuel Moyn, eds., *The Breakthrough: Human Rights in the 1970s*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013, p. 191.

[79] For an overview of Western responses, see Bernd Schaefer and Baskara T. Wardaya, eds., *1965: Indonesia and the World*, Jakarta: Goethe Institut and PT Gramedia Pustaka Utama, 2013.

support initially from AI, probably because of Indonesia's isolation within the wider socialist world. AI was set up in 1961 by a small group of people in Britain to demand the release of prisoners of conscience by directly challenging individual states. At this time global human rights norms were quite weak, but AI gained increasing legitimacy during the Cold War because of its claim to be nonpolitical and its aim to support political prisoners from a range of different regimes on an individual basis. Each AI adoption group would adopt prisoners from Eastern, Western, and Third World countries to reflect this balanced focus.[80] The most politically effective way to lobby support for the release of Indonesian political prisoners in the Cold War context was to focus on a humanitarian framing and the individual suffering of these prisoners. This program was exactly the kind of approach that AI took in its campaigns for Indonesian prisoners, which commenced in 1969 with a letter-writing campaign, and then a major campaign against the penal colony on remote Buru Island, where many long-term prisoners were sent and conscripted into forced labour.[81]

On arriving in London, Carmel used her AI connections to begin almost immediately to help the prisoners she left behind. As in the case of her experiences and knowledge of the horrors of World War II, she felt compelled to act in response to the Indonesian repression. She began to learn more about AI by working for them in Britain. By the end of November 1971, the same month as her release, she wrote an extensive report for AI on the conditions in Indonesian prisons and cases of torture and the names, stories, and locations of prisoners she had met in gaol.[82] AI prepared notes on some of the prisoners to whom Carmel had alerted them, leading to them becoming AI adoption cases. She was frequently invited by AI to address their groups in the UK and elsewhere.[83]

[80]This paragraph draws on Ann Marie Clark, *Diplomacy of Conscience: Amnesty International and Changing Human Rights Norms*, Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001, pp. 4–14.

[81]See 1968–1971 files Amnesty International Archives, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[82]'Report on Conditions in Bukit Duri Women's Prison in Jakarta,' File ASA 21 November 1971, Amnesty International Archives, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

[83]TAPOL Archives, London, England; and Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 208.

Carmel felt, however, that despite increasing Western critiques of torture and the infringement of civil liberties, which was largely AI's focus, the Indonesian case was still not getting enough attention.[84] She was frustrated that although many organisations were advocating, for example, for Greek political prisoners (following the 1967 military takeover), yet there was far less attention to, and awareness about, what was happening in Indonesia.[85] AI had in fact written an extensive report on Buru Island by this time, and AI official Sean MacBride had visited Jakarta to monitor the situation and meet with Indonesian officials in protest.[86] AI was, however, at this stage still consolidating its focus and it had limited resources.

So it was in this context that, in 1973, commencing with a vigil at the Indonesian Embassy in May of that year, Carmel decided to found TAPOL together with her daughter, son-in-law, and sister. The first derivation of the organisation's name was *TAPOL: the British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners*. Her primary motivation for activism was to secure the release of her husband and other Indonesian prisoners whom she had met in gaol.[87] Similar to AI, TAPOL primarily emphasised 'forgotten prisoners' and the right to a fair trial as enshrined in principle 10 of the UNDHR (United Nations Declaration on Human Rights). For TAPOL it was almost impossible to liaise with the limited number of advocacy groups inside Indonesia. Only a handful of brave Indonesian lawyers were able to work, in a limited way, on behalf of local prisoners.[88]

To keep the forgotten prisoners in focus, TAPOL used strategic locations and the Indonesian national calendar to hold protest actions. In its first year, 1973, TAPOL organised three vigils outside the Indonesian embassy in Britain at key moments such as the 17 August Independence Day celebration and in the lead-up to, and during, Inter-Governmental Group of Indonesia meetings, where donor nations and the World Bank

[84] Carmel Budiardjo, 'Three Years as a Political Prisoner in Indonesia,' *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1973, p. 374.

[85] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 209.

[86] See, for example, 'Indonesia the Buru Resettlement Project,' File 1969 ASA21; and 'Indonesia November 1970' (Report from MacBride), File 1970 ASA217, Amnesty International Archive, International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

[87] Budiardjo, *Surviving Indonesia's Gulag*, p. 192.

[88] Simpson, 'Human Rights Discourses,' p. 191.

met to discuss aid to Indonesia.[89] At these protests they held up small placards with the face of an unknown Indonesian prisoner behind bars, together with other placards condemning the ongoing imprisonments. TAPOL was always a fairly small operation, initially run from Carmel's house with several volunteers and a maximum of five or six staff, some of whom were part time, yet its rallies could attract a couple of hundred persons.[90]

In the early years, TAPOL activists engaged in a range of activities, often working with other groups such as the Indonesia Committee in Holland because of limited resources and a shared solidarity. Carmel also established connections with left-leaning European politicians such as Lord Avery, who became chairman of the Parliamentary Human Rights Group. Further to this, TAPOL representatives, especially Carmel, lobbied the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the European Commission, the European Parliament, and the UN Human Rights Commission and Sub-commission.[91]

In 1974, TAPOL protested in London against Queen Elizabeth's visit to Indonesia in March of that year. Carmel noted that one difficulty in advocacy work in Britain was that because it was not a British colony few people knew much about Indonesia.[92] Nevertheless, in contrast to the Dutch-based Indonesia Committee, TAPOL functioned in English, which brought in a broader audience. The British government's relationship with Indonesia improved significantly after the rise of President Suharto and the formal end to the Confrontation campaign in August 1966.

TAPOL tried to disseminate information on the Indonesian repression via its English-language bulletins. The bulletins provided updates on conditions in specific prisons and penal camps, featuring details of particular prisoners' circumstances, called case notes. In January 1974, for example, the bulletin profiled the political prisoner Mrs. Siti Mudigdo, reporting that she had served as a member of parliament while representing the PKI, as vice-chair of the Indonesian Women's Movement (Gerwani) and vice-chair of the Women's International Democratic Federation.[93] TAPOL tried to use these short profiles of prisoners to

[89] 'Campaign Activities.'

[90] Liem Soei Liong, email correspondence, 17 February 2016.

[91] Liem Soei Liong, email correspondence, 17 February 2016.

[92] 'Carmel Budiardjo Founder of TAPOL.'

[93] 'The TAPOLs Case Notes,' *Tapol Bulletin*, no. 3, January 1974, p. 14.

connect readers of the bulletin with specific prisoners. In doing so, as in AI adoption cases, it notified foreign governments that the fate of a particular prisoner was being monitored. The information for these case notes came from many sources, including Carmel's personal memories as well as foreign and Indonesian sympathisers who had visited prisoners or contacted their families, then travelled from Indonesia to Europe or sent on information by post.[94] Some prisoners were also able to send letters out of prison to TAPOL; other information came via local church groups that helped support particular prisoners.[95]

By profiling individual prisoners, TAPOL seemed to follow the precedent of AI that sought, in Hopgood's words, to 'open the prison door and show you the prisoners' faces and wounds, so you can see and feel for yourself, so your conscience can be touched.'[96] Although they did not regularly gain access to images of detention by identifying specific prisoners, TAPOL, as did AI, notified foreign governments that the fate of a particular prisoner was being monitored. In a membership drive in 1974, a TAPOL leaflet stated that the principles of TAPOL were identical to AI in that it was 'concerned with the humanitarian aspects of political imprisonment.'[97]

The bulletin at one stage had 900 subscriptions and was also sold in several bookshops. It was distributed across 75 countries in Europe, America, the Pacific, and Australia, and it also had some subscribers in Indonesia.[98] The Indonesian Legal Aid Foundation (Lembaga Bantuan Hukum, LBH), one of the few organisations in Indonesia able to advocate for prisoners, subscribed to the bulletin and distributed copies to other NGOs. In the repressive context of the Suharto regime (1966–1998) human rights activists and students who took an interest were able to read the bulletins at the offices of LBH and other NGOs. Papang Hidayat explained that it was very hard to get alternative information during the Suharto regime about the 1965 case. Reading the bulletins as a young student in 1993 at a Jakarta-based NGO 'opened my eyes to a

[94] Liem Soei Liong, interview by author, London, 1 December 2014.

[95] Liem, interview.

[96] Stephen Hopgood, *Keepers of the Flame: Understanding Amnesty International*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006, p. 73.

[97] 'TAPOL British Campaign for the Release of Indonesian Political Prisoners,' TAPOL Archive London, England.

[98] Liem Soei Liong, email correspondence, 17 February 2016.

completely/totally different story about the 1965 event.'[99] Indonesian students who grew up under the regime were told through textbooks, museums, and propaganda films that the PKI was barbaric for their accused role in the murder of the generals in 1965.[100] Hidayat remembers reading stories about individual prisoners in the bulletins and for the first time gaining insights into the kinds of human rights abuses they suffered.

Another mode of activism that TAPOL used was speaking tours. Carmel was one of the few former political prisoners to be released so early with access to the resources to publicise her fate, and that of fellow prisoners, to the world. In 1974, for example, Carmel toured Australia and New Zealand for five weeks to raise awareness about Indonesia's prisoners, speaking to politicians, academics, and trade union activists.[101] In January 1975, Carmel went on a speaking tour of West Germany where large attendances of Indonesian university students seemed keen to hear about what was happening in Indonesia.[102] In these tours Carmel used her personal experiences of imprisonment to try to persuade more people to help Indonesian political prisoners. In Western countries it is possible that her Britishness/whiteness and the fact that the Suharto regime imprisoned a British person helped increase support for the more general cause of Indonesian prisoners. Simpson notes that for Western audiences she 'cut a sympathetic and familiar figure: eloquent, attractive, determined, and able to bridge the psychological distances between ordinary human rights supporters and the people on whose half they advocated.'[103] Carmel's memories of imprisonment were frequently profiled in press coverage around her speaking tours.[104] Through this kind of advocacy, Carmel used whatever networks she could access to increase pressure on the Indonesian government to release the political prisoners. The staff running the TAPOL office was always quite limited, a maximum of six people at a time, including Budiardjo who worked full time for the organisation.

[99] Papang Hidayat, email correspondence, 3 August 2015.

[100] See Katharine McGregor, *History in Uniform: Military Ideology and the Construction of the Past in Indonesia*, Singapore: NUS Press, 2007.

[101] 'Ex-TAPOL Tours Australia and New Zealand,' *Tapol Bulletin*, no. 5, June 1974, p. 2.

[102] 'Ex-TAPOL Tours Germany,' *Tapol Bulletin*, no. 8, January 1975, p. 2.

[103] Simpson, 'Human Rights Discourses,' p. 195.

[104] 'What Political Prisoners are Suffering in Indonesia,' *Methodist Recorder*, 1 January 1976.

Although Carmel was able to reach a range of audiences, she was becoming well known to the Indonesian government and they frequently accused her and TAPOL of being communists and of being determined to discredit the regime. Liem Soei Liong, a TAPOL activist who worked closely with Carmel, admitted that the Suharto administration was indeed a key target of TAPOL's activism.[105] Carmel personally hated the military regime. When the Indonesian invasion of East Timor took place in 1975, TAPOL also took up this cause and changed its name to *TAPOL: The Indonesia Human Rights Campaign* to reflect a broader mandate. In making this choice, TAPOL activists were also following the currents of US foreign policy, which increasingly came to emphasise the human rights records of foreign governments, despite the hypocrisy of its actions. In the context of the Cold War and close economic and military ties with the Suharto regime some Western governments, however, were wary of Carmel. She was denied entry to the US in 1977, on the grounds that she had been a former communist.[106]

The sources that I have been able to find, written by and about Carmel, rarely mention why communist ideology appealed to her. A possible reason for this lack of discussion is that Westerners across the United States, Australia, and Europe were a primary audience throughout her human rights activism in relationship to Indonesia. Within these societies, as Francisca de Haan has noted, communism is today more commonly associated with the idea of 'communist crimes' and human rights violations, rather than 'the Soviet contribution in defeating Nazi Germany, with antifascism more generally, or with a struggle for social justice or an egalitarian society.'[107] It is possible that Carmel has internalised these perceptions. Reflecting on her activism recently, for example, she stated she was most comfortable advocating for issues such as the release of political prisoners rather than following a party line that she did not always understand.[108] Because of the enduring perception that communism is an outdated and

[105] Liem, interview.

[106] 'US Visa Denied,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 19, January 1977, p. 2.

[107] Francisca de Haan, 'The Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF): History, Main Agenda, and Contributions, 1945–1991,' Women and Social Movements (WASI) Online Archive, 6.

[108] Carmel Budiardjo, Email correspondence, 23 June 2015.

dangerous ideology, many people are understandably reluctant to talk openly about their commitment to communist politics. Furthermore in Indonesia, the country on which Carmel's activism centres, communism not only is banned but is even more demonised than in the Western world. To identify as a former communist to an Indonesian audience means condemning oneself as a social outcast.

In 1978, as a result of pressure from advocacy groups including TAPOL, the International Labour Organisation, the International Commission of Jurists, AI, and the new emphasis from the USA's Carter Administration on human rights, the Indonesian government released the majority of political prisoners from 1965. It seems then that the culmination of domestic pressure in donor countries moved Western governments to press the issue. Here, the role of TAPOL, with other organisations, academics, and journalists, was crucial in shaping domestic opinion by continuously reminding the public of the plight of those in prison.

Not all 1965 prisoners were, however, released at this time. Some remained in prison camps for longer, others awaited trial, and a small number were kept for decades on death row with executions well into the 1980 and 1990s of these ageing men. TAPOL persisted in its advocacy of these cases, and reported that former prisoners and their families were subjected to ongoing discrimination. TAPOL also highlighted the renewed ideological campaigns in Indonesia against the so-called communist threat.[109]

Conclusions

What can we conclude about transnational activists from Carmel's life story? In his work, Tarrow notes the strong role of migrants as transnational activists because of their liminality and ability to move across

[109] Some examples are the following reports: 'Former Tapols and the Communist Bogy,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 63, May 1984, pp. 16–17; 'Three Communist Prisoners under Threat of Execution,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 66, November 1984, p. 14; 'Three More Long Term Prisoners Executed,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 71, September 1985, pp. v3–v9; 'Nine Long Term Political Prisoners Executed,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 78, December 1986, p. 2; 'Ex-Prisoners as Social Pariahs,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 88, August 1988, p. 5; 'Six Long Term Tapols Executed,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 98, April 1990, pp. 1–6; 'No Change for PKI Suspects,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 99, June 1990, pp. 12–13; 'New Bersih Diri Regulation,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 99, May 1984, p. 13; 'Re-Examining the Ex-Tapols … Again!,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 101, October 1990, p. 9, p. 19; '"Clean Environment" out! "Under the Influence of" in!', *TAPOL Bulletin*, no. 101, October 1990, pp. 16–17.

cultures.[110] Stephen Hopgood emphasised the alternative religious backgrounds and international outlook of the founders of AI, many of whom were Catholics, free Church, or Jewish rather than members of the established Anglican Church.[111] As I have argued, Carmel's position as a second-generation Jewish migrant living between migrant and non-migrant communities gave her exposure to different traditions and ways of life from a fairly early age. Her experiences of attending a Catholic school, living with billet families during the war, and entry to university introduced her to further broadening experiences. Her class background also instilled in her an awareness of the struggles of less advantaged peoples.

During her time at the London School of Economics, she sought out connections with students from other countries. Carmel noted in an interview, 'I was interested in the spirit of internationalism and the spirit of working together.'[112] The IUS offered her exactly this kind of connection. Growing out of the war and longer communist traditions in Europe, Carmel's activism initially focused on anti-fascism and the promotion of greater global equality, including a commitment to opposing colonialism. Her awareness of colonial inequalities was a direct product of her interaction with Indonesian anti-colonialists in the IUS: she learnt about colonial oppression through them.

While living in Indonesia, Carmel continued her political activism as a university lecturer and graduate activist. Carmel's relationship with Indonesia is complex. For her, it was initially a place of hope with which she was captivated. Under the army-dominated Suharto regime (1966–1998), Indonesia turned into a place that she associated with brutal military repression, which she felt compelled to resist because of the injustice of her arrest and the arrest without trial of many of her 'fellow travelers.'

Carmel used her connections across the Anglo world and the new emphasis on human rights amongst Western governments to advocate on behalf of Indonesian political prisoners upon her return to Britain in 1971 and continuing until late in her life. Her activism later extended to East Timorese, Acehnese, West Papuan, students, and Muslim prisoners of conscience in Indonesia. She focused on opposing the Suharto

[110] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 29.

[111] Hopgood, *Keepers of the Flame*, p. 58.

[112] Budiardjo, interview.

regime and the military's methods of extreme brutality that she had witnessed. Across her activism, she sought to build transnational solidarity for Indonesians who were victimised by the military regime.

It is difficult to assess the broader impact of TAPOL's work. It certainly was not able to exert enough pressure to end practices of military violence in Indonesia, which continue to this day, but it kept cases of military abuse and political prisoners in the international spotlight. Further to this the bulletin provided an especially important source of information for Indonesians on human rights abuses occurring in their country in the context of limited alternative sources of information until democratisation began from the late 1990s onwards.

Acknowledgements Thanks to Bastiaan Nugteren, Jess Melvin, and Faye Chan for their research assistance in preparing this paper. Thanks also to Carmel Budiardjo, Barbara Patilla, Liem Soei Liong, Brad Simpson, and Papang Hidayat for their assistance with information for this chapter and to Sean Scalmer and Stefan Berger for their feedback on drafts of the paper.This paper has been completed with the support of the Australian Research Council Future Fellowship (FT130100957) for the project Confronting Historical Injustice in Indonesia: Memory and Transnational Human Rights Activism.

CHAPTER 8

Speaking Out for Justice: Bella Galhos and the International Campaign for the Independence of East Timor

Hannah Loney

For almost twenty-three years, successive Canadian governments have argued that trade with Indonesia increases opportunities for dialogue and that through these 'dialogues' Canada has more opportunities to influence the Indonesian government's repressive regime in my country. But in the last twenty-three years, over one-third of my people have died. Torture, rape, murder and imprisonment continue, particularly for women whose situation in East Timor is worse. I am talking about real people here. I am talking about mothers who until today still look for their sons, their daughters. These mothers are still facing intimidation 24 hour a day. My mother faces this intimidation because I am here speaking in Canada against the Indonesian government. I am also talking about young people who flee their homeland and are forced to be a refugee. I am also talking about young people who are tortured, whose fingernails are pulled out,

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_8

> their bodies burned by cigarettes and electricity. These are the people for whom I am talking here today.[1]

On 17–18 November 1998, the Second International Women's Conference against the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) was held in Vancouver, Canada, as part of the People's Summit on APEC. At the conference, almost 500 women from more than twenty countries came together to learn about and to discuss the impact that "free trade" was having upon women's lives.[2] One of the speakers at the conference was Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, a twenty six-year-old woman from East Timor, a former Portuguese colony that had been occupied by Indonesia since 1975. Bella was one of four East Timorese women who attended the conference, and she delivered the plenary address for the session on human rights. Bella used her address to speak about the devastating effects of APEC upon the lives of people from East Timor and Indonesia, and to draw attention to the particular struggles of the East Timorese, who were facing what she called "the reality of genocide" under Indonesian military rule.[3] This gathering was just one of the many international conferences, forums, and symposia that Bella addressed in the 1990s in "speaking out for justice" for East Timor. She did so to raise awareness about the human rights violations being perpetrated by the Indonesian military and to advocate for East Timor's right to national self-determination (Fig. 8.1).

Bella was just two years old when Indonesia invaded her home of Dili, East Timor. As a child she witnessed the brutality and violence of Indonesia's subsequent occupation first hand, and these experiences motivated her to participate in the clandestine resistance against Indonesian rule. In 1994, Bella was selected by the Indonesian government to participate in the Canada World Youth Exchange Program as a representative of East Timor, the so-called 27th province of Indonesia. Rather than fulfilling her duties as a compliant, pro-integration youth, upon arriving in Canada Bella defected, and spent the next five years of

[1] 'Bella Galhos, East Timor Action Network, Exile in Canada from East Timor, Plenary speaker on APEC and Human Rights, Tuesday, November 18, 1997,' in *Conference Proceedings of the Second International Women's Conference Against APEC, November 17 to 18, 1997, Vancouver, B.C., Canada*, pp. 42–43.

[2] *Conference Proceedings of the Second International Women's Conference Against APEC*, p. 1.

[3] 'Galhos, Plenary speaker on APEC and Human Rights,' p. 43.

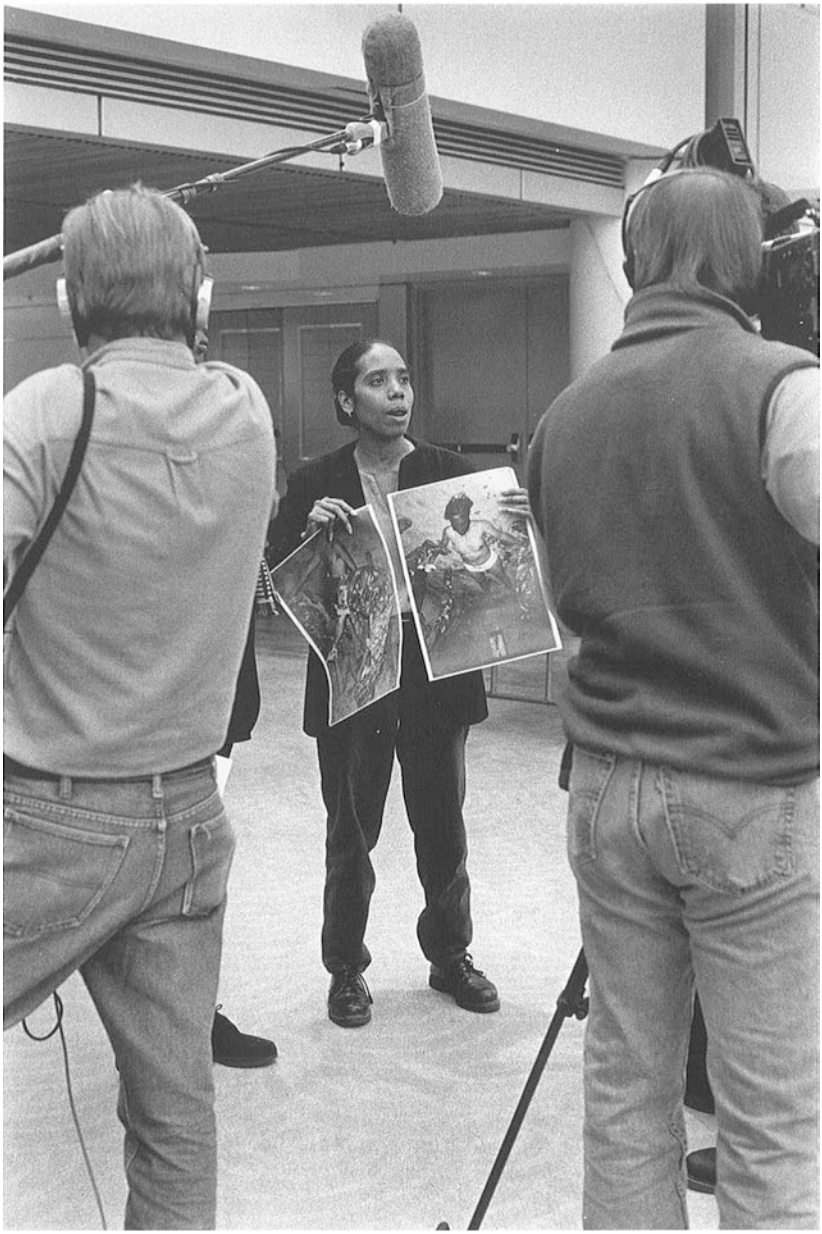

Fig. 8.1 Bella Galhos, press conference, APEC, Vancouver, 1997 (Elaine Brière)

her life exposing the brutalities of the Suharto regime and advocating for East Timor's right to self-determination. As a prominent activist and a compelling speaker, Bella became a potent symbol within and of the international solidarity movement that supported independence for East Timor. In doing so, Bella connected with and inspired a wide network of passionate individuals, churches, trade unions, human rights organisations, and women's groups.

Drawing upon the work of feminist scholars such as Valentine Moghadam who have highlighted the paucity of attention to the gender dynamics of transnational activism, in this chapter I explore Bella's role as a transnational feminist activist.[4] I argue that Bella's activism can be considered in two key ways. First, Bella participated in a sustained, international campaign for East Timor's independence, or what Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink might call a "transnational advocacy network"—that is, a network of activists united by solidarity with and support for a particular cause.[5] In particular, Bella socialised the issue and used her personal experiences of suffering to generate sympathy and support among international audiences. Her testimony, in turn, was used by the solidarity movement as emblematic of the plight of the East Timorese living under Indonesian military rule. Second, I argue that Bella's advocacy can be viewed in terms of her engagement with the emerging women's human rights movement: a new generation of transnational activists who sought to achieve what Charlotte Bunch has called the "feminist transformation of human rights."[6] In positioning East Timorese women's experiences of violence and oppression within this framework, Bella demonstrates the importance of women from the so-called Third World through what Niamh Reilly describes as bottom-up approaches to transnational feminist activism.[7]

[4] Valentine M. Moghadam, 'Transnational Activism,' in Laura Shepherd, ed., *Gender Matters in Global Politics: A Feminist Introduction to International Relations*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2014, p. 334. See also Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.

[5] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998, p. 1.

[6] Charlotte Bunch, 'Women's Rights as Human Rights: Towards a Re-Vision of Human Rights,' *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 12, 1990, pp. 486–498.

[7] Niamh Reilly, *Women's Human Rights: Seeking Gender Justice in a Globalizing Age*, Cambridge and Malden: Polity, 2009.

The chapter thus brings to the fore a prominent yet understudied East Timorese woman activist and the influence that she exerted upon the international campaign for East Timor's independence. It highlights the impact of international solidarity networks, as well as charismatic and inspiring individuals, upon the ultimately successful struggle for East Timor's independence. In so doing, the chapter extends the history of East Timor's struggle beyond prominent male individuals and Western governments to consider the role of East Timorese women within international networks and communicative structures, at an integral moment in the internationalisation of East Timor's independence campaign. Bella's case also contributes to understandings of transnational activism more broadly, by highlighting some of the ways in which gender as a critical category of analysis—as well as broader historical processes, such as globalisation and the associated new communication and information technologies—must be deployed together to understand the experiences of the transnational activist, as well as the structures of networking and mobilisation that surround them. Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova argue that in studying women's activism in global perspectives, we need to do more than simply prioritise gender as a category of analysis, but also to de-centre this scholarship by moving away from the prevailing Eurocentric and Western-centric approaches.[8] Although there is an increasing body of scholarship on the history of women's transnational activism, much of this work focuses on the role of international women's movements and organisations.[9] Instead, this chapter develops de Haan's observation that "it is often through the study of individual lives that we can uncover transnational connections, activism, and agendas."[10] Thus, I focus on the life and

[8] Francisca de Haan, Margaret Allen, June Purvis, and Krassimira Daskalova, 'Introduction,' in Francisca de Haan et al., *Women's Activism: Global Perspectives from the 1890s to the Present*, Abingdon: Routledge, 2013, p. 2.

[9] See Nancy A. Naples and Manisha Desai, eds., *Women's Activism and Globalization: Linking Local Struggles and Global Politics*, Hoboken: Taylor and Francis, 2004; Valentine M. Moghadam, *Globalizing Women: Transnational Feminist Networks*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005; Kimberly Jensen and Erika A. Kuhlman, eds., *Women and Transnational Activism in Historical Perspective*, Dordrecht: Republic of Letters, 2010.

[10] Francisca de Haan, 'Eugénie Cotton, Pak Chong-ae, and Claudia Jones: Rethinking Transnational Feminism and International Politics,' *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 25, no. 4, Winter 2013, p. 183.

experiences of one transnational activist, and consider the way in which her gender produced a particular form of transnational activism, located at a specific moment in the history of women's rights and East Timor's struggle.

The chapter privileges oral history as the central method for narrating Bella's activism, drawing primarily upon two interviews I conducted with Bella in 2012 in East Timor and in 2015 via Skype, in combination with other written sources. Oral history is often used by feminist historians as an important tool for drawing attention to women's lives, so many of which have been overlooked and unrecorded within traditional historical sources and official accounts of the past.[11] Of course, oral history involves considerations of power, positionality, and difference, which determine the exchange.[12] As Richa Nagar and Susan Geiger observe, feminist reflections on fieldwork necessarily involve considerations of "the shifting contextual, and relational contours of the researcher's social *identity* and her social situatedness or *positionality*."[13] I suggest that using oral history within a study of transnational feminist activism provides insights into Bella's sense of her own complex agency as a situated subject, responding to Chandra Talpade Mohanty's continuing call for academic feminist projects that produce decentralised analyses which are not only attentive but also accountable to different feminist communities.[14]

The chapter commences with a discussion of Bella's childhood and decision to defect to Canada. Subsequently, I discuss the forms taken by Bella's activism. In the context of her broader exposure of human rights violations and campaigning for East Timor's independence, I highlight

[11] See Special Issue on Women's Oral History, *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies*, vol. 2, no. 2, Summer 1977; and Women's History Issue, *Oral History: The Journal of the Oral History Society*, vol. 5, no. 2, 1977.

[12] Ethics clearance for this research project was obtained for this project through the University of Melbourne Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC 1136578).

[13] Richa Nagar and Susan Geiger, 'Part 1. The Original Argument: Beyond the Impasse?,' in Richa Nagar, ed., *Muddying the Waters: Coauthoring Feminisms across Scholarship and Activism*, Urbana, Chicago, and Springfield: University of Illinois Press, 2014, p. 82.

[14] Chandra Talpade Mohanty, 'Transnational Feminist Crossings: On Neoliberalism and Radical Critique,' *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, vol. 38, no. 4, 2013, pp. 967–991.

two themes within Bella's activist rhetoric: Indonesia's forced sterilisation of East Timorese women and girls; and the prevalence of rape within Indonesian-occupied East Timor. I explore the way in which Bella deployed the language of women's human rights and the mobilisation of personal testimony to this end. Bella was notable in the way in which she, and her supporters, utilised minimal resources to achieve their aims. Yet Bella's family at home in East Timor was reportedly threatened and harassed by the Indonesian military in response to Bella's actions, and I consider some of the dangerous implications of transnational activism. Ultimately, I seek to place Bella's activities within the broader context of the international campaign for the independence of East Timor by analysing Bella's role in cultivating a broad, international solidarity network that included emerging communities of politically engaged women.

How to Be a Good Indonesian: Bella's Childhood and Her Decision to Defect

Bella was born in Dili in 1972, when East Timor was still a Portuguese colony. She was just a baby when, after centuries of colonial rule, a 1974 coup in Portugal led to decolonisation among its former colonies, including Portuguese Timor. After a brief civil war, the pro-independence party, the Revolutionary Front for an Independent East Timor (*Frente Revolucionária de Timor-Leste Independente*, FRETILIN), emerged victorious and unilaterally declared independence on 28 November 1975. Claiming its assistance had been requested by East Timorese leaders, Indonesian military forces invaded the territory ten days later. Despite condemnation by the United Nations (UN), on 17 July 1976 Indonesia declared East Timor its 27th province. For the next twenty four years, the East Timorese waged a military, clandestine, and diplomatic struggle for self-determination.[15] During this time an estimated 200,000 people—nearly a third of the population—perished as a result of the conflict.[16]

[15]For an overview of these events, see the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation (CAVR), *Chega! The Final Report of the Timor-Leste Commission for Reception, Truth, and Reconciliation (CAVR, Vol. III)*, Jakarta: KPG in cooperation with STP-CAVR, 2013.

[16]See Ben Kiernan, 'The Demography of Genocide in Southeast Asia: The Death Tolls in Cambodia, 1975–79, and East Timor, 1975–80,' *Critical Asian Studies*, vol. 35, no. 4,

As a young child, Bella witnessed first-hand the brutality and the violence of the Indonesian military. Following the invasion, when East Timorese fighters were engaged in full-scale warfare with the overwhelmingly more powerful and Western-equipped Indonesian military, Bella's father was one of the "tens of thousands" of East Timorese who were arbitrarily arrested and detained by the Indonesian forces.[17] This act left Bella's mother and her seven children to fend for themselves for two years. Upon his release and in light of the violent nature of their relationship, Bella's mother made the decision to permanently separate from her husband and to raise their seven children alone. Her experience was a source of inspiration to Bella, instilling in her a strong conscience and sense of justice. Bella recalled: "my mother is just one-metre-high, but man, the strength she has, everything that is in her, it didn't really show me that she is a small lady. My mother is big in our eyes, you know?"[18] As do all East Timorese families, Bella's has many stories of members being killed and tortured by the Indonesian forces, "because of their desire to free this country."[19] As she became a teenager, Bella began to situate these personal experiences of suffering within a broader political context. Bella explained:

> [My mother] told us about the story of my auntie, what happened to my dad when I was very young. And she didn't like the military – never liked them. So all of that influenced us too. So we didn't like them too. In the beginning, of course you can't dislike them simp[ly] because, ohh you killed my auntie! You killed my cousin – that's what I knew. But I had no idea about the whole conflict that they were here, occupying a country. As I grew up, passed my teenage years, and I realised, damn – they're here, taking over my country! They destroy the people, they destroy the culture! So basically it's like, step by step, but it was fast, because of the hardship and the critical situation in East Timor.[20]

2003, pp. 585–597; and Geoffrey Gunn, *East Timor and the United Nations: The Case for Intervention*, Lawrenceville: Red Sea Press, 1997, pp. 26–27.

[17] See Part 7.4: Arbitrary Detention, Torture and Ill-treatment in the CAVR, *Chega!*, 1673.

[18] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, July 3, 2012, Dili.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

As a result of hearing these stories and her increasing capacity to situate them within a broader political context, Bella felt that she had a responsibility to contribute to the process of liberating her country.[21] These stories and experiences laid the foundations for and informed much of Bella's later activism.

Bella's engagement with politics, a crime in Indonesian-occupied East Timor, occurred at a turning point in the trajectory of East Timorese resistance to Indonesian rule. The nature of the resistance was changing from the late 1980s as a new generation of East Timorese who had grown up under Indonesian rule were beginning to publicly express their dissatisfaction with the occupying regime. This generation had limited experience of Portuguese colonialism, and the people were also separate from the tensions that were beginning to plague the formal resistance structure. Their dissatisfaction was evidence that Indonesia's claim of winning over the "hearts and minds" of the new generation was not the case.[22] Many, including Bella, were students at the University of East Timor (*Universitas Timor Timur*, UNTIM), established in Dili in 1985, and it was there that their activism and organising began to take shape. After President Suharto visited the territory in 1989, he declared East Timor to have "equal status" with the other provinces of Indonesia.[23] Yet the internal military presence remained high, and responded heavy-handedly to growing public expressions of discontent.

The visits of Pope John Paul II on 12 October 1989, and of United States (US) Ambassador to Indonesia John Monjo on 17 January 1990, were accompanied by demonstrations and violent crackdowns by the Indonesian military. In particular, the Santa Cruz Massacre, which followed a peaceful protest alongside a funeral parade for a young activist, was a turning point in the internationalisation of East Timor's struggle. On 12 November 1991 Indonesian troops fired into the crowd of peaceful protestors, resulting in the deaths of more than 270 young people (including a New Zealand citizen), and two British reporters were

[21] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, March 1, 2015, Skype.

[22] Pedro Pinto Leite (International Platform of Jurists for East Timor), 'Other United Nations Proceedings,' in Heike Krieger, ed., *East Timor and the International Community: Basic Documents*, Dietrich Rauschning, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997, p. 194.

[23] Presidential Decree No. 62/1988.

caught up in the violence.[24] Indicative of the changing shape and form of the independence movement was the growing importance of concepts of human rights that were being used by activists to describe this event, which was captured on film and broadcast around the world.[25] Bella later wrote of the demonstration: "I will never forget that day as long as I live. I will never forget how many people died around me when Indonesian troops opened fire on us. I was one of the lucky ones who survived."[26] These three events demonstrated a shift in the nature of opposition to Indonesian rule to public, peaceful expressions of defiance that were aimed at an international audience. The expanding role and activities of the clandestine movement were part of a centralised, strategic reorientation of resistance strategy to emphasise national unity and independence through a peaceful resolution, with the assistance of the international community.[27] Bella's involvement with the resistance also began at this moment. She participated, as did many young women, by collecting money, buying and preparing materials for banners to be held by the

[24]A first-hand account of these three important events was later recorded in the 1997 memoir of Bella's uncle and leader of the clandestine movement, Constâncio Pinto. In Constâncio Pinto and Matthew Jardine, eds., *East Timor's Unfinished Struggle: Inside the East Timorese Resistance*, Toronto, Ontario: Canadian Cataloguing in Publication Data, 1997.

[25]For a more detailed discussion of the transformation of East Timorese nationalists from modeling themselves on 'Third World' liberation movements, to use the language of human rights as a source for national identity, see David Webster, 'Languages of Human Rights in Timor-Leste,' *Asia Pacific Perspectives*, August 2013, p. 5021.

[26]Isabel Antonia da Costa Galhos, 'Presentation to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,' 16 June 1997, p. 1. East Timor Alert Network. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster]. Also available [online] on the Friends of East Timor—Canada blog: http://foetca.blogspot.ca/2015/03/the-1997-un-decolonization-committee.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[27]This shift was symbolised by the founding of the National Council of Maubere Resistance (*Concelho Nacional de Resistência Maubere*—CNRM) in 1987; and the National Council of Timorese Resistance (*Concelho Nacional de Resistência Timorense*—CNRT) in 1998 as umbrella organisations that united all forces in the name of independence for East Timor. See Sara Niner, 'A Long Journey of Resistance: The Origins and Struggle of CNRT,' in Richard Tanter, Mark Selden, and Stephen R. Shalom, eds., *Bitter Flowers, Sweet Flowers: East Timor, Indonesia and the World Community*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers; Sydney: Pluto Press, 2001, pp. 15–29.

protesters, and passing on information about the demonstration plans.[28] As did many East Timorese, Bella was living a dangerous double life—"putting two faces all over the place," as she put it—by openly supporting the Indonesian government, yet maintaining a link to the clandestine movement by spreading information and supplying food and medicine to the resistance fighters in the mountains.[29]

Her circumstances dramatically changed in 1994 when Bella applied for the Canada World Youth exchange program. Bella later wrote that at the time, she "couldn't speak one word of English," but "was interested in the exchange."[30] Bella was selected from hundreds of students to travel to Canada to represent East Timor, she suspected, because she was known for being "a good Indonesian" with "a bright future."[31] There, she was supposed to "tell the Canadian people that East Timorese people are not suffering, and that we want to integrate with Indonesia."[32] Along with representatives from other provinces of Indonesia, Bella was initially sent to Jakarta for a professional training program. She remained in Jakarta for two weeks longer than the other representatives, during which time she was investigated and questioned about her position on Indonesia and East Timor. During these investigations, Bella felt sexually and psychologically threatened by her interrogators. These experiences contributed to her decision to defect:

> You know, when they were questioning me, they touched me. It's like, psychologically threatening me. Show me what they are capable of. And I cried a lot. They made me … and I am a person that finds it hard to cry – I cry, but I have to have a good reason. And if I am not, when I am too angry I cry, because it means that someone's going to die. But they made

[28] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, July 3, 2012, Dili.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Bella Galhos, 'Bella's Story,' December 1994, p. 2. Series 1: Campaigns, Box 8: Women and East Timor, in 'East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) fonds, 1986–1997,' The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, Lower Level, McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

[31] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, July 3, 2012, Dili.

[32] Isabel Antonia da Costa Galhos, 'Presentation to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,' 16 June 1997, p. 2. East Timor Alert Network. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster]. Also available on the Friends of East Timor, Canada blog.

> me cry like a baby, holding me like that, touching me, threatening me. A lot of intimidation. So at that moment, I decided. But inside only.[33]

Bella's uncle, Constâncio Pinto, was living in the US at the time after being forced to flee the territory following his role in organising the Santa Cruz demonstration. Bella had a letter from Constâncio to her parents, including his address in Rhode Island, which she tore into a tiny piece of paper and stuck in a hole in her pants. Upon arriving in Canada she took out the address, and sent her uncle a letter. Soon after, he contacted the solidarity movement in Canada and representatives came to pick up Bella from her hotel. Bella left the Indonesian uniform with which she had been provided on the bed, with a note that said: "Thank you, but no thank you, I don't need it anymore."[34] This story, emblematic of broader perceptions of the unwanted and unjustified presence of Indonesia in East Timor, was retold in solidarity publications across North America.[35] In effect, the account of Bella's defection galvanised existing networks and contributed to an increased public awareness of the East Timor issue.

The central organisation that facilitated Bella's defection, and with whom her uncle had initially made contact, was the Canadian East Timor Alert Network (ETAN), a solidarity organisation founded in 1987.[36] The organisation was founded upon the initiative of the photojournalist Elaine Brière, with the support of the Canada Asia Working Group of the Canadian Churches (now part of KAIROS Canada), to raise awareness amongst the Canadian public with regard to the Indonesian occupation and to change Canadian foreign policy vis-à-vis East Timor.[37] The organisation formed alongside the existing Indonesia East Timor Programme in Canada, and soon developed local groups in all Canada's major cities and in many smaller communities. Members of ETAN

[33] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, July 3, 2012, Dili.

[34] Ibid.

[35] A key example is here is Paul Knox, 'Twenty Years After Brutal Invasion, Timorese Woman Fights On,' *The Globe and Mail*, 7 December 1995.

[36] Constâncio Pinto, 'Elaine Brière, International Solidarity, and the Struggle for the Independence of Timor-Lesye,' in Elaine Brière, ed., *East Timor: Testimony*, Between the Lines, 2004, p. 33.

[37] Elaine Brière, co-ordinator, East Timor Alert Network, *East Timor Alert Network*, 28 January 1988.

assisted Bella to apply for refugee status in Canada, and after less than eight months, her application was successful. Bella's case subsequently gained international traction, as she was one of three East Timorese who defected to Canada around the same time, including Abe Barreto Soares and José 'Aze' Guterres, although Bella was the only woman. For the next five years Bella was based in Toronto and then in Ottawa, yet she travelled across Canada and throughout the world to raise awareness of the occupation of East Timor and to criticise the complicity of governments of some of the world's most powerful countries.

Becoming a Transnational Activist: Human Rights and the Mobilisation of Testimony

The nature of the international solidarity movement in support of East Timor's independence changed significantly after the footage of the 1991 Santa Cruz Massacre, which was taken by British cinematographer and journalist Max Stahl, was broadcast around the world.[38] American journalists Allan Nairn and Amy Goodman, who had also been present at Santa Cruz, subsequently campaigned actively throughout the US, helping to build a powerful network of individuals and organisations in support of East Timor.[39] It was these advocacy networks that would facilitate Bella's activism in the years to come. The demonstrated brutalities of the Indonesian military inspired the birth of the US-based solidarity organisation, the East Timor Action Network (ETAN), which became a highly successful Washington-oriented lobby group. The group, spearheaded by Charles Scheiner and John Miller, advocated in support of "genuine self-determination and human rights for the people of East Timor."[40] The Canadian ETAN, which had been established several years earlier, assisted the US ETAN by providing a list of US residents who

[38] The footage can be viewed at the following site: Le Massacre de Santa Cruz à Dili, *L'institut National de L'audiovisuel* [The French National Audiovisual Institute]: http://www.ina.fr/video/VDD08007962/le-massacre-de-santa-cruz-a-dili-video.html[Access Date 28 June 2017].

[39] Carmel Budiardjo, 'A Weapon More Powerful Than Guns: The International Solidarity Movement for East Timor,' 17 March 2002, *TAPOL*, available [online]: www.tapol.gn.apc.org/r020520etsolidarity.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[40] East Timor Action Network 1999 Annual Report, available [online]: http://www.etan.org/etan/1999anul.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

were sympathetic to East Timor's cause.[41] It is important, therefore, to note that Bella's activism following her defection took place within a growing internationalisation and increased coordination of the solidarity movement.

The Canadian ETAN participated in a range of activities to increase public awareness about the Indonesian occupation and to change Canada's foreign policy approach to Indonesia. These activities included publishing and distributing the *East Timor Update*, a brief that ran as the inside back page of *The ACTivist*, the newspaper of the ACT for Disarmament Coalition in Toronto. The brief encouraged readers to "end the genocide in East Timor" through education, organising activities, and lobbying government officials.[42] From 1995 the brief began to advertise Bella's speaking tours, such as in March, when she travelled around Canada "to talk about the situation of women in East Timor" as ETAN's contribution to International Women's Day.[43] As part of this tour, Bella travelled to Winnipeg, Guelph, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Windsor, British Columbia, Calgary, and other cities. These tours were well organised, with local ETAN groups coordinating with the National Office in Toronto to schedule engagements for Bella.[44] For example, in preparation for Bella's trip to St. John's, Bruce Gilbert from the local ETAN branch proposed that Bella should speak at a public meeting, visit schools in the area, participate in various media interviews, meet with local organisations such as St. John's Women's Centre, and attend a social event for the human rights/social activist community.[45] The tours were one of the key ways in which Bella was able to network and connect

[41] Clinton Fernandes, *The Independence of East Timor: Multi-Dimensional Perspectives: Occupation, Resistance, and International Political Activism*, Eastbourne: Sussex Academic Press, 2011, p. 92.

[42] 'What You Can Do to End the Genocide in Timor,' *East Timor Update*, *The ACTivist*, October 1991, p. 9. [Note that early numbering of the brief was irregular, with initial issues un-numbered].

[43] *East Timor Update*, No. 39, 1 March 1995, in *The ACTivist*, March 1995, p. 7.

[44] ETAN National Memo, 27 July 1995, from ETAN National Office to all ETAN local groups. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster].

[45] Letter from Bruce C. Gilbert to David Webster, 28 August 1995.'Galhos, Isabel (Bella).' East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster].

with individuals and organisations and to share her experiences across Canada.

Bella's compelling speeches soon attracted the attention of solidarity organisations beyond North America, and she was invited to speak in the US, Europe, and Australia, effectively becoming an important link between the Canadian and the broader international solidarity movement for East Timor. Although ETAN had a significant role in facilitating her activism, Bella's personal connections and relationships were also important in disseminating her ideas through grassroots activism. Bella later reflected that she felt determined and proud for sharing her story with the world, her experiences of life in East Timor, and for her capacity to solicit an affective response from her audiences:

> I always seemed to be wanted by so many organisations around the world. At that time, I couldn't even speak English very well, you know? I just had the guts and spoke truthfully. And I didn't care about my English at that time, I just said what I saw, what I remembered and everything that I went through, as my experience. So I shared it around the world, I've been invited all over the world to share all my stories and my experience.[46]

Despite her limited English-language skills, Bella felt that she was able to share her experiences about oppression in Indonesian-occupied East Timor across the Anglophone world. Many of those who heard her speak observed that Bella was a confident and engaging public speaker. In an article for *Estafeta: Voice of the East Timor Action Network*, for example, Kristen Sundell wrote that Bella "is a powerful and passionate speaker and elicited a strong response from everyone who heard her."[47]

At conferences, universities, high schools, rallies, and benefits, and in media interviews, Bella spoke of Western complicity in the invasion and occupation of East Timor, and the brutality of the Suharto regime. A letter from ETAN representatives in Canada to the office of New York-based José Ramos-Horta, the permanent representative for FRETILIN at the UN, outlined the "vital" role of Bella in "providing the link between East Timor and Canada" by leading lobbying and protest

[46] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, July 3, 2012, Dili.

[47] Kristen Sundell, 'Isabel Galhos Tours the United States,' *ESTAFETA: Voice of the East Timor Action Network*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1997.

actions and ensuring that these actions were conducted "in the best interest of the East Timorese."[48]

It was not only in organised forums, but also on a personal level, that Bella attempted to raise awareness about the Indonesian occupation. "I started from small to big. Everyone who met me, classmates and friends who took English class together, they were all learning about Timor. The church that I went to. They all learnt about Timor," she remembered.[49] The only independent institution that operated in East Timor throughout the Indonesian occupation, the Catholic Church became a staunch advocate for the human rights of the East Timorese, as well as a vital source of cultural survival, sanctity, and hope for many within the territory.[50] For Bella, the Church constituted a site for engaging with a community that was already sympathetic to East Timor, especially following a 1983 tour of Canada by Monsignor Martinho da Costa Lopes, the former Apostolic Administrator of the Diocese of Dili.[51] Thus, a distinctive feature of Bella's activism was the grassroots approach to her campaigning, as she discussed the issue of independence for East Timor not only in specifically designated sites for activism but also in the spaces and institutions that comprised her everyday life (Fig. 8.2).

Bella was also one of the few diaspora women to enter the sphere of international diplomacy with regard to East Timor, symbolised by the consecutive meetings held under the auspices of the UN to facilitate a peaceful solution to the issue. East Timor was listed on the UN Decolonization Committee's agenda as a Non-Self Governing Territory under Portuguese rule and remained so throughout the Indonesian occupation.[52] In 1997, for example, Bella presented at the UN Special Committee on Decolonization on behalf of ETAN. In her presentation,

[48] Letter from [unclear] and Mrs. John VanDuzer, Toronto, ONT, Canada, to the Office of Jose Ramos Horta [undated]. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster].

[49] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, March 1, 2015, Skype.

[50] For a detailed discussion of the Catholic Church and the Indonesian occupation of East Timor, see Patrick A. Smythe, *'The Heaviest Blow:' The Catholic Church and the East Timor Issue*, Münster: Lit, 2004.

[51] See Michael McDowell, 'Cause of East Timor Independence is Brought to Canada by RC Prelate,' *The Globe and Mail*, 26 November 1983.

[52] CAVR, *Chega!*, p. 2644.

Fig. 8.2 Bella Galhos and ETAN/US Field Organizer, Kristen Sundell (East Timor and Indonesia Action Network (ETAN))

Bella told her personal story: how she escaped from her country, and how she was able to physically be in New York on that day. She appealed to the Committee "to please recommend a strong resolution to the General Assembly this year which will help us win this basic right to choose our own future." In addition, Bella called for "an international arms embargo on Indonesia as long as it continues to illegally occupy East Timor," as well as for "business and governments to make a referendum on self-determination in East Timor a pre-condition for their future dealings with Indonesia."[53] Such appeals were in line with calls made by

[53] Isabel Antonia da Costa Galhos, 'Presentation to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,' 16 June 1997, p. 4. East Timor Alert Network. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster]. Also available online at the Friends of East Timor—Canada blog.

international solidarity organisations, such as the UK-based human rights organisation, TAPOL.[54]

Yet it was the use of her personal experiences of suffering, as evidence of the violence that underpinned Indonesian rule, which resonated most strongly with her audiences and was thus profoundly important in the nature of Bella's advocacy. Bella recalled that in addition to "sharing the story" of her own life, she told people about East Timor: where it was, what happened. "And in order to make it close," Bella recalled, "I used my personal story of what happened to me and my other friends."[55] She spoke about her experience as a young woman living under Indonesian rule, which she saw as representative of other East Timorese women and revealing of the climate of fear and repression within the territory: "The safety of travelling anywhere on your own, witnessing your parents being put in jail or being beaten up—especially your father. And not being able to talk about things, always being careful, always watching your back … that's the life [of] most, almost all Timorese women my age, we have the same experience."[56] Bella thus used her personal experiences of violence to illustrate the extent of suffering experienced by all East Timorese living under Indonesian rule.

Bella frequently highlighted two specific human rights violations that affected East Timorese women: Indonesia's sterilisation of East Timorese women and girls, and the prevalence of rape and sexual violence. These crimes were of increased global concern in the 1990s, as part of a broader women's human rights framework that had been emerging in the period following the UN Decade for Women (1976–1985). As Charlotte Bunch has written, this was an international movement that applied feminist concepts and gender analyses to human rights theory and practice "to make women more visible and to transform the concept and practice of human rights in our culture so that it takes better account of women's lives."[57] International legislation around human rights violations with regard to rape, family planning, maternal and reproductive

[54] 'Don't Trade with Mass Murderers,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 48, November 1981, p. 1.

[55] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, March 1, 2015, Skype.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Charlotte Bunch, 'Women's Rights as Human Rights: Toward a Re-Vision of Human Rights,' *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 12, no. 4, November 1990, p. 487.

health, and the right to reproduce freely was included in the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1979,[58] but only really gained traction after the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Beijing marked a turning point in the global agenda for gender equality, and bringing the issue of women's rights as human rights into focus. These concerns are particularly demonstrated by what became known as the 'Hillary Doctrine' after the speech made by then-US First Lady, Hillary Clinton, in which she stressed that "human rights are women's rights … And women's rights are human rights."[59] The resulting Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, which was adopted unanimously by 189 countries, including Indonesia, provided an agenda for women's empowerment and became the key global policy document on gender equality.[60] Whilst six Australia-based East Timorese women attended the Beijing Conference, Bella herself was not present because of lack of funds, indicating some of the difficulties common to grassroots approaches to transnational activism, but she wrote an open letter to the conference participants. In the letter, Bella drew attention to the horrors that the women of East Timor were experiencing under Indonesian rule, the futility that many East Timorese felt in efforts to stop it, and the impunity with which these crimes were perpetrated:

> In East Timor, if we protest against the rape, torture, killings and the forced sterilization of women and young girls in the high schools and villages, we risk execution or disappearance. So many young girls are being sexually abused by soldiers, and afterwards, the soldiers just walk away,

[58] United Nations General Assembly, 'Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women,' 3 September 1981, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, available [online]: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/text/econvention.htm [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[59] First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton, Remarks for the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women, Beijing, China, 5 September 1995, available [online]: http://www.un.org/esa/gopher-data/conf/fwcw/conf/gov/950905175653.txt [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[60] The Fourth World Conference on Women, 'Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action,' September 1995, United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women, available [online]: http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/beijing/platform/ [Access Date 28 June 2017].

> unpunished, and without a care for the suffering they have caused. Many young women become pregnant, and the soldiers take no responsibility.[61]

In highlighting the prevalence of these two gender-based violations, Bella's claims can be situated within this emerging feminist discourse of women's rights as human rights.

Sexual violence and the violation of women's reproductive and sexual rights were common themes within Bella's activist rhetoric. In an interview with Caroline Xia for *The ACTivist* in Toronto in April 1995, for example, Bella explained the way in which the Indonesian military enforced the implementation of birth control methods amidst a broader climate of violence and intimidation. Her image appeared on the cover of the newspaper, with the heading: "East Timorese woman speaks out for justice."[62]

In the interview, Bella described how the military went to all the high schools and injected the young girls: "We didn't know, we don't have the right to ask, we don't have children anymore."[63] The implementation of Indonesia's national family program, *Keluarga Berencana Nasional* (KB), in East Timor is still an issue of conjecture. The most in-depth exploration is a 1997 report by Miranda Sissons from the Yale Centre for International and Area Studies. Sissions concluded that although the program that was implemented in East Timor strongly resembled that throughout Indonesia, in East Timor it was "set in a context of wide-scale repression and fear" that resulted in the violation of standards of family planning, reproductive health care, and women's human rights under both international and Indonesian law.[64] Bella also frequently spoke of sexual violence perpetrated by the Indonesian military (Fig. 8.3):

[61] Letter to my sisters in Beijing from Isabel Galhos, 15 August 1995. Series 1: Campaigns, Box 3: ET at Beijing Women's Conference 1995, in 'East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) fonds, 1986–1997,' The William Ready Division of Archives and Research Collections, Mills Memorial Library, Lower Level McMaster University, Hamilton, ONT, Canada.

[62] *The ACTivist*, April 1995.

[63] Caroline Xia, 'East Timorese Woman Speaks Out for Justice,' *The ACTivist*, April 1995.

[64] Miranda A. Sissons, *From One Day to Another: Violations of Women's Reproductive and Sexual Rights in East Timor*, Fitzroy: East Timor Human Rights Centre, 1997, p. 4.

Fig. 8.3 Bella Galhos, cover, *The ACTivist*, April 1995 (East Timor Alert Network/Canada, McMaster University Archives, Canada)

> They come any time […] use anything they want, eat and drink everything, and never pay anything, everything's free. They really like to be adopted by a family that has a daughter. So besides eating, drinking, everything for free, they can also have sex without any responsibility. Me, my mom sent me to the nuns whenever the military comes, which is almost every day. They come anytime, ten o'clock, twelve o'clock at night. They wake everybody up and say they're hungry, so we have to cook for them at that time. We are not free in East Timor, not even in our own house.[65]

The prevalence of human rights violations against East Timorese women and the impunity with which these violations were perpetrated was a key feature of Bella's activist rhetoric. These issues can be understood against the broader context of the increasing role of human rights language within the international solidarity movement for East Timor, as David Webster has highlighted.[66] Considering the changing nature of the East Timorese independence movement, the broadening scope of the solidarity movement, and the emerging emphasis within international feminist gatherings and human rights discourses upon women's human rights, Bella's appeals were directed at receptive and concerned audiences. They were not unchallenged, however, and despite increasing Canadian public support for East Timor's independence, one of the more dangerous implications of transnational activism can be seen through the treatment that Bella's family received at home in East Timor as a result of her actions.

Suharto's Worst Nightmare

Despite being granted refugee status in Canada, Bella's family was still inside Indonesian-occupied East Timor, and they were threatened and harassed in response to Bella's criticism of the occupation. Bella's speaking tours and interviews received coverage in the activist literature within Canada and increasingly abroad, but the treatment of her family back home was also featured within the mainstream Canadian press. Much of the attention centred upon the words and actions of Benjamin

[65] Caroline Xia, 'East Timorese Woman Speaks Out for Justice', *The ACTivist*, April 1995.

[66] David Webster, 'Languages of Human Rights in Timor-Leste,' *Asia Pacific Perspectives*, August 2013, p. 5.

Parwoto, the Indonesian Ambassador to Canada. Parwoto told reporters that if Bella continued to speak out in Canada, there would be negative consequences for her family in East Timor.[67] "There are people who don't like making a fuss of things, if you understand what I mean," he told *The Toronto Star* in early 1996.[68] Parwoto was reported as stating that Bella was "a threat to Indonesian state security."[69] Bella was aware of these statements, commenting that Parwoto was "trying to silence" her through the press: "Now I know the Indonesian government is very concerned by my speaking out. And I already know that my mother is not safe. No one in East Timor is safe as long as the Indonesian military is there."[70] This link between Bella's own safety and the safety of East Timorese people more broadly demonstrates one of the ways in which her story was framed as representative of broader structures of oppression in East Timor.

During the Canada Trade Mission to East Timor in January 1996, Parwoto visited the Galhos home in Dili. Despite later claiming that it was "just a friendly visit," Parwoto reportedly "brought along a couple of truckloads of the security forces."[71] Bella told the press that he visited to encourage her mother to put pressure on Bella to stop her anti-Indonesian activities, or it would endanger her and her family.[72] "At that time, he really put my family […] in a difficult spot. It jeopardised them and exposed them to risk," Bella recalled.[73] Parwoto later repeated his claim in several Canadian newspapers that "the life of Teresa Galhos could be in danger because of the activities of Bella Galhos."[74] Not all of Bella's family members supported her activism. When she spoke to her mother on the phone, however, she told Bella to "keep on doing what

[67] Allan Thompson, 'Ambassador Adds Fuel to Indonesia Dispute,' *The Toronto Star*, 8 February 1996, A11.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Jeff Sallott, 'Indonesian Envoy, Harassed Family, Refugee Says,' *The Globe and Mail*, 24 January 1996, A8.

[70] Thompson, 'Ambassador Adds Fuel,' A11.

[71] 'Persona non grata: Indonesian Envoy Should Leave,' *Vancouver Sun*, 12 February 1996.

[72] CP, 'Indonesian Envoy Faces Questions,' *The Globe and Mail*, 30 January 1996, A4.

[73] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, March 1, 2015, Skype.

[74] Thompson, 'Ambassador Adds Fuel,' A11.

you're doing."[75] When I asked Bella about this tension within her family, she explained:

> Well, there was quite mixed feelings. I realised that my, my actions had effect. That's one thing. And then another issue, I was worried about the safety of my family […] I knew that even with my decision to defect to Canada already jeopardised all of them. And that didn't really put me in a situation where I would stop doing what I was doing, but instead increasingly […] It was like I even became more active than I was before. And that's another way is not only to save my family, but to use the moment, the right moment, to put Timor in the spotlight, in the media – in the mainstream media. Because it was very hard actually, to put Timor in the media. So all of those events, all of those moments, I took it as a high, as deep, whatever I could to bring Timor into the spotlight I did it.[76]

These political differences were not uncommon within East Timorese families during the Indonesian occupation. Partly because of the "opening up" of the territory, there was a sense that the military was somewhat more accountable internationally for their actions, and thus the treatment of Bella's family did not extend beyond these initial threats.

The issue did, however, receive much coverage in the activist and mainstream Canadian and international solidarity press. In Canada, and in other parts of the Anglophone world, advocacy for East Timor often took the form of alerting the public to the tacit support of the Suharto regime by Western governments, and specifically of its occupation of East Timor.[77] Bella appeared on television, was quoted in newspapers, and spoke at news conferences in which she demanded the Canadian government denounce Indonesia's brutal occupation of East Timor.[78] A range of Canadian newspapers, such as *The Toronto Star*, *The Ottawa Citizen*, and the *Vancouver Sun*, published articles detailing Parwoto's threats and advocating for his expulsion from Canada. An article in the *Vancouver Sun* in February 1996, for example,

[75] Isabel 'Bella' Antonia da Costa Galhos, interview by Hannah Loney, March 1, 2015, Skype.

[76] Ibid.

[77] For example: 'The Falklands and East Timor,' *TAPOL Bulletin*, No. 51, May 1982, p. 4.

[78] East Timor Alert Network/ETAN, 'News Conference,' 19 January 1996.

Fig. 8.4 Bella Galhos and Bob White, President of the Canadian Labour Union, ETAN newsletter, November 1996 (East Timor Alert Network/Canada, McMaster University Archives, Canada)

declared that Parwoto was "acting like such a junior-grade that he's forfeited his diplomatic status and should be expelled from Canada forthwith."[79] ETAN's *East Timor Update* reported that in the face of such intimidation, Bella's refusal to stay silent was "a remarkable act of courage in a country where military surveillance is pervasive and those who criticize the Indonesian regime meet with arrest, torture and death."[80] Publicity and pressure upon the Canadian government extended beyond the media to a plethora of Canadian unions and workers' associations, including the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Canadian Auto Workers Union, the United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, the Energy and Paperworkers Union of Canada, the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers, the Telecommunications Workers Union, the Canadian Labour Congress, the Windsor and District Labour Council, and the Canadian Auto Workers Union. The Canadian labour movement took up the issue of East Timor with vigour, and Bella engaged actively with its affiliate organisations; for example, by participating in trade union education programs and conferences, such as the May 1996 Canadian Labour Congress (CLC) Convention.[81]

In a May 1996 report, the CLC committed to "work closely with trade unions and solidarity groups around the world to promote an end to the Indonesian occupation and to guarantee the people of East Timor the right to self-determination (Fig. 8.4)."[82]

Throughout the first half of 1996, representatives from Canadian unions and workers' associations wrote letters that were then published in News Releases by ETAN to the Canadian Prime Minister, Jean Chrétien, and the Foreign Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, deploring

[79] 'Persona Non Grata: Indonesian Envoy Should Leave,' *Vancouver Sun*, 12 February 1996.

[80] 'Ambassador's Threats Spark Canada-Indonesia Diplomatic Flap,' *East Timor Update*, Number 45, 8 February 1996, East Timor Alert Network, Toronto.

[81] Isabel Antonia da Costa Galhos, 'Presentation to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,' 16 June 1997, p. 3. East Timor Alert Network. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster]. Also available online at the Friends of East Timor—Canada blog.

[82] Canadian Labour Congress, 'Report of the International Affairs Committee,' May 1996. In Isabel Antonia da Costa Galhos, 'Presentation to the United Nations Committee on Decolonization,' 16 June 1997, p. 1. East Timor Alert Network. East Timor Alert Network papers, private collection, Toronto [provided by David Webster]. Also available online at the Friends of East Timor—Canada blog.

Parwoto's threats and attempts to silence Bella. Representatives called for Chrétien to "publicly denounce the continued occupation of East Timor"[83]; for "a Canadian arms embargo against Indonesia"[84]; for Parwoto to "immediately be asked to return to Indonesia"[85]; and for the Canadian government to put "an immediate end to Canadian diplomatic, economic and military support for the government of Indonesia."[86] There was a strong sense of collective spirit contained within the letters, in which the authors "joined with other Canadian trade unions, church groups and women's organisations,"[87] to agitate for immediate action by their government. The rhetoric, tone, and demands of these letters drew initially upon Bella's treatment and the threats that her family faced. However, this incident was used as a window to the broader oppression of the East Timorese people and to the illegal presence of the Indonesian military within the territory.

The letters requested that Canada stop boosting trade, for example, "until Indonesia has withdrawn from East Timor"—not just until Bella's right to free speech was protected and her mother was safe.[88] Representatives called for support for Bella and other victims of "Indonesian terror."[89] Leslie Dickirson, Chair of the Human Rights

[83] Letter from Louisette Hinton, International Representative and Coordinator for Women's Issues, United Food and Commercial Workers International Union, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 29 February 1996. In *East Timor Alert Network (ETAN) News Release*, 8 February 1996.

[84] Letter from Judy Darcy, National President of the Canadian Union of Public Employees, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 29 February 1996. In ibid.

[85] Letter from Basil "Buzz" Hargrove, National President of CAW/TCCA Canada, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 28 February 1996. In ibid.

[86] Letter from Rod Hiebert, President of the Telecommunications Workers Union of British Columbia, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 28 February 1996. In ibid.

[87] Letter from D.W. Tingley, National President of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 27 February 1996. In ibid.

[88] Letter from Basil "Buzz" Hargrove, National President of CAW/TCCA Canada, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 28 February 1996. In ibid.

[89] Letter from Rod Hiebert, in ibid.

Committee, Windsor and District Labour Council, wrote that the intimidation and blackmailing of Bella by Parwoto was "indicative of the repression the people of occupied East Timor continue to suffer."[90] Trade union support for Bella and for the East Timor issue was the result of a long time campaigning, with the consistent message that East Timor was the new South Africa in terms of deserving Canadian union support. ETAN's Labour in Indonesia Solidarity Project (LISP) and in particular the work of Kerry Pither was critical, and also mobilised the CLC's partnership with Indonesian labour leader and activist, Muchtar Pakpahan, and his Indonesian Prosperity Trade Union (SBSI), the largest union in the movement by Indonesian workers to reclaim their rights.[91] These examples demonstrate growing ties between East Timor and anti-Suharto activists in Indonesia. As a result, Bella's plight took on broader significance by drawing attention to the pervasive repression and violence that were being committed with impunity in Indonesian-occupied East Timor.

There are only a few reports on Canadian policy towards Indonesia, most of which highlight the hypocrisy in Canada's rhetoric of international human rights and complicity with Indonesian policies with regard to East Timor.[92] Support from unions and workers' associations was received within the context of the Canadian government's identification of Indonesia as a strong partner for Canadian foreign policy goals, despite the violent occupation of East Timor. Indonesian Foreign Affairs Minister Ali Alatas told a *New York Times* journalist that East Timor was a problem for Indonesian foreign policy, but initially "only

[90] Letter from Leslie Dickirson, Chair, Human Rights Committee, Windsor and District Labour Council, to the Right Honourable Jean Chrétien, Prime Minister of Canada, 25 March 1996. In ibid.

[91] See David Webster, 'Muchtar Pakpahan in Canada,' 10 June 1996, in *ETAN*, available [online]: http://www.library.ohiou.edu/indopubs/1996/06/10/0010.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[92] For example: David Webster, 'Self-Fulfilling Prophecies and Human Rights in Canada's Foreign Policy,' *International Journal*, Summer 2010, p. 739. For a further discussion of Canadian policy towards Indonesia, see Sharon Scharfe, *Complicity: Human Rights and Canadian Foreign Policy: The Case of East Timor*, Montreal: Black Rose, 1996; Jeffery Klaehn, 'Canadian Complicity in the East Timor Near-Genocide: A Case Study in the Sociology of Human Rights,' *Portuguese Studies Review*, vol. 11, no. 1, Fall-Winter 2003, pp. 49–65; and the documentary *Bitter Paradise: The Sell-Out of East Timor*, produced and directed by Elaine Brière.

as bothersome as a pebble in the shoe."[93] By the 1990s, however, at the time of Bella's increasing activism, Alatas claimed that "the East Timor problem was no longer a mere pebble in the shoe but had become a veritable boulder, dragging down Indonesia's international reputation to one of its lowest points."[94] David Webster argues that this metaphor could similarly be applied to Canadian governments, for whom East Timor "became an increasingly burdensome pebble in the shoes of Canadian policy-makers."[95] Webster argues that the East Timor issue continued to disrupt diplomatic relations, with Parwoto's visit to Bella's mother being "seen by Canadians both inside and outside government as an attempt to silence a voice of protest."[96] Canada's Ambassador to Indonesia, Lawrence Dickinson, wrote that the effort was "strategically ill-advised" and warned Parwoto that such intimidation could "be very damaging to the bilateral relationship" between their two countries. Accordingly, the Canadian Foreign Minister, Lloyd Axworthy, sent a note to the Ambassador "stating that his actions were inappropriate,"[97] thus demonstrating one of the ways in which Parwoto's behaviour did have implications for the relationship between the two countries. It also demonstrates how Bella's increasing public visibility and refusal to cease her activism because of these threats brought the issue of East Timor to the upper echelons of Canada's foreign policy decision making. The Suharto government responded to the Parwoto situation by expressing its "deep concern about the activities of various parties in Canada concerning human rights and East Timor which could disturb the relationship between Indonesia and Canada," claiming that trade relations should be the prime consideration between the two nations.[98]

The presence of East Timor in the international media and in public debate had increased throughout the late 1990s. Despite ongoing

[93] Jane Perlets, 'A Book About East Timor Jabs Indonesia's Conscience,' *New York Times*, 17 August 2006.

[94] Ali Alatas, *The Pebble in the Shoe: The Diplomatic Struggle for East Timor*, Jakarta: Aksara Karunia, 2006, p. xv.

[95] David Webster, *Fire and the Full Moon: Canada and Indonesia in a Decolonizing World*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009, p. 157.

[96] Ibid., p. 178.

[97] 'Canada Protests Indonesian Ambassador's Actions,' *Reuter*, Ottawa, 2 February 1996.

[98] 'Indonesia Calls in Canadian Ambassador,' *Reuter*, Jakarta, 7 February 1996.

trade relationships between Canada and Indonesia, the position of the Canadian government slowly shifted with regard to East Timor, particularly following the appointment of Axworthy as Foreign Minister in 1996. Axworthy was seen as the practitioner of "a human security approach" to Canadian foreign policy and viewed the relationship between trade and human rights as "mutually reinforcing."[99] In terms of Canada's relationship with Indonesia, Axworthy was responsible for slowing permit approvals for arms sales and supporting international peace talks on East Timor.[100] East Timor also became a central issue at the annual APEC summits, and in particular at the counter-activities that accompanied the November 1997 APEC summit in Vancouver. As Donatella della Porta has written, counter-summits emerged as one of the main forms of transnational protest during the 1990s.[101] The largest activity was at the APEC People's Summit, in which women, youth, indigenous peoples, workers, journalists, people of faith, community activists, and representatives of unions and nongovernmental, environmental, church, labour, and community organisations gathered to challenge APEC's business-driven agenda and to give voice to the concerns of civil society.[102] President Suharto's presence in Vancouver was one of the central concerns of these protests. ETAN posted pictures of Suharto with the caption "Wanted: For Crimes Against Humanity," which angered Indonesian officials and raised concerns as to whether it was safe for Suharto to attend the summit. In the days leading up to the event, Bella was among a number of exiled East Timorese and Indonesians who toured the country, calling upon the

[99] Lloyd Axworthy, 'Human Rights and Foreign Policy,' in *Peace, Justice and Freedom: Human Rights Challenges for the New Millennium*, Gurcharan Singh Bhatia, ed., Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2000, pp. 32, 34. See also Lloyd Axworthy, 'Canada and Antipersonnel Landmines: The Case for Human Security as a Foreign Policy Priority,' in Steve Smith, Amelia Hadfield, and Tim Dunne, eds., *Foreign Policy: Theories, Actors, Cases*, second edition, Oxford: Oxford University Press: 2012, pp. 284–307.

[100] As David Webster explains, these talks were not successful in resolving the East Timor problem, and "the belief that human rights could best be advanced through trade with authoritarian governments persisted." See Webster, *Fire and the Full Moon*, p. 179.

[101] Donatella della Porta, 'Activism, Transnational,' in Helmut K. Anheier and Mark Juergensmeyer, eds., *Encyclopedia of Global* Studies, Los Angeles, London, New Delhi, Singapore, and Washington, D.C.: Sage Publications, 2012, p. 20.

[102] The 1997 People's Summit on APEC, available [online]: http://web.archive.org/web/20010619204127/, http://vcn.bc.ca/summit/popindex.htm [Access Date 28 June 2017].


November 18 to 23: Team Timor at the Peoples' Summit

Bella, Dolly, Céu, Ines and Solana singing in Tetum for over 600 women at the Second International Women's Conference Against APEC

Before our guests arrived in Canada, we worked for over a month with

– especially Dolly and Solana – who had shown me their interest in playing a

Fig. 8.5 Bella and other East Timorese representatives at the Second International Women's Conference Against APEC (ETAN's Campaign Book) (East Timor Alert Network/Canada, McMaster University Archives, Canada)

authorities to "bar Suharto or put him behind bars" for the atrocities for which he was responsible.[103]

Several thousand people gathered to protest against Suharto's presence in Vancouver, leading him to insist on firm guarantees from the Canadian government for protection before agreeing to attend. Donatella della Porta, Abby Peterson, and Herbert Reiter warn that these types of protest at counter-summits can actually lead to mutual mistrust and discourage negotiations.[104] This concern was clearly evident in Axworthy's response: on behalf of Canada, he apologised for the anti-Suharto poster campaign, describing it as "outrageous, excessive and

[103] Budiardjo, 'A Weapon More Powerful Than Guns'.

[104] Donatella della Porta, Abby Peterson, and Herbert Reiter, 'Policing Transnational Protest: An Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta, Abby Peterson, and Herbert Reiter, *The Policing of Transnational Protest*, Aldershot and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, 2006, p. 7.

not the way Canadians behave" and pleaded for Suharto to attend.[105] However, the issue of East Timor was also featured within the formal proceedings of the summit, much to the annoyance of the Indonesian delegation. José Ramos-Horta, winner of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize for his emphasis upon human rights in his efforts to bring an end to the Indonesian occupation, was a keynote speaker and used his speech to appeal for "a just, comprehensive and internationally acceptable solution to the problem of East Timor."[106] The opening quotation to this chapter reveals that the East Timor issue was also taken up by Bella at the Women's Conference against APEC. The passage highlights how globalisation both expanded the terrain for Bella's activism by facilitating her mobility and opening up new political opportunities, yet associated shifts in global economic relationships also reinforced the prioritisation of smooth diplomatic relationships and trade over human rights (Fig. 8.5).

The 1997 Asian Economic Crisis had devastating effects upon Indonesia economically, socially and politically.[107] The crisis coincided with public protests in Indonesia which, combined with a withdrawal of support for the regime by the elite, led to the fall of Suharto on 20 May 1998. Within this context of pro-democracy activism in Indonesia, East Timorese activists drew upon nascent links with pro-democracy and human rights advocates in Indonesia to step up their independence campaign. Finally, the new Indonesian President B.J. Habibie declared a UN-run popular consultation in 1999, in which the East Timorese voted overwhelmingly in favour of independence. The violence that engulfed East Timor in the weeks following dominated international headlines,[108] and this time Canada took the lead in convincing the Indonesian

[105] Memo Re: Meeting between Minister of Foreign Affairs Lloyd Axworthy and Indonesian Foreign Minister Ali Alatas, 30 June 1997, *TAO Communications*, Available [online]: http://www.tao.ca/~wrench/apec/pmo/docs/meeting_memo.html [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[106] José Ramos-Horta, 'The APEC Conglomerate and Human Rights and Rule of Law, Principles Vs. Realpolitik,' People's Summit Speech, Vancouver, 19 November 1997, available [online]: http://www.osttimorkommitten.se/reg.easttimor/horta971123a.htm [Access Date 28 June 2017].

[107] For an excellent overview of the fall of the Suharto regime in Indonesia, see Edward Aspinall, *Opposing Suharto: Compromise, Resistance, and Regime Change in Indonesia*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005.

[108] For example: John Aglionby and Ian Black, 'Calls for International Intervention as East Timor Violence Escalates,' *The Guardian*, 2 September 1999.

government to accept an Australian-led intervention force. Thus, despite obstacles encountered along the way, Bella and the international solidarity movement ultimately achieved their goal: self-determination for East Timor.

Conclusion

This chapter has traced the development of Bella's activism from the local to the global, placing her experiences within the broader frame of the internationalisation of East Timor's independence struggle and the emergence of new forms of transnational feminist activism. Considering the limited information coming out of East Timor during the occupation, I argue that Bella was an important link in the development of the East Timor issue into a globally networked campaign. In the infancy of Bella's activism, she was severely constrained, as were all East Timorese, by the repressive occupation environment. Direct violence, as well as more insidious and omnipresent forms of surveillance and social control, limited Bella's capacity to agitate for self-determination for her nation. Later, Bella was directly supported by an alternate network: the individuals and organisations that constituted the Canadian solidarity movement. Here, Bella drew upon what Sidney Tarrow describes as the "resources, networks, and opportunities" of this new environment to make transnational claims for solidarity and action, and for governments around the world to withdraw their support for the Suharto regime and its occupation of East Timor.[109] Assisting in the formation of new activist networks, techniques, and claims founded on notions of human rights, Bella embodied a unique connection between the local and the global within the context of East Timor's struggle for self-determination.

Bella's activism was also significant because of her gender: the diplomatic circle of East Timor's independence movement was dominated by men, and as such, Bella recognised that her presence was particularly important. Globalisation and associated new communication and information technologies, as well as an increasing capacity for mobility, meant that Bella represented a new generation and form of transnational feminist activist. In accordance with strategies of the women's human rights

[109] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006, p. 2.

movement, Bella's personal story was used as a focal point for collective mobilisation and action, providing the solidarity movement with the resources and opportunities to make demands of their respective governments for changes in foreign policy. Bella's story also enables us to reflect upon the values and limitations of existing understandings of the transnational activist by drawing attention to the contributions of women from the so-called Third World to new forms of transnational feminist activism that emerged in the 1990s, in which women's human rights were a key issue. The bottom-up forms of advocacy and mobilisation deployed by activists such as Bella represented new practices in socialising the issues around which transnational social and solidarity movements coalesced. Finally, Bella's case presents a unique example of the entanglements and intersections between processes of globalisation, new forms of transnational activism, and questions of gender within these analyses.

Acknowledgements The fieldwork upon which this chapter builds was made possible through the generous support of several travel grants through the University of Melbourne: the School of Historical and Philosophical Studies Research and Graduate Studies Funding Scheme, the Faculty of Arts PhD Fieldwork Grant, the Graduate Research in Arts Travel Scheme, the MA Bartlett Special Travel Grant-in-aid, the Riady Scholarship, the Prue Torney Memorial Prize, and the Alma Hansen Scholarship. I extend my sincere thanks to David Webster and Sarah Smith for their considered and insightful comments that have greatly improved this chapter, and to Sean Scalmer and Stefan Berger for their helpful comments and support. Thank you in particular to Bella for her passion, commitment, and generosity in sharing her story.

CHAPTER 9

Jessie Street: Activism Without Discrimination

Chloe Ward

Jessie Street's journey to the US, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union, shortly after the end of the Second World War, was impressive even by the standards of this inveterate traveller. Street arrived in Paris after taking part in the founding UN conference in San Francisco as Australia's only woman delegate. There, she attended a conference of national and international women's organisations, convened by the French communist women's organisation, the *Union des Femmes Françaises* (UFF). This event would, shortly, lead to the foundation of the left-wing Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF).[1] In notes retained in Street's archive, she described a whirlwind of meetings in which women staked claims for their rights and equality in the post-war world. National differences prevailed at this transnational meeting, even while Street, and others, sought common ground as women and the confidence that

[1] Karen Offen, *European Feminisms 1700–1950: A Political History*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000, pp. 386–387.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_9

ensued from their solidarity. Street described educating her new friends in Australian slang as they changed cars outside a conference venue:

> another car arrives with the speaker – she is hustled out and we are hustled in – and whirled off. "Oh-la-la-la!" says my hostess. A completely inadequate exclamation, I feel. "What would you say in Australia?" she enquired – "Strewth" I replied – the party all practice saying it – my sense of humour comes to my rescue and I am calmed and ready to face the meeting.[2]

This was not Street's first foray into transnational activity. It followed three decades of contact with women's organisations in Britain, Europe, and Australia and, more recently, her emergence during the Second World War as a leading advocate for aid to and diplomatic relationships with the Soviet Union. In the coming decades, until her death in 1970, Street would further take on notable roles in the international peace movement and, later, Australian campaigns for indigenous rights.

For this, Street has been recognized as one of Australia's leading activists in the twentieth century. Historians studying Street have focused on Street's early campaigns for child endowment and women's rights to work and her later role in securing the 1967 referendum on removing discriminatory, constitutional provisions about indigenous Australians. They have recognized the extent to which Street brought, to these domestic campaigns, ideas, methods, and institutional claims learned internationally. For example, Street's feminism was informed by contact with British, European, and American women's organizations. Her campaigns for indigenous citizenship were informed by experience with anti-colonial movements, largely managed through her connections with the Soviet-backed peace movement and the UN.[3]

More broadly, Street's career in feminist, peace, and anti-colonial movements cut across key contexts and periodisations for transnational

[2] Jessie Street, 'Sketches of Paris,' 1945, Papers of Lady Jessie Street, MS 2683/4/1334-1337, National Library of Australia (hereafter cited as Street Papers).

[3] Works about Street include Peter Sekuless, *Jessie Street: A Rewarding but Unrewarded Life*, St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1978; Lenore Coltheart, 'Citizens of the World: Jessie Street and International Feminism', *Hecate*, vol. 31, no. 1, 2005, pp. 182–195; and the essays collected in Heather Radi, ed., *Jessie Street: Documents and Essays*, Sydney: Women's Redress Press, 1990.

activism in the twentieth century. From her youth until her death in 1970, Street relied on networks of privileged, white, diasporic Britishness to make connections where others could not. In this respect, she is not dissimilar to many actors profiled in this volume who similarly used the networks of Empire to pursue their aims. From the 1930s until the 1960s, she attempted to bridge Cold War divides between liberal feminist and communist-inspired women's and peace movements. Long after the 1940s' 'golden age' of internationalism, she remained convinced of the UN's role in effecting national political change, where others saw only its failure.

This chapter takes Street's transnational activism as an object of study in its own right. Her unusually long and many-pronged career touches on major contexts for and conditions of transnational activism in the twentieth century. To this end, this chapter draws on the 'transnational turn' in history and a particular definition of 'transnationalism.' This critical frame denotes "how people and ideas and institutions and cultures moved above, below, through, and around, as well as within, the nation-state."[4] The moves of historians towards transnational perspectives arose from their identification of the limitations and the parochialism of the 'national' frame for studies of politics, society, and cultures.[5] The central paradox of the transnational turn is that it interrogates 'the national' even while it depends on 'the nation' as a category of analysis.[6] Exploring this potential contradiction, first, explains much about the particular qualities of Street's ideas and activity. Second, focusing on 'the national' in 'the transnational,' it gives cause for reflection on the theorisation of transnational activism itself.

[4] David Thelen, 'The Nation and Beyond: Transnational Perspectives on United States History,' *The Journal of American History*, vol. 86, no. 3, 1999, pp. 965–975.

[5] Marilyn Lake, 'Nationalist Historiography, Feminist Scholarship, and the Promise and Problems of New Transnational Histories: The Australian Case', *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 19, no. 1, 2007, pp. 180–186.

[6] Ian Tyrrell, 'Reflections on the Transnational Turn in United States History: Theory and Practice', *Journal of Global History*, vol. 4, no. 3, 2009, pp. 453–474; For examples of this, see Glenda Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013; Bryan S. Turner, 'Cosmopolitan Virtue, Globalization and Patriotism', *Theory, Culture & Society*, vol. 19, no. 1–2, 2002, pp. 45–63; Craig Calhoun, 'The Class Consciousness of Frequent Travelers: Toward a Critique of Actually Existing Cosmopolitanism,' *South Atlantic Quarterly*, vol. 101, no. 4, 2002, pp. 869–897.

Street's biographers have largely presented her as an internationalist and a "citizen of the world."[7] Certainly, Street's campaigns for women's equality and later for minorities' rights drew explicitly on a language of 'anti-discrimination' and 'human rights' suggesting subjects that cut across ethnic, gender, and social differences. Yet painting Street as an undifferentiated cosmopolitan occludes her ideas about states and national customs. These ideas provide the key to elucidating, and explaining, how she repackaged models for political organization and action as she moved through the networks of transnational feminist, peace, and anti-colonial activism. Street's respect for naturalized, national differences explains, among other examples, the excuses she made for the Stalinist state socialism she encountered in the USSR. It also enabled her mediation of models for activism in both the women's movement and indigenous rights activism.

This thought then leads to an elucidation of a key tension within the category of the 'transnational activist' itself. Street came close to typifying the 'rooted cosmopolitan,' described by Sidney Tarrow as having "primary ties" in the domestic but being equally embedded in "international society."[8] Her career bridged the transformations that, in the latter half of the twentieth century, made possible the expansion of transnational activism. Tarrow describes the internationalisation of activism in the second half of the twentieth century. It was enabled by the rise of "internationalism," he contends: "a dense, triangular structure of relations among states, non-state actors, and international institutions."[9] Globalization, and the concomitant development of an international stratum of actors provoked and enabled the proliferation of transnational activism after 1970.[10] Street worked in that early international sphere of institutions, diplomatic relationships, and nongovernmental organisations (NGOs).

Studying Street provides some insight into the longer debts of this phenomenon, and the operations of one individual negotiating the

[7] Penny Russell, 'Jessie Street and International Feminism', in Radi 1990, pp. 181–191; Coltheart, 'Citizens of the World.'

[8] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 42.

[9] Ibid., p. 25.

[10] Ibid., p. 29.

politics that ensue from a 'transnational' identity. Street's activism anticipated the proliferation of rooted cosmopolitans in the later twentieth century. The contradictions of her latter-day activism, and the way she tried to accommodate them, underscores the potential ambivalence of an activism that adapts international models for local circumstances. Second, by emphasising the place of 'the nation' in Street's thought and activism, it underscores the tension between international and domestic sources of activism. Street learned much from anti-colonial discourses of national self-determination, and called on the anti-colonial movement methods in her campaigns for indigenous rights. However, in her local context, she endorsed a view of political rights as an inclusive project of assimilation into Australian political, social, and cultural norms.

These older discourses emerged out of her childhood and her early experiences of travel and activism. In Street's case, the maternalist protection of white, imperial feminism complicated the emancipatory claims of post-colonial activists. The former, I argue, had its roots in Street's childhood, from which she took a sanguine view of the British Empire and its civilisational project. Following this, I describe that she moved along a different transnational axis after the 1930s, that of international socialism. Her increasing affinity for international institutions was sealed at the foundation of the UN in 1945. The latter two provided, respectively, the context for and the instruments of her anti-colonial engagements. Street's career, thus, registers some of the tensions and transformations in transnational activism during the twentieth century.

Imperial Feminism

Street, in a sense, was born transnational. Born in India in 1889, her father was a civil servant and her mother the daughter of an Australian pastoralist. In 1896, when her mother inherited her father's estate, Yulgilbar, near Grafton in New South Wales, the family emigrated to Australia. Street spent two years at boarding school in England from 1904 to 1906, before enrolling at the University of Sydney.[11] This phase is one example of the financial privileges, and the privileges of

[11] Heather Radi, 'Street, Jessie Mary,' *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, available [online]: http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/street-jessie-mary-11789 [Access Date 18 March 2016].

citizenship, that enabled her to travel the world. In later years citizenship, particularly, would prove important to her activism, enabling her to cross borders Australian colleagues could not.

Another of these privileges was education, which endowed Street with a mode of thinking 'nationally' that permeated her politics. As Zora Simic has perceptively noted, Street frequently called on 'history' as an unambiguous, objective fact of people and nations and a guide for their future. She credited this theory to her education.[12] In her memoir, *Truth or Repose*, Street wrote that her time at the University of Sydney studying under George Arnold Wood "opened my eyes to search for the ways everything that happened resulted from what had happened before:" history provided an indispensable guide to the future, and a means to analyze where countries and societies, particularly, strayed from their developmental trajectory, as described next.[13] Street was thus sensitised to relative differences between nations. She would spend much of her career explaining and defending these differences and trying to bridge them. In this sense, the philosophy behind her activism was clearly 'transnational.'

International connections influenced Street's emergence as an Australian feminist campaigner in the 1920s. Street's visits abroad, particularly to Britain, brought her into the arenas and networks of international women's organisations and international institutions.[14] In 1911 and 1914 she made extended visits to Europe where she met influential feminists and joined the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU). She returned to Australia armed with convictions about women's equality and with methods for pursuing this aim.[15] On her return to Australia, Street became secretary of the New South Wales National Council of Women. In 1930, in her capacity as president of Australia's United

[12] Zora Simic, '"Mrs Street—Now There's a Subject:" Historicising Jessie Street.' *Australian Feminist Studies*, vol. 20, no. 48, 2005, pp. 296–297.

[13] Jessie Street and Lenore Coltheart, *Jessie Street: A Revised Autobiography*, Armadale: Federation Press, 2004, p. 26.

[14] For European perspectives, see Leila J. Rupp, 'Constructing Internationalism: The Case of Transnational Women's Organizations, 1888–1945,' *The American Historical Review*, 1994, pp. 1571–1600; on Commonwealth feminist networks, see Angela Woollacott, 'Inventing Commonwealth and Pan-Pacific Feminisms: Australian Women's Internationalist Activism in the 1920–30s,' in *Globalizing Feminisms, 1789–1945*, Karen Offen, ed., London: Routledge, 2010, pp. 217–231.

[15] Russell, 'Jessie Street and International Feminism,' p. 182.

Associations of Women (UAW), she visited the League of Nations in Geneva, where she joined the British Commonwealth League and addressed Open Door International. Street took from these interactions a positive view of the capacity of international institutions and organisations to secure political change that would benefit women. International instruments provided, she hoped, the means to secure state action for women in Australia. Street campaigned for equal pay for women, and equal nationality rights for women. She hoped to obtain leverage for these domestic campaigns through the League of Nations.[16]

This period saw Street first demonstrate her ability to elide ideological and political boundaries that served her well in her later career. She, for instance, was among those who in the 1930s refused the "impossible choice," as described by Marilyn Lake, in the international domain between the politics of 'protection' and the politics of equal 'rights' for women. Versions of this debate raged across western feminist movements in the 1920 and 1930s, with dividing lines drawn between espousals of women's difference and the goal of gender equality, respectively, or between limited, constitutional aspirations and calls for special protections for women workers, although recent scholarship has done much to erode an older picture of the personal and political antagonisms they engendered.[17] Street, for her part, maintained cordial, even affectionate, relationships with activists across both camps.[18] Street's feminism was capacious: it accommodated discourses of rights, of social equality, and of a maternalist protectionism that valorised women's distinct identities and responsibilities as mothers. As Lake writes elsewhere, "the core principle of Street's feminism was the necessity of women's independence"—all her campaigns served this ultimate purpose.[19]

Street can, further, arguably be situated in a transnational network of interwar "imperial feminists." In the early twentieth century white

[16] Radi, 'Street, Jessie Mary'.

[17] Lake, *Getting Equal: The History of Australian Feminism*, St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1999, Chap. 7.

[18] Lake, 'From Self-Determination Via Protection to Equality Via Non-Discrimination: Defining Women's Rights at the League of Nations and the United Nations,' in *Women's Rights and Human Rights: International Historical Perspectives*, Katie Holmes, Patricia Grimshaw, and Marilyn Lake, eds., Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001, pp. 254–271.

[19] Lake, 'Jessie Street and "feminist chauvinism,"' in *Jessie Street: Documents and Essays*, p. 21.

women, principally from Britain and the dominions, shared a benevolent attitude to their colonial 'sisters' that traversed political borders. Even socialists, such as Street, struggled to balance emancipatory claims for independence against the older, feminist politics of protection.[20] For Street, meanwhile, a concern for ethnic and racial minorities was more clearly transacted through her socialism, which developed from the 1930s. The imperial debts of her indigenous activism, as below, would become clearer in the 1950s.

State Socialism

The second aspect of her early transnational activism was socialist. She advocated the Soviet Union's interests to Australians, and argued it a useful model for the development of Australian women and of minorities. The Depression catalysed Street's growing interest in the labour movement and socialism. She diagnosed capitalism as a hindrance to political and economic development and state action as its possible cure.[21] Street first visited the USSR in 1938. In a move typical of Soviet attempts to accommodate Western visitors, Street was treated to a halcyon vision of socialism's achievements.[22] Her ongoing contact with Soviet authorities confirmed her impression of the USSR's treatment of women as an example Australia should emulate.

In the USSR, Street claimed to see evidence that the Bolshevik Revolution and Soviet government had secured rights for women and minorities unknown elsewhere in the world. Specifically, the Soviet Union provided a proxy and an ideal for Street's maternalist protectionism and her concern for women's economic independence. In an essay about her experience written before the end of the Second World War,

[20] Barbara Bush, 'Feminising Empire? British Women's Activist Networks in Defending and Challenging Empire from 1918 to Decolonisation,' *Women's History Review*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2016, p. 508.

[21] Street, 'A Call to Capitanists [sic],' ca. 1932–1933, Street Papers, MS 2683/7; for Street's later account of her early interest in socialism, see Street and Coltheart, *Jessie Street: A Revised Autobiography*, pp. 80–81.

[22] For an account of Street's visits to the Soviet Union, see Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union,' in *Political Tourists: Travellers from Australia to the Soviet Union in the 1920–1940s*, Sheila Fitzpatrick and Carolyn Rasmussen, eds., Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2008, pp. 277–300.

she praised the constitutional guarantees made for women for "equal rights … in all spheres of economic, state, cultural, social and political life." She praised women's equal working rights and the state provision of childcare and maternity benefits for working women.[23] Here, she again elided the political and ideological divisions between her contemporaries discussed earlier. This action also anticipated Street's refusal of Cold War binaries that entrenched divisions between Western, liberal feminists, and the Soviet-backed women's movement.

The effects of the Soviet Union's efforts were clear. In an undated note, certainly produced before the end of the Second World War, Street described a visit to the Supreme Soviet in 1938. About one third of members present were women. Street described them as responsible and productive citizens of the USSR:

> there they were before me, listening to the debates – orderly, intelligent, taking their responsibilities seriously and doing a wonderful job in assisting to develop the resources of their country.

The Soviet Union had also, she declared, successfully navigated the problem of integrating minorities into citizenship. At the same meeting of the Supreme Soviet, Street saw:

> There were men and women representing over 180 different races: Esquimaux from the north, almond-eyed Mongols from the east, dark-skinned Indian types from the south, and from the west the fair-haired blue-eyed blondes and brown-eyed brunettes we are familiar with. A League of Nations in themselves – and one that has solved the problem of keeping the peace within their borders – a problem which a number of other nations of the world have not yet solved.[24]

Street's affection for the Soviet Union, and her ignorance of the limitations (to say the very least) of its social and political achievements, places her among the 'fellow travellers' of the 1930s.[25] Sheer credulity is one

[23] Street, 'The Position of Women in the U.S.S.R. as I found it in 1938,' n.d. Street Papers, MS 2683/3/1168-75.

[24] 'World Broadcast From Moscow,' 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/7.

[25] For a classic account of the 'fellow travelers,' see David Caute, *The Fellow-Travellers*, London: Quartet Books, 1977.

explanation for Street's acceptance of the Soviet Union's claims about its own political achievements. As late as 1946 Street wrote to the *Sydney Morning Herald* disputing the impressions of the Australian ambassador to the Soviet Union, J.J. Maloney, of life in the Soviet Union. She explained that factual information was readily available from VOKS, the Soviet cultural organisation, which would "take endless trouble to explain everything."[26]

There are also likely cultural, political, and psychological explanations for Street's uncritical enthusiasm for the USSR. As Lenore Coltheart writes, Street's endorsement of Soviet communism reflected her appreciation of it as an instantiation of the liberal rights she sought elsewhere.[27] E.P. Thompson has described the fellow travellers' "cloudy and self-deceiving" psychological procedures, catalyzed by political expediency, in a way that is also relevant to Street.[28] The immediate demands of 1930s anti-fascism led many of Street's contemporaries to similarly vocal defenses of the USSR. At this point Street lacked their crusading anti-fascist conviction (although she was associated with anti-fascist groups such as the Left Book Club). Street's case, nonetheless, perhaps presents an analogy to the anti-fascists' willed ignorance. Street was blindsided by Soviet women's apparent achievements in the social, political, and familial spheres, relative to the poor track record of Australia and other nations to this point.

To Street's mind, the common cause during the Second World War brought the two nations together. During the war Street maintained correspondence with Soviet authorities, as part of her activities as President of the Sydney-based Society for Cultural Relations with the USSR and, particularly, in her role spearheading the 'Sheepskins for Russia' campaign wherein Australians donated sheepskins to the Soviet Union. Soviet authorities used Street to publicise the USSR's humanitarian needs. For example, in May 1942 Lydia Kislova, chief of the English department at VOKS, sent Street photographs of the arrival and distribution of Australian medical items, food, and clothing sent via the Red

[26] Street to the *Sydney Morning Herald*, 4 June 1946, Street Papers, MS 2683/7/60.

[27] Coltheart, 'Jessie Street and the Soviet Union'; this is similar to Caute's argument about British fellow travellers.

[28] E.P. Thompson, *Beyond the Frontier: the Politics of a Failed Mission, Bulgaria 1944*, Rendlesham: Merlin, 1997, p. 56.

Cross.[29] Street organised an exhibition of the photographs in Sydney, which then toured Australia. Street, writing to Kislova, explained what she saw as common cause for Australia and the USSR: the Australian people showed "extreme gratitude … to the Russian people for the wonderful fight they are putting up single handed [sic] against the Nazi hordes."[30]

Later Street relied on the discourse of national difference, and relative national development, to explain and defend the Soviet Union. As political and popular mistrust of the USSR grew in Australia and elsewhere she tried to bridge what increasingly appeared as an irredeemable difference between the two nations, which effort reflected her understanding of 'history,' its trajectory, and the integrity of cultural and political differences between nations. In 1945 Street visited Moscow again, on the same trip that took her to San Francisco, Paris, and London. She tried to explain her impressions of the Soviet Union in an unpublished essay:

> Russia has got completely different aims, methods, ideology, economic system and political system (sic). She is not every trying to the same things as other countries are trying to do, and the vast majority of people are always apt to judge other countries by the standards that they know.[31]

This visit also introduced a new aspect to Street's affinity for the Soviet people. She described witnessing the suffering of Soviet citizens, especially children. She came to share many of the grievances, and much of the anti-fascist temper, of the European women she met at the UFF conference in Paris shortly afterwards. To her longer-term admiration for the Soviet Union's achievements in advancing women's rights, and her recent exultation at its fight against Nazism, she added admiration for its citizens' and government's determination to win the post-war world for peace. She alighted on the Soviet-backed women's movement and the peace movement's claims to represent the interest of mothers and children.[32] After the Second World War, then, Street worked largely as a

[29] Lydia Kislova to Street, 2 May 1942, Street Papers, MS 2683/7/45.

[30] Street to Kislova, 10 August 1942, Street Papers, MS 2683/7/48–49.

[31] Untitled, 1945, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1343-49.

[32] Street, 'International Conference in Defence of Children', n.d., Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1124-25.

feminist, and a peace activist, first through the United Nations and then independently.

Street at the United Nations

After the war, Street's sought Australian feminism's influence on her transnational allies and the infant UN. Street saw the UN as a means of securing peace between nations and, in connection with this, ensuring women's advancement in the post-war world. As a delegate at the UN's founding conference, she was a determined and effective advocate for women's representation in UN declarations and commissions and in professional roles. For example, against the judgment of others, including Human Rights Commission Chair Eleanor Roosevelt, Street and allies successfully campaigned for women's discrete representation on what would become the Commission for the Status of Women (CSW).[33] Street had little tolerance for the opposing view that women's interests could be enveloped in the general organisation. Nor did she evince the hesitation of some colleagues about whether national feminist movements should cede ground to international institutions and instruments.[34] Rather, she envisioned the UN as taking on an active role in prosecuting a feminist agenda through nations.

Street's efforts at the UN exemplified an effort at transnational 'political transfer' in her activism.[35] As seen earlier, early twentieth-century feminists saw international institutions as a means of overcoming obstructive state institutions. In the 1940s Street carried a set of distinctly 'Australian' concerns for maternalist protections, and a ready dismissal of the worst polarisations of feminism in the previous decades, into the infant UN. Specifically, she took a copy of the Australian Women's Charter, a capacious document addressing women's rights in the post-war world, formed at a national conference of women's organisations in 1943, to the UN Founding Conference in San Francisco in

[33] Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, pp. 89–90.

[34] Devaki Jain, *Women, Development, and the UN: A Sixty-Year Quest for Equality and Justice*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005, pp. 16–18.

[35] Henk te Velde, 'Political Transfer: An Introduction,' *European Review of History*, vol. 12, no. 2, 2005, pp. 205–221.

May 1945.[36] Meanwhile, Latin American women similarly sought to universalise regional feminist activism through the UN, modeling their contributions on the experience and instruments of the interwar Inter-American Commission of Women.[37]

To Street the UN, nonetheless, had a unique authority. Street saw UN interventions as plausible correctives to the misdirection of women's political development, described in terms of nations' historical inaction. She wrote in a personal note:

> History shows us, although the laws contained no discrimination against women, in every country women were and still are excluded from various rights and privileges … We must learn from experience and make sure that there will be no doubt about the position of women in the International Organisation and the standards that Organisation will expect its member nations to observe in regard to the status and opportunity of women.[38]

Street saw international institutions exercising not only this legal, but also moral force.[39] In a BBC radio interview in October 1945, Street described the functions of UN commissions to investigate and report on human rights issues, and to recommend nations to act on their findings. When the interviewer asked where reports and commissions would 'get us,' Street replied:

> I think if they are followed up they will get us a long way. The moral force of public opinion is pretty strong. For instance, when a report from a member nation discloses conditions requiring redress, say the absence of higher educational facilities for the people, can you imagine that country not doing anything to improve those conditions before the next assembly meeting?[40]

[36] Lake, *Getting Equal*, pp. 190–194.

[37] Jain, *Women, Development, and the UN*, pp. 12–15.

[38] Untitled, 13 May 1945, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/201-2.

[39] Glenda Sluga and Sunil Amrith, 'New Histories of the United Nations,' *Journal of World History*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2008, pp. 268–269.

[40] 'B.B.C. Broadcast by Mrs. Jessie Street,' 1945, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/217-19; Mark Mazower details the process whereby, elsewhere, 'formalist' aspirations for the UN and its rights agenda gave way to hopes for its effectiveness as a 'moral' force. See Mark Mazower, 'The Strange Triumph of Human Rights, 1933–1950,' *The Historical Journal*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2004, pp. 379–398.

Street took up an activist role in the infant CSW. After her appointment to the CSW in 1947 by the Australian government Street was elected its first vice-president, largely on the back of votes from Soviet bloc nations.[41] Street used the CSW as a platform for pursuing the UN's commitment to political rights for women, equal pay, and state intervention in stopping prostitution.[42] As this indicates, after the war she held to her expansive vision of feminism. She envisioned the CSW, and the UN, taking an active role in delimiting and prosecuting this agenda.

Despite its origins in the networks of the transnational women's movement, the CSW was not established as an activist body but as an instrument for intergovernmental negotiations.[43] Street stepped outside her formal role as Australia's representative on the CSW. However Street's political views ultimately compromised her position on the CSW, and made either a diplomatic or an official UN role (which she coveted) impossible. At the end of 1947, the Chifley Labor government decided against renewing Street's term at the CSW, largely because of pressure from conservative women's organisations and the public service.[44] In the late 1940s Street was then further isolated from domestic government, party, and activist networks. Her strident defenses of the Soviet Union led to press ridicule and galvanized her opponents in Australian women's organizations.[45] In January 1949 Street quit the Australian Labor Party after the Party demanded she resign from the Australian Russian

[41] On the CSW, see Helen Laville, *Cold War Women: The International Activities of American Women's Organisations*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002, pp. 113–114; '"Woolly, Half-Baked and Impractical?" British Responses to the Commission on the Status of Women and the Convention on the Political Rights of Women 1946–67,' *Twentieth Century British History*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2012, pp. 473–495; Laura Reanda, 'The Commission on the Status of Women,' in *The United Nations and Human Rights: A Critical Appraisal*, Philip Alston, ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp. 268–269.

[42] Russell, 'Jessie Street and International Feminism,' p. 189.

[43] Laura Reanda, 'The Commission on the Status of Women,' in *The United Nations and Human Rights: A Critical Appraisal*, Philip Alston, ed., Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992, pp. 300–301.

[44] Ben Chifley to Jessie Street, 14 April 1949, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/147; Street to Herbert Evatt, 19 December 1947, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/88-89. Also see Sekuless for the role of the public service and women's organisations in influencing Street's removal from the CSW: Sekuless, *Jessie Street*, p. 140.

[45] Muriel Tribe to Jessie Street, 3 October 1951, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/464; Street to Tribe, 22 October 1951, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/465.

Society.[46] Wishing to spare her family—particularly her husband, Kenneth, now Chief Justice of the NSW Supreme Court—further embarrassment, 'Red Jessie' (as she was now labeled in the press) left Australia for London in 1950.[47]

Feminist and Peace Activism

Effectively in exile, Street found her métier as an independent activist, loosed from state or institutional ties. In London and elsewhere, she moved between women's organisations, peace organizations and, in an informal capacity, the CSW. She acted as a broker between a divided women's movement, and between the Soviet-backed peace movement and nonaligned peace activists. Her career heretofore recommended her to such a role. With respect to Street's feminist activism and her peace activism in this period, she was, arguably, committed to the global project described by her biographers. Yet the opportunities for her activism were largely delimited by national considerations: specifically, the political and diplomatic context of the Cold War. Her status as a citizen of a Western nation, too, served her particularly well in her work on behalf of the peace movement. As this indicates, Street moved through networks of peace and feminist activists in the 1950s in a way that underscores the 'transnational' form of her activism.

That Street could work across the Iron Curtain at all, in the heightened and suspicious political climate of the Cold War, is, from the view of received wisdom, surprising. Given the ridicule of the national media, diplomatic authorities, and the Labor Party already described, Street's views were, apparently, outmoded and had little chance of gaining an airing: they predated the hard, ideological, and political divisions of the Cold War. This case has also been made in academic histories of international women's organisations, which has largely conceived organizations such as the WIDF to be Soviet stooges and incredible appropriators of the Western, liberal discourse on women's rights.[48] A less expansive literature on the World Peace Council (WPC) for which Street was the

[46] See Street's correspondence with Labor Party figures, 1946, Street Papers, MS 2683/6/37-55.

[47] Sekuless, *Jessie Street*, pp. 146–155.

[48] Offen, *European Feminisms*, p. 387.

Australian delegate similarly describes it as, in one historian's words, 'an organisational subsidiary of world Communism.'[49]

Yet more recently historians have cast light on how, in thought and practice, activists across the world worked in the ideological, political, and organisational interstices of the Eastern and Western feminist movements. Feminist activists elided differences between a Western orientation to women's 'rights' and Soviet-backed insistence on social equality.[50] A smaller literature has explored WPC activism independent of direct Soviet 'control.'[51] The transnational sphere for activism confounded stricter political divides between nations, also reflected in divides between NGOs. Expanding the purview of studies of Cold War feminist and peace movements, and Street's role in them, captures the unofficial nature of much transnational activism, and the challenges to political borders that it registered, either explicitly or implicitly.

Street has been attributed a particular role in challenging and surmounting these barriers to women's transnational activism. Francisca de Haan points out that Street 'without a doubt' influenced the WIDF's adoption of an International Women's Charter on rights, which was based on the Australian Women's Charter.[52] Her correspondence with American and British women's organisations also indicates the respect she was still accorded, largely because of her reputation and her connections, even if she made little headway in fostering relationships between East and West. In the East, she was seen as a valuable ally, given her reputation, her connections, and her long history of activism. In the West, she was a respected campaigner and a good friend to feminists, irrespective of her pro-Soviet sympathies.

[49] Lawrence S Wittner, *Resisting the Bomb: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1954–1970*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997, p. 88.

[50] Francisca de Haan, 'Continuing Cold War Paradigms in Western Historiography of Transnational Women's Organisations: The Case of the Women's International Democratic Federation (WIDF),' *Women's History Review*, vol. 19, no. 4, 2010, pp. 547–573; Melanie Ilic, 'Soviet Women, Cultural Exchange and the Women's International Democratic Federation,' in *Reassessing Cold War Europe*, Sari Autio-Sarasmo and Katalin Miklóssy, eds., London: Routledge, 2011, pp. 157–174.

[51] Phillip Deery, 'The Dove Flies East: Whitehall, Warsaw and the 1950 World Peace Congress,' *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 48, no. 4, 2002, pp. 449–468.

[52] De Haan, 'Eugénie Cotton, Pak Chong-ae, and Claudia Jones: Rethinking Transnational Feminism and International Politics,' *Journal of Women's History*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2013, p. 180.

Street, for example, regarded the World Woman's Party as "the only international feminist body," which "works unswervingly for equal rights for women everywhere." The WWP was a liberal organisation, born out of the older, American National Women's Party and concerned, in the main, with problems of women's legal equality.[53] It provides a good example of the reputational and the affective dimensions of Street's career. At its council meeting in New York in January 1953, the American activist Anita Pollitzer welcomed Street warmly. The Cold War had not foreclosed appreciation of Street's earlier contributions to the transnational feminist movement. Pollitzer recalled Street's participation in the UN conferences of 1945. Pollitzer described Street as the conference's "greatest feminist among all the official government delegates."[54] Alice Paul, the WWP's founder, meanwhile welcomed Street as a worthy ally in the UN because of her connections to the UN, to the UN's Australian representatives, and to women's organisations in Australia.[55]

If Street's interests at this point were, still, in an international feminist project, she was nonetheless sensitised to the need to work through national political contexts; indeed, she told Paul she thought contemporary discussions of "world government" "quite impracticable." Street pursued her growing interest in women's rights in post-colonial nations through the WWP. In 1953 she pressed the WWP for details about women's suffrage in the new states of Eritrea and Libya. She asked the WWP to report back on women's suffrage in the two nations to herself [she was writing an article on the subject for the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF)] and to the CSW. The CSW's role, to Street, in this case, was clear: it must, she wrote, use its influence on the UN to ensure that any other "new states set up by the UN" adhered to UN principles on political rights, specifically, the recent UN Convention on Political Rights for Women.[56] Street was still convinced

[53] Paula F. Pfeffer, '"A Whisper in the Assembly of Nations:" United States' Participation in the International Movement for Women's Rights from the League of Nations to the United Nations,' *Women's Studies International Forum*, vol. 8, no. 5, 1985, pp. 466–467.

[54] 'Minutes of Council Meeting of World Woman's Party,' 4 January 1953, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/1309d.

[55] Alice Paul to Street, 10 April 1951, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/462; Paul to Street, n.d., Street Papers, MS 2683/3/470; Paul to Street, 17 May 1952, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/475.

[56] Street to Paul, 6 October 1953, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/485-6.

of the UN's capacity, and authority, to arbitrate political rights. This conviction would, as follows, intersect awkwardly with her later interest in the anti-colonial politics of self-determination.

Street's connections with Western women's organisations also gave her a platform from which to press for closer links with Soviet-backed organisations, albeit with little success. In August 1956 she chaired a seminar for British women's organizations organized by the Six Point Group. That the Six Point Group hosted the seminar again undercuts the purported antagonisms between sections of the women's movement: founded in 1921, it was an explicitly 'rights'-oriented organization. This meeting followed a seminar held in the USSR in September, first publicised through the UN, attended by representatives of British and international women's organisations. Street, writing in her capacity as chair of the British group, described her hope and that of others that such meetings would inspire a "fresh and united effort by all organizations dealing with any aspect of women's rights, status and opportunities … thus bringing nearer the realisation of the promise of United Nations Declaration of Human Rights."[57] Again, she held to her conviction that the UN might effectively arbitrate women's rights.

Street similarly brokered relations between East and West in the peace movement. She was the Australian delegate to the Paris-based WPC, and a close observer of its predecessor, the World Congress of Supporters of the Peace. In 1950 its leadership identified her among those 'qualified eminent personalities' it requested to publicise its meetings.[58] Street, in performing this role, exploited what she saw as her common background and interests with other Western peace activists alienated by Cold War politics. The Canadian Peace Congress deputised Street to appeal to potential sympathetic noncommunists. She visited several on a trip to Canada in October 1950, asking them to accept the WPC's special invitation to its forthcoming Sheffield Congress.[59] Afterwards, Street wrote to the Reverend Willard Brewing, whom she met in Toronto, asking him a second time to attend the Congress; he had refused, for reasons of his

[57] 'Seminar on the Status of Women: report,' 1956, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/1389.

[58] G. Fenoaltea and Jean Laffitte to Street, 28 September 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/25.

[59] Mary Jennison to Laffitte, 13 October 1950, Street, Papers, MS 2683/4/34.

age.[60] In a letter she then reflected that it was "refreshing" to speak to a religious minister willing to support the peace movement. She reflected on her own Christian beliefs as a foundation for her activism. She also reassured Brewing that she understood "the difficulty of your position," writing:

> I know from personal experience the lengths to which those in powerful places will go in mis-representing people whose only aim as to tell the truth as they see it.[61]

Street also pushed the peace movement to overcome its growing hostility to the UN after the Korean War. Street thought this hostility unmerited, continuing to believe in the UN's capacity to broker agreements between hostile nations.[62] In September 1950 Street wrote to Jean Laffitte, Secretary-General of the WPC, in her capacity as Australian delegate. She urged that the WPC, at its upcoming meeting, devote a session to study of the UN Charter and the UN Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR), and that the WPC formalise its support for both instruments.[63] In February 1951 she addressed the WPC in Vienna. Street emphasised the movement's need of the UN, describing it as 'the one obstacle that stands between these powerful vested interests and the achievement of their plans to control the wealth and peoples of the world.'[64] Yet Street faced a hostile audience. Street's optimism about the UNDHR, in particular, was however by now out of step with a project that, even as it was being brought into being, proved irresolvably disputatious and politically marginal.[65]

Street's involvement with the WPC points to the continuing practical significance of the privileges of class, and connections, and the privileges of citizenship to her activism. The 1950 Sheffield Congress was moved from its planned venue in Sheffield after the Attlee government forbade

[60] Street, 'Report of a Visit to Canada,' Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1357-61.

[61] Street to Rev. Willard Brewing, 2 November 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/37.

[62] Letter, 4 October 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/26-28.

[63] Street to Jean Laffitte, 12 September 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/24.

[64] Street, 'United Nations and the World Peace Council,' 22 February 1951, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/478-83.

[65] Samuel Moyn, *The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History*, Cambridge: The Belknap Press, 2010, Chap. 2.

foreign attendees entry to Britain.[66] Street, a British citizen already living in London, was unaffected by this move. She in fact registered protests to the British government on behalf of the 25 Australian delegates.[67] She did, however, have trouble elsewhere. In 1951 French officials refused her entry to France for a meeting of the UN General Assembly, on mistaken information from Australian Immigration Minister Harold Holt that called into question the legality of her British passport. Street clarified the situation and gained entry. British citizenship, ultimately, saved her from apparent attempts to frustrate her activism, although her infamy made the problems in the first place.[68]

Street also tried to engage the Western women's movement with the peace movement. In February 1956 Isabelle Blume, the Belgian secretary of the WPC, approached Street asking her to persuade the British section of WILPF to attend the WPC's forthcoming Stockholm peace conference. Blume was, meanwhile, alarmed to have heard that Street, independently, was helping the WILPF plan its own disarmament conference. Blume warned Street:

> my dear Jessie, do you not think that there is some danger in having too many conferences on disarmament, and would it not be preferable to try and concentrate all forces on the World Council session which will be entirely devoted to disarmament and could give rise to a very much wider conference?[69]

This adjuration came to nothing. Street's response, also, makes clear her understanding of the limits of possibility in this transnational sphere (where Blume had, by implication, suggested her over-optimism and her naivety). Street, replying, defended WILPF's position and its planned conference. Street was also pessimistic about the possibility of WILPF delegates from the US attending the Stockholm conference; there was very little chance the US government would grant visas to anyone travelling to a WPC event.[70] Ultimately, support from some of its membership notwithstanding, as Street expected the WILPF refused to be involved

[66] Deery, 'The Dove Flies East.'

[67] Street to Harold Holt, 19 November 1950, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/50.

[68] See correspondence, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/89-109.

[69] Isabelle Blume to Street, 21 February 1956, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/258-59.

[70] Street to Blume, 28 February 1956, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/260-61.

in the Stockholm conference or the resulting "peace offensive."[71] Street's use as a go-between, in this case and earlier, was limited by factors outside her control. Nonetheless this shows how Street, across all these examples, retained a basic belief in the compatibility of the aims of organizations that were otherwise divided by politics.

This chapter has so far demonstrated the resilience of Street's views on women's rights, peace, and the role of international institutions in securing both, from her early career until the 1950s. I have described how Street moved through the transnational networks of imperial feminism, socialism, and international institutions. To this point they remained largely distinct from one another. Street's attempts to connect activists across national and political boundaries meanwhile had little success. In the 1950s, as Street took an increasing interest in anti-colonial movements and, in the 1960s, their lessons for Australian indigenous activism, the different strands of her activism coincided. She drew on the experience of her previous decades of activism, in a problematic endorsement of the self-determining political claims of post-colonial activists. Her socialism informed her conviction about economic development as a key to the emancipation of women and minorities. She continued, meanwhile, to believe in the instrumental function of the UN in prosecuting their claims.

Engagements with Empire

From the mid-1950s, Street also took an increasing interest in the extension of political rights to women in former colonial nations. Street was caught up in the reorientation of the international sphere of NGOs from the optimistic cosmopolitanism of the 1940s, to a 1950s iteration that emphasised 'self-determination,' especially by anti-colonial activists.[72] Street, for her part, in the mid-1950s still held great stock in the UN. Street regretted that it had not, to this point, been taken seriously enough as an instrument of international peace and for universal human rights. In 1955 she proposed to the WPC that, at its forthcoming World

[71] Gertrude Bussey and Margaret Tims, *Pioneers for Peace: Women's International League for Peace and Freedom 1915–1965*, London: WILPF British Section, 1980, p. 196.

[72] Sluga, *Internationalism in the Age of Nationalism*, pp. 122–125.

Assembly, it consider the question of member states' adherence to and application of UN principles. She wrote that the WPC would find that—

> if these purposes and principles had been honestly applied the World would not have been harassed by wars and preparations for war; colonial peoples would be advancing towards independence, disarmament would be progressing etc. etc.[73]

To this she now added the rhetoric of 'self-determination,' which was, arguably, an effect of her widening experience of the non-white and non-colonial world. In 1954 Street visited China. On her return she reflected on the reasons for the communist government's apparent popularity, and China's industrial, economic, and political achievements. She criticised capitalist subversion of China's potential heretofore. She wrote that China's recent advances showed "that the white man would have to be willing to let people govern themselves. After all, this is what all the nations pledge themselves to do when they join the United Nations and sign the UN Charter."[74] The retreat of Empire, moreover, would ensure peace.

Self-determination also had positive implications for women's equality. After a visit to Ghana in the mid-1950s, Street described how self-determination had enabled Ghana, under Kwame Nkrumah, to obtain the accoutrements of political and economic modernity: new flats, a clean water supply, and the widespread use of pesticides. Yet Ghana, importantly, did so on its own terms. Street saw this as a clear sign of the developments of Ghanaian people's "potentialities" once liberated from economic and political oppression. She saw the liberation of women in Ghana in the free expression of national cultural norms. Street described the "dignity" of Ghanaian women no longer yoked to a foreign culture:

> the women's hands are free and they stride along with a dignified rythmic [sic] motion which is most pleasing, and which I feel sure is developed by the universal customs of Ghanaians to carry everything on their heads.[75]

[73] Street, unaddressed circular, n.d., Street Papers, MS 2683/4/195.

[74] Street, 'My Impression of China,' 7 October 1954, 1390, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1385-90.

[75] Untitled, ca. 1964, Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1409-14.

Yet such "customs and traditions", as Devaki Jain writes, could conflict with the "personal rights" extolled in the liberal tradition to which Street subscribed.[76] Samuel Moyn makes the point still more forcefully: the principle of national sovereignty extolled by anti-colonialists directly contradicted the 1940s discourse of universal human rights; anti-colonialists, in fact, abandoned the rhetoric of 'rights' altogether.[77] Street did not. Street's reflections are still more troubled when considered in light of the longer history of imperial feminism, and by a discursive operation that, in effect, objectifies Street's subject.[78]

The elision of the autonomy of her subjects is made still clearer when considering that Street, however well intentioned her intervention, essayed her sympathy for anti-colonial movements into an argument against colonialism. Street, by the mid-1950s, evidently approved of self-determination for former colonial nations. In one instance, Street displaced the problem of 'rights' versus 'customs,' described here, to colonialism itself. In 1956 Street proposed, through Thomas Fox-Pitt, secretary of the Anti-Slavery Society, to the British North Africa Committee headed by Tony Benn that the committee take an active stance on banning brothels in newly independent nations. Fox-Pitt, on Street's behalf, pointed out to the Committee the symbolism of a "very good gesture" should Tunisia and Morocco ratify the 1949 UN Convention on the Suppression of White Slave Traffic, something never accomplished by their former colonial power, France.[79] Claims for autonomy and, within that, women's rights, were still to be transacted through Western sympathisers.

These implicit problems, and reservations notwithstanding, Street came onside with revisions of the UN's role, from a universalising, liberal, and potentially paternalistic ambition to an appreciation of its function in securing nations' rights to self-determination. Around 1960 she wrote that the UN's role was to provide procedures and venues for

[76] Jain, *Women, Development, and the UN*, pp. 27–28.

[77] Moyn, *The Last Utopia*, pp. 84–85.

[78] Chandra Talpante Mohanty, 'Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses,' *Feminist Review*, vol. 30, 1988, pp. 61–88; Antoinette Burton, 'Thinking Beyond the Boundaries: Empire, Feminism and the Domains of Feminism,' *Social History*, vol. 26, no. 1, 2001, pp. 60–71.

[79] Thomas Fox-Pitt to Anthony Wedgwood Benn, 11 June 1956, Street Papers, MS 2683/3/518.

ensuring members states' observation of human rights "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion."[80] A host of emancipatory projects could be accommodated in such a minimal definition of "rights." In 1963, in a draft article for a Danish newspaper, Street went further, and wrote that the deliberations in the HRC, about the UNDHR, had exposed different ways of thinking about "human rights":

> One may say that at this conference table the different culture, religions and political theories met in a rather friendly way and that, in the course of the debate, many valuable and interesting – even brilliant – contributions were submitted. Wording this Declaration was no easy job. Nations had agreed in the Charter to support human rights, but everyone had a different mental picture of what these two words meant.[81]

Street's interactions with networks of activists in London, Europe, and the UN, that is, the emergent activist and institutional spheres of 'internationalization,' precipitated these revisions of her outlook and the explicit relativisation of her ideas about rights, be it by travelling to China or Ghana, or by sitting in meetings discussing the wording of the UNDHR. Street herself described the UN's changing functions as a product of this 15-year experience. In 1960, Street wrote that the UN, for nations and activists over the previous 15 years, had proved its value as the site for the "ventilation" of differences, and the recognitions of difference that would make possible a peaceable world order.[82] Moreover, she also ceded, at the very least, her particular authority as a white woman to representation in a movement and an institution whose gravity now lay in the 'global south.'[83] In 1960 she wrote to her friend,

[80] Street, 'Domestic Jurisdiction and the United Nations Charter,' Street Papers, MS 2683/5/517-8.

[81] Street, 'Woman – Internationally Seen', 10 December 1963, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/524-33.

[82] Street, 'Domestic Jurisdiction and the United Nations Charter,' ca. 1960, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/517-18.

[83] See Roland Burke, 'From Individual Rights to National Development: The First UN International Conference on Human Rights, Tehran, 1968,' *Journal of World History*, vol. 19, no. 3, 2008, pp. 275–296; Arvonne S. Fraser, 'The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (the Women's Convention),' in *Women, Politics, and the United Nations*, Anne Winslow, ed., Westport: Greenwood Press, 1995, pp. 77–94; Reanda, 'The Commission on the Status of Women,' pp. 289–291.

the Indian activist Lakshmi Menon, about a campaign to make the CSW a fully-fledged division of the UN. She declared: "Only an Asian or African woman should be the Director," as these were the women most affected, and with the greatest capacity and the clearest rights, to ensure their nations' political needs were met.[84]

The Return of Lady Jessie Street

Street's domestic activism, similar to her evasions on the problem of prostitution in Tunisia and Morocco, did not fully embrace the notion of 'self-sovereignty.' When Street returned to Australia, she redoubled her efforts for nondiscriminatory 'rights' for Australia's indigenous people. Street returned to Australia in 1956, on a commission from the Anti-Slavery Society to investigate the political conditions of Australian indigenous peoples.[85] On her return, she issued a statement to the press. She described the moment as a "turning point in history" and intimated her hopes that the UN, at last, might be capable of fulfilling its function of settling disputes "by peaceful means." Further, she described her hopes for Australia: specifically, that "if we are wise enough we can develop a good life for all who live in Australia, whether they are black or white."[86] Bringing the two together, she came to fulfill the function of the 'transnational activist' in translating international models to local contexts.

Street emerged as an ardent and effective campaigner for indigenous citizenship. She was crucial in securing a referendum to remove discriminatory clauses from Australia's Constitution. Doing so would, in effect, bring indigenous people in the remit of Federal, rather than state, law, and have them counted in the official population. At first Street used the transnational contacts and resources obtained in the previous period. Street encouraged indigenous activists and their supporters to appeal to the UN in campaigns for citizenship. She used the British Anti-Slavery Society's resources and reputation to win interest in the campaign.[87]

[84] Street to Lakshmi Menon, 30 December 1960, Street Papers, MS 2683/5/181.

[85] 'The Return of Lady Jessie Street,' *The Argus*, 13 December 1956; Sekuless, *Jessie Street*, pp. 165–166.

[86] 'Press Statement made by Lady Jessie Street on her return to Australia,' Street Papers, MS 2683/4/1444.

[87] 'The Return of Lady Jessie Street,' *The Argus*, 13 December 1956, p. 1.

Thus this was a distinctly transnational campaign at its outset. It became, however, less so as the Anti-Slavery Society backed away, hesitant about upsetting the Australian government, once Street mobilised old contacts in the (communist-sympathising) Australian peace movement, and as Street and her allies settled on the Australian constitution as the object of the campaign.[88]

Street's calls for rights for indigenous people did not, however, reflect the more radical, emancipatory strain found in her praise for self-determination in, say, China and Ghana. In this case Street held to the 'protectionist' ethics that marked her early thought. She sought indigenous people's inclusion in the constitution and their subjection to federal laws and instruments. As Lake writes, the logic of protectionism and cultural assimilation was coded in calls, such as Street's, for the ending of discrimination and the extension of citizenship to indigenous Australians.[89] This call raises the further question of explaining the disjuncture between Street's increasingly radical advocacy of self-determination outside Australia, and her commitment to an ethics of protection within its borders. One might assume that Street's erstwhile endorsement of self-determination in other contexts might never have extended further than admiration, and into politics. More profoundly, the resilience of the category of 'the nation' in Street's ideas about social and cultural development explains why, to her, indigenous Australians remained a case apart from the anti-colonial movements from which she drew inspiration—even in the face of a growing domestic indigenous movement that directly opposed her position.

Street, in fact, claimed the source for these ethics lay in the childhood described earlier in this chapter. Street was relatively sanguine about the civilisational claims of Empire, at least in the Australian context. In 1958, during the campaign, Street described her grandfather's estate at Yulgilbar. She wrote that he had taken a benevolent attitude to indigenous people; they, in turn, looked to him as a benefactor. His paternalistic project, including efforts to employ and educate indigenous people, were undone by later settlers who abused indigenous women, gave them

[88] Sekuless, *Jessie Street*, pp. 163–189.

[89] Lake, 'Citizenship as Non-Discrimination: Acceptance or Assimilationism? Political Logic and Emotional Investment in Campaigns for Aboriginal Rights in Australia, 1940 to 1970,' *Gender and History*, vol. 13, no. 3, 2001, p. 567.

liquor, and thus made for their "demoralization." She hoped that it might now, in 1958, be possible to "develop the Aboriginals and give them opportunities so that they can become full citizens in what is, after all, their country."[90] The claims of white civilisation were thus not to be denied, but extended to all. Australia, then, was insulated from Street's sharper critiques of imperialism in other contexts.

Conclusion

Understanding Street 'transnationally' explains this particular problem in her thought. In the context of a campaign that appealed to international experiences and international institutions, she mobilised national history and tradition that, despite its imperial content, she did not find out of step with her sympathies for anti-colonial activism. This chapter has shown how Street moved away from the earliest, transnational context and mode of activism—imperialism—but she did not sever ties with it completely. For Street, 'the nation' remained a discrete, independent political subject; in this respect, she could sympathise with her post-colonial allies. Yet, on the other hand, the protectionist claims of Empire were not entirely undone. Ironically, deferring to a 'national' history helped Street resolve the implicit tension between the politics of self-determination and the politics of protection, at least in the Australian case.

Street's career also maps onto developments in women's movements across the twentieth century. It attests to the degree to which international feminism was categorically 'transnational.' Women such as Street moved across national boundaries and theorised their feminisms in ways contingent to national considerations. Yet an emergent, independent, feminist identity never undermined these distinctions entirely.[91] Street belonged to a stratum of transnational feminists for whom feminism was an imperial, maternalist, and protectionist project. Its colonisation of the women she sought to 'protect' were, belatedly and unreflectively, revealed in the implicit disjuncture between Street's advocacy of

[90] Street, 'Visit to Alma Ata and Tashkent,' June 1958, Street Papers, MS 2683/7.

[91] Leila J. Rupp and Verta Taylor, 'Forging Feminist Identity in an International Movement: A Collective Identity Approach to Twentieth-Century Feminism,' *Signs*, vol. 24, no. 2, 1999, pp. 363–386.

self-determination and the objectification of her subjects. She joined other feminists in enthusing about the UN's potential as an instrument for obtaining women's equality. Street's Cold War activism, for women's rights and peace, reflects the permeability and also the frustrations of Cold War political divisions.

Yet Street was undoubtedly exceptional among these women. Her Soviet sympathies were idiosyncratic amongst Western feminists. Her ability to pursue them was exceptional among other Western-based Soviet sympathisers. Her support for the UN outlasted the hopes of other women present at its founding and in the early CSW. Street, in short, refused the political restraints on people seeking to move between fields for transnational activism. Nor was she subject of more practical restraints. Her activism points once again to the ways in which wealth, citizenship, status, and connections have eased the path of domestic activists entering the transnational field. Indeed, the determination with which she pursued her aims, although it certainly registers in her biographies as a personal quality, might also be linked to the generic confidence of her class. Positioning Street among 'transnational activists' helps explains both her participation in, and her deviation from, major developments in the international women's movement in the twentieth century.

Assessing Street as a transnational activist also has implications for study of this category in itself. Street's career directs historians seeking to locate transnational activists in the manifold contexts and networks for twentieth-century activism. Street operated along the axes of imperialism; in the networks of international socialism; and in the institutional contexts of the UN and NGOs. The length of her career draws attention to transformations in those contexts: the changing utility of the UN and its instruments, from post-war hopes for its global authority to post-colonial appeals for its adjudication of claims for self-determination; the schismatic Cold War international order; and the shift from a transnational feminism that projected imperial authority, to one with its locus, and is strongest political and ethical charge, in the global south.

This development also leads to explication of the tensions in the conceptual apparatus for studying 'transnational activists.' Across all the examples given here, Street mediated between an international example and its usefulness as a model for domestic activism. When she first attended the UN, she brought with her a distinctly 'Australian' feminism, seeking its expansion to an international model. Her late-career

engagements with the UN evinced a clearer respect for difference across national feminisms. When Street advocated for Soviet-style state socialism, or anti-colonial self-determination, she did so on grounds with reference to naturalised, national differences. In the case of Street's activism for indigenous Australians, an international model was not to be replicated wholesale. In Street's case, an understanding of 'national' history and culture mediated her adaption of the political content and the repertoire of anti-colonial activism to the Australian context.

For Street, transnationalism made possible comparative, intellectual procedures that informed her domestic politics. The context for Street's historical, personal reflections on her grandfather's benevolence in 1958, discussed here, captures this. These reflections were part of a report on a recent visit to Alma Ata (present-day Almaty) and Tashkent, sponsored by Street's contacts in the Soviet Union. She arranged this trip, she wrote, with the explicit intention of examining the Soviet achievements for local women's development in particular, and with a view "to assessing whether a similar procedure would help us in Australia to assist our illiterate and nomadic Aborigines to adjust themselves to modern conditions."[92] As this one example indicates, Street's transnational activism inspired a career-long engagement with the universalising claims of feminism, socialism, and anti-colonialism, mediated by the customary claims of nations.

[92] Street, 'Visit to Alma Ata and Tashkent.'

CHAPTER 10

A Very Rooted Cosmopolitan: E.P. Thompson's Englishness and His Transnational Activism

Stefan Berger and Christian Wicke

Introduction

E.P. Thompson was a Marxist, a radical as well as a peace campaigner, who was very active in the peace movement throughout his life, especially during its first wave in the 1950 and 1960s, and again during its second wave in the 1980s. This chapter discusses E.P. Thompson as a transnational peace activist whose Marxist ideology should have been well suited for such transnationalism. Yet, as we shall see, his rootedness in specific English traditions limited the extent of his transnational commitments. Thompson's emergence as an international leader of the peace movement stems from his internationalist upbringing and social background. As a peace activist, Thompson articulated a global consciousness

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_10

of nuclear catastrophe. When analysing the "globality" of Thompson's activism, it makes sense to keep in mind that he played different public roles: his public role as a political activist stood next to and intermingled with his roles as author/poet and scholar/historian.[1]

In discussing Thompson's global influences as activist, author, and scholar, we seek to trace the social networks that were fundamental to Thompson's ideas and actions. How instrumental was Thompson in establishing, shaping, and maintaining (trans)national networks? How did these networks affect his "global" performance as an activist during the decades of the Cold War? Our hypothesis is that Thompson's performance and way of thinking were strongly embedded within the national English context, although being at the same time truly global in its articulation of internationalist ideas. In other words, Thompson serves as a good example of how deep embeddedness in national traditions does not necessarily exclude strong doses of internationalism.

E.P. Thompson: National Traditions and Internationalist Commitments

Edward Palmer Thompson was born in Oxford in 1924. His parents were intellectuals and missionaries; they were Methodists and liberals. Thompson was highly educated. His father, the writer Edward John Thompson, spent several years in India where he sympathised with the nationalist cause. Edward John Thompson described himself as a "liberal conservative with a touch of socialism." The Thompson's home often had interesting visitors, including Gandhi and Nehru. Edward Palmer had followed his parents' anti-imperialist conviction from an early age.[2]

Edward's brother Frank had already been a member for some time before he joined the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) in late 1941 at Cambridge. Mary Kaldor wrote that Edward "was strongly influenced by his brother […], who envisaged a united democratic

[1] For the international reception of Thompson's writing, see the recent issues of the *International Review of Social History*, vol. 61, no. 1, 2016, and *Historical Reflections*, vol. 41, no. 1, 2015.

[2] On his father's liberal cosmopolitanism, see Mary Lago, *'India's Prisoner': A Biography of Edward John Thompson, 1886–1946*, Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2001.

socialist Europe."[3] E.P. Thompson trained in history at university, where communism was relatively popular among the undergraduate students. He was aware of the Stalinist atrocities, yet he also saw communist internationalism as an anti-fascist force, a conviction that was fostered during his time as a soldier in North Africa and Italy. Frank was executed by the Bulgarian Gendarmerie in 1944 during a mission in Bulgaria. Given how close E.P. Thompson was to his brother, the latter's violent death at the hand of fascists strengthened Thompson's anti-fascism.[4]

After the war, Thompson finished his undergraduate degree, and co-founded the Communist Party Historians' Group, with Christopher Hill, Eric Hobsbawm, Raphael Samuel, Dona Torr, and others.[5] He married Dorothy Towers, a fellow communist and historian. In 1948, he and his wife joined the international volunteers of the Yugoslav Youth Railway to help build a railway. It was meant as a symbolical and practical gesture in support of Tito's and the Yugoslav Communists' anti-fascism, their self-liberation of their country, and their Communist commitment. This form of practical internationalism was in line with his Communist convictions as well as his existence as a soldier in the British army.[6]

When they returned from Yugoslavia, Edward and Dorothy Thompson decided to move to Yorkshire. He began teaching for the Leeds Extra-Mural Department in hopes of getting closer to actual proletarians. According to Thompson, he "went into adult education because it seemed to me to be an area where I would learn something about industrial England, and teach people who would teach me."[7] According to Cal Winslow, "Thompson was one in a generation

[3] Mary Kaldor, 'Obituary: E.P. Thompson,' *Independent*, 30 August 1993, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-e-p-thompson-1464255.html [Access Date 2 August 2016].

[4] Bryan D. Palmer: *E. P. Thompson: Objections and Oppositions*, London: Verso, 1994, pp. 40–51.

[5] Harvey J. Kaye, *British Marxist Historians: An Introductory Analysis*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1984; Bill Schwartz, '"The People" in History: The Communist Party Historians' Group, 1945–1956,' in Richard Johnson et al., eds., *Making Histories: Studies in History-Writing and Politics*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1982, pp. 44–95.

[6] E.P. Thompson, ed., *The Railway: An Adventure in Construction*, London: British Yugoslav Association, 1948.

[7] 'Interview with E. P. Thompson,', in Henry Abelove et al., eds., *Visions of History: Interviews with E. P. Thompson, Eric Hobsbawm, Sheila Rowbotham, Linda Gordon, Natalie Zemon Davis, William Appleman Williams, Staughton Lynd, David Montgomery, Herbert*

of socialist educators—young people, nearly all veterans—who chose workers' education as an active alternative to elite education, just as the Thompsons chose to live in the provincial West Riding, purposively far from the Metropolis."[8] Thompson made his professional and domestic choices from a class perspective—he distrusted the elite institutions training the elite class and he distrusted the metropolis that was dominated by those elites. Yorkshire stood for the working-class north of England and extra-mural education for an attempt to reach out to the working classes and help them attain an education. At the same time the middle-class Thompson had high hopes that he could actually learn about class from the people he would teach.[9]

These early choices already indicated that Thompson was a man who lived his everyday life according to his political beliefs. He saw himself as a political missionary—wishing to educate the working class, whilst at the same time rejecting the missionary-like arrogance of seeking to convert working-class attitudes (what he called "class indoctrination"[10]). Instead, he perceived teaching and learning as a mutual process. As were many other left-wing educators, Thompson was deeply influenced by what he had witnessed about army education during the Second World War. Left-wing veterans like himself remained practitioners of this idea of educating the working man whilst at the same time acknowledging the importance of his class position and practice.[11]

Thompson and his wife also lived their political beliefs in their private lives. Thus, they soon began to organise political discussions in their house in Siddal, a working-class district in Halifax, where they lived, with

Gutman, Vincent Harding, John Womack, C. L. R. James, Moshe Lewin, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976, pp. 3–26, here p. 14.

[8] Scott Hamilton, 'The Making of EP Thompson: Family, Anti-fascism and the 1930s,' in Scott Hamilton, ed., *The Crisis of Theory: E.P. Thompson, the New Left and Postwar British Politics*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011, pp. 11–45.

[9] Roger Fieldhouse, 'Thompson: the Adult Educator,', in Roger Fieldhouse and Richard Taylor, eds., *E. P. Thompson and English Radicalism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014, pp. 25–47.

[10] Many examples can be found in John Rule and Robert Malcolmson, eds., *Protest and Survival: Essays for E.P. Thompson*, London: Merlin Press, 1993.

[11] Cal Winslow, 'Introduction: Edward Thompson and the Making of the New Left,' in Cal Winslow, ed., *E.P. Thompson and the Making of the New Left: Essays and Polemics*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 2014, pp. 9–34.

their children, until the 1960s. Living amongst the class he had chosen as his own, Thompson was active in the local Communist Party and was elected to the District Party Committee. He also chaired the Halifax Peace Committee, became secretary of the Yorkshire Federation of Peace Organization, and edited the *West Riding Peace Journal* as well as the *Yorkshire Voice of Peace*, which he had founded.[12] His strong commitment on behalf of the peace movement had started during the Korean War in the early 1950s. From these earliest times, he was keen to develop alliances across parties and beliefs, seeking to reestablish a united front of the Left in pursuit of peace. During the 1950s, he was already among the most important peace activists in Yorkshire. From 1958, Thompson became very actively involved in the CND, "sharing in the daily practice of fund raising and organizing marches, as well as in the writing of articles to help define the campaign's wider goals and strategy."[13]

The peace movement became a central institutional focus for Thompson's transnational activism, because 1956 marked a decisive break in Thompson's life and in the left-wing milieu in Western Europe more generally.[14] Three important things occurred. First, on 25 February 1956, Khrushchev gave his so-called "secret" speech, which was intended to be leaked immediately, and was followed by the so-called Krushchev Thaw.[15] The Stalinist heritage was now openly attacked from within the Soviet Union, and the speech caused debates in the West following its publication by Western newspapers in June 1956. Thompson took this moment as an occasion to contrast the English liberal tradition with the authoritarian tradition of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), as Wade Matthews recently pointed out.[16]

[12] Bryan D. Palmer, 'Homage to Edward Thompson, Part I,' *Labour/Le Travail*, vol. 32, 1993, pp. 11–71, esp. p. 45.

[13] Michael D. Bess, *Realism, Utopia and the Mushroom Cloud: Four Activist Intellectuals and their Strategies for Peace, 1945–1989: Louise Weiss (France), Leo Szillard (USA), E.P. Thompson (Britain) and Danilo Dolci (Italy)*, Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993, p. 107.

[14] The importance of 1956 is also emphasised in Geoff Eley, *Forging Democracy: The Left and the Struggle for Democracy in Europe, 1850–2000*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.

[15] For the full speech in English, see: http://www.theguardian.com/theguardian/2007/apr/26/greatspeeches1 [Access Date 2 August 2016].

[16] Matthews, *The New Left, National Identity and the Break-up of Britain*, Chap. 3.

Second, shortly after Krushchev's speech, in June 1956, the Hungarian Secretary General, Mátyás Rákosi, who had described himself as "Stalin's best pupil," resigned, which started the Hungarian Revolution, and the establishment of a revolutionary government in Budapest which declared its exit from the Warsaw Pact. The invasion of Hungary by Soviet troops and the installation of a new pro-Soviet Communist government followed in November 1956.[17]

Third, parallel to the Soviet invasion of Hungary, the Suez Crisis unfolded in October 1956. The British and French governments were worried about the nationalisation of the Anglo-French canal by Egyptian President Nasser. The British and the French sent military contingents to Egypt to protect what they saw as their interests. This invasion of the imperialist West was associated by the Left as the mirror image of what was happening with the Soviet imperialism in Hungary. However, the Anglo-French action was not supported by the US, which forced the alliance to withdraw their troops. Hungary and Suez seemed to demonstrate, to many of those who would form the first New Left in Britain, that the two superpowers had total control of the global political system and both were using this power to prevent the emergence of democratic socialism. In line with this, Thompson also felt that the world's geopolitical domination by two super powers, the US and the Soviet Union, would impede the realisation of peace, democracy and a humanistic Marxism. As he argued in his article on socialist humanism, the Soviet Union had betrayed that tradition and therefore needed to be transformed, just as Western capitalism had to be overcome.[18]

As joint editors of the British CP journal *The Reasoner*, Thompson and John Saville voiced their dissent with the CPGB over Hungary, effectively accusing the party of abandoning international revolutionary solidarity. Hence they rejected the official Communist reading of the Hungarian revolution as counter-revolution, a position supported by, among others, a fellow member of the CPGB Historians' Group, Eric

[17] Paul Lendvai (transl. by Ann Major), *One Day that Shook the Communist World: The 1956 Hungarian Uprising and Its Legacy*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008, p. 35.

[18] E.P. Thompson, 'Socialist Humanism: An Epistle to the Philistines,' *The New Reasoner*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1957, pp. 105–143.

Hobsbawm.[19] Communist parties could not tolerate internal pluralism and dissent and hence it was only logical that the CPGB suspended Thompson and Saville, who then resigned their membership to pursue their version of humanist Marxism outside the party. About 7000 other British communists also left the party at that time. Thompson, Saville, and their allies began publishing the dissident journal *The New Reasoner*, which would merge into *The New Left Review* in 1959. This development was the origin of the First New Left in Britain.[20]

The break of Thompson and others with international Communism occurred in response to intense differences about the meaning of internationalism. For official Communists, their transnational commitment resulted in a celebration of the ending of counter-revolutionary tendencies, but for Thompson and those who left the CPGB in 1956, transnational solidarity and activism were with those who opposed Soviet-style Communism in Eastern Europe. In spring 1957 Thompson affirmed his ongoing belief in Communism: "although I have resigned from the Communist Party—I remain a Communist."[21] Hungary then did not mean the Social Democratisation of large sections of the Communist Party but rather the formation of a new 'third way'[22] between official party communism and Social Democracy. This third position was intensely internationalist, whilst at the same time seeking for ways to express itself politically in Britain. Thompson's close collaboration with his friend Lawrence Daly, who had also broken with Communism in 1956 over the setting up of the Fife Socialist League, demonstrates Thompson's desire not to restrict the British New Left to

[19] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Suppressing Facts,' *Daily Worker*, 11 September 1956, in which he approved, 'with a heavy heart' the crushing of reform communism in Hungary, although he did also call on the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops as soon as possible.

[20] Chun Lin, *The British New Left*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993; Michael Kenny, *The First New Left: British Intellectuals after Stalin*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1995. On Saville, see David Howell, Diane Kirby, and Kevin Morgan, eds., *John Saville: Commitment and History*, London: Lawrence and Wishart, 2011.

[21] E.P. Thompson, 'Socialism and the Intellectuals,' *Universities and Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1957, pp. 31–36, available [online]: http://banmarchive.org.uk/collections/ulr/1_socialismint.pdf [Access Date 2 August 2016].

[22] On third way traditions after 1945, see Jonathan Schneer, *Labour's Conscience: The Labour Left 1945–1950*, Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1988. Darren Lilleker, *Against the Cold War: The History and Political Traditions of Pro-Sovietism in the British Labour Party, 1945–1989*, London: I.B. Tauris, 2004.

an intellectual movement but to build political and institutional alliances with the working class.[23]

For Thompson, and for others with similar feelings in continental Europe and the US,[24] one of the prime arenas for his internationalism remained the commitment to peace. In 1957, Eden's successor, British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan, announced the strategy of developing thermonuclear weapons and admitted the British government had already tested these bombs in the Pacific. Thompson subsequently joined the newly founded Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND).[25] Peter Worsley, Dorothy Thompson, and Stuart Hall remember that "[w]ithin the new and rapidly-growing Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, what was now becoming known as the 'New Left' played a major part. John Rex's pamphlet 'NATO or Neutralism' linked the neutralism which had emerged in Europe as a response to the Cold War to the new mass movement."[26] The neutralists deeply doubted the Western strategy to secure peace through nuclear armament. To what extent protesting against the British support of this strategy was in itself a form of transnational activism as it concerned global security and countered images of the foreign enemy is, however, an interesting question: at that time the CND was primarily a British movement, even if it served as a model for the later Easter Marches of the peace movement in Western Europe.

Thompson's peace activism remained wedded to a revolutionary transformative perspective that can also be gauged from his work as a historian. In 1959 Thompson published his biography on the nineteenth-century writer William Morris, who he saw as a "Romantic in revolt, [who] became a realist and a revolutionary."[27] Thompson first immersed himself in Morris's writings when he prepared classes for his students.

[23] On the brief flowering of the Fife Socialist League, see Christos Efstathiou, 'E.P. Thompson, the Early New Left and the Fife Socialist League,' *Labour History Review*, vol. 81, no. 1, 2016, pp. 25–48.

[24] For an interesting comparison, see Bess: *Realism, Utopia, and the Mushroom Cloud*.

[25] Holger Nehring, *Politics of Security: British and West German Protest Movements and the Early Cold War, 1945–1970*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013.

[26] Richard Taylor, 'Thompson and the Peace Movement: from CND in the 1950 and 1960s to END in the 1980s,' in Roger Fieldhouse and Richard Taylor, eds., *E.P. Thompson and English Radicalism*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014, Chap. 9.

[27] E.P. Thompson, *William Morris: From Romantic to Revolutionary (Spectre Classics)*, Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2011, p. 2.

He found in Morris a good example to discuss English literature in an adult class, where many were members of the labour movement. "I was seized by Morris. I thought why is this man thought to be an old fuddy-duddy? He is right in with us still."[28] Thompson was interested in a particularly English intellectual and revolutionary tradition, and he saw in Morris "the first major English-speaking Marxist" and he saw Morris as a good example to resist the orthodox and Stalinist traditions in Marxism.[29]

Gerard McCann has discovered in Thompson's political thought an "eclectic approach to theory [which] made appeals to the historical materialism of Marx, the utopianism of William Morris and […] libertarian thought […]."[30] Thompson, also according to Harvey Kaye, followed a Marxism deeply affected by the thought of William Morris and identified himself as a "democratic, libertarian communist."[31] Thompson, by means of his biography of Morris, was tracing an English radical tradition that served as historical foundation for his present-day Marxism and Communism. By the end of the 1950s, Thompson's Marxism had become "less […] a self-sufficient system, [and] more […] a major creative influence within a wider socialist tradition."[32] It was not so much "an obedient expression of the Communist Party line"[33] as it was an indication that Thompson was still trying to combine national traditions with internationalist commitment. In many ways, his socialist (inter)nationalism showed parallels to Morris's philosophy. The romantic socialist, Morris, believed it was necessary to revive the traditional arts in industrial society.[34] Ruth Kinna provided an excellent analysis of Morris's personal nationalism: he was a romantic, communitarian, and English nationalist who believed English society and politics had been corrupted by capitalism. The true English nation, which had stood for liberty, egalitarianism, and justice, he found only in medieval England.

[28] 'Interview with E.P. Thompson,' 1976, p. 13.

[29] Ibid, p. 21.

[30] Gerard McCann, *Theory and History: The Political Thought of E.P. Thompson (Avebury Series in Philosophy)*, Aldershot, Brookfield: Ashgate, 1997, p. 1.

[31] Harvey J. Kay, *The British Marxist Historians*, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1995.

[32] Cited in Newman, p. 162.

[33] Michael D. Bess and E.P. Thompson: 'The Historian as Activist,' *American Historical Review*, vol. 98, no. 1, 1993, pp. 18–38, here p. 21.

[34] Goulden Hugh, *The Last Romantics*, London: Duckworth, 1949, Chap. 3.

And this national character, which he also saw in the constitution, he felt could be revived only under conditions of a radically federalist socialism. Surely, the early socialist also had strong internationalist convictions, although in Morris's romantic world-view Englishness as such was cosmopolitan. Capitalism, in his eyes, had produced a commercial patriotism and unnecessary competition between the nations.[35] As a member of the Eastern Question Association (est. 1877) and of the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (est. 1878), he not only campaigned for the protection of English heritage but also, for example, for the restoration of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. This action might have had more to do with his anti-Turkish and anti-Islamic sentiments than with his cosmopolitanism, as Melanie Hall has commented.[36]

Thompson's concern with English radical traditions was also extremely visible in his admiration for the radical William Cobbett, laid out in what was to become his magnum opus, *The Making of the English Working Class*, published in 1963.[37] Not only did workers have agency and not only did the 'superstructure' influence the 'structure' of Marx's dialectical and historical materialism, but the nascent working classes of England already practiced a marked transnationalism, especially in their reception and adoption of French revolutionary thought and action. As with Morris, the individual radical, the nascent working classes of England, as collective actor, were providing a national tradition for humanistic Communism, and this was an English tradition deeply imbued with internationalism.

His scholarly work can thus be said to be in line with his political activism. His career path reflected an ongoing concern for a different kind of academia from that which was mainstream in Britain. Accepting a Readership in Social History and the Directorship of the Centre for the Study of Social History at Warwick, which was founded in 1965, Thompson was hoping to influence the direction in which social history, and in particular the social history of the working classes, would be going

[35] Ruth Kinna, William Morris and the Problem of Englishness,' *European Journal of Political Theory*, vol. 5, no. 1, 2006, pp. 85–99.

[36] Melanie Hall, Redeeming Holy Wisdom: Britain and St. Sophia, in Melanie Hall, ed., *Towards World Heritage*, London: Routledge, 2011, p. 50.

[37] E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, London: Penguin, 1963; see also Dorothy F. Thompson, ed., *The Essential E.P. Thompson*, New York: The New Press, 2001, pp. 104–105.

in Britain.[38] In 1967 he published his influential article on the commodification of time and the industrialisation of social life in *Past and Present*, entitled "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism."[39] This topic certainly was an important one for global history, and Thompson was aware of this dimension. He sees the modern time-culture as originating in Western Europe more generally, uses examples from colonial countries around the world to contrast modern to traditional society, and involves some French philosophy. Nevertheless, his narrative again focusses most strongly on England and on almost exclusively English sources. Further, in 1971 he published a similarly extensive article in the same journal on "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century."[40] Here the subject matter was again national, but the argument was developed in close liaison with his friend, the US labour historian Herbert Gutman, who was inspired by Thompson's work. Gutman represented in the United States the new, cultural labour history that Thompson represented in the United Kingdom.[41]

If, in his scholarly work, Thompson was seeking to establish an internationalist national tradition for humanistic Communism, in his political work he continued to be critical of 'parliamentary socialism'[42] and

[38] Tony Mason and Jim Obelkevich, 'Labour history at the Centre for the Study of Social History, Warwick,' *Bulletin of the Society for the Study of Labour History*, vol. 48, 1984, pp. 22–23; Emma Griffin wrote: 'His tenure at the newly created University of Warwick was brief: he resigned just six years after taking up the post, disgusted at the commercial turn it was taking,' see 'E.P. Thompson: The Unconventional Historian,' *The Guardian*, 6 March 2013, https://www.theguardian.com/books/2013/mar/06/ep-thompson-unconventional-historian [Access Date 12 August 2016].

[39] E.P. Thompson, 'Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism,' *Past and Present*, vol. 38, no. 1, 1967, pp. 56–97.

[40] E.P. Thompson, 'The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century,' *Past and Present*, vol. 50, no. 1, 1971, pp. 76–136.

[41] Ira Berlin, 'Introduction: Herbert G. Gutman and the American Working Class,' in Ira Berlin, ed., Herbert Gutman, *Power and Culture: Essays and the American Working* Class, New York: The New Press, 1987, pp. 3–69, here pp. 20–25.

[42] Thus the title of Ralph Miliband's formidable critique of reformist socialism in Britain which Thompson no doubt shared with his close personal friend Miliband. See Ralph Miliband, *Parliamentary Socialism: a Study in the Politics of Labour*, London: Allen and Unwin, 1961; on Miliband see also Michael Newman, 'Ralph Miliband and the Labour Party: from Parliamentary Socialism to "Bennism,"' in John Callaghan, Steven Fielding, and Steve Ludlam, eds., *Interpreting the Labour Party. Approaches to Labour Politics and History*, Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003, pp. 57–70.

what he perceived as the slavish obedience of the Labour Party to US foreign policy interests. In a prominent New Left May Day Manifesto in 1967, together with other spokespersons of the British New Left, Stuart Hall and Raymond Williams, Thompson sought to challenge the Labour government of Harold Wilson, in particular their support for the US in the Cold War.[43] In the mid-1970s Thompson would begin to liaise with the socialist academic and politician Ken Coates, heading the Bertrand Russell Peace Foundation (BRPF) in Nottingham. Together they discussed a new peace initiative against what they perceived as dangerous escalation of the Cold War through the NATO decision, in December 1979, to station new US missiles in Western Europe in an attempt to force the Soviet Union to reduce their weapons arsenal in Eastern Europe.[44]

The so-called twin-track strategy of NATO led to a major revival of the peace movement in Britain and other parts of Western Europe and the Western world.[45] Thompson and Coates now founded European Nuclear Disarmament (END), quickly nicknamed 'PhD CND,' for it united academics and intellectuals in pursuit of a new strategy for building peace. END sought to overcome the superpower dualism by building an alliance of democratic socialists from both sides of the Iron Curtain, committed to building a democratic socialist Europe from below that would overcome the Cold War binaries and could result in the peaceful cooperation of nation states in Europe.[46] The foundational appeal of END, penned by Thompson and Coates, outlined their vision for a future peaceful and nonaligned democratic socialist Europe.[47] Thompson became one of the most influential spokespersons for END

[43] New Left May Day Manifesto 1967, available [online]: http://digital.library.pitt.edu/u/ulsmanuscripts/pdf/31735061540344.pdf [Access Date 6 February 2017].

[44] Stefan Berger and Norman Laporte, 'Between Scylla and Charybdis: END and Its Attempt to Overcome the Bipolar World Order in the 1980s,' *Labour History*, vol. 111, 2016, pp. 11–25.

[45] Lawrence S. Wittner, *The Struggle against the Bomb, vol. 3: Toward Nuclear Abolition: A History of the World Nuclear Disarmament Movement, 1971 to the Present (Stanford Nuclear Age Series 3)*, Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 2003.

[46] Patrick D.M. Burke, 'European Nuclear Disarmament: A Study in Transnational Social Movement Strategy,' PhD dissertation, University of Westminster, 2004.

[47] The Bertrand Russell Foundation, 'European Nuclear Disarmament: An Appeal for Action,' *Security Dialogue*, vol. 11, 1980, p. 108.

in the 1980s, with public debates on television, writing for major British newspapers, especially *The Guardian*, and speaking at mass rallies and festivals. His article *Protest and Survive* from 1980 sold 50,000 copies in less than a year and subsequently another 36,000 in the form of a Penguin special.[48] END's campaign was outspokenly and directly transnational in that it was appealing to activists in both Western and Eastern Europe to unite, from below, a Europe different from that imagined and represented by the statesmen of both Western and Eastern Europe. The END conventions held throughout Europe in the 1980s were an impressive testimony to this form of transnationalism, although it did run into difficulties in ambiguous dealings with the socialism that actually existed behind the Iron Curtain.

In his scholarly work during the 1970 and 1980s, Thompson continued to be concerned primarily with an English national tradition, albeit one that had transnational implications. In 1975 Thompson published *Whigs and Hunters*, criticising the strengthening of property laws of the ruling class in eighteenth-century England that violated English legal tradition.[49] Thompson's concern with legal traditions mirrored an interest of the young Marx who perceived the law as a potentially liberalising institution.[50] His interest in the rule of law and the law as protection from arbitrary decision making by politically authoritarian regimes was revived during the Thatcher governments after 1979, which he despised. He expressed his views on liberty in 1980 in his book *Writing By Candlelight*.[51]

Thompson also intervened powerfully in the theoretical debates underpinning history writing in the 1970s, notably with his 1978 *The Poverty of Theory*. It was a direct reaction to Perry Anderson's and Tom Nairn's rallying call to British historians to engage with the Marxist

[48] Palmer: *E.P. Thompson: Objections and Oppositions*, pp. 126–142.

[49] E.P. Thompson, *Whigs and Hunters: the Origins of the Black Act*, London: Penguin, 1975.

[50] Daniel H. Cole, '"An Unqualified Human Good:" E.P. Thompson and the Rule of Law,' *Journal of Law and Society*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2001, pp. 177–203; see https://thelegalexchange.wordpress.com/2012/06/03/the-rule-of-law-is-an-unqualified-human-good-e-p-thompson/ [Access Date 6 February 2017].

[51] E.P. Thompson, *Writing by Candlelight*, London: Merlin, 1980; on the close relationship between liberty and Thompson's peace activism, see also McCann, *Theory and History: The Political Thought of E.P. Thompson*, 1997, pp. 145–176.

structuralism of Louis Althusser. Although the reception of French structuralist Marxism by Anderson and Nairn is often seen as a sign of these authors' cosmopolitanism and internationalism, Thompson's rejection is equally often perceived as evidence for his little-England provincialism.[52] There is, however, also an entirely different way of interpreting Thompson's stance. It was not that he rejected Althusser because he was foreign or French, but because his variant of Marxism was not compatible with Thompson's own: Thompson's emphasis on culture, the law, and all structurally belonging to the 'superstructure' of Marxist theory were disregarded by Althusser.[53] Although Thompson did admit that "No Marxist can*not* be a structuralist, in a certain sense,"[54] an overdetermined structuralism would ultimately lead to a complete disregard of the crucial agency of the people. Hence, Thompson did not ignore Althusser but found him wanting, this in itself not a sign of little-Englandism but one of transnationalism that can also reject, for good reason, things from beyond the nation-state. What we thus suggest here is thinking of Thompson's particular interest in English history and identity as distinct from his general political philosophy and methodology of history, which actually accorded well with his internationalist convictions and transnational activism.

Thompson's Internationalism and Its Implications for Transnational Activism

In what follows we examine more closely how, in Thompson's humanistic Marxism and his peace activism, a concern for the national intermingles with a strong internationalism and commitment to transnational activism. Thus, we focus on some of his historical and political writings. Thompson perceived the two blocs during the Cold War as "two monstrous antagonistic structures."[55] These blocs not only impeded the realisation of his ideal type of Marxist world, but they also threatened to

[52] Such a critique of Thompson can be found, for example, in Perry Anderson, *Arguments within English Marxism*, London: Verso, 1980.

[53] 'Interview with E.P. Thompson,' pp. 16–17.

[54] E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London: The Merlin Press, 1978, pp. 17–18.

[55] Ibid., p. 265.

destroy all human civilisation. According to Thompson's logic, nuclear deterrence was not only existentially dangerous but also harmed the success of 'socialist humanism' in supporting both undesirables: Western Capitalism and Soviet Communism. Instead, he wanted to bring about a new democratic socialism from underneath. It is intriguing how this political project coincided with his historical project to foster 'history from below,' that is, a form of historical writing that takes seriously the concerns of the everyday, of the losers of historical progress and of experience and culture.[56] In the editorial of the first issue of *The New Reasoner*, John Saville and E.P. Thompson wrote that:

> [i]n the political field, we take our stand with those workers and intellectuals in the Soviet Union and E[astern] Europe for that return to Communist principle and that extension of liberties which has been dubbed 'de-Stalinisation'; in Britain with those socialists on the left wing of the Labour Party, or unattached to any party, who are fighting under very different conditions, for a similar re-birth of principle within the movement.[57]

In other words, they were pleading for the unity from below of an independent left that would have freed itself from the shackles of party communism and social democracy. His consistent argument in favour of 'positive neutrality'[58] between the blocs that was the basis of his peace activism was also based on assumptions of equidistance between the two blocs to be brought about by a people's alliance from beneath.

Thompson's article "Socialist Humanism," published in *The New Reasoner* in 1957, not only attacked Soviet authoritarianism but was also critical of Marx's and Engels' insufficient recognition of individual ideas and actions, and their false belief in a determining materialist structure that Stalinism had further enhanced. It was Thompson's mission to emphasis the 'true' elements in Marx's and Engels' philosophy, which

[56] Dennis Dworkin, *Cultural Marxism in Post-War Britain: History, the New Left and the Origins of Cultural Studies (Post-Contemporary Interventions)*, Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1997.

[57] Joh Saville and E.P. Thompson, 'Editorial,' *The New Reasoner*, vol. 1, no. 1, 1957.

[58] Mary Kaldor, 'Obituary: E. P. Thompson,' *The Independent*, 29 Aug. 1993, http://www.independent.co.uk/news/people/obituary-e-p-thompson-1464255.html [Access Date 6 February 2017].

was, above all, their humanism. The experience of Stalinism had taught Marxism a lesson.[59]

Stalinism in the Soviet Union, which, according to Thompson, persisted also after the death of the dictator, was not only indicted on account of its anti-humanist interpretation of Marxism but also because of its participation in and promotion of the nuclear arms race between the two superpowers. However, Thompson firmly believed that the two superpowers were giving themselves legitimisation through the alleged threat posed by the mutual other. Hence the Soviet Union could justify its anti-democratic stance with reference to the threat posed by the US and NATO, and the US and NATO could justify their virulent anti-Communism and opposition to peace with the allegedly aggressive intentions of the Soviet Union to spread world communism. Only if the Western peace movement broke that circle and forced the Western governments to demobilise its arsenal of weapons, while at the same time supporting the dissident peace movement in Eastern Europe (which, according to Thompson, had the same aim vis-à-vis their respective governments), could the world move beyond the binary divide threatening to bring the world to the brink of universal annihilation:

> The Hydrogen Bomb, the soundly-based fear of aggression from American imperialism (which every day announces new advanced bases for atomic missiles) strengthens the bureaucratic and military caste, gives them their raison d'etre, gives colour to Stalinist ideology, and at the same time weakens and confuses the fight against Stalinist ideology both in the Soviet Union and outside. The dismantling of Stalinism will not be assisted simply by swelling the chorus of anti-Stalinist abuse. We must understand – and explain – the true character of Stalinism, the new face of Soviet Society immanent within it. We must do what we can to dismantle the Hydrogen Bomb.[60]

Thompson's idea of political activism was therefore very much in agreement with his personal Marxist philosophy of history. History could be driven from beneath by the ordinary people once they had become

[59] Thompson, Socialist Humanism: An Epistle to the Philistines, pp.105–143. See also https://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1957/sochum.htm [Access Date 6 February 2017].

[60] Thompson, 'Socialist Humanism: An Epistle to the Philistines,' p. 138.

conscious of their agency. He believed: "Historical consciousness ought to assist one to understand the possibilities of transformation and the possibility within people."[61] His attention to ordinary people and their agency, in both politics and history, also meant an awareness of specific local, regional, and national context in which such agency was found in expression. As the people's agency on behalf of democratic socialism and peace was transnational and internationalist in perspective, the actual struggle would have to be carried out in more restricted scenarios. Hence, in Thompson's thinking the spatial scales of the transnational and various sub-transnational levels coincided.

Thompson's transnationalism from below had been encouraged by the events in 1956. The Hungarian revolution had shown that Communism might yet return to its actual principles, and work together with a democratic socialist left in the West to achieve what was still the unfulfilled Leninist dream of 1917: world revolution.[62] The agency of the people in this dream would be vital: "central to Socialism, and which—above all—must unite intellectuals and the working class in a common cause—that man is capable not only of changing his conditions, but also of transforming himself; that there is a real sense in which it is true that men can master their own history."[63]

In this alliance of the people, intellectuals had a special role. Warning of anti-intellectualism within the socialist movement,[64] he argued that historians could give the working class a greater sense of their agency in the past, which would also serve as a resource for their contemporary struggles. What was indeed needed, he argued, was a new "sense of history" that would acknowledge this fact.[65] He saw himself very much as an intellectual in this mould, able to provide this sense of history, and he was very successful in this mission, especially with his 1963 book, *The Making of the English Working Class*.

[61] 'Interview with E.P. Thompson,' p. 16.

[62] Thompson, 'Socialist Humanism: An Epistle to the Philistines,' pp. 105–107.

[63] Thompson, 'Socialism and the Intellectuals,' p. 36.

[64] E.P. Thompson, 'Commitment in Politics,' *Universities & Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 6, 1959, pp. 50–55, see also: https://www.marxists.org/archive/thompson-ep/1959/commitment.htm [Access Date 6 February 2017].

[65] Ibid.

> [It] was more than a history. It was, [Thompson] insisted, a political work as well, 'a polemic' and a call to arms. It was the result, in part, of a decade of work in the peace movement, then nearly another decade in the New Left. The Making was aimed not at the academy but principally at 'his students, the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND), the Left Clubs,' and those young workers, indifferent to the trade unions of the Labour Party, radicalized yet watching from the fringes of these movements.[66]

Thompson's new kind of social history from below sought to illuminate forgotten histories of the disadvantaged and thus to "challenge the official records" and provide "new ways of understanding the actualities of eighteenth and nineteenth century life."[67] Thompson aimed at bringing out the revolutionary agency of the working class.[68] By writing the history of the working class, he aimed at strengthening their identity. That it was an English working class had more to do with the specifics of time and place than an avowed commitment to a national cause.[69]

However, Thompson's belief in agency had its limits. In December 1981 he argued: "History never happens as the actors plan or expect. It is the record of *unintended* consequences. Revolutions are made, manifestos are issued, battles are won: but the outcome, twenty or thirty years on, is always something that no-one willed and no-one expected."[70] This statement is also extremely relevant for Thompson's understanding of the Cold War. Following Boris Pasternak's expression in Dr. Zhivago, Thompson thought the Cold War should be seen as "consequences of consequences." To him it was an "abnormal political condition" for which no one had wished. There seems to be an interesting tension between human agency and human intentionality in Thompson's thinking.[71] This tension also had repercussions for the directionality of Thompson's historical and political thinking. History seemed to teach him that it was impossible to foresee where political actions would lead. Such basic openness of the future also had to account for the possibility

[66] Winslow, 'Introduction: Edward Thompson and the Making of the New Left,' p. 11.

[67] Ibid, p. 17.

[68] McCann, *Theory and History: The Political Thought of E.P. Thompson*, p. 2.

[69] Matthews, *The New Left, National Identity and the Break-up of Britain*, p. 64; Fieldhouse and Taylor, eds., *E.P. Thompson and English Radicalism*, p. 2.

[70] E.P. Thompson, *Beyond the Cold War*, London: Pantheon, 1982, p. 10.

[71] Ibid.

that it would all go terribly wrong. This realisation might explain the pessimism and apocalyptic tone in some of Thompson's writings, for example, in his science fiction novel, *The Sykaos Papers* from 1988,[72] and in his rallying pamphlet *Exterminism and Cold War* from 1982.[73] As he also remarked in conversation with the Caribbean writer and activist C.L.R. James in 1982, it was not at all unlikely that all this will go through the roof.[74] Ultimately his transnational activism was not so much motivated by the certainties of historical teleologies, more common to orthodox shades of Marxism-Leninism, than by the moral stances of Methodism, in which individuals had to follow their conscience in trying to do what was right, in spite of chances of success and regardless of possible consequences. It is thus perhaps more a Protestant spirit rather than scientific Marxism that drove Thompson in his transnational peace activism.

The latter attitude preceded his departure from the Communist party, but it is true that transnational peace activism became, for Thompson, a new institutional home for this version of a humanist Marxism through which he attempted to pursue his agenda for democratic socialism. In 1960, he argued "that in the 1950s there has been a polarisation of human consciousness which has corresponded to the polarisation of world power. The world orthodoxies have been constructed in mutual antagonism." He believed that this antagonism between "the pure 'Stalinist'" and "the pure 'Natopolitan'" had been responsible for the dominant "ideology of apathy," that is, the culture of the cold war, that held sway over the globe[75] and impeded the socialist revolution. The CND was for Thompson not only an indication that the right consciousness can make changes but was also necessary to overcome the cold war culture internationally. The CND, however, as Bess put it, "riven by

[72] E.P. Thompson, *The Sykaos Papers*, London: Pantheon, 1988; on the topic of the Apocalypse in connection with anti-nuclear protests, see also Philipp Gassert, 'Popularität der Apokalypse: Zur Nuklearangst seit 1945,' *Aus Politik und Zeitgeschichte*, vol. 61, no. 46/47, 2011, pp. 48–54, available [online]: http://www.bpb.de/apuz/59696/popularitaet-der-apokalypse-zur-nuklearangst-seit-1945?p=all, [Access Date 6 February 2017].

[73] E.P. Thompson, *Exterminism and Cold War*, London: Pantheon, 1982.

[74] See http://territorialmasquerades.net/in-conversation-e-p-thompson-and-c-l-r-james/ [Access Date 14 September 2014].

[75] E.P. Thompson, 'Outside the Whale' [1960], reprinted in E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays*, London: The Merlin Press, 1978, p. 145.

internal dissension over the tactics of protest gradually began to lose its élan" in the early 1960s.[76]

More than two decades later, in 1982, Thompson recognised the "success of the European peace movement" as "[t]he political cost of forcing Britain, Belgium, West Germany and Italy to accept Cruise and Pershing missiles upon their territories is so high that the counsels of NATO are now divided."[77] Millions were protesting in Western Europe at that time, and Bess saw "Thompson's principal contribution to this burgeoning movement … in his effort to politicize what had tended to be a primarily technical controversy…" Bess described Thompson's role in the END as follows:

> He wrote dozens of articles for European and American newspapers, continually mailed off letters to the editor, and appeared often on British television, either in interviews or in news reports. He travelled to the major British cities, giving speeches and holding meetings (an average of ten public appearances per month between 1980 and 1982), and he went abroad on speaking tours from California to Hungary, Iceland to Greece, visiting some fourteen counties in all.[78]

Once again we can observe how national engagement and transnational activism went hand in hand for Thompson. The first major END document, which was strongly influenced by Thompson, was the so-called END Appeal in April 1980. It began with the following words: "We are entering the most dangerous decade in human history. A third world war is not merely possible, but increasingly likely."[79] It went on:

> An increasing proportion of the world resources is expended on weapons, even though mutual extermination is already amply guaranteed. This economic burden, in both East and West, contributes to a growing social and political strain, setting in motion a vicious circle in which the arms race

[76] Bess: *Realism, Utopia, and the Mushroom Cloud*, p. 114.

[77] E.P. Thompson, '"The Wet Gate." An Introduction to the North Atlantic,' in Olafur Gromsson and Angus McCormack, eds., *END Special Report: The Nuclear North Atlantic*, London: Merlin Press, 1982, pp. 6–10, here p. 8.

[78] Bess and Thompson: 'The Historian as Activist,' pp. 18–38.

[79] Reprinted as part of Ken Coates, 'European Nuclear Disarmament,' originally published in *Spokesman*, Vol. 38, 1980, available [online]: http://www.spokesmanbooks.com/Spokesman/PDF/100Coates.pdf [Access Date 2 August 2016].

feeds upon the instability of the world economy and vice versa: a deathly dialectic.

In Thompson's view, and according to the Appeal: generations "have become habituated to the threat. Concern has given way to apathy." Thompson's voice was recognisably present in this piece, which was calling for international cooperation from below, for nuclear disarmament in Europe.

In his pamphlet, *Protest and Survive*, from 1980, Thompson reacted against a letter by the military historian Michael Howard, published in *The Times* on 30 January 1980. Howard's letter had argued that Britain might suffer "a series of pre-emptive strikes by Soviet missile" while "the use of our own nuclear weapon…would become quite literally 'incredible'" so that the UK government should maintain a "serious civil defence policy."[80] Thompson then argued that a nuclear war would be much more disastrous than Howard had suggested. Thompson discussed a number of strategic scenarios, what he called the "logic of deterrence" and what he called "the logic of this deep structure [of the Cold War]." Finally, Thompson discussed the use of language in Britain that legitimised war. Towards the end of this pamphlet, Thompson explained his determinism that a nuclear war *will* happen: "I argue from a general and sustained historical process, an accumulative logic, a kind made familiar to me in the study of history. The episodes lead in this direction or that, but the general logic of process is always towards nuclear war." The only way out he could see was: "We must protest if we are to survive." "We must generate an alternative logic, an opposition at every level of society." Subsequently, Thompson outlined the movement representing an alternative logic across Western Europe and called for direct actions: "We must close down those airfields and bases which already serve aircraft submarine on nuclear missions. And we must contest every stage of the attempt to import United States cruise missiles onto our soil." And he further wrote: "…there must be great public manifestations and direct contestations—peacefully and responsibly conducted—of several kinds." Thompson mentioned a range of fields where citizens could become

[80] Michael E. Howard, 'Reviving Civil Defence,' *The Times*, 30 January 1980, printed in E.P. Thompson, *Protest and Survive*, second (revised) edition, London, 1980, p. 2., available [online]: http://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/113758 [Access Date 18 June 2014].

active in campaigning against nuclear weapons. His opposition to the nuclear arms race in this pamphlet does call for revolutionary actions. Being European meant to him being opposed to both "the imperialist West" as well as "the old stoney Stalinist reflexes of the East."[81] There is a fascinating tension here in his belief that the lesson of history was that nuclear war would come, if there was no sustained opposition to the ongoing arms race, and his belief, stated here, that the historical process is always open towards the future. The latter he also needed to sustain the transnational activism for which he was calling and in which he himself was so engaged.

Thompson argued that his comrades should overcome the assumption that there was a rational logic behind the emergence of the Cold War, which is imperialism. And that the socialist states had only joined the arms race for defensive purposes. The international class struggle that aimed at ending capitalism would not overcome the logic of mutual destruction of the Cold War. Hence, the search for peace was more urgent for Thompson than the class struggle.[82]

As in *Protest and Survive*, Thompson thus claimed in 'Notes on Exterminism' that the nuclear system had its own logic and should be analysed as such. Marxist analyses of class and imperialism would not be sufficient to understand "The Logic of Nuclear Weapons Systems."[83] All this confirmed that Thompson had come a long way from understanding the world in terms of 'basis—superstructure'. It did not necessarily mean a weakening of class perspectives or a lessening of his anti-imperialism, but it mirrored a belief that the political sphere could be quite independent from other spheres and could demand a concentration of efforts in one particular field that had become so vital for the survival of mankind.

Thompson's overriding concern for peace activism accompanied a ready acceptance that economic factors contributed to the dangers of "exterminism." Referring to work by the New Left economic historian Emma Rothschild, he accepted the argument that the military industries in the US after the Second World War were just as important as

[81] Thompson, *Protest and Survive*.

[82] Martin Shaw, 'From Total War to Democratic Peace: Exterminism and Historical Pacifism,' in Harvey J. Kaye and Keith McClelland, eds., *E.P Thompson. Critical Perspectives*, Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1990, pp. 233–251.

[83] E.P. Thompson, 'Notes on Exterminism, the Last Stage of Civilisation,' *New Left Review*, vol. 1, no. 121, 1980, p. 7.

the textile industries during the industrial revolution in Britain. He saw the arms sector as dominating the economy not only in the US, but also in the Soviet Union.[84] This economic structure, combined with a political culture of fear and irrationality, would be the foundation for "exterminism" and "Cold War-ism" that would predetermine the "historical destination." Again demonstrating his ready reception of internationalist voices, he referred to Hans Magnus Enzensberger's critique of the "negative utopians" and confirmed Enzensberger's "analysis of the gathering determinism of exterminist processing."[85]

Differing from many in the British labour movement, who enjoyed good contacts with Communists behind the Iron Curtain,[86] Thompson was excited about the emergence of dissent in Eastern Europe. On 23 December 1981, when he became aware of the Solidarnosc movement in Poland, Thompson demanded: "We must strive to loosen Europe from the military hegemony of both super-powers, and to press forward measures of demilitarization in every part of our continent. Peace and freedom must now, more than ever, be seen as one cause. There is no other way."[87] Otherwise, he argued, "the oversurplus" of nuclear weaponry and the "balance" and "anxiety" that held sway over Europe and would soon destroy the "civilised conditions for life."[88]

Conclusion

When Thompson passed away in 1993, the Cold War was over and civilisation was not extinct. However, the end of the Cold War had not come about as the result of an alliance of democratic socialists from Western and Eastern Europe. Instead, the Communist regimes had imploded under the weight of economic failure, the failed attempt to reform Communism in the Soviet Union under Gorbachev, and internal dissent

[84] Ibid., pp. 17–21.

[85] Ibid., pp. 27–29.

[86] Stefan Berger and Norman LaPorte, 'Great Britain: Between Avoiding Cold War and Supporting Free Trade Unionism,' in Idesbald Goddeeris, ed., *Solidarity with Solidarity: Western European Trade Unions and the Polish Crisis, 1980–1982 (The Harvard Cold War Studies Book Series)*, Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010, pp. 129–158.

[87] E.P. Thompson, 'Author's Note,' in E.P. Thompson: *Beyond the Cold War*, London: Pantheon, 1982, p. 1.

[88] Ibid.

in Eastern European Communist regimes. Capitalism seemed triumphant, as was suggested by one of the most influential, albeit also controversial, analyses of the post-Communist world by Francis Fukuyama.[89] The transnational activism of E.P. Thompson in pursuit of peace and a humanist socialism had not been successful. The 1990s witnessed the rise of nationalisms in both Eastern and Western Europe, the failure of the European Union to prevent war and genocide in the former Yugoslavia, and a second Cold War between Russia and the West. The arsenal of nuclear Armageddon has been significantly reduced, but the superpowers possess more than enough weapons to destroy the world many times over. Further, there is a worrying trend that the nonproliferation of atomic weapons technology is not working. All the issues that motivated Thompson's transnational activism are still in existence, including the problems of social inequality under capitalism that are as stark as ever in global perspective and have also reached the Western heartlands since the financial and economic crises began in 2007–2008.

Thompson's transnational activism was, as we have seen, rooted in his early commitment to Communism and anti-fascism. His strongly internationalist outlook was always mixed with a belief that such internationalism needed to be 'earthed' and rooted in local, regional, and national traditions. Hence, there was no contradiction in Thompson's mind between building a radical English historical tradition as basis for contemporary political identities and his commitment to internationalist values and transnational activism. He was looking to the likes of William Cobbett, William Morris, William Blake, Tom Maguire, and the members of the London Corresponding Society as representatives of a democratic socialist tradition culminating in the British New Left and its close alliance with the peace movement. The outlook of these English radicals had never been provincial and isolationist, and Thompson's vision of the contemporary New Left was neither. He followed developments in other countries, notably the US and the major continental European countries, with great interest, communicated with many non-English intellectuals on history and the pressing political questions of the day, and responded to French structuralism as well as the emergence of Solidarnosc in Poland.

Finally, he observed the peace movements in many countries on both sides of the Iron Curtain with intense interest, even if not always with wholesale support.

[89] Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press, 1992.

His lifelong commitment to socialist humanism might appear Quixotic at times, but we should remember that we like the hero of Cervantes' famous novel so much precisely because his noble heroism has all the right moral convictions on his side. Thompson's historical predilections and political commitments are also rooted in a moral universe, of which his Marxism was an integral part.[90] And who on the Left could deny that we are still looking, in the post-Cold War world of today, for a politics that might replace the destructive energies of a global capitalism? Thompson's rooted transnational activism seems neither irrelevant nor outdated today.

[90] On morality and Marxism, see the observations in Stefan Berger and Alexandray Przyrembel, 'Moral, Kapitalismus und soziale Bewegungen: Kulturhistorische Annäherungen an einen alten "Gegenstand,"' *Historische Anthropologie*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2016, pp. 88–107.

CHAPTER 11

From the Local to the Global and Back Again: The Rainforest Information Centre and Transnational Environmental Activism in the 1980s

Iain McIntyre

By 1982 the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation estimated that almost half the world's rainforests had disappeared during the previous three decades, with some countries such as Bangladesh, Haiti, and India losing almost all their reserves.[1] Although international scientific bodies had identified the expanding threats facing tropical forests in the early 1970s, a decade later activist campaigns concerning the problem remained small and isolated. A remarkable shift occurred thereafter: by 1989 a number of campaigns were being mounted by communities

[1] Chris Park, *Tropical Rainforests*, London: Routledge, 1992, pp. 33–34.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_11

facing deforestation and supported by solidarity groups in the US, Europe, Japan, and elsewhere.[2]

Pressure arising from these efforts began to show results by the mid-1980s, with multilateral bodies such as the World Bank and the newly formed International Tropical Timber Organisation (ITTO) acknowledging, although by many activists' standards not effectively addressing, environmental concerns.[3] Campaigning also led to attempts to regulate logging via major summits such as the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 and certification by the Forest Stewardship Council. Further to this the rainforest movement, along with campaigns concerning ozone depletion and climate change, has been widely credited with making the environment a major global issue during the 1990s.[4]

In part the formation of a global rainforest network came as a response to grievances generated during the 1980s by the expansion of logging into areas and communities previously unaffected, amidst an estimated 90% increase in clearing, which removed or significantly damaged roughly 200,000 square kilometres of tropical forest per year.[5] The visibility of such issues, and the increasingly transnational response to them, also involved the concerted efforts of an initially small core of activists.

Much of the history of the 1980s international rainforest movement remains unwritten. A full investigation is beyond the scope of this chapter, but the chapter focusses on the development of a key participant, Australia's Rainforest Information Centre (RIC), from 1981 to 1989. In examining the critical international role of RIC in disseminating information, creating networks, and stimulating campaigns, it first provides a history of the group's activities and details its approach to global activism. RIC's activist practice and transnational orientation is then linked to its roots in a rural, alternative community involved in local forest defence.

[2] Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, 'Environmental Activism,' in Bruce Mazlish and Akira Iriye, eds., *Global History Reader*, London: Routledge, 2008, pp. 135–136.

[3] F. Gale, 'Global Democratic Corporatism: Earth Governance Beyond States,' in *Oceanic Conference on International Studies*, Brisbane: University of Queensland, 2008, pp. 10–12.

[4] Keck and Sikkink, 'Environmental Activism,' pp. 136–140; A. Juniper, 'Rainforest Campaigning,' in *Tropical Rainforest*, F.B. Goldsmith, ed., London: Chapman & Hall, 1998, pp. 367–385.

[5] Park, *Tropical Rainforests*, pp. 35, 127.

The chapter next focusses on how RIC's early work with campaigners in the Solomon Islands and the US further shaped its political approach and involved it in transnational diffusion processes. In providing a history and analysis of a group of 'rooted' and 'social' 'cosmopolitans' who emerged from the periphery of Australian society and the Anglosphere, this chapter offers broader insights into the nature of transnational activism and the functioning of diffusion.

A Brief History of the Rainforest Information Centre During the 1980s

The Rainforest Information Centre (RIC) was founded by John Seed in northern New South Wales (NSW) during 1981. It was initially a one-person operation that engaged in mail-based correspondence to gather support for Australian campaigns and encourage networking among those working on rainforest issues overseas.[6]

In 1982 Seed and fellow activist Andy Frame travelled to the Solomon Islands where they committed to supporting activists opposed to clear-felling in their communities.[7] Along with this early solidarity work, RIC members participated in Australian environmental blockades and campaigns in the states of NSW, Victoria, Tasmania, and Queensland.[8] With information flow increasing, Seed decided to compile selections of the correspondence he had received into the first issue of the *World Rainforest Report* (WRR) in 1984. Published on a roughly quarterly basis, the 47 issues of WRR combined news and articles from campaigners and scientists around the world, with analysis concerning economics and science, and occasional pieces on Deep Ecology and spirituality. The publication became a key information node, with prominent ecologist Paul Ehrlich stating in 1987 that, "I think a lot of scientists like me depend on the World Rainforest Report for information on what's happening. [It] has become a sort of central agency in keeping people up to date."[9]

[6] John Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; Dailan Pugh, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

[7] 'Solomon Islands,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 2, 1984, p. 4.

[8] Patrick Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

[9] Hattie Clark, 'If a Tree Falls, John Seed Hears It,' in *Christian Science Monitor*, 13 August 1987, available [online]: http://search.proquest.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/docview/1034959490?accountid=12372 [Access Date 22 May 2015].

By 1984 RIC, Friends of the Earth-International (FOE-I), and the US-based Tropical Forest Working Group were independently proposing formation of an international network of rainforest groups.[10] None of these involved concrete proposals, and although various official groupings, such as the World Rainforest Movement, were founded in the next few years, a formal coalition encapsulating and coordinating the majority of activist groups never fully emerged. Nevertheless, collaboration increased as campaign groups spread in countries facing deforestation as well as those importing timber from them. RIC encouraged this through its publications and correspondence as well as a marked increase in tours of India, Japan, Papua New Guinea (PNG), US, UK, Ecuador, Fiji, and other countries from 1985 onwards.[11]

In 1984 and 1985, FOE-UK ran a high-profile consumer campaign in Britain concerning the importation and sale of tropical timber sourced from endangered forests. The success of this campaign led to an increased focus on the issue internationally. In Australia, RIC engaged in research regarding Australian companies and consumption and by 1987 had a national campaign underway that led to the formation of Rainforest Action Groups (RAGs) in a number of cities. Although state and federal governments were reluctant to respond with regulation, actions and protests carried out by these activists received widespread media coverage and led to union bans being placed on the handling and use of imported rainforest timber.[12]

RIC began using the Internet in 1985, first accessing it via San Francisco's Econet hub. Ian Peter, who became a full-time RIC activist in the same year, was a keen proponent of computer technologies. In 1987 he had a core role in gaining UN funding for SE Asian and Pacific conservation groups to set up databases and email connections across the region as well as link them with those in the US and Europe. The regional links largely failed to eventuate, for reasons of differences in resources and skills among the various countries and activist groups as well as the technological limits of the era. Nevertheless, the increasing

[10] 'Selections from Correspondence,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 2, 1984, p. 11.

[11] 'Solomon Islands, Japan, India, Thailand,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 4, 1985, pp. 13–14; 'Fijian Forests Threatened,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 5, 1986, pp. 5–6.

[12] 'Ban on Plywood,' *Canberra Times*, 17 October 1989, p. 4; Stuart McQuire, 'Nonviolent Action and Television News: The Case of the Melbourne Rainforest Action Group, 1989–91,' Masters, Monash University, 1991, pp. 20–28.

use of bulletin boards and email from this time onwards, particularly amongst those in developed economies, rapidly scaled up activists' abilities to be notified of campaign developments and to respond to them.[13]

Direct personal contact with activists and communities overseas, as well as exposure to critiques of existing global economics, meant that during the mid-1980s RIC increasingly focused on the role of multi-lateral banking institutions and Third World debt in rainforest destruction. Information regarding these issues was disseminated, and RIC protested events held by the World Bank and other bodies in Australia. It also initiated a coalition, largely run by full-time RIC activist Patrick Anderson, which successfully lobbied for a government inquiry into foreign aid in 1987. Following this event the Australian government changed a number of its policies and began funding grassroots projects based on economic and ecological sustainability, including some auspiced by RIC in PNG, Solomon Islands, India, and Ecuador.[14]

Coordinated protests targeting the World Bank, Malaysian government, and others were held in a number of countries and parts of Australia between 1987 and 1989. This activity, facilitated by increasing coordination and flows of information via the Internet and the operation of RAGs across Australia, brought new full-time activists into RIC with the result that long-standing members were able to move on to other projects and organisations. RIC produced WRR until 2001 and continues its involvement in campaigning and networking to the present.[15]

The Local Roots of RIC's Transnational Activism

Della Porta and Marchetti define 'transnational activism' as "mobilization around collective claims that are (a) related to transnational/global issues, (b) formulated by actors located in more than one country, and

[13] Ian Peter, 'The Pegasus Story,' in Greg Googin, ed., *Virtual Nation: The Internet in Australia*, Sydney: UNSW Press, 2004, pp. 44–47; 'Banjarmasin Conference,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 8, 1987, pp. 22–23.

[14] Recreation and the Arts Senate Standing Committee on Environment, 'Environmental Impact of Development Assistance,' Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1989, pp. v–xvii; John Seed and Patrick Anderson, 'Some Aid/Watch History,' available [online]: http://www.rainforestinfo.org.au/ric/aidwatch.pdf [Access Date 23 May 2015].

[15] Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015; 'The RIC Waltz,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 12, 1989, p. 12.

(c) addressing more than one national government and/or international governmental organization or another international actor."[16] Analyses concerning the widely acknowledged rise in transnational activism in recent decades tended to focus on two broad sets of factors. Some have argued that the trend, particularly since the 1990s, has been primarily driven by the increasingly global nature of society. Shifts in individual cultural and political outlooks, communications technology, and opportunities for activism have been cited as primary facilitating factors. New grievances and mobilising targets have also been identified as arising from the increasing dominance of neo-liberal 'globalisation' and its institutions.[17]

A second approach disputes the basis of transnational activism as a response to and part of an emerging 'borderless' society, arguing that it is primarily an outcome of national movements extending their efforts and claims to the international arena. Transnational networks and organisations are said to be built on the basis of local needs, with diffusion primarily occurring through local and national movement processes.[18]

Emphasising the local and global dimensions of their formation and work, Tarrow characterises transnational activists as a subset of 'rooted cosmopolitans,' that is, those individuals who whilst engaging in physical and mental global transactions remain "linked to place, to the social networks that inhabit that space, and to the resources, experiences, and

[16] Donatella della Porta and Raffaele Marchetti, 'Transnational Activisms and the Global Justice Movement,' in Gerald Delanty and Stephen Turner, eds., *Routledge International Handbook of Contemporary Social and Political Theory*, Oxon: Routledge, 2011, p. 428.

[17] Gale, 'Global Democratic Corporatism: Earth Governance Beyond States,' pp. 1–7; Hermann Maiba, 'Grassroots Transnational Social Movement Activism: The Case of Peoples' Global Action,' *Sociological Focus*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2005, pp. 44–50; Selina Gallo-Cruz, 'Organizing Global Nonviolence: The Growth and Spread of Nonviolent INGOS, 1948–2003,' in Sharon Erickson Nepstad and Lester R. Kurtz, eds., *Nonviolent Conflict and Civil Resistance*, Bingley: Emerald Group Publishing, 2012, pp. 218–219.

[18] John D. McCarthy and Erik Johnson, 'The Sequencing of Transnational and National Social Movement Mobilization: The Organizational Mobilization of the Global and U.S. Environmental Movements,' Paper presented at the Transnational Processes and Social Movements conference, Bellagio, Italy, 2003, pp. 3–5, 31–32; Donatella della Porta and Hanspeter Kriesi, 'Introduction,' in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Hampshire: Macmillan Press, 1999, pp. 11–21.

opportunities that place provides them with."[19] Flowing from this he contends that few transnational activists begin their career at the global level because the concerns and practices of most are initially spawned by, and mediated through, domestic concerns and conditions.[20]

Further, the radical edge of the movements that have arisen in response to neo-liberal globalisation since the late 1990s has seen some activists, as well as academics, claim that they are practicing a "new way of doing politics."[21] Variously referred to as 'alter-activism,' 'alternative globalisation,' and 'alter-globalism,' this approach is defined by Juris and Pleyers as involving "an emphasis on lived experience and process; a commitment to horizontal, networked organisation; creative direct action; the use of new information and communication technologies (ICTs); and the organisation of physical spaces and action camps as laboratories for developing alternative values and practices."[22] This outlook is said to be further defined by its espousal of the creation and use of power from the 'bottom up' of society rather than by political and economic elites; the promotion of political principles based on grassroots and localised participation, autonomy, and solidarity; critiques of neo-liberal global institutions; and a particular focus on the needs and views of those based in local communities as well as the 'Global South.'[23]

The practice of RIC in the 1980s, and since, has been characterised by anti-professionalism, a preference for interested parties to start their own campaigns rather than to build a core organisation, and a decentralised, networked style of collaboration. Furthermore, from its early years onwards the group developed core ideas and tactics during forest blockades and protest camps; lent support to economic critiques

[19] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 42.

[20] Ibid., p. 43.

[21] Jeffrey Juris, 'A New Way of Doing Politics? Global Justice Movements and the Cultural Logic of Networking,' *Recherches Sociologiques et Anthropologiques*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2007, pp. 133, 140; Kevin McDonald, *Global Movements: Action and Culture*, Malden, Oxford: Blackwell, 2006, pp. 3–4.

[22] Jeffrey Juris and Geoffrey Pleyers, 'Alter-Activism: Emerging Cultures of Participation among Young Global Justice Activists,' *Journal of Youth Studies*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2009, p. 57.

[23] Raffaele Marchetti, 'Mapping Alternative Models of Global Politics,' *International Studies Review*, no. 11, 2009, pp. 144–147.

of globalisation emanating from Third World NGOs and activists; pioneered the use of the Internet amongst political activists in Australia and elsewhere; and supported local community struggles while linking them to broader issues and movements via arguments concerning ecological and economic systems. These key qualities are analogous to those of 'place-basedness,' 'participation,' 'autonomy,' 'diversity,' and 'solidarity,' characteristics that Della Porta and Marchetti consider the core of the global justice movement.[24] RIC's possession of these dimensions thereby challenges the novelty of alter-activism's political approach.

Various factors shaping the methods, formation, and activities of RIC are canvassed in the following sections. Analysis of these points challenges the applicability of universal theories and establishes the importance of placing networks and organisations in their own historical and geographic context. Also, although RIC's work was shaped by changes in the global economy and technological opportunities for networking, its orientation towards transnational activism emerged primarily from direct and personal campaigning experiences of its members in a countercultural community located outside the population and political power centres of Australia and the wider world.

The RIC Roots in Northern NSW Forest Campaigns

John Seed and other early members of RIC were part of the Northern NSW alternative 'New Settler' community. From the early 1970s onwards, as many as 1000 people moved to the region, located hundreds of kilometres from the nearest major population centres, in response to disenchantment "with the technocratic, economic, and political realities of the city, and unease with the social divisiveness and environmental impact of modernity."[25] This influx into a previously conservative agricultural area experiencing economic and demographic decline led to the emergence of a distinctive set of lifestyles. These combined economic

[24] della Porta and Marchetti, 'Transnational Activisms and the Global Justice Movement,' pp. 431–432.

[25] Susan Ward and Kitty van Vuuren, 'Belonging to the Rainbow Region: Place, Local Media, and the Construction of Civil and Moral Identities Strategic to Climate Change Adaptability,' *Environmental Communication*, vol. 7, no. 1, 2013, p. 67.

and cultural practices involving communal living, 'New Age' spirituality, self-sufficient agriculture, and environmentally sustainable technology.[26]

In 1979 Australia's first forest blockade took place at Terania Creek after five years of lobbying failed to protect the area. During a three-week protest residents associated with the Terania Native Forest Action Group (TNFAG) disrupted logging by blockading forestry workers and equipment with their bodies and vehicle. Some protesters also took unauthorised action in rendering felled timber unusable and spiking trees with nails. The blockade increased pressure on the state government to the point where it imposed a suspension of logging ahead of an official inquiry.[27]

The participation of early RIC members in this successful blockade influenced their involvement in global activism and mediated their transnational practice in a number of ways. The Terania Creek campaign, and those that followed, not only created a local cohort of campaigners who pursued their passion for 'alternative lifestyles' via activism, but also popularised, first within Australia and then later globally, environmental blockading as a repertoire of contention.[28]

Some participants in the blockade had moved to the region because of an existing passion for nature. For others, such as Seed and RIC artist Dalian Pugh, it was not until they camped in the rainforest for long periods and witnessed its destruction that logging moved from an abstract issue to one in which they became fully immersed.[29]

Beyond engendering an emotional and spiritual connection among activists, the campaign, for the first time in Australia, brought a national focus on rainforests as rare and endangered ecosystems. The need to provide scientific evidence for their claim that rainforests required protection in their entirety subsequently involved TNFAG campaigners in broader environmental and academic networks. This involvement was largely facilitated by *Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation* (*CSIRO*) scientist Len Webb as he and Seed contacted

[26] Graham Irvine, 'Creating Communities at the End of the Rainbow,' in Helen Wilson, ed., *Belonging in the Rainbow Region: Cultural Perspectives on the NSW North Coast*, Lismore: Southern Cross University Press, 2003, pp. 63–82.

[27] Libby Connors and Drew Hutton, *A History of the Australian Environmental Movement*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, pp. 151–155.

[28] Vanessa Bible, 'Aquarius Rising: Terania Creek and the Australian Forest Protest Movement,' Honours, University of New England, 2010, pp. 54–58.

[29] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; Pugh, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

and successfully encouraged approximately 80 scientists from around the world to send letters to the NSW Premier.[30]

This correspondence alerted activists who had previously been primarily interested in protecting one area to the fact that deforestation was happening globally. The emotional relationship of Seed and others to rainforests, and the increasing scientific knowledge regarding the interconnectedness of global ecosystems, caused them to be alarmed. A lack of existing activism regarding the issue further spurred action. As Seed recalls:

> Our research during Terania Creek had shown us that the IUCN had identified rainforests as a top conservation priority, but I could barely find any groups in the world who had them on their agenda. So I got Dailan Pugh to draw up a letterhead that said Rainforest Information Centre. That's all RIC was at the time, a letterhead, but with that I started writing to anyone I thought might be connected or interested.[31]

Further research and correspondence informed RIC of the involvement of Australian companies in overseas logging operations and the importation of tropical timber. Relating this to local forest campaigns Anderson states, "We realised our success in NSW wouldn't be much of a victory if all it meant was that it displaced deforestation to places where people had fewer opportunities to stop it."[32]

According to Seed, at this point there were no specific goals or models of organisation involved beyond "a sense that given this was a global problem it would require people in lots of different places to take action." Heavily involved in local campaigns, he had little time initially for networking. Nevertheless, from this initial correspondence, and the creation of an organisational title, an active campaigning group emerged as the 1980s continued. Informally organised, RIC would never include more than a handful of full-time activists, but a larger number of those living in the region contributed to its activities in other ways. The following section turns to the nature of this support base and the way in which it encouraged and facilitated global activism.

[30] Rainforest Information Centre and Neville Wran, *World Scientists Write to Premier Wran About Rainforests*, Lismore: Rainforest Information Centre, 1984, pp. 1–12.

[31] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

[32] Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

Availability, Orientation, and Approach Towards Global Activism

Various theorists have pointed to the tendency for global activists to be middle class, in terms of enjoying higher access to education and the relative independence to organise work and other activities. Furthermore, although such imbalances began to be addressed in recent decades, transnational activism is said to be skewed towards the interests and participation of those in the West and North, as people from such countries generally experience less repression, are able to amass greater resources, and typically participate in international travel and communication more often.[33]

In being primarily Anglo-Australian, university educated, and raised in middle-class families, the majority of the RIC members and supporters in the 1980s fit this characterisation. Although the countercultural nature of the New Settler community meant that many within it eschewed the accumulation of income and capital and had minimal contact with the formal economy, it was nevertheless highly resourced in other ways. A number of those involved in local rainforest campaigns either possessed or developed expertise in public relations, research, law, and other professional areas, whilst the Terania Creek blockade opened connections to environmental and social justice organisations that would later provide RIC with support.[34]

The New Settlers' focus on the arts provided another level of resources that could be drawn upon in terms of graphics, banners, and songs as well as fundraising. Similarly, the involvement of many in the region in agricultural projects meant that a pool of knowledge existed regarding reforestation and economically and environmentally sustainable practices. Not only could this be shared with others as an alternative to industrial logging, but it had often been gleaned from practices developed in other countries and communities. The accumulation of such information from non-Western sources, as well as various influences on

[33] Paola Grenier, 'The New Pioneers: The People Behind Global Civil Society,' *Global Civil Society*, no. 5, 2004, pp. 125–126; Maha Abdelrahman, 'The Transnational and the Local: Egyptian Activists and Transnational Protest Networks,' *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 38, no. 3, 2011, pp. 418–419.

[34] Ian Watson, *Fighting over the Forests*, North Sydney: Angus and Robertson, 1990, pp. 83–87; Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

the community's dress, music, and culture, encouraged a transnational outlook and sense of respect and solidarity.[35]

The lived experience of experimenting with and employing alternatives to Australia's mainstream economic practices further shaped activists' attitude towards forests and their relationships to the communities that were connected to them. RIC, in marked contrast to the majority of Western environmental organisations of the time, recognised that forests were not human- and culture-free 'wilderness,' even while continuing to use the term because it resonated with the broader public. In considering why the group focussed on the views and needs of Indigenous and local communities, Pugh argues:

> Unlike many activists who were based in the city, it wasn't alien for us to view the forest as a resource. We cut timber to build our houses, we grew food on land that had been previously cleared. We recognised that people lived in these environments and this pushed us to seek ways that we and others living in places under threat could combine using the forest on a small-scale with protecting and repairing it.[36]

New Settler values concerning work and economics were also a major influence on the RIC organisational approach. These values encouraged people to engage in unpaid activism or use government welfare payments as a subsidy for what was considered important, but rarely funded, labour. The frugal and communal nature of the region's lifestyles and the nature of Australia's welfare system at the time allowed the majority of RIC members to meet their everyday financial costs, which were minimised through growing food and living in the organisation's Lismore office/house. WRR stated that all the group's fundraising went into projects and publications rather than wages, and members' overseas trips were either personally financed or funded by bodies such as the Australian Council of Churches. This attitude not only emphasised the level of RIC's commitment to donors but also satisfied those supporters

[35] Ian Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015; Ward and van Vuuren, 'Belonging to the Rainbow Region: Place, Local Media, and the Construction of Civil and Moral Identities Strategic to Climate Change Adaptability,' pp. 67–68.

[36] Pugh, Interviewed 8 June 2015; Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

and members who were critical of the increasing professionalisation of environmental activism.[37]

Reflecting its community's political and social norms, as well as those of New Social Movements in general,[38] RIC was informally organised and used a fluid and loose form of consensus decision making. As Ian Peter recollects:

> We had no constitution, no official policies, and no title holders, beyond what was eventually required to gain tax deductible status. Even then there weren't really any fixed roles. If I was the Director of RIC it was because I was the one signing a letter that day that needed that written at the bottom. If an issue or project arose that people felt passionate about, then that's what they worked on and had a say in. Group projects like the magazine tended to get done by whoever was available or had particular skills.
>
> From 1985 onwards John and I, and later Patrick, were the main ones who worked on RIC most days, but there was a wider circle who would drop by. There were plenty of discussions about ideas and practicalities, but few formal meetings. This tended to mean that John's point of view or vision dominated at times, but he was often overseas, and even then I don't think anyone had a problem with [his leadership] because he was the one who was most focused and determined.[39]

Anderson firmly ties RIC's preference for participation in collaborative, decentralised, and autonomous networks, and its use of consensus

[37] 'Introduction,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 3, 1985, p. 1; Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

[38] New Social Movements are said by scholars such as Touraine, Habermas, and Offe to differ from their predecessors' focus on class, material outcomes, and state policies and power. It is claimed that in creating collective identities beyond class and parties they emphasize non-material ends and repudiate hierarchical forms of organisation. New Social Movements have been further characterised by their middle and cross-class membership, fluidity, pluralism, and networked nature. Although their novelty, boundaries, and origins have been disputed, the number of movements roughly fitting this description increased from the 1960s onwards as new forms and variants of feminism, environmentalism, etc. emerged. As such the New Settler community of Northern NSW matches the general characterisation. Hank Johnston, *States and Social Movements*, Political Sociology, Cambridge: Polity, 2011, pp. 89–93; McDonald, *Global Movements: Action and Culture*, pp. 24–26.

[39] Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

decision making, to its members' experiences during NSW's forest campaigns:

> The group was diverse, but basically we were hippy anarchist environmentalists who weren't interested in creating a big bureaucracy that would provide us with paid jobs and put us on top. We were much more interested in something spreading organically in a way that would make it easy for anyone to get involved. We'd seen the power of spontaneous action and participation through the different blockades that had happened in Australia and led to political change. They all had a level of organisation, but it was very minimal and people chose their own roles. These weren't orchestrated affairs so they demonstrated the validity of a spontaneous rather than centralised model.[40]

Beyond providing an organisational orientation and material and social resources to RIC, the experimental and cultural orientation of the New Settler community further predisposed those within it towards supporting, if not carrying out, global activism. Many had arrived in the region following periods of travel, with some merging future journeys with activism within Australia as part of the Nomadic Action Group, an informal assemblage that initiated and participated in environmental and anti-nuclear blockades during the 1980s. For a smaller number, travel and political activity would be combined outside Australia as part of RIC.[41]

Presaging the broad societal change that has come to be known as 'extended youth,' a number of New Settlers, including some active within RIC, lacked the family or work commitments that precluded extended travel and involvement in unpaid activities. Of those who did have dependents, financial and parental responsibilities were communally shared or swapped between parents for periods, and children often involved in protest activities.[42]

Although only a few of those initially involved in RIC and the Northern NSW forest campaigns had a strong background in political activism, many had participated in anti-war, anti-uranium, and other

[40] Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

[41] Sophia Hoeben, Interviewed 12 April 2015; Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

[42] Juris and Pleyers, 'Alter-Activism: Emerging Cultures of Participation among Young Global Justice Activists,' p. 71; Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015; Hoeben, Interviewed 12 April 2015; Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015; Lisa Yeates, Interviewed 29 January 2015.

protests or, as Pugh states, were at base, "Idealistic enough to want to make a better world and do things differently."[43] Amongst the New Settler community, understandings of other cultures could often be inaccurate and romanticised, but there was widespread interest in them and a belief that they had an equivalence, if not superiority, to the values and norms of Anglo-Australian society. Existing connections to overseas communities via religious, friendship, family, and other networks also facilitated transnational networking directly, as when meditation teacher Vimala Thakar put RIC in contact with Gandhian activists who organised an extensive tour of India in 1985.[44]

The influence of non-Western culture and spirituality and emerging notions of ecology upon the New Settler community also meant that many did not share prevailing mainstream conceptions of nature. Most important amongst these was the idea that nature has a value beyond that as a resource for human use and that people are inextricably connected to and affected by the ecosystems in which they live. Environmental philosophers had already extended this belief into the philosophy of Deep Ecology, and over time campaigners, including John Seed, would engage with and promote it, thereby deepening their commitment to activism and its global dimensions. Although this philosophy and others associated with social justice and environmental movements would influence RIC, it is important to note that its orientation towards transnational activism was one that primarily evolved. This is in contrast to those who adopted it through the embrace of refined and preexisting arguments or ideologies, such as Marxist-Leninism, that positioned a global outlook as a necessary part of effective political activity.[45]

[43] Pugh, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

[44] Graham St. John, 'Going Feral: Authentica on the Edge of Australian Culture,' *Australian Journal of Anthropology*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1997, pp. 169–180; Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

[45] Ward and van Vuuren, 'Belonging to the Rainbow Region: Place, Local Media, and the Construction of Civil and Moral Identities Strategic to Climate Change Adaptability,' pp. 67–68; Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

Diffusion, Brokerage, and Scale Shift

Having detailed RIC's formation, and located the roots of its orientation towards horizontally organised and community-focused transnational activism in both the Terania Creek campaign and Northern NSW's New Settler community, this chapter now turns to the group's early connections to activists in the Solomon Islands and the US. These activities serve as examples of how the RIC approach was shaped by transnational connections as well as how the group exchanged knowledge concerning science, tactics, and strategy, engaged in solidarity work, and assisted in building a global campaigning network. Doing so draws on various ideas developed by Social Movement theorists such as 'diffusion,' 'brokerage,' and 'scale shift.'

Michaelson defines diffusion as the "process by which any innovation (new idea, activity or technology) spreads through a population."[46] According to Soule, most models of diffusion developed regarding social movements include four elements: "a transmitter, an adopter, an innovation that is being diffused, and a channel along which the item may be transmitted."[47] In terms of protest, Kriesi et al. distinguish between two major types of innovation: the use of collective action and protest in general, and particular features of protest (goals, issues, organisational structures, action forms).[48] For such innovations to be shared they must, in Tilly's words, be "modular," that is, "transferred easily from place to place, issue to issue, group to group."[49]

Theorists generally suggest that diffusion occurs along two sets of channels: those that are direct/relational, such as face-to-face meetings, correspondence, and workshops, and those that are indirect/non-relational, such as media depictions. In cases where scale shift, "an alteration in the range of sites engaging in coordinated action"[50] occurs, Tarrow,

[46] Alaina Michaelson, 'The Development of a Scientific Speciality of Diffusion through Social Relations: The Case of Role Analysis,' *Social Networks*, vol. 15, 1993, p. 217.

[47] Sarah Soule, 'Diffusion Processes within and across Movements', in *Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David Snow, Sarah Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, Oxford: Blackwell, 2004, p. 295.

[48] Hanspeter Kriesi, et al., *New Social Movements in Western Europe: A Comparative Analysis*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 1995.

[49] Charles Tilly, *Regimes and Repertoires*, Chicago: University of Chicago, 2006, p. 42.

[50] Charles Tilly, 'Mechanisms in Political Processes,' *Annual Review of Political Science*, vol. 4, 2001, p. 26.

Tilly, and McAdam argue that a third process comes into play, that of "brokerage," in which transfers depend on the deliberate and conscious linking of previously unconnected social actors. The nature of these channels, and the point at which movements use them, in turn affects the speed, influence, and adaptation of the ideas being diffused.[51]

Activism and protest in different locales can be triggered by similar causes, but all require diffusion and brokerage to take place if they are to expand beyond localised incidents to become part of larger protest cycles.[52] A criticism levelled at many Social Movement scholars' treatment of diffusion is that they incorrectly suggest "objects of diffusion are easily transferable and translatable" and assume "receivers will simply adopt an idea or practice when it is seen as appropriate or useful."[53] According to Roggeband, a more complex and nuanced approach, particularly in relationship to cross-national diffusion, involves attention to three elements. The first she describes as the process of "reception," how an idea or tactic is perceived or evaluated by potential receivers, and the second is that of "recontextualisation," the way in which concepts are translated and transformed to suit local conditions, incorporate critiques, and respond to experience. Impacting upon these two processes is a third element: the social relationships and power positions that exist within diffusion networks.[54]

Scalmer similarly argues for a focus on how local movements 'translate', rather than transmit, passively receive, and automatically apply, knowledge. He argues that this process, in which actors "learn about, connect with, and incorporate new forms of collective claim making… from one context to another" is a "historically variable, enculturated process, that rests upon sustained intellectual labor."[55] An in-depth treatment of these processes is outside the scope of this chapter, but the following analysis of RIC's early relationships with overseas activists

[51] Doug MacAdam, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, *Dynamics of Contention*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, pp. 142, 157.

[52] Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement : Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, third edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011, pp. 205–206.

[53] Conny Roggeband, 'Translators and Transformers: International Inspiration and Exchange in Social Movements,' *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 6, no. 3, 2007, p. 246.

[54] Ibid., pp. 247–249.

[55] Sean Scalmer, 'Translating Contention: Culture, History, and the Circulation of Collective Action,' *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political*, vol. 25, no. 4, 2000, p. 492.

demonstrates that the diffusion practices involved were active, contextual, and reciprocal.

RIC and the Solomon Islands

RIC's first direct and prolonged engagement with overseas rainforest campaigners began in late 1982. Rather than emerging from its nascent network of correspondents, contact came via the indirect channel of the media as well as the direct one of familial connections. As Seed recalls:

> At a party to celebrate the NSW government's decision to spare the Nightcap forests there was a man who was a distant relative of someone who'd been involved in the campaign. He was a community leader named Job Dudley Tausinga from North New Georgia in the Solomon Islands. He'd been in the only pub in Honiara which had a TV when a news broadcast showing the blockade in Australia had come on. His community were having trouble with loggers and this was the first time any of them had heard of anyone else protesting against, let alone putting an end to logging, so they sent him to Australia to get help. With the Nightcap campaign over I was free so I travelled there with Andy Frame [whose property had served as a base for blockading] and his brother in early 1983.[56]

A dispute concerning royalties and overlogging had erupted during the early 1980s between members of the Koroga people and Levers Pacific Timbers (LPT), a subsidiary of the European-based multinational company Unilever. On 27 March, 1982, a pre-dawn raid by as many as 100 local men caused approximately $1 million of damage to houses and equipment at LPT's Enogae Bay logging camp. Although this brought an immediate end to felling, community activists were aware of the need to employ other strategies because LPT was pressuring the Minister for Provincial Affairs to honour agreements signed in 1979.[57]

[56] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015. As of 2016 telecommunications coverage is limited to roughly half the Solomon Islands population. Efforts were made to contact Tausinga and other activists mentioned in WRR, but telephone, email, and current postal contacts for these individuals could not be located via interviewees, the Solomon Islands' government, web searches, or other sources. Frame passed away in 2009.

[57] Ian Frazer, 'The Struggle for Control of Solomon Island Forests,' *The Contemporary Pacific*, 1997, pp. 54–55; 'Solomon Islands,' p. 4.

The organisation and tactics of the northern NSW forest campaigns, as well as the formation of RIC and its orientation towards transnational activism, had developed largely spontaneously. Either lacking or unaware of precedents, activists had improvised tactics and organisational forms as they went along. This makeshift approach continued with RIC's trip to the Solomons, as according to Seed neither the local community nor the Australians began with a clear idea of what the visit might achieve. Although the relationship they built did not consciously follow any pre-existing frameworks or templates, it would serve as a model for RIC's future work.[58]

The trio were first taken on a tour of areas at risk from deforestation before engaging in open-ended discussions. Seed performed a number of protest songs originally written or adapted by those involved in the NSW blockades, and these were rewritten to reflect local conditions.[59]

From this brokerage emerged an alliance that would see RIC support Solomon Islands activists into the 1990s. The Australians' initial focus was to alert those outside of the Solomons as to what was happening as well as to pressure Unilever. Utilising existing contacts and mainstream and alternative media, the group initiated a letter-writing campaign that eventually grew into a boycott of the company's many household products. An Australian solidarity group was also formed, which issued a semi-regular newsletter and engaged in further lobbying of politicians in Australia and the Solomon Islands.[60]

To directly encourage communities to resist signing agreements allowing industrial logging and the establishment of plantations, as well as to politically isolate the companies involved, RIC also engaged in educational tours of the Solomon Islands from 1984 onwards. Using music, lectures, and slideshows developed with locals or by other environmental organisations, Frame and Seed went from island to island addressing communities, religious bodies, and politicians about the value of rainforests and the negative consequences of clearcutting. Other than receiving support because of their willingness to undertake such work, Seed believes the pair's

[58] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; Bible, 'Aquarius Rising: Terania Creek and the Australian Forest Protest Movement,' pp. 40–44.

[59] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; 'Solomon Islands, Japan, India, Thailand,' pp. 13–14.

[60] John Seed, 'John Seed's Travalog (Sic),' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 5, 1986, p. 2; 'Solomon Islands Urgent Report Re: Rennell Island,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 9, 1987, pp. 8–9.

'outsider' status may have allowed them to transcend religious and political differences in ways that would have been difficult for local activists.[61]

RIC's work in the Solomons, in combination with government departments and independent bodies such as the South Pacific Appropriate Technology Foundation, came to include investigating and promoting ecological and economic alternatives to clear-felling and mass plantations. These included the use of permaculture and portable sawmills for sustainable, small-scale agriculture, and timber production.[62] Members of RIC would later become more aware of, and influenced by, criticisms of Western environmentalists for viewing biodiverse ecosystems as human-free 'wilderness,' thereby ignoring the needs and opinions of those who resided in and/or owned the forests they were seeking to conserve.[63] However, the manner in which Seed and Frame approached the needs and role of such communities in their transnational activism was, once more, largely conditioned by the circumstances in which they had come to it. As Seed recalls:

> One of the things that drew me to meeting the Koroga was that they were obviously pretty serious about their situation, they'd wiped out a logging camp after all! Clearly these were people we needed to meet and learn from. Once we got there we saw that they lived, used and worked in the forest. They were far more connected to it than we would ever be and its survival was in no way an abstract issue for them. This was also true with other communities RIC later became involved with in PNG, India and Ecuador.
>
> At the same time it was obvious that people needed money for medicine, petrol for their outboard motors, and so on. They had an absolute right to economic development and if there wasn't some alternative way to get it, then many would eventually cave into pressure or be conned by multinational companies.[64]

[61] 'Solomon Islands, Japan, India, Thailand,' pp. 13–14; 'Solomon Islands: Rennell Campaign,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 10, 1988, p. 10; Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

[62] 'Snippets from the Solomons,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 5, 1986, p. 5; Rista Kilkki, 'Reduction of Wood Waste by Small-Scale Log Production and Conversion in Tropical High Forest,' Rome: FAO, 1992, pp. 1–5.

[63] Peter, Interviewed 8 June 2015.

[64] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

In applying what Anderson describes as "a focus on forest peoples,"[65] RIC prioritised the opinions of communities directly facing deforestation, supported local campaigns, and collaboratively built transnational campaigns. The approach that RIC developed through its early work in the Solomon Islands can be characterised as a form of "social cosmopolitanism," a concept more typically associated with political and sociological practice and analysis of trends in the 2000s. In contrast to other forms that have been criticised as colonialist, detached, and elitist, this understanding of cosmopolitanism is said by Marchetti to combine:

> [T]he aspiration to achieve transnational and global justice with attentiveness to local struggles and realities as they actually exist… It claims to be subaltern because it focuses on those voices that come from minorities, often from the south of the world, and not from the western centres of global governance. It is thick because it is imbued with solidaristic principles of social justice, and is not minimalist in terms of liberal non-harm. It is embedded because it is inserted within a social context characterized by intense mutual obligations and feelings of attachment to a comprehensive political experience, rather than referring to loose institutional relationships. Finally, it is rooted in that it emerges from local practices and remains tightly connected with political struggles from below, in opposition to elitist management.[66]

In many ways the Solomon Islands was a fortuitous place for RIC to first begin working outside Australia. Direct flights were available and relatively affordable, and difficulties with communication were minimised as some locals, particularly those with political and religious influence, spoke English due to the country's historical connection to the British Empire. The country's neo-colonial relationship with Australia potentially lent anyone from there limited, but valuable, access and authority. It conversely forced RIC to navigate unequal power relationships and discern when they could be appropriately exploited in support of their allies. Most importantly, there was already a high level of dissatisfaction

[65] Anderson, Interviewed 9 June 2015.

[66] Raffaele Marchetti, *Global Democracy: Ethical Theory, Institutional Design and Social Struggles*, London, New York: Routledge, 2008, p. 101.

with logging companies, with the largest of these vulnerable to consumer pressure in Western markets.[67]

Although clear-felling would increase in scope, becoming the Solomons' largest export industry by the 1990s, environmental activism was established as a "broadly based countervailing force" to "the large-scale capital intensive development preferred by the central government."[68] Local activists claimed that almost immediately after RIC wrote to Unilever, LPT instituted new forest management practices and heavily increased royalty payments. Tausinga was elected Western Province Premier and a member of the national parliament in 1984. He and another politician, Vincent Vaguni, who set up a local chapter of RIC, pushed for amendments to give landowners more input into logging agreements. Some communities rejected offers from companies, and a small number used blockades and threats of property destruction to halt proposed or ongoing projects. Following the initiation of a boycott campaign in Europe and Australia, and criticism from the Solomon Islands' Prime Minister, Unilever announced it would sell LPT in 1986, citing increased difficulties in negotiations with local landholders as its main reason for doing so.[69]

RIC's Solomon Islands campaign and tours not only provided it with a model for collaborative overseas work and experience in it, but also led to further brokerage and the expansion of its network as it brought other transnational activists on board. This chapter now explains how RIC's early connections to activists in the US influenced its approach and further increased the scope of information sharing, networking, and tactical diffusion.

Earth First! and Overseas Tours

Seed first came in contact with the then primarily US-based, radical environmental network Earth First! (EF) in 1981 when poet Gary Snyder gave him a copy of its journal while on tour in Australia. Impressed with the group's militant and grassroots approach he began corresponding

[67] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; Frazer, 'The Struggle for Control of Solomon Island Forests.'

[68] Frazer, 'The Struggle for Control of Solomon Island Forests,' pp. 39–40.

[69] Ibid., pp. 54–56; 'From the Solomon Islands,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 2, 1984, pp. 5–6; 'Unilever Quits Solomons Logging,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 6.5, 1986, p. 2.

with some of its core members and was invited to join founders Dave Foreman, Mike Roselle, and others on a 1984 tour of 25 cities.[70]

Described as an "old-fashioned medicine show with a new message,"[71] EF's 'roadshows' imbued music, speeches, and presentations with what Foreman described as "humour, passion, to describe visionary wilderness proposals."[72] The 1984 tour was focused on rainforests, and Seed spoke about their overall importance as well as the Solomon Islands and Australian campaigns. Roselle, whose interest in rainforests had been sparked by an article Seed had written in *Nimbin News*, had already begun researching the involvement of the US fast food company Burger King in deforestation in Costa Rica. Following in the mould of previous EF roadshows, as well as long-standing activist precedents, the tour successfully encouraged audiences in each place they visited to organise a local protest concerning the issue on the shared date of April 28.[73]

The diffusion of activist repertoires is almost always an interactive process, with even seemingly straightforward transmission and adoption affecting all the participants and items involved to some degree. Although discussion of the full range of diffusion and collaboration between radical Australian and American environmentalists is not possible, two main flows are considered.

The first of these was Seed's promotion of the environmental blockading template. Although the US had a long tradition of obstructive direct action and civil disobedience by labour, civil rights, and anti-nuclear movements, EF had mainly engaged in and promoted the use of rallies, stunts, and 'monkey-wrenching' (the damaging of an opponent's equipment and property) as means of opposing environmental destruction.[74] Inspired by letters from Seed and reports he wrote concerning the Nightcap, Franklin Dam, and other blockades in Australia, a 1982

[70] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015; 'Introduction,' p. 1.

[71] Susan Zakin, *Coyotes and Town Dogs: Earth First! And the Radical Environmental Movement*, New York: Viking, 1993, p. 191.

[72] Quoted in ibid., p. 194.

[73] Mike Roselle, *Tree Spiker: From Earth First! To Lowbagging, My Struggles in Radical Environmental Action*, New York: St. Martins Press, 2009, pp. 73–75; John Seed, 'Introduction,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 2, 1984, p. 1.

[74] Anthony Silvaggio, 'The Forest Defense Movement, 1980–2005: Resistance at the Point of Extraction, Consumption and Production,' PhD dissertation, University of Oregon, 2005, pp. 89–126.

editorial in the movement's flagship newspaper, the *Earth First! Journal* (EFJ), stated "Our brothers and sisters in Australia have set a powerful example for us."[75] Early the following year a front-page article claimed "the world leadership in wilderness preservation has passed to Australia" whilst another article specifically encouraged US activists to emulate Australian campaigners by stopping "bulldozers and chainsaws with their bodies."[76]

EF members engaged in their first forest blockade in 1983, with Seed's presentations the following year further encouraging such developments. Despite EFJ reports and activists continuing to reference Australian examples, EF's blockades differed greatly in practice and organisation. Because of activist availability and the influence of precedents from the US anti-nuclear movement, until 1990 American actions would generally be intermittent rather than ongoing, based on small-group rather than mass actions, and rarely include established protest camps.[77]

A second process of diffusion saw EF influence RIC's future tours and approach to organising campaign coalitions. Having already witnessed the "power of music to move people"[78] during Australian blockades and meetings in the Solomon Islands, RIC had included songs in its presentations and protests. EF's combination of entertainment with information and agitation, and its roadshows' success in founding new branches and organising protests, inspired Seed to avoid the more common lecture format as well as engage in dozens of tours around the world.[79]

Adding to RIC's existing visuals and music, songs were learnt from EF and new slideshows developed and borrowed from sources such as the IUCN. In turn, EF activists began to sing songs originally composed

[75] Dave Foreman, 'Around the Campfire,' *Earth First!*, vol. 3, no. 2, 1982, p. 2.

[76] '700 Arrested in Australia,' *Earth First! Journal*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1983, p. 1; 'Blockade Updates,' *Earth First! Journal*, March 1983, pp. 1, 5.

[77] Ric Bailey, 'Bald Mountain in Restrospect,' *Earth First! Journal*, vol. 4, no. 1, 1983, pp. 6–7; Brian Health, 'What Do You Expect to Accomplish Anyway?,' *Earth First! Journal*, November 1984, p. 5; Roselle, *Tree Spiker: From Earth First! To Lowbagging, My Struggles in Radical Environmental Action*, pp. 67, 73.

[78] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

[79] Ibid.; Clark, 'If a Tree Falls, John Seed Hears It,' http://search.proquest.com.ezp.lib.unimelb.edu.au/docview/1034959490?accountid=12372 [Access Date 20 April 2015].

in Northern NSW.[80] In addition documentaries, initially in 32-mm film format and later as easier-to-transport videocassettes, by Terania Creek veterans Jenni Kendall and Paul Tait were also screened at many RIC events including tours of the US: these included *Give Trees A Chance*, their 1980 film concerning Terania Creek, and the 1985 *Earth First!*, which covered a number of Australian blockades.[81]

Despite sharing an organisational title with branches in several locations, EF was essentially a decentralised network. The standard practice for major US and Australian environmental organisations at the time was to recruit members who would then financially support a small number of professional activists. These persons would be responsible for setting the direction of the organisation and carrying out research and campaigning, usually focused on lobbying politicians, and later corporations, as well as forging relationships with them. Reflecting its founders' anarchist and libertarian leanings, as well as their own rejection of the mainstream organisations for whom a number had previously worked, each branch of EF was autonomous and responsible for its own activities. Coordination, discussion, and information sharing were largely conducted via the EFJ as well as regional and national gatherings.[82]

EF's campaigning style appealed to Seed, on both philosophical and practical grounds. As he recalls:

> I'm not really a person who is big on admin and I already had enough things to do so I was never interested in making myself or RIC the focal and driving point… I saw the effectiveness of getting people to set up their own groups and do protests in lots of different places on that 1984 tour. Rather than putting all your energy into getting 50 or 100 or more people out in one place, if you had the same number spread over 20 places, all putting out press releases and holding their own protests, then it was much more powerful.[83]

In keeping with this, RIC tours in the 1980s did not seek to build or promote a specific organisation or form of action. Rather, audiences

[80] 'Damn Hetchy Dam!,' *Earth First! Journal*, vol. 4, no. 5, 1984, p. 19.

[81] 'Earth First!: The Movie,' *World Rainforest Report*, no. 9, 1987, p. 21.

[82] Timothy Ingalsbee, 'Earth First! Activism: Ecological Postmodern Praxis in Radical Environmentalist Identities,' *Sociological Perspectives*, vol. 39, no. 2, 1996, pp. 264–265.

[83] Seed, Interviewed 5 June 2015.

were encouraged to get involved in local campaigns, and where these did not exist, to start one, organise a protest, or lend support in other ways. More specific organising suggestions would later come following the formation of the US Rainforest Action Network (RAN) in 1985 at the end of another EF roadshow in which Seed took part. RAN's subsequent creation of more than 150 autonomous US Rainforest Action Groups (RAGs) modelled along EF lines inspired RIC to conduct the first of many Australian roadshows in December 1988 and January 1989. During this tour, Seed and others explicitly advocated the establishment of autonomous RAGs along RAN lines, with the result that an Australian network rapidly emerged carrying out more than 40 blockades and protests in the next two years.[84]

Conclusion

Working with other Western-based environmental organisations, as well as activists in countries facing deforestation, RIC had a major role in brokering a global network of rainforest campaigners in the 1980s, one which has been rarely acknowledged in the academic literature concerning environmental and transnational activism. RIC founders' involvement in conservation campaigns rooted in the New Settler community of Northern NSW led to outreach, which in turn influenced a turn to overseas issues. Early connections forged with activists in the Solomon Islands and US further shaped RIC's transnational orientation, focus on local communities, and decentralised organisational methods. Correspondence, mutual campaigning, and tours of these countries by RIC activists led to the direct diffusion of information regarding rainforests, organisational forms, and repertoires of protest. The processes involved in this development were based on translation, evaluation, and collaboration rather than simple, one-way transmission of ideas and information.

The nature and evolution of RIC's work demonstrates how various macroscopic factors and processes identified by theorists as driving transnational activism have tended to interplay with, rather than dominate, one another. The influence of local, cross-national, and global concerns

[84] McQuire, 'Nonviolent Action and Television News: The Case of the Melbourne Rainforest Action Group, 1989–91,' p. 24.

upon the 'rooted cosmopolitans' of RIC fluctuated greatly throughout the 1980s. At certain points their transnational activities were primarily driven by local needs and influences. At others they were influenced by global pressures and a desire to engage in solidarity, with concepts regarding social justice and environmental interconnectedness weaving local and transnational concerns together.

All this confirms that attention to individual groups and activists will often challenge the validity of broad hypotheses in neatly explaining the source, pattern, and workings of political activity. It also underlines the need to investigate and consider the role of personal relationships, activist backgrounds, and direct experiences. The implications of these can extend beyond understanding individual groups and activists to include broader movements and developments. In the case of RIC, and Northern NSW forest activism, tactical and organisational forms and approaches that were the outcome of largely localised events and processes, as well as cross-national dialogue between individuals and small groups, not only fed into the creation of larger networks and movements but also influenced their means, operation, and choice of targets.

CHAPTER 12

Animal Rights Without Borders: Lyn White and Transnational Investigative Campaigning

Gonzalo Villanueva

In the mid-1970s, in a period of wide protest and mobilisation, the animal movement emerged in many Western countries. Largely inspired by the Australian philosopher, Peter Singer, and his 1975 book *Animal Liberation*, the movement focused on the well-being and rights of animals and had the broad aim of challenging the politics and culture of animal use and exploitation. It revitalised a stagnant cause that in many places began in the mid-nineteenth century with the emergence of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Around the world, new and growing social movement organisations campaigned on a number of neglected yet important issues, such as farm animals, animals in research, animals in sports and entertainment, and wild animals.[1]

[1] For a brief historical and contemporary survey of global animal protection see: Andrew Linzey, ed., *The Global Guide to Animal Protection*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013, Sect. 1.

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_12

Campaigning, however, unfolded unevenly. Traditional welfare groups, which were financially well endowed, tended to focus their resources on local shelters, services, and issues around domestic companion animals. Newer animal rights groups with fewer resources campaigned against industries with strong economic interests, such as intensive animal agriculture, which affected the lives of comparatively more animals.[2]

Tactics ranged from conventional lobbying, leafleting, and street demonstrations to innovative, disruptive methods such as direct action and undercover investigations. In the 1970 and 1980s, British, North American, and Australian groups such as the Animal Liberation Front (ALF) captured headlines with their bold, militant, and often controversial actions, which included property damage, sabotage, and animal rescues. Authorities often responded to these kinds of actions with repression. Meanwhile, other groups such as Animal Aid in the United Kingdom, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA) in the United States, and Animals Australia pursued an agenda of reform and public awareness, which often relied on provocative images of animal cruelty unearthed from undercover investigations. These operations typically focused on the socially distant and concealed suffering of animals in farms and laboratories.

Although an international network fostered personal and organisational relationships, communication, exchange, and cooperation, campaigns unfolded within the particularities of each nation and also at a regional or local level. In the early 2000s a novel, far-reaching form of global activism emerged with the work of the Australian activist, Lyn White.

Lyn White has been considered one of "the most effective" activists in the history of the modern Australian animal movement.[3] She has been regarded as an "influential and courageous campaigner" who displays "bravery, tenacity and stamina."[4] Between 2003 and 2011, White

[2] Animal Charity Evaluators, 'Number of Animals vs. Amount of Donations,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.animalcharityevaluators.org/research/foundational-research/number-of-animals-vs-amount-of-donations/ [Access Date 18 August 2016].

[3] Peter Singer cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript' 23 April 2012, available [online]: http://www.abc.net.au/austory/content/2012/s3487219.htm [Access Date 9 June 2015].

[4] Australian of the Year Awards, 'State Finalist Australian of the Year 2012' n.d., available [online]: http://www.australianoftheyear.org.au/honour-roll/?view=fullView&recipientID=899 [Access Date 29 September 2014].

conducted nine investigations across the Middle East and Indonesia, documenting the mistreatment of Australian animals exported for slaughter. The evidence that she gathered resulted in notable achievements: a leading export company was prosecuted for animal cruelty; trade to Egypt and Indonesia was suspended; the Australian sheep trade to Egypt was banned; and there were significant government and industry reforms.[5] She developed a prominent public profile and has been interviewed by every current affairs program in Australia. In June 2014, in recognition of her contributions, she was appointed a Member of the Order of Australia for "significant service to the community as an animal rights and welfare advocate."[6]

Before becoming the well-known, confident, and charismatic animal advocate, the young Lyn White was a shy, quiet, and under-confident individual. Born in Adelaide, South Australia, in 1964, Lynlee Vanessa White was raised in an ordinary suburban family, the youngest of three sisters. At the age of 17, she joined the police academy, where she was nicknamed "Hermie," short for hermit because of her shy demeanour. But perhaps for the first time in her life, the badge and uniform cultivated her sense of self-confidence and self-worth. Throughout her police career she attended every imaginable crime. During these years, along with the mental and emotional fortitude she developed, she acquired a set of police skills that would later prove invaluable to her work as an animal activist.[7] Senior Constable White was later remembered by one colleague as "a very skilful police officer."[8] However, at the age of 37, White began questioning her life and career.

One day after reading in a magazine about the plight of caged moon bears in China, White decided to become more involved in animal advocacy. As a girl she had displayed a great love of animals, even though her

[5] Animals Australia, 'Lyn White' n.d., available [online]: http://www.animalsaustralia.org/about/lyn-white.php [Access Date 19 August 2016].

[6] It's An Honour, 'Member of the Order of Australia' 9 June 2014, available [online]: http://www.itsanhonour.gov.au/honours/honour_roll/search.cfm?aus_award_id=1150135&search_type=quick&showInd=true [Access Date 10 June 2015].

[7] Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript.'

[8] Sgt Andrew 'Aussie' Ausserlechner, cited in ibid.

family did not have any companion pets. Later in life, she walked dogs for the local animal shelter. In her years as a police officer, her colleagues, aware of her passion, directed cases of animal cruelty to her.[9] After 20 years in the police force, she quit to pursue a full-time career as an animal advocate with the Animals Asia Foundation, a charity dedicated to wild and domestic animals in Asia.[10] In her time with Animals Asia, she travelled to Hong Kong and China, visited bear sanctuaries, organised and participated in animal welfare workshops, and explored local animal markets.[11] In 2003, White began work with Animals Australia, one of Australia's leading animal protection organisations, where she eventually assumed the position of Campaign Director.

Since her first investigation, White has developed into a quintessential transnational activist. Following Sidney Tarrow, transnational activists may be defined as "people and groups who are rooted in specific national contexts, but who engage in contentious political activities that involve them in transnational networks of contacts and conflicts."[12] Tarrow emphasises that transnational activists conventionally represent not so much a shift from the domestic to the international arena than a "transmutation of domestic activism."[13] In other words, although activists may have conceptual connections to global politics, their practical activities are mostly contained within local places. This case study offers a different account of transnational activism as it was practiced by White. What made White different from her local counterparts, and Tarrow's characterisation of transnational activists, was her ability to both conceptually *and* practically shift her activism from the domestic to the international sphere, and vice versa. She was able to take advantage of "the expanded nodes of opportunity of a complex international society."[14] She operated in foreign cultures and in potentially risky environments, networked with people and groups, and campaigned on local and international issues, both overseas and in Australia. In the course of her

[9] Ibid.

[10] Juanita Phillips, 'Lunch with Lyn White,' *The Bulletin*, April 2007, pp. 31–32.

[11] Lyn White, 'Animals Asia Foundation Offers Hope to Millions of Animals,' *Animals Today*, vol. 6, no. 4, 1999, pp. 16–17.

[12] Sidney Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005, p. 29.

[13] Ibid., p. 210.

[14] Ibid., p. 29.

activism she developed a repertoire that I term 'transnational investigative campaigning.'

This chapter explores White's activism and transnational investigative campaigning, with particular reference to the export of live animals. For decades before White's emergence, the Australian animal movement failed to effectively challenge the export trade. There was the occasional victory, such as the 1985 *Export of Live Sheep from Australia* government report that recognised that the trade was "inimical to good animal welfare."[15] Over time, collective action sporadically flared up, ranging from the symbolic, such as candlelight vigils and street demonstrations, to the obstructive and disobedient, such as blockades and sit-ins. This chapter argues, however, that the creation and application of transnational investigative campaigning in 2003 signalled the beginning of a new, more intense wave of contention. Transnational investigative campaigning was marked by three characteristics: international sites of contention; transnational activist networks; and old and new media campaigning. By exploring these features, this chapter demonstrates the transformative power of this technique and its implications for both domestic and global politics. In short, transnational investigative campaigning was the Australian animal movement's example par excellence of global activism.

Transnational activism can be defined as "coordinated international campaigns on the part of networks of activists against international actors, other states, or international institutions."[16] It is a style of activism that mobilises individuals from more than one nation, who engage in contentious politics within either a nation or an international institution. In general, transnational activists seek to change national and international politics. They mobilise to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms, and to advocate for political change.[17] In the twentieth century, transnational activist networks, argue Margaret Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, have helped instigate and sustain social and political transformations. They are significant because they multiply "the channels of access

[15] Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare, *Export of Live Sheep from Australia: Report by the Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1985, p. xiii.

[16] Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2005, pp. 2–3.

[17] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics*, Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1998, pp. 8–9.

to the international system."[18] Global justice, environment, human rights, trade unions, peace, and anti-nuclear action are some examples of transnational social movements that have been involved in contending and shaping international politics in the modern period.

The methods of transnational collective action are as diverse as those of domestic social movements; some actions are rooted in local affairs with an appeal to the international, and others are located in the global arena. Keck and Sikkink offer a typology of transnational activism that includes four aspects: information politics, symbolic politics, leverage politics, and accountability politics.[19] Tarrow highlights six general processes of "transnational contention" that may occur separately but which usually combine. At the domestic level are "global issue framing" and "internationalization," which involve the use of global discourses to respond to local problems. Sites of activism may "scale shift" and claims may "diffuse" from one space to another. Internationally, there is a process of "externalization," where domestic claims reach international politics and institutions. Across these processes, "transnational coalition formation" involves the creation of networks and coordinated international campaigns and events.[20] As discussed here, transnational investigative campaigning encapsulates most of these characteristics.

Although transnational advocacy is not a new phenomenon, scholars generally agree upon two contemporary factors that have stimulated transnational activism: cheaper air travel and the development of electronic communication.[21] Improved transport and communications have compressed time–space and have further facilitated international contact. Use of the Internet and other digital media has cultivated loose organisational

[18] Ibid., p.1.

[19] Ibid., p.16.

[20] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 32.

[21] For an account of early modern transnational activism, see Peter Stamatov, 'Activist Religion, Empire, and the Emergence of Modern Long-Distance Advocacy Networks,' *American Sociological Review*, vol. 75, no. 4, 2010, pp. 607–628; for causes of contemporary transnational activism, see Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, p. 80; Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, 'Globalization and Resistance: An Introduction,' in Jackie Smith and Hank Johnston, eds., *Globalization and Resistance: Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements*, Oxford: Rowman & Littlefield, 2002, p. 5; Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, pp. 7–8; Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 35.

networks, weak identity ties, and permanent campaigns that define "new global politics."[22] Aside from that, debate is divided over the extent to which contemporary globalisation has facilitated transnational activism. The wave of mobilisations against neoliberal globalisation, typified by the 1999 Battle of Seattle, represented, for some scholars, the emergence of new "global social movements."[23] However, scholars such as Tarrow remain unconvinced that globalisation is the only or even a major cause of contemporary transnational activism.[24] Tarrow views "internationalism," a "triangular" structure in international politics that "constrains" and "creates" opportunities, as the primary framework for citizens to engage in action.[25] For Australian animal activists, transnational activism was motivated by the export of live animals and the inherent suffering it caused.

'Pain for Animals, Profit for People:' a History of Live Animal Exports and Its Contention

Although the export of live animals from Australia has its origins in the colonial period, the modern industry emerged in the early 1960s when trade commenced with the Middle East. The first load of sheep to the region followed a meeting at the Cockpit Hotel in Singapore, where four capitalists, who later had an influential role in the development of the trade, agreed to a trial shipment.[26] A booming oil economy and a strong cultural preference for freshly slaughtered animals facilitated the development of the industry. Countries that imported live animals were predominately Islamic, with a minority of the population following Christian or Jewish denominations. The Islamic scripture, the *Qur'an*, proscribes what is lawful or permitted: an object or action which is permissible is termed *Halal*, and *Haram* is its antonym. Sheep, cattle, and a variety of other animals are considered halal, and their consumption

[22] Lance W. Bennett, 'Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics', *Information, Communication & Society*, vol. 6, no. 2, 2003, pp. 143–168.

[23] Donatella della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2006, p. 233.

[24] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 19.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Nigel Austin, *The Australian Livestock Export Trade*, Neutral Bay, NSW: Hardie Grant, 2011, p. 28.

is allowable. Theoretically, animals are to be prepared and killed according to Islamic doctrine.[27] At first two carriers transported 6000 sheep to ports in the Persian Gulf. By 1970, the largest carrier, the *Cormoran*, had the capacity to carry 28,000 sheep. Within a few years, ships able to transport 50,000 animals were coming into existence.[28] As the trade developed, ships were purposely built, techniques were improved, and organisational skills evolved to handle the immense number of sheep. By 1980, the largest ship, the *Al Qurain*, was able to carry 92,000 sheep to the Middle East for slaughter.[29]

The export of live animals was, and continues to be, an important part of Australia's livestock industry. In the late 1980s, Australia assumed the position as the world's market leader in the export of livestock.[30] Initially, sheep were the most commonly exported animal. However, over time, the number of sheep exported fell from the 1988 high of 7 million to approximately 2.4 million in 2011.[31] Conversely, the number of cattle exported increased. In 1988, approximately 81,500 cows were sent overseas; in 2011, 621,500 were exported. Today, the industry body Meat & Livestock Australia (MLA) has stated that Australia is "among the world's largest and most successful and efficient producers of commercial livestock and a leader in the export of red meat and livestock."[32] In recent years, the livestock export industry has been worth $1.8 billion to the Australian economy.[33]

[27] Islamic Council of Victoria, 'What Is Halal—A Guide for Non-Muslims,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.icv.org.au/index.php/publications/what-is-halal [Access Date 26 September 2014].

[28] Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare, *Export of Live Sheep from Australia: Report by the Senate Select Committee on Animal Welfare*, pp. 3–4.

[29] Australian Bureau of Animal Health, *Sea Transport of Sheep*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, 1981, p. 1.

[30] 'AMLC Annual Report July 86–June 87,' *Australian Meat and Live Stock Corporation*, June 1987.

[31] ABS (7215.0 Livestock Products, Australia Jun 2014; accessed 20 Oct 2014), http://www.abs.gov.au.

[32] Meat & Livestock Australia, 'Industry Overview' 2014, available [online]: http://www.mla.com.au/Cattle-sheep-and-goat-industries/Industry-overview [Access Date 25 September 2014].

[33] Ibid.

The first wave of opposition to the trade emerged not because of a concern for animal suffering, but because of industrial grievances: protecting local jobs. In the 1970s, in response to the changing demand for wool, employment in the meat industry fluctuated and abattoirs began to close. Fluctuations in seasonal weather and the export of live sheep to foreign markets compounded the problem. In 1974, the Australasian Meat Industry Employees' Union (AMIEU) initiated an industrial campaign that targeted the companies associated with the trade, and lobbied government to place restrictions and ratios on the export industry to protect meat workers' jobs. Collective actions in the late 1970s included blockades and pickets. However, the campaign was undermined by the strong influence of the farming community.[34] For most of the first decade of the campaign, the AMIEU obtained little community support for its cause and no positive media coverage.[35] Strategically in a weak position, the AMIEU drew support from the animal movement, which generated positive media coverage and stirred public opinion.[36]

The next wave of contention came with the rise of the modern animal movement. Similar to their opposition to intensive farming, activists opposed the export industry because of the animal suffering that it caused. In seeking to stop the live animal export industry, animal activists found other allies. In the 1980s, the fledging movement forged a loose alliance with the meat workers' union to jointly oppose the trade, although for differing reasons. The informal labour–animal alliance persevered well into the twenty-first century. Numerous AMIEU state-branches supported the activities of animal groups working against live exports.[37] In some cases the united front was more explicit, such as when four meat workers and two animal advocates established and coordinated the Committee Against Live Exports (CALE) in Queensland.[38] However, over time, the status of the union in the campaign diminished

[34] Majorie Jerrard, 'Building Alliances to Protect Jobs: The AMIEU's Response to Live Animal Export,' in Donna Buttigieg et al., eds., *Trade Unions in the Community: Values, Issues, Shared Interests and Alliances*, idelberg: Heidelberg Press, 2007, p. 189.

[35] Ibid.

[36] Ibid., p. 190.

[37] Ibid., pp. 91–193.

[38] Ibid., p. 92.

and was largely superseded by the animal movement. Nevertheless, till this day, when there have been public demonstrations against the trade, a few AMIEU flags are still discernible in the crowd.[39]

Separate from its informal alliance with the AMIEU, the animal movement developed its own methods for challenging the trade. Their repertoire of contention ranged from the conventional to the symbolic and disruptive. Beginning in the 1980s, activists pursued a path of political lobbying, which included pressing the government for more stringent standards of animal protection.[40] Furthermore, activists staged theatrical street performances protesting the trade. At times, obstructive and disobedient forms of action were also deployed, which included blockading livestock ships with dinghies and kayaks, albeit temporarily.[41] Despite these challenges, a fundamental constraint in campaigning for animal rights was, and continues to be, the powerful economic and cultural interests, and the property status of animals, which have countervailed and limited change.[42]

In the course of opposition to the trade, cycles of protest have come in distinct waves. 'Cycle of protest' refers to those periods of intense and more or less continuous mobilisation that periodically arise in most modern societies.[43] Cycles intersect with political opportunities, those "dimensions of the political environment that provide incentives for collective action."[44]

[39] Gonzalo Villanueva, 'Mainstream Crusade–How the Animal Rights Movement Boomed,' 7 November 2012, available [online]: http://theconversation.com/mainstream-crusade-how-the-animal-rights-movement-boomed-10087 [Access Date 20 October 2014].

[40] For a detailed study of the animal movement's lobbying in the 1980s, see: Gonzalo Villanueva, '"In the Corridors of Power": How the Animal Movement Changed Australian Politics, 1979–1991', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 61, no. 4, 2015, pp. 546–561.

[41] 'March and Candlelight Vigil', *Action: The Newsletter of Animal Liberation Victoria*, Spring 2003, p. 5; Lee Lin Chin, 'Naked Protest Against Animal Exports,' *World News Australia* (SBS, 10 May 2008); Noah Hannibal and Angie Stephenson, 'Portland Blockade Report,' *Action: The Newsletter of Animal Liberation Victoria*, Spring 2003, p. 4.

[42] Villanueva, '"In the Corridors of Power": How the Animal Movement Changed Australian Politics, 1979–1990.'.

[43] Doug McAdam and David A. Snow, *Social Movements: Readings on Their Emergence, Mobilization, and Dynamics*, Los Angeles: Roxbury Publishing, 1997, p. 326.

[44] Sidney Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 2nd edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 76–77.

The meat workers' industrial action represented the first cycle. The labour–animal alliance was an extension of this. The modern animal movement's successful bout of political lobbying, coupled with other forms of mobilisation, was a second cycle. However, after the mid-1980s, sustained collective action diminished and exhausted itself, with protests only occurring sporadically. Since the 1980s, cycles have involved collective action, public concern, government–industry response, review, and reform. This chapter argues that since 2003 a third cycle of contention has arrived, one with a more intense tone of public concern and one that delivers more frequent and stringent measures by government and industry. These transformations have largely occurred because of innovations in collective action: transnational investigative campaigning.

Transnational Investigative Campaigning

The creation of transnational investigative campaigning by Lyn White and Animals Australia transformed the way in which live animal exports were contested. In 2003, on the eve of *Ramadan* and *Hajj* festivities, Saudi Arabia rejected a shipment of 52,000 sheep for allegedly having a highly contagious viral disease commonly referred to as "scabby mouth." Australian officials and industry disputed the assessment and were desperate to sell and offload the sheep elsewhere. Weeks and weeks passed and the sheep were still stuck on a livestock carrier, with many dead and dying sheep on board.[45] During the trade crisis, more than 15,000 sheep died on four separate shipments to the Middle East.[46] Animal activists, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (RSPCA), and trade unions attacked the industry. The episode was described as the "worst crisis in a decade."[47]

Sceptical of government and industry reports about the conditions of the animals being sent to the Middle East, Animals Australia sent Lyn White overseas to apply her police skills.[48] She travelled to Kuwait on

[45] 'Sheep Ship Could Spell End to Live Animal Trade,' *Canberra Times*, 4 October 2003.

[46] Paxinos Stathi, 'Thousands of Sheep Die on Ships,' *The Age*, 3 September 2002.

[47] Cathy Bolt, 'Sheep Ship Crisis Worst for Decade,' *Australian Financial Review*, 25 September 2003.

[48] Lyn White, 'Live Export Campaign Update: Investigation in Kuwait,' *Animals Today*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2004, pp. 8–9.

November 26, 2003, where she was joined by another investigator from the British-based Compassion in World Farming (CIWF). Together they personally observed and carefully video recorded the state of the sheep while they were being unloaded from the *Al Kuwait*. They then boarded the ship to examine the housing conditions and took count of the numbers that had died. They witnessed "dead, dying and injured sheep" at portside.[49] Once they concluded their investigation, Animals Australia launched a complaint with the Western Australian police alleging that the ship carrier *Al Kuwait* breached the *Animal Welfare Act 2003*. A full account of White's investigation was provided to police, along with photographic and video evidence. A prolonged court case against the exporter ensued.[50] On three separate occasions throughout this controversy, esteemed television journalist Richard Carleton and *60 Minutes* brought the "touchy subject" of live animal exports to the fore.[51]

Although Australian activists were aware of animal cruelty in the live animal export trade, few had travelled abroad to personally gather information and evidence. "Initially I didn't really see the advantages of having a former police officer join us," said Executive Director of Animals Australia Glenys Oogjes, "but within a year of Lyn joining us, we'd undertaken our first investigation and it really did have an immediate effect."[52]

Transnational investigative campaigning also emerged from a rich tradition of domestic undercover investigations, which had been part of the animal movement's repertoire of contention for some time. Undercover investigations were designed to reveal the hidden condition of animal suffering, particularly through shocking graphic images, which would draw media and public attention, with the goal of resolving these issues through prosecution, reform, and ultimately broader social change. In the United States, PETA had engaged in undercover investigations

[49] Ibid.

[50] 'Sheep Ship Deaths Referred to Police,' *The Australian*, 19 December 2003.

[51] Richard Carleton, 'Making a Killing,' *60 Minutes* (Channel 9, 27 July 2003); Richard Carleton, 'Ship of Shame,' *60 Minutes* (Channel 9, 29 September 2003); Richard Carleton, 'End of the Line,' *60 Minutes* (Channel 9, 28 March 2004).

[52] Glenys Oogjes cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge--Transcript'.

since the 1980s, whereas in Australia activists began using similar techniques and performing 'open rescues' in the early 1990s.[53] These operations typically focused on the plight of farm animals and animals used in research. Transnational investigations can be seen as an extension of what animal activists were doing at home.

Transnational investigative campaigning was an innovative form of transnational activism that became sustained over time and was defined by three characteristics: international sites of contention; transnational animal networks; and old and new media engagement. The following sections present each feature.

International Sites of Contention

The export of live animals is a global trade network that offers numerous international sites of contention. The structure of "internationalism" provides an opportunity space for domestic actors "to engage in collective action at different levels."[54] Transnational investigative campaigning has been highly attuned to the international circumstances of the export industry.

Lyn White travelled extensively to the Middle East and Southeast Asia, to countries that were major importers of Australian animals. Between 2003 and 2011, nine investigations into the handling and slaughter of Australian exported animals took place in Bahrain, Kuwait, Qatar, Oman, the United Arab Emirates, Egypt, Turkey, Israel, and Indonesia.[55] Most Middle Eastern and Southeast Asian countries had no clear animal protection law, or the regulatory arrangements to monitor the trade. As such, they were countries where animal abuses occurred frequently. According to the RSPCA, "the training and competency of

[53] For more on one of PETA's first investigations, see Alex Pacheco, 'The Silver Springs Monkeys,' in Peter Singer, ed., *In Defence of Animals*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1985, pp. 135–147; For other American groups engaging in undercover investigations, see Mercy for Animals, 'Undercover Investigations: Exposing Animal Abuse' n.d., available [online]: http://www.mercyforanimals.org/investigations.aspx [Access Date 15 September 2014].

[54] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 25.

[55] Animals Australia, 'Live Export Investigations,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.banliveexport.com/investigations/ [Access Date 19 August 2016].

animal handlers and slaughtermen in such countries is often poor, and the facilities and equipment are unsophisticated and sometimes in a state of disrepair."[56]

Spaces and facilities where Australian animals were routinely abused and killed were the focus of investigations. Major cities and provincial towns with large animal markets, some of which operated 6 days a week, were spaces in which investigators documented egregious forms of animal treatment. They revealed that sheep were "routinely dragged by legs, trussed and then pushed roughly into a car boot or on the back of small utes."[57] Feedlots and other industry body sites were also areas of their inquiry. White visited abattoirs where hundreds of sheep were slaughtered every day: these were slaughterhouses that were supposedly examples of the "best practice" in the region, which had undertaken "animal-handling workshops" sponsored by MLA, and had reported "improved animal welfare."[58] Municipal and "shanty-like" slaughterhouses, backyard operations, and even a "filthy communal toilet" where a sheep was slaughtered became sites of evidence gathering.[59] Everywhere they looked, investigators discovered "barbaric acts" and "distressing treatment."[60]

Transnational investigative campaigning occurred during the days leading up to the Eid-al-Adha, the annual Muslim 'Festival of Sacrifice,' which was a very carnivorous event. Festivities commenced at the end of the *Hajj* pilgrimage to Mecca each year. This was the busiest time for exporters and the local animal markets, where Muslims purchased animals in preparation for celebrating Eid-al-Adha. Across the Middle East on this day countless numbers of animals were slaughtered in sacrifice. In Cairo's working-class Sayyida Zeinab neighbourhood, "camels bellowed as blood-soaked butchers wrestled dozens of animals to the ground and slashed their throats for an admiring crowd:"

> Neighbors leaned out their windows to watch and cheer, or snap cellphone pictures. Little boys daubed their hands in the blood and spattered one

[56] RSPCA, 'Live Export Facts,' n.d., http://www.rspca.org.au/campaigns/live-export/live-export-facts [Access Date 26 September 2014].

[57] Lyn White, 'Live Animal Export,' *Animals Today*, vol. 14, no. 1, 2006, pp. 8–11.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

> another, and teenagers helped remove steaming entrails from the carcasses. Scores of people pressed forward to buy fresh meat for the ritual holiday meal, standing in puddles of clotted gore.[61]

Handlers and butchers routinely failed to abide by a basic principle of Islamic scripture: that animals should not be mistreated. Around this season in 2006, White visited Cairo, Egypt, to monitor compliance with a Memorandum of Understanding that was negotiated by the Australian and Egyptian Government in an attempt to improve animal welfare.[62] She found that sheep purchased from markets "were on each occasion dragged from the holding pen by either legs, horns, wool or head, then manhandled onto the ground and three legs tied with rope."[63] In addition to visiting Egypt, White also travelled to the United Arab Emirates and Bahrain around the time of the Eid-al-Adha.

When investigating these dirty and dangerous spaces there was always a level of personal risk. "She gets into these places with a hidden camera with men with big knives and axes who don't know her," said Howard Sacre, producer of *60 Minutes*. "I mean, she could disappear in an instant."[64] One time she visited Bassatin, a notorious Egyptian abattoir, where one worker began to intimidate her and her colleagues by making a "kill gesture" by drawing his forefinger across his throat.[65] However, White mitigated physical and emotional risks in various ways. She typically wore local attire to blend into the Islamic culture, which usually meant wearing a Hijab and clothes that fully covered her body. Similar to those times when she had attended gruesome crimes as a police officer, the way she persevered in these spaces was by controlling her emotions and focusing on the task at hand.[66] In addition, when she visited these spaces she was aided by local animal groups and supporters.

[61] Robert F. Worth, 'Activist Relies on Islam to Fight for Animal Rights,' *The New York Times*, 21 November 2010, Available [Online]: http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/22/world/africa/22egypt.html?_r=0 [Access Date 10 October 2014].

[62] Animals Australia, 'Investigation–Egypt 2006,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.banliveexport.com/investigations/egypt-2006.php [Access Date 26 September 2014].

[63] Ibid.

[64] Howard Sacre cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript.'

[65] Lyn White, cited in ibid.

[66] Lyn White, cited in Phillips, 'Lunch with Lyn White.'

Transnational Animal Networks

Transnational investigative campaigning was advanced by a network of local and international animal organisations. Networks are "forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange."[67] Foreign animal organisations provided experience, resources, and local knowledge to White and other campaigners. Their collaboration signified a process of "transnational coalition formation," where actors from different countries with similar claims were brought together in a connected campaign.[68] The British-based CIWF lent their support by sending an experienced investigator to accompany White on her first mission. Later, White was also accompanied by an experienced British freelance investigator who was funded by the American animal rights group, PETA.[69] But the support of local groups was also crucial.

In the Middle East, White and Animals Australia drew on the help of local animal protection groups. Founded in September 2001 by a couple, Amina Tharwat Abaza and Raouf Mishriky, the Society for the Protection of Animal Rights Egypt (SPARE) was Egypt's first registered animal charity, which within a few years operated a dog and cat shelter, as well as a donkey sanctuary and a number of clinics. According to Abaza, "neither the concept nor the culture of animal welfare existed in Egypt."[70] Even though working horses, donkeys, and mules are common and considered essential, there is a lack of understanding about the basic needs of animals, who are usually in poor health, wounded, diseased, and lame.[71] Local organisations such as SPARE have provided the basis to improving animal welfare, not only through their services but also through their education programmes. Rooted at the local level, SPARE played an important role in transnational investigative campaigning. When White

[67] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, p. 8.

[68] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 32.

[69] White, 'Live Animal Export.'

[70] Society for the Protection of Animal Rights in Egypt, 'Who We Are' n.d., available [online]: http://www.sparelives.org/index.pl/about [Access Date 29 September 2014].

[71] Charlotte C. Burn, Tania L. Dennison, and Helen R. Whay, 'Relationships Between Behaviour and Health in Working Horses, Donkeys, and Mules in Developing Countries,' *Applied Animal Behaviour Science*, vol. 126, no. 3–4, 2010, pp. 109–118.

visited Egypt, SPARE members helped her access the Bassatin abattoir. "We went into the facility with a cousin of an advocate in Egypt, and he explained that we were leather merchants."[72] There, White covertly documented the slaughterhouse activities for 90 minutes.[73]

Resources and knowledge also fed back into the transnational animal networks. Animals Australia provided local groups in the Middle East and international groups with investigative material to lobby and pressure governments for improvements in animal protection.[74] Transnational activist conferences, such as the three-day Middle East Animal Welfare Conference in Cairo, Egypt, provided the space for local and international groups to exchange knowledge and techniques and to present a united front for certain campaigns. "I was enormously pleased to observe how Animals Australia's investigations in the region have underpinned the calls of Middle Eastern advocates for much-needed animal protection laws," said Glenys Oogjes.[75]

Lyn White also developed a close friendship with Princess Alia bint Al Hussein, who is the sister of Jordan's King, and the patron of Jordan's animal welfare society. When White presented the Princess with footage of her investigation, the Princess intervened to have the slaughterhouse in question closed down. Thereafter, White used her association with the Princess to enter certain facilities officially, sometimes accompanied by royal guards. Since 2007, the Princess has set out a broad agenda to reform Jordanian slaughterhouses, which began with acquiring modern equipment, instituting mandatory pre-slaughter stunning, and creating facilities with stronger animal welfare elements.[76]

[72] Lyn White cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript.'

[73] White, 'Live Animal Export,' p. 10.

[74] Animals Australia, 'Investigation–Middle East September 2007' n.d., available [online]: http://www.banliveexport.com/investigations/middle-east-september-2007.php [Access Date 29 September 2014].

[75] Animals Australia, 'Inaugural Middle East Animal Welfare Conference Provides Hope for Animals' n.d., available [online]: http://www.animalsaustralia.org/features/middle_east_animal_welfare_conference.php [Access Date 29 September 2014].

[76] The 7:30 Report, 'Animal Activists Enlist the Help of Princess Alia of Jordan,' 15 April 2009, available [online]: http://www.abc.net.au/7.30/content/2009/s2543817.htm [Access Date 16 June 2015]; Princess Alia Foundation, 'Slaughterhouse Reform' n.d., available [online]: http://www.princessaliafoundation.org/#!slaughter-house-reform/c1t5g [Access Date 16 June 2015].

Old and New Media Campaigning

Transnational investigative campaigns circulated in traditional media and digital media. Campaigns were remarkably successful at securing quality domestic media coverage and making the animal cruelty of the live export trade highly visible. For sociologist Lyle Munro the campaign was a "moral crusade made for the mass media."[77] These episodes were akin to "global framing" or "going global," where external symbols, evidence gathered overseas, orientated domestic claims.[78] Through traditional media and digital media, transnational investigative campaigns powerfully influenced public debate and Australian politics—which is why conservative politician Barnaby Joyce said with disdain "you don't conduct diplomatic affairs via the television."[79] Stories, images, and video footage of transnational investigative campaigns circulated in traditional mass media outlets, such as newspapers, television, and radio. Animals Australia's investigations were featured in popular current affairs programs, such as *The 7:30 Report, Four Corners, 60 Minutes, Today Tonight*, and *Landline*.[80] In an era in which traditional news and current affairs audiences in Australia appeared to be in decline, these current affairs programs still broadcast to large audiences.[81]

Transnational investigative campaigns were covered by agenda-setting media outlets, which exerted influence over other media and the broader public sphere. The best example of this was "A Bloody Business" by *Four Corners*, which was broadcast on May 30, 2011. Broadcast once a week on ABC, *Four Corners* is Australia's longest running investigative current affairs program and has a notable history for exposing scandals, igniting debate and inquiries. That night, the exposé featured material from an Animals Australia and RSPCA investigation; it graphically revealed Australian cattle being abused and mistreated in 11 different Indonesian

[77] Lyle Munro, 'The Live Animal Export Controversy in Australia: A Moral Crusade Made for Mass Media,' *Social Movement Studies*, vol. 14, no. 2, 2014, pp. 1–16.

[78] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 60; Ruth Reitan, *Global Activism*, Oxon: Routledge, 2007, p. 19.

[79] Barnaby Joyce cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript.'

[80] Animals Australia, 'Investigation–Middle East September 2007.'

[81] Sally Young, 'The Decline of Traditional News and Current Affairs Audiences in Australia,' *Media International Australia*, no. 131, May 2009, pp. 147–159.

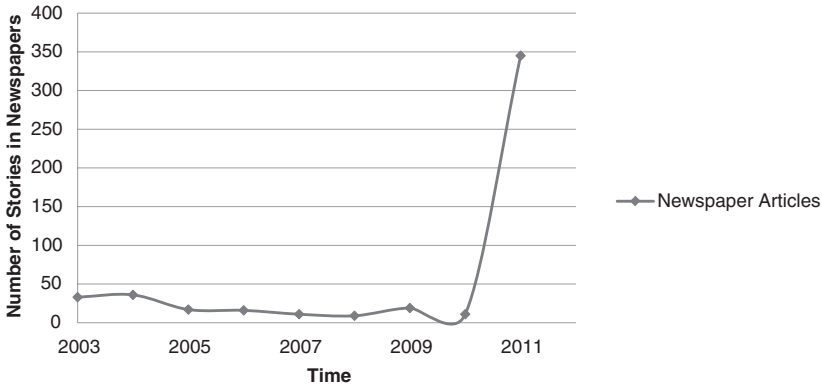

Fig. 12.1 Newspaper coverage of transnational investigative campaigns, 2003–2011

abattoirs.[82] The story sparked public outrage, provoked protests, and promoted wide media coverage. After a week of public pressure, the Australian Government temporarily suspended live animal exports to all Indonesian abattoirs. In recognition of the report and its immediate influence, the *Four Corners*' team, led by Sarah Ferguson, won Australian journalism's highest accolade, the Gold Walkley.[83] As Fig. 12.1 demonstrates, media coverage of the campaign dramatically increased in 2011 as a result of the controversy generated by "A Bloody Business." That year, 345 newspaper articles addressed the topic;[84] in contrast, in 2003, 33 newspaper articles were published. Over time, more coverage and space were dedicated to discussing the export trade. But what were the major themes and the dominant tone of the content?

[82] 'A Bloody Business,' *Four Corners* (ABC, 30 May 2011).

[83] ABC, 'Four Corners Wins Gold Walkley,' 28 October 2011, available [online]: http://about.abc.net.au/press-releases/four-corners-wins-gold-walkley/ [Access Date 30 September 2014].

[84] Factiva database was searched using the key terms 'live animal exports,' 'live exports,' 'live cattle trade,' and 'Animals Australia.' Five major newspapers were sampled: *The Herald Sun, The Sydney Morning Herald, The Age, The Daily Telegraph,* and *The Australian*. TVNews, which begins data sampling in 2007, was searched using the key terms 'live animal exports.'

The media framing of the 2011 transnational investigative campaign was predominately sympathetic and in animal welfare terms. Presenting "A Bloody Business," acclaimed journalist Kerry O'Brien, said: "Tonight we present a program that will shock you. Some people are bound to find parts of it difficult to watch, as indeed I did. But this is a story that demands to be seen and heard."[85] Martin Flanagan wrote in *The Age*, "How stoic and brave is Lyn White, the former policewoman who visited the abattoirs? … She's my early nomination for Australian of the Year."[86] Of course, there were the exceptions, such as Steve Price's derisive editorial in the *Herald Sun*, where he stated that "irrational overreaction from animal lovers to any hint of animal cruelty is something you learn to live with if you work in the media."[87] Nevertheless, as Nick Pendergrast has observed, the animal welfare perspective was hegemonic in mainstream media coverage after "A Bloody Business."[88] "While solutions varied," argues Pendergrast in reference to media content about the issue, "they all focused on seeking to improve (rather than abolish) slaughter, either by reforming slaughter methods in Indonesia or moving slaughter to Australia."[89] Articles rejected animal cruelty, and either accepted or promoted humane slaughter, but they did not problematise the idea of animal use or killing animals. Interestingly, these discursive frames indicate the progress and limitations of the animal movement. In 1980, the day after the union blockaded a livestock carrier, *The Age* editorial categorically dismissed the industrial grievances of the meat workers and argued that claims of animal cruelty should be separated from the debate, so as not to "cloud the economic arguments about the trade."[90] Thirty years later, arguments about the trade were primarily about animal welfare and how it could be improved.

In addition to traditional media outlets, transnational investigative campaigning utilised digital media. In general, the Internet has offered

[85] Kerry O'Brien, 'A Bloody Business,' *Four Corners* (ABC, 30 May 2011).

[86] Martin Flanagan, 'Saturday Reflection,' *The Age*, 4 June 2011.

[87] Steve Price, 'Emotion Helps Cook Up a Storm,' *Herald Sun*, 2 June 2011.

[88] Nick Pendergrast, 'A Sociological Examination of the Contemporary Animal Advocacy Movement: Organisations, Rationality and Veganism,' PhD dissertation, Curtin University, 2014, p. 136.

[89] Ibid., p. 139.

[90] Editorial Opinion, 'The Live Sheep Row Goes On,' *The Age*, 13 May 1980.

new, relatively inexpensive opportunities for activism; it has enhanced and accelerated communication, facilitated offline actions, and provided entirely new forms of engagement. Scholars argue that the Internet affords two key benefits: it significantly reduces the costs for creating, organising, and participating in (online and offline) protest; and, it has the ability to transform individual actions into wider forms of collective actions without requiring individuals to be physically present in time and space.[91] The rise of popular social networking media, services such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube, in the mid-2000s further added to the low-cost avenues of communication for users and activists. By 2010, these Internet services were globally ubiquitous: Facebook had recorded 500 million active users; Twitter users were writing 50 million messages per day; and YouTube was delivering a billion videos per day.[92]

Transnational investigative campaigns were effective at mobilising the resources of the Internet and social media to communicate their claims—via messages, photos, and videos—and to use the Internet to organise actions, both of the online and offline variety. One example illustrates this point. In 2011, signs of a "new global politics" underpinned by digital communication were evident following the broadcast of "A Bloody Business."[93] The day after the story reverberated around Australia, the websites of Animals Australia, the RSPCA, and GetUp!, organisations working on the campaign to end live exports, crashed "under huge demand, with up to two thousand visitors per minute accessing the sites."[94] The GetUp! petition, which called on the Australian Government

[91] Jennifer Earl and Katrina Kimport, *Digitally Enabled Social Change: Activism in the Internet Age*, Cambridge: MIT Press, 2011, p. 10.

[92] Geoffrey A. Fowler, 'Facebook: One Billion and Counting,' *The Wall Street Journal*, 4 October 2012, available [online]: http://tinyurl.com/pvd8fe4 [Access Date 16 April 2015]; Claudine Beaumont, 'Twitter Users Send 50 Million Tweets per Day,' *The Telegraph*, 23 February 2010, available [online]: http://tinyurl.com/yh97jyv [Access Date 16 April 2015].

[93] Bennett, 'Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics,' p. 168.

[94] RSPCA, 'RSPCA, Animals Australia, GetUp! Websites Crash Under Huge Demand in Live Export Campaign,' 31 May 2011, available [online]: http://www.rspca.org.au/media-centre/news/2011/rspca-animals-australia-getup-websites-crash-under-huge-demand-live-export [Access Date 1 October 2014].

to immediately halt the live export of cattle to Indonesia, attracted nearly 200,000 signatures within a few days.[95] This number would eventually climb to more than 350,000. A frenzy of activity also unfolded on social media. The day after the exposé aired, #banliveexport was the metadata tag most frequently referenced by Australian Twitter users. Furthermore, more than 30 public Facebook groups about the trade appeared.[96] Weeks later, more than 20,000 people marched across Australia to call on the government to permanently ban live animal exports.[97] This episode was a "choreography of assembly," that is, it was a physical protest facilitated by social media.[98] Activism was not limited to the online world, but transcended and mediated with the physical world. After nine years of persistent transnational investigative campaigning, the public response to Animals Australia's campaign was unprecedented—the public overwhelmingly rejected the industry's treatment of animals and rallied, both figuratively and literally, behind the animal movement's call to end the trade. In the digital era, the Internet and social media provided animal activists with the tools to be effective communicators, organisers, and mobilisers.

'People Power:' Local and Global Consequences

As a result of transnational investigative campaigning there have been dramatic local and global consequences. Changes occurred in response to decisions from within industry and from the Australian Government. But these outcomes were contentious, and did not meet the demands of the movement, which has consistently campaigned for a permanent ban on the trade.

Particularly from 2003, the livestock industry was forced to respond to the problems of animal welfare. Their response was generally reactive to transnational investigative campaigns, industry crises, and government policy, rather than proactive. The industry vigorously pursued

[95] GetUp! Action for Australia, 'Ban Live Export,' 2 June 2011, available [online]: http://web.archive.org/web/20110602133420/http://www.getup.org.au/campaigns/animals/live-export [Access Date 1 October 2011].

[96] Nadia Salemme, 'Live Exports Cruelty Sparks Outrage,' *MX*, 31 May 2011.

[97] Lyn White, 'Continuing the Live Trade in Animal Cruelty Is Offensive,' *The Age*, 23 August 2011.

[98] Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*, London: Pluto Press, 2012, Chap. 1.

a public relations campaign to counter the animal movement's claims. However, the recent industry-endorsed history, *The Australian Livestock Export Trade*, is silent on this topic.[99] "Australia is the only country … that actively works in overseas markets to help improve animal welfare conditions. If Australia was to stop exporting livestock, global animal welfare standards will unquestionably decline," proclaimed the National Farmers' Federation.[100] They have argued that industry involvement in foreign markets has improved animal welfare; their absence, therefore, would reverse animal welfare gains. Industry resources were directed towards researching improvements to livestock health and well-being.[101] MLA and LiveCorp also developed initiatives, such as "in the ute, not the boot" campaign, which targeted stopping consumers transporting animals from marketplaces in car boots.[102] However, major changes have come from elsewhere.

Government intervention and new regulation has been the main driver in industry restructuring. In contrast to other transnational social movements that target "supranational institutions" or corporations, the Australian animal movement consistently directed its claims at the Australian Government, calling for action and resolution.[103] As a direct result of the material unearthed by investigators, there were extraordinary cessations, albeit temporary ones, of trade with certain countries. In February 2006, live animal exports to Egypt were temporarily banned after *60 Minutes* broadcast footage taken by Animals Australia that showed "extreme acts of cruelty in a Cairo abattoir."[104] After "A Bloody Business," Agriculture Minister Joe Ludwig "decided to halt the

[99] See Austin, *The Australian Livestock Export Trade*, Chap. 18.

[100] National Farmers' Federation, 'Support Live Exports,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.nff.org.au/supportliveexports.html [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[101] LiveCorp, 'Animal Welfare,' n.d., available [online]: https://www.livecorp.com.au/animal-welfare [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[102] Meat & Livestock Australia, 'Animal Welfare,' n.d., available [online]: http://www.mla.com.au/Cattle-sheep-and-goat-industries/Animal-welfare [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[103] For transnational social movements targeting non-state actors, see: Donatella della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, p. 234.

[104] Dan Box, 'Animal Exports to Egypt Banned,' *The Australian*, 27 February 2006.

trade of live animals to the facilities identified by the footage."[105] Several days later, on 8 June 2011, a total ban on cattle exports to Indonesia was implemented.[106] "People power" had triumphed amid the "outpouring by Labor MPs" over the controversy.[107] It was a case of "accountability politics," where activists sought to hold the state and industry to account for cruelty violations, and the government responded.[108] The Australian Government dramatically acted to protect animals in ways that are akin to a state of emergency. In both episodes, trade cessations were based on the devastating footage documented through transnational investigative campaigning and the public indignation it ignited. However, with the development of new rules that governed exports, trade eventually resumed.

A number of government and independent reviews were undertaken to respond to animal welfare concerns and were typically followed by policy reforms. The first such report in the era of transnational investigative campaigning was conducted by John Keniry in December 2003. The report established the "Australian Code for Export of Livestock," and called for greater government responsibility for granting export licenses and enforcing compliance.[109] Two important reports and reviews emerged as a result of "A Bloody Business:" The Independent Review of Australia's Livestock Export Trade (Farmer Review) and the Industry Government Working Group on Live Cattle Exports report (IGWG).[110] The Australian Government accepted all 14 recommendations made by the Farmer Review as well as those of the IGWGs. One of the most

[105] 'Live Exports Suspended to Some Abattoirs,' *The Age*, 31 May 2011, available [online]: http://news.theage.com.au/breaking-news-national/live-exports-suspended-to-some-abattoirs-20110531-1fdt5.html [Access Date 1 October 2014].

[106] Richard Willingham and Tom Allard, 'Ban on Live Cattle Trade to Indonesia,' *The Age*, 8 June 2011.

[107] Michelle Grattan, 'People-Power Victory on Live Exports,' *The Age*, 8 June 2011, available [online]: http://www.smh.com.au/federal-politics/political-opinion/people-power-victory-on-live-exports-20110607-1fr41.html [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[108] For more on 'accountability politics,' see: Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, p. 16.

[109] John Keniry, *Livestock Export Review*, 2003.

[110] Bill Farmer, *Independent Review of Australia's Livestock Export Trade* (Commonwealth of Australia, 2011); Industry Government Working Group on Live Cattle Exports, *Report to Australian Government Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry*, 2011.

significant reforms was the implementation of the Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System (ESCAS), a regulatory system designed to adhere to the minimum animal welfare standards set by the World Organisation for Animal Health. It was to be implemented from the Australian farmyard, up to the abattoir in the importing country.[111] But the industry repackaging by government did not necessarily secure stronger animal protection.

Did ESCAS improve animal welfare? First, although some base-level protection was advanced, it failed to meet a number of vital needs for animals on board ships, such as "providing enough space to be able to comfortably lie down and easily access feed and water, bedding to lie on, or a continuous supply of fresh water."[112] Second, pre-slaughter stunning, a major point of debate in the media, was not a requirement of ESCAS. Third, after the implementation of the regulatory system, a number of allegations of noncompliance and breaches of ESCAS were reported. In 2012, the majority of reports that were assessed by the Department of Agriculture were filed by Animals Australia and the RSPCA; a minority were self-reported by the exporter.[113] "Based on this," argues Siobhan O'Sullivan, "Animals Australia appears to be doing a disproportionate amount of unpaid enforcement work on behalf of the Australian Government, the Australian people, and industry."[114] Animal charities with limited resources felt responsible for enforcing the complex regulatory system designed by government to ensure animal welfare. Their transnational investigative campaigning continued to reveal breaches of the rules that both industry and government had agreed to abide by.

[111] Department of Agriculture, 'Exporter Supply Chain Assurance System (ESCAS),' 13 February 2014, available [online]: http://www.daff.gov.au/biosecurity/export/live-animals/livestock/information-exporters-industry/escas#escas [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[112] RSPCA, 'ESCAS: What Is It And Does It Adequately Protect Australian Animals,?' n.d., available [online]: http://www.rspca.org.au/campaigns/live-export/escas [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[113] See Department of Agriculture, 'Regulatory Compliance Investigations,' 24 July 2014, available [online]: http://www.daff.gov.au/biosecurity/export/live-animals/livestock/regulatory-framework/compliance-investigations/investigations-regulatory-compliance [Access Date 2 October 2014].

[114] Siobhan O'Sullivan, 'Live Animal Export Rules Are Useless Without Enforcement,' 30 May 2014, available [online]: http://theconversation.com/live-animal-export-rules-are-useless-without-enforcement-27278 [Access Date 2 October 2014].

Conclusion

Reflecting on the campaign after "A Bloody Business," Lyn White said: "There were highs and lows from [2011]. But ultimately, I took away hope. Australians *are* appalled by animal cruelty. There has been an awakening. And the Animals Australia team will be doing everything in our power to use that awakening to help animals in need."[115]

The case of Lyn White and transnational investigative campaigning has demonstrated the enormous power and influence that the animal movement has had on domestic and global politics. "If someone sees her or hears that she's on a particular case, they'll start to shiver in their boots," said Sacre from *60 Minutes*, remarking on White's formidable reputation.[116] In contrast to Tarrow's broad assessment of transnational activism, which is situated in the domestic arena, this chapter has revealed a form of activism that was in large part executed in those international sites of animal exploitation, at the dirty and dangerous killing floors in the Middle East and Southeast Asia. White was aided by local and transnational animal groups, which, generally speaking, "are the surest signs that enduring networks of activists and advocates can have an impact on global governance."[117] In the Middle East, through a process of exchange and collaboration, numerous local and international actors jointly campaigned on animal welfare, an endeavour typified by the Middle East Network for Animal Welfare. Although there is much work to do, activists have directed their resources to address welfare problems at the local level. At home, Animals Australia and White were hugely successful at developing a prominent media profile, circulating campaign messages in traditional mainstream media and digital media formats. Although some scholars are eager to point to the transformative power of the Internet in heralding a "new global activism," this chapter has underscored the diversity of transnational investigative campaigning: international travel, evidence-gathering, networking, and old and new media campaigning.[118]

[115] White's emphasis. Animals Australia, 'An Evening with Lyn White,' 24 February 2012, available [online]: http://animalsaustralia.org/events/virtual-evening-with-lyn-white/ [Access Date 3 October 2014].

[116] Howard Sacre cited in Australian Story, 'The Razor's Edge–Transcript.'

[117] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, p. 205.

[118] Bennett, 'Communicating Global Activism: Strengths and Vulnerabilities of Networked Politics,' p. 164.

In contrast to scholarship on transnational activism that strongly emphasises supranational institutions as major targets for activists, this chapter has revealed that the nation-state remains an important target in contentious animal politics.[119] Such activity, to borrow Audie Klotz's insight, reinforces the primacy of nation-state rule.[120] Because of transnational investigative campaigning and the ongoing video evidence that graphically revealed the mistreatment of animals, the Australian Government on multiple occasions temporarily suspended trade and developed new regulatory frameworks, such as ECAS, that were designed to reach across the global 'supply chain' to ensure animal welfare, all of which had consequences for trading partners.

White and other animal activists failed to secure their stated goal of a permanent ban, but their global activism had an impact on Australian politics and on the major markets for Australian-reared animals. Many of the movement's outcomes discussed in this chapter were consistent with the five types of influence described by Keck and Sikkink: framing debates, discursive commitments, procedural change, affecting policy, and altering state and institutional behaviour.[121] Ultimately, transnational investigative campaigning influenced and shaped domestic and international politics.

In recent times, Lyn White and the Animals Australia team have intensified and expanded their transnational investigative campaigning, travelling to more countries, sometimes simultaneously, to expose systemic animal suffering that is inherent in the trading of live animals. At the present time, Animals Australia has conducted a total of 38 investigations, which have continued to reveal "what the industry doesn't want the public to see."[122]

[119] Donatella della Porta et al., *Globalization from Below*, p. 234; Ruth Reitan, *Global Activism*, p. 10.

[120] Audie Klotz, 'Transnational Activism and Global Transformations: The Anti-Apartheid and Abolitionist Experiences,' *European Journal of International Relations*, vol. 8, no. 1, 2002, pp. 65–66.

[121] Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders*, p. 201.

[122] Animals Australia, 'Live Export Investigations.'

CHAPTER 13

Afterword: Transnational Activisms in Social Movement Studies

Donatella della Porta

This volume offers very important contributions for the development of social movement studies, promoting a fruitful dialogue between historians and social scientists as well as a reflection on the conditions and forms of transnational activism. As I suggest in this afterword, the research collected in this volume takes up some concepts from social movement studies in sociology and political science, but also enriches them by providing important knowledge about the various types of transnational activists. Following this lead, I propose some reflections on the potential dimensions of variation among transnational activists within contemporary social movements, considering their different forms.

In addressing transnational activism through a variety of historical examples, this volume testifies for the potential of positive interactions between historians and other social scientists. Research on social movements has deep historical roots. Especially in Europe, the labour movement has served as a point of reference for the movements to follow, but important historical turning points have also been promoted 'from below,' through intense waves of protest. Social historians have

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S. Berger and S. Scalmer (eds.), *The Transnational Activist*,
Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements,
https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-66206-0_13

documented the forms that these movements have taken, their internal tensions, and the ideas and practices they helped to spread, as well as the enormous influence of the labour movement on the growth of citizenship rights and democracy. This contribution has been acknowledged particularly in historical sociology, which has pointed at a broad common evolution but also at cross-national differences in broad processes of modernisation and democratisation. In social movement studies, Charles Tilly's work on the long-term evolution of repertoires of contention, as well as William Sewell's on eventful temporality, have been particularly influential. Occasionally, sociologists and political scientists have analysed movements of the past, using archival sources or historical research as bases for comparative historical analysis. Even more rarely, historians do use sociological empirical analysis of, for example, social movements in the 1960s or 1970s as sources for their own investigations, especially once archives are open. This potential notwithstanding, the dialogue between historians and social scientists working on social movements has remained sporadic, hampered by disciplinary barriers as well as the difficulties of organising cross-time comparative research. Further, the theoretical and methodological debates within the different disciplines have proceeded in parallel, without much opportunity for exchange of ideas. This volume represents a welcome exception in this trend as it develops around concepts and theories that have been constructed within social movement studies, showing both their potential and their limits when applied to movements of the past.

Building upon some seminal works in the social sciences, this volume has the great merit of analysing in depth some main illustrations of transnational activists in various historical times and parts of the world. As such, it offers to social scientists both methodological and conceptual suggestions.

From the methodological point of view, research in the social sciences has investigated through survey data the specific characteristics of transnational activists, singling out general correlations at an aggregated level. Various studies have in particular pointed out the importance of high educational levels as well as employment in nongovernmental organisations in explaining participation in transnational protest events.[1] Survey data have also shown that the characteristics of transnational activists

[1] Donatella della Porta, ed., *Another Europe*, London: Routledge, 2009.

varied in the two forms of transnationalisation from below in terms of sociobiographical background as well as carrier paths. Characteristics of transnational activists also changed along the different steps of transnational protest cycles, with a progressive specialisation and professionalisation. Because a correlation is not an explanation, quantitative research is however not able to single out the causal mechanisms in the development of specific forms of political socialisation that accompany commitment to transnational activism. The several life histories presented here instead point at the ways in which the various types of transnational activists are embedded in their historical contexts, as well as their effects on it and the various paths towards transnational activisms. Although life histories and life stories have been only rarely used in social movement studies[2], the research presented in this volume shows the importance of archival and other materials in providing information about the micro-dynamics of collective action. Although historical research points out the importance of in-depth analysis of some life histories, embedding these within a specific historical period, sociologists could build on this knowledge by introducing criteria for case selections that could lead to cross-national and cross-time comparative analysis.

In terms of substantive contributions to our understanding of transnational activism, this volume shows interesting precedents for cosmopolitan activists and helps to dispel the view that cosmopolitanism is a recent phenomenon. Moreover, the many contributions focusing on transnational activists indicate the large variations in their individual careers and ways of mobilising.

In general, the focus on transnational activists in historical perspective addresses a gap in social movement studies that have focused (much) more on the macro- and the meso-levels than on the micro-level. In fact, research on political socialisation, to which the analyses presented in this volume can offer a valuable contribution, has rarely interacted with social movement studies.[3] An element to which social movement studies have paid little attention is the role of individuals. In particular, as more and more social movements proclaimed to be leaderless, scholars tended to

[2] Donatella della Porta, 'Life Histories,' in *Methodological Practices in Social Movement Research*, Donatella della Porta, ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014, pp. 289–306.

[3] Olivier Fillieule, 'Demobilization and Disengagement in a Life Course Perspective,' in Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, eds., *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movement Studies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016, pp. 277–289.

shift attention away from leadership (and leaders). Even acknowledging obvious transformations in the resources and forms of leadership, recent research has however pointed out the importance, especially at the transnational level, of single activists and small networks.[4]

This collection further marks another important (and unresolved) question in social movement studies, addressing the very meaning of transnationalism. Indeed, as many contributions remind us, there is broad variation in the forms of transnationalisation. In some cases transnational activists act at an international level; in other cases, they are brokers between two countries (and national social movements). More specifically, transnational activists are influential nodes within colonial and anti-colonial movements.

In particular, the in-depth analyses of individuals and small groups show the variety of transnational activists, pointing also at some potential Western bias in the positive assessment of cosmopolitanism. As many chapters indicate, transnational activists could be—even in good faith—agents of colonialist views, obscuring rather than protecting local traditions and, with them, diversity. Besides Tarrow's cited distinction between nesting pigeons and passing birds, the cosmopolitanism of transnational activists indeed emerges at times as a product and promoter of colonial empires and at other times as committed instead to nation-building projects.

In going beyond the history of ideas, the contributions in these volumes are also very rich in their approach to the ways in which ideas travel. Social movement studies have often contested the role of ideologies as drivers of movement behaviors, but recent developments in the field, as well as in social movements themselves, reflect a renewed attention to norms and visions. Transnational activists as brokers have an important, and minimally investigated, role in the brokerage and translation of ideas. The histories of transnational activists illustrate in fact the role of intellectual labour in movement developments.

Combining these insights with research in the social sciences, my aim is to briefly map out some main dimensions around which these different types of transnational activists can be compared, as well as some potential causes for and consequences of these differences. In what follows, I refer in particular to two recent waves of protests: the Global Justice

[4] della Porta, *Another Europe*.

Movement at the turn of the millennium, and the anti-austerity protests about a decade later. Given the differences in the ways in which these movements addressed the transnational level, a comparison between them could be useful to single out differences on dimensions such as scale-shift, diffusion, and networking. Additionally, such comparison can help us understand the causes for these differences in transnational activisms and the potential consequences.

In social movement studies, reflection on transnational activism has developed especially around the Global Justice Movement (GJM).[5] Acquiring global visibility with the protests against the November 1999 World Trade Organization summit in Seattle, the GJM mobilised via a series of counter-summits and social forums that allowed activists from all over the world to meet and discuss alternatives to neoliberal globalisation.[6] Research on this transnational wave of protest has pointed out the importance of the economic, social, political, and cultural characteristics of globalisation in understanding the emergence and forms of transnational social movement organisations, global protests, and cosmopolitan framing. In sum, 'While cross-national diffusion of movement ideas was a long-lasting phenomenon, the need to act globally—resting on the shifts of decision towards international organisation and corporations, but also on the opportunities offered by new technologies—gave a new impetus to the transnational dimension of protests and movements.'[7] This wave of transnational protests seemed to testify for an ineludible trend toward increasingly global forms of globalisation.

Although the very actors, frames, and practices that had appeared during those transnational protests did not disappear, a decade later

[5] Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, Basingstoke, Hampshire; and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; Donatella della Porta, Massiliano Andretta, Lorenzo Mosca, and Herbert Reiter, *Globalization from Below: Transnational Activists and Protest Networks*, Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 2006; Donatella della Porta and Sidney Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*, Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2005; Sidney G. Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

[6] Donatella della Porta, *The Global Justice Movement: Cross National and Transnational Perspectives*, London: Paradigm Publishers, 2007; Donatella della Porta, *Democracy in Social Movements*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009; della Porta, *Another Europe*.

[7] Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni, eds., *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2014.

anti-austerity protests did not confirm the expectation of growing globalisation by targeting especially national governments through domestic campaigns of protest. Even if neoliberalism and its financial crisis were hitting worldwide, the characteristics of the neoliberal economy as well as the timing and dynamics of the crisis varied significantly across countries. In fact, the most visible of those protests followed the geography of the emergence of the economic crisis, rising at the end of 2008 in Iceland, continuing in Ireland, and then in the Arab Spring at the beginning of 2011. In that same year, protests spread to Portugal in March, inspiring the so-called Indignados mobilisation in Spain in May and then in Greece, further developing in the United States in September with the Occupy Wall Street protest camp. Although the Indignados and Occupy protests lost visibility, similar forms and issues were raised in mobilisations in Turkey and Brazil in 2013, up to the Nuits début in France in 2016.

As mentioned, the anti-austerity protests were very much embedded in their domestic contexts, but the presence of similarities in the protest forms and framing prompted reflections regarding, on the one hand, the convergence of forms of protest given common transnational social, political, and cultural trends—but also, on the other hand, the mechanisms through which ideas spread worldwide, bringing about different paths of scale-shift in mobilisation.[8] The transnational counter-summits and global social forum had been presented as typical examples of downward scale-shift, having emerged at the transnational level around the World Social Forums, but also at the Intergalactica meetings in Mexico and the global days of action. At the organisational level, the macroregional social forums and then even local forums had followed those examples, but also built upon the organisational resources and networks that had been mobilised in transnational arenas. Cosmopolitanism and globalisation were indeed considered as broad trends that were reflected in transnational protest events and transnational targets. Challenging the assumption about the nation-state as the natural target of social movements, protests followed the perceived shift of power and competences towards international organisations and global capital. Contentious events were thus organised at global summits—especially targeting the international financiary organisations, such as the WTO, World Bank,

[8] della Porta and Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*.

and International Monetary Fund, accused of spreading the neoliberal doctrine, but also the European Union, criticised for betraying its proclaimed mission of creating greater welfare for the citizens. Counter-summits involved a complex protest repertoire containing nonviolent direct action in the street but also forums devoted to the development of an alternative vision of world politics. Not only did transnational protests multiply, they also acquired an empowering capacity, given the broad organisational networking and cultural exchanges they brought about. Global justice and another possible world became the basis for cosmopolitan identities; transnational social movement organisations grew in numbers but also in terms of members, assuming a networked form and a fluid structure. Even local social forums retained a strong global reference.[9] Hundreds of thousands of cosmopolitan activists converged in these many transnational occasions for protest, often thanks to organisational resources activated around forums and counter-summits. Thanks to these deep-rooted cosmopolitans, the mobilisation then spread from the global level to the (macro-)regional, national, and subnational levels through a downward scale-shift.

Just a few years later, late neoliberalism, with its global crisis, seems to have briskly interrupted the trend towards globalisation of social movements. When the new wave of protest against austerity developed, although keeping a cosmopolitan language, claiming global rights, and targeting global financial capital, the protests focused on the national level, with only weak attempts at upward scale-shift through global events, organisations, and framing. Indeed, although the global justice movement frequently engaged in cross-border mobilisations, which moved from one country to another, the anti-austerity protests developed around camps deeply embedded in the urban settings of hundreds of cities across the world.[10]

In this new wave of protest, transnational ties continued to be relevant and transnational activists still had a brokerage role, but within different forms of diffusion. For the GJM, meetings of transnational activists, such as social forums and counter-summits, had a most important role in

[9] Donatella della Porta and Lorenzo Mosca, 'Global Movements in Local Struggles: Findings on the Social Forum Process in Italy,' in Jackie Smith et al., eds., *Handbook on World Social Forum Activism*, Boulder, CO: Paradigm Publishers, 2012, pp. 248–265.

[10] Ibid.

the global diffusion of innovative ideas pointing at the roles and responsibilities of (some) international governmental organisations, as well as intensifying networking. The very framing of the movement's common concern with global justice and global democracy developed in those arenas, through the mobilisation of transnational activists embedded in thousands of formal associations and informal groupings. These rooted cosmopolitan activists were thus able to bridge the local with the global and vice versa,[11] contributing to the development of global identities.[12]

Transnational activists also had a most important role in connecting the different sites of the anti-austerity protests, but they acted differently from their predecessors. In the anti-austerity protests, national sovereignty was in fact a widespread claim, given the visible and dramatic expropriation by national institutions of the very power to decide about the most important aspects of domestic policies. In particular, as the Memorandums of Agreement with international lenders, including the European Union, introduced strong conditionalities on national budgets, protestors attacked the declining democratic accountability at the domestic level. National identification also increased as protestors claimed to represent not a network of minorities, as had been the case with the GJM, but rather a large majority—such as the 99% against the 1% or 'the people.' In defence of national sovereignty, Icelandic, Tunisian, Egyptian, Greek, and US protestors used national symbols such as flags and anthems, stigmatising the interference of powerful states, international organisations (above all the International Monetary Fund and the European Union), and large multinational corporations as well as global financial capital. In addition, given the different timing and intensity of the crisis, activists were more concerned than the global justice activists had been with the domestic political context. Not by chance, surveys carried out at anti-austerity protests in European countries testify for the importance of domestic governments and challenges.[13]

[11] della Porta and Tarrow, *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*.

[12] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*; Donatella della Porta and Manuela Caiani, *Social Movements and Europeanization*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

[13] Donatella della Porta and Massiliano Andretta, 'Protesting for Justice and Democracy: Italian Indignados,?' *Contemporary Italian Politics*, vol. 1, no. 1, 2013; Donatella della Porta and Herbert Reiter, 'Desperately Seeking Politics: Political Attitudes of Participants in Three Demonstrations for Worker's Rights in Italy,' *Mobilization: An International Quarterly*, vol. 17, no. 3, 2012, pp. 349–361.

Processes of diffusion were, however, at work in the recent wave of protest, and they were brokered by transnational activists. Cross-national diffusion of ideas about organisational forms, frames, and repertoires of contentious action travelled from one country to the next via direct contacts, through face-to-face relationships, and by mediated contacts, through the use of new social media but also using older types of mediated communication. Direct forms of diffusion have been noted within some geopolitical areas, as Egyptian activists learned from Tunisians, and Spanish Indignados entered in direct contacts with Greek activists but also brought ideas to the Occupy movement.[14] Students as well as diaspora migrants had important roles as transnational activists, often mobilising individually or in small groups. Moreover, across more distant areas, means of communication helped to quickly spread information and mutual learning.[15]

These paths of soft diffusion were accompanied at times by some more organised forms of transnational activism. Thus, on 15 October a Global Day of Action, launched by the Spanish Indignados, mobilised worldwide, with protests recorded in 951 cities in 82 countries. In Europe, the ECB acquired centrality as a target for protest campaigns. With annual demonstrations in Frankfurt, Blockupy took on some of the action repertoire and organisation from the EU counter-summits of the previous decade, but developed a more radical discourse and more disruptive forms of action. As the call for the second Blockupy in May 2012 stated:

> Together with the people in Southern Europe we say: 'Don't owe, don't pay!' and resist the rehabilitation of capitalism on the backs of employees as well as unemployed, retirees, migrants and the youth. We reject any cooperation with the German crisis politics, which not only has catastrophic consequences for people in Southern Europe, but also here,

[14] Eduardo Romanos, 'From Tahrir to Puerta Del Sol to Wall Street: A Comparison of Two Diffusion Processes Within the New Transnational Wave of Protest,' in *Conference: Streets Politics in the Age of Austerity, From Indignados to Occupy*, University of Montréal, 2013.

[15] See Jerome E. Roos and Leonidas Oikonomakis, 'They Don't Represent Us! The Global Resonance of the Real Democracy Movement from the Indignados to Occupy,' in Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni, eds., *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2014, pp. 117–136.

> where the social division is continued permanently. […] We carry our protest, our civil disobedience and resistance to the residence of the profiteers of the European crisis regime to Frankfurt am Main.

Although mobilising tens of thousands in transnational protests, however, Blockupy did not see a similarly broad coalition to that which characterised European Forums and counter-summits at the beginning of the millennium. EU social policies (or the lack thereof) were also targeted by anti-austerity demonstrations such as the first European Strike promoted in 2013 by trade unions against the austerity imposed by EU institutions. In these and other days of global action the degree of transnational coordination of the protest seemed smaller than for the GJM, for which the World Social Forums and then the macro-regional Social Forum had represented sources of inspiration and offered arenas for networking. The forms of transnational brokerage in the anti-austerity protests then emerged as, if not weaker, at least different: more grassroots, less embedded in formal social movement organisations, and resting more on connections through social networking sites, participatory web platforms, and, to some extent, micro-blogging spheres.

More broadly, in the anti-austerity protests the individuals directly affected by the economic crisis, without previous organisational affiliations, and even 'first comers' in the protest arena acquired a more central role than in the GJM—a trend that also affected transnational activists. Although social movement organisations and groups were also present in these protests,[16] the individual level of participation of common people became a relevant trait of recent mobilisations. The logic of networking in the organisation of mobilisations, which had characterised the intense frame-bridging activities in the GJM, was to some extent overtaken by a logic of aggregation at the individual level of the participants in and the promoters of the protest,[17] who adhered to broad collective frames.

Moreover, processes of cross-national diffusion of protest repertoires were more discontinuous, with several examples of failed diffusion. For instance, even though the frames of the 2011 protests travelled from

[16] Paolo Gerbaudo, *Tweets and the Streets: Social Media and Contemporary Activism*, London: Pluto Press, 2012.

[17] Jeffrey Juris, 'Reflections on #Occupy Everywhere: Social Media, Public Space, and Emerging Logics of Aggregation', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2012, pp. 259–279. doi:10.1111/j.1548-1425.2012.01362.x.

Tunisia to Egypt, and then to Spain, Greece, and the United States, they did not spread to countries such as Germany or France or the United Kingdom;[18] to the Czech republic, where protests were intense but localised;[19] or even to Italy, where protests were present but took different forms.[20] *Acampadas* were organised in Brussels, London, Amsterdam, or Berlin, but their success in mobilisation remained very limited. As Beissinger[21] had observed in his analysis of the breakdown of the Soviet Union, and Bunce and Wolchik[22] in their research on the Orange revolutions, ideas might also spread where conditions are less propitious, but their capacity to produce successful mobilisation is unequal. In fact, a mechanism of assessment of similarities, a condition conducive to cross-national diffusion, can be blocked by structural and cultural differences. In times of socioeconomic strain and political crisis, especially, transnational activists might have limited access to material and symbolic resources.

In particular, when looking at differences in forms of transnationalisation, the GJM can be seen as an example of thick diffusion, based on a global organisational network in which social movement organisations as well as grassroots activist groups had a relevant role in supporting (and spreading) transnational mobilisations such as counter-summits and world social forums. In contrast, the recent wave of protests has been characterised by thin diffusion, as information tended to travel quickly from individual to individual through social media. The ability of single individuals to communicate was therefore important to spreading

[18] Nikos Sotirakopolous and Christopher Rootes, 'Occupy London in International and Local Context,' in Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni, eds., *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2014, pp. 171–192.

[19] Jiří Navratil and Ondřej Císař, 'Towards a "Non-Global Justice Movement"? Two Paths to Re-Scaling the Left Contention in the Czech Republic,' in Donatella della Porta and Alice Mattoni, eds., *Spreading Protest: Social Movements in Times of Crisis*, Colchester, UK: ECPR Press, 2014, pp. 227–252.

[20] della Porta and Andretta, 'Protesting for Justice and Democracy'; Donatella della Porta, Lorenzo Mosca, and Louisa Parks, 'Subterranean Politics and Visible Protest in Italy,' in Mary Kaldor and Sabine Selchow, eds., *Subterranean Politics in Europe*, London: Palgrave, 2015, pp. 60–93.

[21] Mark Beissinger, *Nationalist Mobilization and the Collapse of the Soviet State*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

[22] Valerie Bunce and Sharon Wolchik, *Defeating Authoritarian Leaders*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

the image of a global wave of protest. Even more important than social movement organisations were single activists, who provided web platforms that functioned as aggregators of content. In fact:

> The diffusion of information on the protest was therefore characterised by a weak organisational process of transnationalisation. Occasions for face-to-face communication might have improved in time at the individual level—activists travelling cheaply and often—but collective arenas for transnational encounters, such as the social forum, were less central. Indeed, the protest camps like the Spanish *acampadas* quickly achieved world visibility but were mainly national, if not local, in the range of people involved.[23]

In sum, different contexts brought about different types of transnational activists. The comparison of the GJM at the turn of the millennium with the anti-austerity protests a decade later shows that, rather than a trend towards increasing transnationalisation, there is an alternance of different paths of scale-shifts (downward and upward), different forms of diffusion (thick and thin), and different types of connections (networked versus aggregative).

All these dimensions are in fact linked to different types of transnational activism. Not only can transnational activists be more or less deeply rooted at the local level (following Sidney Tarrow's classification, nesting pigeons or bird of passage), they can also be more or less embedded in associational organisational structures: more or less solitary, moving sometimes in storms but also sometimes alone.[24]

The broad range of examples of forms of transnational activism presented in this volume can further help in singling out important comparative dimensions and classifying them, and also comparatively reflecting on their causes and consequences. As the various historical cases indicate, the cross-national brokerage capacity of transnational activists varies broadly within different contexts, which provide for different opportunities and constraints at the social, political, and cultural levels. Additionally, there is variation in the propensity of different types of transnational activists to perform as translators of movement ideas and thus the type of (thin or thick) diffusion they are able to foster. Indeed,

[23] della Porta and Mattoni, *Spreading Protest*.

[24] Tarrow, *The New Transnational Activism*.

as the case studies collected in this volume clearly indicate, transnational activists can conceive of themselves as testimony (as Roger Casement) or evangelisers (as the Quakers), as anti-colonial symbols (as Gandhi), but also as spreaders of an hegemonic Western culture, as promoters of socialist internationalist or of exclusive nationalist or religious identities. As the editors of this volume stress, transnational activists can be perceived as part of collectives or as individual heroes, developing people-to-people or more institutional connections.

If this collection proofs therefore the usefulness of historical work that also takes into account conceptualisations developed within social movement studies, further collaboration between historians and sociologists could help expand our knowledge on transnational activists. First of all, the collection focuses on some specific parts of the world, illuminating especially the role of transnational activisms in the development of the British empire and of de-colorisation efforts. A comparative analysis with other geographic areas and historical periods—as the ones addressed in these concluding notes—could be useful to link some specific conditions at the macro- and meso-level to the micro-dynamics of activisms. Even within the contemporary period, research in the social sciences has pointed at very different forms of transnationalisation, involving more hierarchically oriented NGOs on the one hand and rather horizontal social movement networks on the other.

More interdisciplinary and cross-time comparison is indeed needed to better conceptualise and investigate the causes and consequences of different transnational activisms and activists. To cultivate this dialogue, some specific skills need to be developed. Just as transnational activists must develop skills in translating different languages, cross-disciplinary research needs scholars capable of translating concepts and ideas. In addition, truly cross-time analyses have been rare, given the differences in the preferred sources and methods. As this volume testifies, however, the awareness of engaging with common topics, such as transnational activism, might help to decrease the risk that much knowledge, useful for various disciplines, is 'lost in translation.'

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