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ERRATA

p 6, para 2, 2nd line from the bottom: "as well as with the theoretical tools" for "as well with as the theoretical tools"

p 75, para 3, 4th line from the bottom: "because it supported" for "because is supported"

p 96, footnote 26, line 3: "The latter established" for "The latter establish", and in the line below "de facto" for "defacto"

p 121, footnote 28, line 6: "Munck" for "Muck"

p 162, para 2, final line: "more profound form of globalization" for "more profound form globalization"

p 193, para 3, line 3: "emphasize that this trend was by no means universal" for "emphasize that this trend that by no means universal"

p.212, line 1: "that were not normally associated with" for "that were not normally associate with"

p 220, para 2, line 6: "chronicle" for "chronicling"

p 220, para 4, second line from the bottom: "code of conduct" for "codes of conduct"

p 221, footnote 127, line 1: "it was the..." for "it were the..."

p 228, para 2, line 6: "brokering a resolution" for "broking a resolution"

p 272, para 2, line 3: "have coordinated" for "have coordinate"

p 275, para 3, line 1: "the state seem to be more evident" for "the state seem to more evident"

p 276, footnote 37, line 6: the date of the Seattle WTO protests should be 1999, not 1996.

p 297, para 2, line 2: "shown that the study" for "shown that the hitherto study"

p 297, para 2, line 7: "in literature concerned with the" for "in literature concerned the"

The Globalization(s) of Organized Labour

1860-2003

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December, 2003

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Abstract

Focusing on the transnational network of labour organizations, this thesis sets out to give meaning to 'globalization' as it relates to agency. Employing a multi-layered analytical framework the thesis sheds light on the network's evolution since 1860. The thesis maps change across various organizational and relational dimensions, and by using two principal indicators – the extent of cross-border integration and the degree of autonomy in relation to the state – it highlights the manner in which organized labour has globalized. Organizationally, the transnational labour network has since the 1860s expanded to all parts of the globe. Its peak bodies have consolidated, and have also been joined by a myriad of regional bodies that now give substance to the network on a vertical plane. While this network continues to represent a loose ensemble of actors, I argue that it is more integrated than ever. Growing integration is facilitated by a network-wide consensus on the virtues of development, the amelioration of the impact of neoliberalism, as well as on the value of new media that allow for detached and symbolic forms of representation. In external relations, however, the thesis argues concurrently that organized labour remains oriented towards the state, considered individually or in the form of inter-governmental organizations. This is in spite of the many indicators suggesting a disengagement of sorts may be occurring. Notions of such disengagement remain heavily qualified, not least because organized labour continues to display a deep unease in its relations within the civil realm – notwithstanding many fleeting interactions with both civil-oppositional and civil-commercial actors. When considered against the criteria used to gauge network globalization we are left with the following conclusion. Just as the transnational network of labour organizations has attained a form of symbolic *integration*, it seems to have also attained a form of symbolic *autonomy*. Symbolic integration is characterized by outspoken advocacy on behalf of trade unions worldwide, even as organized labour strives to maintain relations with the state. This, I argue, makes the process of labour globalization a counterintuitive one: globalization includes a continuing orientation towards the state.

Declaration of authorship

This is to certify that:

1. the thesis comprises only my original work towards the PhD;

2. due acknowledgment has been made in the text to all other material used;

3. the thesis is less than 100,000 worlds in length, exclusive of diagrams, bibliographies, footnotes, and appendices.

5 December, 2003

List of Diagrams

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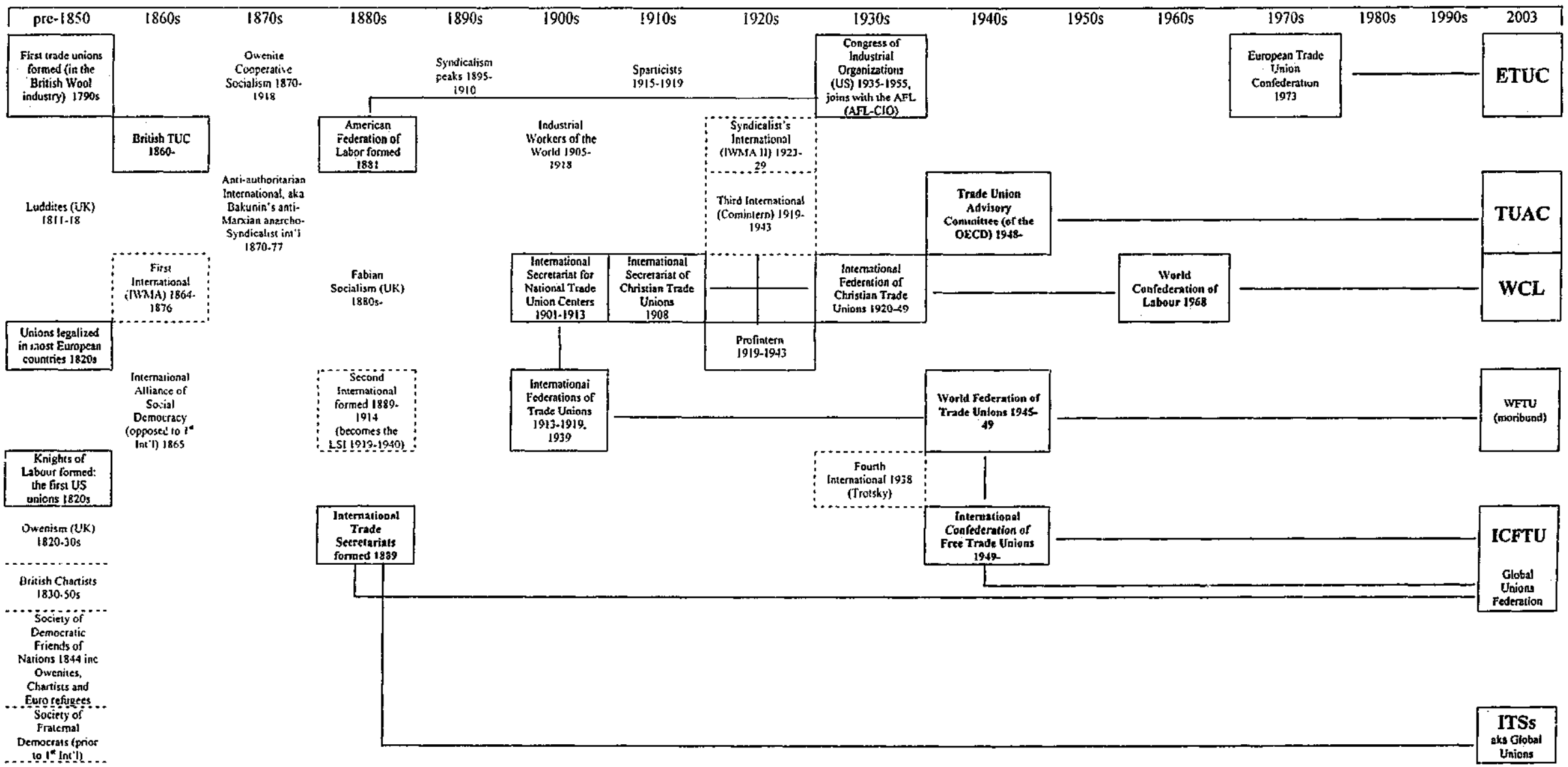
Common abbreviations

AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations. This is the principal national trade union organization in the United States.
AFRO	African Regional Organization. This is the African regional body of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
AIFLD	American Institute for Free Labor Development. This is one of the offshoot bodies of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations.
APRO	Asian and Pacific Regional Organization. This is the Asia-Pacific regional body of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
ARO	Asian Regional Organization. This is the first incarnation of the ICFTU's Asian and Pacific Regional Organization.
AUCCTU	All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. This was the principal national trade union organization of the Soviet Union.
CGIL	Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, or General Confederation of Italian Labour.
CGT	Confédération Générale du Travail, or General Federation of Labour (France).
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions.
CTM	Confederación de Trabajordores de Mexico.
DGB	Deutscher Gewerkschaftsburid, or German Confederation of Trade Unions.
ETUC	European Trade Union Confederation.
EWC	European Works Councils. Products of the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, these are worker-business consultative bodies that multinationals are obligated to maintain in their European operations.
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
ITS	International Trade Secretariats – industry-specific transnational confederations.
LO	Landsorganisationen i Sverige, or Swedish Confederation of Trade Union.
ORIT	Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers. This is the Latin American regional offshoot of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.
Rengo	Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions. The principal national body of Japan.
TUAC	Trade Union Advisory Committee. This is an intermediary body representing trade union interests within the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.
TUC	Trades Union Congress. This is the principal national trade union organization in the United Kingdom.
WCL	World Confederation of Labour.
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions. This had two incarnations with the first lasting until 1949, and the second to the present (though now moribund).

DIAGRAM 1. TRADE UNION AND SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS: AN ORGANIZATIONAL GENEALOGY



SHADED BOXES DENOTE TRADE UNION-SPECIFIC CROSS-BORDER ORGANIZATIONS
OTHER ACTORS INCLUDE CLASS-BASED INTERNATIONALS AND THEIR ANTECEDENTS

INTRODUCTION

THE GLOBALIZATION(S) OF ORGANIZED LABOUR

This thesis explores the labyrinthine world of cross-border trade union relations as they have evolved from the late-nineteenth century to the present. It assesses the significance of change in the configuration and disposition of those trade union bodies that form, collectively, organized labour's transnational advocacy network.[1] By focusing on organized labour I attempt to give meaning to 'globalization' as it relates to agency. More specifically, I address the following question: *how, and to what extent, is the transnational network of labour organizations globalizing?* While elaboration of this question and the assumptions that underpin it will follow, it is enough to say here that this exercise entails an analysis of how this dispersed political community is integrated across national borders, and how its relationship to the state is changing.

The most important finding to emerge from this research is that even though this network has grown more integrated and globally oriented by the decade, it has remained in many ways wedded to forms of political organization premised upon the authority of the state.[2] Put differently, organized labour's globalization – a process evident across the twentieth century – has not entailed an estrangement from the state. Indeed, organized labour remains preoccupied with what will be referred to as the 'state-mediated political realm'. The transnational network, I will suggest, simultaneously looks to expand and integrate across national boundaries, while striving to insinuate itself within established locales of authority.

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[1] It is important to note that in the context of this study the word 'labour' denotes the transnational political community constituted by trade unionists and their representative organizations. These will also be referred to, alternativ , as 'organized labour,' the 'transnational network of labour organizations', the 'transnational network of trade union confederations' and so on. These terms do not refer to the economic and social categories of 'labour' and the 'working-class' *per se*. Within this context 'transnational organizations' are considered to be those bodies whose activities cross national borders and that aspire to a global reach.

[2] A substantial part of this thesis is devoted to ascertaining the extent of what is known as 'statism', as is pertains to organized labour. This entails looking at the extent to which organized labour displays – in varying degrees and combinations – the following inclinations *vis-à-vis* the state: a disposition that privileges order – as defined by governments – over transformative structural change; a disposition that complies with the needs of the state as these pertain to matters of strategic and economic interests; and a disposition that buttresses the authority and integrity of the state. Moreover, it is the belief that most – if not all – social, economic, and political needs can be attained through a certain deference to the authority of government. Here, the idea of the state dominates the imagination, and determines conceptions of what is possible.

But I am aware that such notions, phrased as they are, remain somewhat vague and are in need of clarification. To this end, we digress for a moment and engage with two related narratives: what might be termed the *labourist* and the *globalization* narratives. This short detour will help set the scene for the thesis and also provide an understanding of the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the research that follows. It commences with an overview of the labourist narrative.

For some years, trade unionism has been considered by many to be synonymous with atrophy, reformism, and complicity. Writing in 1986, Alain Touraine proposed that "movements such as unionism have a life history: infancy, youth, maturity, old age and death", and he implied then that trade unionism was indeed nearing its twilight years. Elsewhere, Touraine suggested that while "trade unionism was, at a given time, a social movement; it is now a political force that is necessarily subordinated to political parties and to governments".[3] To a great extent, such jaundiced views assumed common sense status; so much so that for a time 'trade unions' all but disappeared from the index pages of publications across the social sciences, especially – and most bizarrely – from disciplines dedicated to the study of social movements.

In recent years, however, trade union politics – especially as it is manifest in cross-border activism – is once again generating interest. Many labourist accounts are now contemplating the ways in which organized labour has responded to the 'forces of globalization'.[4] In their own ways labour-oriented scholars from across disciplinary divides, as well as practitioners, are addressing the themes evoked by the title of a recent publication, *Rising From the Ashes?: Labor in the Age of "Global" Capitalism*.[5]

Some would say that we are witnessing a transformation wherein labour organizations are increasingly seen to be 'going global'. At first glance this is a curious notion because the trade union movement has always been global. Since the 1860s it has sustained a network of confederations – purporting to represent millions of trade unionists – that long ago extended their reach across all continents, state boundaries, and industrial sectors. In this sense the movement was 'globalized' well before the term became fashionable. Thus, when commentators contemplate a possible sea-change in the movement's orientation, they are pointing towards something more than organizational change.

As well as reflecting on the prevailing theories and strategies underpinning new forms of cross-border activism, many writers consider the obstacles to contemporary forms of labour

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[3] Alain Touraine, "Unionism as a Social Movement", in *Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1986), p. 153, 73.
[4] 'Globalization' remains a contested term. The nature of this contestation will be outlined in subsequent discussion.

internationalism, and why some elements within the transnational network are more amenable to change than others.[6] Some also contemplate organized labour's role in emerging forms of regional and global governance, and the extent to which labour continues to rely upon the state to mediate relations with corporate actors, and those within the world of commerce in general.[7] Other research analyzes the ways in which trade unions, at all levels, are increasingly engaged in "organizing the landscape".[8] This refers to the ways in which organized labour is able to shape the social, economic, and political settings it inhabits.

Implicit in most of this research is an acknowledgment that organized labour constitutes a transnational political community, albeit one that is extremely nebulous. And yet throughout these analyses it also becomes apparent that the language needed to understand change in all aspects of the network's existence seems to be lacking. While the above analyses are evocative, they only give partial and fragmented insights into this community's various layers of existence and interactions. They provide specialized, yet limited, understanding of how this transnational community is constituted, what holds it together, and in what ways it has changed orientation over an extended period of time. Where, then, might we find a language that is able to identify the deeper currents and trajectories at work in this area of politics? For further guidance, we might look to the burgeoning literature on globalization.

The overwhelming majority of writings on globalization can be regarded as structure-focused.[9] By this I mean that most writing on the subject is concerned with the dramatic change wrought on contemporary life by economic, technological, political, and ideological imperatives over which agents have little control. In this sense, writing on globalization often refers to the maelstrom of influences, pressures, and images that are imposed from without, and that must somehow be

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[5] Ellen Meiksins Wood, Peter Meiksins, and Michael Yates, eds, *Rising From the Ashes?: Labor in the Age of "Global" Capitalism* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998).

[6] The following titles are representative of an ever-expanding literature on the subject. Terry Boswell and Dimitris Stevis, "Globalization and International Labor Organizing", *Work and Occupations* 24, 3 (1997), Barry Carr, "Labour Internationalism and the North American Free Trade Agreement", in *Protest and Globalisation*, ed. James Goodman (Sydney: Pluto, 2002), Jeffrey Harrod and Robert O'Brien, eds, *Global Unions? Theory and Strategies of Organized Labour in the Global Political Economy, Ripe Series in Global Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2002), Ronaldo Munck, *Globalisation and Labour: The New 'Great Transformation'* (London: Zed Books, 2002), Peter Waterman, "The New Social Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order", in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, eds. Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (London: MacMillan, 1999).

[7] Robert O'Brien et al, *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), Jane Wills, "Great Expectations: Three Years in the Life of One EWC", (2000), Jane Wills, "Taking on the Cosmocorps: Experiments in Transnational Labor Organization", *Economic Geography* 74 (1998).

[8] Andrew Herod, "Labor Unions and the Making of Economic Geographies", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998); Andrew Herod, *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

[9] Clear distinctions between theoretical approaches are notoriously difficult to maintain. I rely on such categorization here while readily acknowledging that a great deal of overlap and common ground exist between all the authors I cite in this way.

endured, accommodated, or resisted. Central to all this is the notion of immediacy; that is, of the compression of time and space as it pertains to interaction and engagement with the distant. Opinions here are often divided over whether such structural imperatives are epoch-changing (for good or bad) or whether their effects are wildly exaggerated. Irrespective, such writing invariably focuses attention on changes that are forced on traditional centers of authority, as well as on established societal forms. This tendency is manifest, for instance, in the ever-expanding literature focusing on the fate of the state, and the tenuous nature of its conceptual bedrock, sovereignty.[10]

Of central importance to what might be regarded as agency-focused globalization analyses is how agents' relationships with these centers of authority are changing given the prevailing structural imperatives. Often identifiable by the use of the phrase 'globalization-from-below', this agency-focused approach usually entails analysis of the ways in which the most vulnerable actors react to – indeed, resist – economic, technological, political, and ideological imperatives bearing down upon them.[11] In essence, a correspondence is established in this writing between agents and structures. Such theorizing is increasingly evident in the discipline of *international relations* and its related fields. It is also featuring as a common theme in some of the more recent contributions to the labourist theorizing mentioned above.

Agency-focused globalization analyses are relevant to studies of class conflict, and of resistance to structural violence in general. They are especially interesting because they often focus on the ways in which agents – in times of upheaval – manoeuvre in the face of established or emerging centers of power, authority, and control. They also prompt us to contemplate the ways in which agents re-orient themselves in relation to the particular – whether manifest in the locale of the state, or in the more abstract form of the nation – as well as how they interact with the distant and unfamiliar. Moreover, agency-focused analyses provide a convenient link to research that explores the emergence of what has come to be known as the *global civil society*.[12]

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[10] The following scholars approach the notion of globalization using structural imperatives as their point of departure. Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1992), Philip G. Cerny, "Globalization and the Changing Logic of Collective Action", *International Organization*, 49, 4 (1995), Ian R. Douglas, "Globalization and the Retreat of the State", in *Globalization and the Politics of Resistance*, ed. Barry K. Gills (London: MacMillan, 2000), Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-Identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), Barry R.J. Jones, "Globalization in Perspective", in *Globalization and Its Critics: Perspectives from Political Economy*, ed. Randall D. Germain (New York: St.Martins Press, 2000), Jan Aart Scholte, "Globalization: Prospects for a Paradigm Shift", in *Politics and Globalization: Knowledge, Ethics and Agency*, ed. Martin Shaw (London: Routledge, 1999). In spite of the similarities mentioned here, these authors also differ in significant respects. These differences would require detailed examination in a study dedicated to the understanding of theories of globalization.

[11] Representatives of this perspective include the following. Stephen Castles, "Globalization from Below", *Arena Magazine* 2000, Ian Clark, *Globalization and International Relations Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999); Richard Falk, "Resisting 'Globalization-from-above' through 'Globalization-from-Below'", in *Globalization and the Politics of Resistance*, ed. Barry K. Gills (London: MacMillan, 2000), Allen Hunter, "Globalization from Below? Promises and Perils of the New Internationalism", *Social Policy* 25, 4 (1995), Alexander Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", *International Organization* 46, 2 (1992).

[12] This is a concept that will be discussed in some length in subsequent chapters.

Of what relevance are these labourist and globalization narratives? How can they be used to clarify earlier comments made in relation to the globalization of organized labour? Derived from these narratives are a number of theoretical assumptions that I will rely upon to underpin the entire project. Without pre-empting the material layed out in the methodology chapter that follows, I set out now to explain the nature of these assumptions, and how they relate to the question and proposition featured at the outset of this introductory section.

Firstly, the above has shown that, notwithstanding quite profound internal heterogeneity, the transnational network of labour organizations can indeed be regarded as a distinct political community, and one that has been in a state of flux for many decades. Secondly, these narratives suggest that a key to understanding the ways in which actors of this sort react to structural imperatives is to understand how their relationships with traditional centers of authority have been affected. Lastly, these narratives show that the malleability of the concept of 'globalization' opens up interesting possibilities for studies of this kind. Specifically, I believe they show that it is legitimate to employ the term 'globalize' as a verb; that is, as a *practice* engaged in by actors. In other words, globalization can be used, on the one hand, to refer to the ways and extent to which agents become globally integrated; and on the other, to their relative estrangement from traditional centers of authority.

By incorporating these important assumptions it is then possible to speak plausibly of change throughout a diverse and extended political community across time and space. Such an approach enables the research to focus on what Walker refers to as the "politics of connection" and the "politics of movement".[13] The former refers to the significance of both internal and external interactions, while the latter is concerned with the fluid nature of such relations and practices. Both, according to Walker, relate to change as it occurs across the political and civil divide.

With all this in mind, we can now return to the question posed at the outset – *how, and to what extent, is the transnational network of labour organizations globalizing?* As already noted, this question turns on the notions of integration across national boundaries, and of changing relations with established forms of political authority. In the research that follows I will reflect on these notions by focusing on indicators such as organizational configuration, prevailing interests and ideologies, the network's disposition towards the state, and its relations with civil society actors that are, by definition, less enamoured of the authority of the state.[14]

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[13] R.B.J Walker, "Social Movements/World Politics", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 23, 3 (1994), p. 699.
[14] To reiterate, great care will be taken to clarify these theoretical considerations in subsequent chapters.

The preceding reflections also allow for greater elaboration of the proposition made at the outset. What this proposition contends, in essence, is that the vast transnational constellation of trade union organizations has in certain ways become more integrated and outward-looking; an orientation founded on a growing consensus over a range of interests and ideologies. In spite of this – and somewhat paradoxically – the globalization of organized labour has not necessarily undermined the network's fixation with forms of governance and political organization premised upon the authority of the state.

The final task of this introductory section is to outline the structure of the entire project (Diagram Two, on the following page, provides an overview of this structure). The thesis involves a review of changes that have impacted on the transnational network of labour organizations from 1860 to the present. It will be separated into four parts, each containing two chapters. The parts will focus on the periods 1860-1939, 1945-72, 1972-89, and 1989-2003. The entire study – from 1860 to the present – has been partitioned in such a way as to acknowledge watershed developments that influenced trade union affairs within and across national borders. For example, the 1860-1939 period was notable for the emergence of various 'internationals' that purported to represent workers across national borders. It was also notable, of course, for severe depressions, for the emergence of fascism, and for the conflagrations of 1914 and then 1940. The 1945-72 period was notable for the frenetic post-war reconstruction, for the use of Fordist production methods, and for the gradual integration of world markets under the auspices of a number of inter-governmental organizations. The period that follows – 1972-89 – was marked not only by a series of economic downturns, but by the unravelling of the Soviet empire, the gradual demise of the welfare state, and the rise to prominence of the highly dynamic and integrated multinational corporation. It was also marked by the rise of neoliberal free-market ideology and post-Fordist production methods. The final period to be assessed – 1989-2003 – provides insights into labour affairs in a post-Cold War, post-Fordist, world marked by the phenomenon of turbo-capitalism. Chapters contained within these parts will be dedicated to the internal and external dimensions of movement change. Preceding Part One – 1860-1939 – is the methodology chapter. It is here we become acquainted with the relevant literature – and its shortcomings – as well with as the theoretical tools to be employed throughout the remainder of the thesis.

DIAGRAM 2. THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

INTRO	METHOD	PART 1: 1860-1939	PART 2: 1945-72	PART 3: 1972-89	PART 4: 1989-2002	CONC
	Review of existing literature	CONTEXT	CONTEXT	CONTEXT	CONTEXT	
		On the prevailing structural imperatives →				
		CHAPTER ONE	CHAPTER THREE	CHAPTER FIVE	CHAPTER SEVEN	
		On the nature of internal organizational change →				
	The method outlined	On the nature of internal integrative change →				
		CHAPTER TWO	CHAPTER FOUR	CHAPTER SIX	CHAPTER EIGHT	
		On the nature of engagement with the external 'political' realm →				
		On the nature of engagement with the external 'civil' realm →				

THE SEARCH FOR A METHOD

LITERATURE REVIEW

This section is concerned with the search for a methodological framework that will enable us to achieve a number of objectives. In broad terms this framework must be capable of conceiving of the transnational network of labour organizations in its totality – as a political community in its own right. It should help us view this community not only as a conglomeration of organizations, but also as a unique set of relationships, interests, and political practices. While the chosen method must acknowledge the importance of different national contexts, it should not be encumbered by a statist discourse.

More specifically, this project requires a methodology that can shed light on the network's internal and external relations as they have evolved within distinct historical periods. This means, initially, being able to identify change within various ontological dimensions intrinsic to the political community in question. It means having the ability to give definition to the organizational configuration of the network, as well as to internal relationships, interests, and ideological dispositions. Much – though not all – of what we learn about the network's integration would be gained through these insights. The method sought should also enable us to map change in the network's external relations. This means being able to map the historical evolution of a movement that – notwithstanding its organizational looseness – straddles the national and global, as well as the political and civil realms.[1] A method is required that can plot the intensity of engagement with non-labour actors from the worlds of conventional politics – premised on the authority of the state – as well as with those from the civil realm. From this we would learn much about the network's propensity to bypass traditional centers of authority. Once established such a method will help identify changes in the ways in which the transnational labour movement has integrated, and the ways in which it has asserted its autonomy in relation to the state. In short, it will identify the ways in which organized labour has globalized over a period spanning more than 140 years.

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[1] The 'civil' and 'political' dualism is, of course, a concept that has not gone unchallenged. The nature of the criticisms and debates will be the subject of some discussion as this chapter unfolds. Clarification on the meanings ascribed to the terms within this thesis will also follow.

In what follows I review literature that contemplates change as it relates to non-state actors. The principal aim here is to acquire the methodological tools needed to conduct the research. I begin with an assessment of labour-specific literature, and then move onto research that is concerned with the study of social and political movements in general, especially as they are manifest across national borders. At the conclusion of this review it will become apparent that no existing methodological approach satisfies all the requirements listed above. However, while no single approach seems appropriate, many scholars contribute insights that help us construct a framework that will, I believe, be suited to the task at hand. That framework will be outlined in the latter part of this chapter. For now, we concentrate on a review of existing approaches.

REVIEWING EXISTING APPROACHES

Labour-specific research perspectives

It is perhaps unwise to speak of any discipline as being homogenous in terms of underlying concerns or methodological approaches. However, it is safe to say that the field of *industrial and labour relations* is primarily concerned with comparisons and evaluations of the systems of labour regulation in different countries. Central to studies of this sort are the structures through which trade unions, businesses, and governments interact: these include systems of collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, and contractual relations.[2] Studies of this sort often appear within the context of what has come to be known as the *convergence-divergence* debate.[3] Research here focuses on whether national systems of employment relations are conforming to a common worldwide model.[4] Within this comparative approach there is also a great deal of material concerned with the fate of trade unionism in various national settings. Of specific concern is the fluctuating 'density' of membership and strategies for trade union survival.[5] These studies tend to be well grounded empirically, and their findings represent a sobering reminder of how diverse the

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[2] See, for example, Wolfgang Streeck, ed. *Social Institutions and Economic Performance: Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Economies* (London: Sage, 1992) and Robin Cohen, "Theorising International Labour", in *International Labour and the Third World: The Making of a New Working Class*, eds. Rosalind E. Boyd, Robin Cohen, and Peter C. W. Gutkind (Aldershot: Gower Publishing, 1987), pp. 4-8.

[3] Roger Smith, "The Convergence/Divergence Debate in Comparative Industrial Relations", in *European Trade Unions: Change and Response*, eds. Mike Rigby, Roger Smith, and Teresa Lawlor (London: Routledge, 1999).

[4] Peter Lange, Michael Wallerstein, and Miriam Golden, "The End of Corporatism? Wage Setting in the Nordic and Germanic Countries", in *The Workers of Nations: Industrial Relations in a Global Economy*, eds. Sanford M. Jacoby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) and Peter Lange, "Unions, Workers and Wage Regulation: The Rational Base of Consent", in *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, ed. John H Goldthorpe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984).

[5] See Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997) and Andrew J. Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics* (London: MacMillan, 1989). These studies focus on the qualities that distinguish various Western labour movements, and the potential for renewal within their given political, economic, and social settings. See also J. Samuel Valenzuela, "Labour Movements and Political Systems: Some Variations", in *The Future of Labour Movements*, ed. Marino Regini (London: Sage, 1992), and Marino Regini, ed. *The Future of Labour Movements* (London: Sage, 1992). For an interesting insight into the nature of this

world of trade unionism is, in spite of the common-sense observations pointing towards greater homogenization in recent times.

Notwithstanding the valuable insights gleaned from work of this sort, there are inherent shortcomings, especially for one looking to map change on a macro level. Such research proceeds with the implied assumption that the multitude of national trade union bodies do not together constitute a transnational political community. Put differently, the primary subject in such research is the *national* organization – and its local affiliates – thought of as an actor contained within the boundaries of the state. The labour organizations considered are understood only in a context of instrumental action in relation to the political processes of individual states. In short, these approaches do not consider the transnational labour movement in its totality.

Beyond these somewhat technocratic interpretations of labour-state relations, there exists research that is descendant from the orthodox Left. In stark contrast to the preceding perspectives these approaches view 'labour' as a broad socio-economic category, as well as a political agent. Here labour is situated within over-arching and all-determining economic structures where the authority of the state is considered secondary. And here notions of conflict, struggle, and power provide the context for research. Normative concerns necessarily figure in this research, and the tone frequently is of a lament at organized labour's demise as a progressive force in contemporary political, economic, and social relations. The following overviews are of research that exemplify this perspective.

Samples of this approach can be found in an edited collection by Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes and Hans de Witte.[6] Contributors to this volume analyze the significance of ideology in the formation and practices of trade unions. Some express these ideological divisions in terms of group cleavages. Ebbinghaus' research within the Western European context highlights ideological cleavages within labour movements along the following "political" axes: class/capital, church/state, and revolutionary/reformist. Ebbinghaus also identifies what he calls "functional" cleavages that have groups coalescing around ideas associated with craft/industry, blue/white-collar, and public/private divisions.[7] To all these are added cleavages related to communitarian (based on ethnic exclusion) and gender-based differences.[8] Through such work we are acquainted

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comparative approach, refer to Richard Hyman, "Trade Union Research and Cross-National Comparison", *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 7, 2 (2001).

[6] Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte, *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, vol. Two: Significance of Ideology in European Trade Unionism (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996).

[7] Bernhard Ebbinghaus, "From Ideology to Organization: The Transformation of Political Unionism in Western Europe", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), pp. 34-37.

[8] For more on the issue of immigrant exclusion refer to Albert Martens, "Trade Unions and Migrant Workers in Europe: A Changing Ideology as a Reflection of Variable Principles", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology*

with the myriad of ideological tendencies that serve to shape the world(s) of trade unionists. Ultimately, the consensus within this and similar scholarship is that while we must acknowledge the "all-embracing significance of...states for the development of the trade union movement",[9] it would be incorrect to reduce the movement's "ideological origins" to one factor alone.[10] While most of this research centers on the relationship between organized labour and the state, the emphasis on ideology introduces a dimension lacking in those approaches that focus on industrial relations *per se*.[11]

In general, this body of literature provides valuable insights into ways of analyzing the influence of nationalism, religion, feminism, and corporatism. It also highlights the importance of cultural determinants in the formation of labour's organizational and political disposition. Unfortunately, it also represents a somewhat piecemeal approach – often limited to the European setting – in which no clear consensus emerges as to the meaning of ideology, let alone its effects.[12] This approach does well to confront the notion of ideology, but does so in a disjointed manner that fails to explore ideology as it relates to the transnational network of labour organizations. In addition, approaches of this sort do not pay due regard to the interplay of systems of ideas; rather, they tend to limit their analyses to discussion about the significance of separate and distinct ideologies.

Other works dwell on the strategic alignments between labour organizations and states. The most useful accounts of this sort are not those that simply describe the various allegiances that develop, but those that analyze the debilitating effect this polarization had on labour.[13] Of these Sims and

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and Social Action in the New Europe, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996). Pasture's excellent essay on the gender divisions within the labour movement is also very illuminating. See Patrick Pasture, "Feminine Intrusions in a Culture of Masculinity", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996).

[9] Patrick Pasture, "Conclusion: Reflections on the Fate of Ideologies and Trade Unions", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), p. 395.

[10] Ibid., p. 387.

[11] For example, the vexed question of nationalism is confronted. Pasture and Verberckmoes reflect on this form of attachment and arrive at a more sanguine conclusion than many. In their view labour's nationalist attachments to the state have been driven not simply by blind communitarianism and parochialism, but by the belief that national self-determination – and hence statehood – represents a bulwark against imperialism. Moreover, they argue that labour's support for the welfare state was seen as not only a way of safeguarding social benefits, but as a stepping stone to achieving transformation to a more progressive form of social organization. Forman also connects with this thesis by arguing that to some extent labour – and the Left in general – bonded with the state because the notion of the liberal state represented a cosmopolitan ideal, and not a provincial, particularistic trap. See Patrick Pasture and John Verberckmoes, "Working-Class Internationalism and the Appeal of National Identity: Historical Dilemmas and Current Debates in Western Europe", in *Working-Class Internationalism and the Appeal of National Identity: Historical Debates and Current Perspectives*, eds. Patrick Pasture and John Verberckmoes (Oxford: Berg, 1998), pp. 12-13, and Michael Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998).

[12] This confusion is explored in the concluding essay. See Pasture, "Conclusion: Reflections on the Fate of Ideologies and Trade Unions".

[13] Gary K. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London: The MacMillan, 1983), Alex Pravda, "Trade Unions in East European Communist Systems: Toward Corporatism?", *International Political Science Review* 4, 2 (1983), Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Trade Union Imperialism: American Labour, the ICFTU and the Kenyan Labour Movement", *Social and Economic Studies*, 36, 2 (1987). John E. Kelly, *Trade Unions and Socialist Politics* (London:

Spalding stand out. Their research looks at the nature and repercussions of the symbiotic relationship existing between the American labour movement and successive American governments. This material focuses on labour politics within an overall context of superpower rivalry, and tends to highlight the various actors' instrumental behaviour. While the concept of ideology is raised, it is understood narrowly to mean the contending ideological programs of superpower antagonists. Furthermore, perspectives such as these tend to extrapolate too much from the experiences of the most influential – Westernized – labour movements.[14] Moreover, organized labour is often depicted as a malleable and compliant instrument of state.

Research that attempts to analyze the way trade union organizations change on a global scale began to emerge in the 1950s. Lorwin's seminal work in this area draws strength from its excellent historical narrative but is, understandably, weighed down by a preoccupation with the Cold War animosities that loomed large over organized labour at the time.[15] Similarly, Busch's research explores the complex world of labour-state relations – or what he calls the "labour-government nexus" – during the Cold War.[16] Though his work is statist by definition, it is exceptional because it includes in its scope labour-state relations within the African, Asian, and Latin American contexts.

Unlike Lorwin and Busch, Windmuller's contribution focuses almost exclusively on the organizational configuration of the transnational labour network, paying little regard to the politics of state. In this respect it departs from statist perspectives. Perhaps reflecting the conventions of his own discipline – *international labour law* – Windmuller's major work is a dry dissection of the organizations that together constitute the transnational labour movement.[17] No theoretical objective drives this work; rather, it serves to provide an accurate map showing where the constituent organizations are situated in relation to one another. This approach does not provide a way of viewing, much less understanding, changing trends relating to the entire network's interests and practices. Indeed, it is unsuitable for our purposes because of this lack of abstraction.

Also of relevance to a review of this sort is research that analyzes organized labour's external relations as they extend beyond the state. For this reason the work of Levison, Weinberg, Bendiner,

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Verso, 1988), Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: South End Press, 1992). Hobart A. Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", *Science and Society*, 56, 4 (1992-1993).

[14] This is an issue that should, quite properly, concern any researcher engaged in transnational social studies.

[15] Lewis L. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953).

[16] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*.

[17] J. P. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* (London: Kluwer, 1980). An updated, if abridged, version of this work was published in 1998. See J. P. Windmuller and S.K. Pursey, "The International Trade Union Movement", in *Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations in Industrial Market Economies*, eds. R. Blanpain and C. Engels (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998).

and Enderwick is worthy of note.[18] In their own ways these writers look at the re-configuration of labour organizations as they have responded to dramatic change in the global economy since the 1960s. Specifically, they focus on labour's relationship to the multinational corporation in what I refer to in subsequent discussion as the *civil-commercial realm.*[19] At a time when the notions of 'capital mobility' and the 'new international division of labour'[20] were entering the lexicon, these writers began to look at the international trade union movement against a background of global change. Their research focused mainly on organizational change within the labour movement, as well as on emerging formal mechanisms designed to mediate relations between organized labour and the world of global commerce.[21] These researchers also shared a similar approach in so far as they concentrated on shifts in the labour network's center of gravity; that is, on the possibility of a move away from the national, and to the global, civil-commercial plane.[22] Though much can be gleaned from such research, it remains somewhat limited due to its focus on the global, commercial spheres. Our requirements demand a method that takes into view a wider range of dimensions and interactions; one that can also penetrate the national and regional levels of engagement.

In more recent times research has emerged assessing the transnational labour network's capacity to withstand contemporary 'globalizing' forces. As a former senior staff member of one of the largest industry-specific International Trade Secretariats,[23] Denis MacShane was well placed to comment on such change. In a 1992 article he argued that transnational confederations comprising only *national* affiliates were far less effective than other forms of union representation.[24] The 'other forms' he is referring to are the European Union's Works Councils, the International Trade Secretariats' World Company Councils, and the trade secretariats themselves.[25] What is most interesting about MacShane's approach is that it also highlights shifts in the balance between the constituent parts of the global network of labour organizations.[26]

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[18] Charles Levinson, *International Trade Unionism* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972). Paul J. Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals* (New York: Praeger, 1978). Burton Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987). Peter Enderwick, *Multinational Business and Labour* (Sydney: Croom Helm, 1985).

[19] This concept will be clarified as this chapter progresses.

[20] See F. Frobel, J. Heinrichs, and O. Kreye, *The New International Division of Labour: Structural Unemployment in Industrialised Countries and Industrialisation in Developing Countries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[21] An example is the research conducted by Levinson and Bendiner on attempts to institute transnational collective bargaining agreements. This was one of the first studies to eschew a statist discourse when analyzing cross-border labour affairs.

[22] Weinberg's comments are indicative: "National authority is losing its position as the primary source of trade union interest". Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals*, p. 93.

[23] The International Metalworkers Federation. These are peak confederations that represent trade unions within the same industrial sector, as opposed to trade unions gathered beneath a national banner.

[24] Denis MacShane, "The New International Working Class and Its Organizations", *New Politics* 4, 1 (1992).

[25] More detailed explanations of these organizational forms will follow. It is important to note only that the organizations mentioned here are not nation-oriented; rather, they are dedicated to certain multinational corporations or industrial sectors.

[26] His suggestion that the trade secretariats – along with other industry-specific mediums – will play a crucial role catches the eye because it indicates that organizations further removed from the state may be gaining in prominence.

MacShane's observations in many regards resonate with the work of Breitenfellner. Writing in 1997 Breitenfellner reflected on organized labour's response to dramatic change. His *Global Unionism: A Potential Player*[27] has become an oft-cited work that increases our understanding of what such change has meant to labour. Like MacShane, he notes the recent ascendancy of the industry-specific trade secretariats as well as the renewed efforts on the part of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions[28] to strengthen and/or supplement International Labour Organization conventions. This is significant because it explores organized labour's participation within well-established inter-governmental fora that are premised on the authority of the state.[29] The research undertaken by MacShane and Brientenfellner continues the trend identified earlier, one that establishes the global arena – whether in political or civil manifestations – as critically important for those studying contemporary labour affairs. But like so many of the approaches reviewed thus far, these are partial explorations. The concept of ideology is neglected, as is any analysis of changes to the movement's internal forms of representation and integration.

The work of Waterman and Moody goes some way towards addressing the latter concern. Their research provides more specific accounts of how organized labour's internal and external relationships are being re-shaped. Less emphasis is placed on labour-state relations, with more attention given to the interaction between traditional labour organizations and the burgeoning community of social movements.[30] Both Waterman and Moody develop the concept of *social-movement unionism*. Their writing points to the spread of hybrid forms of cross-border political activity, and is highly suspicious of the traditional forms of representation offered by both nationally oriented and industry-specific labour confederations. Waterman's reflections on the poor standing of the nation-oriented confederations is very illuminating.[31] Suffice to say, he underscores a widely held belief that such peak bodies are tainted by their close affinity with governments.[32] He

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[27] Andreas Breitenfellner, "Global Unionism: A Potential Player", *International Labour Review* 136, 4 (1997).

[28] This has emerged as the principal nation-oriented transnational confederation. It figures as a central player throughout this thesis.

[29] Breitenfellner also alludes to the point raised above by MacShane. Unfortunately, he only provides thought-provoking snippets of the following sort: "In contrast to the labour diplomacy conducted by the political factions [those affiliates of the ICFTU with closer connections to states], the constructive activity of the ITSs in co-ordinating national strategies may have paved the way for global unionism"; or "Should the inter*national* [emphasis added] proclivity gain ascendancy, a new system of international relations would become essential – one in which the International Trade Secretariats might truly act as front-line organizations". Breitenfellner, "Global Unionism: A Potential Player", p. 544 and 48.

[30] Peter Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (London: Mansell, 1998), Waterman, "The New Social Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order"., Peter Waterman, "Social Movement Unionism: A New Model for a New World Order", *Review* 16, 3 (1993). Kim Moody, "American Labor: A Movement Again?", in *Rising from the Ashes?: Labor in the Age of "Global" Capitalism*, eds. Ellen Meiksins Wood, Peter Meiksins, and Michael Yates (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1998), Kim Moody, "Towards an International Social-Movement Unionism", *New Left Review* 225 (1997), Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997).

[31] In a series of articles and books, Waterman focuses on the tensions between the more progressive labour bodies – for example, South Africa's Congress of South African Trade Unions – and the reformist International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Peter Waterman, "The ICFTU in SA: Admissions, Revelations, Silences", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 17, 3 (1993).

[32] See also Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms*, Peter Waterman, *Labour and Globalization: The Dialogue of Which Millennium?* [Internet] (Labour Media, 1999 [accessed 13/6/02 2002]); available from http://lmedia.nodong.net/1999/archive/e14.htm, Peter Waterman, "New Labour Internationalism: What Content and

foresees the growth of a more unconstrained form of trade union activism, one that is less encumbered by obligations to state.

Such reflections imply a sea-change in the fundamental composition and disposition of organized, transnational labour. Indeed, it is research of this sort that makes a study of contemporary trade unionism so compelling. Once again, however, we are left with tantalizing vignettes rather than an all-encompassing review of changes occurring across the spectrum of trade union activity. Missing, for example, is analysis of the ways in which organized labour is engaging with inter-governmental organizations. Nor does this approach extend to the formal engagement between organized labour and the world of corporate capital.[33]

Nevertheless, the emphasis these authors place on agency is important. Other research stressing this notion can be found in what at first seems an unlikely quarter. Between 1994 and 1998 Andrew Herod, an urban geographer, wrote a series of articles and edited a collection of works that shifted attention onto what for many had become a forgotten actor. His lament about "Worker's Theoretical (In)Visibility" was aimed at an audience of urban geographers, but may just as well have been directed to scholars in *political science*, *sociology* and, especially, *international relations*.[34] The main culprits for this invisibility, according to Herod, are Marxist and neoliberal theorists; those that have been fixated on the movement of capital and the way it shapes the landscape, while remaining blind to organized labour's ability to do likewise.[35]

Increasingly, this lament features as a standard preface to any work on global labour.[36] Herod's work stands out not only because it calls for a correction to this problem, but because he focuses on the dynamics of change in the world of contemporary labour within and across borders. His collection of essays, entitled *Organizing the Landscape*, provides a refreshing view of organized labour as it straddles state borders.[37] These essays explore the proposition that trade union organizations are no longer "spatially fixed".[38] Herod's work is valuable in so far as it stresses the

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What Form?", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 16, 2 (1991), Peter Waterman, *Time for the ICFTU to Move from Anti-Social (Inter) National Partnerships to a Real Global Social Partnership?* [Web] (Global Solidarity Dialogue, 2000 [accessed 28/6/2000 2000]); available from http://www.antenna.nl/~waterman/tobjordan.html.

[33] By 'formal' I mean those evolving quasi-legal mechanisms designed to mediate relationships between capital and labour at the global level.

[34] Andrew Herod, "On Worker's Theoretical (in)Visibility in the Writing of Critical Urban Geography: A Comradely Critique", *Urban Geography*, 15, 7 (1994).

[35] Andrew Herod, "From a Geography of Labor to a Labor Geography: Labor's Spatial Fix and the Geography of Capitalism", *Antipode*, 29, 1 (1997).

[36] See for example André C Drainville, "Left Internationalism and the Politics of Resistance in the New World Order", in *A New World Order: Global Transformations in the Late Twentieth Century*, eds. David A. Smith and József Böröcz (London: Greenwood Press, 1995), and Glenn Adler, "Global Restructuring and Labor: The Case of the South African Trade Union Movement", in *Globalization: Critical Reflections*, ed. James H. Mittelman (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1996).

[37] Herod, *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*.

[38] Andrew Herod, "The Geostrategics of Labor in Post-Cold War Eastern Europe: An Examination of the Activities of the International Metalworkers' Federation", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*,

importance of labour mobility, as well as of capital mobility. It has a contemporary focus and takes into account the impact of structural imperatives that are usually conflated within the term 'globalization'.

Another urban geographer, Jane Wills, focuses on change as it relates to organized labour's external and internal relations.[39] Her research includes observations of the following, suggestive, kind: "the role of the international trade union movement may be re-figured away from vertical representation toward the coordination and management of a network of trade unionists stretching across the global economy".[40] An intriguing question arises from this notion: what form of integrative and constitutive relationships would emerge in such a re-configured transnational labour movement? As in most of the scholarship reviewed thus far, the strength of the approaches adopted within *urban geography* derives from its ability to identify change in an all-but-forgotten field of study. However, its weakness lies in the absence of a framework that can conceive of the movement in its totality, or one that can map change across the spectrum of internal and external dimensions of interaction over an extended period of time.

One could expand this survey of labour-specific commentaries to include the work of Stevis and Boswell, Hyman, Carr, Kidder and McGinn *et al.*[41] Their contributions are also representative of a recent wave of labour-related commentary appearing in journals across disciplines in the social sciences.[42] Also omitted from this survey – but for a different reason – is that body of work that tends to conflate the categories of 'workers', the 'working-class', and 'trade unions'. I am referring here to such authors as Drainville, Wallerstein, Arrighi, Hopkins, Zolberg and Tilly. While no

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ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). The article that was of most interest in this collection was *The Geostrategics of Labor in Post-Cold War Eastern Europe*. This piece focused on the withdrawal of the state from a sector – labour relations – over which it had hitherto asserted almost total control. The collapse of these centrally planned economies meant that state supported union federations began to disintegrate after being left to fend for themselves. Moreover, Herod considers the various actors that moved to fill the void. Among these were the trade secretariats.

[39] Jane Wills, "Geographies of Trade Unionism: Translating Traditions across Space and Time", *Antipode*, 28, 4 (1996), Jane Wills, "Space, Place, and Tradition in Working-Class Organization", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), Wills, "Taking on the Cosmocorps: Experiments in Transnational Labor Organization". Wills focuses primarily on the nature of change in mediating structures such as the European Works Councils. Products of the Maastricht Treaty of 1991, these are also attempts at institutionalising worker representation at an industry level. Though the focus here is on Europe, Wills provides a good account of the way 'globalization' is impacting on labour generally, as well as the latter's responses.

[40] Wills, "Taking on the Cosmocorps: Experiments in Transnational Labor Organization", p. 127.

[41] See also Ralph Armbruster, "Cross-Border Labor Organizing in the Garment and Automobile Industries: The Phillips Van-Heusen and Ford Cuautitlan Cases", *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 4, 1 (1998), Barry Carr, "Globalisation from Below: Labour Internationalism under NAFTA", *International Social Science Journal*, 159, March (1999), Richard Hyman, "National Industrial Relations Systems and Transnational Challenges: An Essay in Review", *European Journal of International Relations*, 5, 1 (1999), Thalia Kidder and Mary McGinn, "In the Wake of NAFTA: Transnational Workers Networks", *Social Policy*, 25, 4 (1995), Dimitris Stevis and Terry Boswell, "Labour: From National Resistance to International Politics", *New Political Economy*, 2, 1 (1997).

[42] Indeed, a good snapshot of this type of exchange is contained within a single 1998 edition of the *Journal of World Systems Research* (vol. 4, no. 1). Here, a forum was convened with contributions from Bonacich, Armbruster, Nash, Clawson and Silver. It soon becomes apparent that these writers provide useful, yet very partial, analyses of the labour-state nexus. Their's is a somewhat formulaic approach that usually bemoans the impact of globalization, reviews labour

doubt their insights will prove indispensable, they pay insufficient attention to the organizational dimensions of the movement under consideration here. Put differently, a high degree of reductionism in this work means that the global network of labour organizations does not figure as a subject in its own right.[43]

Much of this labour-specific research is very interesting. Each perspective provides some insight into internal organizational change, as well as into the world of labour politics as it is played out at the intersections of the political-civil and national-global. Lacking though, is a single theoretically coherent framework that might enable us to explore change across the entire movement in all these spheres and over an extended period of time. Strangely, a way out of such an impasse can be found in disciplines that have paid little attention to organized labour. Among these non-labour-specific areas are *sociology* – or more specifically, *social movement theory* – and fields associated with the discipline of *international relations*.[44] A brief review of these offerings precedes an outline of the methodological framework to be employed throughout this thesis.

Social movement theorizing within and beyond the state

As a branch of *sociology*, *social movement theory* since the late 1960s has concerned itself with not only how, but why social movements emerge. From the 'American tradition' of *social movement theory* there emerged what came to be known as the *collective behaviour, resource mobilization* and, more recently, the *political process* approaches.[45] As della Porta and Diani suggest, these approaches have been more concerned with the 'how' of social movement emergence and activity. For example, the *collective behaviour* approach has a tendency to view social movements as symptoms of external structural phenomena. Writing here emphasizes the conditions that give rise to such contrary movements. The focus of attention is placed on actors' response to the breakdown of traditional mechanisms of societal integration. Critics of the collective behaviour approach argue

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responses to it, notes in passing the growing cooperation between progressive social movements and labour, then implicitly or explicitly exhorts the reading audience to 'join the struggle'.

[43] That said, the following research material provides valuable insights into the impact of globalization on labour, broadly understood, across the globe. Charles Tilly, "Scholarly Controversy: Global Flows of Labor and Capital", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 47, Spring (1995), Immanuel Wallerstein, "Declining States, Declining Rights? Response to Charles Tilly's 'Scholarly Controversy: Global Flows of Labor and Capital' in the Same Issue", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 47, Spring (1995), Aristide R. Zolberg, "Working-Class Dissolution. Response to Charles Tilly's 'Scholarly Controversy: Global Flows of Labor and Capital' in the Same Issue", *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 47, Spring (1995), p. 28. Wallerstein has also developed this approach in cooperation with Giovanni Arrighi and Terence Hopkins. For a good example of this collaboration see Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (London: Verso, 1989). Drainville, "Left Internationalism and the Politics of Resistance in the New World Order"., Immanuel Wallerstein, *After Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 1995), Immanuel Wallerstein, "The End of What Modernity?", *Theory and Society*, 24 (1995).

[44] I refer here to *world polity institutionalism*, *international relations*, and related disciplines such as *international political economy*.

[45] These are of course crude umbrella terms grouping research orientations that address a common set of theoretical questions – they do not represent distinct "homogeneous intellectual currents". See Donatella della Porta and Mario Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), p. 3.

that this theory portrays movements as passive symptoms of change.[46] Critics also argue that it is too all-encompassing in its interpretation of what constitutes a social movement.[47] Such criticisms notwithstanding, this perspective is interesting because it stresses the need to remain attuned to the ways in which political, economic, and social change triggers the emergence of marginal socio-political communities. This may also be of use in what is to come because we will confront the question of how an 'old' movement such as labour interacts with the more nebulous social movements of the civil sphere.

The *resource mobilization* approach moves beyond simply acknowledging the emergence of disaffected groups within society. According to this approach the existence of shared grievances alone does not constitute a social movement. Resource mobilization theory focuses on how movements form interests and alliances, make rational and strategic choices, and how they mobilize resources available to them in order to maximize political influence. From this perspective movements are considered purposeful agents of change. However, resource mobilization theory can also be read as an over-correction to the vagueness of the collective behaviour school. It is criticized for placing far too much emphasis on the assumptions usually associated with *rational-choice* theory. Emphasis is placed on instrumentalism and the manipulation of the 'protesting masses' by calculating movement elites. Furthermore, by regarding the decision to participate in social movements to be derived from a simple cost-benefit equation, resource mobilization analyses tend to disregard the selflessness and, indeed, sacrifice that is such an important factor in the dynamics of social movement politics.[48] Thus, according to one critic, resource mobilization has "no theory of the social environment within which social movements operate".[49] And yet much can be gleaned from this perspective. Worthy of note is resource mobilization theory's concentration on the way movements establish solidarity links on both vertical and horizontal planes. Furthermore, the greater emphasis placed on how movements survive – as opposed to how they emerge – may help to explain the longevity of 'old' movements such as labour.

The last of these 'American' perspectives is *political process* theory. This body of work is concerned with the relationship between social movements and established institutionalized structures. It seeks to identify the characteristics of a given political *milieu* that would most benefit

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[46] Donatella della Porta, "Social Movements and the State: Thoughts on the Policing of Protest", in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, eds. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 6-7.

[47] Blumer's schema is a good example of this latter point: his paradigm contains social and political formations that range from the "groping and uncoordinated" *general* social movements, to *specific* and then, finally, *expressive* social movements. It is hard to conceive of a formation that would not qualify as a social movement here. See Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements", in *Social Movements: Critiques, Concepts, Case-Studies*, ed. Stanford Lyman, M. (New York: New York University Press, 1995).

[48] Larry J. Ray, *Rethinking Critical Theory: Emancipation in the Age of Global Social Movements* (London: Sage Publications, 1993), p. 65.

[49] Ibid., p. 64.

or, alternatively, obstruct social movements in their efforts to attain their goals. It does this by applying the concept of the *political opportunity structure*, a notion referring to the extent to which a system is open or closed to the initiatives of social movements.[50] A variation of the political opportunity structure concept will be incorporated in what will follow. This will enable us to explore the ways in which organized labour navigates through, and endures, structural forces not of its making. While political process theory may be of limited use when focusing on relations between various types of movements – within both political and civil realms – it nevertheless helps guide our research when it turns to the more formal relations between organized labour and established centers of authority, as well as with prevailing structural imperatives.

Alongside these American perspectives is an approach that emerged out of a European context. Known as *new social movement* theory, this variant emerged in the post-1968 era and was, in many regards, the product of New Left scholarship. The latter was driven by the need to develop a critical social theory that moved beyond traditional class-based Marxist analyses. Thus, new social movement theory accommodated the categories of gender, race, and ethnicity, alongside class. In the process, new social movement theorists have explored not only the transition from old to new political formations and practices, but have also mounted attacks on the truisms underpinning traditional political and social theory.[51] What stands out here is an openness to a politics of the civil realm, as well as an emphasis on contestation and transition.

This notion of transition is developed by Touraine in his study of trade unions, a subject that is strangely absent in social movement theorizing. As mentioned in the introductory chapter, Touraine develops an argument asserting that organized labour has become de-radicalized after having evolved through various phases of its "life history".[52] By this account labour had firstly evolved into an *interest group* through the age of craft unionism, then into a more radical *social movement* through the initial stages of industrialization and, in more recent times, into a pacified and docile *political actor*. This is not the place to expand on Touraine's work, suffice to say that it is lacking in one important respect. It does not pay due regard to the forms that organized labour has assumed

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[50] This notion has also been criticized as representing little more than a vague catch-all for 'political context'. See William A. Gamson and John W. Meyer, "Framing Political Opportunity", in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, eds. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996). and Sidney Tarrow, "States and Opportunities: The Political Structuring of Social Movements", in *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*, eds. Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy, and Mayer N. Zald (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

[51] Such writing tends to eschew accepted notions of hierarchy in political representation. It also rejects the privileging of the 'material gain' imperative that is evident in much social and political theory. See Lawrence Wilde, "Class Analysis and the Politics of New Social Movements", *Capital and Class* 42, Winter (1990), and della Porta and Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction, pp.* 11-13.

[52] Touraine, "Unionism as a Social Movement", p. 157.

on a global plane. Nevertheless, his notion of movement transition is a highly suggestive one and will resonate with much of the research in this thesis.[53]

All these perspectives provide a wealth of useful insights for one looking to design a method for the examination of organized labour worldwide. These insights relate to the role played by structural change in triggering movement re-configuration; the ways in which movements establish vertical and horizontal organizational networks in response to structural change; the likelihood of movement success in various historical contexts; and the importance of more open conceptions of political communities and practices during times of change. How might all these be incorporated within a method to enable us to map internal and external change on both national and global planes, and across an extended period of time?

We can gain some clues about how to achieve this synthesis by referring to a recent collection of essays in a book entitled *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics*. Of particular interest are the contributions made by McCarthy and Alger.[54] In his essay, McCarthy discusses social movement concepts that have in recent times been applied to transnational actors. These include theoretical concepts such as the aforementioned *resource mobilization* and *political opportunity structures*,[55] as well as the following additions: *mobilizing structures*, i.e., the pre-existing institutional structures, networks, and bodies available that can help sustain movement activity; *strategic framing processes*, i.e., the ways in which common interests and shared understandings are fashioned within the movement; and *repertoires of contention*, i.e., the mix of strategies and tactics employed during campaign activity.[56] In his contribution to the book Alger adds another dimension by indicating specific transnational social movement activities that ought be the focus of such theoretical analysis. These activities include the ways in which the movement in question creates and mobilizes a global network, participates in multilateral political arenas, builds transnational coalitions, facilitates interstate cooperation, acts within states, and enhances public participation.[57]

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[53] An interesting, and somewhat critical, reference to Touraine's analysis can be found in the following article by Tucker. Kenneth H. Jr Tucker, "Ideology and Social Movements: The Contributions of Habermas", *Sociological Inquiry*, 59, 1 (1989), pp. 35-37.

[54] John D. McCarthy, "The Globalization of Social Movement Theory", in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, eds. Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997). and Chadwick F. Alger, "Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance", in *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State*, eds. Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997).

[55] Recall that resource mobilization refers to the manner and effectiveness of the movement's utilization of resources; while the political opportunity structure refers to the degree to which established structures of authority provide scope for movement activity.

[56] McCarthy, "The Globalization of Social Movement Theory".

[57] Alger, "Transnational Social Movements, World Politics, and Global Governance". The work of Keck, Sikkink, Cohen, and Rai also addresses many of these issues. See Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998). Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai, "Global Social Movements: Towards a Cosmopolitan Politics", in *Global Social Movements*, eds. Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai (London: The Athlone Press, 2000).

From all this emerge a range of tools that can be adapted for the purposes of this thesis. We now have at our disposal tools that enable an exploration of a subject's relationship with its internal and external environments. All that seems lacking here is a way of incorporating an ideological dimension; that is, a way of monitoring change in the systems of ideas permeating the movement in question. Such a capability would make it possible to not only gain a sense of the motives that guide the movement's practices, but also of the composition of the wider structures with which the movement must contend. For direction in this area we can turn to methods employed by those contemplating international relations. Thus, a survey of the tools on offer from *world polity institutionalism*, and from those within the broad church that is *international relations* theory, will conclude the search for the materials needed to construct a suitable methodological framework.

Research in each of these fields has been concerned with identifying the ideas that underpin the political, economic, and social structures that come into play in international politics. *World polity institutionalism* attempts to emphasize the pivotal role played by cultural factors in the constitution of global social structures. To this end some researchers from this perspective focus on the expansion of what they call *Western rationality*.[58] This rationality, it is said, comprises notions of progressivism, individualism, citizenship, and sovereignty. Subsequently, this ensemble of ideas and norms has, over time, played a pivotal role in the establishment of a dominant world culture. This research project assesses the influence of these global cultural 'rules' and the ways in which they are transmitted through the organizational dimensions of the world polity.[59] This admittedly crude overview of *world polity institutionalism* serves only to highlight the importance of incorporating a multi-layered schema into any research on ideology.

Theorizing about ideas in world politics can also be found in some branches of *international relations*. For example, the *constructivist* school stresses the need to be attuned to the ways in which "knowledge practices constitute subjects".[60] Constructivists challenge theories that privilege material factors in world politics, and attempt to show how human understandings, beliefs, and values play a role in creating, sustaining, or changing international systems.[61] Unfortunately, the exact nature of these understandings is not always made clear in *constructivist* theory. In his assessment of *constructivist* thought Robert Keohane makes the point that the "interesting question...is not whether ideas 'matter'...but 'how' they matter".[62] One might expand on this to

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[58] See John W. Meyer, John Boli, and George M. Thomas, "Ontology and Rationalization in the Western Cultural Account", in *Institutional Structure: Constituting State, Society and the Individual*, eds. George M. Thomas, et al. (London: Sage Publications, 1987). John Boli and George M. Thomas, "World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization", *American Sociological Review*, 62, April (1997).
[59] Martha Finnemore, "International Organizations as Teachers of Norms: The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization and Science Policy", *International Organization*, 47, 4 (1993).
[60] Wendt, "Anarchy Is What States Make of It: The Social Construction of Power Politics", p. 394.
[61] John S. Dryzek, Margaret L. Clark, and Garry McKenzie, "Subject and System in International Interaction", *International Organiation*, 43, 3 (1989), pp. 475-76.
[62] Rober O. Keohane, "Ideas Part-Way Down", *Review of International Studies*, 26 (2000), p. 129.

suggest that in addition to the 'whether' and the 'how', we should add the *which*; that is, there is a need to also differentiate between various systems of ideas according to their nature and content. For a clearer understanding of what might be included in such differentiated schemas, we can turn to members of the neo-Gramscian school of international relations theory.

There are those within this broad church that have developed very effective methods for analyzing ideology within a range of political contexts. Specifically, these authors adapt Gramsci's theories on ideology in a way that helps us understand how particular social and political structures are maintained. According to Gramsci there are numerous overlapping and interacting ideologies at work within any given social context. The emphasis here is on the multi-dimensional nature of ideology and consciousness. Not only are ideologies understood to be multi-layered and highly fluid, but they are also said to contain within them the traces and residues of other ideologies. They are, according to Gramsci, "a product of the...process to date which has deposited...an infinity of traces, without leaving an inventory".[63] These are impressions, or sediments, that may go unstated, but that nevertheless play an important part in sustaining an ideology's persuasiveness. A number of Neo-Gramscians have applied these insights when researching contemporary world affairs, with the most notable exponents being Augelli, Murphy, Cox, and Rupert.[64] In general then, the approaches taken by the *world polity institutionalists*, *constructivists*, and neo-Gramscians, emphasize the need to take account of the interplay of systems of ideas that may or may not be explicitly expressed in a given period.

Emerging from this broad-ranging review are a range of tools that, if properly adapted, can provide the methodological framework required for this thesis. To recapitulate, what is needed here is a model that can bring into focus the transnational labour movement in its totality, and one that can identify change in the various dimensions of organized labour's internal and external relations. By shedding light on aspects of movement integration, and the ways in which it interacts with established political actors, such a framework would enable us to view the ways in which organized labour has globalized since the middle of the nineteenth century. In what follows, a synthesis of the

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[63] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, eds. Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell (eds and translators) Smith, tenth printing 1989 (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 323.

[64] Enrico Augelli and Craig Murphy, *America's Quest for Supremacy and the Third World: A Gramscian Analysis* (London: Pinter, 1988). Mark E. Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Robert W. Cox, "Ideologies and the New International Economic Order: Reflections on Some Recent Literature", in *Approaches to World Order*, ed. Robert W. Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995). Robert W. Cox, "Gramsci, Hegemony and International Relations: An Essay in Method", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 12, 2 (1983). Cox is of interest not only for his use of the Gramscian notion of ideology, but also for his adaptation of the concept of 'civil society' for studies of international relations. Augelli and Murphy used such a model in their study of the ways in which the United States was able to sustain its empire throughout the late-twentieth century. Such an achievement, according to the authors, cannot be understood without due regard to the interaction between ideas associated with liberalism, American exceptionalism, positivism, and evangelism.

preceding approaches will be outlined. While necessarily derivative, this framework has been tailored specifically for the purpose of mapping change in the way outlined above.

THE METHOD OUTLINED

I set out now to outline the methodological framework that will guide the research to follow (Diagram Three, on the following page, is designed to guide the reader through this introduction to the method).[1] Along the way we will once more become acquainted with the fundamental assumptions upon which the thesis rests. These were alluded to in the introductory chapter, but need to be re-stated with greater clarity. In addition, this guide introduces the reader to the ontological realms – or categories of existence and interaction – that will be explored in due course.

PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES

Investigation into the globalization of organized labour for each of the periods under review must be placed in a wider context. A plausible account of globalization – and the complexities inherent – as it relates to agency must take into account structural determinants shaping the landscape inhabited by all agents within a given period. To this end observations will be made – at a macro level – about changes in prevailing structural imperatives: these will be referred to as the *structures of production*, *communication*, *organization*, and *ideology*. Here the concept of 'structure' refers simply to the sustained patterning of practices and ideas.

The *structure of production* refers to the processes used to produce goods and services in a given period. A review of this structural imperative highlights changes to production processes that affect all actors. Of relevance here, for example, is the growth of off-shore production, capital mobility, the shift in the West from labour-intensive to capital-intensive production methods, and the emergence of finance and service sectors. Of concern also in such analysis is the shift in the developing world from subsistence agricultural production to urbanized labour-intensive manufacturing and assembly processes. More broadly, a focus on this structural imperative draws our attention to the nature of societal forms and relationships that come to the fore given these methods of production.

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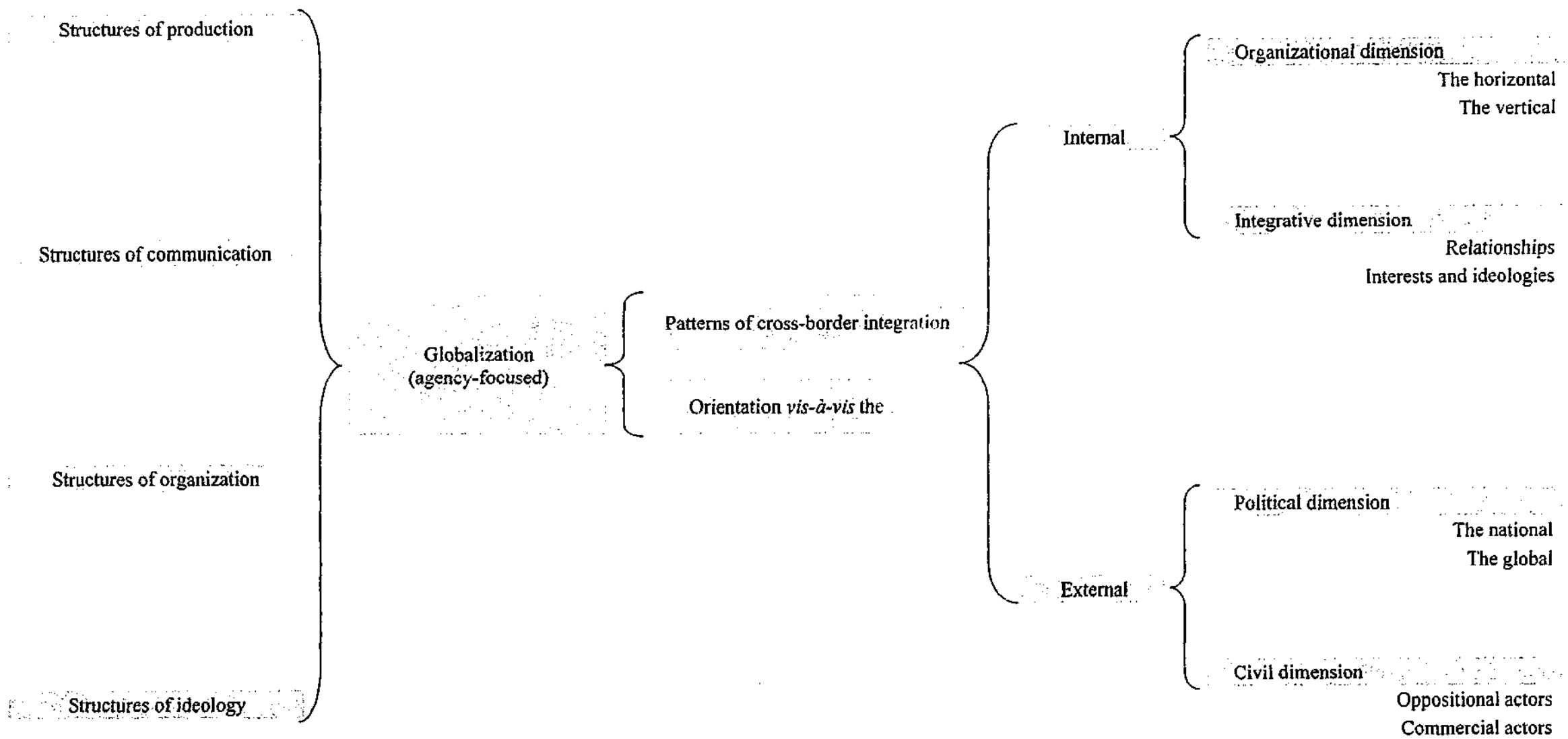
[1] I am indebted to Professor Paul James for introducing me to his 'theory of abstract community'. He has used this method in research on nationhood, though it is applicable to analysis of all social formations. His method works "across various levels of analytical abstraction" to make sense of empirical generalizations, modes of practice, modes of integration, and categorical change, as these relate to the dynamics of communal existence. In many respects, the approach employed in this thesis borrows from the theory of abstract community.

DIAGRAM 3. A THEMATIC GUIDE TO THE METHOD EMPLOYED



Discussion of the *structure of communication* highlights changes to the most important media employed throughout a historical period. This highlights the overlap between face-to-face, print, telegraph, telephone, and digital mediums, and is concerned with changes to actors' conception of time and space. This, in other words, provides insights into the ways in which actors are likely to perceive the distant, as well as the ways in which social formations are constituted and sustained on a symbolic level.

The focus on the *structure of organization* seeks to identify the prevailing administrative and authoritative forms through which power is exercised, and through which relationships are mediated. This category seeks to identify the main locales of authority, as well as prevailing forms of governance, as they are manifest in national, regional, and inter-governmental settings. In practice this entails discussion of the impact of the Cold War, of decolonization, of the rise of the welfare state, and of the proliferation of inter-governmental organizations under the auspices of the United Nations and beyond. This category is of crucial importance to a study of organized labour because it gives definition to those aspects of governance that more often determine labour's political horizons.

The final structural imperative to be acknowledged will be referred to as the *structure of ideology*.[2] Here we attempt to give definition to the ideological complexion of the period under review by relying on a schema that is based on the interplay of four ideological ensembles: these will be referred to as *conservative*, *instrumental*, *developmental*, and *emancipatory*. The conservative category encompasses worldviews that are committed to the defence of traditional centers of authority: for example, the government, the state, or the church. Essentially, the ideological tendencies falling within the rubric of conservatism have in common a system-maintaining orientation. Instrumentalist ideologies are those that show a commitment to calculating and technocratic programs designed to attain economic and political power. More often this term will be used in reference to worldviews that embrace radical forms of economic liberalism, ideas promoting limitless economic expansion, and productivism. Closely related to instrumentalism is developmentalism. It encompasses such notions as modernization, Keynesianism, corporatism, a

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[2] A note of clarification is in order at this point. This aspect of the study necessarily draws one into complex debates relating to the nature of ideology, the exercise of power, and domination itself. Aside from quite fundamental questions concerning the precise meaning of the term 'ideology', these debates turn on such matters as the role that ideology plays in conflict between groups in society and, indeed, the extent to which ideology can be used to differentiate such groups. These matters are not of central concern to this thesis. For this reason I have opted here to use a range of terms – most frequently, 'ideology' and 'worldview' – as synonyms. In subsequent usage these will denote belief systems that do not only delineate political communities – communities that articulate political and group aspirations – but also those loose and hazy understandings, narratives, and systems of ideas that may or may not carry within them political programs. This flexible approach enables us to differentiate this application from interpretations that might consider various systems of belief narrowly to mean the systemic dogma delivered from on high by ideologues, party apparatchiks, or the 'ruling class'. Michèle Barrett, *The Politics of Truth: From Marx to Foucault* (California: Stanford University Press, 1991), p. 56. For more on the contested meaning of the term 'ideology', see Teun A. Van Dijk, *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 140-56.

commitment to progress and, more broadly, a growth orientated consensus. By contrast, the emancipatory ensemble of ideas includes such radical class-based doctrines as anarchism, syndicalism, socialism, anti-imperialism, and communism. We also include here ameliorative forms of reformist collectivism such as social-democracy and Fabianism. Non-class-based worldviews that oppose oppression – most notably, feminism, environmentalism, and anti-colonialism – are also considered here to belong to the emancipatory system of ideas. In short, the distinguishing characteristic of this category is its emphasis on collectivist approaches that carry within them a liberatory dimension.

In general, this approach proceeds under the assumption that adherents to all the worldviews mentioned see them as 'universals'; that is, as ideological systems and programs that ought to apply across time and space, irrespective of context. This approach also assumes that while such layers of ideas are ever-present, they combine in different measure and are never in a static relationship to each other. Nor are these layers fixed in a hierarchical relationship; rather, they are woven together and often bear traces and residues of each others' inner logics.[3] And, of course, there often also exists great tension between and within these layers. Overall, the object of this exercise is to consider the combinations of ideas that hold sway at any given time.

In sum, by delineating the structural imperatives at play we seek to gain a better understanding of forces shaping labour's landscape and, in turn, the constraints and opportunities open to that movement across the national and global realms. Moreover, in relating change within the movement to a broader environment in this way we can venture more credible assessments about the nature of network integration, and of relations with the state.

Having first of all established a framework for understanding the prevailing structural imperatives, it is left now to outline the various categories of existence and interaction that will feature throughout this research. Specifically, the research will involve an examination of the movement's internal and external *dimensions of change*. These dimensions are themselves partitioned in ways that allow for a more comprehensive analysis. Thus, the internal dimension of change will comprise organizational and integrative sub-categories; while the external dimension of change will comprise the political and civil sub-categories. What follows is an elaboration of these dimensions and categories.

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[3] This interpretation borrows from the Gramscian perspective on ideology. See Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks of Antonio Gramsci*, p. 323, or Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London: Verso, 1991), pp. 113-16.

Internal dimensions of change

The first theme to guide research concerns change *within* the transnational network of labour movements. Here we initially reflect on organizational change, and then on change to the ways and extent to which the network is integrated. Each of these internal dimensions – those of organization and integration – will themselves be multi-layered. A more comprehensive explanation of each dimension is provided below.

The internal-organizational dimension of change

The research on internal organizational change initially focuses on the institutional configuration of the peak confederations. Analysis on this 'horizontal' plane of organizational change gauges the extent to which organized labour has over the decades attained an institutional presence beyond the European setting. Here we examine the organizational shape of the network of labour bodies that purport to represent trade unionists of all cultures and continents. This stage of the research also entails an examination of organizational change as it has evolved on a 'vertical' plane. This means giving definition to the regional and national bodies that – ostensibly – link peak confederations to nationally bound trade unions. This analysis of the organizational form of labour worldwide – on both horizontal and vertical planes – will help gauge the extent to which the movement has in an organizational sense expanded since the late-nineteenth century. In sum, change in this internal organizational dimension will represent one of a number of indicators of organized labour's globalization.

Internal-integrative dimension of change: Relationships, interests, and ideology

The notion of *integration* is used here to convey the ways in which the network is bound together. Once again we will need to rely on sub-categories of this integrative dimension. The first of these will be the relational aspect of integration. This refers to the ways in which relationships between leadership figures and constituents are experienced and expressed. Here the emphasis is placed on degrees of intimacy, the extent to which relationships are filtered through evolving forms of communication, and the growing reliance on electronic and symbolic forms of representation. As this thesis engages more fully with this relational aspect of the integrative dimension, the reader will be introduced to a range of concepts designed to better convey the nature of the transformations noted. For now it is enough to say that this aspect of the internal aims to assess change in the ways in which the network's constituent parts correspond and relate. Here the objective is to highlight the ways in which the network has been integrated, and the ways in which relations have been sustained across national borders over an extended period of time.

Another sub-category of the internal dimension of integrative change will be concerned with the *interests* and *ideologies* that underpin intra-network relations. Interests are considered to be those issues that are given highest priority at any given time. Interests are important because they can give some indication of whether the movement is orientated towards the particularistic needs of its nation-based constituents, or whether its priorities tend more towards universalizing – rights-based – advocacy. Put differently, the nature and extent of divergent interests can be assessed when considering intra-network tensions and discord. This is important if we are to make plausible judgements about the nature of globalizing tendencies.

Mapping change within the internal-integrative dimension also entails assessing the role of ideology. Here we attempt to give definition to the ideological complexion of the movement. This section follows the same approach to that outlined in earlier discussion of the *structure of ideology*. It employs the same notions of interplay and enmeshment between four ensembles of ideological tendencies. These tendencies were categorized using the following umbrella terms: *conservative*, *instrumental*, *developmental*, and *emancipatory* worldviews. The aim here is to ascertain which of these groupings is more prevalent throughout the transnational network of labour organizations at any given time. Coupled with the previous reflections on interests, this will provide invaluable insights into the normative aspect of change.

External dimensions of change

The second broad sphere of interaction to be explored is that relating to the *external*. Here we differentiate between organized labour's relationships with actors of the *external political*, and the *external civil*, realms. This is an important exercise because by mapping such engagement we can further assess the ways in which the aforementioned aspects of internal organization and internal integration manifest themselves in a wider context.

The external-political dimension of change

The principal characteristic of this dimension is that it is premised upon the authority of the state. Looking at organized labour's engagement within this dimension highlights the extent to which it assumes a statist orientation. Such an orientation would be manifest, for example, in the privileging of the needs of the state as these pertain to matters of strategic and economic interest, and a disposition that buttresses the authority and integrity of the state. This might also be manifest in the pursuance of social, economic, and political goals through deference to the authority of government.

The external-political dimension encompasses individual states as well as those inter-governmental organizations and assemblies that are invested with the legal-rational authority of the community of states.[4] Following Mann, a "conceptual distinction"[5] will be made between the *national* plane – that which is bounded by the state – and the *global* plane. The latter represents the site of inter-governmental organization activity and of geopolitics in general.[6] Such a schema is appropriate because it provides a framework with which to assess labour-state relations. On the national level these range from legal and quasi-legal corporatist arrangements, to those symbiotic and functional partnerships aimed at enhancing the strategic interests of the state. On the global level they include interaction through the consultative mechanisms made available by a plethora of inter-governmental organizations. In sum, by viewing organized labour from this vantage point we can ascertain whether its center of gravity in relation to the state has shifted during the period under review.

The external-civil dimension of change

The research then shifts its attention to organized labour's engagement within the *external-civil dimension*. Here we continue the search for evidence of labour's own globalization, evidence that may indicate that the transnational labour movement has begun to gravitate away from the political realm, and closer to the civil. This takes us beyond the formal modes of advocacy *via* the state, and provides a glimpse of the network's engagement with capital and other non-state actors.

At the outset, and in order to further clarify what will be meant by the term 'civil', some background is necessary. Coming into widespread usage in the context of the eighteenth century European Enlightenment, the notion of a civil society was initially understood to refer to the realm of private interests and actors; that is, to "a sphere of society distinct from the state and with forms and principles of its own".[7] Subsequent interpretations – be they philosophically aligned to liberalism, Marxism, or their variants – diverged on the question of who or what, precisely, inhabited the civil realm; and to what extent the civil was a domain clearly distinguishable from the state. How, sceptics asked, could aspects of the modern welfare state be separated from the private, familial, or communal forms of contemporary existence? And where, they asked, might the world

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[4] John Boli, "Conclusion: World Authority Structures and Legitimations", in *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations since 1875*, eds. John Boli and George M. Thomas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 286.

[5] Michael Mann, "Has Globalization Ended the Rise and Rise of the Nation-State?", *Review of International Political Economy*, 4, 3 (1997), p. 475.

[6] Mann considers this to be a realm in which both 'hard' and 'soft' geopolitics *is* conducted. The former pertains to the politics of "war, peace and alliances"; while the latter pertains to "negotiations about more peaceable and particular matters like air transport communications, tax treaties, air pollution etc". See Ibid.

[7] Krishan Kumar, "Civil Society: An Inquiry into the Usefulness of an Historical Term", *British Journal of Sociology*, 44, 3 (1993), p. 377.

of capital – so inextricably linked to both the state and the private domains – be situated in such a schema?

Another point of contention relates to the widespread assumption that the civil realm is populated exclusively by actors that are fundamentally engaged in emancipatory and progressive projects. According to this interpretation, the civil realm is inscribed with a democratic and ethical potential, and serves as a counter to the assumed repressiveness of the apparatus of state.[8] Not surprisingly, this somewhat utopian interpretation of the concept has also met with great resistance.

In recent years the concept of civil society has been appropriated by those researching aspects of world politics.[9] While research on non-state actors is not new in *international relations* theory, the recent focus on a realm apart from that premised upon the authority of the state – often referred to as *global civil society* – has provided many with a device for analyzing the ways in which trans-border actors challenge prevailing forms of world governance. Yet the problems associated with the concept when applied to the 'national' are also apparent when applied to the 'global'.[10] The most notable concern here is the tendency to romanticize the global-civil realm. But as O'Brien argues, "many actors in the public space between and across states are not very civil".[11] He is referring here to the many groupings spawned by "social anomie".[12] He expands on this anti-utopian position by stating that the global civil society is also the realm of neoliberal activity, and is peopled by what another writer categorizes as "[multinational] executives, globalizing bureaucrats, globalizing politicians and professionals, and consumerist elites".[13] This view accords with the neo-Gramscian perspective: it sees the civil realm as an arena of contestation where no easy distinctions can be made between state, commercial, private, and cultural spheres.

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[8] One representative of this position is Jean Cohen. See, for example Jean L. Cohen, "The Concept of Civil Society", in *Toward a Global Civil Society*, ed. Michael Walzer (Providence, Rhode Island: Berghahn Books, 1995).

[9] A seminal work in this respect was Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Reconstructing World Politics: The Emergence of Global Civil Society", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 21, 3 (1992). His subsequent reflections are also of great interest. See Ronnie D. Lipschutz, "Politics among People: Global Civil Society Reconsidered", in *Pondering Postinternationalism: A Paradigm for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Heidi H. Hobbs (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

[10] For an excellent insight into the contemporary debates on the relevance and usage of the concept of (global) civil society, see Walker, "Social Movements/World Politics"., Kumar, "Civil Society: An Inquiry into the Usefulness of an Historical Term"., Robert W. Cox, "Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order", *Review of International Studies*, 25 (1999), Ann Marie Clark, Elisabeth J. Freidman, and Kathryn Hochstetler, "The Sovereign Limits of Global Civil Society: A Comparison of Ngo Participation in UN Conferences on the Environment, Human Rights, and Women", *World Politics*, 51, October (1998)., Robert O'Brien, "Ngo's, Global Civil Society and Global Economic Regulation", in *Regulating International Business: Beyond Liberalization*, eds. Sol Picciotto and Ruth Mayne (London: MacMillan, 1999), and Mustapha Kamal Pasha and David L. Blaney, "Elusive Paradise: The Promise and Peril of Global Civil Society", *Alternatives*, 23 (1998).

[11] O'Brien, "Ngo's, Global Civil Society and Global Economic Regulation", p. 260.

[12] Cox, "Civil Society at the Turn of the Millennium: Prospects for an Alternative World Order", p. 13.

[13] O'Brien, "Ngo's, Global Civil Society and Global Economic Regulation", p. 260. See also Leslie Sklair, *Sociology of the Global System, Second* (London: Prentice Hall, 1995), pp. 70-71.

With all this in mind, the decision has been made to adopt here a usage that reflects this less sanguine view of the civil realm. While still relying on a distinction between the state and 'other', such a separation will be qualified. In essence then, the external-civil dimension in this thesis will be understood to mean the realm in which social, economic, and political practices are formally independent of the apparatus of state. This is the case even though the latter may in some sense always continue, indirectly, to impinge on patterns of behaviour within the civil realm. This interpretation accepts a degree of entanglement between the state, the economy, the social, and cultural, while at the same time recognizing the state's qualified capacity to assert its authority.[14]

Importantly, it should also be noted that the external-civil dimension cannot easily be partitioned into national and global domains. While reference will continue to be made to the national and the global, I do not wish to reify a 'civil of the inside', and a 'civil of the outside'. To do so would be to ascribe far too much weight to the principle of state sovereignty. While the following discussion will continue to rely on the notions of national and global, these should be understood as metaphors for layers of interaction and activity, rather than for distinct realms. By avoiding such reification, it will be possible to consider a civil politics that is less bounded in nature.[15] This will represent an attempt to emphasize the extent to which the civil realm "need not be conceived as exclusively or even primarily national in scope; that is, as coinciding with the boundaries of the nation-state".[16]

In the schema to be adopted here, I will first of all plot organized labour's engagement with *civil-oppositional* actors. These include actors engaged in oppositional struggles, be they in relation to national liberation, environmentalism, peace, social justice, and gender rights. Secondly, I will plot organized labour's engagement with *civil-commercial* actors; those motivated by profit and capitalist expansion.

In general, this approach eschews assumptions about the virtues inherent in either the civil or the state centred political realms. It is suitable for our purposes because it allows us to shed light on the relationships beyond the realm under the immediate control of the state; that is, it acknowledges

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[14] Pasha and Blaney, "Elusive Paradise: The Promise and Peril of Global Civil Society", pp. 420-21.

[15] This connects with an ongoing debate within the discipline of *international relations* over the theoretical plausibility of the concept of sovereignty; as well as the implications of its uncritical acceptance by theorists and practitioners alike. The literature is extensive, but the following list provides an adequate representation. Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber, "The Social Construction of State Sovereignty", in *State Sovereignty as Social Construct*, eds. Thomas J. Biersteker and Cynthia Weber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Joseph A. Camilleri, "Rethinking Sovereignty in a Shrinking, Fragmented World", in *Contending Sovereignties*, eds. R.B.J. Walker and Saul H. Mendlovitz (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990), Ian Clark, "Making Sense of Sovereignty", *Review of International Studies*, 14 (1988), Alan James, "Sovereignty: Ground Rule or Gibberish?", *Review of International Studies*, 10 (1984), Nicholas Greenwood Onuf, "Sovereignty: Outline of a Conceptual History", *Alternatives*, 16 (1991), R.B.J. Walker, "Interrogating State Sovereignty", in *Contending Sovereignties*, eds. R.B.J. Walker and Saul H. Mendlovitz (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990), R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

[16] Joseph A. Camilleri, "State, Civil Society, and Economy", in *The State in Transition Reimagining Political Space*, eds. Joseph A. Camilleri, Anthony P. Jarvis, and Albert J. Paolini (London: Lynne Reinner, 1995), p. 217.

that politics occurs beyond the state, and that in the civil sphere meaningful interaction between a range of political actors is commonplace. Importantly, by adopting such an interpretation it is then possible to put the state to one side for a time while an attempt is made to assess the extent to which an actor such as labour has shifted its orbit.

Clearly, the categories and dimensions outlined here are not completely distinct. Notwithstanding such definitional questions, this methodological framework has the potential to reveal aspects of the movement's evolution that are not clearly evident in existing literature. The strength of this method lies in its ability to provide insights about change to the social, political, ideological, and economic aspects of transnational labour politics as it occurs across a range of ontological dimensions. More specifically, the use of this framework will enable the research to shed light on the question at the heart of this project: how, and to what extent, has the world's loose ensemble of trade union organizations become globalized?

I end this preliminary section with three important qualifications. The first relates to the culturally specific nature of the literature upon which the research is based. Given the origins of the trade union movement, it should not surprise that the bulk of the material at one's disposal derives from 'First World' sources. This poses obvious problems for a study aiming to identify 'global' trends – reliance on this material leads to a higher degree of extrapolation than is desirable. I can see no real solution to this problem. I am left only to make clear my unease at the outset, and to stress to the reader that my observations and conclusions are presented with these considerations in mind.

The second qualification relates to the scope of Part one. I would have preferred that that part – covering some eighty years from the formation of the first labour-oriented 'internationals' in the 1860s to 1939 – were focused on a shorter time-span. As it stands, plausible observations about changes to the 'transnational labour movement', made over such an expanse of time, can only apply in the most abstract sense. In spite of this concern, I have opted to focus on this long period because it provides the comparative basis for assessing later periods. Because, for example, it was rent apart by two world wars, much of the period is extraordinarily unstable in organizational terms. Hence we need a longer period in which to assess dominant trends.

The final qualification concerns a matter of style. Researchers in this field are confronted with a dizzying array of acronyms commonly used to refer to trade union organizations. To assist the reader in this respect I have included a list of common abbreviations, as well as an organizational genealogy in diagrammatic form (these appear on pages v and vi). Throughout the text I have tried to minimize the number of acronyms, opting instead for truncated versions of organizations'

names. However, I have made three exceptions to this rule. The most important players in this research are the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the World Federation of Trade Unions. Because these organizations dominate much of the narrative I have, more often than not, employed their acronyms – the ICFTU, and the WFTU. In addition, I have chosen to refer, where possible, to the International Labour Organization by its acronym, the ILO. While the ILO is not a central player in the research that follows, it is a ubiquitous presence, and thus warrants such treatment.

PART ONE

PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES 1860-1939

What can one discern about the globalization of organized labour from a review of the 1860-1939 period? To what extent did organized labour constitute an integrated transnational network that expanded beyond the particularity of the state? I want to suggest that this period witnessed the slow *organizational* coalescing of an ensemble of trade union organizations – those constituent parts of a growing network – with global pretensions. Throughout the same period, a great many trade union organizations developed strong ties with oppositional actors of the civil realm. However, in spite of this globalizing inclination, constituent parts of the network remained deeply divided. This lack of unity was due, in large part, to the preference given to establishing more organic ties with governments of states.

Before exploring the network's internal and external dimensions of change, it is necessary to familiarize ourselves with the broad structural imperatives pertaining in this period. This outline is intended to help make sense of the maelstrom of political, economic, and social events of the day. It will provide a context that will help us gauge more accurately the nature of change affecting the emerging transnational network of labour organizations. We commence by examining the prevailing structure of production. This is followed by a survey of the structure of communication evident during the 1860-1939 period. Following this is an outline of the structure of organization, and then a characterization of the structure of ideology that also pertained during this period.

1860-1939. THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

In the mid-nineteenth century investment was concentrated in what were increasingly dynamic, diverse, and expanding manufacturing sectors within the European setting. By the late-nineteenth century, the means were put in place for industrial development in the peripheral European countries, and then in North and Latin America. With few restrictions on the movement of capital, manufacturers were able to establish themselves in more distant regions, and the first

manifestations of the multinational corporations began to appear. Subsequently, trade and investment in raw materials increased. This necessarily meant that European colonies became more tightly integrated into expanding markets.[1]

Highly stratified production methods and rapid industrialization led to greater concentrations of workers by locale and by industry. These processes also brought with them increased economic polarization and social upheaval. As Arrighi notes this was evidence of a "tendency of capitalist accumulation simultaneously to impoverish and strengthen the proletariat".[2] Fordist production methods accompanied this industrialization, and from the early twentieth century the highly regimented manufacturing processes and the de-skilling associated with 'scientific management' became widespread. In time, increased competition between industrialists, and the widening differences between national economies, provided the impetus for higher migration flows. This entailed high levels of migration within countries – from rural to urban – as well as between countries of the same regions.[3]

Increasing competition throughout the early twentieth century also enabled industrialists to undercut the wages of their workers by producing the same products at less expense in other countries. All this exacerbated the increasing tendency towards monopoly and the growth of cartels. Large corporations were thus able to control the supply and prices of raw materials as well as the finished product. It also enabled corporations to become far more mobile and, consequently, to threaten the employment security of vast numbers of workers across continents.[4]

The social dislocation caused by changes to production methods and expanding markets paled against the effects of economic depression and war. The depression of 1873-1896 was felt most acutely by the industrial powers of Europe, and was followed by even more widespread economic hardship during the depressions of 1920 and 1929. This period was also marked by the devastating effects of World War One, its aftermath, and the subsequent build-up to World War Two. Of specific relevance to a labour focused study was the effect of the massive de-mobilization of armed forces following the first war. This fuelled unemployment and increased poverty, while the post-war reconstruction boom also resulted in high inflation. Migration was severely curtailed by the effects of this war, as well as by the xenophobia that was generated by depression.

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[1] While currency and finance flows were to some extent regulated through adherence to the Gold Standard system, they too increased throughout the latter part of the nineteenth century.

[2] Giovanni Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labour Movement", *New Left Review*, 179 (1990), p. 35.

[3] David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 295-97.

[4] Lewis L. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 123-24.

By the 1930s international trade and investment had to a great extent collapsed. This resulted in high concentrations of unemployed workers within the urban settings of most of the world's most developed, industrialized countries. Within these settings, industry was highly concentrated, and attracted not only great numbers of unskilled workers, but also a growing strata of those with the more specialized skills needed to oversee emerging production processes.[5]

1860-1939. THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNICATION

We focus now on the prevailing structure of communication. In so doing we gain some insight into changing perceptions of time and space, and also into the extent to which relations were extended beyond face-to-face interactions. All this will assist in subsequent analysis of organized labour's internal integrative dimension of change.

The mid-nineteenth century witnessed a succession of tremendous innovations in communication technology. These involved advances in transport technology as well as in communications media; advances that were largely the outcomes of both military and commercial activity. Some of the more notable advances in the latter half of the nineteenth century occurred in the field of rail and shipping. The transformation of shipping through the use of steam power and screw propulsion was particularly striking. These innovations greatly increased the speed, capacity, and distance vessels were able to venture and, according to McMahon, "represented a quantum leap in transport capability that allowed ready access to virtually the whole world".[6]

This would not have been possible were it not for the simultaneous advances in the necessary support systems. Of importance here was the advent of electrical telegraphy, the first viable form of electronic telecommunications technology. The second half of the nineteenth century saw many related advances, including intercontinental communication *via* underwater telegraph cable, the first telephone messages sent by wire, and then wireless. The first decades of the twentieth century ushered in radio, radio networks, intercontinental radio telephones and telegraph, teleprinting, television, and then later, sonar and radar.

While transcontinental telegraphy, shipping, and rail technologies transformed long-distance communication, change was also occurring on a more mundane level. This can be seen in the advances in printing. By the late-nineteenth century the production and distribution of newspapers and leaflets also changed in significant ways. At a time of great improvement in literacy this print media became less the preserve of elite audiences. All this had a significant impact because it

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[5] The latter are referred to – by Rudé and others – as the 'aristocracy of labour'. See George Rudé, *Ideology and Popular Protest*, 1995 ed. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), pp. 152-54.

enabled far more diverse and expansive discourse between and within political communities – trade union movements and the like – of the day. Importantly, while the rapid advances in communications technology served to reveal the pluralistic nature of national, regional, and transnational relations, they also highlighted the disparities that existed throughout all these strata. Not only did such innovations begin to link imperial systems together, they also connected an array of hitherto isolated oppositional actors.

1860-1939. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION

The structures of production and communication helped to consolidate the modern state, making it the principal locale of authority. As a political entity, the state was at this point undergoing significant change, for under these conditions it was assuming an increasingly important role as a regulator of economic and social affairs.[7] More specifically, the core Western states began to facilitate and manage economic growth, trade, investment, and labour relations in ways that established the state in general as the principal entity overseeing worldwide development. The modern state also came to represent for many a potential vehicle for realizing the liberal, democratic, and internationalist aspirations that had percolated throughout Europe over the preceding century.[8] As it continued to grow and become a central locus of power, contending movements in society – with trade unions at the forefront – made claims on the state in regard to civil, political, and economic rights. The state, in short, began to take center stage in the consciousness of those seeking reform.

As colonization for the purposes of trade, extraction of raw materials, and strategic advantage became logistically feasible, there emerged a more integrated system of states and empires. Accompanying this expansion was the emergence of systems of multilateral diplomatic and legal regulation. At the same time, states beyond Europe set about modernizing in order to ward off a strengthened, colonialist, Europe.[9] While great power rivalry and a wave of ultra-nationalist sentiment helped to reify the notion of the state, it also intensified the atomistic nature of the interstate system. All this was evident in the complex dynamics that triggered the world wars of the early and mid-twentieth century.

Indeed, the trend towards 'statism'– a subject that will figure in later discussion of organized labour's relations with the external political dimension of change – coincided with a number of

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[6] Peter McMahon, "Technology and Globalization: An Overview", *Prometheus*, 19, 3 (2001), p. 213.
[7] Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labour Movement", p. 37.
[8] André C. Drainville, "Left Internationalism and the Politics of Resistance in the New World Order", in *A New World Order: Global Transformations in the Late Twentieth Century*, eds. David A. Smith and József Böröcz (London: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. 220.
[9] Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 423-24.

social and political upheavals that followed in the wake of World War One.[10] In the context of a labour related study the most important of these was the massive demobilization of armed forces, and the growing resentment and instability among the defeated Central Powers.

In the wake of this war there also emerged collective forms of interstate governance. Throughout the inter-war years there was a proliferation of 'global public service utilities'.[11] These were designed to mediate relations between states and were precursors to what later came to be known as inter-governmental organizations. In the context of an analysis of labour the most important of these were the International Labour Organization and the League of Nations. It is important to note that this emerging layer of 'global' governance was premised solely upon the authority of the most powerful states of the time. And with the notable exception of the International Labour Organization, these inter-governmental organizations represented sites of interstate exchange and representation only.

1860-1939. THE STRUCTURE OF IDEOLOGY

This sweeping survey of prevailing structural imperatives now ventures into still more abstract territory. The aim of this section is to consider the ways in which various constellations of ideologies interacted throughout this period, and then to highlight which of these were most prominent. Such an exercise is crucial to gaining an understanding of agents' interests, priorities, and constraints. To recapitulate, the dominant constellations of ideologies are here categorized as *conservative*, *instrumental*, *developmentalist*, and *emancipatory*.

The period in question witnessed tremendous turbulence in the interplay of ideologies both within and between these categories. The most striking development was the emergence of a range of emancipatory doctrines. In particular, there emerged tendencies ranging from revolutionary Marxism, anarchism, syndicalism, Fabian socialism, state socialism in its Bolshevik manifestation, and liberal internationalism. The catalyst for this within Europe was the rapid industrialization and urbanization of the late-nineteenth century. Subsequently, Marxism and its variants spread to less industrially advanced countries such as Russia, China, Japan, and then to the Caribbean and Latin America. Two important points – both of great relevance to organized labour – should be emphasized in regards to these emancipatory worldviews. Firstly, the period under review can be regarded as the high watermark for emancipatory ideologies. Secondly, by the mid-1930s there was

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[10] For a vivid account of the tensions evident within the world of labour following Armistice see Cole's description of the British context. In Margaret Cole, "The Labour Movement between the Wars", in *Ideology and the Labour Movement: Essays Presented to John Saville*, eds. David E. Martin and David Rubinstein (London: Croom Helm, 1979), pp. 194-96.
[11] Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 6-8.

a clear tendency towards the ameliorative and reformist tendencies within these emancipatory ideologies.

Also rising to prominence throughout this period were various strains of conservative thought. I refer mainly to the rise of fascism and reactionary ultra-nationalism in its various guises. This was in evidence in Germany, Italy, Japan and, eventually, in Spain. Fascism can be regarded as straddling both conservative and instrumental categories. This was evident in the ways in which it promoted a chauvinistic commitment to the defence of nation and state, as well as to a corporatist productivism. Fascism's impact throughout this period was worldwide and catastrophic. In the context of the prevailing structure of ideology, this conservative tendency also had a profound effect not least because of its part in the demise of the emancipatory worldviews mentioned above.

More 'all-pervasive' ideological tendencies can be found within the instrumentalist ensemble of ideas. Many of these ideas – such as colonialism, imperialism and mercantilism – served as ideological justifications for the great-power expansionism of the time. Here too there was overlap with other ideological groupings. There was, for example, a convergence of conservative Calvinist-based Protestantism, racist and nationalistic doctrines, instrumentalist utilitarian Social Darwinism, and capitalist expansionism.[12] Thus, the 1860-1939 period was marked not only by xenophobic fascism, but also by imperial expansion, colonialism, and great power rivalry in regions such as Latin America, South-Asia, and Africa.

In addition to the emancipatory, conservative, and instrumentalist worldviews there existed a constellation of developmentalist ideologies. These included worldviews emphasizing Enlightenment rationalism, progressivism, and modernization. While such worldviews pre-date this period, they became more prominent at this time due to spectacular advances in modern science.[13] Developmentalism had a profound effect not only on the approach to the material, but also on attitudes to forms of governance and political rights. Thus, for example, notions of self-determination came to be associated with modernity and progress.[14]

A common, though contested, strand running through these categories of ideas was the conservative notion of statism. This term is used here to convey not only the ubiquity of a specific form of social organization – the state – but also the prevalence of a communitarianism that expresses itself through the defence of a state's interests. While associated thus far with conservatism, statism throughout this period permeated all the other constellations of ideas, be they

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[12] V.G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse: 1815-1960* (Suffolk: Fontana, 1982), pp. 146-67.
[13] This was manifest in greater efficiency within industry and agriculture, as well as in progress in the field of medicine and health care in general.

emancipatory, instrumentalist, or developmentalist.[15] This was evident in the way that states assumed proselytising roles on behalf of various internationalist or universalizing ideologies. This also manifested itself in the rise of fascism, communism as expressed by the Bolsheviks, American free-market liberalism, modernism, and colonialist empire building.

It is difficult to highlight a dominant tendency within this kaleidoscope of ideologies. One can, however, plot the trajectories of the various ideological dispositions. An important feature of this period was the rise of emancipatory ideologies. Elements of conservative ideologies were also in the ascendancy even though fascism's influence was to be relatively short-lived. Importantly, various instrumentalist and developmentalist ideologies were gathering momentum. Throughout, statism assumed an underlying importance to all ideological tendencies.

1860-1939. PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES – CONCLUSION

More broadly, statism was evident across the entire spectrum of structural imperatives. Indeed, it was a constant in a historical period marked by tremendous volatility and change. The centrality of the state was evident in the processes of capitalist expansion, in the conflagrations of war, and in management of the social dislocations triggered by both. It was also of crucial importance in the spectacular advances in communication technologies, and in the spread of universalizing ideologies. Moreover, throughout this period it became an ideal and an aspiration in itself.

We now focus our attention onto organized labour. The aim is to gauge the extent of labour's globalization given these prevailing structural imperatives. Throughout this mapping process we remain attuned to the extent to which organized labour became more integrated across national boundaries. Additionally, we remain attuned to the ways in which organized labour related to the state. The first step in this process entails an evaluation of labour's organizational form throughout this period.

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[14] Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 338-40, Robert Leach, *Political Ideologies* (Melbourne: MacMillan, 1988), pp. 219-20.

[15] Dimitris Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", *Journal of World-Systems Research* 4, 1 (1998), p. 58.

PART ONE

CHAPTER ONE

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1860-1939

1860-1939. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to give shape to the loose constellation of bodies actively engaged in representing trade unions' interests across national borders throughout the 1860-1939 period (for guidance in this, and subsequent sections, refer to the list of common abbreviations, and the organizational genealogy appearing at the beginning of this thesis). We focus here exclusively on the *organizational* form of this constellation because this level of analysis provides insights into the spatial breadth of the network. The analysis commences with a view of the constituent parts on a horizontal, transnational, plane; that is, a view of those bodies whose *raison d'être* it was to represent trade union bodies of multiple countries. This is followed by a view of the same constellation, but on a vertical plane. This will provide greater definition to some of the more important – nationally anchored – constituent parts of this transnational network. What will become apparent is that by 1939 labour had developed transnational organizational forms. However, far from signalling an increasing level of cross-border integration these transnational bodies represented competing interests within an emerging transnational network of labour organizations. Moreover, in spite of the emergence of this network, organized labour remained organically tied to the state-mediated political realm.

1860-1939. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE HORIZONTAL

At the outset, the seemingly straight-forward exercise of mapping organizational change encounters a minor difficulty. This involves the status of the class-based internationals that emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Specifically, we must decide here whether to regard the First and Second Internationals as embodiments of the trade union organizations of the day; whether, in

fact, these class-based internationals were organically tied, and committed exclusively to the interests of trade unions. I proceed here with the assumption that this was not the case. While it is true that both came about as initiatives of prominent trade unionists, they were not organizational embodiments of the trade union movement as such. With this in mind, the following account of the organizational form of the transnational trade union network will provide only a cursory account of the First and Second Internationals. This does not mean that these class-based internationals will be overlooked. Indeed, they will figure prominently when later discussion turns to trade union organizations' interactions with *oppositional* civil realm actors. The principal concern – at least for the moment – remains the organizational shape of the trade union-specific network during its formative years.

The first manifestations of a transnational network of organizations concerned exclusively with trade union matters appeared in 1889 when a number of industry-specific International Trade Secretariats were formed. The trade secretariats that emerged from that time onward were distinctive for one fundamental reason: these were confederations facilitating cross-border links between workers in specific crafts or industries. The first trade secretariat to appear represented printing workers. It came about in July 1889 when trade unionists in France, Spain, Italy, Germany, England, Belgium, the United States and six other nations convened a conference of typographical workers in Paris.[1] The miners were to follow in May of the next year, forming the International Miners' Federation in London. The main trade union protagonists here were from England, France, Germany, and Austria.[2] Other trade secretariats to emerge in this period included those representing boot and shoe workers (1889), clothing and metal workers (1893), textile workers (1894), and transport workers (1897).[3] The numbers of trade secretariats grew steadily. By 1900 there were seventeen, and this was to increase to twenty-seven by 1914.[4]

During this period, leading trade unionists saw the need to form a transnational confederation representing each country's principal trade union body. In spite of some misgivings about the formation of such a nationally oriented transnational confederation, there came into being in 1903 the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers.[5] At a watershed congress in Dublin in 1903 the structure, administrative form, and political character of the Secretariat started to take

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[1] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 31.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Others included the stone-workers (1903), diamond workers (1905), and pottery workers (1905). See J.P. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* (London: Kluwer, 1980), p. 23.
[4] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 31.
[5] Its formation was a slow process – taking three years – during which time its leading proponents ensured that congress meetings were held in conjunction with those of the more important national bodies of the day. The first such meeting was held when national trade union officials from Germany, Belgium, France, Finland, and Britain attended a Scandinavian conference of trade unions in Copenhagen, in 1901; See Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 24.

shape.[6] Ultimately, the leadership of the German trade union movement provided the facilities and funding needed to sustain this transnational confederation in its formative months.

By 1913 the Secretariat had developed a sound structure and was growing in terms of legitimacy and membership.[7] At this point it represented approximately 7.7 million workers of its nineteen national affiliates. It had also gained the support of the powerful American trade union movement, and was communicating with trade union federations in Argentina, South Africa, and Australia. In addition, it had also started to establish formal relations with the aforementioned trade secretariats.[8] Its last conference before World War One, held in Zurich in 1913, saw the adoption of a proposal to change the name of the organization to the International Federation of Trade Unions. Alongside confederations representing trade unions grouped according to industry and by country, there also emerged a body serving the interests of Christian workers. In 1908 trade unionists from Germany, Italy, Holland, Belgium, Austria, Switzerland, and Sweden formed the International Secretariat of Christian Trade Unions. To 1914 this confederation boasted a membership of some 540,000 workers.[9] Thus, at the outbreak of World War One the constellation of transnational labour organizations comprised a small number of International Trade Secretariats, the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the International Secretariat of Christian Trade Unions.[10]

Many trade unions throughout Europe were crippled for the duration of World War One. But in the aftermath of war these trade unions once more gravitated towards confederations that re-emerged after 1919. These included the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats. The latter soon resumed their pre-war relationship with the International Federation of Trade Unions, a confederation with which they had shared much common ground. The trade secretariats also grew in number during the inter-war years. Twenty-nine secretariats existed at this time, boasting a combined membership of some thirteen million workers from thirty-five countries. In spite of these impressive membership figures, trade secretariats still represented an overwhelmingly European-based constituency. Nonetheless, they were part of an impressive increase in the number of cross-border trade union organizations at this time.

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[6] Here, for example, it was decided that only one national body would be granted membership from each state. This was to ensure the movement was not embroiled in internal, domestic squabbling. It was also decided at this meeting that only delegates residing in the country of their union center would be eligible. Ibid.
[7] Ibid., pp. 26-27.
[8] The relationship between the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centres, and the International Trade Secretariats, gradually improved as the leadership of the American Federation of Labor began to encourage its union affiliates to join the secretariats. See Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 39.
[9] Ibid., p. 37.
[10] The Second International also played an important ancillary role in the advocacy for labour rights.

Also on the scene was the Profintern,[11] the trade union wing of the Soviet Union-backed Comintern. A creation of the Bolshevik leadership, this confederation was designed to represent trade unions worldwide that were opposed to Western-style parliamentarianism. The Profintern had a measure of success in gaining the support of some of the most prominent syndicalist leaders of the day.[12] At its peak in 1929 it boasted a membership of some seventeen million workers from fifty countries.[13]

In addition, there emerged after the war the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, a reconstituted version of the pre-war International Secretariat of Christian Trade Unions. This was an overwhelmingly Catholic organization, with Protestants representing the most significant minority constituency. Its membership – peaking at three million from approximately ten countries – now consisting mainly of trade unionists from Germany, the Netherlands, and Belgium. This membership was concentrated within continental Europe and, to some extent, countries of South America, where Catholicism was ingrained.

Also to appear in the inter-war years was the latest incarnation of the International Working Man's Association[14] (also known as the 'Syndicalist International'). Formed in 1923, this international represented an organizational milestone for worldwide syndicalism. It comprised the largest revolutionary syndicalist movements of the day, with a combined membership reaching 162,000 in 1929. Here we stray into the realm of class-based internationals, bodies who courted and purported to speak on behalf of trade unions. This syndicalist international is here granted a more prominent place than similar movements, namely, the First and Second Internationals, and the Comintern. This is because it is considered to be more organically tied to the everyday world of trade unions than those internationals concerned with universalizing programs.

Thus, on the eve of World War Two the transnational network of labour organizations – on this horizontal plane – comprised the International Federation of Trade Unions, some thirty International Trade Secretariats, the Profintern, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and a reincarnated, syndicalist, International Working Man's Association. Together, these represented – at least organizationally – an ensemble of trade union bodies with globalizing pretensions. Of these, the International Federation of Trade Unions was the pre-eminent

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[11] Also commonly known as the Red International of Labour Unions. The less cumbersome appellation – the *Profintern* – is preferred here.

[12] These included Tom Mann of England, Rosmer and Monmousseau from France, and the American William D. Haywood.

[13] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 148-49.

[14] As Thorpe notes, in "resurrecting the formal title of the First International, which they viewed as a genuinely revolutionary and libertarian International, [these syndicalists] meant to underscore the federalist character of the IWMA". See Wayne Thorpe, "Syndicalist Internationalism before World War II", in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, eds. Marcel Van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), p. 244.

confederation. After hovering at around twenty-two million in the three years following the war, its membership then declined as political and economic forces took their toll. By 1934, its membership had fallen to just 8.2 million, a reduction due in no small part to the destruction of the German and Austrian trade union movements, and to two major economic depressions.[15] Membership was to stabilize and then increase once more from the mid-1930s.

What can be discerned about the globalization of labour from this view of horizontal organizational forms? In an organizational sense the 1860-1939 period was important for a number of reasons. Firstly, we see trade unions begin to assert themselves in cross-border politics through their own entities, those distinct from the class-based internationals of the day. Moreover, this period was noteworthy for the number and variety of confederations that emerged looking to represent trade unions' interests across borders. All this should not surprise, given that it occurred during tremendous economic and political upheaval, and when communications regimes and ideologies were increasingly generating cross-border interactions. And finally, this period was interesting because the labour movement's transnational manifestations were beginning to build relationships with trade union organizations beyond Europe.

Attention thus far has been on the most prominent of those transnational confederations representing trade unions during the inter-war years. It is important also to acknowledge those nationally anchored organizations that determined the shape of the transnational network of which they were a part. While still concentrating on the organizational dimension, the emphasis now is on the more important constituent parts of this network.

1860-1939. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE VERTICAL

To reiterate, a feature shared by all peak confederations at this time was that their organizational presence was limited mainly to the European setting. This was in spite of the globalizing pretensions and aspirations underpinning their growth. This also reflected the fact that trade unionism at the national level – and especially in its federated manifestations – was itself still in its infancy. Indeed, one cannot understate the importance of a relatively small number of prominent national bodies, and the ways in which they determined the shape of the emerging transnational network. Indeed, the highly fluid and diverse nature of the peak confederations that emerged during this time reflected the major currents of European politics at the time, as well as the heterogeneity evident among the national constituent parts. A closer look at these parts reveals the nature of their

[15] The depressions in question were those of 1920-23, and 1929-34. For a comprehensive table of membership figures see Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 35.

involvement in shaping their peak, cross-border representative bodies. It also reveals the growing importance of some of the more prominent non-European trade union actors throughout the period.

The most important national actors prior to World War One were Britain's General Federation of Trade Unions – and later its successor, the Trade Union Congress – and those German trade unions linked to the Social Democratic Party. Both groupings were pivotal to the formation of various transnational labour confederations then in existence. Also of importance to the foundation of this transnational network at this time were France's Confédération Générale de Travail, Spain's Unión General de Trabajadores, and its successor, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. Similarly, the national trade union bodies of the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Belgium all played key roles in constituting transnational confederations with globalizing pretensions. Of great importance also was the American Federation of Labor, an actor to which we shall return. How, precisely, did these national actors figure in the organizational configuration of the peak transnational confederations?

Up to 1913, the International Federation of Trade Unions[16] was sustained mainly by the German, British, American, and French labour movements. In the years following the war this support fluctuated wildly as each affiliate navigated wider political currents. The much weakened German trade union affiliates could no longer play a significant role, while the American Federation of Labor withdrew its support due to a range of objections.[17] The effect of all this was a reduction in membership for the peak body from some twenty-three million in 1919, to approximately eight million in 1934. The eventual return of the American federation was the principal factor in this figure doubling towards the end of the 1930s.[18]

The importance of national players was even more apparent in the constitution of the Profintern in the early 1920s. It was comprised of a peculiar mix of affiliates, including some national trade union organizations,[19] independent trade unions, organizations such as the National Minority Movement from England, and the Trade Union Educational League of America. At various times a range of what were referred to as "revolutionary minorities"[20] gravitated towards the Profintern, though the connection was often informal and tenuous.

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[16] Known at the time as the International Secretariat of Trade Union Centres.
[17] The most important of these related to the International Federation of Trade Union's accommodation of socialist tendencies and criticisms of the League of Nations.
[18] This revival was in part due to economic recovery and, hence, larger memberships generally. It was also due to the upsurge in members from France's revitalized Confédération Générale de Travail. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 73.
[19] Most notably from Norway, Finland, France, and Czechoslovakia.
[20] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 148.

We might add to this list of important national and sub-national actors those that sustained the syndicalist incarnation of the International Working Men's Association up to its demise in 1929. These included the Spanish Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, France's Confédération Générale de Travail, the American-based Industrial Workers of the World, and Argentina's Federación Obrera Regional Argentina.[21] Another body with global aspirations – the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions – was sustained by a relatively small cluster of Northern European affiliates.

By far the most important constituent part of the transnational network of labour organizations was the American Federation of Labor. The Federation was exceptional not only because of its substantial membership base, but because it developed a significant transnational presence in its own right. Whether in its isolationist phase (1919-37), or when formally affiliated to the relevant peak confederation, this national actor played an important role in determining the shape of the network as a whole.

While it did not purport to represent trade unions on a global plane, the American Federation of Labor did develop its own brand of cross-border labour intervention. This assumed an organizational form with the establishment in 1918 of a regional body known as the Pan-American Federation of Labor.[22] An initiative of the American Federation of Labor – and partially funded by the administration of Woodrow Wilson[23] – the Pan-American Federation of Labor had, for a time, the strong support of the peak Mexican labour organization,[24] as well as of the national trade union bodies of many Central and South American countries.[25] Though short-lived – ceasing to function in 1928 – this was the forerunner of many such regional organizations.

This also points to another feature of this period; that is, the spread of trade unions – both as individual entities, and in their confederated forms – beyond the European setting. This was evidenced not only in such developments as the formation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor, but also in the number of non-European organizations that began to gravitate towards the

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[21] In addition, there were representatives from Denmark, Chile, Germany, Italy, Mexico, Portugal, Norway, and Sweden. For estimated membership figures of those present see Rudolf Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1938).

[22] Even though it boasted seventy-two representatives from seven nations, there was, in Troncoso's words, "clear hegemony by the U.S. and Mexico". Moisés Poblete Troncoso and Ben G Burnett, *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1960), p. 129 and pp. 29-32.

[23] The Wilson administration gave a secret $50,000 contribution to the AFL for the promotion of PAFL. For more detail see Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), p. 37.

[24] The most enthusiastic supporter of PAFL among the Mexican federations was Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.

[25] Troncoso and Burnett, *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement*, pp. 129-32.

International Federation of Trade Unions. Thus, by 1939, nine of the Federation's twenty-seven affiliates were from non-European locales.[26]

1860-1939. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

There are a number of points to note about the organizational aspect of this collection of national and transnational labour bodies. By the mid-1920s they began to constitute a transnational network of labour organizations, albeit in a very complex and divided form.[27] The peak confederations of this network – while aspiring to a global presence – were very weak and beholden to national trade union bodies concentrated mainly within Europe and North America. Indeed, national trade union bodies were the principal actors. In an organizational respect these were, understandably, far more established and coherent entities than the peak bodies then in existence. This reliance on the nationally anchored labour bodies suggested that the wider network, such as it was, could make only tentative claims to having a global presence, even in an organizational sense. Clustered as they were mainly within Europe, the peak confederations were globalized only in the loosest meaning of the word.

Clearly, the structural imperatives outlined earlier – those relating to the concentration of industry, economic crises, and war – mitigated greater network integration across national boundaries. To this extent there remained little evidence of a network-wide globalization of any real substance. More specific reasons for this state of affairs were intrinsic to the world of labour politics at the time. We now explore these factors with an analysis of the movement's internal integrative dimension.

1860-1939. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

Initially, the focus on this integrative dimension entails consideration of the communicative relationships that existed between the network's constituent parts. Attention then shifts to the interests and ideologies that permeated the movement as a whole throughout this period. The aim here is to complement the previous reflections on the organizational manifestations of this globalizing network with more abstract reflections on its internal dimensions of change. We find, ultimately, that even though this network had by 1939 established a global organizational presence, it was founded upon relationships, interests, and ideologies that mitigated integration and, for that matter, a disengagement from the state.

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[26] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 36.
[27] Ibid., p. 30.

1860-1939. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – RELATIONSHIPS

The rate at which trade union organizations could integrate and establish a presence across borders was to a large extent determined by the ways in which relationships internal to the network were mediated. The communication technologies and regimes then in existence – sketched out earlier in discussion of the structure of communication – were thus very important determinants in the expansion of organized labour's presence.

The period prior to 1919 was one in which labour organizations relied heavily on print-based media for both localized and long-distance communication. Gaining access to increasingly sophisticated printing equipment had earlier enabled trade unions to not only address their own local constituents, but wider audiences as well. Thus, for trade unions there emerged what Waterman refers to as the "practical and reformist publications of the workers themselves – [the] forebears of a tradition of narrow trade union journals that continues...to this day",[28] as well as the more widely distributed pamphlets, posters, newspapers, and printed decrees.

As other technologies slowly became more accessible, those within the radical and labourist *milieus* of the period wasted little time in putting them to use. Indeed, as Waterman points out, these actors eagerly embraced new technologies such as telegraphy, photography, film and, later, radio.[29] For organized labour, greater access to telegraphy meant that trade union leaders were able to more effectively establish connections between the various nationally bound trade union organizations. This, in turn, enabled the creation of broader, and more formal, transnational political communities concerned with trade union matters. This process of long-distance interaction was hastened still further as transport *via* rail and shipping became more accessible. In this regard advances in media extended the forms of representation, while at the same time facilitating face-to-face interactions – within the conference setting for instance – at least between the leadership or emissary class of trade unionist. For as long as Europe remained the predominant center of industry, the labour movements of that region were those most able to access the communication technologies that facilitated long-distance interactions. This was one factor working to preserve Europe as the network's epicentre while it simultaneously expanded to other continents.

These media would sometimes work to organized labour's disadvantage, as they were crucial not only to the ability of capital to be less spatially fixed, but also to the propagation of more chauvinistic and anti-labour diatribes. Yet, this could not inhibit, at one level, the spread of trade unionism beyond Europe and North American and, on another, the gradual knitting together of

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[28] Peter Waterman, *International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International?, Working Paper Series Number 129, July 1992* (The Hague: ISS, 1992), p. 7.

these parts into confederated entities within and across borders. How did all this figure in the context of an emerging transnational network of labour organizations? What was the nature of the representation that came to be?

The nature of the relationships, and hence forms of representation, that pertained within the trade union movement in the mid-nineteenth century were of a very localized kind. This was a period in which the relationships between constituent members and the leadership strata extended only so far as the relevant craft union, or the few nationally oriented organizations then in existence. In the late-nineteenth century there began a transition away from the more localized interactions of earlier decades that typically featured the public address, the orator, and the polemicist who came face-to-face with their audience. This gradually gave way to a more extended form of interaction, one that connected the local to the distant. Even after the emergence of the various class-based internationals, and then the transnational trade union confederations that followed, intimacy remained an important characteristic. As they gravitated towards these internationals, the various nationally bound trade union organizations encountered few intermediary layers of representation between themselves and the 'peak' confederations. This was in large part due to the absence of communications regimes and organizational structures that might foster deeper or more broad-ranging transnational interactions. In these circumstances, the spokespersons for trade union interests within these emerging transnational confederacies were the same highly identifiable, outspoken – yet territorially bound – people that coordinated the affairs of national trade union bodies.

The extent to which these proximate relationships persisted into the first decades of the twentieth century might also be attributable to the absence of those institutional mechanisms for petitioning the state. In the absence of centralized industrial relations regimes, for instance, trade unions relied firstly upon the advocacy of the class-based internationals, and then later on their own federated systems of representation. As instruments of state welfare and mediation developed, and national trade union organizations emerged as autonomous entities, the latter began to orientate themselves to interaction with the machinery of state. We will consider in later discussion the ways in which this statist turn was facilitated, but what should be noted here is that organized labour's growing transnational presence came at a time when connections to the state also became more important.

Trade unions in the early twentieth century moved in various orbits simultaneously, revolving around communities framed according to industry, class, religion, gender, and nationality. Relationships necessarily grew to be more extended – and diluted – because the cross-border organizational structures that emerged could not accommodate these often conflicting allegiances.

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[29] ibid., pp. 6-8.

This is hardly surprising given that all confederacies are, by definition, weakest at their center. This was so much more the case in this instance, where the peak bodies purported to represent constituents across the globe.

The fluidity that characterized the emergence of the network's organizational structure can be related to the extended nature of the relationships that emerged. Allegiances to, and between, peak bodies could as time progressed easily shift because relationships were not premised upon solid, enduring, or intimate ties. For their part, peak bodies' representation was necessarily premised on the ephemeral; that is, the exhortation, the proclamation, and the evocation of vague notions of solidarity. At this level, representation came to be premised on a detached and symbolic form of integration. We might thus characterize the prevailing internal integrative relationships as being simultaneously extended – as evidenced by a very weak transnational system of confederacies – and at the same time oriented to the local, where solidaristic relationships were more in evidence. Given the contending interests and ideologies at play it is no surprise that the relationships along the vertical plane remained more intimate than those that were extended across the transnational, horizontal, plane. It is to these interests and ideologies to which we now turn.

1860-1939. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTERESTS, IDEOLOGIES

It would be wrong to imply that trade union actors throughout Europe, the Americas, the Antipodes, Africa, and Asia shared identical experiences of the structural imperatives that marked the period.[30] However, by the late-nineteenth century certain trends were evident that impacted on the great majority of trade union movements of the day. The rapid expansion of industry fuelled dramatic increases in the numbers of urban workers. This was also accompanied by increasing levels of migration within and between countries. Under these conditions urban artisans and craft workers were gradually displaced by new technologies and the new skilled industrial workers that accompanied them. Throughout the 1870s – in most of Europe and North America – severe labour shortages strengthened the position of trade unions. Subsequently, memberships increased dramatically, as did the coverage of crafts and industries not yet familiar with the presence of trade

[30] Industrialization was an uneven process. Periods of prosperity in some regions coincided with severe downturns in others. While many nations participated in the war of 1914, many did not. While some experienced civil war, others enjoyed stability. And, more broadly, the effects of all manner of such turbulence were felt more intensely in some regions than others. Such variation can be seen in the economic conditions experienced by trade unions in the United Kingdom, and the United States, throughout the 1880s. The former experienced at this time unprecedented prosperity in conditions of economic expansion, while the latter suffered economic deprivations during a severe economic slump. Stefan Berger, "European Labour Movements and the European Working Class in Comparative Perspective", in *The Force of Labour: The Western European Labour Movement and the Working Class in the Twentieth Century*, eds. Stefan Berger and David Broughton (Oxford: Berg, 1995), pp. 245-46. For more see Hamish W. Fraser, *A History of British Trade Unionism 1700-1998* (London: MacMillan, 1999), pp. 54-97, Shelton Stromquist, "United States of America", in *The Formation of Labour Movements 1870-1914: An International Perspective*, eds. Marcel Van Der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1990), pp. 543-46.

unions. This period also coincided with unprecedented strike activity, during which organized labour caused great consternation on the part of governments.

In essence, the most important interests of the period related to the threats posed by new technologies and de-skilling, the fight for an eight-hour day, countering the efforts of strike-breakers, providing support for striking workers, and gaining legitimacy with governments at a time when the welfare state was in its embryonic form. These were the practical, everyday concerns for trade unions: they were the interests that served to integrate the constituent parts of the emerging confederations. In the early decades of the twentieth century, these interests were increasingly overshadowed by the effects of war (actual or imminent), depression, the rise of fascism, and radicalism. These were concerns of a different order, affecting those attempting to establish formal cross-border networks under the auspices of transnational confederations.

The evolution of the various trade-union-oriented organizations and the cross-border constellation they formed cannot be considered apart from such significant events. The following provides an insight into tensions that came to the fore, and how these tensions shaped the interests that informed the network on a broader plane. This will, in turn, help to give character to the ideological currents then evident throughout the transnational network of labour organizations. It will become apparent that the interests and ideologies impinging on organized labour throughout this period mitigated cross-border integration, while simultaneously resulting in stronger ties with the state. Thus, in spite of a growing organizational presence, there is little to suggest that organized labour was globalizing, in any significant sense, throughout this period.

We commence with an account of the tensions that existed between the major trade union confederations of the day. The principal transnational confederation at this time – the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers – encountered many difficulties in reconciling the contending interests of its constituent parts. Many of these problems stemmed from its attempt to reconcile what Lorwin identifies as the three different types of trade unionism existing at the time: these he labels German-Austrian socialist-reformist, French syndicalist,[31] and the decentralized and fragmented British and American models.[32] The latter were, according to Lorwin, "nonsocialist, if not antisocialist, in outlook"[33] and came to play a decisive part in determining the political disposition of the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers. This was evidenced by

[31] We should also acknowledge here the importance of Italian and Spanish syndicalist movements.
[32] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 32-33.
[33] Ibid., p. 33.

the reluctance of the conservative American Federation of Labor to join the Secretariat until the latter's socialist and anarchist tendencies were purged.[34]

Ideological differences were also at the heart of tensions existing between the various European affiliates of the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers. For example, the syndicalist-inclined French affiliate, the Confédération Générale du Travail, boycotted two conferences because the peak body's leader, Carl Legien, had opposed their attempt to incorporate the 'general strike' and anti-militarist campaigns into the Secretariat's program.[35] Ultimately, Legien and his supporters succeeded in redefining the movement's charter in order to reflect more limited and conservative goals than those sought by the syndicalists. They did this by passing a motion in 1905 which excluded "all theoretical questions and questions affecting tendencies and tactics".[36]

Tensions of a different sort were also evident. The British, for example, were frequently criticized for their insularity: this, critics charged, was evident in their reluctance to offer assistance to foreign unionists travelling through Britain.[37] This ran counter to the approach taken by European trade union bodies, an approach that gave visiting unionists access to services free of charge.[38] World War One was to expose more fundamental differences between the prominent nationally bound movements of the day. While there were efforts by various leaderships to maintain links between labour organizations of antagonist countries, the conflagration that engulfed Europe crippled what was an already fractious transnational network of labour organizations.[39]

The ensuing inter-war years have been characterized by Stevis as a period of increased "statism".[40] He is referring here to the increased tension between states who embraced – and then also championed – their chosen internationalist or 'universalist' state ideologies. The rise of fascism,

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[34] Its own belated application for official membership in 1911 was motivated principally by the desire to prevent the more radical elements within the American workers' movement – for example, members of the Industrial Workers of the World – from gaining membership, and thus assuming the title of sole international representative for American labour. A fuller account of this period of the AFL's history is to be found in Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1959), pp. 194-226.

[35] The conferences were held in Amsterdam in 1905 and Christiania (Oslo) in 1907.

[36] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 25.

[37] At this stage the British workers were represented by the General Federation of Trade Unions; later to be replaced by the Trade Union Congress.

[38] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 35-36.

[39] The standard reading at this point is one in which all labour movements fell lemming-like into line and served the interests of their respective states as they prepared for war. Though this was true to a great extent, it was not the case in all instances. For example, even as the German Social Democratic Party at first vacillated, and then supported the war, there were those within that movement that attempted to maintain links with the labour organizations of antagonist nations. Indeed, the leader of the International Federation of Trade Unions, Carl Legien, tried in vain to maintain links between trade union organizations by establishing offices in neutral countries. While the Germans continued in their efforts to convene inclusive conferences, these were boycotted by union leaders from the Allied countries. Julius Braunthal, *History of the International: 1914-1943*, vol. 2 (London: Nelson, 1963), pp. 4-8, Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 27-28. For an excellent study of the disintegration of the Second International see Braunthal, *History of the International: 1914-1943*, pp. 1-35 and pp. 149-61. For a list of those who were for, and those who were against, the war see p. 154 in the same volume.

[40] Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", p. 58.

communism as expressed by the Bolsheviks, American free-market liberalism, together with colonialist empire-building thus combined to impose upon organized labour a new set of state related constraints and imperatives. Escape from this "internationalism from above"[41] was impossible for the main organs of the world labour movement. Each of the main players were to become locked into – and often supportive of – one of these ideological tendencies. We shall return in due course to the issue of allegiance to state, and its role in intra-network rivalry. It is important simply to note here that one cannot exaggerate the extent to which the interests informing the various constituent parts of the network at this time came to be aligned with the interests of state.

In later years – throughout the late 1930s – tensions within the International Federation of Trade Unions,[42] and also between its affiliates, were never far from the surface. For example, the American Federation of Labor often showed hostility towards the International Federation of Trade Unions for providing what it considered to be refuge to the remnants of syndicalist and communist trade union movements. In contrast, the Soviet Union's newly constituted Profintern denounced the peak confederation for being too eager to compromise with the world of capital.

Intra-network tensions were nowhere more evident than in the relationship between the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Profintern, and their respective affiliates. The nature of this relationship was largely determined by the Communist Party leadership in Moscow. They encouraged Profintern supporters – and essentially this meant the Soviet Union's domestic body, the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions – to infiltrate the International Federation of Trade Unions. Profintern supporters were directed to cooperate with the Federation only to the extent required to establish strategic leverage over that organization. In time, this strategy was reversed as the pro-Soviet trade unions launched attacks on those Federation affiliates that persisted in advocating change *via* parliament and any form of social-democracy.[43]

Inevitably, the conflict triggered by 'party internationalism' to some extent infected all transnational trade union organizations. The account above refers to the tensions that existed between the Profintern and the International Federation of Trade Unions; but the International Trade Secretariats were not immune from this new form of conflict. Ultimately, the hostility of Profintern affiliates towards social-democrat trade unions resulted in many trade secretariats expelling the communist-backed antagonists.[44]

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[41] Drainville, "Left Internationalism and the Politics of Resistance in the New World Order", p. 221.
[42] The successor to the International Secretariat of National Trade Union Centers.
[43] The disposition of the Profintern affiliates often changed throughout these two decades. For a more detailed analysis of the twists and turns *vis-à-vis* the IFTU see Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 31-33.
[44] In the years to come the fate of the Profintern mirrored that of its main benefactor – the Soviet Union. It too was caught off guard by the rise of fascism in Germany, and its last minute attempts in 1935 to reconcile its differences with the International Federation of Trade Unions proved futile. Its demise did not eventuate until 1943 – the same year as the demise of the Comintern – but was nevertheless a foregone conclusion. Perhaps Lorwin best describes its significance

In opposition to both the International Federation of Trade Unions and the Profintern was a loose constellation of syndicalist organizations that, by the early 1920s, had gained strong support throughout Europe, the Americas, and parts of Asia.[45] The syndicalist movement was opposed to the nationally oriented and statist confederations because of an aversion to the concentration of authority. It followed that parliaments, legislatures, and other instruments of state were targeted because they were premised upon a concentration of authority that led, it was argued, to the estrangement and ultimate subjugation of the body politic.

As a global movement, syndicalism reached its organizational pinnacle in 1923 when the world's most prominent syndicalist leaders (re)established the International Workingmen's Association. Increased migration and labour mobility, changes in the structure of the world economy, and more effective communications had all facilitated the spread of the syndicalist doctrine and the eventual formation of an organization intended to represent its followers worldwide.[46] Ironically, the emergence of the Comintern and the Profintern provided added impetus for the spread of syndicalism. Initial ambivalence towards these organizations – and towards the Bolsheviks themselves – on the part of syndicalist leaders soon changed to outright hostility as the Profintern's statist disposition became evident.[47] This rejection of statism had proved popular, and had spurred a growth in syndicalism worldwide. After 1929 this international fell into steady decline. This was due in the main to the rise of fascism in the syndicalist strongholds of Spain, Italy, Germany, and Portugal.[48]. And yet the International Workingmen's Association is worthy of note here because it expressed a doctrine which was explicitly anti-state. Its slow decline was a symptom of the trade

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when he refers to the Profintern as "an agitational center which served the interests of the Third International". Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 149.

[45] Syndicalism cannot be easily brushed aside because, as Van der Linden asserts, it "was not only an international phenomenon, but also an international movement". Marcel Van der Linden, "Second Thoughts on Revolutionary Syndicalism", *Labour History Review*, 63, 2 (1998), p. 105. 'Syndicalism' has been used to describe any manner of "revolutionary, direct-actionist organizations". In this thesis, however, the most prevalent interpretation of the term 'syndicalist' will be employed: we will consider syndicalism to denote a revolutionary doctrine that considers trade unions to be the principal vehicles for social transformation and emancipation. For a thorough outline of this movement's genealogy see chapter six in Rocker, *Anarcho-Syndicalism*.

[46] Van der Linden, "Second Thoughts on Revolutionary Syndicalism", p. 186.

[47] The rise of fascism was also a factor in the decline of the Profintern, and its parent international, the Comintern. Both were fatally discredited in the eyes of most trade union leaders by the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives in Spain. In this instance the Soviet government denied the republican forces vital aid in part because of its opposition to the anarcho-syndicalists. The latter were very prominent among the loyalists. For an analysis of the conflict between socialists, anarcho-syndicalists, Trotskyists, and communists in the Spanish Civil War see Braunthal, *History of the International: 1914-1943*, pp. 447-68. The Profintern was also discredited by the signing of the Hitler-Stalin Pact of 1939, and by the devastating outcomes of Stalin's 'collectivisation' throughout the 1930s.

[48] It also suffered because the American Industrial Workers of the World focused on organizing the shrinking pool of itinerant workers – those with no union representation at all – rather than workers from established sectors. See chapter 3, and pages 320-350 in Paul F. Brissendon, *The I.W.W.: Study of American Syndicalism*, Third edition. (New York: Russell and Russell, 1957) and Melvyn Dubofsky, "The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary Syndicalism in the United States", in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, eds. Marcel Van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), pp. 203-20.

union organizations of the world choosing to gravitate towards the state – in its various incarnations – and not away from it.[49]

Of all the globally oriented confederations reviewed above, the International Trade Secretariats remained the least susceptible to intra-network discord. Over the years little had changed in regard to their interests, activities, and worldviews.[50] Their post-World War One activities still involved disseminating information about their respective industries, collecting strike-support funds, publishing journals, and arranging congresses. Their main concerns at this point continued to be the movement of strike-breakers from country to country, as well as campaigning for decent, uniform, working conditions across national boundaries for their respective trades. Also of concern was the implementation of international minimum wage rates, as well as the possible implementation by governments of a broad set of minimum labour standards. Increasingly, trade secretariats also shared a concern about the rapid expansion of markets and, hence, the competition by states for the cheapest labour. In addition, the increasing prevalence of more mobile capital, monopolies, and cartels also figured in the interests of most trade secretariats.[51]

These concerns were shared by all the confederations reviewed thus far. What distinguished the trade secretariats from other mediums of global trade union advocacy was the fact that they were one step removed from much of the ideological antagonisms of the period. They were able to remain apart – though never totally immune – from the various 'internationalisms' of the day because their organic connection with particular industries, as opposed to nations, meant they were less susceptible to the gravitational pull of the politics of state and/or empire.[52]

This orientation did not preclude close relations between trade secretariats and their nationally oriented counterparts. Indeed, the relationship between the trade secretariats and the International

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[49] Its decline was also due to a combination of sociological factors. As Thorpe and Van der Linden argue, it was above all the "emergence of the welfare state and of...Fordist accumulation patterns..." that presented the movement with the "trilemma" it ultimately failed to overcome. Marcel Van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe, "The Rise and Fall of Revolutionary Syndicalism", in *Revolutionary Syndicalism: An International Perspective*, eds. Marcel Van der Linden and Wayne Thorpe (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1990), p. 18. See also Van der Linden, "Second Thoughts on Revolutionary Syndicalism", pp. 189-91. This trilemma entailed having to choose to either adhere to its program and face being marginalized; abandoning its principles and then conforming to the prevailing conditions; or disbanding the movement and merging with those confederations representing the mainstream union movement. It appears that all these options were pursued at various times by various parts of the movement. But support for the International Workingmen's Association leaked away to those organizations espousing social-democrat, communist, reformist or liberal positions.

[50] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 122.

[51] For a survey of the campaigns run in the various trade secretariats see Ibid., pp. 123-26.

[52] All this is to perhaps imply that the International Trade Secretariats were of a kind. While they were all alike in the respects mentioned above, they did differ in important ways. These differences stemmed from their respective industries' standing in the world economy. For example, the trade secretariats representing stone-cutters, hairdressers, or hatters, were, according to one historian, "little more than paper organizations and annexes to the German trade unions in these trades"; whereas those representing printers, and building trades workers, had developed sophisticated systems of mutual insurance and mutual aid in strikes in order to cater for the large number of transient workers under their care. Ibid., p. 126. Another category included those representing workers engaged in producing and processing the raw materials for the world economy. These included the International Miners' Federation, the International Association of Machinists, and the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Federation of Trade Unions was characterized by a spirit of mutual recognition. The latter's national affiliates encouraged individual trade unions to join their respective trade secretariats; while the secretariats usually urged their affiliates to support the national trade union center of their state.[53]

Another divergent current at the time was that represented by the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. Its political program was based upon the belief that rampant capitalism should be moderated because it denied people the opportunity to receive a 'fair share' for their efforts. An emphasis on harmony, corporatism, and mutual obligation between both capital and the state were very important in this worldview.[54] Talk of class warfare and the destruction of the state was rejected by this Christian labour confederation: indeed, the state was considered pivotal in providing for the well-being of the citizenry, as well as freedom to institutions such as the church. More specifically, the state was urged to establish industrial relations regimes comprising authorities who were to ensure minimum wage levels, decent conditions of employment, inexpensive housing, and social insurance.[55]

Relationships between the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions and other trade union organizations – principally the International Federation of Trade Unions – were strained. The former considered the International Federation of Trade Unions to be shrill, provocative, and unnecessarily belligerent. For its part, the International Federation of Trade Unions considered the Christian confederation to be traitorous for "undermining working class unity".[56] Notwithstanding a brief thawing of relations during the height of fascism in Europe in the mid-1930s, these confederations remained bitter antagonists.[57]

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[53] The secretariats were granted the right to attend the International Federation of Trade Union's Executive Bureau meetings. While they were in no way answerable to that body, there was an understanding that the trade secretariats would consult on important issues. According to one historian the "[trade secretariats] were not to concern themselves with the formulation of general policies since this area belonged to the IFTU but were expected to adhere to IFTU views and in so far as possible to implement them". Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 38.

[54] For a more detailed examination of the theoretical foundations of this movement see John C. Cort, *Christian Socialism: An Informal History* (New York: Orbis Books, 1988), Peter d'A. Jones, *The Christian Socialist Revival: 1877-1914.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968).

[55] The International Federation of Christian Trade Unions' worldview was anti-capitalist only to the extent that it opposed the reverence of wealth, which was seen as undermining human dignity. This rejection of capitalist excess in no way made communist, socialist, syndicalist, or anarchist doctrines acceptable. These creeds were considered extreme, violent, destructive and, above all, anti-religious. If justice and the common good be served, according to the worldview espoused by the leaders of the Christian confederation, "it was not necessary to destroy but to purify existing economic and social institutions". Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 155.

[56] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 41.

[57] Some common ground did exist. Like the International Federation of Trade Unions, the Christian labour movement supported – indeed, demanded inclusion into – the various International Labour Organization committees and League of Nations agencies looking into economic matters. While the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions was under no illusion about the ability of these international organizations to guarantee all of its demands, it too placed a great deal of faith in the potential of international labour legislation. Fundamentally – and on a more practical level – the demands of both organizations did not greatly differ. Like other labour confederations, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions was dealt a severe blow by the rise of fascism. Totalitarian governments in Italy, Germany and Spain ensured that its largest affiliates were alienated from their Christian peak body. While this movement had a minimal impact on the shape of the global network of labour movements it is noteworthy because it expressed an unambiguous

I have dwelt here on the intra-network tensions – and divergent interests – evident at the level of the peak confederations. However, any account of these tensions would be incomplete without mention of the most prominent national organization, the American Federation of Labor. Throughout the early 1920s the American Federation of Labor cared little for engagement with its European counterparts. It was preoccupied with the increasing radicalism of the American labour movement. The syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World was making great gains in this period, as was the American Labor Party when it established itself as a nationwide organization in 1920.[58] Aside from the spread of these ideologically diverse movements, the American Federation of Labor was concerned with socio-economic processes that were affecting its constituents. These processes included the introduction of Fordist mass production methods in industry, rapid industrialization of the southern states, and the advent of what was later to become known as 'company unions'. Given these domestic challenges the American Federation of Labor had little time for the permutations of European labour politics.

The estrangement from the European setting was also due to tensions between the American Federation of Labor and the International Federation of Trade Unions.[59] For seventeen years following armistice the American Federation of Labor refused to join the International Federation of Trade Unions. The principal reason for this self-enforced exile was that it could not abide the pro-Soviet socialist and communist elements still active within the International Federation of Trade Unions.[60] Calls for general strikes and the 'socialization of the means of production' from some of these elements only reinforced the Americans' antipathy. Exacerbating all this was personal acrimony between the leaders of these organizations.[61]

In time, however, the American Federation of Labor began to gravitate closer to the International Federation of Trade Unions. National concerns were a key motivating factors in this *rapprochement*. In the beginning of 1922 the American communist movement established the Workers' Party of America and adopted more vigorous tactics in their efforts to establish themselves within organizations representing workers. In the process, trade unions, their leaders, and the American Socialist Party all became the focus of communist hostility. That the American

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support for reform *via* the instruments of the state. Indeed, its political program in many ways prefigured the corporatist arrangements that were to become so prevalent some four to five decades later

[58] Brissendon, *The I.W.W.: Study of American Syndicalism*, Rayback, *A History of American Labor*, pp. 226-49.

[59] For more on the relationship between the AFL and the IFTU during the 1920s see Philip Taft, *The A.F. Of L. From the Death of Gompers to the Merger* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959), pp. 233-56.

[60] This perceived European radicalism had been a persistent irritant in the relationship between American and European labour since the middle of the nineteenth century.

[61] Samuel Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, and Jean Oudegeest of the International Federation of Trade Unions, often exchanged very terse communiques. This exacerbated the tension between the two organizations throughout the early 1920s. Other differences existed. The American Federation of Labor's refusal to join the International Federation of Trade Unions was a rejection of the binding nature of the majority vote system then in place. Another major point of disagreement was what the Americans considered to be a prohibitive per-capita affiliation tax. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 81-83.

Socialist Party also fell foul of the Workers' Party of America in some ways cast the former in a more moderate and acceptable light.[62] For trade union leaders of the mainstream, the hitherto distant conflicts in Europe between labour moderates and radicals now had resonance. According to one historian, this awareness of sharing common enemies with the International Federations of Trade Unions "broke the ice between the AF of L and the IFTU".[63]

Another motive for embracing the European-based International Federation of Trade Unions was the need to out-flank a new and more radical domestic labour actor, the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Formed in 1936, the Congress gravitated towards the Soviet supported Profintern. The International Federation of Trade Unions' policy restricting membership to one national body from each country meant that when the Congress of Industrial Organizations presented itself as an alternative to the American Federation of Labor, the latter had to move swiftly to assume the mantle of principal American labour organization in the largest transnational confederation then in existence.[64] Finally, all these factors combined with a heightened fear of fascism in Europe, with this proving the single most decisive motive for a reversal of American Federation of Labor policy towards the International Federation of Trade Unions. Subsequently, the Americans joined the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1937, bringing to the latter an additional three million members as well as considerable political influence.[65]

The reluctance on the part of the American Federation of Labor to join the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Labour Organization should not be interpreted as isolationism *per se*. Indeed, the American Federation of Labor from the inter-war years demonstrated its own form of internationalism through its ideological pronouncements and actions. Its creation of the Pan-American Federation of Labor was evidence of a desire to assert American labour's interests through the medium of cross-border trade union organizations. An initiative of the American Federation of Labor, the Pan-American Federation of Labor had for a time the strong support of the peak Mexican labour organization,[66] as well as support from the national trade union federations of many Central and South American nations.[67] Try as they might, however, the American labour leaders could not escape confrontation with the 'European ideas' of syndicalism, anarcho-syndicalism, and communism, all of which had strong representation in the labour

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[62] Ibid., pp. 84-85.
[63] The process of reconciliation, however, remained a slow one, and was finally realized in the mid-1930s after first the United States government, and then the American Federation of Labor, entered the League of Nations and the International Labour Organization. Ibid., p. 84.
[64] Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", p. 61.
[65] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 180.
[66] The most enthusiastic supporter of PAFL among the Mexican federations was Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana.
[67] Troncoso and Burnett, *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement*, pp. 129-32.

movements of most Latin American countries.[68] This was due to these movements' strong cultural, social, and political affinities with countries such as Spain, France, and Germany. The tensions that arose between radical elements within the Latin American labour movements and the American Federation of Labor were exacerbated by deep resentment of American military expansionism in the region.[69]

Clearly, ideology played a pivotal role in determining the nature of these interests and tensions. How can we give clearer definition to these divergent ideological tendencies? Recall that the previous reflections on the prevailing structural imperatives highlighted various constellations of intertwining ideologies and worldviews.[70] The proposition was put that by the end of the 1930s many of the hitherto influential 'emancipatory' ideologies had begun to lose momentum. At the same time, conservative notions – most notably, statism – were on the ascendancy. This was, however, a highly dynamic process, given that the various tendencies were so closely intertwined. Of particular interest in this interplay was the way in which the ascendant conservative notions of statism became wedded to emancipatory doctrines such as republicanism and social democracy. All this was reflected within the world of organized labour.

It was earlier noted how radical elements espousing emancipatory doctrines had assumed organizational forms. Indeed, the First and Second Internationals, the Comintern, and then the International Workingmen's Association (also known as the Syndicalist International), came to represent the high-water mark for Marxism, social-democracy, and syndicalism respectively. But for trade unions these decades – and especially the inter-war years – were noted mainly for a turning away from what remained of these class-based internationals, and for a shift towards labourist internationalism *via* the expanding network of cross-border trade union organizations. It was at this point that a commitment to the state became an imperative for these emerging forms of labour advocacy. In other words, both the class-based internationals, and their emergent trade union-oriented counterparts, began to embrace conservative, statist, pragmatism. This occurred in spite of the existence of the anti-statist syndicalist international and the industry-specific trade secretariats. While syndicalism had been an anti-statist actor within the trade union circles – committed to an emancipatory doctrine – it declined markedly as the state gained more supporters, and as fascism and war undermined its purchase throughout the Americas and Southern Europe. Similarly, while the International Trade Secretariats were less susceptible to statism, their

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[68] Ibid., p. 148.

[69] These tensions were especially evident following the American intervention in Nicaragua in 1924. See Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 93.

[70] These were categorized as *emancipatory* (i.e., Marxism, anarchism, syndicalism, labourism, bourgeoisie cosmopolitanism, and republicanism), *conservative* (i.e., statism, fascism, religiosity, and ultra-nationalism), *instrumentalist* (i.e., imperialism, colonialism, mercantilism, capitalist free-market liberalism, corporatism, and productivism) and, lastly, *developmentalist* (i.e., progressivism, modernization, rationalism).

autonomy should not be overstated, given that their own affiliates were also closely linked to respective national trade union organizations.

Thus, both emancipatory class-based ideologies and ameliorative trade unionism slowly came to be conflated with conservative notions of statism. This was especially so in the inter-war years when the principal trade union confederations were consumed by 'party internationalism' and statist pragmatism. Importantly, this conservative statist turn by organized labour also coincided with the increasing prevalence of developmentalist and instrumentalist ideas. These expressed themselves in the celebration of progress and modernization, and were facilitated by the state as well as through the corporatism, Fordism, 'business unionism', and managerialism that was so a part of the period's structure of production.

1860-1939. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

What can be gleaned from these observations about the internal integrative dimension of change throughout this period? What do they reveal about the level of integration within the network, and globalizing tendencies in general? By the 1930s this network was projecting itself beyond Europe. However, divisiveness and ideological cleavages mitigated anything more than highly extended – indeed, symbolic – forms of representation. Those parts of the network that did extend beyond Europe remained, in reality, almost totally beholden to nationally anchored affiliates. All this was reinforced by emerging worldviews that served to more closely align the interests of trade union organizations with those of individual states. In the absence of such integration across national boundaries, the nature of the network's globalization was only of a very superficial kind.

In the following we assume a different vantage point in order to gauge the extent to which organized labour was globalizing throughout this period. We begin by exploring, in less abstract terms, labour's 'external' interactions with the state-mediated political realm. This necessarily entails a much closer look at the second major indicator used in this thesis to gauge the extent of organized labour's globalization – the degree to which trade union bodies remained wedded to the state.

PART ONE

CHAPTER TWO

EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1860-1939

1860-1939. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE NATIONAL

It is perhaps misleading to speak of a 'statist turn' as though a commitment to the state first developed early in the twentieth century. This is because *statehood* had always been a preoccupation for labour movements. Indeed, this notion was as relevant for the reformist trade union movements as it was for the radical collectivist tendencies within Marxist, socialist, and syndicalist *milieus*. As Forman points out,

> it is impossible to understand the political ideas that emerge from the international labour movement, without referring back to the Enlightenment and its notion of *republicanism* [emphasis added], equality, and cosmopolitan purposes.[1]

Of interest here, however, is the way in which this preoccupation – especially as it related to the growing number of nation-oriented trade union confederations – began to assume a more formalized commitment. This commitment was especially evident after the First International's demise, and in the formative days of its successor, the Second International.

Even though there was a growing commitment to the state in the mid-nineteenth century, this had been expressed in rather vague terms that more often spoke of the right to 'nationhood'. This tentativeness was because the state infrastructure relevant to organized labour – for example, systems of welfare and support – had yet to materialize. This was to change throughout the 1860s, as the growing preoccupation with the state came to represent one factor in the collapse of the First International. Organized labour's turn towards the state was evidenced in the last days of this

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[1] Michael Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 9.

international. In the years leading up to its collapse political leaders throughout Europe in particular were beginning to establish the foundations for what later came to be known as the welfare state. Eventually this was to involve the emergence of systems of arbitration and legislation that went some way to accommodating the concerns of organized labour.[2] And so when doctrinal tensions between the ideologists of the First International reached a pitch, significant affiliates from the union movement abandoned that international, opting instead to petition their respective states either directly or through political parties. This, once more, mitigated a more profound globalization, in spite of continuing growth of 'peak' bodies purporting to represent labour interests across national borders.

The formation of the Second International in 1889 was to trigger a more profound shift in the relationship between organized labour and the state. In contrast to the First International – where, initially at least, ties to the state were not especially intense – members of the Second International invested heavily in the parliaments of the day. The Second International was formed within the context of a dramatic growth of labour and socialist parties throughout Europe, as well as in Latin America and Japan.[3] These were to form the nucleus of the international, with the main participants eventually being the socialist parties of Germany, Austria, Sweden, the British Labour Party, and the socialist national organizations of Belgium, Holland, and France. By virtue of their affiliations with these parties, major trade union organizations of the day were necessarily tied to the Second International.

Leaders of the Second International aimed to not only reform the state in ways that entrenched workers' rights, but to also champion the right to statehood for emerging national liberation movements.[4] What is important is that the notion of statehood, as well as the configuration of the institutions of state, loomed large in the thinking of these leaders. The parties associated with the Second International, and their trade union affiliates, hence came to rely heavily upon the processes of government. In time, they became integrated into systems of parliamentary democracy, with

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[2] Dimitris Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 4, 1 (1998), p. 56.

[3] For example, from the early 1880s Europe had witnessed the continued growth of the pivotal German Social Democratic Party. For a thorough account of the origins and political disposition of the SDP during this period see Helga Grebing, *The History of the German Labour Movement*, English edition. (London: Berg Publishers, 1969), pp. 46-124. In addition, there was the establishment in France of a socialist party as well as the spread in that country of anti-Marxist leftist groups. These included the *possibilists*, Allemanists, Blanquists and *independents*. To this we should add the formation in Britain of the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabian Society, and then later the Independent Labour Party. Similarly, socialist candidates enjoyed modest electoral success in Denmark, while a range of socialist parties were formed in the region, including the Swedish Social Democratic Party (1887), the Belgium Labour Party (1885), and the Swiss Socialist Party (1888). What were later to become socialist parties were beginning to appear in Austria, Italy, Russia, and Finland. Beyond Europe, the Socialist Labor Party in the United States was also beginning to make its presence felt. Lewis L. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), pp. 19-20.

[4] It is perhaps besides the point here to suggest that by stressing the importance of the state as a vehicle for emancipation the leaders of the Second International clung to the erroneous belief that a commitment to nation, as well as to class, could be reconciled.

leaders of democratic-socialist and labourist parties frequently holding important positions within national legislatures.

Thus, there developed within the ranks of the radical-collectivist movements of the day a tension between gradualism and revolution; between those that sought power through existing democratic processes, and those seeking fundamental, structural change. In the Second International this tension was resolved with the purging of the anti-parliamentarian elements.[5] Throughout, organized labour's association with the Second International – through the agency of the International's party affiliates – necessarily implied closer contact with the machinery of state, more intimate links to governments, and a greater investment and commitment to the state in general.

Gradually, trade unions began to assert their autonomy in relation to parties of the Left; parties that increasingly offered little more than utopian visions and symbolic proclamations. Trade union organizations were able to make this shift, in part, because of their increasing power. This had come about largely as a result of the dramatic industrialization of Europe, and was manifest in significant increases in membership and, hence, resources. While unions were gaining in strength during this period, social-democrat parties were stagnating. There was little reason, then, for trade unions to remain totally dependent upon such parties when labour was developing the means with which to petition governments directly.

This, however, did not signal the end of trade unions' relationships with political parties. Rather, trade unions began to gravitate towards those parties that were unambiguously reformist, and that permitted a high degree of power-sharing between leaders of both organizations. This shift on the part of trade unions must also be understood against a background of ever expanding systems of state sanctioned collective agreements, of conciliation and arbitration, and domestic labour laws. This meant that trade unions began to have a real stake in preserving existing industrial relations systems, and in dismissing what seemed increasingly to be fanciful revolutionary political programs.[6]

All this was being played out not only against a background of the 1914-18 conflagration, but also the confrontation between the anti-communist American labour movement and their counterparts within the fledgling Soviet state. The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 had confirmed many of the worst fears of the conservative American trade unionists, and their antipathy towards the Soviet Union was to prove decisive in shaping international labour politics for decades to come. The

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[5] Julius Braunthal, *History of the International: 1864-1914* (London: Nelson, 1961), pp. 255-24. See also Gary K Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London: The MacMillan, 1983), pp. 9-12.
[6] J.P. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* (London: Kluwer, 1980), pp. 22-23.

mutual antagonism that developed was to result in a divided movement, with rival peak confederations vying for the allegiances of national trade union bodies across the globe.

As previously noted, the post-World War One period was, for organized labour, characterized as an era of increased statism. It was an era, according to Drainville, that witnessed the transformation of

> various moments of internationalist solidarity into various terrains of programatic struggle and left little room for an internationalist movement not identified in terms of party or state allegiances... turning internationalism into an interstate affair, in which international solidarity was measured by state-bound allegiances.[7]

Each of the main players within the fractious transnational network of labour organizations were to be subsumed by – and often supportive of – states that were championing various ideological tendencies. For example, leaders of the British Trade Union Congress worked closely with the Labour governments of 1924 and 1929-31 to maintain their country's imperialist policies;[8] the American Federation of Labor became a more active supporter of its governments' strident anti-communist, liberal, and productivist worldviews;[9] the Russian labour movement became an instrumental part of the Comintern; while the German, Italian, and Spanish trade union movements were to endure concerted assaults by fascist regimes. Ultimately, these conflicts were to result in debilitating internecine struggles within the world labour movement itself. Organized labour's incorporation into this state-mediated political realm is best illustrated through the political-organizational connections that emerged in the post-World War One period. These connections reveal the extent to which major organizations purporting to represent trade unions' interests across borders began to fulfil political roles on behalf of patron states.

The Profintern serves as one example of such symbiosis. A political role was designated to it by the Communist Party leadership in Moscow. We noted earlier how the latter dictated the Profintern's orientation in relation to other transnational labour confederations. They did this through the agency of its major national affiliate, the Russian All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. In this way, the Profintern's disposition came to mirror the domestic and foreign policies of the Soviet Union at the time. It then played a functional role on behalf of the state, a role that necessarily

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[7] André C. Drainville, "Left Internationalism and the Politics of Resistance in the New World Order", in *A New World Order: Global Transformations in the Late Twentieth Century*, ed. József Böröcz (London: Greenwood Press, 1995), p. 221.

[8] For an excellent analysis of the relationship between British labour and imperialist governments of the day see John Saville, "Britain: Internationalism and the Labour Movement between the Wars", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

[9] Mark E. Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 46-48.

involved attempts to undermine labour actors who were not enamoured of Soviet-style communism.

Indeed, the 1920s witnessed the start of state sponsored intra-network conflict that was to last for decades. The aforementioned 'internationalism from above' now becomes, in Waterman's words,

> Party internationalism [that] increasingly reproduced the model of diplomatic interstate relations, with struggles for domination between parties and conflicts over national representation and sovereignty...[10]

Like its patron state, the Profintern was caught off guard by the rise of fascism in Germany, and its last-minute attempts in 1935 to reconcile its differences with the International Federation of Trade Unions proved futile. Though its demise was prolonged for some years – to 1943, the same year as the demise of the Comintern – it was always a foregone conclusion.

This instrumental commitment to the interests of state was also apparent in the case of the American Federation of Labor. The foreign policy interests of state, as well as those of the business elite, were uppermost in the minds of those overseeing this country's labour relations abroad. We touched on this affinity in earlier discussion about the American Federation of Labor's reluctance to support the International Labour Organization and the League of Nations. This affinity was also apparent in the approach taken by the American Federation of Labor to cross-border labour relations in its own region. The attitudes of the Federation's leaders are illustrative. In her reflections on Samuel Gompers – an iconic figure in the ranks of the history of the American Federation of Labor – Beth Sims points out that

> Gompers was anti-colonial, but he did not oppose U.S. expansionism if outright territorial acquisition was not the objective. On the contrary, he approved the gradual, non-military extension of U.S....influence around the world.[11]

This statist disposition was also underscored by Gompers' vision of the government sponsored regional organization, the Pan-American Federation of Labor.[12] According to Gompers, American labour's commitment to the regional body was "based on the spirit of the Monroe Doctrine".[13] This

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[10] Peter Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (London: Mansell, 1998), p. 25.
[11] Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), p. 36.
[12] The Wilson administration gave a secret $50,000 contribution to the AFL for the promotion of PAFL. For more detail see Ibid., p. 37.
[13] Ibid.

doctrine derived from a presidential address (delivered in 1823) aimed at deterring European powers from asserting territorial and political claims within America's sphere of influence.

At this time, most of the constituent parts of the loose network of cross-border labour confederations were becoming incorporated into the processes of government. This was occurring either through incorporation within systems of parliamentary democracy; or through strategic, symbiotic, and instrumental relationships with the state. Incorporation applied equally to the reformist, social-democrat constituents of the International Federation of Trade Unions and the International Trade Secretariats, as well as to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions. Strategic statist alliances were evident in the relations between those labour movements caught within the orbit of the emerging superpower antagonists, the United States and the Soviet Union. What remained of anti-state sentiment – within the second incarnation of the International Workingmen's Association – had, by the late 1920s, all but dissipated. Thus, if we consider an estrangement from the state to be a key indicator of globalization as it relates to agency, then organized labour at this time was global only in the most superficial sense.

1860-1939. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE GLOBAL

The preceding section referred to the relationships between the constituent parts of the transnational network of labour organizations and governments of the day. However, in this period organized labour's relations with the state-mediated political realm also began to extend to interactions with representatives of the collectivity of states. I refer here to the ways in which cross-border trade union actors engaged with emerging inter-governmental organizations. It is important to take into account such interaction because inter-governmental organizations were themselves expressions of states' interests, especially in the period under consideration.

At this time there existed only a few organizations of this kind.[14] The most important of these, for our purposes, came into being in the immediate aftermath of World War One: this was the International Labour Organization (ILO). A product of the Treaty of Versailles, the ILO in part reflected the desire of conservative government and trade union leaders to marginalize what remained of revolutionary socialist groupings, and to also help discredit the latter's political programs and ideologies.[15]

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[14] The first of these organizations to appear was the International Telegraph Union (1865). It was followed in the 1890s by, among others, the Universal Postal Union and the European Rail Union. The most significant of all in this period was the League of Nations, formed in 1919.

[15] According to Stevis these leaders included "'right-wing' victorious socialists, AFL and British business unionists, and labor professionals". See Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", p. 59.

From the outset transnational labour bodies were divided over the ILO, with tensions arising between reformist and revolutionary elements within the network of labour organizations.[16] The peak labour body at the center of initial engagements with the ILO was the social-democrat International Federation of Trade Unions. Like most of the transnational labour confederations at the time, it was initially hostile to the proposed structure of the ILO. Notwithstanding its reservations, the Federation became the ILO's most outspoken supporter among the ranks of cross-border labour organizations. The Federation assumed the role of international labour's principal representative at ILO conferences, and took on the responsibility of coordinating the workers' delegations in the various committees of that institution. As a consequence it determined which labour delegations would take seats at the table of the ILO's Governing Body.[17]

During this period, the International Federation of Trade Unions engaged in a wide range of activities within the ILO. For example, it enunciated labour's position – or at least the position of its own affiliates – on the role of the League of Nations, the growing threat of fascism in Germany and Italy, disarmament, and on the question of war debts. Of more practical concern for labour organizations was the formulation of draft conventions that focused on the exploitation of female and child labour, and the banning of the use of toxic chemicals.[18] The most significant convention of all was that aimed at institutionalizing the eight-hour day. Its ratification realized the goal of many past campaigns on the issue, some dating back to the earliest days of the international labour movement.[19] This convention was important because it represented one of the first real manifestations of the sort of "international social legislation"[20] labour internationalists aspired to. Moreover, it represented an important moment in the relationship between the transnational

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[16] When the formation of an ILO was first mooted most representatives of labour envisaged an organization that would not only give voice to the concerns of labour across boundaries, but one that would have labour leaders as its principal policy-makers. However, this much anticipated "international labour parliament with legislative and executory powers" did not materialize. Far from granting control of this organization to labour the League of Nations structured the ILO in a way that accommodated four delegates from each member nation: two of these were to be government representatives, one from the business community, and another from labour circles. The business and labour representatives were appointed by the governments after first being nominated by their own industry bodies, and labour federations. Moreover, the role of the ILO was limited only to the drafting of text for conventions that would, with luck, be ratified by states. Lex Heerma Van Voss, "The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Attempt to Maintain the Eight-Hour Working Day (1919-1929)", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), p. 524. See also Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 128-29.

[17] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* p. 34.

[18] An example of one campaign against toxic chemicals was that aimed at banning the handling of white phosphorous, a substance widely used in the production of matches. See Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, pp. 62-63.

[19] Indeed, this particular demand was mentioned in the preface of an 1890 edition of the Communist Manifesto and represented, according to van Voss, "one of the rallying cries of the Second International". Van Voss, "The International Federation of Trade Unions and the Attempt to Maintain the Eight-Hour Working Day (1919-1929)", p. 519. As some European states had begun legislating in favour of an eight hour day as early as 1917, the draft convention which resulted through lobbying the ILO cannot in any sense be considered the accomplishment of the International Federation of Trade Unions alone. Rather it was a culmination of previous campaigns. These included campaigns by national trade union bodies to have this concession delivered through domestic legislation throughout Europe. Also important was the insistence of Allied-Power labour leaders that the issue be incorporated into peace negotiations. Elsewhere – among Australia's building workers for example – the eight-hour had been enshrined in specific sectors of the economy in the 1850s.

[20] Ibid.

network of labour organizations and the community of states. This was so because it was at this moment that the most representative body for trade union organizations gained what may have then seemed like a tangible, meaningful, concession from the community of states as a whole. It did this not through conflict with the state, but through what was, ostensibly at least, a cooperative relationship with an inter-governmental organization representing the interests of states.

This may have vindicated the reformists who had called for closer ties with the state at all levels. More broadly, this reformist disposition was characterized by a faith in international law and in the international agencies of the community of states to deliver stability, peace, and the conditions for worldwide prosperity.[21] Potentially, this form of internationalism represented an avenue through which many of labour's demands could be met, and would have seemed very attractive to many labour leaders of the day. It was in this context that the most significant player in the world labour movement at the time – the International Federation of Trade Unions – positioned itself closer to one of the first inter-governmental organizations representing states.

And what of other actors within the transnational network of labour organizations? The International Trade Secretariats joined with the International Federation of Trade Unions in its enthusiastic support for the ILO and the League of Nations. This is hardly surprising given that most of the trade unions affiliated to the trade secretariats were also connected to the International Federation of Trade Unions through their respective national bodies. For its part, the Profintern reflected the views of the Comintern and, by extension, its patron, the Soviet Union. In practice, this meant an implacable opposition to what was regarded as the "International of the yellow labour unions", a reference to the reformist elements supporting the ILO and the League of Nations.[22] This sentiment should not be dismissed lightly, for it also reflected the views of a diverse range of Comintern supporters from many countries.[23]

While the American Federation of Labor also kept its distance from the ILO, it did so for very different reasons. Its position in relation to the ILO and the League of Nations was influenced by the intra-network tensions of the day. Even though it had been instrumental in the conception of the ILO, the Federation gradually withdrew its support in the early 1920s. This withdrawal was not due to any fundamental opposition to the proposed ILO. Rather, it resulted from a series of personal and ideological disagreements between American and European labour leaders. The Americans believed that many European trade union leaders were intent on radicalizing the ILO. For this

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[21] Fred Halliday, *Rethinking International Relations* (London: MacMillan, 1994), p. 10.
[22] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 67.
[23] These included movements from over thirty countries, and included socialist parties and groups from France, Italy, Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain. They also included syndicalist groups such as the Industrial Workers of the World from the United States, and those from Spain, France and Italy. There were also those from Turkey, Egypt, Persia, India,

reason, the American Federation of Labor baulked at joining the International Federation of Trade Unions, and in so doing alienated itself from the ILO in the latter's formative years.

Overall, the level of commitment to, and engagement with, this sphere of state-mediated politics – manifest here in the ILO and the League of Nations – was very uneven. What can be said, however, is that the steady improvement in the standing of the International Federation of Trade Unions was in no small part due to the fact that it was able to situate itself between the ILO – and, hence, the representatives of governments – and what remained of the class-based internationals of the day. It thus began to play a role of intermediary of sorts, as well as a representative of what one scholar refers to as "reformist internationalism".[24] Indeed, as Stevis points out, the very existence of the ILO was to prove significant here, as it "took the wind out of the socialists' 'supranationalist' visions".[25]

Put differently, the International Federation of Trade Unions, along with the International Trade Secretariats, began to invest heavily in the petitioning of the state in its collective manifestations. This occurred at the level of international bodies such as the ILO and the League of Nations. In contrast to the pre-1919 setting, labour organizations – at least those affiliates of the Federation and the trade secretariats – were now looking to the community of states for assistance, and placing faith in international laws whose effectiveness and legitimacy were premised upon the authority of the state.

1860-1939. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

Ultimately, what can this period tell us about change in the relationship between the transnational network of labour organizations and the state, whether looked at individually or collectively? We can discern here a more intense engagement with governments, and with the politics of state in general. This engagement took various forms, and manifest itself on both national and global planes. For most of the national affiliates of the growing network of transnational confederations it took the form of a commitment to parliamentary reform. For their peak body – the International Federation of Trade Unions – engagement manifest itself in a growing support for the ILO. For the Profintern, and the American Federation of Labor, it took the form of a commitment to the interests – often *strategic* interests – of their respective states. For these movements, the relationship with the state entailed a kind of symbiosis that was in subsequent decades to present the movement as a whole with a series of dilemmas.

China, Korea, and Japan, "who saw in the Third International [Comintern] an instrument of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism". Ibid., p. 66.

[24] Lorwin quoted by Stevis, "International Labor Organizations, 1864-1997: The Weight of History and the Challenges of the Present", p. 59.

A trend within the movement was by now evident: a great many of its constituent parts were slowly but surely increasing their investment in the authority of the state, while at the same time turning away from those tendencies that remained suspicious of alliances with government. As a result, movement integration and autonomy were steadily being undermined throughout this period, in spite of the continuing emergence of a network of global reach. All this underscores the point that the globalization experienced by organized labour at this time was marked by a degree of shallowness.

1860-1939. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

In this section we assess organized labour's relationships with those actors who were at a remove from the state-mediated political sphere. By way of preface, there is a need to restate an important qualification. A reliance on any paradigm that demarcates the political and civil spheres is fraught. This is so, not least, because it is difficult to say with certainty where one sphere commences and the other recedes. Such is the overlap between the state-mediated 'political', and the autonomous and private 'civil', spheres, that we must accept that the distinction upon which it rests serves a heuristic function only. Yet this admittedly imperfect tool will nevertheless prove invaluable in the overall assessment of organized labour's globalization. This is so because it provides another vantage point from which to view labour's changing relations with – indeed, its possible estrangement from – the state.

1860-1939. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – OPPOSITIONAL ACTORS

We commence with an exploration of labour's interactions with civil-oppositional actors. It is not surprising to find that we immediately encounter difficulties of a similar sort to those outlined above. Specifically, it is not easy to differentiate between trade union actors – organizations, leadership figures, or their constituents – and the tremendously complex assortment of oppositional groupings that emerged at one time or another during this eighty-year period.[26] And yet this difficulty is also testimony to the extent to which organized labour was a part of a *milieu* consisting of civil-oppositional actors during this period. These represented a variety of ideological tendencies, and in the mid-nineteenth century included such movements as Bakunin's Anti-Authoritarian International, the International Alliance of Social Democracy, and the various organizational manifestations of Fabian socialism. These, in turn, had grown out of oppositional movements of the early to mid-nineteenth century. The most important of these represented

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[25] Ibid.

[26] Eric Hobsbawm highlights this complexity in his analysis of the similarities and differences between working-class, bourgeois, and liberal-radical forms of internationalism in the nineteenth century. E.J. Hobsbawm, "Working-Class

chartism, abolitionism, pacifist-idealistic anarchism, mutualism, and the democratic collectivism of the possibilists. Organizationally, there existed such groupings as the Society of Democratic Friends of all Nations, the Society of Fraternal Democrats, and the International Alliance of Social Democracy, among many others.

Trade unionists were also associated with the broader women's movements of the early twentieth century. Here, links were forged around such issues as universal suffrage and shorter working hours. Organizational forms of engagement emerged between labourist and oppositional actors concerned with women's issues. In Britain, for example, there emerged the Women's Cooperative Guild (1885) and the Women's Trade Union League (1888). A notable campaign involving these groups – and other prominent socialist parties throughout Europe and the United States – was that seeking to legitimize the International Women's Day.[27]

These episodes did not, in themselves, constitute a rejection of parliamentary processes in favour of oppositional, civil realm engagement. Indeed, many of the oppositional movements with which trade unions engaged throughout the latter years of the nineteenth century were themselves gradually being incorporated within the state-mediated political sphere. Included in this category were cooperative movements, many of which were derived from British Owenite cooperative socialism, and its European counterpart.[28] Also included in this process were the many social-democrat parties that slowly came to be incorporated into parliamentary systems.

Any conclusions regarding organized labour's orientation must also take into account the fact that many encounters with civil-oppositional actors were incidental or isolated affairs. Of these we can list the assistance given by the German Communist Party to striking British coal miners in 1926,[29] and the aid provided by trade unions to socialist and republican movements embroiled in the Spanish Civil War. Mapping relations between organized labour and civil-oppositional actors is also a complex matter because many of the leadership strata of oppositional movements were themselves crossing boundaries between political and civil realms. This was evidenced, for example, in the political dispositions of the liberal-radicals who had cooperated with labour

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Internationalism", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

[27] For more on the interactions between the emerging women's and socialist/labourist movements of the period see the following. Bonnie S. Anderson and Judith P. Zinsser, *A History of Their Own: Women in Europe from Prehistory to the Present, Vol. II*, (London: Penguin, 1988), pp. 278-308, Temma Kaplan, "On the Socialist Origins of International Women's Day", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

[28] Peter Gurney provides an interesting perspective on this much neglected actor. His research shows how active this movement was across a range of progressive issues prior to World War One. Peter Gurney, "'A Higher State of Civilisation and Happiness': Internationalism in the British Co-Operative Movement between C.1869-1918", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

movements in the abolitionist struggle against slavery some years earlier, and in the campaigns for Polish and Italian independence.[30]

In general, however, it can be said that throughout this period organized labour had a close affinity with civil-oppositional actors. There were a number of reasons for this affinity. The gradual expansion of capital, and hence markets, beyond the national setting was an important factor. This resulted in large-scale labour migration, and a consequent awareness of political and social contexts beyond the local. At the same time, workers continued to identify strongly with their craft, often privileging that identity ahead of the still-fluid concept of nationhood. Moreover, many of these workers were self-educated and skilled artisans who found non-exclusionary cosmopolitan ideas attractive. And finally, an affinity with the civil was enhanced by the fact that many industrial and metropolitan workers remained disenfranchised, and hence found it necessary look beyond the state for protection.[31]

Organized labour also came into contact with other internationalist doctrines in the late-nineteenth century. For a time, this engagement gave labour internationalism added impetus, and made interaction with the civil realm commonplace. Waterman believes that these internationalisms were derived from religious doctrine, bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and republican internationalism.[32] The result was a labour movement that expressed its ambivalence to statism in a variety of ways. These included trade union internationalism (through the emergence of International Trade Secretariats), cooperatives, cultural and theory-based internationalism, as well as class-based struggles of national liberation.[33]

It is true that the relationships between labour and nationalist struggles were often fraught. However, before World War One working-class internationalism and nationalism were not always

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[29] Larry Peterson, "Internationalism and the British Coal Miners' Strike of 1926: The Solidarity Campaign of the Kpd among Ruhr Coal Miners", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

[30] Hamish W. Fraser, *A History of British Trade Unionism 1700-1998* (London: MacMillan, 1999), pp. 40-41.

[31] Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms*, pp. 17-19.

[32] Bourgeois cosmopolitanism and republican internationalism are of interest here. The former was associated with humanist, Eurocentric liberalism; while the latter expressed a commitment to the right to national self-determination. All these combined, in Waterman's view, to prepare the way for the contemporary human rights movements. Refer to Ibid., p. 22. Reflecting on the same process, Wils argues that "the national awareness created by the liberal bourgeoisie...helped arouse the awareness of the working class". See Lode Wils, "The Workers' Movement and Nationalism", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, ed. Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), p. 173.

[33] To view nationalist movements as belonging to a single category of civil realm actors is to deny very important differences that exist between them. A distinction is made here between those nationalist movements that are exclusionist, xenophobic and protective of the existing order, and those that seek to radically transform the complexion of the state. The latter are pitted against an established order based on repressive ethnic, racial, colonialist or imperialist power structures. The focus of attention here is on labour's relationship with these oppositional nationalist movements because they are at further remove from the political realm. Admittedly, they do not challenge statehood *per se* – such groups do after-all aspire to statehood – but they are of interest because they exist nearer the boundary between civil and political realms.

at odds.[34] For many, republican nationalism was infused with the same democratic and progressive ideals that underpinned the aspirations of the worker's movement. According to Benner, "To support nationalist aspirations for unity, autonomy, or independence was to support popular liberties against empire and absolutism".[35]

In spite of the difficulties associated with mapping such relationships, the above suggests that relations between trade union actors and civil-oppositional actors were commonplace. Yet, nothing in the foregoing points to the existence of a profound and ingrained oppositional inclination on the part of organized labour. Nothing here is suggestive of an anti-statist, globalizing tendency. Perhaps evidence of such a disposition can be found in labour's encounters with the various class-based internationals of the day, those that aspired to lead labour – meant in the broadest sense – in emancipatory struggles across national borders.

The First International, formed in 1864, was the most important in a range of mid-nineteenth century organizations seeking to establish a unified transnational working-class movement.[36] It was an important actor in this context because it was a site of engagement for many oppositional actors. This was not a closely integrated, monolithic, structure. Rather, it served as an umbrella organization for a great many reformist and radical movements of the day. Politically, the First International was closely linked to trade unions – especially those of the United Kingdom – through the agency of Karl Marx. He maintained his support for trade unions in the face of those who considered the latter to be irredeemably reformist. On another, more practical, level the First International was important to trade unions at the time because is supported a wave of strike action throughout Britain and the continent throughout the 1860s. More than this, the First International was able to lend invaluable support to the trade unions of the day by employing its "chief asset: its ability to prevent the introduction of blackleg labour from the continent".[37]

Another consideration in the relationship between trade unions and the First International was that the latter exposed the leaders of the trade union movement to fierce debates over important

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[34] Studies of this aspect of labour history are extensive: the following sources provide excellent analysis. Patrick Pasture and John Verberckmoes, "Working-Class Internationalism and the Appeal of National Identity: Historical Dilemmas and Current Debates in Western Europe", in *Working-Class Internationalism and the Appeal of National Identity: Historical Debates and Current Perspectives*, ed. John Verberckmoes (Oxford: Berg, 1998). Th Van Tijn, "Nationalism and the Socialist Workers' Movement", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988). Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement*, and Giovanni Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labour Movement", *New Left Review*, 179 (1990).
[35] E Benner, *Really Existing Nationalisms: A Post-Communist View from Marx and Engels* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), p. 9.
[36] Others included the International Association (1855), the Congrès démocratique international (1862), the Association Fédérative Universalle (1863), the Ligue de la Paix et de la Liberté (1867), and the Alliance de la Démocratie socialiste (1868). For more detail see D.E. Devreese, "An Inquiry into the Causes and Nature of Organization: Some Observations on the International Working Men's Association, 1864-1872/1876", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988).

political, philosophical, and moral questions. Uppermost were questions about the forms of political community one should strive to attain, the nature of the civil and political rights to be accorded citizens, and whether communitarian ethical frameworks should take priority over universal or cosmopolitan values.[38] Yet, ultimately, organized labour's involvement with the First International – and its eclectic range of constituents – was to be short-lived, lasting until the international's demise in 1876. After their flirtation with First International radicalism, trade union organizations throughout Western Europe resumed their normal political disposition. This was one of relative conservatism – notwithstanding support for sporadic strike action – and the petitioning of governments through ever-expanding systems of parliamentary democracy.

In this regard, engagement with the Second International changed little. Formed in 1889, the Second International also purported to represent – albeit indirectly – trade unions across national boundaries. While situated within the civil-oppositional realm, this international was of a more ameliorative, reformist, disposition than its predecessor. As noted earlier, far from facilitating the growth of a more integrated and globalist trade union network, engagement with the Second International only served to further steer labour towards incorporation within the state-mediated political sphere. This was because many of Europe's largest trade unions were closely associated with the social-democrat party affiliates of the Second International.

In time, the relationships between many unions and their respective social-democrat parties soured. This was due, in large part, to a growing reluctance on the part of labour organizations to subordinate their needs to the operational and policy priorities of the their associated party. Ultimately, this resulted in the gradual estrangement of labour organizations from the Second International. Far from signalling a more oppositional turn, however, this estrangement only underlined the extent to which labour had become oriented towards the state-mediated political realm. The nationalist imperatives of war leading up to 1914 extinguished what remained of organized labour's oppositional inclinations.

The inter-war years saw the emergence of the Comintern, the third in a line of class-based internationals with universalist pretensions. While many trade union bodies were attracted to the Comintern's trade union offshoot – the Profintern – this hardly signalled a shift away from the

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[37] Knud Knudsen, "The Strike History of the First International", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement 1830-1940*, ed. Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1988), pp. 309-11.

[38] These debates manifested themselves, for example, in the dispute between Marx and Bakunin over the form and role to be played by the state, and the state system as a whole. Bakunin and his followers conceived of a highly decentralized system of federal republics, where communes would join together to make provinces, provinces to make nations, and nations to make broad federal pacts. Marx, on the other hand, acknowledged that while the construction of a democratic state represented a worthy cause in itself, it ought only be an interim form of social organization, and one that preceded the emergence of a more idealized, classless, form of political community. Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement*, pp. 32-33 and pp. 46-48.

state-mediated political realm, and towards engagement with civil-oppositional actors. It is true that the Comintern was a site of interaction for a range of organizations espousing internationalist and anti-statist sentiments: these included the International Workers Aid, the International Cooperative Movement, the International Women's Secretariat, and the Peasant International. However, few would consider these organizations – or the Profintern itself – to have been anything more than "auxiliary organizations" of the Russian Communist Party.[39]

Perhaps the only actors that could lay claim to a genuine oppositional and emancipatory disposition were the anarcho-syndicalist movements that periodically emerged. These had their organizational manifestations in such bodies as the Anti-Authoritarian International (1870-1877), the Industrial Workers of the World (1905-18), and the syndicalist incarnation of the International Workingmen's Association (1923-29). While these provided trade unions with the organizational and ideological means with which to develop ties with other civil-oppositional actors, the result was a rejection of this oppositional road in favour of parliamentary reformism. This should not surprise given the fact that even the anarchistic elements within the various internationals had themselves taken the same statist path.[40] Clearly, the demise of syndicalism cannot be understood without due regard to the structural forces at play, with fascist oppression, changing patterns of labour migration, and the rise of the welfare state principal among these. All this aside, the various syndicalist movements of the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did little to facilitate trade unions' engagement with the civil-oppositional actors of the day.

What do all these interactions reveal about organized labour's relationships with civil-oppositional actors that were removed from the state-mediated political realm? Definitive judgements are difficult to sustain given that our principal actors – those trade union organizations looking to assert themselves across state borders – represented such an amorphous political community. Indeed, this condition of flux characterized all actors of the day. This was as much the case for the institution of the state, as it was for the labourist movements in question. What can be said is that most of the engagement between trade union organizations and civil-oppositional actors throughout this period occurred within a European setting. This was so notwithstanding the rise of syndicalism – in the form of the Industrial Workers of the World – in the United States just prior to World War One.

The class-based internationals that – ostensibly at least – aspired to transcend the state-mediated political sphere were soon to whither, thus denying alternative sites of engagement for labour movements of a more oppositional inclination. The international that did survive into the 1930s –

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[39] Milorad M. Drachkovitch and Branko Lazitch, "The Third International", in *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943*, ed. Milorad M Drachkovitch (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), p. 176.
[40] Max Nomad, "The Anarchist Tradition", in *The Revolutionary Internationals, 1864-1943*, ed. Milorad M. Drachkovitch (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1966), pp. 83-90.

the Comintern – was itself, by definition, incorporated into the politics of state. Labour movements in Europe and beyond were left to forge closer relationships with political parties vying for control of governments. And so while there was a degree of flux, the tendency was towards incorporation with the state, a process that mitigated a more profound transformative globalization for organized labour.

1860-1939. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – COMMERCIAL ACTORS

There is little evidence of direct, formal, and widespread engagement between prominent labour organizations and the civil-commercial actors in the period preceding World War One. However, there was in some quarters close collaboration, borne of shared ideology, as well as some forms of localized quasi-legal interaction. The most obvious form of collaboration can be traced to the United States, and dates back to the turn of the century. There, what came to be known as 'volunteerism' or 'business unionism' represented the prevailing disposition for mainstream, organized labour. This disposition entailed an endorsement of business interests, and of economic growth in general. In the American setting, labour's affinity with the goals and values of business was also indicative of its aversion to corporatist relations with government.[41] Alliances with business interests were also the by-products of the internecine conflicts and manoeuvring involving conservative tendencies within the American Federation of Labor, the rival Knights of Labor, and the syndicalists of the Industrial Workers of the World.

Within Europe more formalized and direct engagement with business enterprises also began to emerge in the early decades of the twentieth century. Though these relationships varied between national settings, they all represented attempts by trade union organizations to establish formal codes of behaviour and obligations in the absence of government administered industrial relations regimes. Sturmthal's typology is useful here: he sees the engagement between organized labour and civil-commercial actors in this period as manifesting itself in shop-floor, enterprise, and industry-level bargaining regimes. On the shop floor such interaction was facilitated by workers' councils. These emerged in the wake of World War One with trade union support mainly in Germany, Austria-Hungary, France, and Great Britain. Many advocates of the system looked to emulate institutional relations then in place within the Russian soviets.[42] At the enterprise level, trade unions and businesses were also coupled through systems of 'codetermination'.[43] Originating in Germany, and spreading throughout Central Europe after World War One, codetermination entailed trade union representation on boards of directors, or equivalent decision-making bodies.

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[41] Victoria C. Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993), pp. 3-29.
[42] Adolf Sturmthal, *Left of Center: European Labor since World War II* (Chicago: University of Illinios Press, 1983), pp. 123-34.

The oldest form of institutional connection between trade unions and civil-commercial actors was through collective bargaining agreements. Dating as far back as the early decades of the nineteenth century these agreements existed mainly in Great Britain, Germany, and other advanced industrialized countries of Europe. These agreements were designed to set minimal working conditions and levels below which wages could not fall. They were especially important because they took the place of the courts, laws, and regulations that were, in subsequent decades, to be premised upon the authority of the state.[44]

These mechanisms of interaction between organized labour and civil-commercial actors were distinctive because they were nationally bound. While similar institutional – and, in the case of business-unionism, ideological – relationships were evident across domestic contexts, they were limited exclusively to the national plane. To this extent, one cannot say that organized labour, in its transnational manifestations, engaged in any real sense with this realm.

1860-1939. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

The foregoing reflections on the external civil dimension of change lead to the following conclusions. Throughout the 1860-1939 period a great many of the emerging trade union organizations, at one time or another, developed relatively strong ties with civil-oppositional actors. These encounters were, however, very sporadic. Ultimately, and in spite of oppositional tendencies, most organizations were inclined towards the state-mediated political realm. This is not surprising, given that this realm was itself evolving in ways that held out much hope for members of trade unions. A growing preoccupation with the authority of the state – and its potential – also seemed to affect the nature of the interactions with civil-commercial actors. These interactions were more evident at times when legal regimes relating to labour were in their formative stages. This vacuum would soon be filled by government sponsored legislation.

PART ONE: 1860-1939 CONCLUSION

This period witnessed the slow *organizational* coalescing of an ensemble of peak trade union confederations with global pretensions. However, there was apparent from the outset a tension between this globalizing impulse, and the imperative to develop organic connections to the state. The appeal of the state was due not only to its ability to provide social benefits, but also to the gravitational pull of the ideological tendencies that increasingly underpinned interstate conflict.

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[43] Ibid., pp. 135-38.
[44] Ibid., pp. 150-52.

These circumvented any anti-statist tendencies that may have been apparent throughout the very loose ensemble of trade union organizations that emerged at this time. So, while by the 1930s prominent trade union organizations had established a transnational network, this was global only in a superficial, organizational, and rhetorical sense. Indeed, when considered against the criteria set out at the commencement of this thesis – criteria employing integration and autonomy as key indicators of globalization as it relates to agency – we see little evidence in this period of any fundamental, globalizing, tendencies.

PART TWO

PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES 1945-72

To this point we have identified the emergence of a transnational network of labour organizations. In the process it has become apparent that the period leading up to 1939 was one in which the constituent parts of this network slowly gravitated away from the various class-based internationals purporting to represent their interests across borders. The peak confederations were beginning – albeit tentatively – to petition the community of states through the International Labour Organization; while most national affiliates were forming closer ties with their respective governments. In effect, organized labour began to invest a great deal in the defence of the state, turning away from those elements that challenged the latter's authority. We consequently witnessed the emergence of a cross-border network riven by internal divisions that stemmed, in large part, from the commitment to the interests of the state. To this extent, the only aspect of a globalizing process evident at this time lay in the spread of often antagonistic peak bodies.

The focus now turns to the post-war period. By employing the same multi-layered method we look to map change as it occurred across internal and external dimensions of movement existence up to the early 1970s.[1] This exercise reveals, ultimately, a network that continues to consolidate and expand – at least in an organizational sense – across continents. By the 1970s this network had managed to assert an identity distinct from the various class-based internationals that were such a feature of the pre-1939 period. Notwithstanding this continuing expansion, it will become apparent that the network was neither integrated, nor was it inclined to disassociate itself from the state, whether thought of individually or when manifest in inter-governmental organizations. While the reasons for this varied, a dogged commitment to the strategic interests of the state, as well as to growth-oriented developmentalism, stand out as important characteristics in this superficially globalized condition.

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[1] To re-capitulate, this approach involves a focus, initially, on the transnational labour movement's *internal dimensions of change*. Here, the nature of the network's organizational structure, its integrative relationships, and ideological disposition are considered. We then focus on *external dimensions of change* in an attempt to understand engagement with actors of the political and civil realms.

As a prelude to the next stage of the analysis into internal and external movement relations it is necessary to once more give shape to the landscape inhabited by organized labour at the time. This requires an account of the prevailing structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. By highlighting the most important structural imperatives in this way we gain a better understanding of the economic, political, and social relations that marked the period.

1945-72. THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

In the 1945-72 period the nature of production was initially determined by post-war reconstruction. Marshall Plan assistance in Europe soon triggered high levels of manufacturing, consumption, and prosperity in what came to be known as the 'developed world'. This was soon to include the states of Eastern Europe and China, as their modernization programs gathered momentum. Beyond the world of the more affluent, food production increased markedly, as did life expectancy and, not surprisingly, population levels. Reconstruction also brought with it dramatic changes in the scale and intensity of economic activity, as well as in the methods and systems upon which production was based. Fordism and systems of 'scientific management' that had emerged towards the end of the nineteenth century now attained unprecedented levels of sophistication and reach. Nowhere was this method of planned mobilization and control of labour as entrenched as in the Eastern European states. More broadly, the period under review was very much associated with the ascendancy of those economic theories that espoused macro-economic management by governments, whether expressed in terms of Keynesianism, or Soviet-style command systems.

Initially, the re-industrializaton of Europe also resulted in widespread shortages of labour that subsequently resulted in a dramatic increase in immigration from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, and the Caribbean. High employment rates, however, did not last long. It transpired that throughout the 1960s the fixation on unsustainable growth rates served to intensify competition for markets between America, Japan, and the re-emerging European powers. This competition, coupled with a slackening of growth, resulted in dramatic increases in unemployment, especially within the most affluent of countries.[2] Throughout these decades there also appeared the first symptoms of Fordism's demise, as enterprises began to privilege greater mobility and diversification. This represented an ominous sign for organized labour, as increasingly enterprises opted for offshore production strategies ahead of those premised on export from a national center.[3] While the multinationals remained headquartered primarily within the industrialized countries, activity in developing regions gradually began to increase throughout the 1960s. This activity was dominated by American corporations. America's foreign direct investment *via* multinationals accounted for

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[2] Unemployment in North America, Western Europe, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand doubled – from five to ten million – in the years 1967-71.

around half of all such activity, and was concentrated in industries such as mining, agriculture, and manufacturing.[4] On another level, the rise of the multinational corporation was to a large extent made possible by the spread of technology and innovation, especially in the fields of transport and communications systems.[5] Mobile and flexible production systems that were emerging relied heavily on changes in the field of communication technology in particular. It is to this aspect of this survey of the prevailing structural imperatives to which we now turn.

1945-72. THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNICATION

Prior to World-War Two, long-distance intercontinental communication was facilitated by radio telephone, telegraph, and tele-printing systems that had been operational since the 1920s and 1930s.[6] The few decades following 1945 saw a qualitative and quantitative leap in technological sophistication and access to a range of media. The cost, capacity, and speed of this new generation of communication technology improved markedly. An important catalyst for this sudden improvement was the willingness of governments – most notably, the government of the United States – to invest enormous amounts of public funds into research and development in the defence industries.[7]

Successive governments in the United States were motivated to make such investments by Cold War imperatives, the subsequent 'space-race', and then the beginning of the war in Vietnam. They were also motivated by the drive to assist American corporations as they expanded into new markets in Europe and beyond. The effect on the existing worldwide communications regime was profound. In the immediate post-war years telex – providing two-way communication in text – had facilitated most transcontinental communications. In 1956 the first dedicated transatlantic telephone cable was layed, and this soon ensured that telephone would replace telegraph and telex as the principal medium. In the following year the first transpacific cable was layed. The mid-

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[3] David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 243.

[4] The American presence was even more pronounced if seen in terms of economic influence and sheer numbers. As one commentator noted, "In 1965, 87 corporations (of which 60 were domiciled in the United States) had sales greater than the gross national product of 57 sovereign states". Joseph Nye, "The Strength of International Regionalism", in *Transnational Industrial Relations: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Geneva by the International Institute for Labour Studies*, ed. Hans Günter (London: MacMillan, 1972), p. 51.

[5] Williams refers to this as part of the "'supply push' and...'demand pull'" function of the exploitation of technology in the modern world. See Roger Williams, "The International Political Economy of Technology", in *Paths to International Political Economy*, ed. Susan Strange (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984), p. 70, 72-75.

[6] UNESCO, *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980), pp. 10-12.

[7] The most important of these, in terms of the development of communications technology, were the US electronics and aerospace industries. From 1960 the electronics sector alone attracted sixty per cent of its research and development finance from government contracts. OECD reports claim that in 1959 such contracts were worth almost one-billion dollars to American computer manufacturers. Brian Murphy, *The World Wired Up: Unscrambling the New Communications Puzzle* (London: Comedia, 1983), pp. 11-12. The OECD information cited here appears on page 21 of Murphy's book. See Murphy also for an overview of the subsidies given to these corporations. This period was – even in retrospect – one in which government largesse reached extraordinary levels. Murphy, *The World Wired Up: Unscrambling the New Communications Puzzle*, p. 21.

1960s saw the launch by America of the first communications satellite, and soon after the establishment of the International Telecommunications Satellite Organization, thus paving the way for far greater access to transcontinental communications services. By 1971 two international satellite systems were in existence, with the Soviet Intersputnik system in place alongside its American counterpart.

Initially, the benefits of these advances were enjoyed by military establishments, and then by the business world.[8] This led to greater interconnectedness and integration, albeit within military alliance systems or networks of production and finance.[9] On a more mundane level, television emerged in the late-1940s and 1950s to supplement the widespread use of radio. Other consumer items such as video cassettes were soon in daily use in the homes of millions. All of these innovations were to change profoundly aspects of socialization, debate, education, resource distribution, entertainment, and the integration of systems of power and organization – all fundamental to the evolution of political communities such as labour.[10]

1945-72. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION

The main organizational features of this period were the Cold War alliance systems that had emerged in the early 1950s. The alliance systems put in place by the respective antagonists – the United States and the Soviet Union – were all-pervasive, reaching across all continents. The web of diplomatic and military systems of control that developed throughout the 1950s and 1960s represented the principal locales of power and authority in world politics.[11] As will become apparent, this had a profound impact on organized labour's ability to establish an integrated and unified cross-border network.

It was a measure of the influence of the Cold War that the process of 'tense integration' it generated continued in spite of rapid decolonization and the success of numerous movements of national liberation. Indeed, few if any of the newly independent states from East Asia and the Pacific, South

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[8] According to Murphy, by the early 1970s American "banking, petro-chemical, machine-tool and electronics corporations had established more than 4,500 computers outside the United States. Each one was using computer-communications to stay in touch with head office and reduce local operating cost with efficient management and accounting, to the point of undercutting all indigenous competition". See Murphy, *The World Wired Up: Unscrambling the New Communications Puzzle*, p. 25.

[9] Gareth Locksley, "Information Technology and Capitalist Development", *Capital and Class*, 27 (1986), pp. 84-85.

[10] UNESCO, *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow*.

[11] In Eric Hobsbawm's account, the Cold War fundamentally changed world politics in three ways. Firstly, it "entirely eliminated, or overshadowed, all but one of the rivalries and conflicts that shaped world politics before the Second World War". Secondly, according to Hobsbawm, "the Cold War had frozen the international situation, and in doing so had stabilised what was an essentially unfixed and provisional state of affairs". Here the author refers to the way in which the majority of conflicts – and, indeed, international relations more broadly – came to be mediated and controlled by functionaries of the superpower antagonists. The final point Hobsbawm makes in reference to the impact of the Cold War is the frenzied militarism that it fuelled. This manifested itself not only in the creation of a nuclear arms race between the

Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and the Americas could remain, as one author put it, "outside the orbit of the superpowers".[12] Decolonization nevertheless caused a sea-change in international relations, not least because it ushered on to the stage states that would come to play significant parts in the shaping of world affairs.

In spite of the hostilities between the superpowers, and growing intra-alliance economic tension in the West, the post-war period was marked by organizational integration. This integration occurred on many levels, but it was most evident in the formation of the 'Bretton Woods institutions'. These were designed to regulate global finance and trade, and included the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the World Bank.[13] This integration also began to feature on a regional plane, with the establishment of the European Economic Community in 1957 serving as one of many examples.[14]

In the context of a study of transnational labour the most important characteristic of such interconnectedness was what might be termed 'managerial internationalism'. One study of this aspect of world governance comes from Craig Murphy. He tracks the growth of international organizations from 1945 to 1972, and differentiates between those that were designed to foster industry, manage potential social conflicts, strengthen states and the state system, or enhance social well-being.[15] Murphy highlights the fact that aside from the Bretton Woods institutions and United Nations special bodies, there was a staggering proliferation of "global public utilit[ies]"[16] in the post-World War Two period. In essence, this period saw significant change in the organization of regional and worldwide governance institutions, while at the same time witnessing the concentration of power within two superpowers camps.

This period also saw the transformation of states themselves, with high levels of state intervention in economic affairs becoming the norm. This manifest itself into centralized command economies, or into what we now refer to as the 'welfare state'. The notion that government ought to assert its influence over the economic sphere was made acceptable, on the one hand, by state socialism and, on the other, by Keynesianism. The provision of social welfare programs also became a core

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superpowers, but also a staggering demand – and thus a thriving market – for armaments worldwide. E.J. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, 1995 ed. (London: Abacus, 1994), pp. 252, 53.

[12] Mathew Horsman and Andrew Marshall, *After the Nation-State: Citizens, Tribalism and the New World Disorder* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), p. 29.

[13] Then known as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

[14] See Nye's examination of the gradual process of regional integration, and the extent to which this reflected a nationalistic counter to the spread of multinational corporations. Nye, "The Strength of International Regionalism".

[15] Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), pp. 154-56. Goldman also focuses on this in his analysis of what he calls 'coercive' and 'accommodating' regimes and organizations that multiplied at this time. Kjell Goldman, *The Logic of Internationalism: Coercion and Accommodation* (London: Routledge, 1994).

[16] Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850*, p. 7.

function of the state.[17] In addition, many came to view the early 1970s in particular as the prelude to the age of 'corporatism', wherein the interests of those within the civil society were to a great extent incorporated within the decision-making processes of state.[18]

1945-72. THE STRUCTURE OF IDEOLOGY

The final structural imperative identified is that pertaining to the ideological tendencies of the time. The objective here is to highlight one of the less tangible structural imperatives bearing down upon organized labour. In practice this means highlighting the worldviews that are here classified under the aforementioned categories: conservative, instrumental, developmental, and emancipatory.

To a great extent the 1950s and 1960s witnessed a confluence of all these ideas. The ideal of national autonomy and statehood provided the lightning rod for this convergence. For instance, while conservative worldviews – in the form of nativism and insular statism – were again prevalent following the war, they were expressed in terms of national regeneration and reconstruction. In addition, developmentalism became wedded to the notion of state-building, particularly through the implementation of modernizing, growth-oriented, Keynesian forms of economic planning.

Oppositional elements also became preoccupied with the state, as the ideal of national liberation and state autonomy came to be conflated with emancipation. Many advocates of the ideological tendencies within the emancipatory category – namely, the anti-colonial, anti-imperialist, socialist, and even communist – saw the struggle for national independence by those of the Third World in particular as vital in the struggle against the established global order.[19] Closely linked to the ideal of independence was the notion of progress, usually expressed in terms of national development. The connection between the two became more important throughout the 1960s.

And what of the ideological dynamics associated with the Cold War? Clearly, this conflict entailed an ideological battle between class-based internationalism and free-market capitalism. But the

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[17] These ranged from the funding of medical care, unemployment benefits, family allowances, education, relatively progressive labour laws, and old-aged pensions. It also meant – at least for most of the affluent industrialized states – government regulations on business, protectionist measure for local firms and, significantly, the widespread acknowledgment of the need for 'progressive' taxation.

[18] The meaning of the term 'corporatism' is contested. Here we adopt Crouch's definition: that is, "the hierarchical, non-conflictual integration of the state and organised groups representative of both capital and labour" See Colin Crouch, "The Changing Role of the State in Industrial Relations in Western Europe", in *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, eds. Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 197. For an excellent analysis of this period, and more on the concept of corporatism itself, see Phillippe C. Schmitter, "Still the Century of Corporatism?", *The Review of Politics* 36 (1974)., Gerhard Lehmbruch, "Concertation and the Structure of Corporatist Networks", in *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, ed. John H. Goldthorpe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), and Birgitta Nedelmann and Kurt Meier, "Theories of Contemporary Corporatism: Static or Dynamic?", *Comparative Political Studies*, 10, 1 (1977).

conflict was also about the respective superpowers' determination to maintain and enhance not only the integrity and authority of the state, but also their spheres of influence. Both antagonists sought to achieve this through alliance networks premised upon political, military, economic, and cultural systems of control. In addition, each antagonist's worldview embodied notions of progress, modernity, development, and productivism; all deemed to be universals that were inextricably tied to the idea of statehood. Thus, in spite of an escalating Cold War premised upon ideological divisions, there did exist a confluence of sorts between a range of somewhat divergent worldviews. The common ideological tendency, in essence, might thus be characterized as a form of statist-developmentalism.

1945-72. PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES – CONCLUSION

This broad-brush account of the background to the 1945-72 period serves an important function in our consideration of the changes in the world of organized labour. It underlines some of the most important shifts in the prevailing structural imperatives during this period. These imperatives were marked by the implementation of frenetic programs of post-war reconstruction and modernization, and the emergence of a political and economic orthodoxy premised upon management of the economy and the incorporation of labour. They were also marked by the emergence of the welfare-state, the growth of the multinational corporation, and the quantum leap forward in communications technology. And finally, the prevailing structural imperatives were characterized by greater regional and global integration through the agency of inter-governmental bodies, as well as a confluence of ideological tendencies that found common ground in notions of statism and developmentalism.

For organized labour there were dangers inherent in these structural imperatives. The most obvious of these was the political and social polarization engendered by the Cold War. Less obvious was the fact that organized labour had to contend with the fall-out from the steadily intensifying economic tensions. These arose from states' desperate attempts to maintain productivity and growth rates needed to overcome competitors in what was becoming a highly integrated global market.

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[19] Liberation of this sort came to represent for many a central plank in the programs of the movements participating in the upheavals of the late-1960s. Here the struggles for independence by the likes of Algeria, Cuba, Vietnam, and the Congo were vital ingredients in any emancipatory worldview.

PART TWO

CHAPTER THREE

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1945-72

1945-72. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

These imperatives presented the transnational movement of labour organizations with a myriad of obstacles and opportunities. The section to follow refocuses attention onto the world of labour politics and begins to explore the transformation of the network of transnational labour organizations. It seeks to reveal the degree to which the network's globalized disposition was premised upon intra-network cohesion and integration, as well as on estrangement from the state. It will follow the methodological framework outlined earlier. Initially, this entails focusing on changes in the network's internal organizational dimension of change. It then looks to the factors that influence the levels of network integration. These include the nature of intra-network relationships, as well as the interests and ideologies that prevailed. For now, the focus is on changes in organizational form.

1945-72. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE HORIZONTAL

In this period there occurred a dramatic shift in emphasis away from radical class-based internationals, and towards an ever-decreasing number of trade union-specific confederations with transnational, globalizing pretensions. At the same time the geographic reach of the peak labour confederations increased markedly. And yet in spite of their impressive reach the peak confederations continued to serve more or less symbolic functions. This organizational expansion, in other words, had little to do with a globalization premised upon integration and estrangement from the state.

The principal pre-war confederation, the International Federation of Trade Unions, was dissolved in December 1945. Its place was taken by a new confederation, the World Federation of Trade

Unions (WFTU). The emergence of the WFTU, in October 1945, was initiated mainly by the British Trade Union Congress.[1] The formation of this globally oriented confederation was a cause for concern for those within the ranks of the American Federation of Labor. These misgivings stemmed from the decision by the British to extend membership to the more radical organizations; those that had earlier been excluded from participation in the International Federation of Trade Unions.[2]

Even though the WFTU claimed to represent a membership of some sixty-seven million – far exceeding the total represented by its predecessor, the International Federation of Trade Unions – it failed to live up to its potential. Deeply ingrained tensions within the world of organized labour came to the surface. In addition to the aforementioned problems with the American Federation of Labor, the WFTU lacked the support of the Christian trade unions. They had insisted they be permitted to form their own confederation while simultaneously participating in the WFTU. This proposal was rejected and led to the Christian labour movement abandoning support for the new confederation.[3] The fledgling WFTU also had strained relationships with the International Trade Secretariats. The latter had objected to the proposal that they be incorporated into the overall structure of the WFTU.[4]

Tensions came to a head when the British Trade Union Congress, along with the one-time radical Congress of Industrial Organizations of America, assumed strident anti-communist positions and led the majority of Western trade union affiliates out of the WFTU.[5] What remained of the WFTU consisted of a number of affiliates from developing countries, and those from within the Soviet bloc. These intra-network tensions will be dealt with in greater detail in subsequent discussion.

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[1] The British labour movement had assumed greater influence during the war by virtue of the fact that London became the refuge for many of Europe's leading labour figures, as well as for the more or less dormant International Federation of Trade Unions. In addition, the British labour movement was well placed because during the war it had established ties with other major centers. These ties were in the form of the Anglo-American, the Anglo-French, and Anglo-Soviet Trade Union Committees. Importantly, these Trade Union Committees had the effect of bringing together former rivals among national labour movements. The most significant reconciliation occurred between the British Trade Union Congress, the Soviet-based All Union Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions, and the communist dominated Confédération Générale de Travail (CGT) of France.

[2] These included the American Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), the French CGT, and the Soviet AUCCTU. The Americans were also reticent because the conference leading to the new peak body's formation had not been instigated by the International Federation of Trade Unions, a body with whom the Americans had experienced a rapprochement. Ultimately, these tensions led to the withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor from the world of European labour politics.

[3] This disagreement was quite significant given that the Christian trade unions – especially those in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands – had grown considerably during the war years. This was due in no small part to their participation in the underground resistance against Nazi occupation.

[4] Lewis L. Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1953), p. 214.

[5] More broadly, it was becoming apparent that a 'Cold War' was looming. The Berlin blockade exacerbated tensions within labour's ranks, while splits between pro- and anti-communist national trade union bodies in France, Germany, and Italy also severely compromised the WFTU. For an excellent account of the divisions of the time see Ibid., pp. 238-61. It should be acknowledged, however, that the reasons for the split are the subject of some debate. Denis MacShane, for example, argues that the WFTU imploded because of the internecine fighting between various leftist tendencies within

They are important to mention in passing because they helped give rise to a confederation that from this point on will largely dominate the narrative.

In December 1949 the disaffected trade union organizations of the West formed the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU). This confederation's charter emphasized the need to preserve trade unions' autonomy from states, parties, the church, and employers. Indeed, this professed autonomy was regarded as the ICFTU's defining characteristic. Prominent among its affiliates were reformist and anti-communist elements, with the latter reflecting the influence of the American participants.[6] The European affiliates' unease with anti-communism was to some extent ameliorated by a compromise, whereby the Confederation would have a European General Secretary and President, as well as its headquarters situated in Europe.[7]

The Cold War was to play a fundamental role in determining the organizational form of the transnational network of labour organizations. From the late-1940s, relations between the constituent parts of this network were infected by superpower enmity, with a fundamental division emerging between the 'pro-Soviet' WFTU, and the 'Westernized' ICFTU. Thus in standard accounts of cross-border labour affairs, it is the history of these two confederations that invariably dominate the narrative.

However, the existence of other labour confederations should be acknowledged. The International Trade Secretariats continued to operate as industry-specific advocacy organizations independent of their nation-oriented counterparts. They did, however, have a strong political and institutional affinity with the ICFTU. There were two main reasons for this affinity. Firstly, they were able to reach a formal agreement with the ICFTU guaranteeing the respect for the secretariats' autonomy.[8] Such a formalized acknowledgment of trade secretariat autonomy was not forthcoming from the WFTU, which proceeded to form its own versions of trade secretariats known as International Trade Departments.[9] Relations were also close between the trade secretariats and the ICFTU

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the confederation. Dennis MacShane, *International Labour and the Origins of the Cold War* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 278-96.

[6] Twenty years later, what was to become the AFL-CIO severed ties with the ICFTU over the latter's handling of an application by a domestic American union (the United Automobile Workers Union) for direct membership. Tensions were exacerbated by what the Americans perceived as a continuing tendency to tolerate affiliates sympathetic to communism. Ibid., p. 51.

[7] Brussels was chosen as the headquarters, the leader of the International Transport Workers Federation, J.H. Oldenbroek, was named the General Secretary, and a Belgian, Paul Finet, assumed the role of President. See Gary K. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London: The MacMillan, 1983), pp. 67-71.

[8] The agreement stipulated that the autonomy of the secretariats be recognized, and that reciprocal representation be accorded in the organizations' respective executive conferences. The agreement also required the secretariats to accept in principle the general policy of the ICFTU.

[9] These also came to be known as Trade Unions Internationals. They were in every sense dependent on the WFTU and can not be considered global players in their own right. Heinz Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats* (Bonn: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, 1996), p. 19. See also Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 148-49.

because many of the secretariats' affiliates were also represented by the same national federations that constituted the ICFTU.[10]

Few would suggest that the trade secretariats were pivotal players in the world of transnational labour politics during this period. They are noteworthy, however, because they engaged in a form of advocacy that focused more on the organic relationship with their constituent members than on the politics of government *per se*.[11] The trade secretariats numbered twenty-five in 1946, but gradually consolidated their ranks to around fifteen by the early 1970s.

Another constituent part of the transnational network of labour organizations up to 1972 was the peak Christian trade union confederation. Even though the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions was reconstituted in 1949, it was by then in a much-weakened condition. This was because many of its former affiliates – for example, those from Germany, Austria, and Italy – had gravitated towards the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Though it managed to rebuild on the foundations of its affiliates in France, Belgium, and the Netherlands, the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions remained a marginal player overall. Its political disposition can be characterized as being relatively neutral – in relation to the larger confederations – with a residual anti-communist sentiment evident.

A watershed year for the Christian labour movement was 1968. It was in that year that the Federation was transformed into the World Confederation of Labour. This transformation was prompted by changes in the organization's constituent base. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s the leaders of the Christian labour movement had shifted their attention to the trade unions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. This had two consequences: firstly, it meant that as economic development spread in these regions membership to trade unions grew accordingly;[12] and secondly, that the identification with Christianity had to be reconsidered if the organization was to attract new members from the developing world. To this end, the movement adopted the name, World Confederation of Labour, and carefully removed all references to God and Christianity from its

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[10] The terms of the relationship between the trade secretariats and the ICFTU are set out in the 1951 'Milan Agreement', a document that was subsequently updated and revised in 1966, 1967 and 1969. See Bendt, *One World, One Voice. Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, p. 8, 18-19.

[11] It would be wrong to regard the International Trade Secretariats as homogeneous. In discussion thus far, their most striking features – that is, their industry-specific orientation, and *relative* autonomy from the politics of state – have repeatedly been emphasized. But there is much more to the secretariats than meets the eye. The network of trade secretariats has always comprised those of very different political and social dispositions. For example, the International Metalworkers' Federation has traditionally been a very influential player, and one comprising affiliates active at the very coal-face of national and international labour politics. It played a pivotal role in averting secretariat incorporation into the fledgling World Federation of Trade Unions. Others have assumed far more subdued and unobtrusive dispositions, with notable examples – such as the then International Secretariat of Entertainment Trade Unions – coming from non-manufacturing sectors.

[12] The IFCTU represented only twenty members in 1952. These comprised twelve from Europe, six from Latin America, one from Asia and Canada respectively. By 1968, the IFCTU/WCL had seventy-four affiliates in sixty-eight countries. Of

Declaration of Principles. This secularization of the movement also coincided with a shift in political doctrine, wherein the World Confederation of Labour now openly denounced capitalism and called for the socialization of the means of production.[13]

This overview of the organizational configuration of transnational labour between 1945 and 1972 reveals an expanding constellation of peak organizations, but one comprising fewer actors overall. Among those that had disappeared from view were the Profintern, the International Federation of Trade Unions, and the (syndicalist) International Working Man's Association. As at 1972, the constellation was made up of the pro-Soviet World Federation of Trade Unions, the West's International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour, and approximately fifteen trade secretariats. This re-configuration can be understood as just one in a series of changes experienced by organized labour that were triggered by the structural imperatives outlined at the beginning of this section. Important factors here were the expansion of markets and of industry, the mobility of capital, the rise in the number of independent states, and the potential for advocacy through the medium of the inter-governmental organizations. The result was that peak labour confederations gained footholds in previously unchartered territory beyond the confines of continental Europe.

However, the network's consolidation and geographical spread should not be interpreted as a sign of greater intra-network integration, and nor should it be read as signalling an estrangement from the state. While it is true that the remaining peak confederations attracted a greater number of affiliates from further afield, this had less to do with organized labour's globalization than it did with accommodation of the structural imperatives outlined earlier. Thus, in an organizational sense, labour remained fragmented and dependent – indeed, this lack of integrity and autonomy continued to mitigate a more profound process of globalization for labour.

1945-72. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE VERTICAL

The utility of this horizontal view of labour's organizational configuration is somewhat limited as it only reveals the contours of the network relative to its peak confederations. This perspective gives us little sense of the network's depth, or of the nature of the connections between its constituent parts. For a better understanding of the organizational form of the transnational labour movement, it is necessary to also identify those intermediate actors that connected the peak confederations to their constituents throughout this period.

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these nineteen were based in Europe, twenty-nine in Latin America, twenty in Africa, five in Asia and one in North America.

[13] Ronnie Munck, *The New International Labour Studies* (London: Zed Books, 1988), pp. 192-3, and Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 58-59.

By 1972 the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had established a network of affiliates across the globe.[14] The ranks of ICFTU affiliates were thinnest in Africa, where labour actors in countries that had recently achieved independence shied away from what many considered to be an international of the First World. The vertical reach of the ICFTU was improved through a system of "mutual representation" put in place to facilitate cooperation with the International Trade Secretariats.[15] This provided national trade unions with a second avenue – the first being their own national federation – through which views might be expressed in the ICFTU. Up to 1972, the ICFTU had also established three permanent regional organizations as well as offices that were situated in a number of major cities.[16] These regional organizations were better known by the acronyms ORIT (Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, situated in Mexico City), ARO (the Asian Regional Organization, located in New Delhi), and AFRO (the African Regional Organization). It was envisaged that these organizations, as well as the permanent offices, would enable the ICFTU to more effectively respond to problems unique to specific regions, and to also limit the centralization of power within the headquarters in Brussels.

This second tier of representation was also the site of much intra-network tension and intrigue, especially in the regions that were strategically important in the context of the Cold War. While these tensions will be explored in later discussion, it is important to flag them here because this cautions against mistaking organizational expansion for network integration. Thus, even though the ICFTU was structured in a way that enabled it to reach out (beyond Europe) and down (closer to its national constituents), its influence away from its center was marginal. Indeed, what vertical reach and influence it did enjoy was only made possible by virtue of its association with the International Trade Secretariats, as well as its larger nationally bound affiliates.[17] Put differently, the ICFTU remained "a labor bureaucracy three times removed....a [con]federation of federations, which themselves are organizations of top-level officials...".[18] To this extent it represented a microcosm

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[14] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 60-61. It suffered a setback due to the withdrawal in 1969 of the American affiliates, who were represented by the now merged American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. The combined effect was to reduce the overall membership of the ICFTU from sixty-three million in 1969, to 48.6 million in 1972. Notwithstanding this drop, the ICFTU's membership was spread – albeit unevenly – across all continents. It included 115 trade union organizations from ninety-one nations.

[15] Lorwin provides a detailed explanation of this mutual representation: trade secretariats, he explains, send one 'consulting' delegate to the ICFTU's Emergency Committee, two to the Executive Board, and five to the Congress. The ICFTU, in turn, is a 'consulting' guest at trade secretariats' conferences, and at meetings of the their Coordinating Committee. See Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 311.

[16] These were located in Tokyo, Nairobi, Geneva, Jakarta, and New York. It should also be noted that throughout the 1950s the ICFTU maintained its European Regional Organization. This organization played an important role in helping to coordinate anti-communist trade union support for the Marshall Plan, and for the West's campaign against the spread of communism in that region. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 202.

[17] It is worth mentioning the main sources of income for the ICFTU during this period. The movement was sustained through affiliation fees and voluntary contributions to its International Solidarity Fund. Throughout the 1970s the proportion of contributions to the Fund declined, as a corresponding increase from affiliates redressed the balance. By the early 1970s the burden of financing the ICFTU fell mainly on the European, Antipodean, and North American affiliates. It was their contributions that enabled the movement's secretariat to subsidize the activities of offices situated in the less prosperous regions. Burton Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 37-38.

[18] Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997), p. 229.

of a network that had deep roots in the national – state bound – realm, in spite of an ever-expanding, transnational, organizational structure.

The other main pillar of the transnational network of labour organizations at this time was the second incarnation of the World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU). Following the withdrawal of most of its Western European affiliates, the WFTU came to represent the labour movements situated mainly within the Soviet bloc. While it boasted a membership of approximately 150 million up to 1970, these figures aroused scepticism, as up to two-thirds of this membership derived from the affiliation of the Soviet Union's All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Domestic trade unions' membership of this national affiliate entailed a degree of compulsion not evident in the Western context. The number of members, therefore, was much less an indication of the WFTU's legitimacy, than testimony to the extent to which it was reliant upon a specific understanding of unionism, a subject to which we shall also return in subsequent discussion. Another important distinction is that unlike the ICFTU, the WFTU did not establish permanent intermediary organizations in the regions beyond Europe. Rather, it chose to court autonomous regional and national trade union organizations, mainly from the developing world.

The outward appearance of the WFTU was one that suggested the existence of a diverse constituency.[19] However, this masked what was in reality a highly centralized and rigidly imposed structure. Aside from its regional affiliates, the WFTU had in place a number of industry-specific confederations. Known as Trade Union Internationals, these to a large extent mirrored the International Trade Secretariats, and comprised trade unions whose national representatives were affiliated to the WFTU.[20] The Trade Union Internationals achieved moderate success in so far as they established cordial relationships with some trade secretariats. However, they too were beholden to the central authority of the WFTU and its Soviet patron.

The International Trade Secretariats also bear mentioning in a review of vertical organizational forms. They maintained vertical structures that comprised three realms of engagement with their affiliates. The first of these was a system of Trade Groups. Trade secretariats maintained these groups in order to link workers in various occupations within each secretariat's industrial sector. For example, the International Transport Workers' Federation maintained specific committees for seafarers and railroad workers from all its affiliates.[21] In addition to this, the trade secretariats

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[19] Its principal governing body, the World Trade Union Congress consisted of representatives of all affiliates – their size determining their voting rights – as well as representatives from a plethora of non-affiliated organizations.
[20] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 94-96.
[21] Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, p. 13.

established a network of World Company Councils throughout the 1960s. These councils were established in order to bring together employees of the same corporation or corporations.[22]

Trade secretariats also maintained links to constituents through the use of special committees catering for particular needs and identities. While few in number in the immediate post-war years, these committees gradually became a fixture in the organizational make-up of most secretariats. They were more often concerned with the needs of women, the young, and with issues relating to workplace health and safety, as well as with the environment.[23] The third form of vertical engagement within trade secretariats was oriented towards building relationships with regional supporters. By 1945 this regional presence had grown beyond the confines of Europe for most secretariats and included offices in Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean and the Asian-Pacific. Often the trade secretariats would find it easier to maintain a regional presence than would the ICFTU or WFTU. An important determinant here was the secretariats' non-alignment and relative autonomy from specific states.[24]

Indeed, the trade secretariats are of particular interest here because their vertical forms of organization and engagement were not to the same extent subject to mediation by the state. In this respect the vertical relationships that pertained within the trade secretariats were of a relatively intimate nature. This connection between the constituents and their peak body pertained in spite of the fact that representation increasingly entailed advocacy across regions and industrial sectors.

It remains to identify some of the more prominent intermediary labour actors that emerged in the developing world in the immediate post-war years. Some of these were to play important roles in regional and national politics throughout the period of European reconstruction and then decolonization. They are included here in order to emphasize, firstly, the depth and complexity of the transnational network of labour organizations and, secondly, the nature of the institutional representation existing between the national, state bound, constituents and the peak confederations.

Perhaps the most important player of this sort to emerge in the immediate post-war period was the Trade Union Advisory Committee. Formed in 1948, the Committee was recognized as the representative body for labour in what came to be known as the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (hereafter referred to as the OECD). While the Committee was not in any sense tied to a geographical region, it did play an important part in generating support for the

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[22] Thus, from 1966 the International Metal Workers' Federation began to rely on its World Auto Council to oversee the activities of, among others, Ford, General Motors, Nissan and Toyota. The company councils will be examined in some detail in later sections. Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies*, pp. 63-89.
[23] Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, p. 13.
[24] Ibid., pp. 13-14.

Marshall Plan, and then in the ICFTU's campaign to marginalize communist-leaning labour movements throughout Europe in the 1950s.[25] In subsequent decades the Committee served as an intermediary between governments and national labour federations of OECD member states.

The Committee's counterpart in Latin America was formed in 1969. Known as the Trade Union Technical Advisory Council, it was established to advise ministers of government – those that were members of the Organization of American States – of labour's position on national and regional level policy. Most of the Council's affiliates were members of the ICFTU's regional organization, the Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores. The Council was beholden to the Organization of American States for its funding. Other Latin American organizations worthy of note from this period were the WFTU-aligned Confederación de Trabajordores de América Latina,[26] and its regional rival, the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores. The latter came about largely as an initiative of the American Federation of Labor, and was designed to counter the WFTU presence in the region.

The European setting was, of course, the epicentre of both national and cross-border labour activity throughout this time. In the immediate post-war period the transnational alliances that emerged reflected the changing relationships between states. The formation of the European Economic Community was the most significant event in this regard. In the years immediately preceding, and then following, its creation (in 1957) a number of European labour organizations emerged and vied for influence. The Committee of Twenty-One, formed in 1952, included national trade union bodies, as well as industry-specific labour organizations. It aimed to assert organized labour's influence in the European coal industry. There followed a period of division between those labour bodies representing members whose countries had joined the European Economic Community and those whose countries favoured a free-trade region. The latter category was represented by the European Free Trade Association–Trade Union Committee, an organization formed some years later in 1968.

In addition there existed the proxy organizations of those transnational confederations mentioned earlier. The World Federation of Trade Unions had a presence in Europe through the Co-ordination and Action Committee,[27] while the Christian World Confederation of Labour established its European Organization. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions had for some time held sway with its European Regional Organization, but it could not maintain unity between those

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[25] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 202.

[26] The Confederación's close association with the Soviet dependent, the WFTU, won it few friends throughout the 1950s, and in time its legitimacy eroded to the point where the organization folded in 1964. Its successor – also WFTU aligned – was the Permanent Congress of the Unity of Latin American Workers. Ironically, the latter establish an even closer relationship with the WFTU, acting as its defacto regional organization in that sphere. See Ibid., pp. 142-46.

of its affiliates that were participating in the European Economic Community and those that were not. Of all of these, the European Trade Unions Secretariat came to be the most influential. This influence was enhanced as the European Economic Community itself expanded, thus providing the Secretariat with a growing number of prominent national trade union affiliates. Ultimately, the rival confederations resigned themselves to the pre-eminent role of the European Trade Unions Secretariat. In the years to come, this regional actor would incorporate most of Europe's trade union bodies, be they affiliates of the transnational ICFTU, WFTU, or Christian World Confederation of Labour.[28]

1945-72. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

All this gives organizational shape to the transnational labour network as it existed up to 1972. Contours have been drawn along both horizontal and vertical planes. What does all this reveal about the globalization of organized labour? What can be gleaned from this about the nature of network integration, and of relations with the state? In the post-war years a transnational network of labour organizations began to once more emerge. And within this network, greater organizational consolidation was taking place, especially among the industry-specific trade secretariats. It was also apparent that labour had throughout this period continued to extend its organizational reach to all continents. This occurred while the links with those remaining class-based internationals were dissolving.

On a vertical plane, it was apparent that a system of regional and other intermediary organizations was also emerging. Ostensibly, these intermediaries served to link the peak confederations with nationally anchored affiliates. And yet the spread of these regional organizations had as much to do with the dynamics of interstate politics as it did with the emergence of a more integrated network. We refer here to the trade union organizations that emerged in response to larger structural imperatives: symptoms of which included Cold War enmity, the emergence of a non-aligned movement, as well as the formation of the European Economic Community. Put differently, a snapshot of the network's organizational configuration seems to leave much unsaid about wider processes. It tells us little about the true nature of the network's globalization, understood in terms of network integration and of change in orientation in relation to the state. The following section seeks to add colour to this incomplete sketch.

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[27] This comprised only the WFTU affiliates of France and Italy: the Confédération Générale de Travail, and Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro respectively.
[28] Richard Hyman, "Trade Unions and European Integration", *Work and Occupations*, 24, 3 (1997), pp. 310-11.

1945-72. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

It is necessary to now move beyond contemplation of the network's organizational form to an account of relationships internal to the movement throughout the 1945-72 period. This entails an analysis of the ways in which these relationships were mediated and constituted. Specifically, this requires a review of the forms of communication that facilitated relations, and then of the interests and ideologies that gave shape to this internal integrative dimension of change. A review of this sort makes it possible to assess more accurately the nature of the integration pertaining within the transnational network of labour organizations.

1945-72. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – RELATIONSHIPS

Previous discussion about this period's structure of communication pointed to dramatic change relative to the pre-war period. The range and sophistication of communications media improved markedly in the wake of World War Two. Advances were further stimulated by this period's Cold War militarism. Benefits from the advent of satellites, transatlantic and transpacific telephone cabling, advances in aerospace technology and electronics in general at first accrued to the military, but then also to the business and wider communities. The introduction of television also supplemented the ever-improving systems of telegraphy and radio transmission, as well as the more sophisticated methods for producing printed material. What did all this mean for organized labour's intra-network relations?[29]

In spite of dramatic advances in communications technology in this period, intra-network relations continued to be predicated on the slower, more detached, forms of printed media. Though telex, telegraph, and the telephone came to play an increasingly important role in administration for each of the network's parts, these technologies did not play a significant role in integrating the network as a whole. Indeed, the deeper and more broad-ranging relations with constituents – meant here to denote the members of the trade unions affiliated to peak confederations – remained heavily reliant on the older media. This suggests that network integration – at least in terms of communication – remained a fraught and problematic process.

These older, printed, media came in the form of periodicals, newsletters, and pamphlets. They were especially important for those peak confederations attempting to establish themselves in regions and 'colonies' beyond the European setting. The most important of these were the Latin American, South East Asian, and African regions. At a time when the peak labour confederations were vying

for new affiliates – and seeking to build alliances within a context of Cold War tension – such rudimentary forms of communications proved to be relatively successful. For instance, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions – through its regional body in Latin America[30] – devoted considerable energy to distributing pamphlets and newsletters throughout the region as domestic labour movements were shifting alignments between reformist, Left-nationalist, revolutionary, or even reactionary forces. Much of this material was regarded by its creators as propaganda though, interestingly, this term was used at the time without the instrumental connotations it was to attract in subsequent decades.[31]

In the immediate post-war years, each of the (re)emerging peak confederations produced their own periodicals: *Free Labour World* represented the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and *World Trade Union Movement* the World Federation of Trade Unions. These were to be the mainstay media linking these peak bodies with their constituent affiliates, and were the principal means by which executive resolutions, declarations, reports, conference outcomes, and news items of labour affairs from abroad were disseminated throughout the 1945-72 period.

At first glance, these monthly periodicals were very similar. This was certainly the case in regard to their design and layout. However, they presented quite different perspectives. *Free Labour World* railed against what it considered to be the oppressive dictatorships of the communist bloc. For its part, *World Trade Union Movement* strove – at least on a rhetorical level – for unity and reconciliation between trade union movements of the East and West. More often, its editorials read as rallying cries calling for class-based solidarity across national boundaries. All of these differences will be explored in greater detail in subsequent discussion: for now we are concerned only with the significance of the media employed in this period.

Though print was the main communication form used throughout the 1950s and 1960s, elements within these 'globalizing' confederations were beginning to utilize electronic media. The use of such media was becoming routine for intra-confederation administration. This was especially so in the case of telegraphy. Beyond these bureaucratic functions the use of electronic media was

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[29] While the focus will mainly be on the forms of communication employed by only the most prominent actors, I proceed with the assumption that the same usage patterns were evident throughout the entire ensemble of cross-border labour organizations throughout these years.

[30] The Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers (ORIT).

[31] The following documents – from the early 1950s – are of particular interest in this regard. In their various ways, they show the extent to which the ICFTU relied upon circulars and pamphlets to reach out to the 'colonies', and upstage their rivals in the race for support among trade unions of the developing world. ICFTU, "Emergency Committee (Report/Document 4ec/20)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/4)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/7c)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 8eb/Es1)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952).

limited, but not unknown. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, for instance, commenced weekly radio broadcasts into Eastern Europe in 1953. Through its program, *The Voice of Free Trade Unions*, it attempted to counter what were considered to be the propaganda gains made by communist governments in the region. At the same time its regional offshoot in Latin America also employed radio in its attempts to garner support in Argentina and Costa Rica. But in spite of these experiments, it was generally agreed – at least by the ICFTU leadership of the 1950s – that print was preferable, and a far more effective means of disseminating information to constituents.[32]

As one would expect, face-to-face interaction throughout the growing network of cross-border labour organizations was limited. This was especially so in relationships between members of rival confederations, and in spite of the increasing number of conferences being held. Indeed, the level of intra-network tension was such that such assemblies functioned merely as platforms from which broadsides could be launched at rivals.[33] Far from functioning as integrating fora they provided settings at which each confederation would proclaim their latest triumphs, usually in relation to the recruitment of new regional affiliates.[34]

Internal to each confederation, however, a degree of face-to-face engagement was facilitated by the steady increase in the number of gatherings convened to bring together delegations from a range of national settings. As transcontinental travel became more accessible towards the end of the 1960s, this form of interaction gradually assumed a more important role in the overall network's communications regime. For the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the most important conference was its 'World Congress', held at two or three year intervals throughout this period. And for the World Federation of Trade Unions, the 'World Trade Union Congress' served as

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[32] The reports of the ICFTU's Executive Board at the time reveal a leadership searching for the most effective means of integrating their confederate network. The following reports contain opinions for and against the print and electronic technologies then available. ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/7)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 9eb/8)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952). Some years later – in 1969 – prominent actors within the world of trade union organizations also began to experiment with television as a medium for the dissemination of pro-labour material. The first experiment of this sort occurred in America and involved, among others, the influential United Auto Workers. Their financial support helped the establishment of the Public Broadcasting Service in that country, and represented a tentative effort to supplement the more traditional forms of print media then in use. See WFTU-Editorial, "Direct Broadcast Satellites, Cable TV and Mass Participation in Television", *World Trade Union Movement* 9 (1990), pp. 32-33. This article is a very useful review of the following book. Sara F. Luther, *The United States and the Direct Broadcasting Satellite: The Politics of International Broadcast Space* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).

[33] The following ICFTU reports are interesting in so far as they feature attacks on rival confederations. The report of 1966 is especially useful because it provides an account from one its supporters who had attended a WFTU conference. His report represents a vigorous critique of the latter's congress, with criticisms ranging from the undemocratic nature of proceedings, to the 'ideologically-driven' discourse that merely echoed the sentiments of the speakers' patron regimes. ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/4)"., ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 39eb/23)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1966).

[34] A good example of this can be found in the following article hailing the WFTU's gains in Africa. WFTU-Editorial, "A Great Moment in the History of the WFTU and of the AATUF", *World Trade Union Movement*, 4, April (1969).

the principal site for such face-to-face interaction. In addition to these, there were a growing number of regionally focused gatherings organized by peak confederations' offshoot bodies.

Increasingly throughout the 1950s and 1960s, face-to-face engagement was also facilitated through conferences held under the auspices of the United Nations. For the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions and the trade secretariats, in particular, United Nations conferences enabled interaction between actors who were normally at very far remove.[35] Indeed, as the years passed these fora became even more important, with proceedings reported back to affiliate bodies *via* the printed material mentioned above.

From all these observations, it is apparent that while the internal communication media employed may have enabled the various peak confederations to expand their organizational presence across national borders, they had limited effect on network integration *per se*. Though the tentative embrace of some forms of advanced communications technology would have no doubt facilitated greater bureaucratic cohesion *within* the various confederations – and, hence, the ability to grow organizationally on a global plane – the network as a whole remained highly fragmented.

This is affirmed by the following comments by Waterman. While they relate to the period's communications regimes in the broadest sense, they nevertheless resonate. He claims that by

> the 1950s...most international labour or socialist news services and networks had declined into pedestrian routine, or into the ideological, slow, narrow and unimaginative publications, such as those of the Western trade-union internationals in Brussels and Geneva or the Eastern ones in Prague and East Berlin.[36]

And even within the various camps, confederate relationships between affiliates and peak bodies remained extremely distant and tenuous. Put differently, what 'authority' there was within the network, remained in the hands of the nationally bound, constituent parts. The communications regimes then in place did little to further integrate – in any profound sense – these highly extended and very detached relationships. While it was the case that the emergence of regional and other intermediary organizations had the potential to provide for greater interconnectedness and, hence, integration on a vertical plane, their effectiveness in this regard seemed negligible throughout this period. To this extent, the integrative dimension of network globalization remained under-developed throughout this period. To better understand the reasons why greater network integration

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[35] These settings included the International Labour Organization, the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.
[36] Peter Waterman, *International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International?, Working Paper Series Number 129, July 1992* (The Hague: ISS, 1992), p. 15.

was not evident – even at a time of organizational expansion on the part of trade union organizations – we now look to the political interests and ideological tendencies pertaining in this 1945-72 period.

1945-72. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTERESTS, IDEOLOGIES

The interests that were crucial to determining the extent of integration and, hence, globalization in this period were themselves shaped by the structural imperatives of the time. In the foregoing 1860-1939 period, these imperatives had resulted in rapid industrialization, technological advances, catastrophic wars, and economic depression. On one level – and when viewed mainly from a European perspective – the symptoms of these forces appeared in the form of the de-skilling of labour, of high levels of migration, strike activity, the rise of fascism, and the emergence of a communist Russia.[37] For organized labour, the doctrinal tensions between radicals and reformists that were so characteristic of the time contributed to the drift away from class-based internationalism, and towards the reformist trade union-specific confederations.[38] All this was accompanied by a deepening of the connection between trade union organizations and governments of every kind.

Structural imperatives also played a fundamental role in shaping the interests of transnational labour throughout this 1945-72 period. The structures of production and organization were particularly important. Post-war reconstruction, Keynesian economic development, and modernization programs were characteristic of the period's structure of production, as was the increasing levels of capital mobility and the gradual emergence of the multinational corporation. The structure of organization was one in which Cold War antagonisms gradually came to determine the nature of interstate relations. The prevailing structure of organization was also characterized by an increasing number of states – resulting from decolonization and struggles for national liberation – as well as the emergence of what came to be known as the welfare state.

But of all these symptoms of structural imperatives, it was the Cold War and great power conflict in general that cast the largest shadow over organized labour. The following sets out to illustrate how this conflict affected the interests and motivations of the major players within the transnational network of labour organizations, and how, ultimately, it mitigated network integration and autonomy in relation to the state. It sets out to show, in other words, how network globalization was retarded throughout this period.

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[37] Jelle Visser, "Internationalism in European Trade Unions: A Lost Perspective or a New Agenda", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), pp. 176-88.

We saw earlier how the post-war community of trade union organizations – then embodied within the first incarnation of the World Federation of Trade Unions – was torn apart by these pressures. Communist and non-communist trade union organizations had existed in an uneasy coexistence under this umbrella body for four years (1945-49). However, Cold War tensions intensified following the announcement of the Marshall Plan, an initiative then considered within WFTU circles to be a "scheme of Wall Street",[39] or "the weapon [of] the transatlantic republic of the dollar and the atom bomb...to split Europe".[40] To others, the plan was a "democratic 'people's programme' for economic recovery".[41] This polarization of communist and non-communist WFTU affiliates finally resulted in a schism, out of which emerged the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

While the newly established ICFTU and the second incarnation of the WFTU may not have been representative of all trade union actors in the 1950s and 1960s, their contrasting positions reflected the contending interests throughout the transnational network of labour organizations. Inevitably, these peak confederations continued to reflect the interests of the emerging superpowers. A major preoccupation of the ICFTU was the authoritarian nature of governments in the communist states of Eastern Europe and Asia. The ICFTU's reports and publications throughout this period are replete with condemnations of these regimes and what was considered to be trade union compliance therein. In reality, this meant condemnation of the WFTU, as the latter's affiliates were drawn predominantly from the communist world. Editorial headlines within the ICFTU journal *Free Labour World* were typically blunt: "The WFTU in the Service of the Kremlin's Foreign Policy", "Moscow's Agents [i.e., the WFTU] in the Tribune of the Free World", and then, as the 1970s approached, "[the Soviet Union] Where 'unions' stay silent".[42]

This last statement was indicative of the ICFTU's antipathy towards the WFTU affiliates and the role they played domestically. Editorials focusing on what was regarded as endemic repression in East Germany, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia throughout the 1960s were illustrative. One editorialist put the ICFTU's position thus: "what interests us is the failure of the 'official trade unions' [in the communist countries] to do anything for the workers in this or any other crisis".[43] Indeed, the WFTU's tendency to highlight industrial disputation and social decay in the West,

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[38] As Visser points out, after representing a core ideological tenet within trade union circles since the 1860s, internationalism suffered as a result of the events of 1914, 1917 and 1939. Ibid.
[39] Lorwin, *The International Labor Movement: History, Policies, Outlook*, p. 240.
[40] Mikhail Tarasov, leader of the principal Russian trade union confederation, quoted in Anthony Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", in *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, ed. Anthony Carew, et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 173.
[41] This reflected the view of even the more radical of the American trade union leaders. Ibid., p. 175.
[42] ICFTU-Editorial, "Moscow's Agents in the Tribunes of the Free World", *Free Labour World*, 59, May (1959), pp. 3-6, ICFTU-Editorial, "The WFTU in the Service of the Kremlin's Foreign Policy", *Free Labour World*, 64, October (1955), pp. 7-8, ICFTU-Editorial, "Where "Unions" Stay Silent", *Free Labour World*, 193-194, July-August (1966), p. 33.
[43] See the editorial entitled 'Repression and Revolt' taken from issue 247 ICFTU, *ICFTU Viewpoints: A Selection of Editorials from Free Labour World* (Brussels: ICFTU, 1970), p. 34.

while remaining silent about such problems in the communist world, was often met with contempt from the trade union leaders of the West.

Looked at from yet another vantage point, we can see profound philosophical differences between the peak confederations over the very role of trade unions. In the ICFTU worldview the 'trade union' essentially served a defensive and ameliorative function. In contrast, most of the Eastern European affiliates within the WFTU cast themselves as indispensable parts of a greater modernizing and emancipatory project. Comments by Karel Hoffmann – a Vice-President of the WFTU – shed light on how this functional role was perceived by leaders of his federation.

> The working class...is creating even now its trade union organisation as a weapon of its class struggle. This implies unequivocally that the trade unions which want to accomplish this task cannot be independent from or non-committal to the working class and its interests.[44]

Given that in this scheme of things the "revolutionary party is the vanguard and instrument of the working-class in its efforts for imposing its basic class interests", then the trade unions' interests are necessarily subordinated to those of the party and state.[45]

The WFTU was far less strident in its criticisms of the ICFTU. Indeed, the notion of 'unity' among confederations became a mantra of sorts, appearing constantly in WFTU declarations during this period. The WFTU was concerned here with the need to reconcile differences between the various peak confederations, and to build close ties between workers of the West and East.[46] In a 1972 speech to the WFTU General Council, the then General Secretary, Pierre Gensous, reflected this low-key approach. Of the ICFTU, he stated only that "We are very conscious that there are divergences of appreciation...[and that] The ICFTU remains fundamentally attached to reformist conceptions in its approach to problems". The closest this leader comes to reproaching his rival confederation is in a very tactful reference to the latter's tacit support for American foreign policy,

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[44] Karel Hoffmann, "The Role of Trade Unions in the Socialist Countries", *World Trade Union Movement*, 12, December (1980), p. 5.

[45] Ibid. For more on the role of trade unions within socialist countries see P. Pimenov, "The Soviet Trade Unions in the Struggle for International Working Class Solidarity", *World Trade Union Movement*, 5, May (1976), Vassili Prokhorov, "The Growth of the Unions *(Sic)* Role in a Developed Socialist Society", *World Trade Union Movement*, 1, January (1974).

[46] In 1969, the General Secretary of the WFTU, Louis Saillant, articulated this sentiment thus: "Bilateral relations and contacts between National Trade Union Centres of different origins and orientations constitute a rule from which it is impossible to escape and an absolutely necessary method if international trade union activities are to progress and attain a useful level of effectiveness". WFTU-Editorial, "An Old but Ever New Trade Union Demand", *World Trade Union Movement*, 10, October (1969), pp. 1-2. The following editorial echoes the same message. WFTU-Editorial, "Overcome the Obstacles to International United Action", *World Trade Union Movement*, 12, December (1970).

"...their [the ICFTU's] Congress are strangely discreet on the painful conflicts which are going on in Indochina and the Middle East".[47]

Yet, while the WFTU did not overtly criticize the ICFTU, it was vocal in its attacks on the imperialist and colonialist adventures of the major Western powers, be they in the Suez, Iran, Algeria, Venezuela, Cuba, or in "the 'dirty war' which American imperialism [waged] in Vietnam".[48] In taking such a stance, the WFTU set itself against the most important of the Western trade union bodies; most notably, the ICFTU's regional body in Latin America, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, and the British Trade Union Congress. As we shall see in later discussion, these were trade union organizations that were highly attuned to the interests of their patron governments at this time.

These differences translated into fierce competition for affiliates in the regions beyond Europe. The major confederations were eager to establish close ties with those national trade union organizations of the newly independent and non-aligned states throughout Asia, Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. For the ICFTU of the early 1950s, Asia was of particular importance and it strove to negate the WFTU's efforts to 'spread' communism in the region. Part of this strategy was the formation of its Asian Regional Organization, and the establishment in 1952 of its ARO Training College in Calcutta. Throughout the region the ICFTU attempted to assert itself and promote the virtues of Western-style 'free' trade unionism. This was not an easy message to impart, however, because the communist/anti-communist dichotomy represented just one aspect of the complex national and regional trade union politics in these regions.[49]

Unlike the ICFTU, the WFTU did not attempt to establish an organizational base in the Asian region. Rather, it sought to exploit established national trade union organizations' antipathy towards colonialism and superpower alignments. While looking, ostensibly, to create a non-aligned trade union movement the WFTU sought to undermine the ICFTU's influence and gain advantage for its patron superpower.[50]

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[47] Pierre Gensous, "Concluding Speech (of the 22nd Session of the WFTU General Council)", *World Trade Union Movement*, 11, November (1972), pp. 4-5.
[48] WFTU, *In the Thick of the Struggle: 10 Questions and Answers on the Activities and Policies of the WFTU* (Prague: WFTU, 1965), p. 55.
[49] For a fascinating insight into the difficulties the ICFTU encountered in its early forays into the 'regions' see the following report by its Asian Regional Secretary, D. Mungat. ICFTU, "Report of the Asian Regional Secretary to the ICFTU Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/7d)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952). See also Carew's study on the ICFTU's dealings with the Japanese trade union movement(s), and other regional actors in the 1950s. Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", pp. 214-19.
[50] Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", pp. 219-20.

Tensions of this sort were replicated – in varying degrees – wherever these major peak bodies sought to establish affiliate networks in the period under review. In Latin America these peak confederations manoeuvred in a political landscape marked by fierce interstate and Cold War conflicts involving actors of all persuasion, be they Left-nationalist, centrist, or right-wing dictatorships sustained by American governments. Typically, the ICFTU would attempt to insinuate itself into the region's trade union politics through its regional organization, and the WFTU would then counter by cultivating relations with the more radicalized labour actors of the region.[51]

These confederations also vied for the affiliation of the emerging trade union actors of the Middle East and of Africa. This rivalry was played out not only against a background of Cold War antagonism, but also of colonial and post-colonial tensions, with the latter counting against important European affiliates of the peak bodies.[52] The ICFTU, in particular, looked to down-play its association with former colonialist powers and to deflect accusations of paternalism. These tensions greatly hindered the formation of the ICFTU's regional body, the African Regional Organization, in 1959. At the same time, the WFTU presented itself as the champion of African and Arab nationalism, and concentrated on establishing close relations with emerging regional bodies such as the All-African Trade Union Federation, and the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.[53]

All this perhaps implies that there existed a harmony of interests among each peak confederations' respective affiliates. This was not the case. Within the ICFTU affiliates were often split over the issues mentioned above. Interestingly, throughout these years a great deal of tension existed between the British Trade Union Congress and its American counterpart, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations. The former reflected its government's disposition by adopting a sanguine view of communism, while at the same time holding to Britain's colonialist pretensions. In contrast, the American labour body's anti-communism was so virulent that anti-colonial movements were cast in a relatively favourable light.[54] Intra-confederation tensions of this kind were central to the American federation's decision to withdraw completely from the ICFTU in

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[51] Ibid., pp. 222-26. I continue to rely heavily on Carew's work. While there are 'primary' sources at one's disposal – most notably, the various reports and publications of the confederations in question – these at times tend towards the platitudinous, polemical, and rhetorical. That said, the following primary source gives some indication of the complexity of the relations being cultivated in the region at this time. Hector Santibanez and Standing Congress for Latin American Trade Union Unity Executive Secretary, "The Road to Unity - the Achievement of Common Aims", *World Trade Union Movement*, 1, January (1970), pp. 9-11.

[52] Understandably, the Algerian trade unionist had an aversion to the WFTU because of its connection with the French syndicalist affiliate, the Confédération Générale du Travail.

[53] For accounts of these interactions from the WFTU point of view see the following. WFTU-Editorial, "A Great Moment in the History of the WFTU and of the AATUF"; Ibrahim Zakaria, "A Convincing Example of Vitality", *World Trade Union Movement*, 3, March (1969).

[54] Anthony Carew, "Conflict within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s", *International Review of Social History*, 41 (1996).

1969. The withdrawal was, in part, a reaction to what the Americans perceived to be the ICFTU's complacency in negating communist sympathizers among its affiliates.[55]

Internal tensions were also commonplace within the ranks of the WFTU affiliates throughout this period. These often involved the WFTU's principal affiliates from Italy and France, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro and the Confédération Générale du Travail. From the early 1960s, these organizations railed against the conventional wisdom requiring trade union affiliates within the WFTU to act as agents of communist parties. The comments of one leader of the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro typified the resistance to such attitudes: "The Italians hope that the WFTU Congress would abolish 'Stalinism' in relations between trade unions".[56]

There was hardly what one could describe to be a harmony of interests even among the Eastern bloc affiliates of the WFTU. The Soviet invasions in Eastern Europe in the 1950s and 1960s created great tension among the WFTU's member organizations. These episodes will be discussed later. Suffice to say that the Soviet invasions of Hungary (1956) and Czechoslovakia (1968) placed senior non-Russian WFTU officials under extreme pressure. Many openly condemned these political and military interventions, only to be marginalized and have the day-to-day administration of the Federation taken from their control.[57]

All this has focused attention on the major peak bodies and has neglected other players, most notably the Christian-based World Confederation of Labour and the International Trade Secretariats. Neither of these were removed from the tensions that were generated by interstate conflicts. The World Confederation of Labour layed itself open to criticisms of paternalism and neo-colonialism by emphasizing a 'middle-way' – characterized by a *Third Worldist* socialism – and by repackaging itself as the confederation of the developing world. And even though the trade secretariats were quite diverse in terms of political orientation, they too were embroiled in tensions of the sort that preoccupied the major peak bodies. Indeed, some trade secretariats – like the International Metal Workers Federation – played pivotal roles in the reconfiguration of the network in the immediate post-Cold War years. They were instrumental in ensuring that the trade

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[55] Ostensibly, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations withdrew because the ICFTU intended to permit one of the AFL-CIO's major national affiliates – the United Automobile Workers – to join the transnational confederation as an autonomous member. However, in time it became clear that the AFL-CIO had more fundamental concerns with the ICFTU's ideological disposition *vis-à-vis* its social-democrat affiliates throughout Europe. Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", pp. 323-28.

[56] Agostino Novella, "WFTU: 5th World Trade Union Congress" (paper presented at the 5th World Trade Union Congress, Moscow, 4-16 December 1961), p. 3. A report to the ICFTU Executive Board on the proceedings of the 1966 WFTU Congress also notes the tensions that exist between these affiliates and the peak body. See ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 39eb/23)".

[57] Peter Waterman, *A Spectre Is Haunting Labour Internationalism, the Spectre of Communism* [Web] (Hartford Web Publishing, 2000 [accessed 15/8/2001 2001]); available from http://hartford-hwp.com/archives/26/035.html.

secretariats were not incorporated into the first incarnation of the World Federation of Trade Unions, an organization that was then considered by many to be prone to communist domination.[58]

While these contending interests resulted in discord, there was consensus of sorts on a number of very important issues. The most important of these was the need to promote an economic prosperity through growth-orientated modernization. The major confederations advocated policies that would result in increased prosperity, access to markets, and the funding of projects that promised to increase employment. It is, of course, to be expected that trade union organizations of all ideological and political dispositions would seek to promote economic development. But this tendency was especially pronounced in the post-war years – when reconstruction was most needed – and through the 1960s. Such consensus is relevant because it is premised – indeed, reliant upon – the intervention of the state. It represents yet another form of dependence mitigating against greater movement autonomy.

From the early 1950s the ICFTU advocated free trade and urged governments to "destroy international tariff walls".[59] Indeed, since its formation the ICFTU was a keen advocate of economic integration, especially within the European setting. Initially, the ICFTU worked to implement the Marshall Plan through its European Regional Organization, a trade union body that "showed a keen interest in the proliferation of productivity programmes launched by governments and employers".[60] The ICFTU was also a consistent advocate of economic growth on a global scale, exhorting governments to create "a dynamic world economy in the fight against poverty".[61] In fact, the ICFTU stressed the need to make free trade an integral part of assistance programs for the Third World. Thus, calls for "The decolonization of trade", and the acceptance of "Labour's plan for trade and aid", were indicative of this confederation's emphasis on market-based economic expansion in general.[62] In reference to affiliates among Third World unions, ICFTU leaders claimed that these also had a role to play by "bringing the working masses into the development process".[63]

Economic development was also important to the WFTU, though throughout this period trade *per se* hardly figured in its declarations. This peak body was less concerned with trade than it was with

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[58] MacShane's research reveals the extent to which internecine conflict between movements of the Left in this period played a crucial part in determining the WFTU's post-war configuration. He pays particular attention to the role of the International Metal Workers Federation. MacShane, *International Labour and the Origins of the Cold War*, pp. 167-87. The chapter in question – entitled 'British Metal Workers, Communism, and the Soviet Union after 1945' – is of particular interest.

[59] ICFTU-Editorial, "Trade Unionism and Economic Integrations", *Free Labour World*, 34, April (1953).

[60] Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", p. 206.

[61] ICFTU, "Resolutions Adopted by the ICFTU Sixth World Congress" (paper presented at The Sixth World Congress of the ICFTU, Brussels, 3-1 December 1960).

[62] ICFTU-Editorial, "The Decolonization of Trade", *Free Labour World*, 173, November (1964), ICFTU-Editorial, "Labour's Plan for Trade and Aid", *Free Labour World*, 166, April (1964).

growth of the economy, modernization, technical and scientific advancement, and fulfilling the economic demands of underdeveloped societies. All this was encapsulated in the frequently invoked notion of 'social progress'. Here economic demands and political intervention were inextricably linked. Thus, the aim was

> to ensure that in the long term, the planned balanced development of the economy will be dynamically stimulated and complemented by the development of the socialist market, consumer demand being called on to influence the short term plans of socialist enterprises...so as to promote an even lager range of products...[64]

Even though the WFTU's approach to development contrasted with the ICFTU's – lacking the latter's enthusiasm for the free-market – it nevertheless celebrated economic expansion and progress of the sort outlined above. Indeed, its publications throughout this period can in some ways be viewed as photo-galleries celebrating the wonders of science and economic progress. These, more often, were images of "ultra-modern" hydro-electric power turbines and power stations, atomic reactors, giant semi-conductors, oil refineries, manufacturing plants mass-producing tractors, and newly erected housing estates.[65]

Throughout the 1950s and 1960s a convergence of interests also emerged on a range of other issues. Though the level of commitment did not always match rhetoric, most of the major actors shared a consensus on the following issues: the dangers inherent in increased Cold War militarism, the need to oppose apartheid, the importance of improving the rights of female workers worldwide, and the need to utilize the growing number of inter-governmental organizations. Also of increasing importance as the 1960s came to an end was the realization that the rising power and influence of the multinational corporations had to somehow be curtailed. This issue came to preoccupy all the major peak bodies and represented common ground at virtually all levels of the network.

In a more abstract sense there also existed a convergence of interests on the status and centrality of the state itself. This growing fixation with the state was due in large part to the focus in the West on welfarism – facilitated by Keynesianism – and in the Eastern-bloc on modernization. Both of these can be interpreted as forms of 'developmentalism'. In addition, post-war reconstruction, decolonization, and empire rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union were also

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[63] ICFTU, "For Economic Equality: Notes on the ICFTU World Economic Conference" (paper presented at the ICFTU World Economic Conference, Geneva, 24-26 June 1971), p. 21.
[64] Pierre Gensous, "The Role, Tasks and Responsibilities of the Unions (Extracts from a Report Presented by Assistant General Secretary of the WFTU at the Seventh World Trade Union Congress)", *World Trade Union Movement*, 11, November (1969), p. 14.
[65] The following issues of the WFTU's *World Trade Union Movement* publication contain striking images of this sort: June-July, August, Sept, October, November of 1969, and January of 1970.

powerful factors shaping organized labour's commitment to governments of all types. The result was labour's enlistment – be it forced or voluntary – into serving projects of nation-building. This enlistment was facilitated not only by a commitment to state, but by what Mark Rupert refers to as the internationalization of ideas promoting a "productivity-oriented consensus" on the questions of "mass production and mass consumption".[66] Importantly, this commitment was in evidence not only on the national plane, but increasingly on the regional and global.

It is left only to reflect on the ideological tendencies at play throughout the network throughout this period. This focus on the ideational ties that bind the transnational network of labour organizations highlights the relative significance of the four ideological ensembles identified earlier. These include conservatism, developmentalism, instrumentalism, and the emancipatory worldviews.[67] This provides yet another vantage point from which to assess the extent to which the network as a whole was becoming more integrated and autonomous – indeed, the extent to which it was becoming more globally oriented.

Certainly, the research to this point has indicated a very strong tendency on the part of organized labour to embrace aspects of conservative worldviews that reinforced the connection to the state. However, to focus only on the relationship with the state leaves unsaid much about the evolution of the transnational network of labour organizations during this period. We have already established that many emancipatory worldviews lost resonance for many, if not most, of the actors within this network, leaving aspects of conservatism – especially the deference to the authority of the state – as the predominant ideological tendencies. While this is true, it should also be noted that alongside the ensemble of conservative ideologies there emerged a growing commitment to ideologies associated with instrumentalism and developmentalism.

This was a coupling of ideological systems that were committed, in the case of instrumentalism, to growth-oriented mass production and, in the case of developmentalism, to modernization. These ideologies combined in the post-war years and took root throughout the entire network of labour organizations. This instrumental developmentalism permeated labour movements beyond the Western setting. This was so because notions inherent – such as Taylorism and 'scientific management' – were also important features of the mass production processes being utilized within

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[66] Mark E. Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 82.

[67] To reiterate, these category headings encompass the following ideological tendencies. *Conservatism*: this brings together worldviews that are committed to the defence of traditional centres of authority. *Instrumentalism*: these are the ideologies that show a commitment to calculating and technocratic programs designed to attain economic and political power. *Developmentalism*: this includes such notions as modernization, liberal internationalism, Keynesianism, corporatism, the commitment to progress, and, more broadly, rational-humanism. *Emancipatory* ideologies: the distinguishing characteristic of this category is its emphasis on collectivist approaches that carry within them a liberatory dimension.

the Eastern bloc countries and beyond at the time. Rupert focuses on the evolution of such ideologies, starting from the immediate post-World War One period. He notes the manner in which support for the national project – indeed, nationalism itself – was equated with support for the goals of industry. He identifies the adoption of Taylorist/Fordist methods by German and Italian fascist regimes of the 1920s-40s, as well as by the founders of Bolshevism. The latter considered such methods of management as the key to attaining the "rapid construction of a revolutionary socialist society in a backward, impoverished and war-torn Russia".[68]

In his research Ozay Mehmet shows how well these instrumental and developmental ideologies travelled.[69] He traces the evolution of neoclassical economic theories and, more specifically, the emergence in the 1940s of what he calls *big push industrialization* theory. One of the antecedents to neoliberalism, 'big push' theory flowed from the United States to Europe *via* Marshall Plan reconstruction, and then beyond to the Third World. Premised on a faith in mass production, industrialization, and "mega-projects", this worldview relied upon economies of scale and advanced technology to achieve modernization.[70] This combination of instrumental and developmental ideologies shaped mainstream economic thinking in the immediate post-war years.[71]

This trend towards instrumental and developmental creeds also changed the very nature of organized labour, as well as the nature of engagement with the external. The inculcation of these ideologies meant that the transnational network of labour organizations – at all levels – was more willing to embrace corporatist modes of engagement. The effect of this was a gradual dilution of the class-based emancipatory worldviews still in evidence, to the point where only the most ameliorative aspects of reformist collectivism were evident. I would suggest that even where emancipatory creeds survived within the transnational network of labour organizations, they were increasingly taking the form of rhetoric and exhortation. The approach to feminism was illustrative. Even though feminist principles were enunciated in intra-network declarations at peak, regional,

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[68] Mark E. Rupert, "Alienation, Capitalism and the Inter-State System: Toward a Marxian/Gramscian Critique", in *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, ed. Stephen Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 77, and pp. 104-67 for an overview.

[69] Ozay Mehmet, *Westernizing the Third World: The Eurocentricity of Economic Development Theories* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[70] Ibid., p. 65.

[71] Aside from the obvious pro-capital/anti-labour bias inherent, this instance is interesting because it demonstrates the ways in which ideas are mutually reinforcing. According to Mehmet, while the instrumentalist *big push industrialization* theory was ostensibly concerned with economic development, it also played an important role in America's policy of communist containment, as well as in paving the way for American business' penetration of foreign markets. Indeed, Mehmet argues that Big Push modernizing theories were imposed with the express aim of winning the "hearts and minds" firstly of European, and then of Third World countries that might otherwise have gravitated towards the Soviet Union. Its proponents knew that once embraced such ideologies would necessarily result in the re-configuration of political, social, and economic institutions in a way that would both perpetuate national industrialization policies, and also accommodate American interests. Ibid., pp. 64-69.

and national levels of the world labour movement, this emancipatory creed had little substantive impact on the labourist cultures of the time.[72]

We saw – especially among the peak confederations – the very real decline of worldviews that encompassed such emancipatory ideologies as radical collectivism, whether in the form of class-based anarcho-syndicalism, Marxism, socialism, or those promoting struggles for national liberation. This was in spite of the rhetoric of the 'anti-imperialist' WFTU, whose main constituents remained wedded to the conservative notion of statism. This connection to statist ideas was maintained through their anti-Western struggles for national liberation, and/or the statist forms of corporatism imposed upon them. Importantly, the tenuous nature of the commitment to emancipatory worldviews was most apparent among the peak confederations, where a broader constellation of conservative, instrumental and developmentalist worldviews became the consensus.

Among the national constituents of the transnational network of labour organizations there remained a relatively strong association with class-based emancipatory ideologies, even though a drift towards reformist collectivism was apparent. Even though organized labour had long since ceased to be a catalyst for change within the national realm, a clear break from emancipatory worldviews was not yet apparent. It should also be noted that conservative ideologies – those committed to the defence of the state, and church – also retained deep roots in the national realm.

To a great extent, many ideologies – especially the emancipatory and conservative creeds – were shaped by traditional connections to region and culture. For example, Catholic-based trade unionism was until the 1950s and 1960s an important feature of the trade union landscape in Germany, Austria, Italy, France, and the Netherlands. Likewise, communist and syndicalist worldviews were deeply entrenched within the Spanish, Italian, and French settings. To this extent one can refer to conservative and many emancipatory ideologies at the time as being locally embedded.

In identifying those emancipatory worldviews that endured up to 1972, it seems that only a reformist collectivism – still manifesting itself in various forms of corporatist arrangements – was well entrenched. As reformist collectivism lay very much at the intersection of emancipatory, developmental, and conservative worldviews, we can conclude that emancipatory creeds were losing ground in this period. Ultimately, if one sets aside the exhortations and rhetoric of the peak

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[72] This was in spite of the fact that women were beginning to insinuate themselves into the trade union movement structures in ever greater numbers throughout the growth decades of the 1950s and 1960s. See Patrick Pasture, "Feminine Intrusions in a Culture of Masculinity", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996).

confederations, there was little in the ideologies espoused by organized labour – at all levels – that was anti-statist in orientation.

It is also worth pointing out in these concluding reflections some of the ways the various ensembles of ideas interacted. Here the tensions, conflicts, and contradictions between and *within* ideological groupings can be noted. Throughout the post-war years the tensions existing within the ensemble of emancipatory worldviews came to the fore. In spite of the proclaimed common goals of the liberation of the working-class and the opposition to capital, the rivalry between followers of the Marxist, socialist, and anarcho-syndicalist ideologies had a debilitating effect on organized labour.

Yet tensions were also evident between the conservative notion of statism, and the ascendant instrumental and developmental worldviews.[73] For example, the conservative commitment to the authority of the church – evident at this time among many of the trade union organizations of northern Europe and Latin America – would seem to be at odds with the dynamism of instrumental and developmentalist ideologies.[74] Up to the early 1970s, the ideological systems of conservatism, instrumentalism, and developmentalism could accommodate such tensions because the most radical form of instrumentalism buttressed the principal centre of authority – the state. And of course, opposition to communism, however defined, provided a very important lightning-rod for all those ascribing to the conservative-instrumental ideologies in the post-war years. This was especially so at a time when the American labour movement wielded considerable influence beyond its own continent.

Importantly, neither of these trends weakened in any profound way the connection to, and investment in, the authority of the state. For example, organized labour's commitment to developmentalism underscored the importance of the state. This was because the state was seen as the principal vehicle for realizing such progress, as well as for ameliorating the worst effects of changing structures of production and organization. By 1972 it was evident that while organized labour's deep commitment to conservative ideologies had situated it in close proximity to the state, it was also taking on an ideological disposition that accommodated instrumentalist and developmentalist worldviews.

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[73] Notwithstanding the intense divisions that were themselves borne out of interstate rivalry.

[74] The secularization of the labour movement – particularly in Europe – gathered momentum in the post-war years, and so one should not place too much weight on the residual influence of the church at this time. Patrick Pasture, "Conclusion: Reflections on the Fate of Ideologies and Trade Unions", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), pp. 379-80.

1945-72. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

The aim throughout this section has been to explain the significance of the dynamics that are internal to the transnational network of labour organizations, especially as they might relate to movement integration and autonomy. What conclusions can be made about the nature of these prevailing intra-network relationships, interests, and ideologies, and about the ways in which organized labour was globalizing? It has become apparent that intra-network relations throughout this period were characterized by divisiveness and polarization. In spite of access to modern means of communication, actors within the network remained relatively detached. Authority, such as it was, lay with the nationally anchored constituent parts of the network. This reflected the growing commitment to, and importance of, the role of the state in the world of cross-border trade union politics. The interests and ideologies at play throughout the network reflected this tendency, as they did also the commitment to a modernizing developmentalism. These tendencies were deeply rooted and endured in spite of a range of countervailing pressures that operated on a more immediate level.

If we recall the earlier findings relating to the network's organizational form we once more see a disjuncture between organizational change and levels of integration and autonomy. While the organizational configuration of the network at this time showed distinct signs of consolidation and expansion, this did not coincide with greater levels of integration, or of a disassociation from the state. The principal inhibiting factors here remained the aforementioned commitment to the strategic interests of the state, as well as the commitment to progress and development. Clearly, important exogenous factors played a very important role here: for a better understanding of how organized labour responded to such external forces we now turn to an analysis of external dimensions of change.

PART TWO

CHAPTER FOUR

EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1945-72

1945-72. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

We turn now to the ways in which the global network of labour organizations engaged with the external throughout this period. The external is divided here into the political and civil realms and, where appropriate, into the national and global. We proceed, firstly, to map organized labour's engagement with the political realm – the realm that is premised upon the authority of the state.

1945-72. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE NATIONAL

While organized labour engaged with the state on both national and global planes, by far the most important of these was the national. This realm represented the hub of trade union politics throughout the post-war years. This meant that even though the organizational form of the cross-border network of labour organizations was global in scope, its roots remained firmly planted within the national realm. This realm was the principal focus of attention for two main reasons. The first was the emergence of corporatist, Keynesian, and social-democratic forms of governance. The second, closely related, reason was the imperative to defend the interests of the state, whether this meant committing to nation-building agendas, or to government policies aimed at securing geo-strategic advantage within a context of interstate relations. These factors have been alluded to earlier, but are worthy of greater attention here.

The first, and most important, aspect of organized labour's engagement with the national level of the political realm was its growing connection to government through corporatist relationships. A distinction should be made at this point between the forms of corporatism that existed in various spheres. Here, Littler and Palmer provide a useful guide. They differentiate between

voluntarist/bargained, and *statist/coercive* corporatism.[1] The voluntarist model was most prevalent in the European, social-democratic, and pro-Western group of states; while the statist model was that pertaining throughout the Eastern bloc and communist states more broadly. As the two labels suggest, there were regions in which trade unions committed themselves more or less willingly to 'partnership' with government, and those where such industrial relations regimes were imposed upon organized labour. We deal with both in turn, starting with the voluntarist form of corporatism.

The growing influence of Keynes' ideas – based on limited macro-economic management – created the political conditions in which social-democratic parties throughout the world became far more influential. Where they formed government they were instrumental in giving shape to the welfare state throughout the 1950s and 1960s.[2] Proximity to power, through their association with social-democratic parties, consequently became a real prospect for many national trade union actors. Eliassen's reflections of the time are illustrative:

> Corporatist representation is an important strategy of all contemporary European trade unions. The number of government commissions and state offices in which the unions are represented increased steadily. In the last two decades, all European trade-union movements have tended in this direction.[3]

And from scholars focusing on corporatism in the Latin American setting – in this case, in Mexico – came similar assessments:

> This corporatism implied that unions were conceived as public and political organisms which had co-responsibility for the State's stability and the continuity of the socioeconomic system. This function was put into practice through informal and formal mechanisms...This...has in all likelihood contributed to the construction of a particular kind of union tradition which is characterized by patrimonial relationships [and] statism.[4]

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[1] Craig R. Littler and Gill Palmer, "Communist and Capitalist Trade Unionism: Comparisons and Contrasts", in *Trade Unions in Communist States*, eds. Alex Pravda and Blair A. Ruble (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), pp. 261-62. While this schema is more than adequate for our present purposes, there do exist more sophisticated studies of corporatism. In his research, Katzenstein looks to a particular type of state formation – what he calls the 'democratic corporatist' state. Here, Katzenstein carefully differentiates between democratic corporatist states, and those characterized as 'liberal' and 'statist'. The former are distinct, for example, because of the existence of an ideology of social partnership, evidence of a relatively centralized system of interest groups, and an accommodation of continuous political bargaining between interest groups, state bureaucracies, and political parties. See Peter J. Katzenstein, *Small States in World Markets: Industrial Policy in Europe* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985).

[2] Rainer Deppe, Richard Herding, and Dietrich Hoss, "The Relationship between Trade Union Action and Political Parties", in *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, eds. Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno (London: Macmillan, 1978), p. 180.

[3] Eliassen quoted in Ibid.

[4] Enrique de la Garza, Javier Melgoza, and Marcia Campillo, "Unions, Corporatism and the Industrial Relations System in Mexico", in *The State and Globalization: Comparative Studies of Labour and Capital in National Economies*, ed. Martin Upchurch (London: Mansell Publishing, 1999), pp. 248-49. It is worth noting that the Mexican labour movement

Many prominent players within the transnational network of labour organizations embraced such corporatist integration.[5] Entering into these government-party alliances meant that national trade union organizations were often obliged to forego many political aims in return for increased economic leverage. The compromise often manifest itself in trade union leaderships foregoing wage increases in return for concessions on other economic demands.[6]

The extent of corporatist integration varied from one national context to the other.[7] Some relationships were quite informal, such as that existing between British governments – both Labour and Conservative – and trade unions throughout the late-1940s and 1950s.[8] In addition, incorporation was not always facilitated by social-democrat parties. A case in point was the relationship between the then American Federation of Labor and successive American governments and business elite. Though organized labour was at the time supportive of the Democratic Party, relationships with all governments were close. These relationships were founded on a shared commitment to a modernizing-productivist philosophy, as well as a strong current of nationalistic, anti-communist solidarity with business and government.[9] Robert Cox's comments on the period highlight the varied nature of such relationships:

> Where the corporative state was not explicitly imposed through formal institutions...it appeared as a natural growth spawning less formal and more fluid procedures for associating economic interests with government.[10]

This is not to suggest that all relationships between trade union movements and centers of state power during this period were harmonious and premised upon cooperation and compliance. Indeed, as Dubois, Koscielski, Arrighi, and others remind us, the 1960s in particular were years of

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has not always been unified in its dealings with the state. Indeed, in 1947 a breakaway labour organization was formed by those seeking to distance labour from the state. Those behind the move were workers of the powerful industrial unions. The government response was to purge the affiliated unions of its leadership, thus undermining the whole project. For more on this episode of Mexican labour history, see Altha J. Cravey, "Cowboys and Dinosaurs: Mexican Labor Unionism and the State", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998).

[5] The following were among the most notable examples of national trade union bodies gravitating towards government: Britain's Trade Union Congress, *via* the Labour Party; the Deutsche Gewerkschaftsbund (German Federation of Trade Unions), *via* the West German Social Democratic Party; and Sweden's Landorganisationen i Sverige (Swedish Trade Union Confederation), *via* that country's Social Democratic Party.

[6] Deppe, Herding, and Hoss, "The Relationship between Trade Union Action and Political Parties", p. 183.

[7] For a more detailed analysis of the complexities inherent in applying the concept of corporatism, see Lehmbruch, "Concertation and the Structure of Corporatist Networks."

[8] Crouch, "The Changing Role of the State in Industrial Relations in Western Europe", p. 204. It must be noted that the relationship between labour leaders and government was very intimate, even though outward appearances suggested otherwise. For an excellent illustration of this point refer to Peter Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1988), pp. 1-23.

[9] For a thorough analysis of the way the productivist and nationalist value systems were imbibed by the American labour leaders in the post-war period see Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*, pp. 139-66. See also Frank Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp. 1-13.

[10] Robert W. Cox, "Labor and Hegemony (First Published in 1977)", in *Approaches to World Order*, ed. Robert W. Cox (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 423.

considerable civil and political unrest.[11] Trade union movements were often important players during such upheavals. Some labour organizations attempted to disengage from both social-democrat parties and governments. It was certainly the case that the rank-and-file of many national trade union organizations attempted to re-orientate their leaderships towards oppositional rather than instrumental goals.[12] Such tensions – between organized labour, parties, and the state; as well as between labour leadership and the rank-and-file – were especially evident within the Italian and French contexts.[13] Yet, as Crouch argues, it was this militancy that prompted governments to redouble efforts to entice labour into corporatist arrangements.

> The period that began to gather momentum in the late 1960s was one both of increased labour militancy and of increased attempts by the state to secure order. The two processes frequently coalesced...in such devices as national tripartite negotiations...[14]

In addition to the *voluntarist* model of corporatism outlined above there also existed the *statist* form of political and economic integration.[15] Such incorporation existed within communist states and affected the largest trade union affiliates of the WFTU. This form of corporatism was premised on the Leninist *dualist* model of trade unionism.[16] This reflected an ambivalence towards unions: on the one hand the state – as represented by the ruling party – acknowledged the need for workers to be protected from harsh management practices; while on the other hand it maintained that organized labour's *raison d'être* was to serve the state and to achieve the productivity goals set for it.[17]

It followed that trade union organizations enjoyed very little autonomy, especially during the post-war years when reconstruction, modernization, and high levels of mass production were such powerful motivating factors for countries of Eastern Europe. Hence, communist states' trade unions

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[11] See Pierre Dubois, "New Forms of Industrial Conflict: 1960-1974", in *The Resurgence of Class Conflict in Western Europe since 1968*, eds. Colin Crouch and Alessandro Pizzorno (London: Macmillan, 1978), Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War*, and Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K. Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (London: Verso, 1989), pp. 97-119.

[12] For an excellent analysis of the fault lines existing between trade union leaderships and their constituents, as well as the steps taken by the latter to re-orientate leadership attitudes, see Deppe, Herding, and Hoss, "The Relationship between Trade Union Action and Political Parties", p. 184.

[13] Crouch, "The Changing Role of the State in Industrial Relations in Western Europe", pp. 204-07.

[14] Ibid., p. 216. Perhaps one of the most striking examples of turbulence resulting in integration is the case of post-war Japan. Throughout the late-1940s and early 1950s labour unions mounted a series of crippling strikes. Eventually the movement was subdued and then incorporated into what has subsequently become the quintessential corporatist relationship. Andrew J. Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics* (London: MacMillan, 1989), pp. 15-16.

[15] Littler and Palmer, "Communist and Capitalist Trade Unionism: Comparisons and Contrasts", pp. 261-62.

[16] For greater detail about the origins of the concept of *dualism* see Alex Pravda, "Trade Unions in East European Communist Systems: Toward Corporatism?", *International Political Science Review*, 4, 2 (1983), pp. 1-6.

[17] Classic *dualism* assumes a community of interest within socialist society so broad as to remove the very possibility of systemic industrial conflict, leaving only the most isolated, specific grievances open to debate and dispute. Ibid., p. 6.

"functioned basically as transmission belts with de facto compulsory membership".[18] And yet it would be wrong to assume that all such relationships in the region were identical. Pravda and Ruble go some way to providing a more subtle account of the forms that statist corporatism assumed.

They differentiate between the types of labour-state relationships that existed in the decades immediately following World War Tv/o. Essentially, they identify periods and settings in which the degree of state control varied according to socio-political factors. While trade unions were always subordinate to government, they were under some circumstances provided with greater scope to voice concerns. For example, there were times when a greater degree of freedom was permitted in order to reduce social tension arising from dramatic social and political change.[19] Usually, however, those national trade union organizations subjected to statist corporatist regimes deferred to the interests of state. This was most evident, of course, within the Soviet setting. To get a sense of the extent to which this was so, it is worth quoting Osakwe at length here:

> The Soviet trade unions conduct all their activities under the guidance of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the organizing and directing force of Soviet society...the Soviet trade union is so involved in the day-to-day government of the society that one can hardly conceive of any measure of political independence of the former from the actual government itself. However, this is not the same thing as saying that the trade unions are an integral part of the Soviet government. The actual situation today is that the trade union organization of the Soviet Union stands between the Party and the government...[20]

In addition to these corporatist tendencies, there existed certain strategic and functional imperatives committing organized labour to the defence of state. These also served to underscore labour's fixation on the state-mediated realm.[21]

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[18] Werner Reutter, "Trade Unions and Politics in Eastern and Central Europe: Tripartism without Corporatism", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996), p. 139.

[19] This manifested itself in a greater accommodation of trade union decentralization, and was evident in the then Yugoslavia (1950), Hungary, Poland (1956-58), and in what was Czechoslovakia (1966-69). Pravda, "Trade Unions in East European Communist Systems: Toward Corporatism?", pp. 9-10. Littler and Wilson also explore the various contexts of trade unionism. They reveal that in China, for example, the phenomenon of 'surplus labour' between the 1950s and 1970s in particular, mitigated the rise of shop-floor/trade union power, thus ensuring that such organizations were more or less emasculated. See Littler and Palmer, "Communist and Capitalist Trade Unionism: Comparisons and Contrasts."; and Jeanne L. Wilson, "The People's Republic of China", in *Trade Unions in Communist States*, eds. Alex Pravda and Blair A. Ruble (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986).

[20] Chris Osakwe, *The Participation of the Soviet Union in Universal International Organizations* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff, 1972), p. 56.

[21] Unfortunately, a thorough examination of the emotional and psychological attachment to the nation is beyond the scope of this study. For now it will suffice to think of the nationalistic compulsion as one that privileges a deeply felt impulse towards a communitarian ethic over class-based or cosmopolitan frameworks of identity.

In the 1945-72 era a nationalistic-statist turn was especially evident among trade union leaders of the colonized world. This was especially so in the years leading up to independence. Forman's phrase, "between cosmopolitan intent and self-determination", captures the tensions inherent in these conflicting attachments.[22] In many colonized countries – and especially throughout Africa and Asia – trade union leaders often lacked the opportunities and/or the inclination to negotiate on behalf of their constituents' through local processes of arbitration or negotiation. More often, the politics of anti-colonialism and national self-determination subsumed all else. The stakes were high in the struggle against the colonial powers, with political activists subject to frequent intimidation.[23] Those that were not imprisoned or in exile were often those who continued in their semi-legitimized roles as trade union leaders. In this context, trade union leaders of the colonized world were very much embroiled in their own country's political affairs. Unlike many of their Western counterparts, their identification with a trade or to a class was not as strong as their commitment to attaining independence through statehood.

Socio-economic factors also blurred the lines between labour activists and governments within newly independent countries. These factors served to promote young, politically active elites to positions of leadership within trade unions, and then on to similar roles within government. The politicized elite often gravitated to trade union ranks by virtue of their access to Western education. Such education instilled in these people the type of organizational skills needed to administer bureaucracies of all types. Having reached the level of trade union leader, many graduated smoothly into government, professional, or bureaucratic domains. When reflecting on the African setting, Busch offers the following observation in regard to this process:

> These men, often coming from the highest social castes or classes in their respective societies, found many doors open to them. With few exceptions, these leaders left the labour movement for other careers.[24]

In this context, the transition from union leader to government official was also more likely because the strongholds of union activity – the state utilities – were by definition connected to government. These included the instrumentalities of railways, ports and other government offices.[25] Close relationships between government and labour officials were inevitable when, as Busch points out, trade union "representation tended to consist of political approaches to a governmental employer".[26]

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[22] Michael Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1998), p. 167.
[23] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 75.
[24] Ibid., p. 76.
[25] Ibid., p. 77.
[26] Ibid.

A functional and strategic commitment to state manifested itself most strikingly among the labour leaders of the most powerful states of the post-war era. These states employed various actors from within the transnational network of labour organizations to act as their proxies. Some of the most prominent organs within this network engaged in activities – usually of a clandestine nature – that were designed to enhance ideological, economic, and security interests of both state and business. This form of engagement in many regards straddled the two levels outlined earlier – the national and global – as the commitment to such interests usually necessitated cross-border activities in strategically important regions. This was not an arms-length engagement with the government; rather, it entailed serving the state in its dealings with other actors in world politics. Direct and indirect patronage was often extensive, with some labour organizations owing their existence to governments.[27]

The most transparent of all relationships existed between American government-business elite, and the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. The latter served its government directly or by proxy through its offshoot organizations. These included the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, the African-American Labor Center, the pre-war American Alliance for Labor Development, as well as the American Institute for Free Labor Development. These offshoots were, in effect, products of a state-business-labour alliance that worked under the auspices of the Federation.[28] Against a background of Cold War tension these puppet organizations operated throughout Europe, Africa, Southeast Asia, Central and Latin America.

Though they did provide some genuine assistance to non-American trade unions, they more often aimed to pacify and/or divide elements of the indigenous labour organizations that remained enamoured of communist, socialist, Left nationalist, or syndicalist ideas.[29] Officials of the American Institute for Free Labor Development have justified their activities thus: "Our

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[27] For example, it is claimed that the American Institute of Free Labor Development – the AFL-CIO's foreign aid organization – received over ninety percent of its funding from government. See Hobart A. Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", *Science and Society* 56, 4 (1992-1993), p. 421. See also Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), pp. 22-30.

[28] The most thorough examination of these organizations that I am aware of is to be found in Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*. His research shows the extent of government sponsorship of the AIFLD which had, by the late-1970s, reached eight million dollars *per annum*. See page 161 in the work cited. Munck's note of caution is also worthy of our attention. He argues that while there is little doubt as to the AIFLD's complicity in anti-labour campaigns on behalf of repressive governments in the region, its overall influence on labour politics may have been overstated. Muck suggests that regional labour movements were perhaps more resilient than some accounts would have us believe. See Munck, *The New International Labour Studies*, pp. 193-95. For more damning accounts of the activities of American labour see Hobart A. Spalding, "'Solidarity Forever?: Latin American Unions and the International Labor Network'", *Latin American Research Review*, XXIV, 2 (1989). Gary Busch also provides an insight into the divisions American Anti-Communism created. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 69-71.

[29] Spalding provides a fascinating study of how the AIFLD in particular manipulated labour politics throughout Latin America between the 1960s and 1980s. He also provides details of the genuine assistance provided: this included the training of labour organizers, providing technical and material support, and supporting union-to-union programs. See Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File."

collaboration takes the form of trying to make the investment climate more attractive and more inviting", and that the

> AIFLD urges cooperation between labor and management and an end to class struggle. It teaches workers to help increase their company's business and to improve productivity so that they gain more from expanding business.[30]

While these statements paint a relatively benign picture of the work carried out by such organizations, the reality was far more disturbing. For example, these proxy organizations were to play key roles in the undermining – and eventual downfall – of social-democrat governments in Guatemala (1954), the Dominican Republic (1965), and Chile (1973).[31]

American interests – and those of its business community – were also pursued through other organs of the transnational network of labour organizations. Indeed, the then American Federation of Labor initially joined the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions for the most cynical of reasons. As the biographer of the AFL's then leader, George Meany, made clear:

> The AFL wanted to give legitimacy to the trade unions it was underwriting in Europe and elsewhere. The AFL wanted protective international coloration for some of the solely American activities it was conducting abroad. Finally, the AFL wanted a worldwide labor group with which to wage a propaganda battle with the now-avowedly Communist WFTU.[32]

In general, leaders of the American labour movement conducted an ongoing campaign throughout the 1960s and 1970s to infiltrate and co-opt the ICFTU. In addition, the ICFTU's Latin American regional body – the Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores – was itself used as a vehicle for American anti-communist activity, as were some International Trade Secretariats.[33] Some of the latter were swayed by their large American trade union affiliates; those that had also benefited from government largesse.[34] Overall, perhaps Robert Cox's observations provide the best summation of the political disposition of American labour at this time:

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[30] The first comment comes from a statement to Congress made by one official, William Doherty; while the second comes from Peter Grace, a one-time chairman of the AIFLD's board of trustees. See Rupert, *Producing Hegemony: The Politics of Mass Production and American Global Power*, p. 174.

[31] See Cox, "Labor and Hegemony (First Published in 1977)", pp. 431-32, and Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* pp. 146-8 and pp. 71-77 respectively.

[32] This quote appears in Cox, "Labor and Hegemony (First Published in 1977)", pp. 432.

[33] Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", pp. 423-24. The trade secretariat most implicated during this period was the International Ladies Garment Workers Union.

[34] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 161-62.

> American organized labor has, indeed, since World War II, behaved abroad as an integral element in the global expansion of American capitalism. Whether consciously or unconsciously, its relationship to labor in other countries has been subordinated to this goal. American labor's foreign policy has stressed American interests first, international labor solidarity second – and indeed the second has been so far behind as hardly to count at all.[35]

This form of labour subordination was not limited to the American context. We can also refer to Britain's Colonial Labour Advisory Committee, whose creation in 1942, according to one scholar, marked "the final and formal integration of the TUC [Trades Union Congress] into the British system of colonial rule".[36] Here the functional

> relationship, at least in the foreign and colonial sphere, began at the behest of the TUC. Initially, the state was reluctant to accept closer ties, and...it was primarily the rise of the Labour Party to power in the wartime Coalition government that marked the decisive point.[37]

Through this medium, successive British governments sought to create "stable, nonpolitical labour movements" throughout Britain's colonies and spheres of influence.[38] Since the 1930s, the Trade Union Congress had played an important role in quelling labour unrest in Britain's colonies throughout Africa and the West Indies. But it was in post-war Greece that it played its most significant role on behalf of the state.[39] Here, British labour officials worked hand-in-glove with their government, instigating purges of those sympathetic to the Greek Communist Party from the public services, as well as from the domestic labour movement itself.[40] Beyond this, cooperation with the British Foreign Office also involved using monies provided by the Confederation of British Industry to facilitate business interests abroad throughout the Cold War era.[41]

The point ought to be made that in the cases cited both American and British labour leaderships worked surreptitiously with government. There was little or no effort made to consult or gain the consent of their trade union constituents for the activities undertaken. This was not evidence simply of a marriage of convenience brought about by peculiar circumstances, but of a very profound

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[35] Cox, "Labor and Hegemony (First Published in 1977)", p. 428. See also pages 432-433 for a fascinating insight into Meany's tactical manoeuvring to undermine the European influence within the ICFTU.
[36] Weiler, *British Labour and the Cold War*, p. 47.
[37] Ibid., p. 19.
[38] Ibid.
[39] For more on this episode of British labour's involvement in foreign affairs see Heinz Richter, *British Intervention in Greece: From Varkiza to Civil War* (London: Merlin Press, 1986). Another useful reference relating to this period is C.M. Woodhouse, *The Struggle for Greece, 1941-1949* (London: Hart-Gibbon, MacGibbon, 1976).
[40] Nicos Alivizatos, "The 'Emergency Regime' and Civil Liberties, 1946-1949", in *Greece in the 1940s, a Nation in Crisis*, ed. John O. Iatrides (Hanover: University of New England, 1981).

alignment and a deeply rooted harmony of interests between labour and state elites during this period.

The relationship between the World Federation of Trade Unions and its patron, the Soviet Union, was far more overt. This was evident in the relationship with its principal affiliate, the Soviet Union's All Union Central Council of Trade Unions. In the domestic setting, this national organization had virtually no bargaining function, though it was responsible for administering systems of social insurance, welfare, and rest and recreation schemes.[42] In this sense there existed an organic – though all but compulsory – connection between organized labour and state. This, in turn, colored the relationship between the WFTU and the Soviet Union. Indeed, even though the WFTU claimed to champion working-class internationalism, peace, and the defeat of colonialism and fascism, its actions betrayed a commitment to the geo-strategic interests of its patron state.

Moreover, the WFTU's pronounced hostility to Western capitalism did not entail fighting for the rights of trade unionists in the Eastern bloc. The events of 1968 illustrate the extent of this strategic allegiance. It was then that the WFTU's Soviet-dominated leadership rounded on dissident members of its own governing Secretariat. Initially headquartered in Prague, the Secretariat of the WFTU found itself in the eye of a storm when the Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia. This was the latest in series of events that saw the Soviet Union come into conflict with other communist states.[43] Significantly, many highly placed WFTU officials – most of whom were nationals of non-Soviet states – expressed their opposition to this latest instance of Soviet military intervention in the region. This act of defiance resulted in the Kremlin tightening the reins within its trade union international.[44] This it did by asserting greater control over the WFTU's governing organs, by relocating the administrative headquarters from Prague to Moscow, by denying the Secretariat any role in policy-making, and by concentrating power within the Executive Bureau.[45]

This concentration of power belied what at first glance seemed to be an organization that extended far and wide. In this period the WFTU had a presence in Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. However, unlike the ICFTU, the WFTU did not establish a network of its own regional offshoots. It chose instead to develop relationships with autonomous regional organizations.[46] The

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[41] It is estimated that the TUC received £75,000 per annum from this source. See Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, p. 228.

[42] Osakwe, *The Participation of the Soviet Union in Universal International Organizations*, pp. 55-56. See also Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 89-90.

[43] Most notable among these were the 1956 invasion of Hungary and the Sino-Soviet split of 1960. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 104-05.

[44] For an eyewitness account of events during this period see Waterman, *A Spectre Is Haunting Labour Internationalism, the Spectre of Communism*.

[45] Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies*, p. 43.

[46] Among these were European affiliates such as Italy's Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, and France's Confédération Générale de Travail, as well as Latin America's Confederación de Trabajordores de América Latina and, for a time, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions.

politics of state determined the nature of these regional connections. Nowhere was this more evident than in the competition between the Soviet and Chinese-leaderships to secure trade union allies throughout Asia. Competition was especially intense following the Sino-Soviet split. This rivalry severely compromised Asian trade union movements that had hitherto played vital roles in anti-colonial struggles. They were now forced to engage in a form of state politics that was scripted by those in Beijing or Moscow.[47] Moreover, the labour movements throughout the region became important 'front organizations' that played crucial supplementary roles to the normal diplomatic machinery of state. Gary Busch's summation of labour relations in this realm is illustrative: "...for both communist and non-communist states it was much easier to use the front organizations to engage in conflict with their rivals than to engage in government-to-government confrontation".[48] Front organizations of another sort were incorporated within the WFTU's system of *ad hoc* committees. These were bodies concerned with a range of issues relating to youth workers, women, and multinationals. While not all such committees can be dismissed as instruments of state, they all remained highly attuned to the interests of the WFTU's superpower patron.

The connection to the state was also manifest in organized labour's commitment to national independence. While regional labour organizations throughout Latin America were compelled, or at least pressured, into playing the role of superpower proxies, the investment in the state throughout Africa and the Middle East often assumed an altogether different form. Here, labour organizations were compelled to defer to the interests of governments in order to preserve the autonomy of states that had recently achieved independence. Governments of these new republics demanded loyalty from national and regional labour organizations. The latter often chose alignment to patron states that were fiercely opposed to connections with former colonialist powers. Organizations such as the General Union of Workers of Black Africa (1957-59),[49] the All-African Trade Union Federation (1959-60), and the African Trade Union Confederation (1962-73) were manifestations of this non-aligned statism.[50]

Another regional organization that was beholden to the state was the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions (formed in 1956). While ostensibly an independent trade union actor, this organization played an important role in the Pan-Arabist movement headed by Nasser of Egypt. In fact, it was funded by, and headquartered in, Egypt. Its policies were determined by the Egyptian

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[47] As Busch points out, it was a sad irony that the All China Federation of Trade Unions was itself dissolved amid the turmoil of the Cultural Revolution. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 105.

[48] Ibid., p. 103. Busch also provides a fascinating overview of the cleavages within the Indian labour movement in the years leading up to independence, and of how the Soviet Union and Chinese governments vied for the support of major Indian constituents. See pages 108-118.

[49] Union Générale des Travailleurs d'Afrique Noire.

[50] As Busch argues, the pressure to affiliate also came from the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, a 'national' labour movement that was active in courting African labour organizations. This it did while acting as an agent on behalf of its own government in the latter's anti-communist campaign. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 88-93.

government, and were carefully tailored to suit that state's interests. Moreover, its affinity with the WFTU was due in no small measure to the latter's opposition to the state of Israel, and the fact that the rival ICFTU counted as one of its major affiliates the Israeli national labour center, Histadrut.[51]

The point to be emphasized here is that throughout this period the national realm represented the epicentre of labour politics. This bears directly on the question of globalization as it relates to labour because it underscores, firstly, the extent to which movement integration was undermined and, secondly, the extent to which the network remained beholden to the state. Because their political worldview(s) were fashioned by a statist mind-set, the constituent parts of the network of transnational labour confederations – at virtually all levels – remained preoccupied with this realm. As was apparent in the preceding section, this resulted in a transnational network of labour organizations that comprised very ineffectual peak confederations, and one that was sustained only by the presence of its national constituents. Moreover, the only real legitimacy the various parts of the network could claim was that bestowed upon them by patron states.

Indeed, throughout this period it was impossible to separate the internal dynamics of transnational labour politics from the politics of state. In one way or another we see the priorities, interests, and actions of the constituent parts of the network determined not only by changes in the structure of production, but also by the organizational relationships pertaining between and within states.

This manifested itself in national and regional trade union bodies aligning with forces of national liberation and anti-colonialism, with superpower and colonialist patrons, or with nation-(re)building corporatist regimes. It is little wonder then that the peak confederations that purported to represent labour across borders invested a great deal in accommodating the interests of those powers who themselves shaped interstate relations. These confederations looked to accommodate the interests of state and premised their representation of their constituents upon distanced and symbolic proclamations which served to obscure such overt and covert alignments. Thus, the overall complexion of this 'global' ensemble of labour movements remained one characterized by its preoccupation with the state. Such conditions limited integration and autonomy – indeed, they ensured the globalization of labour remained incomplete – in spite of the spread of an organizational network that spanned continents.

This is not to suggest that trade unions, or their transnational confederations, were universally compliant or conformist. What is significant, however, is that the pressure on organized labour to comply, in one way or another, to the imperatives of state was overwhelming. And whether this

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[51] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*. pp. 135-41.

labour-state nexus was sought after by labour leaders or, alternatively, foisted upon them – through forced and unavoidable incorporation – is a moot point.[52]

1945-72. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE GLOBAL

The preceding section has shown how the constituent parts of the transnational network of labour organizations were fixated on the national-political realm. The world of labour politics, as we observed, was inextricably tied to the politics of state, and shaped by domestic social and economic forces largely determined by government. In order to further gauge the extent to which organized labour was contained within the political realm, it is necessary to also assess the nature and intensity of the engagement on a global plane. It will become apparent that there was indeed a trend towards engagement with the inter-governmental organizations on this level. However, while one reading might suggest that this trend marks a disengagement from the politics of state – as well as a deepening of organized labour's globalization – I would suggest rather that it simply enabled the hitherto 'free-floating' peak confederations to engage with states in a different realm of state-mediated politics.

The period 1945-72 was notable for the economic, social, and political changes associated with post-war reconstruction. We have seen how this process of reconstruction at once spawned – and was dependent upon – a great many inter-governmental organizations.[53] These were to become the successors to the pre-war 'Public International Unions' that were concerned with fostering industry, managing conflict, securing the system of states, and formulating transnational social and humanitarian policy.[54] The proliferation of these inter-governmental organizations after World War Two was quite remarkable. Leaving aside for a moment the specific organs and programs of the United Nations, there was a proliferation of such organizations in economic, social, and political spheres.[55]

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[52] I believe the term 'labour-government nexus' was coined by Gary Busch. I adapt his phrase for my own purposes. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*.

[53] The precise meaning of the term 'inter-governmental organization' is the subject of some debate within the discipline of *international relations*. For our purposes, Robert Williams' definition seems most appropriate. He adopts the following three-part definition: 1. An organization based on a formal instrument of agreement between the governments of nation states. 2. The agreement must include three or more nations as parties; and 3. The organization must possess a permanent secretariat (or executive organ) performing ongoing tasks. See Robert V. Williams, *The Information Systems of Inter-Governmental Organizations: A Reference Guide* (London: Ablex Publishing, 1998), p. 398.

[54] As of 1914 there existed thirty-three such bodies. These included the International Telegraph Union (1865), the Universal Postal Union (1874), the International Union for the Protection of Industrial Property (1883), the International Labor Office (1901), the Permanent Court of Arbitration (1899), the International Office of Public Hygiene (1907), and the International Association of Seismology (1903). For a complete list see Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850*, pp. 46-48.

[55] In terms of numbers, they increased from 132 in 1956, to 280 in 1972. Werner J. Feld, Robert S. Jordan, and Leon Hurwitz, *International Organizations: A Comparative Approach*, 3rd ed. (London: Praeger, 1994), p. 17. In the economic sphere there emerged organizations that were conceived at the Bretton Woods negotiations of 1944-46. These included the International Monetary Fund, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the International Development Association, and the International Finance Corporation. There also emerged such organizations as the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, the Eastern bloc's Council

These came to represent the transnational embodiments of the community of states. Given that inter-governmental organizations were borne of state initiatives – with executive bodies answerable to governments and constituents primarily made up of states – it should not surprise that they became instruments of state. While they frequently accommodated the views of non-state actors, they were primarily concerned with giving voice to the state, and with achieving ends that were in harmony with states' interests.[56]

Importantly, many such inter-governmental organizations had the potential to act as intermediaries on behalf of the various organs of the transnational labour movement. Through these, organized labour had an opportunity to engage the community of states. Among the most relevant organizations were the International Labour Organization (ILO), the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. While various constituent parts of the transnational labour movement also engaged with regional or group-specific inter-governmental organizations,[57] the focus here will be on the extent to which labour engaged with the specialized bodies of the United Nations.[58] This is because all states were associated with the United Nations, and it is therefore most representative of the global-political sphere in question. More importantly, its most relevant body for labour – the ILO – was, and is, according to Busch, "one of the very few areas in which the several competing trades union political factions, meet, interact and share a common platform on issues which affect working people".[59]

In an attempt to gauge the nature and intensity of engagement by organized labour in this sphere, we focus on the activities of the more prominent peak confederations. Beginning with the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, we look at the nature and significance of the

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for Mutual Economic Assistance, and the European Economic Community. In the social and political spheres there emerged regional organizations – such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and the Warsaw Treaty Organization – as well as those less orientated to security matters. The latter included the Association of South East Asian Nations, the European Economic Community, the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, and the Arab League. Finally, the United Nations – itself made up of numerous bodies concerned with security, economic, and social issues – also functioned as an umbrella organization for fifteen specialized agencies that together sustained the post-war liberal internationalist order.

[56] The extent of government/non-government accommodation within these organizations is highlighted in Clive Archer, *International Organizations* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1983), pp. 65-67. See also Feld, Jordan, and Hurwitz, *International Organizations: A Comparative Approach*, pp. 222-26.

[57] The Trade Union Advisory Committee's organic connection to the OECD, and the European Trade Unions Secretariat's relationship with the EEC, are cases in point.

[58] It is important to distinguish between United Nations organizations and United Nations specialized agencies. United Nations organizations were created by the General Assembly in 1945 and are funded from the United Nation's own budget. They assume responsibility for the social and economic functions of the United Nations. The United Nations specialized agencies are legally distinct bodies, many of whom predate the United Nations. They have their own budgets, memberships, and programs. However, they do submit themselves to the coordination and scrutiny of the United Nation's Economic and Social Council, and its Administrative Committee on Co-ordination. See Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, p. 66.

[59] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 20.

engagement with United Nations agencies – with particular emphasis on the ILO – throughout the post-war years up to 1972.

With a declared policy emphasis on social justice within a framework of economic development, progress, and free-trade, the ICFTU took seriously the work of United Nations agencies. It invested a great deal of time and energy in ensuring that such agencies were cognisant of its constituents' needs. The ICFTU's involvement with the Food and Agriculture Organization was illustrative. Granted observer status within the Organization in 1954, the ICFTU applied what pressure it could in that forum with the aim of alleviating the dire food shortages existing in regions as diverse as Southern Europe, Africa, and the Americas. As well as providing a platform from which to condemn rival confederations, the United Nations through the 1950s and 1960s also provided a forum in which the ICFTU could denounce communist dictatorships – or "Lands Without Liberty".[60] During the 1960s – the United Nations Decade of Development – the ICFTU gradually shifted its emphasis away from communist and dictatorial regimes, and concentrated instead on promoting economic growth, especially in the developing world.[61]

Of all peak labour confederations, the ICFTU was the most active participant within the United Nations and the ILO in this period. Though the other confederations had a presence, the ICFTU held most of the seats set aside for the representatives of labour on the ILO's Governing Body.[62] An important factor in the ICFTU maintaining this privileged position was the backing it received from the United Nations Economic and Social Council, one of the six principal organs of the United Nations. Such recognition was much valued, for it also bestowed upon the ICFTU a legitimacy that extended beyond this immediate setting and into the realm of world politics more generally.

Not only did the ICFTU's Executive Board express its views through the ILO's Governing Body, it was also able to have them echoed by national affiliates attending the annual International Labour Conference.[63] Moreover, because the ICFTU represented the same constituents as most International Trade Secretariats, the same viewpoints were expressed through trade secretariat participation in the various organs of the ILO and the United Nations. More specifically, the

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[60] This was the title given to a regular editorial column appearing in the ICFTU's journal, *Free Labour World*. See also J.H. Oldenbroek, "Communism and the ILO's Work: Statement by J.H. Oldenbroek, ICFTU General Secretary, at the 38th International Labour Conference", *Free Labour World*, 62, August (1955).

[61] Thus, the ICFTU's Asian Regional Organization asserted its presence within the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East; while ORIT, the ICFTU's Latin American regional organization, worked closely with the United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America. The following speech provides a good insight into ORIT's perspective on the United Nation's efforts to foster economic development in Latin America: see Rodolpho Echenique, "The Worker's Contribution Towards Latin American Economic Integrations: Speech by Echenique of the ICFTU/ORIT Office in Chile to the Inaugural Meeting of the Committee of the Whole of ECLA (UN Economic Commission For Latin America)." *Free Labour World*, 95, May (1958).

[62] The Governing Body is the executive body of the ILO. It comprises twenty-eight government representatives, fourteen employers' representatives, and fourteen employees' representatives.

ICFTU sought to have its affiliates' views incorporated into the motions, resolutions, and declarations of all such agencies. It employed various mechanisms in these fora in order to bring pressure to bear on member governments. It issued publicity, lobbied, mobilized support, prepared briefs, held meetings, produced information, and issued condemnations against offending governments.[64]

All this would suggest that the ICFTU – the principal organ of the transnational labour movement – had at its disposal an ideal platform from which it could develop an integrated and cohesive transnational labour movement. Furthermore, this regime seemed to also offer an important *entrée* into the world of international politics, as well as a mechanism for leverage in relation to the community of states. The reality was that the nature of the ICFTU's engagement with these inter-governmental organizations was always determined by the forces of national politics that impinged upon its own affiliates. The politics of the domestic was inescapable. The sensibilities of the various protagonist states often determined the fate of various initiatives; hence the issues the ICFTU's Executive Board deemed worthy of pursuit were not necessarily those that were canvassed within the ILO.[65]

The relationship between the ICFTU, the ILO, and the American labour-government leaderships is illustrative of the extent to which the national impinged on to the global. The nexus between the American labour movement and its government was as evident at the level of inter-governmental organizations as it was on the national plane. The strength of this American alliance was exemplified by two important episodes. These entailed the orchestrated withdrawal of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations from the ICFTU in 1969; and then, in the following year, of the American government from the ILO itself.[66]

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[63] The International Labour Conference is the ILO's 'parliament', comprising government, employer and workers' delegations from each member state.
[64] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, pp. 73-78.
[65] Ibid., p. 78.
[66] The withdrawal from the ILO was gradual. The process began in 1970 with the suspension of funding, and culminated in 1977 with the complete severing of ties. America subsequently re-joined in 1980. The AFL-CIO's withdrawal in 1969 was sparked – in part – by its refusal to tolerate residual sympathies for socialism and communism still evident within the ranks of the ICFTU. According to one observer, this underlined the widespread belief that the "AFL preceded the American government in fighting the Cold War." The ICFTU attempted to placate its largest single affiliate by echoing the latter's concerns in its resolutions. But it could do little to stop its European affiliates from maintaining ties with trade union organizations within communist states. More broadly, the split occurred after it had become apparent that the American labour leadership – headed by George Meany – could not wrest total control of the ICFTU from its European counterparts. The AFL-CIO's withdrawal from the principal organ of the transnational labour network represented a dress rehearsal for a far more dramatic gesture on the part of the American labour-government alliance. This was the American government's withdrawal from the ILO. Ostensibly, this withdrawal was triggered by the appointment of a Soviet citizen to a position of some prominence in that organization. Cox, "Labor and Hegemony (First Published in 1977)", p. 428, 34. However, this appointment was just one in a series of incidents that had angered the American government. This anger had festered for some time and had more to do with the way the ILO was being used as a forum for the criticism of America and its allies. As Houshang Ameri points out, there was "uneasiness in the West at the diversion into sterile propaganda channels of much of the plenary discussion at International Labour Conferences, with Arab nations attacking Israel, African nations attacking South Africa and socialist states attacking the US". Houshang Ameri, *Politics and Process in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations* (Aldershot: Gower, 1982), p. 220. Ameri also provides a very detailed version of the events that surrounded the American withdrawal on pages 219-226.

Robert Cox provides a suggestive interpretation of these events. He contends that the tensions evident between the American labour-government alliance and other actors within inter-governmental organizations stemmed from a fundamental disagreement about the purpose of such organizations. According to Cox, for example, the tripartite system of representation upon which the ILO was founded was understood by the Americans to represent corporatism writ large. The assumption on the part of the Americans was that corporatism – whether national or global in scope – was premised upon an uncritical acceptance of a liberal internationalist order. From this perspective corporatism was not expected to accommodate competing interests, especially when such interests ran counter to the preferred order. From the perspective of American labour leaders and their governments, a degree of acquiescence within both the ICFTU and the ILO was expected. When it was not forthcoming, withdrawal from these bodies was inevitable.[67]

This is indicative of the extent to which organized labour remained attuned to the interests of state, even within fora premised – ostensibly at least – upon internationalist and cosmopolitan ethico-legal foundations. It suggests that a compliant corporatism characterized not only the domestic relationships between the state and major ICFTU affiliates, but also relations between these actors on a global plane: in this case, within inter-governmental organizations such as the United Nations and the ILO.

This corporatist orientation is reflected in editorials and other commentary appearing in the ICFTU's journal, *Free Labour World*. The tenor of these commentaries is very illustrative. What is most evident about the contributions to this journal – focusing here on the volumes issued throughout the 1950s and 1960s – is the seemingly unqualified support for the United Nations and its agencies. These institutions were held in very high regard by the ICFTU in this period, with the latter going to great lengths to persuade readers of *Free Labour World* that its proclaimed goals of greater liberty and freedom were inextricably entwined with the growing economic development and progress sought by United Nations agencies.

And yet these pronouncements concealed significant tensions within the movement. Though a commitment to universal emancipation was persistently affirmed, this was at odds with organized labour's preoccupation with national interests. There seems to have been a conflict here between very real, but waning, cosmopolitan motivations, and a communitarianism that found expression in a commitment to state-focused developmentalist and welfarist programs. In other words, though a impulse towards more intense globalization could be discerned throughout this period, this was an orientation that did not challenge the organic connection to the state. Indeed, organized labour's internationalism throughout this period served to complement states' interests.

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[67] Cox, "Labor and Hegemony", pp. 421-28.

Like the ICFTU, the pro-Soviet World Federation of Trade Unions had observer status in various inter-governmental organizations. By 1972 it had gained such accreditation in the most important United Nations specialized agencies. These were mentioned earlier, and included the United Nations Economic and Social Council, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the World Health Organization, and the Food and Agriculture Organization. The WFTU also maintained a presence within regional organizations such as the United Nations Commission for Europe, and the United Nations Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East. Of most importance, for the purposes of this study, was its involvement in the ILO.

Because of the scarcity of material relating to its involvement in the ILO we are left to speculate as to the precise nature of the WFTU's engagement. Yet in one sense this task is relatively straightforward. This is so because of the clear symbiosis that existed between the WFTU's principal affiliate – the Soviet Union's All Union Central Council of Trade Unions – and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Indeed, in contrast to the preceding section, we are on firmer ground here because the WFTU was more beholden to the Soviet Union than the ICFTU was to the American labour-government alliance. In other words, it is safe to argue that the WFTU's position relating to the ILO was *ipso facto* the position taken by the Soviet Union. To a great extent, the following account rests on this assumption. The point re-affirmed by the WFTU experience is that while the transnational network of labour organizations continued to expand, the ideas underpinning such change remained in harmony with the interests of the state. Thus we see a process of globalization without movement autonomy or disengagement from the world of interstate politics.

Prior to 1954 the Soviet Union had been very antagonistic towards the ILO and had refused to take up membership within it.[68] This mirrored the Soviet Union's policy on all United Nations specialized agencies, as well as on virtually all post-war inter-governmental organizations. The proliferation of these institutions was considered to be "one of those pseudo-liberal moves calculated by the international bourgeoisie to halt the wave of workers' revolution throughout the capitalist world".[69] But such outright hostility gradually waned, and in accordance with the post-Stalinist foreign policy shift – later to be dubbed 'peaceful coexistence' – the Soviets joined the ILO in 1954.[70]

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[68] It should be noted that the Soviet Union's attitude towards the ILO evolved through various phases: the most hostile of these – the phase of 'deaf dialogue' and hostile boycott – lasted from 1919 to 1934; the second period – between 1934 to 1954 – was one characterized by a gradual thawing and ambivalence on the part of the Soviets. See Osakwe, *The Participation of the Soviet Union in Universal International Organizations*, pp. 63-72. See also Alexander Dallin, *The Soviet Union at the United Nations: An Inquiry into Soviet Motives and Objectives* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1962), pp. 61-66.

[69] Ameri, *Politics and Process in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations*, p. 65.

[70] This caused consternation among many members of the ILO. The main objections to the inclusion of the Soviet government and its labour representative arose from a reluctance to compromise on the principle of tripartism. In theory this system rested upon the organizational accommodation of autonomous labour, employer, and government delegations

Notwithstanding objections from its rivals, the Soviet Union in subsequent years became an "active insider"[71] within the ILO. Indeed, its record in terms of ratification of conventions was quite impressive throughout this period. Of special interest to the Soviet government-labour-'employer' alliance were conventions relating to freedom of association, forced labour, and discrimination in employment and occupation. One somewhat sceptical observer put this interest down to the Soviet Union government's eagerness to

> lend support to any convention which in any way would strengthen the hands of the working classes in 'capitalist' countries and would therefore constitute an embarrassment for the governments of Western member states.[72]

In terms of gaining political influence through the ILO, the Soviet delegations achieved little. That said, this was also a time when the Soviet Union was becoming a more vocal participant within many United Nations organs and specialized agencies. According to its critics, this participation only served to 'politicize' such fora.[73] In general, the WFTU was motivated to participate in the ILO for a range of reasons. Mainly, it sought to use it as a platform to promote its commitment to 'peaceful coexistence'; to confront there the liberal reformist ideology permeating the ILO; to promote the successes of socialism; and finally, to court states of the decolonised world.[74]

It is important to reiterate that the WFTU represented at the time a vehicle for the articulation of Soviet foreign policy. This was especially true within the ILO. Given this situation, it is not surprising then that much of the WFTU's work in the ILO was directed towards gaining an advantage in the ongoing rivalry with the ICFTU.[75] Overall, the literature seem to indicate that the WFTU's contribution was overshadowed by its patron state, the Soviet Union. All this is not to say

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from each member state. How, critics asked, could the labour representative of the Soviet state conceivably be considered autonomous? ICFTU. "The ICFTU Objects to the Credentials of the Workers' Delegates from Czechoslovakia, Venezuela and the USSR to the International Labour Conference", *Free Labour World*, 50, August (1954). This was to say nothing of the absence of 'free' employer groups. The question being considered was whether the ILO should accommodate a member whose government trailed along with it two functionary delegations. J.H. Oldenbroek, "The Russians and the ILO", *Free Labour World*, 49, July (1954). Interestingly, those entrusted with the task of reviewing Soviet eligibility countered these criticisms by claiming that few of the Western delegations would themselves satisfy the autonomy criterion. Osakwe, *The Participation of the Soviet Union in Universal International Organizations*, p. 74.

[71] Ameri, *Politics and Process in the Specialized Agencies of the United Nations*, p. 217.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Osakwe, *The Participation of the Soviet Union in Universal International Organizations*, pp. 42-43.

[74] The latter point provides an interesting aside, for it is a revealing comment on the Soviet view of labour-government relationships. In this view, progress was gauged according to the extent to which an economy developed around heavy industry. It was this model that they tried to export to developing states. Within this economic worldview labour was considered a necessary means to an end, utilized through the statist corporative arrangement mentioned earlier. For more on the manner of Soviet engagement with various inter-governmental organizations see Alvin Z. Rubinstein, *Soviet Foreign Policy since World War II: Imperial and Global* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1985), pp. 280-86.

[75] One example of this form of manoeuvring was the (unsuccessful) attempt in 1972 to overcome the ICFTU's dominant position within the ILO's Governing Body. This move was made in concert with the World Confederation of Labour, the confederation hitherto representing Christian socialism within the ranks of cross-border labour organizations. Relations between the WFTU and the WCL warmed considerably in the early 1970s, with the ICFTU's prominence in such world fora proving a concern for both. See Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 107.

that the WFTU was totally mute within such inter-governmental organizations. Like the ICFTU, it fulfilled an advisory role on the ILO's Industrial Committees, its Governing Body, and International Labour Conference. It also enjoyed consultative status within these ILO organs. The point to emphasize is that its contribution to the formulation of resolutions and ILO conventions were made with one eye fixed on the foreign policy interests of the Kremlin. Once again, what had appeared at first glance to be a tendency towards greater globalization – one hinting at more intra-network cooperation and autonomy from the state – proved ultimately to be nothing of the kind.

The industry-specific International Trade Secretariats also looked to engage the United Nations and the global-political realm in general. In the most important inter-governmental organizations the trade secretariats gained entry mainly – though not exclusively – through the agency of the nation-oriented labour organizations. For example, the Trade Union Advisory Committee – an organization comprising national affiliates of the OECD countries – acted as a go-between for trade secretariats in their relations with the OECD. And in their dealings with the European Economic Community, it was the European Trade Unions Secretariat that facilitated interaction. Similarly, the ICFTU acted as a mediator for the trade secretariats in their dealings with the United Nations.[76] This arrangement reflected a tacit and agreed upon "division of labour"[77] between the secretariats and the ICFTU. The understanding was that the United Nations was largely the preserve of the nation-oriented ICFTU, while the trade secretariats were expected to focus on their respective industries.[78]

Though the extent of involvement in the United Nations varied among trade secretariats, they all expressed strong support for its various agencies.[79] Indeed, a recurring lament in many of the statements issued by the trade secretariats was that the much valued ILO was under threat and needed to be protected from attacks by employer groups in particular.[80] In general, this meant that

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[76] Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, pp. 28-31.
[77] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 150.
[78] Bendt's outline of the relationship provides a neat summation. He states that while the secretariats "take part in annual ILO meetings, and are entitled to address the plenary and participate in committee meetings [it is] the ICFTU that coordinates co-operation between the Trade Secretariats and the workers' group on the ILO-Governing Body." Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, p. 29.
[79] For a sample of some of the issues canvassed and the form of interaction within the ILO's Industrial Committees see A. Miffre, "Problems That Face the Workers in the Petrol Industry: [a Statement by the Assistant General Secretary of the International Federation of Petroleum Workers to the Fifth Session of the ILO's Industrial Committee for Petroleum Production and Refining]", *Free Labour World*, 73, July (1956).
[80] Bendt, *One World, One Voice, Solidarity: The International Trade Secretariats*, p. 29. One such resolution was passed at an Extraordinary General Conference of the trade secretariats in 1959. It expressed the secretariats' "unflinching support for the ILO Industrial Committees and assimilated bodies, in view of the extremely useful tasks assigned to them and the work they have accomplished...[they] are an indispensable instrument for guiding governments and employers' and workers' organisations in their endeavours to implement the general principles embodied in ILO Constitution, Conventions and Recommendations." ITS, "Extraordinary General Conference of the International Trade Secretariats: Resolution on ILO Problems", *Free Labour World*, 106, April (1959), p. 180. As their name suggests, the Industrial Committees of the ILO were bodies that considered industry-specific issues and were thus highly valued by the trade secretariats. The tripartite nature of the ILO's Industry Committees necessarily diminished their capacity to deliver on all the secretariats' concerns. Not only was this structure premised on consensus – and hence bargaining – but the

the trade secretariats had a relatively low profile at the level of inter-governmental organizations. While the ILO's Industrial Committees provided the secretariats with a valuable platform within the context of the United Nations, the pre-eminent forum within the ILO remained the Labour Conference, one dominated by the nationally oriented labour confederations.[81]

1945-72. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

Even though the transnational network of labour organizations were now establishing a presence within the United Nations system, this did not mean that the fundamental orientation of the network – and by this I mean the orientation of the peak confederations, their major affiliates, and the latter's own constituent parts – changed in any significant way. It is true that, taken as a whole, the network did shift its gaze 'upwards' in response to the changes in the prevailing structures of production and organization. Theoretically, the presence within such international organizations as the United Nations offered a way out of imprisonment w[illegible]onal, and an opportunity to address in a meaningful way the constituents' universal concerns. But in practice, the global network of labour organizations continued to defer to the priorities of the interstate community of the day. For this network the United Nations/ILO path led straight back to a preoccupation with the domestic concerns of state.

Though the ILO in particular served as an important platform for international labour, its usefulness always fluctuated according to the interstate tensions shaping relationships between the most powerful states. The interests inherent in these tensions were not only of a geo-strategic nature, but also economic. As developmentalism gained currency throughout the 1960s the "United Nations labor agencies became 'service institutions' to the 'neocorporatist power structures of the national states'".[82] It is this notion of incorporation of organized labour into the overall project of national security and development that is of relevance here.

Ultimately, the system of interstate institutions in place throughout the 1950s and 1960s was in its own way as limiting to organized labour as the national realm from which it had tentatively turned. Even when labour did engage with this global-political realm, such engagement invariably led to a reinforcement of strategic or corporatist ties to the national realm. The center of gravity for the

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Committees were not capable of adopting binding regulations, and played an advisory role only to the ILO's Governing Body and its International Labour Conference.

[81] Ultimately, the influence of the trade secretariats in this external realm – like their nation-based transnational confederation counterparts – was very limited. They were consulted and permitted only to present reports and issue declarations. In spite of the resolutions mentioned above, the Industrial Committees provided little by way of binding regulations on members. They were limited to passing resolutions, adopting conclusions pertaining to actions by all government, employer and trade union representatives.

[82] Martin Peterson, *International Interest Organization and the Transformation of Postwar Society* (Stockholm: 1980), quoted in Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850*, p. 201.

loose network of transnational labour organizations remained within the national-political realm. If this network was becoming more 'globalized', such a transformation was only occurring superficially – that is, as an organizational projection rather than as a fundamental change to the movement's political and ideological orientation. It remained a loose ensemble of organizations 'led' by figure-head peak confederations. It was at its weakest at this peak level, with its most politically effective and coherent organs operating on the national and regional planes. Indeed, the activities of the national and regional labour organizations were very significant during the period under review. In his study of the ICFTU, Windmuller underscores this 'spectator' role of the peak bodies. In the following passage he reflects on the status of the 'subordinate' national and regional actors:

> [they] have become a formidable element in international trade unionism, overshadowing, complementing, but to some extent also displacing the ICFTU's own missionary work...The existence of such initiatives constitutes a serious problem for the ICFTU because of the competitive challenge to one of its core activities and even more because of the possible dilution of loyalty toward the ICFTU...[83]

We can venture now a summary of this section. It was here we commenced the process of mapping the nature of organized labour's engagement with the external. The external form of engagement in question was that pertaining between labour organizations and the state – within the 'political' realm. This was approached from two directions. The first of these provided a view of labour-state interaction from the level of the national – from the bottom up as it were. The second involved focusing on organized labour's engagement with the community of states – at the global level of inter-governmental organizations. Throughout, the aim was to shed light on the indicators of a deepening globalization as it related to organized labour. These indicators were understood in terms of network-wide integration and autonomy from the state. At its conclusion we are left with the impression that in spite of an expanded organizational presence, such a globalizing process was not yet apparent. To this extent there appears to have been little change in relation to the preceding 1860-1939 period.

What follows represents a more ambitious undertaking. The research now turns to another form of external engagement – to transnational labour's relationship with the civil realm. Here we continue the search for evidence of a more profound form of globalization; evidence that may suggest that the transnational labour movement began to gravitate away from the political realm, and moved closer to the civil realm.

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[83] Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement*, p. 76.

1945-72. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

To recapitulate, while by definition 'the civil' is a very broad category, we are concerned only with the activities of *oppositional* and *commercial* actors within this realm. By employing this concept in such a way I hope to ascertain the intensity of organized labour's engagement with actors and practices that have hitherto been quite remote.[84] Ultimately, this allows us to shed more light on the notion of globalization as it pertains to labour; that is, on the ways and extent to which organized labour has developed an integrated cross-border network; and the extent to which it has asserted itself as a non-state actor.

1945-72. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – OPPOSITIONAL ACTORS

To what extent did organized labour gravitate towards civil-oppositional actors? How can one characterize labour's relationship with movements of national liberation, the emerging 'new social movements', and the intellectual activists of the 'New Left'?[85] In the years leading up to the late-1960s, organized labour's contact with these civil-oppositional actors was sporadic. Nonetheless, interaction did occur across a wide range of cultures and political settings. The main labour protagonists in such interactions were those that had more intimate ties to their constituents. These were the national organizations and their domestic trade union affiliates. Those at greater remove – the peak confederations – were largely irrelevant in this form of interaction, choosing instead to remain focused on the politics of state(s), as expressed through powerful patron governments or the United Nations.

Throughout this period the residues of pre-war internationalism were still evident within the broad network of labour movements. This disposition, while not necessarily anti-statist in nature, was to make many labour organizations sympathetic to the aspirations of the civil-oppositional actors that later emerged. However, this modest level of interaction was to reduce significantly by the late-1960s. It was then that organized labour – seen in its totality – moved further away from the internationalist and civil-oppositional actors, and closer to engagement with state-mediated politics.

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[84] One final point: even though I continue to employ the notion of a national-global divide, I do so in the knowledge that in the case of civil actor activity such divisions are tenuous at best.

[85] Melucci provides us with a working definition of such 'new' movements, claiming that they "detach themselves from the traditional model of political organization, and they increasingly distance themselves from political systems. They move to occupy an intermediate space of social life where individual needs and the pressures of political innovation mesh." Alberto Melucci, "A Strange Kind of Newness: What's "New" in the New Social Movements?", in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, eds. Enrique Laraña, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R. Gusfield (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 103. The New Left and new social movements may have differed in some respects, but they shared the characteristics outlined in Melucci's quote. For another definition of the New Left see David Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: A Journey through 1968* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), p. 33. He argues there that the "most fundamental characteristic of the New Left was its libertarian distrust of state power, parties, competition, leadership, bureaucracies, and, finally, representative government".

This shift was mainly due, on the one hand, to a conflation of national liberation with class internationalism and, on the other, to changes in the global division of labour.

By the time of the post-war process of decolonization, the philosophies of nationalism and Marxism had for some become linked, with national liberation becoming synonymous with class struggle.[86] The socialist/labourist project found expression in the various struggles against imperialism, and manifest itself as national liberation Marxism. The language of national independence thus resonated with the solidaristic and egalitarian demands of the labour movement.[87] As Forman argues, this is why

> the claims for national self-determination have such a wide appeal: they project, whether legitimately or not, democracy, solidarity, and local control before larger processes.[88]

That this promise often proved illusory is not at issue here. What is of interest is that a rise of nationalistic working-class parties turned labour's attention towards movements that were – for a time at least – anti-systemic.[89]

How did all this affect the network of transnational labour organizations? During the 1950s and 1960s transnational labour confederations had little meaningful engagement with national liberation movements. While the World Federation of Trade Unions did give some covert support to such movements, it was motivated by the need to deny Western powers a foothold among newly emerging states.[90] Statements pledging support for anti-colonial and national liberation movements featured prominently in WFTU declarations. The WFTU presented itself as the representative of the colonial world, organizing 'solidarity days/weeks' in support of autonomy movements in states such as South Africa, Spain, Chile, and Korea. But support, such as it was, mainly took the form of exhortation and did not extend to regions where assistance might compromise Soviet foreign policy interests.

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[86] Friedman explores this notion, concluding that republicanism pre-dated Marxism: "But before Marxism, republicanism was the ideology of organized labor protest. Before there was a movement to emancipate workers as proletarians, militant workers campaigned for liberation as citizens". See Gerald Friedman, *State-Making and Labor Movements: France and the United States, 1876-1914* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), pp. 292-93.

[87] Giovanni Arrighi, "The Three Hegemonies of Historical Capitalism", in *Gramsci, Historical Materialism and International Relations*, ed. Stephen Gill (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 54; Th Van Tijn, "Nationalism and the Socialist Workers' Movement", in *Internationalism in the Labour Movement: 1830-1940*, eds. Frits Van Holthoon and Marcel Van der Linden (Leiden: E.J Brill, 1988), p. 612.

[88] Forman, *Nationalism and the International Labor Movement*, p. 174.

[89] Giovanni Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labour Movement", *New Left Review*, 179 (1990), p. 37.

[90] Robert W. Cox, "Labor and Transnational Relations", in *Transnational Relations and World Politics*, eds. Rober O Keohane and Joseph S Jr. Nye (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), p. 213.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions displayed what might be considered a curious indifference to anti-colonial struggles for national liberation. While it too railed against dictatorship, its principal concern was for those living under communist governments. This is not to dismiss the ICFTU's commitment to freedom; it is merely to highlight that emancipation was considered in a context apart from colonialism, imperialism, or nationhood. Indeed, the terms 'colonialism', 'imperialism', 'national liberation', and 'self-determination' rarely figured in the ICFTU's publications during the 1950s and 1960s. When reference was made to the emergence of "new lands" it was in past tense – 'after the fact' – and not expressed as an exhortation or gesture of solidarity for indigenous movements seeking independence.

Moreover, the ICFTU clearly emphasized economic progress ahead of anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist revolutions. Official ICFTU statements are illustrative. One example, appearing in a 1957 edition of *Free Labour World*, states that this "modern nationalism whose victories we are witnessing, does not only concern itself with self-determination in the political sense...but is equally a demand for economic and social advancement".[91] This is echoed in an editorial appearing two years later. In it the ICFTU "acknowledges peoples of a whole continent are on the march towards freedom...but the real problem is whether economic growth can keep pace with political developments".[92]

This suggests that in spite of appearances the most important transnational labour confederations approached engagement with certain civil-oppositional actors in very similar ways. Indeed, even though the WFTU's declarations in support of national liberation movements resonated with the emancipatory sentiments of the late-nineteenth century Marxists mentioned in Part One, its actual interests lay in preserving the economic and political integrity of a select community of states, as well as in antagonizing entrenched Western powers. The ICFTU also voiced concern for national liberation movements, though it too couched its support in a way that privileged stability, security, and economic development ahead of emancipation. Both confederations remained highly attuned to the interests of the prevailing centers of power in their respective state-political communities. There is little evidence, in other words, of an emergence of a globalized network premised fundamentally upon integration and autonomy from the state.

The domestic trade union bodies were the only labour actors that had meaningful engagement with national liberation movements. These movements were far removed from the transnational confederations, and engaged in actions in support of national independence with little regard for their peak bodies. Such labour movements were embroiled in fierce conflicts where commitment to

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[91] ICFTU-Editorial, "The Aim of Independence", *Free Labour World*, 84, June (1957).
[92] ICFTU-Editorial, "The ICFTU and Africa", *Free Labour World*, 113, November (1959).

national identity ultimately subsumed the commitment to class.[93] Indeed, organized labour and working-class internationalism rarely figured as decisive factors in such struggles: it is not surprising then that trade unions scarcely appear in studies relating to decolonization.[94]

Perhaps more revealing still was the manner in which trade union organizations interacted with the 'new social movements' and the New Left in general throughout the 1960s.[95] This period provides an excellent setting in which to assess the extent to which the labour organizations engaged with these civil-oppositional actors. It was at this time that social, political, and economic tensions culminated, triggering what Wallerstein refers to as the "worldwide revolution of 1968".[96] Accordingly, events of the period were seen as manifestations of a global revolt against a historical consensus between liberal and old-left statism.[97] Indeed, this was a time when the authority of the state was being challenged on many fronts. This was so, for example, in the context of the worker and student movement uprisings in Europe, Japan, and Mexico, the student, black, and anti-war movements in the United States, the 'cultural' revolution in China, and the emergence of a vibrant feminist movement.[98] A tour of some of the more prominent sites of conflict shows how reticent organized labour was – even at the national level – to engage with civil-oppositional actors that emerged at this time.

Europe was at the epicentre of the civil uprisings of 1968. At this time, organized labour's participation in anti-state actions in the region was belated and lacked conviction. The developments in France were typical. Here, the student movement was the principal civil-oppositional actor agitating for change. And yet aside from the unions specifically representing students and lecturers,[99] there was great reluctance on the part of the main domestic labour body – the communist-dominated Confédération Générale de Travail – to engage in confrontational politics. The "cautious and conservative posture" of the Confédération during this period was

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[93] Peter Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (London: Mansell, 1998), p. 23.

[94] Passing reference only is made to national labour movements in studies of the following anti-colonial conflicts: India, Algeria, Malaysia, Egypt, and Indonesia. In the case of Indonesia, it is interesting to note that the Australian labour movement played a small, yet important, role in supporting the nationalist movement there in the years preceding independence in 1949.

[95] In contrast to the nationalist movements, patriotism was not the principal motivation for these groups. This is one reason why they can be considered to be more deeply embedded within the civil sphere than movements for national liberation. Clear distinctions are, of course, problematic: for example, a peace movement in one setting can also have as an objective the national liberation of what is considered an oppressed people in another. This, arguably, was so in the case of the anti-Vietnam War movement throughout the West in the 1960s.

[96] Immanuel Wallerstein, *After Liberalism* (New York: The New Press, 1995), p. 53.

[97] Ibid., pp. 138-40. In this worldview, Wallerstein sees a historical conflict between what he calls *conservatism* (i.e., unrestrained capitalism), statist *Marxist-Leninism*, and Wilsonian *liberalism*. A consensus is claimed to have existed between Marxist-Leninism and liberalism since 1848, with both supportive of notions of developmentalism, sovereignty, scientific advancement, (sham) democracy, and universalism. This consensus was challenged by a worldwide revolt in 1968. The ultimate result, Wallerstein argues, has been the triumph of contemporary conservatism. See page forty-nine of the reference cited here.

[98] Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements*, pp. 35-36. A major catalyst for all these civil conflicts, argues Arrighi, was the escalation of the American war against Vietnam.

[99] These were the National Union of Students – or Union des Etudiants Français – and the lecturers' counterpart, the Syndicatée Nationale de l'Enseignement Supérrieure.

characteristic of a labour organization that was, by tradition "narrowly dedicated to material demands", and one that "risked few political adventures".[100] This was also the posture assumed by the smaller organizations.[101] It is significant that no "general strike order was ever issued, and the unions had difficulty keeping pace with their members"[102] – this at a time when up to nine million people were engaged in mass, spontaneous actions against the state. Indeed, there were instances when *ad hoc* strike committees refused Confédération officials entry through the barricades.[103] It is important to reflect on this point and remind ourselves that the individual members of the trade union organizations involved were often quite willing to challenge the politics of the state-mediated political realm, with or without the direction of their trade union representatives.

In the United Kingdom the trade union leadership – as well as a great many of their constituents – were vehemently *opposed* to student radicalism of the time. This opposition was in evidence during a series of strikes held in support of the arch-conservative Enoch Powell in April of 1968. These strikes demonstrated organized labour's opposition to the anti-racist campaign mounted by the student movement. In one such strike, more than four thousand London dock-workers took a defiant pro-Powell stand against the views espoused by a wide range of civil-oppositional actors.[104]

Conservatism on the part of trade unions and their members during 1968 was also evident in the Italian and German settings. In Italy, the communist-led Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro remained wary of fuelling the social unrest brought about by the continent-wide uprisings. One rather unkind account portrays the Fiat corporation's unionists as less-than-radical: "Many workers were relatively *integrati* with Fiat's consumer society and preferred a plate of May Day *fettuccine* at home to a demonstration".[105] That said, later in the same year in Palermo the Italian labour movement did campaign alongside the student movement in what was to become a fierce dispute over improved education facilities.

In West Germany trade union leaders were also inclined towards conservatism. They condemned anti-Vietnam actions of 1967, claiming that demonstrators were merely giving comfort to communists. In this case the trade union leadership reflected a widespread resistance to this aspect of civil-oppositional politics. This conservative inclination was no doubt borne out of the close affinity that had developed with the United States following the events of the late-1940s.

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[100] Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: A Journey through 1968*, p. 232.
[101] The Confédération Français Démocratique du Travail (750,000 members) and the Force Ouvrière (600,000 members). The Confédération Générale de Travail's membership at this point stood at 1.5 million.
[102] Caute, *The Year of the Barricades: A Journey through 1968*, pp. 233-34.
[103] Ibid., p. 236.
[104] Ibid., pp. 92-93.
[105] Ibid., p. 79.

A peculiar alignment between trade union organizations and conservative forces also emerged during Czechoslovakia's 'Prague Spring'. The labour movement in this instance remained suspicious of the progressive Dubček government throughout its tenure. Labour leaders criticized this regime for governing mainly on behalf of a middle-class intelligentsia with technocratic inclinations. Moreover, organized labour in this country was to a large degree content with a wage regime where differentials had been kept low by previous Soviet-backed governments. It was only following the Soviet invasion – when national liberation became a compelling factor – that the labour movement gave its support to what remained of the progressive forces of the day.[106] By then these forces were residing very much within the civil realm.

It can be argued that the relationship in Spain between radical students and organized labour to some extent represents an anomaly in this pattern of conservative responses to the events of 1968. Indeed, in his account of the 1968 uprisings, Caute argues that the "strength of the Spanish student movement lay in its collaboration with the militant sections of the working-class (Communist, socialist and anarchist)".[107] However, much of this willingness to work alongside the students can be attributed to the common aim of challenging the fascist rule of General Franco. Moreover, the engagement between elements of organized labour and civil-oppositional actors was not uncommon in this setting, with many such relationships having already been forged during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39. Even so, the responses of the trade union bodies then in existence were not consistent. The clandestine Comisiones Obreras[108] was "overwhelmingly dominant among politically active workers" and was a focal point for "the stormy student movement".[109] For its part the major trade union body, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo, was far more conservative. For many of the trade unionists within this body, the new civil-oppositional actors that emerged in the late-1960s were simply bewildering. Apart from the social movements emerging from within the universities, these were neighbourhood associations, feminist organizations, and environmental groups. According to Alvarez-Junco, these groups came to supplant the trade unionists as the principal actors for social change and opposition to Franco.[110] Soon, relations between the old and the new were to deteriorate

> The old [Confederación] trade unionists found themselves face to face with young, irreverent *ácratas* (libertarians), who were less interested in trade unionism that (*sic*) in "happenings", personal freedom, and transgressing social

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[106] Ibid., pp. 200-02.
[107] Ibid., p. 81.
[108] This labour body was controlled by the Communist party, itself a clandestine organization since being banned in 1962.
[109] José Alvarez-Junco, "Social Movements in Modern Spain: From Pre-Civil War Model to Contemporary Nsms", in *New Social Movements: From Ideology to Identity*, eds. Enrique Laraña, Hank Johnston, and Joseph R Gusfield (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1994), p. 310.
[110] Ibid., p. 311.

> taboos...the elders [were] unable to comprehend the new phenomenon.[111]

The relationships in America between organized labour and civil-oppositional actors was also quite complex. In the years up to 1965 we witnessed what can be described as a fruitful and mutually beneficial engagement between civil-oppositional movements and the country's principal labour organization, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. However, from the middle of the decade the relationship began to degenerate. Before this happened, civil rights groups such as Students for a Democratic Society, the Congress of Racial Equality, and the Committee for Political Education received financial and logistical support from the Federation. Both moderate and radical civil rights groups were to receive organized labour's support across many political contexts, but especially in the Southern states. It was commonplace for labour and civil rights leaders to address each other's supporters in fora organized for the purposes of exchanging ideas and expressing solidarity.[112]

There were both ideological and pragmatic reasons for the Federation's engagement with civil-oppositional actors at this time. Among the most important reasons was the need to ensure that the remnants of the white student Left – the survivors of McCarthyism – recovered in order to produce the next generation of union leaders and labour intelligentsia. Beyond this, many trade union leaders "saw the New Left as an auxiliary to liberalism".[113] This was important because, as Levy contends,

> labor was more concerned with the threat from the right than from the Left in the early 1960s...and that it sought allies on college campuses, in the South, and among unorganized workers.[114]

And yet, not all New Left movements received the support of organized labour. The Student Nonviolent Co-ordinating Committee, for example, was ostracized. This episode gives us a clue as to the nature of the fault lines, and the reasons for a cleavage that was to emerge in the middle of the decade. Discord between the Federation and these civil actors intensified as the latter stepped up their opposition to the war in Vietnam. The leadership of the Federation, headed by George Meany, maintained a virulent anti-communist disposition throughout the 1960s. This translated into continued support for the war and for three pro-war governments.[115] Tensions increased between

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[111] Ibid.
[112] Peter B Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), pp. 1-24.
[113] Ibid., p. 24.
[114] Ibid., p. 188.
[115] For an excellent account of Meany's political vision in respect of communism and the Vietnam war in particular, see Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War*, pp. 17-54.

organized labour and the civil-oppositional actors that coalesced around peace issues, culminating in the now infamous actions taken by construction workers and longshoremen in 1970. On these occasions, rallies were organized against anti-war student protesters. Here, trade unionists were known to have "pummelled longhaired youths with their fists and boots", while chanting pro-government slogans.[116]

Notwithstanding these tensions, organized labour and the movements of the New Left continued to work together on a number of campaigns.[117] This was in spite of the Federation's strong support for governments' policies in relation to Vietnam and communist 'containment' in general. In fact, one historian labels the 1960s and early 1970s a "period of tremendous labor activism", and one in which organized labour established intimate ties with civil-oppositional actors.[118] In addition, it must also be noted that the stance taken by the Federation's leadership did not have the unanimous support of trade unionists.[119]

Admittedly, this represents a very brief tour of some of the more notable sites of interaction between labour and civil-oppositional actors through the 1960s. Numerous other sites of engagement could be added to those above. These would include the occasions of student uprisings in Mexico just weeks prior to the 1968 Olympic games in which thousands were imprisoned and hundreds murdered by police. Included also would be the uprisings throughout Japan at that time, during which no fewer than fifty-four university campuses were paralyzed by civil unrest.[120] Another notable omission is, of course, the Cultural Revolution in China.[121]

These shortcomings aside, this survey provides important insights into organized labour's view of the civil-oppositional actors. It is apparent that workers in general were not docile, or disinclined to engage with various incarnations of the New Left and new social movements. This is hardly surprising given the contending allegiances and identities that all people must accommodate: black worker, female worker, patriotic worker, pacifist worker *etc*. But this survey is of interest because it underscores a trend identified throughout this study. This pertains to the reluctance on the part of labour leaders – those overseeing the peak trade union confederations and their principal affiliates – to venture beyond the state-mediated political sphere. This reluctance grew according to the likely

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[116] Levy, *The New Left and Labor in the 1960s*, p. 1. As Koscielski reveals, the construction workers in question were paid to attend these marches, with those refusing being denied their day's wage. See Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War*, p. 20.
[117] The most notable of these was the campaign to win union recognition for farmworkers.
[118] Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War*, p. 5.
[119] Ibid.
[120] These made way for other examples because they represented political settings where corporatism was well entrenched prior to the wave of uprisings. Therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that the labour organizations in question were not supportive of civil actors' actions against the state.
[121] The unique political antecedents of this upheaval, and the fierce internecine blood-letting that ensued, makes this an atypical setting in which to gauge the extent to which trade unions engaged with genuine social movements of the civil realm.

threat posed to the state's interests. The nature of representation within the labour movement was marked by its hesitancy. Where leaders of trade unions did initiate engagement, they did so belatedly in response to signs that constituent discontent threatened the hierarchical structures of representation then in place.[122]

What else may have accounted for this reluctance to engage with oppositional movements of the civil realm? Clearly, one cannot ignore the prevailing structure of organization. Under the prevailing conditions of Cold War tension and interstate rivalry, the imperative to align with one's government was intense. Perhaps the principal reason for this reluctance relates to the changing structure of production alluded to at the outset of this section. This caused shifts in the international division of labour and manifested itself in a much altered social, economic, and political landscape across the globe. To recapitulate, as capital flows increased, so did competition between market settings. As the manufacturing processes upon which the existing division of labour were modelled began to alter, and sometimes disintegrate, traditional forms of labour representation were undermined. Labour was now vulnerable not only to domestic capital, but also to that flowing from across the globe. Under such circumstances specific labour skills became less scarce and, hence, less valuable. This contributed to the discrediting of traditional forms of union representation, and presented organized labour with a dilemma.[123]

Arrighi's analysis of this dilemma sees organized labour presented with two options. The first was to adopt centralized organizational structures that dovetailed with the state's. By doing so the alliance with the state would enable organized labour to take advantage of changes occurring in the socio-economic landscape. The second option was the "insurrectionary road".[124] This would align labour with oppositional movements who could see no emancipatory potential in the process of capitalist development. Ultimately, the trade union movement worldwide embraced the state – the institution most able to insulate it from the effects of change. The price for this protection was, initially, a high degree of state mediation through systems of parliamentarianism, followed by the political incorporation referred to earlier.[125] By subordinating itself to state bound negotiating processes, organized labour began to lose its capacity to mobilize socially, more often limiting its concerns to the preservation of occupational autonomy and security.[126] This exacerbated the already

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[122] This observation is reflected in the work of Pierre Dubois. In his study of industrial conflict in the European setting throughout the 1960s he traces the extent to which militancy and workers' initiatives increased in the absence of traditional structures of representation and institutionalization. See Dubois, "New Forms of Industrial Conflict: 1960-1974", pp. 1-34.

[123] Arrighi, "Marxist Century, American Century: The Making and Remaking of the World Labour Movement", pp. 38-49. For another examination of the social implications for trade unions of a change in the global division of labour see Alain Touraine, "Unionism as a Social Movement", in *Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century*, ed. Seymour Martin Lipset (San Francisco: ICS Press, 1986), pp. 154-57.

[124] Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements*, pp. 81-82.

[125] Touraine, "Unionism as a Social Movement", pp. 167-69.

[126] Ibid., p. 163.

emerging rifts between workers in the traditional – masculine – industries, and those in growing 'non-organized' sectors that comprised females, ethnic minorities, and other assorted 'outsiders'. The latter were to play important roles in the oppositional movements of the civil sphere.

Put differently, organized labour's post-war alignment with governments across numerous settings was an acknowledgment that it no longer valued alliances with actors beyond its immediate socio-political environment.[127] The reaction from the civil-oppositional actors and the New Left in general was to condemn the highly institutionalized labour movements of the 'Old Left'. The trade union movement's sins were said to include "weakness, corruption, connivance, neglect and arrogance" – the sense of betrayal felt by many civil-oppositional actors was palpable.[128]

The events described throughout this section – those relating to the national liberation struggles, as well as to the civil-oppositional uprisings of the late-1960s – occurred across cultures and political settings. However, the interactions they triggered between organized labour and civil-oppositional movements were contained almost exclusively within national settings. The peak labour confederations engaged with these issues only to the extent that they impacted on their own national affiliates.

What has this revealed about the globalization of organized labour? To what extent did such interactions impact on the latter's ability throughout this period to foster intra-network integration, and to disentangle itself from the state-mediated political realm? We have seen here some evidence of tentative engagement with movements that had a very jaundiced view of the state. However, this interaction was uneven and did not, in itself, constitute a network-wide re-orientation. Moreover, such interaction also reflected the fractious nature of intra-network relations, and is therefore not indicative of a globalized network of labour organizations.

1945-72. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – COMMERCIAL

Though the transnational network of labour organizations remained, at best, deeply ambivalent about civil-oppositional actors, its connection with other aspects of the civil realm was in some respects increasing. Organized labour at all levels – be it in its transnational or national manifestations – began a tentative engagement with civil-commercial actors. This interaction took place not only under the auspices of the state – within the corporatist relationships outlined earlier – but independent of government mediation.

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[127] Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements*, pp. 87-89.

[128] Arrighi's analysis describes the slow process of deterioration in relations between the movements of the civil sphere and labour throughout the 1960s and early 1970s. He chronicles the expressions of disaffection made by the most prominent new social movement activists across several continents. Ibid., p. 102, pp. 2-3.

The very forces that caused organized labour to gravitate closer to the state also created openings that some elements of the transnational network of labour organizations began to explore. We have noted the dramatic expansion of markets beyond the local setting, the consequent increase in the mobility of capital, and the increase in the numbers of multinational corporations. Along with these processes came a shift in the structures and strategies employed by corporations. From the early 1960s, organized labour began to confront highly integrated global production regimes, offshore subsidiaries of multinational corporations, and the implementation of management techniques premised on incorporation of the labour force. A number of significant issues arise out of organized labour's response to these changes. Of most interest is the extent to which elements among transnational confederations – some that had become dormant, if not moribund – began to put in place mechanisms that would enable them to assert a presence within the civil-commercial realm.

However, it is important not to infer that this growing emphasis on the civil-commercial realm was borne of anti-statism. Indeed, in many respects this shift only confirmed organized labour's acceptance of the same liberal-developmentalist and modernizing ideologies that most states were then advocating. Nevertheless, this shift was important because it signalled a more prominent role for those confederations that were not organically tied to the state, and an engagement with a realm where state mediation was declining.

As noted earlier engagement with the civil-commercial realm was by no means unique to this period. In one form or another unmediated relationships with civil-commercial actors have existed in national settings since the late-nineteenth century. These had appeared in the form of workers' councils, various models of codetermination, or collective bargaining. The 1945-72 period is interesting, however, because these familiar forms of interaction between trade unions and the civil-commercial realm began to replicate themselves – albeit in modest ways – on a global plane. The main labour protagonists here were the International Trade Secretariats: those industry-specific confederations that represented trade unions directly, and not their national federations. The trade secretariats at the forefront of these developments were those confronting the immediate effects of the changing structure of production and the consequent sea-change in the global division of labour.

This change was evident in the expansion of manufacturing plants – most notably those involved in the manufacture of automobiles, refrigerators, washing-machines and other such appliances – and the growth of a worldwide chemical industry. Consequently, the most relevant trade secretariats were the International Metal Workers' Federation and the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Union. Though other trade secretariats also became more active, the aforementioned were exceptional because they put in place formal structures that facilitated direct

contact with corporate actors within the civil-commercial realm.[129] The experiences of the metal and chemical workers' secretariats are thus illustrative of the extent to which transnational labour organizations were beginning to explore interactions that did not rely upon the mediation of the state.

From as early as 1956 the leadership of the metalworkers' trade secretariat had stressed the importance of mounting a worldwide response to the spread of multinational corporations.[130] In 1966 it formed the first in what was to become a network of World Auto Councils (also known as World Company Councils). By 1969 these had been assigned to each of the largest automobile manufacturers, including General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen-Mercedes Benz, and Fiat-Citröen. By 1971 the International Metal Workers' Federation had added Renault-Peugeot, and the British Leyland Motors Corporation to this list.[131] The councils were structured in such a way as to accommodate representatives chosen by trade unions associated with both parent companies and subsidiaries. The metalworkers' trade secretariat aimed to commence a process of transnational collective bargaining; to harmonize, where possible, conditions and wages within international corporations; and to provide assistance to those affiliated unions that were engaged in disputes within the same corporate setting.[132] In addition, the International Metal Workers' Federation hoped to pressure the multinational corporations to accept codes of conduct tailored for their specific industry, and that were based upon standards set by the ILO.[133]

The World Auto Councils of the metalworkers' trade secretariat were integral to achieving these aims, and by 1970 it seemed that they would indeed produce the desired results. By then they had to some extent insinuated themselves into the bargaining processes of their respective corporations. At its most successful, this involvement spanned the entire multinational-worker relationship. Councils were able to petition parent company representatives in order to discipline subsidiaries, and to act as conduits between national trade unions during negotiations with multinationals.[134]

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[129] Others to explore direct engagement with multinational corporations included the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Association, and the International Federation of Commercial, Clerical and Technical Employees. The nature of this engagement differed from one sector to another, though strategies shared the basic aim of monitoring and then influencing the behaviour of corporations.

[130] Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 94.

[131] Charles Levinson, *International Trade Unionism* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), pp. 123-26.

[132] Levinson also notes that worker priorities varied from one corporate setting to another. Harmonization, therefore, was conceived narrowly to mean ensuring that workers of different countries, when conducting similar tasks for the same corporations, enjoyed similar comparative purchasing power. Gary Busch provides a good explanation of the complexities of harmonization. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 194-95.

[133] Paul J. Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals* (New York: Praeger, 1978), p. 69. See also Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies*, pp. 64-65..

[134] Levinson, *International Trade Unionism*, p. 123. Levinson also provides a detailed account of the way in which the International Metal Workers' Federation and its company councils engaged with the General Electric and Philips corporations. See pages 129-132. Busch also recounts an occasion when the metal workers' secretariat successfully lobbied to have a negotiator from the powerful American United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implements

The International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Union chose a similar path. By 1971, it too had a number of World Company Councils in place. The most important were those connected to multinationals manufacturing rubber tyres – for example, Michelin, Dunlop, and Pirelli – and to the Saint Gobain corporation, a manufacturer of ceramics and glass products. The chemical workers' company councils in each of these sectors played important roles in negotiations and disputes that affected thousands of employees across state boundaries. They played a pivotal role in negotiating the first transnational collective bargaining agreement, and in coordinating solidarity actions in support of national affiliates engaged in protracted industrial conflicts.[135]

While acknowledging these developments, it is important not to exaggerate their impact on relations between the transnational labour movement and the corporate world. Like all trade secretariats at the time, those mentioned above continued to limit most of their activities simply to the collection of data on multinational behaviour. Their engagement with the civil-commercial realm throughout the 1960s remained very tentative. Moreover, the introduction of the company councils and other such mediums did not occur without a degree of intra-confederation tension and division. In those states where the shop steward system was a more integral feature of the industrial landscape – namely, the United Kingdom, Australia, France, Italy and Spain – tension at times arose over legitimacy of representation. Within the same enterprise, workers were sometimes represented by a shop-steward committee as well as by the trade secretariat's company council. In the context of expanding multinational activity, both mediums had reason to coordinate campaigns across state boundaries. And where the shop stewards' committees remained enamoured of Marxist or syndicalist ideologies there existed tension with what some perceived as reformist World Company Councils.[136]

Nevertheless, such developments did signal a shift in the orientation of some of the most important trade secretariats of the period. A process had emerged that entailed major secretariats looking for ways to by-pass the mediation processes based upon traditional corporatist arrangements. Charles Levinson, the then leader of the International Federation of Chemical and General Workers' Union, reflects on this shift from national to sectoral activism thus

> For many organizations, the basic purpose of the international trade secretariats...is to help bolster the

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Workers Union accepted as a participant in negotiations between General Motors and its Australian workforce. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, p. 195.

[135] The following sources provide detail on the respective company councils and the corporate settings they inhabited. For the ICF's Michelin company council, see Levinson, *International Trade Unionism*, pp. 134-40.; for the Dunlop-Pirelli example, see Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 199-202; and for the Saint Gobain relationship, refer to Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals*, pp. 56-57.

[136] Gary Busch provides an excellent analysis of the extent to which ideological and other differences had company councils and shop stewards' committees working at odds. See Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions*, pp. 200-01.

> strength of national affiliates, rather than to develop more meaningful international co-operation. But national trade union problems are increasingly going to be sharpened by the impact of the internationalization of industry. Developing a truly international force has become a condition for national trade union survival.[137]

In sum, as markets, capital, and industry expanded, there was greater emphasis placed on coordinated, cross-border interactions in relation to the civil-commercial realm. This response was by no means limited to the industry-specific labour confederations, though it was here that organizational change first manifested itself in a way that suggested that labour worldwide was becoming more attuned to the increasing influence of globalizing capital.

On one reading, this tentative engagement with the civil-commercial realm was suggestive of a willingness to look beyond governments for the attainment of security and improved conditions of employment. Indeed, this sort of engagement prompted many to declare – as Weinberg did in 1972 – that "national authority is losing its position as the primary source for trade union interests".[138] However, when placed in a wider context there seems little reason to conclude that such interactions with the world of commerce were yet indicative of a network-wide re-orientation characterized by greater cross-border integrity and autonomy from the state.

1945-72. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

As this examination of the civil realm has progressed, a picture has emerged of a movement beginning to connect – albeit tentatively – to actors beyond the state-mediated political sphere. While labour movements on a national plane remained ambivalent towards civil-oppositional movements, some transnational confederations – most notably the International Trade Secretariats – began to connect directly with civil-commercial actors. The latter suggested a level and form of activity hitherto absent among the transnational confederations that were, ostensibly at least, the peak bodies of the transnational network of labour organizations.

Some researchers took note of this change and read it as a re-orientation away from the allegiance to state.[139] However, from the evidence presented here it seems that these researchers did not fully appreciate the extent to which labour politics remained contained within the national-political realm. In spite of the shifts noted above, it seems that labour organizations at all levels continued to focus most of their energy on petitioning the state, whether on the national or global planes.

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[137] Levinson, *International Trade Unionism*, p. 141.
[138] Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals*, p. 93.
[139] See Ibid., pp. 66-95, and Cox, "Labor and Transnational Relations."

PART TWO: 1945-72 CONCLUSION

I had set out in this part of the thesis to discern the orientation of the transnational network of labour organizations from the immediate post-war years and up to 1972. We commenced with a survey of organizational changes that occurred within the network. This showed a proliferation of cross-border labour organizations, manifesting itself in the emergence of rival peak confederations – the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the World Federation of Trade Unions – as well as a re-emergence of a Christian World Confederation of Labour, the International Trade Secretariats, and a host of regional trade union bodies. This growth saw transnational labour increase its geographical reach beyond Europe, the Americas, and the Antipodes. In an organizational sense, it undoubtedly boasted a global presence.

In terms of internal integrative change we saw how more advanced communications media came to be utilized throughout the network. While face-to-face interaction remained a feature of the relationships between the leaderships of the various peak bodies, these technologies made little difference to relations between constituents and the top strata of peak body representatives. Though confederate structures expanded – under the auspices of the peak bodies – virtually all 'authority' resided in the network's nationally anchored constituent parts. The peak confederations dealt almost exclusively in highly symbolic forms of exhortation, while their affiliated parts engaged in a politics that was more attuned to the affairs of state. Indeed – and in spite of some participation in oppositional, counter-state, politics during 1968 – the interests and ideas that informed the transnational network of labour organizations derived from the imperatives of Cold War enmity, decolonization, growth-based Keynesianism, modernization, and developmentalism.

Our attention also turned to mapping organized labour's external engagements using the paradigm based upon the political-civil distinction. This paradigm was further broken down to reveal changes within the political and civil realms themselves; that is, within the national/global dimensions of the state realm, and the oppositional/commercial dimensions of the civil realm. After reviewing organized labour's external interactions, it became apparent that – notwithstanding the subtle shifts noted in the preceding section on civil realm engagements – the most intense activity occurred in the engagement with governments of states. Labour's center of gravity was situated almost exclusively within the national setting of this 'political' realm. Its connection to state manifested itself through corporatist arrangements, and through commitments to the ideological and strategic priorities of governments of the day. Such commitments were also evident on a global plane, in labour's representations to inter-governmental organizations.

This continuing preoccupation with the state seems unusual, given that the prevailing structural imperatives were resulting in the expansion of markets and a liberal developmentalist sensibility in general. Ultimately, what we see is a network that had established a superficial globalized form while remaining deeply divided and embedded within the state-mediated political realm. To this extent, there was little to suggest that organized labour was globalizing to any significant degree throughout this period.

PART THREE

PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES 1972-89

The so-called 'boom years'[1] of the 1950s and 1960s were followed by a period of tremendous global instability. The 1972-89 period was punctuated by a series of worldwide economic slumps. The most significant of these occurred between 1973-75, 1980-82, and in 1987. For the West, these slumps resulted in the highest unemployment and income disparity experienced since World War Two. Elsewhere the repercussions were even more dramatic. In many developing and Third World countries poverty, unemployment, and national debt increased to unprecedented levels.[2]

Identifying the principal causes of these slumps is not at issue here; rather, it is enough to note only that a combination of very complex events and processes contributed to widespread economic instability.[3] This placed immense pressure on important regulatory structures that had been put in place following World War Two. The collapse of the Bretton Woods system of international currency regulation was perhaps the most important symptom of this prolonged crisis.[4]

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[1] As Nigel Harris rightly asserts: "The accomplishments of the boom were substantial, but so also were the items the myths omitted – the terrors of Cold War, the dead and the maimed of Korea and Vietnam; in Northern Ireland and Palestine, in the defeated struggle of America's black people, of the workers of Budapest, Posnan and Berlin, and countless other places. Even with all the economic factors most favourable, capitalism could neither resolve the ancient wrongs of society, nor even forbear to add to them. See Nigel Harris, *Of Bread and Guns* (Middlesex: Penguin, 1983), p. 68.

[2] Their plight deepened as they endured a combination of steep rises in interest rates, commodity price manipulation by established manufacturing states, aggressive lending and marketing practices by finance institutions, increasing oil prices, and capital flight. Third World debt rose dramatically in the period between 1972 and 1989: from less than $100 billion in 1972, to over $500 billion in 1981, to $1 trillion in 1985, and then $1.3 trillion by 1989. IMF, "IMF Annual Report of the Executive Board for Financial Year Ended 30 April 1987", (Washington DC: International Monetary Fund, 1987). See Joseph A. Camilleri and Jim Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1992), p. 75.. Susan George's seminal work in this area should also be noted. In her study of the period in question she reveals the extent of the debt, as well as the culpability of the major Western financial institutions. See Susan George, *A Fate Worse Than Debt*, 1989 ed. (London: Penguin, 1988).

[3] These included the following: falling primary commodity prices, investment in heavy industry, and profits in general; under-consumption in the West; the American Federal Reserve's use of high interest rates to quell the growing inflation brought on in large part by the Vietnam War; the OPEC countries' decision to impose a dramatic increase in the price of oil; the emergence of currency markets that were beyond the control of any state; the increased competition from 'newly industrialising' countries for markets traditionally dominated by the West; and the tensions brought on by the displacement of Keynesian managerialism by neoliberal monetarist prescriptions. See Stephen Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp. 100-05; Harris, *Of Bread and Guns*, p. 96. Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century 1914-1991*, pp. 403-16; David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), pp. 199-202.

[4] For specific reference to the demise of the Bretton Woods system, the effect of the oil price rises, and the emergence of autonomous currency markets see Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 199-202.

Subsequently, the world economy was restructured in a way that not only resulted in greater fluidity of capital and the constant relocation of industry, but also a dramatic rise in new companies, mergers, and takeovers.[5] Also of tremendous significance was the collapse of the Soviet Union. While the collapse of this empire cannot be attributed solely to economic factors, the pressures inherent in an increasingly integrated world economy contributed to the rise of the separatist nationalism that played such an important role in its demise. How then can this maelstrom of events be understood in the context of this research? We can best appreciate the significance of these events by once more considering them abstractly in terms of prevailing structural imperatives. When viewed in this way we can better understand the context in which organized labour sought to integrate across borders and enhance its autonomy in relation to the state.

1972-89. THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

The global structure of production changed markedly throughout the 1970s and 1980s. As previously noted, the expansion and accumulation of capital on a global scale increased markedly in this period, and was made possible by the revolutionary advances in science and technology. The advances in information, communication and transport systems freed production from established temporal and spacial constraints.[6] It was within this context that the multinational corporation – acting within a global capitalist economy – became the principal agent of change.

Literature on the subject of this transformation is often framed around notions of the *new international division of labour* or, alternatively, the *global division of labour*.[7] Such theorizing also speaks of the transition in the structure of production hitherto characterized as 'Fordist' or 'Taylorist', to 'post-Fordist' and 'neo-Taylorist'. We also see terms such as 'toyotism', 'flexible specialization', and 'flexible mass production' used to give character to the prevailing structure of production.[8] In one way or another, such concepts resonate with what Regini refers to as the "end

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[5] As Camilleri and Falk assert, "The process occurred in a trans-sectoral direction (by merging different sectors of the economy)...[and] also transnationally (by merging enterprises in different economies)". They make the point that "Between 1973 and 1978 European firms were involved in 4,612 mergers, and in the same period 623 US firms were taken over by Canadian, European and Japanese firms. In 1979 alone and again in 1980, more than 600 US firms were taken over by foreign transnationals". Camilleri and Falk, *The End of Sovereignty?* p. 73.

[6] Roger Southall, "At Issue: Third World Trade Unions in the Changing International Division of Labour", in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World*, ed. Roger Southall (London: Zed, 1988), p. 8-9.

[7] For an excellent introduction to the NIDL literature see Ibid., pp. 1-34. Glenn Adler provides a good – and critical – overview of the GDL literature in Glenn Adler, "Global Restructuring and Labor: The Case of the South African Trade Union Movement", in *Globalization: Critical Reflections*, ed. James H. Mittelman (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1996), pp. 117-24.

[8] See Alain Lipietz, "Economic Restructuring: The New Global Hierarchy", in *Work of the Future: Global Perspectives*, eds. Paul James, Walter F. Veit, and Steve Wright (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997). Alain Lipietz, "The Post-Fordist World: Labour Relations, International Hierarchy and Global Ecology", *Review of International Political*

of the phase of *concertation*"; that is, a shift away from patterns of production that were overseen by the state, and towards those premised upon diversified structures managed from the level of the corporation.[9]

This process affected relationships of employment and consumption in different ways, varying according to region and sectors within the global economy. Broadly speaking, however, this process had two dimensions. In societies hitherto reliant upon heavy industry – the societies of the developed world – socio-economic relationships underwent dramatic change as the less labour-intensive 'service' sectors expanded. We refer here to social and personal services, as well as to 'producer' services.[10] Beyond the service sector, a greater emphasis was placed on computer-mediated fabrication at the expense of industrially organized production that was dependent on manual labour.[11] A displacement of skilled labour led to extremely high levels of unemployment among traditional 'blue-collar' workers. Precarious employment became more prevalent as traditional industries closed, only to be replaced by the more decentralized, flexible, and transitory service industries.[12]

In most developing countries there was fundamental change in the socio-economic relationships traditionally determined by agriculture-based forms of production. Here, traditional production methods were replaced by growing industrial and manufacturing sectors.[13] Indeed, the consequences of the internationalization of production throughout the 1970s and 1980s were profound. Less developed countries were locked into what was becoming a highly integrated global production process. Internal migration in most developing and Third World countries saw rural communities diminish in size as agricultural workers gravitated toward urban areas in search of

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Economy, 4, 1 (1997). Marino Regini, "The Past and Future of Social Studies of Labour Movements", in *The Future of Labour Movements*, ed. Marino Regini (London: Sage, 1992).

[9] Regini, "The Past and Future of Social Studies of Labour Movements", pp. 5-8.

[10] Carla Lipsig-Mummé, "The Politics of the New Service Economy", in *Work of the Future: Global Perspectives*, eds. Paul James, Walter F. Veit, and Steve Wright (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997). This author distinguishes between services to consumers, and services to producers. Consumer services consist of social services – such as health, education, welfare and public administration – and also personal services, consisting of food, hotels, cleaning, dry-cleaning and retail trade. Producer services consist of those financial, legal, engineering, accounting, transport, and communication services that facilitate business or bureaucratic functions. See page 111 of this article.

[11] See Meinhard Miegel, "Displacing Human Labour: An Epoch-Making Phenomenon", in *Work of the Future: Global Perspectives*, eds. Paul James, Walter F. Veit, and Steve Wright (St Leonards: Allen and Unwin, 1997).

[12] For greater detail on the changes to production methods and structures of labour control, see J. Harrod, "Social Relations of Production, Systems of Labour Control and Third World Trade Unions", in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World*, ed. Roger Southall (London: Zed, 1988). We also recall the tremendous growth in the new financial markets mentioned earlier.

[13] One should not over-state the extent of the shift from traditional to manufacturing production methods in the developing countries. As Petras and Engbarth assert, the industrialization of the Third World is a far more complex phenomena than is often portrayed. They claim that "In most third world countries, industrialization takes place amidst a sea of rural producers, petty commodity distributors and a multiplicity of small household manufacturing enterprises". For more detail supporting this claim see James Petras and Dennis Engbarth, "Third World Industrialization and Trade Union Struggles", in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World*, ed. Roger Southall (London: Zed, 1988).

employment. Fuelling much of this migration was the spread of multinationals' production plants and the establishment of what came to be known as 'free-trade' or 'export-processing' zones.[14]

Not only did production plants of this sort fail to accommodate all those searching for employment, but they also shed existing jobs faster than the market economy could replace them. The victims of this process could only gravitate towards a nether-world of urban subsistence living within the rapidly expanding informal economies of these countries. Another consequence of this process was the dramatic increase in regional migration as transitory labour joined the growing ranks of refugees seeking asylum in more prosperous countries.[15] Of course, the effects of this process of integration within a global economy were uneven. On a range of indicators many impoverished countries made significant gains, and the notion of *Third World* itself became a highly problematic generalization.[16]

Notwithstanding this unevenness of development we can make some general observations about changes in the structure of production throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and the overall effect such changes had on socio-economic relationships. We witnessed during this time the beginning of a slow decline in heavy manufacturing within the OECD countries. This was the catalyst for the displacement of labour on a grand scale, and the emergence of what many saw as a 'post-industrial' age premised mainly upon growth in the aforementioned finance and service industries.[17] A displacement of another sort accompanied this process as rural workers of the developing and Third Worlds gravitated towards relocated heavy industries, formally of the First World. Importantly, it should be emphasized that these symptoms were part of a complex dynamic that was serving to integrate transnational systems of production.

1972-89. THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNICATION

Central to this form of integration was change to the prevailing structure of communication. For actors such as trade unions these were important for a number of reasons. Change here facilitated a

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[14] Typically, the offer of these zones to the transnational corporation came with few taxation, environmental, labour standards, or social service obligations attached. Spybey also explores the different forms of economic integration experienced by less developed countries by focusing on the textile, electronics, and motor vehicle industries. See Tony Spybey, *Globalization, and World Society* (Oxford: Polity Press, 1996), pp. 91-101.

[15] Some of the main 'exporters' of labour throughout this period were the following: in the Middle East, Egypt, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon and Sudan; in Asia, China, the Philippines, India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, Indonesia and Sri-Lanka; and in Sub-Saharan Africa, Zaire, Anglola, Mozambique, Cameroon and Bostwana. Throughout Latin America and Central America seasonal migrations grew steadily and involved countries of the Caribbean, Colombia, Venezuela, Bolivia, Chile, Paraguay, Argentina, as well as those of Mexico, Honduras, Guatemala, Nicaragua and Panama. For greater detail see Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 300-04.

[16] For a re-appraisal of this widely accepted paradigm see Nigel Harris, *The End of the Third World: New Industrializing Countries and the Decline of an Ideology* (London: Penguin, 1986).

[17] See Lipietz, "The Post-Fordist World: Labour Relations, International Hierarchy and Global Ecology"; Miegel, "Displacing Human Labour: An Epoch-Making Phenomenon"; and Marino Regini, *The Future of Labour Movements* (London: Sage, 1992), Regini, "The Past and Future of Social Studies of Labour Movements".

transition from Fordist systems of production to socio-economic relations associated with the 'informational society'.[18] One symptom of this transition was the sudden and frenetic increase in the trade of currencies. By the early 1980s this activity had also generated a tremendous growth in the use of derivatives, a type of transaction that was mainly premised upon speculation on future movements in currency prices, and then eventually on commodity values.[19] These developments represented a disjuncture between trade in materials produced from capital investment, and unregulated speculative transactions within a market of intangibles. By the late-1980s the volume and speed of these transactions had reached staggering proportions, prompting one observer to suggest that the "1980s will go down in history as the decade when international monetary transactions leapt out of bounds".[20]

Change in the structure of communication was also crucial to the ability of capital to integrate and coordinate operations in Third World and developing countries, far beyond the epicentres of power. Closely related was the way in which these changes altered the locales of power and privilege, as well as the ways in which political communities perceived themselves within a globalizing culture.[21] Indeed, the form of communication changed the manner in which symbols of all cultures were disseminated and reproduced.[22]

In addition to advancements in transport systems, changes to the structure of communication involved the emergence of new telecommunications and broadcasting media, as well as processing technologies with ever-expanding storage capacity. While use of many old technologies such as television, radio, and telephone continued to rise, there began to emerge in the 1970s a range of new media.[23] These included the Direct Broadcasting Satellite,[24] computers, fax, compact discs, cable television, video-cassette recorders, telex, fibre optics, and an emerging internet.

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[18] Timothy W. Luke, *Screens of Power: Ideology, Domination, and Resistance in Informational Society* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989).

[19] An excellent explanation of the nature of derivatives can be found in Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 207-08. Ted Wheelright also provides a very good lay-person's definition in Ted Wheelright, "Futures, Markets". *Arena Magazine*, Feb/Mar 1994, pp. 25-26.

[20] Wheelright, "Futures, Markets". p. 25. Wheelright also highlights the remarkable increases not only in the volume of such trade, but also in the speed and velocity of the transactions. This is affirmed by Bank for International Settlements figures reproduced in Held et al. These figures show that in 1979 worldwide foreign exchange turnover amounted to $17.5 trillion; by 1989 this had increased to $190 trillion. See Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 208-09.

[21] Timothy Luke provides an excellent analysis of social movements' reactions to this process. See the chapter entitled 'Power and Resistance in Informationalizing Postindustrial Societies' in Luke, *Screens of Power: Ideology, Domination, and Resistance in Informational Society*, pp. 207-39.

[22] See Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, p. 329.

[23] Worldwide, the number of televisions rose from 251 million in 1969, to 756 million in 1988. Likewise, radio ownership increased from 573 millions in 1965, to 1,176 in 1986; though the circulation of newspapers declined or remained static in all regions. See the UNESCO report UNESCO, *The World Communication and Information Report 1999-2000* (Paris: UNESCO, 1999), p. 151, 52, 53, 58-59.

[24] Seyom Brown reflects on the importance of this technology for the surveillance capabilities of the state. See Seyom Brown, *New Forces, Old Forces, and the Future of World Politics* (Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1988), pp. 176-78.

Innovations in the field of cabling were especially important. As cable technology improved in the 1970s, and costs of laying telephone cable declined, the transatlantic and transpacific voice paths began to accommodate unprecedented volumes of interactions. By the late-1980s, this technology was itself being displaced by the new satellite technologies and the introduction of the fibre-optic cables. In 1988 these cables had been layed beneath the Atlantic ocean. For European and American users in particular this now offered a viable alternative even to satellite communication technologies.[25]

All this innovation served to intensify and accelerate the effects that the structure of production was having on socio-economic relations. Markets were integrated, while production methods evolved in a way that could utilize a global pool of labour. In addition, it should be noted that changes in the structure of communication also facilitated the spread of Western consumerism and popular culture, as well as English as the *lingua franca*.[26] Ultimately, we saw in this period changes that resulted in hitherto unknown levels of interaction: this was evident in terms of intensity, velocity, and stratification of relations.[27] And just as such change impacted upon the structure of production, it also – to a very great extent – determined the nature of the prevailing structure of organization. We now turn our attention to the most important of the organizational imperatives of the 1970s and 1980s.

1972-89. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION

The developments outlined above combined to fundamentally reshape the organizational structures through which power and authority were exercised. By the end of this twenty-year period nationally anchored institutions found their capacity to determine outcomes much diminished. Theories that countenanced the diminution of state sovereignty gained prominence as states seemed paralyzed in the face of economic, political, ecological, and security crises. Whether the state lost its sovereign authority during this period was – and still is – a contested issue.[28] What is clear is that

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[25] While this technology catered mainly for the developed world – with cables layed mainly in the waters of the North Atlantic, South Pacific, and Mediterranean – the extent of global integration and interaction it engendered was without precedent. By 1989, almost eighty per cent of the forty million call-minute traffic on these cables originated in OECD countries, with the exception of China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Saudi Arabia. Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, p. 344.

[26] Some of the most important conduits for these phenomena were the growth in tourism, and a globalizing entertainment industry – all crucial aspects of the prevailing forms of communication. This also provoked an intense debate about the effects of what many dubbed 'cultural imperialism'. Many of the fears and concerns associated with the imbalance of information and cultural flows were expressed in a UNESCO report that called for a "a new more just and more efficient world information and communication order". Its publication prompted the American withdrawal from UNESCO. See UNESCO, *Many Voices, One World: Communication and Society, Today and Tomorrow* (Paris: UNESCO, 1980).

[27] Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 363-69.

[28] The arguments contained in the following provide the contours of this debate. They range from the belief (Clark, Thomson and Cable) that while the state forfeits control in some respects, it gains control in others. Moreover, according to this perspective, losing control does not mean the state concedes sovereign authority. This can be labelled the 'two-way-street' position. Camilleri and Falk, on the other hand, contend that the authority of the state has been critically undermined, while Douglas and Panitch see the state as playing a functional role on behalf of transnational economic

there had emerged a layer of transnational institutions that – taken as a whole – began to govern, regulate, and manage alongside the state.[29]

These processes had, by the late-1980s, undermined the legitimacy and efficacy of the welfare state, as well as the centrally planned economies of the Eastern bloc. The steady internationalization of production and communication technologies meant, in effect, the continuing internationalization of the functions of state.[30] The most important of these functions were in the realms of security and economic regulation. In terms of security we witnessed unprecedented levels of integration within two alliance systems. The culmination of American intervention in Indo-China, the subsequent Soviet Invasion of Afghanistan, and the numerous 'proxy' wars waged in southern Africa and Central America increased pressure on states to align themselves with a superpower. Cold War 2, as it became known, gave even greater prominence to NATO and the Warsaw pact alliance systems. Until the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1989, this manifested itself in even greater incorporation of states into vast systems of command, control, and communications, each maintained by rival superpowers.[31] This is of relevance because it highlights the worldwide scope of the conflict, as well as the breadth of its organization form. More specifically, it places into context forthcoming discussion of the involvement of transnational labour confederations in the foreign policy initiatives of the great powers of the day.

For our purposes the organizational structures of greatest concern were those relating to international economic affairs. Between 1972 and 1989 we saw the emergence of interlocking regimes aimed at facilitating greater trade liberalization and economic deregulation. While integration occurred on both regional and global planes, the most significant changes in the structure of organization manifested themselves at the global level. Here, authority and power were increasingly concentrated in institutional forms such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and

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forces. Vincent Cable, "The Diminished Nation-State: A Study in the Loss of Economic Power", *Daedalus*, 124, 2 (1995), Joseph A. Camilleri, "Rethinking Sovereignty in a Shrinking, Fragmented World", in *Contending Sovereignties*, eds. RBJ Walker and Saul H Mendlovitz (Boulder: Lynne Rienner, 1990), Camilleri and Falk, *The End of Sovereignty*, Ian Clark, *Globalization and International Relations Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), Ian R Douglas, "Globalization and the Retreat of the State", in *Globalization and the Politics of Resistance*, ed. Barry K. Gills (London: MacMillan, 2000), Leo Panitch, "Rethinking the Role of the State", in *Globalization: Critical Reflections*, ed. James H. Mittelman (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Press, 1996), Janice E. Thomson, "State Sovereignty in International Relations: Bridging the Gap between Theory and Empirical Research", *International Studies Quarterly*, 39 (1995).

[29] This, of course, is not to say that this loose network of institutions represented anything approaching world government. Rather, we see in it an organizational form that sought to perpetuate and exploit the dynamic processes outlined above.

[30] Robert W. Cox, "Social Forces, States and World Orders: Beyond International Relations Theory", *Millennium: Journal of International Studies*, 10, 2 (1982), p. 146.

[31] The literature on this aspect of the Cold War is extensive. Even though the following references are written predominantly for the Australian audience, they are useful for their analysis of the nature of the alliance systems in place at this time. Dennis Phillips, *Cold War 2 and Australia* (Sydney: George Allen and Unwin, 1983). Peter Hayes, Lyuba Zarsky, and Walden Bello, *American Lake: Nuclear Peril in the Pacific* (Melbourne: Penguin Books, 1986). For a more general overview see Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, pp. 95-103, 37-43; Walter LaFeber, *America, Russia, and the Cold War: 1945-1984* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), pp. 284-316; and Noam Chomsky, Jonathan Steele, and John Gittings, *Super Powers in Collision: The New Cold War of the 1980s*, Second Edition ed. (Middlesex: Penguin, 1984).

Trade, World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Group of Seven, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, and the Trilateral Commission.[32] By the late-1980s these had become the pre-eminent "transnational political organizations",[33] and though they differed in form, they all served to remove barriers to trade and to construct a global neoliberal economic order.

During this period there was also a steady increase in activity involving a wide range of inter-governmental and international *non*-governmental organizations. It was noted earlier that international organizations in general began to proliferate in the immediate post-war years. This trend continued – even though their numbers had by 1985 reached a plateau – with the non-governmental organizations in particular proliferating throughout the 1970s and 1980s.[34] But this proliferation to a great extent masks the degree to which authority was being invested in the few instruments of global economic liberalization mentioned above.[35]

Thus, the tendency towards global macro-economic management through international organizations was well entrenched by the late-1980s. An anomaly in this trend was the United Nations and its specialized agencies.[36] Even though these agencies were also engaged in macro-economic management, their main preoccupation throughout the 1970s and 1980s continued to be the amelioration of social conflict.[37] Significantly, in spite of the gains made by United Nations specialized agencies such as The Food and Agriculture Organization, and the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, the United Nations was being bypassed by the plethora of international organizations that emerged. These organizations ranged widely across sectors, offering alternative avenues for states seeking to satisfy the needs of their citizens.[38]

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[32] Perhaps the most thorough analysis of the role played by the Trilateral Commission in the 'management' of world economic affairs during this period is to be found in Gill, *American Hegemony and the Trilateral Commission*. See also H. Sklar, *Trilateralism* (Boston: South End Press, 1980).

[33] Leslie Sklair, *Sociology of the Global System, Second* (London: Prentice Hall, 1995), p. 73.

[34] Approximate growth figures are as follows. INGOs: 1972-2,100, 1977-3,500, 1985-4,300 and 1989-4,600. IGOs: 1972-270, 1977-291, 1985-380, 1989-309. All figures are taken from the Yearbook of International Organizations, 1996-97, as re-produced in Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, p. 54. The figures for the year of 1977 were taken from John Boli and George M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 54.

[35] I calculate that approximately thirty-two per cent of all INGOs would fall into this category. This figure is deduced by combining the following sectors: industry/trade/industrial, tertiary/economic/finance/tourism, and technical/infrastructure/communications. For a more detailed table of figures see John Boli and George M. Thomas, "World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization", *American Sociological Review*, 62, April (1997), p. 183.

[36] While the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement in Tariffs and Trade were, ostensibly, United Nations specialized agencies, they did in practice operate autonomously. They had their own budgets, membership and policy imperatives. I do not here consider them to be answerable to United Nations Economic and Social Council, or the General Assembly.

[37] We alluded to this aspect of the United Nation's activities earlier. Craig Murphy's study in this area highlights four categories of activities – understood as the facilitation of issue-specific fora and conferences – including fostering industry, managing social conflict, strengthening society, and strengthening states and the state system. He calculates that the activities aimed at fostering industry increased from 623 to 707 between 1970 and 1985. In contrast, the activities aimed at managing social conflict increased from 1323 to 1,702 over the same period. Craig N. Murphy, *International Organization and Industrial Change: Global Governance since 1850* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994), p. 254.

[38] Joseph A. Camilleri, Kamal Malhotra, and Majid Tehranian, *Reimagining the Future: Towards Democratic Governance* (Melbourne: The Department of Politics, LaTrobe University, 2000), p. 11-12.

This broad overview of the prevailing structure of organization has suggested that the post-war managerial internationalism assumed even greater importance in the years between 1972 and 1989. This manifested itself in more important roles for former Bretton Woods institutions. These not only established closer working relationships, but also shared the same aims. Increasingly, they worked in concert to incorporate the majority of states into a single rule-based trading system, and to also ensure that that emerging trading regime accorded with the requirements of the ascendant neoliberal economic ideologies.[39]

1972-89. THE STRUCTURE OF IDEOLOGY

The years between 1972 and 1989 saw the decline of emancipatory ideologies. This was especially so in relation to traditional class-based emancipatory doctrines. By the mid-1970s anarchistic, Marxist, and socialistic worldviews were much diminished. Other emancipatory ideologies – namely, Western feminism and environmentalism – did, however, gain modest footholds, leaving their mark in the mainstream political consciousness. At the more reformist end of the emancipatory spectrum, traditional liberal internationalism continued to make an impression. After reaching its heyday during the 1950s and 1960s struggles for independence and post-colonial nation building, this form of emancipatory ideology had itself reached a plateau. Even though the late-1980s saw a proliferation of new states, this was due more to the disintegration of the Soviet Union, and a pro-democracy nationalism, than the appeal of liberalism *per se.* Developmentalist ideologies -- particularly up to the early 1980s – also continued to manifest themselves in Keynesian welfarism. The latter had reached its zenith in Europe in the mid-1970s and early 1980s.

By far the most important change within the structure of ideology was the emergence of a particular strain of instrumentalism. We refer here to the emergence in the early 1980s of capitalist neoliberalism. Premised on limitless economic expansion, mandatory free-trade, deregulation, the emasculation of organized labour, and unmediated flow of capital, this form of instrumentalism had by the end of the 1980s established itself as the *lingua franca* within political, economic, and bureaucratic circles.[40] Enmeshed with all these ideological tendencies were the perennial conservative manifestations of statism and nationalism. This combination continued to provide the basis for Cold War antagonisms that remained as intense as they had been in previous decades.

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[39] Gilbert R. Winham, "GATT and the International Trading Regime", *International Journal,* 115, Autumn (1990), p. 797, 802.
[40] Scott Bowman, "The Ideology of Transnational Enterprise", *The Social Science Journal,* 30, 1 (1993).

1972-89. PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES – CONCLUSION

It was apparent through this period that powerful structural imperatives served simultaneously to integrate and fragment a myriad of traditional social and economic relationships. These forces also resulted in a reconfiguration of traditional forms of national and global governance. Central to this were highly dynamic systems of production and communication, as well as emerging ideologies extolling the virtues of unconstrained capital.

In what follows we begin to explore the implications of these structural imperatives for the transnational network of labour organizations. We begin by focusing on one of the principal indicators of globalization – the extent to which organized labour was able to integrate across national borders. Consistent with observations of earlier periods, it will become apparent that while labour's continuing organizational presence across continents constituted a globalization of sorts, this did not necessarily entail greater intra-network integration; and nor did it signal a turning away from the particularity of the state. In other words, even though the network's institutions expanded across the globe, we see little evidence of a more profound form globalization.

PART THREE

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1972-89

1972-89. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

The preceding survey of organizational change from 1945 to 1972 revealed a network of trade union confederations that had extended its geographical reach without achieving a commensurate level of integration or autonomy. This organizational growth was facilitated by expanding markets, capital mobility, the proliferation of inter-governmental organizations, and new states orientated towards Keynesian forms of social and economic management. And yet in spite of their own increasing reach, the principal organs of this network – those peak confederations that lay claim to affiliates across continents – continued to serve more or less symbolic functions. Indeed, there existed a profound distance between these principal bodies and the constituent members of the network as a whole. Put differently, this network represented a confederation in the loosest sense of the term; that is, its constituent parts remained the principal actors within a network that was yet to globalize in any significant way.

We now resume our search for indicators of such change by once more focusing on the network's organizational dimension of change. Commencing with a survey of the horizontal organization of the network during the 1972-89 period, we look to identify changes that occurred among the peak confederations. This, in turn, will be followed by an analysis of the vertical forms of organization that were evident during this time. This provides an understanding of the organizational connections between the constituent parts of the network; that is, between the peak transnational, regional, and more prominent national trade union bodies. The analysis of the organizational form of the movement will be followed by more abstract observations about the extent to which this network was integrated in this period. The nature of internal relationships, interests, and ideologies will figure prominently in that discussion.

What ultimately emerges is a portrait of a network that gradually becomes more integrated within this organizational dimension. By the late-1980s there was a resolution in the struggle between those transnational confederations vying for the position of the network's principal organ. Ultimately, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions emerged from all this as the pre-eminent confederation. Of its rivals, the World Federation of Trade Unions began to slide into obscurity, while the World Confederation of Labour continued to play a relatively marginal role within the world of cross-border labour politics. On the global level this represented a further organizational integration in the network's form. In addition to this integration on the level of the nationally oriented confederations, we also see the growing relevance of the various industry-specific confederations, as well as the emergence of very important regional trade union bodies. The following survey of the horizontal forms of organization is the first stage of a more detailed account of the changes outlined above.

1972-89. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE HORIZONTAL

As at 1972 the transnational network of labour organizations had comprised the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Federation of Trade Unions, and the World Confederation of Labour. These confederations were themselves comprised of national trade union affiliates. In addition, there existed a number of industry-specific trade secretariats. This basic configuration was to stay in place for most of the next twenty years. This was in contrast to the immediate post-war period when the organizational form of the network at this peak level seemed to be in a constant state of flux.

By the end of this period the ICFTU had established itself as the most representative of all the transnational confederations. As time progressed, it enhanced its reputation by adopting a more supportive and sophisticated approach to trade union actors beyond its traditional European constituency.[1] The following indicators reveal the extent to which the ICFTU continued to grow on this organizational plane. Its membership increased from 48.6 million in 1972, to 84.8 million in 1983, and to in excess of one-hundred million in 1989 (this translated into 115, 134 and 143 affiliated organizations for each period).[2] By 1972 the ICFTU had established a presence throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America, as well as permanent offices in Geneva, Washington,

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[1] As the 1980s unfolded, the ICFTU became increasingly supportive of the South African labour movement – and, most notably, of the Congress of South African Trade Unions – in its struggle against the apartheid regime there. Admittedly, this assistance was at arms-length, and took the form of ICFTU affiliates being granted tacit approval to provide material assistance in ways they saw fit. While still a member of the WFTU in 1989, the South African labour organization was gravitating towards the ICFTU. An interesting insight into this shift is provided in Peter Waterman, "The ICFTU in SA: Admissions, Revelations, Silences", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 17, 3 (1993).

[2] Anthony Carew et al., eds., *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 571.

and New York. Similarly, its income grew from (bfr)ninety-one million[3] in 1972, to 160 million in 1980, and then to 326 million by 1989. Finally, the ICFTU's expenditure on 'Solidarity Activities' increased from (bfr)43.7 million in 1972, to sixty-nine million in 1980, and then to 89.5 million in 1989.[4] All this is indicative of the organizational growth of the ICFTU. However, as will become apparent, this to some extent masks the true complexion of an actor that was beset by problems of fragmentation, and state-bound political interests.

This period was also noteworthy because it witnessed the slow decline of the ICFTU's major rival, the World Federation of Trade Unions. The WFTU began to lose important affiliates during the late-1970s; by the late-1980s more and more of its constituent parts were defecting to the ICFTU.[5] This was to deny the WFTU legitimacy and relevance, as over half of its remaining membership was supplied by the Soviet Union's sole domestic labour federation. Though its official membership figures throughout the 1970s and the 1980s showed quite a dramatic increase, these figures were widely disregarded.[6] The WFTU continued to fund and direct its industry-specific bodies – the Trade Union Internationals. Like their Western counterparts, the International Trade Secretariats, these bodies focused on industries associated with transport, mining, food, textiles, chemical, education, and construction.[7] But unlike the trade secretariats, these transnational sectoral confederations were not only beholden to a major nation based confederation – in this case the WFTU – but by extension also to the governing parties in whose countries they operated. In reality, such confederations were concerned with the need, according to one Trade Union International president, to "mobilize all national resources for...economic development".[8]

Meanwhile, the third peak confederation then in existence – the World Confederation of Labour – was attempting to consolidate its presence beyond its traditional European heartland. To a great extent, the Confederation was positioning itself as the most oppositional of the remaining peak bodies. Having shed its brand of Christian-socialism in the mid-1960s, the Word Confederation of Labour now embraced what Windmuller and Pursey describe as "a secular militant programme based on a mixture of humanist, socialist, and syndicalist ideas".[9] In this way it aimed to differentiate itself from the reformism of the ICFTU and the doctrinaire Marxism of the WFTU.

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[3] Belgian Francs. This is the currency upon which affiliation fees are fixed.
[4] Carew et al., eds., *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, pp. 566-67, 68-69.
[5] One of the most telling setbacks for the WFTU was the defection in 1978 of Italy's Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, one of Europe's largest communist trade union confederations. Other communist trade union bodies gravitating away from the WFTU during this time included France's Confédération Générale de Travail.
[6] They showed membership increasing from 151 million in 1973, to 190 million in 1978, and 206 million in 1985. For more details relating to membership prior to 1985, see WFTU, *World Federation of Trade Unions: 1945-1985* (Prague: WFTU, 1985), p. 147, 58.
[7] For a complete list of these Trade Union Internationals see Ibid., pp. 148-57.
[8] This comment by the President of the TUI of Transport Workers, appeared in the WFTU's journal, *World Trade Union Movement*. Jean Brun, "Answers to the International Questionnaire", *World Trade Union Movement*, 12 (1981), p. 2.

Yet the gains it did make in this period could not mask its reliance upon the membership of just a few European affiliates. Most notable among these affiliates were the Confederation of Christian Trade Unions of Belgium, and Solidarność of Poland.[10] The relative weakness of the World Confederation of Labour was in no small part due the lack of patronage from governments, and its reluctance to accommodate the needs of capital or the state. In relation to the WFTU, and the ICFTU in particular, this confederation remained a marginal actor.

To complete this view of the organizational form of peak confederations we must consider the configuration of the industry-specific International Trade Secretariats.[11] The most notable trends impacting on trade secretariats throughout this period was the continuing organizational consolidation and the process of geographical expansion. This mirrored developments within the network of nation based bodies, wherein organizational consolidation and stability was maintained while the membership and geographic reach expanded. By 1979 the trade secretariats had a combined membership of 56.4 million.[12]

The trade secretariats were, of course, more likely to be configured in ways that mirrored the conditions determined by the global structures of production. Those concerned with industries at the heart of the new global division of labour enjoyed the most growth. Thus, trade secretariats covering industries relating to textiles, chemicals, mining, transport, communications, and manufacturing increased their memberships. The largest of these was the International Metalworkers' Federation. Its membership stood at 13.7 million in 1979, and rose to approximately sixteen million in 1989.[13] Notwithstanding the rise in membership, most trade secretariats experienced financial difficulties. Constituent trade unions even from the more prosperous countries found the affiliation fees prohibitive. Those trade secretariats that were concerned with industries predominantly located within developing and Third World countries could not fund activities because of the modest affiliation fees imposed on their member unions.

We can now conclude this assessment of the organizational configuration of the peak transnational confederations. While the network's outward form remained stable on this global plane, the ICFTU was gradually assuming a pre-eminent position over other nation-orient ` peak confederations. In

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[9] J.P. Windmuller and S.K. Pursey, "The International Trade Union Movement", in *Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations in Industrial Market Economies*, eds. R. Blanpain and C. Engels (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), p. 94.

[10] The former brought with it 1.1 million members, while the latter represented two million. Ibid.

[11] Though the WFTU and the WCL each subsidized their own industry-specific bodies, these lacked the tradition, membership, finances and legitimacy enjoyed by the trade secretariats. Throughout this thesis, the International Trade Secretariats are considered to be the most noteworthy of all industry-specific confederations.

[12] Bob Reinalda, "The ITF in the Context of International Trade Unionism", in *The International Transport-Workers Federation 1914-1945*, ed. Bob Reinalda (Amsterdam: Stichting Beheer IISG, 1997), p. 15.

[13] For figures up to 1980, see J.P. Windmuller, *The International Trade Union Movement* (London: Kluwer, 1980), p. 164. Beyond that see Windmuller and Pursey, "The International Trade Union Movement".

large part, the ICFTU was able to assert itself in this way because it was the most amenable – indeed, the most committed – of all the confederations to the proliferating system of trade and development inclined inter-governmental organizations mentioned earlier. This reformist character also made it a relatively inoffensive actor for all states embroiled in Cold War antagonisms, and though it was associated with Western interests it still attracted many disaffected affiliates of rival confederations because of its pluralistic form.

The point to be made here is that within this organizational dimension the transnational network of labour organizations extended, *via* one agent or another, across all regions and industrial sectors. To all intents and purposes, this network was by now truly global in scope. And yet notwithstanding this expansion in reach, these peak confederations remained obscure and impotent players in the world of labour politics. Moreover, this form of expansion had little to do with a globalization of the sort outlined at the beginning of this thesis. Put differently, this expansion was not necessarily indicative of greater network integration, or of the network's autonomy in relation to the state. A better understanding of the undercurrents shaping relationships can be gained by looking, now, at the organizational form of the movement on a vertical plane.

1972-89. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – THE VERTICAL

The most significant change occurring on this vertical plane was the emergence, and growing importance of, the regional organizations. In many ways these labour organizations came to play a more important role than the peak confederations to which they were affiliated. Ultimately, it becomes apparent that while the configuration of the peak confederations remained relatively stable throughout the 1970s and 1980s, there was considerable change occurring among intermediary bodies linking national affiliates to the wider network.

We recall that the major transnational confederations had by 1972 established a loose network of subsidiary, regional, organizations. The ICFTU had representation in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and Europe through its own nation-oriented offshoots.[14] The smaller World Confederation of Labour had also established its own offices in these regions and was represented by important regional organizations.[15] The WFTU had no such organizational structure in place, and chose instead to connect with regions beyond Europe through direct affiliation with trade union bodies of different countries. As we saw in the survey of organized labour's external engagement with the world of commerce between 1945-72, the trade secretariats had themselves established 'sub-

[14] The ICFTU's regional organizations included the Mexico City-based Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores, the New Delhi-based Asian Regional Organization, the African Regional Organization, and European Regional Organization – known then by the acronyms ORIT, ARO, AFRO and ERO.

sectoral' groups in the form of their World Company Councils. Added to the intermediary organizations already in existence was the Trade Union Advisory Committee, a stand-alone labour body established to represent trade union interests within the OECD.

Between 1972 and 1989 there was a proliferation of new regional and sectoral trade union bodies. These included the Council of Nordic Trade Unions (1972), the European Trade Union Confederation (1973), the Organization of African Trade Union Unity (1973), the All Africa Teachers' Organization (1974), the Commonwealth Trade Union Council (1979), the Federation Africaine des Syndicats des Mineurs et des Energeticiens (1979), the Pacific Trade Union Community (1980), the Southern African Trade Union Co-ordination Council (1984), the International Miners' Organization (1985), the Asia-Pacific Trade Union Co-ordination Committee (1987), and the South Asian Regional Trade Union Council (1988). These joined the ranks of existing regional labour bodies. Apart from those that represented the interests of the peak confederations (those mentioned above), there also existed a number of regional groupings that had been established prior to 1972.[16] The most important of these were the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions. We might add to this list the many large national organizations that also engaged in cross-border activities. The more prominent of these were the national organizations of America, Britain, Germany, The Netherlands, South Africa, France, Sweden, and Japan.

1972-89. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

In one sense all the foregoing can be read as being indicative of a continuing expansion of the global network of labour organizations, and of its taking root in areas beyond its traditional heartland in Europe and North America. Certainly, within this internal organizational dimension there seemed to be evidence of an ever expanding labour network: this, in turn, hinted at a more profound process of globalization for labour. However, this organizational expansion tells us little about the true extent of organized labour's integration, and its necessary and continued preoccupation with forms of political organization premised upon the authority of the state.

Moreover, we will find as we proceed that the changes occurring in this organizational dimension – on both horizontal and vertical planes – can be linked to the fact that the state continued to play a pivotal role, be it in relation to changing structures of production, communication, governance, and

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[15] The WCL was represented in Asia by the Brotherhood of Asian Trade Unionists, in Latin America by the Central Latino Americana de Trabajordores, and in Africa by ODSTA.

[16] Four of the seven pre-existing organizations were European-based. The seven consisted of the Caribbean Congress of Labour, the Permanent Congress of Trade Union Unity of Latin American Workers, the Economic and Social Committee of the European Communities, the European Civil Service Federation, the Federation of International Civil Servants' Associations, the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, and the World Confederation of Organizations of the Teaching Profession. For a comprehensive list of these new players, as well as for information about their political orientation, see Martin Upham, *Trade Unions and Employers' Organizations of the World* (London: Longman, 1993).

ideology. We explore these issues by moving beyond the organizational sphere, to the dimension concerned with network integration.

1972-89. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

What contributed to the organizational re-configuration outlined above? What intra-network factors were at play? For a better understanding of these processes we look now at the ways in which relationships within the network were mediated and constituted throughout this period. This initially entails a review of the communication media upon which interaction was premised. We then reflect on the interests and ideologies that gave shape to this internal integrative dimension. It soon becomes apparent that in spite of the inexorable organizational expansion, intra-network integration proved elusive. This was so because the interests and ideologies informing the various actors created deep divisions. These were motivating factors that made alignment to the state – and what it promised – the overriding concern.

1972-89. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – RELATIONSHIPS

Earlier, in the brief analysis of the structure of communication for this period, we noted the dramatic technological advancements in areas of transmission, information storage and stratification. This increase in the velocity and intensity of worldwide communication was facilitated by new media, including fax, compact discs, video, personal computers, satellite technology, and fibre-optics, as well as by technological advancement in the fields of transport. A focus on the communication media employed by labour provides another vantage point from which to study change in the internal dimension of the transnational network of labour organizations. It is here that we see the role played by various media in facilitating greater cross-border interaction between labour organizations. At the same time, we also see that this media did little to change a *milieu* characterized by fractiousness and statism. It is thus surprising that under such conditions organized labour's globalization was retarded to the degree it was.

Certainly the network's communication regime underwent significant, if gradual, change in the two decades under review here. As in any political community we see a reliance on both old and new technologies, as well as on media that might facilitate either face-to-face, extended, or detached interactions. The most important medium that facilitated face-to-face interaction within the network of trade union confederations was the conference. The intra-network conference circuit became a site of vibrant exchange and engagement as transport – particularly civil air travel – became cheaper and more accessible. Thus the technologies that had begun to play such a part in

connecting peoples in the realms of business, tourism, and education, also played an important role in expanding linkages within the disparate trade union communities.

In the context of intra-network interaction, the medium of the conference assumed a variety of forms throughout this period. Conferences held under the auspices of the peak confederations – the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, and the World Federation of Trade Unions – brought together their respective affiliates. There were also conferences whose participants consisted of established, but disaffected, national trade union bodies; as well as those whose participants represented trade union organizations of the emergent 'non-aligned' countries.[17] Finally, there were conferences held for the express purpose of courting rival confederations' affiliates in the hope that they would switch their allegiance.[18] Overall, this proliferation of conference sites and events reflected the growing diversity of labour actors and their contending interests. It was indicative of a network whose center of gravity lay far from the peak confederations that purported to represent the interests of the whole.

What motivated national trade union bodies to participate in conferences that were not sanctioned by their own peak confederation? Most national bodies acknowledged the existence of a global dimension to the problems besetting trade unions. Furthermore, they acknowledged the need to cooperate across borders in order to ameliorate the worst aspects of these problems. However, many also considered the peak confederations to be seriously handicapped – or, at worst, compromised – by their association with the superpowers and Cold War politics in general.[19]

Against this background, many national organizations began to meet with a view to overhauling the network of transnational confederations. In addition to increasing face-to-face interaction by those seeking to change the existing network's overall political orientation, there were conferences catering for those wanting to give voice specifically to the labour movements of the non-aligned world. This started a trend that saw trade union organizations of the developing and Third World congregating at regional-level conferences. The participants here saw the likes of the ICFTU as representatives of the wealthy labour movements of the 'North', and resented what they perceived as the paternalism of their First World counterparts. Thus, far from indicating greater harmony, cohesion or levels of integration within the ensemble of worldwide trade union confederations, this proliferation of cross-border gatherings – this form of global interaction – was evidence of very

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[17] 'Non-aligned', in this context, refers to the movement of newly independent countries that sought to distance itself from superpower alignments during the height of the Cold War. This orientation also found expression in trade union politics.
[18] A thorough analysis of the issue of 'International Trade Union Gatherings' – seen from the viewpoint of the ICFTU – featured in the following Executive Board reports. ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 75eb/15)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 76eb/16)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980).
[19] ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 75eb/15)"., ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 76eb/16)".

significant cleavages. Put simply, these somewhat fleeting interactions were not indicative of greater movement integration.

Indeed, the agenda item, 'International Trade Union Gatherings', occupied a considerable amount of the ICFTU Executive Board's time.[20] Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the number of international conferences without the ICFTU's endorsement or support increased dramatically, and proved to be a cause of great consternation. The ICFTU Executive Board was concerned that its own affiliates would attend these conferences and be lured away by confederations committed to oppositional programs. It was thought that this in turn might undermine the ICFTU's position as the pre-eminent transnational confederation. This concern prompted a series of communiques to affiliates pointing out the dangers of flirting with the programs of rival confederations.[21]

For their part the WFTU and the World Confederation of Labour actively promoted such gatherings. The former did so because it lacked an organizational presence on the regional level, and thus relied upon bilateral and multilateral engagements with autonomous players within the network to maintain credibility. The World Confederation of Labour also needed to establish a presence beyond its traditional Christian supporter base in Europe if it was to establish itself as a new, secular, and radicalized advocate for trade unions worldwide. And so it too regularly sponsored and participated in conferences that brought together what the ICFTU regarded as the radical elements within the world of trade union politics. For its part, the ICFTU believed that the WFTU and the World Confederation of Labour mischievously promoted their conferences in ways that suggested the events had its endorsement.[22]

On one reading such changes to the 'face-to-face' medium connecting the constellation of trade union confederations may seem unremarkable. However, when considered in the context of the ways in which actors can become more integrated or autonomous – indeed, more globalized – such changes provide food for thought. We witness the reaching-out by many of the constituent parts of the network in ways that might suggest that it was changing in some fundamental sense. Instead,

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[20] For example, refer to ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 67eb/15)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1976), ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 75eb/15)"., ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 76eb/16)". In addition, see the following circulars: ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #38)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1988), ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #46)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1981).

[21] See ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #46)". A similar warning also appears in the ICFTU's in-house periodical, *Free Labour World*. unknown, "Contacts with Communists", *Free Labour World* 273, March (1973).

[22] ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #50)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1981). This circular cautions affiliates against attending the World Trade Union Conference on the Economic and Social Aspects of Disarmament (Paris 15-17 December 1981). They revealed that this conference was sponsored by the WFTU, though the latter's central role was not made explicit in the invitations sent to trade union bodies around the world.

we find that this increased level of connectedness had little to do with a greater sense of network integration, or with the constituent parts transcending their parochial concerns.

The focus now turns to the relatively 'extended' relationships enabled by media based on print. Traditionally, such media consisted of pamphlets, newsletters, bulletins, circulars, reports, newspapers and periodicals. With the possible exception of the pamphlet, these printed forms of communication continued to be used throughout the 1970s and 1980s to integrate the network's constituent parts. The most important of all such printed media was the 'in-house' periodical, a medium employed by each of the confederations surveyed thus far.

Since the 1950s these periodicals had been, by and large, handsomely produced publications that were usually distributed on a monthly basis.[23] Typically, the content included editorial commentary on the major issues of the day, messages from senior officials, dispatches from regional affiliates, previews of upcoming congresses, news of progress in campaigns within or beyond inter-governmental fora, as well as what seemed like the obligatory broadsides aimed at rival confederations. Importantly, these publications also carried within them the texts of official resolutions, statements, and declarations issued by executive bodies. With a few exceptions, the overall production quality of these periodicals up to the early 1980s was very impressive. Distribution was global and without charge to affiliates.

By the mid-1980s, however, the form, content, and production quality of the various periodicals distributed by the peak confederations had diminished markedly. This trend was apparent across the spectrum of confederations. The deterioration in the form was most apparent in the ICFTU's *Free Labour World*.[24] At the same time the WFTU's periodical – *World Trade Union Movement* – was also showing signs of decline. Unlike *Free Labour World*, it survived the 1980s without drastic changes to its format, though its declining fortunes were evident in other ways. Perhaps the most striking of these was the 1987 decision on the part of the editors of this journal of anti-imperialism and radical socialism to carry advertisements.[25] Similar trends were apparent among the publications of other peak confederations; namely, the International Trade Secretariats and the

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[23] Since 1966, the WFTU's periodical, the *World Trade Union Movement* was distributed every six weeks.

[24] From its high point in the early 1970s – when it communicated all the information mentioned above – this publication was cut back severely in 1985, and distributed only in eight-page broad-sheet format. Its coverage of labour affairs was thin, with passing references only to issues that would have hitherto warranted far greater column inches and 'analysis'. Some of this decline must be attributed to financial constraints the ICFTU endured throughout the 1970s. One of the principal causes of the confederation's financial woes was the withdrawal, in 1969, of its American affiliate. This denied the ICFTU twenty per cent of its income from affiliation fees for the entire decade. Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", in *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, eds. Anthony Carew, et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), p. 343.

[25] The first of these was a Swissair promotion in the February edition of 1987.

World Confederation of Labour. Though the quality of production varied greatly between trade secretariat publications, these too deteriorated in the years under review.[26]

Perhaps the foregoing has overstated the significance of the form of printed media employed throughout this period. I risk doing this because the health or otherwise of such media may be indicative of deeper trends across the network as a whole. Of course, the content of the media is of paramount importance, as these publications were the confederations' principal means of expressing their interests and ideologies. These interests and ideologies will be covered in some detail in subsequent discussion and need not concern us here. For the moment we can rely on Peter Waterman's observations for a general understanding. According to Waterman, the publications of the peak confederations tended to "reflect or reproduce interstate or inter-bloc relations". They encouraged "factionalism within the third world countries by seeking loyal members, and such member organizations exercise[d] a virtual veto on criticism of 'their own' nation-state". This factionalism, Waterman claims, meant that these "publications [were] able to respond to new waves of worker protest (Poland, South Africa, Brazil, Philippines) only in a selective and partisan manner".[27]

What, then, do these observations tell us about the importance of the print media in use during the 1970s and 1980s? One point to be made is that this traditional means of maintaining relationships and, ostensibly, for integrating the network, seemed to be in serious decline at the very moment when the movement, taken as a whole, was expanding its global reach. If the nature and quality of communication media is any indication, we can deduce that in addition to greater estrangement between peak bodies, there was also increasing distance between the confederations and their constituent parts.

Alongside the conferences and print media there was also a reliance on electronic modes of interaction and communication. These facilitated what might be regarded as 'detached' forms of interaction, and can be grouped into media that were employed to reach the constituents directly, and those used to coordinate, administer, and integrate the confederate structures that bound the network as a whole. Included in the former category were radio, television, and the audio-visual, while in the latter we find the telephone, telegram, telex and fax.

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[26] From this period I would contrast the excellent and weighty publications of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Associations, with the newsletter-style circular of the International Federation of Building and Wood Workers. Indeed, some trade secretariats' main publications resembled hastily prepared fliers. As for the World Confederation of Labour, the quality of its *Flash-flash WCL* was very poor indeed.

[27] For examples, Waterman refers to the 'Emergency' (1975-77), and the 15-month strike by 200,000 textile workers in India (1981-83) as events that were ignored by most, if not all, the publications mentioned here. Peter Waterman, "Needed: A New Communications Model for a New Working-Class Internationalism", in *For a New Labour Internationalism: A Set of Reprints and Working Papers*, ed. Peter Waterman (The Hague: ILERI, 1985), p. 235.

By the 1970s few within the transnational network of labour organizations were relying on radio. The ICFTU's interest in the medium had waned by this stage, with its anti-communist program – *The Voice of Free Trade Unions* – having lost what relevance it once had.[28] The WFTU had since 1981 broadcast *World Federation of Trade Unions Calling* using the facilities of Radio Prague. This provided information on the activities of the WFTU Secretariat, news about the issues concerning affiliates, interviews, and reports. Initially, this service was presented in eight languages and consisted of regular ten-minute programs.[29] By 1985 this format had changed to fortnightly half-hour broadcasts of programs in twenty-five languages. By 1989 it catered for just eight languages and was broadcast on a range of days chosen in accordance to language group. Ultimately, the WFTU's use of radio decreased to the point where it barely figured at all.

The role of television was also negligible. Again we see the use of the medium within various national contexts: but here too the experiments were sporadic and short-lived. In 1974 the Belgium Joint Union Front – a labour alliance comprising the two main national organizations[30] – produced a television series consisting of ten programs that were to be screened three times per week during workers' rest breaks.[31] These were well received but could not continue due to employer resistance. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations also utilized the medium of television. In 1982, and through its Labor Institute of Public Affairs and that body's local affiliates, the Federation produced and distributed programs using public access cable television and other network outlets.[32] To these we can add the use of various forms of electronically based audio-visual media such as video and film. However, these were used only by pro-labour organizations that were not formally associated with the network of trade union confederations.[33] Thus, notwithstanding these localized initiatives, the mediums based on radio, television, and audio-visual forms played an insignificant role in the integration and globalization of what remained a very loose network of transnational labour confederations.

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[28] Radio had been employed in various national contexts by labour organizations since the 1930s. Cross-border transmissions were also commonplace during the early Cold War years. The ICFTU sponsored *The Voice of Free Trade Unions* in an attempt to counter what it perceived as communist propaganda in Easter Europe, while its Latin American regional organization, ORIT, also used the medium to reach anti-Peronist forces in Argentina and Costa Rica through the 1950s. ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 7eb/7c)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1952). One of the most interesting accounts of the use of radio by labour is provided by Nathan Godfried in his study of the establishment of a labour-friendly broadcaster in depression era America. See Nathan Godfried, "Struggling over Politics and Culture: Organized Labor and Radio Station Wevd During the 1930s", *Labor History*, 42, 4 (2001).

[29] Rudi Breunung, "The World Federation of Trade Unions Calling: A Few Words About the Wftu Radio Programme", *World Trade Union Movement*, 9 (1985).

[30] These were the Belgium TUC and the Organisation of Christian Trade Unions. See unknown, "Trade Unionism on the Air", *Syndicats*, March (1974).

[31] The series took a critical look at consumerism, and also covered subjects such as social justice, public initiative in industry, economic democracy, and trade unions' role in social transformation. Ibid.

[32] WFTU-Editorial, "Direct Broadcast Satellites, Cable TV and Mass Participation in Television", *World Trade Union Movement*, 9 (1990).

[33] I refer here to such bodies as the International Labour Research and Information Group (South Africa), the Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research, and the Centre for Education and Communication (India). For examples of the use of this medium – including the showing of films and videos to mine and textile workers in the Third World – see Waterman, "Needed: A New Communications Model for a New Working-Class Internationalism", p. 242.

The most prevalent electronic media employed up to 1989 were the telephone, telegram, telex, and fax. It is difficult to assess the role of the ubiquitous telephone, suffice to say that as the costs associated with transcontinental connections fell, usage must have increased accordingly. The telegram, telex, and fax were also being utilized, though their usage did not fundamentally transform relationships within the network of labour organizations. Indicators of the significance of these media can be found in seemingly innocuous places. For example, the ICFTU only began to request the telex numbers of its affiliates in 1984. Similarly, the first systematic use of telex for campaign reasons came in 1985. It was then that the ICFTU launched its *Telex News*, an electronic communique aimed at influencing popular opinion *via* the mass media.[34] In sum, this approach to the (not-so) new forms of electronic media betrays a degree of tentativeness within the network, and one that was symptomatic of an estrangement between the network's constituent parts and of a lack of integration in general.

We should not read too much into this survey of the different media in use throughout the 1970s and 1980s. It must be acknowledged that at various times each media had different audiences and served different functions. Conferences were a relatively unconstrained two-way form that served to bring together – face-to-face – delegations of leaders from disparate political communities. Periodicals and print were carefully controlled and tailored forms, employing language familiar only to the literate and politically attuned. They imparted information one-way – and at a remove – and were principally concerned, as Waterman puts it, with "influencing and controlling labour leaderships".[35] Ostensibly aimed at the broader membership, these periodicals in practice served to reassure, exhort, and galvanize support among the officials of each affiliated organization. The electronic media highlighted here seemed to be either ineffective and ephemeral (in the case of radio and television) or employed predominantly as an administrative tool (in the case of telex). In addition, these media were utilized concurrently, so clear transitions from one to another are not easily discerned.

Yet, these media are worthy of our attention because their use facilitated different forms of interaction, be they face-to-face, extended, or detached. Focusing on them provides insight into the process of movement re-configuration and, in particular, into change in levels of integration. For instance, focusing on the medium of the conference reveals that face-to-face interactions were increasing at a time when the network as a whole was very divided. At the same time, less emphasis was placed on the extended print media. This was illustrated by the deteriorating quality of the principal form, the periodical. And finally, the use of electronic media up to 1989 seemed to

[34] ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #36)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1985).
[35] Waterman, "Needed: A New Communications Model for a New Working-Class Internationalism", p. 238.

hardly matter in terms of movement cohesion and integration, though it was becoming more important as the 1980s came to an end.

Overall, this focus on the media at work within the internal integrative dimension of transnational labour politics permits the following summation. Throughout this period there emerged a constellation of confederations that was becoming a more vibrant site of interaction with an ever-increasing number of participants. To this extent we can identify the expansion of the network in ways that had the potential to loosen the bonds to the state. This was evident in the growing connectedness – especially *via* the conference – of parties whose engagement up to this point was limited. However, this process did not bring with it greater network integration. While change was occurring in the ways in which relationships were mediated, the 'centre-pieces' of this already loose system of confederacies – those peak confederations identified above – remained largely estranged not only from one another, but from their own affiliates.

Once again – and as in the preceding analysis on the organizational dimension – one cannot be convinced of any substantive or profound re-alignment in the network's orientation by focusing on one dimension of change. While it is apparent that the new media enabled greater intra-network engagement, this is not in itself proof of increasing integration across national borders – or of a turning away from the state. If anything, I am inclined to view such change as an indication of intra-network discord. For a different view of this internal integrative dimension, we now take as our vantage point the interests and ideologies that permeated the network throughout the 1970s and 1980s. It will become apparent that while some of the foregoing changes in internal organization and media suggested a deeper form of globalization pertained, they were in reality symptomatic of a movement that remained fixated on the authority of state.

1972-89. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTERESTS, IDEOLOGIES

The interests and issues of concern to the transnational network of labour organizations were inextricably tied to changes occurring within the aforementioned structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. Given the previous section's emphasis on communication, there is no need to re-visit that aspect of structural change. But by way of prelude to an exploration of labour's interests, and then its ideological complexion, we might recap on the nature of the prevailing structures of production and organization throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

In terms of production we saw the gradual decline of Fordist production methods, a reduction in manual, manufacturing based employment in the more affluent countries, and the migration of rural

communities to urban areas in search of employment. We also identified the emergence of the finance sector as a pivotal site in the global economy and, finally, the increasing mobility, size, and influence of the multinational corporation. The structure of organization changed in ways that saw the rise, and then decline, of the welfare state, as well as a proliferation of regional and transnational inter-governmental organizations and alliance systems. The ideological form of the day was one in which developmentalist, modernizing, national liberationist, and neoliberal tendencies were prevalent, with the latter gradually gaining the ascendancy.

How did all this affect cross-border trade union politics? From this dynamic there emerged a range of both divisive and integrative factors. In what follows we look firstly at the interests that either divided or integrated this sprawling ensemble of cross-border trade union organizations. Attention then shifts to the interplay of ideologies evident within the network at this time. The conclusion reached is that the interests and ideas that permeated the network throughout this period – be they divisive or integrative – all in one way or another served to keep trade union confederations within the orbit of the state, thus mitigating a globalization of any substance.

Organizational decentralization was a serious concern for those overseeing the peak confederations. This decentralization – often referred to as 'regionalism' – was manifest in the growth of a new layer of trade union representation that in effect served to widen the gap between the peak confederations and their affiliates. For transnational organized labour the most important development in this regard was the formation in 1973 of a new regional body, the European Trade Union Confederation.[36] This organization was comprised of the affiliates of existing peak confederations. From its inception and throughout the 1980s it served as a lobbying body within European Community institutions. The European Trade Union Confederation can also be considered a response to the prevailing structures of organization in the region. This had resulted in European states joining together to harmonize regulatory regimes in relation to the movement of goods, services, capital and labour, as well as in relation to common agricultural and transport policies.[37]

The establishment of this European trade union organization caused consternation within the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in particular. As one author observed:

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[36] This was a merger of two existing regional bodies. These were the European Confederation of Trade Unions (comprising trade union bodies of the European Community), and the European Free Trade Area Trade Union Committee.

[37] J.E van Dierendonck, "Regional Economic Integration as the Creation of an Environment Favourable to Transnational Industrial Organization in the E.E.C", in *Transnational Industrial Relations: Proceedings of a Symposium Held at Geneva by the International Institute for Labour Studies*, ed. Hans Günter (London: MacMillan, 1972).

> the desire of most of the European affiliates to form a separate organization was seen as an affront to trade union internationalism and a threat to the continuity of the ICFTU as a world body.[38]

The World Confederation of Labour was also dealt a blow by this regional turn when the members of its own European offshoot chose to also affiliate with the European Trade Union Confederation. For these established peak confederations – as well as for the International Trade Secretariats – the emergence of a new and autonomous regional body had the potential to trigger widespread fragmentation. In addition to the threat of fragmentation, many labour leaders of the West feared that such a body might accept as affiliates trade union organizations of the communist states. Tensions between many important labour organizations increased markedly when the European Trade Union Confederation proceeded to consider such requests for membership.[39]

Over time, cordial relationships were established between this regional body and the transnational confederations, with most national organizations choosing to affiliate to both. But the underlying problem persisted: because the peak confederations did not cater for their affiliates' most pressing needs, the latter sought to build relationships of a more relevant and intimate sort at a 'lower' level than the 'global'. These were, importantly, relationships and alliances that were designed to accommodate changes occurring in the organizational form of the state. To this extent the proliferation of cross-border interactions on the part of trade union organizations mirrored the states' own shift towards regionalism, especially as it pertained to trade and security matters. And so what in one sense can be regarded as increased cross-border interaction on the part of organized labour – on the regional level – can also be read as a retreat from the global. This is especially so if one takes as an indicator the various actors' (waning) confidence in their network's peak confederations.

The case of the European Trade Union Confederation is illustrative of just some of the tensions evident throughout the transnational network of labour organizations. The tenuousness of the confederate relationships – between transnational bodies and their often ambivalent affiliates – was evident in other ways during this period. And in these cases we also see tensions that were inseparable from developments in the field of interstate politics.

Another contentious issue was *détente* between the superpowers. This brought to the fore tensions and contending interests evident among not only European trade union bodies, but also among

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[38] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 351.

those throughout the network as a whole. In the early 1970s national affiliates to the ICFTU began to form their own relationships and policies in relation to communist countries and their trade union movements. These initiatives took different forms. In seeking closer contacts with their counterparts in Eastern Europe, the labour movements of West Germany and Austria aligned their policies with those of their respective social-democratic parties. At the same time national labour organizations of the United Kingdom and Belgium pursued bilateral contacts with the WFTU, as well as with the World Confederation of Labour. Similarly, national organizations of The Netherlands and Belgium also moved to establish closer ties with the left-leaning World Confederation of Labour.[40] These interactions with 'rival' organizations alarmed the ICFTU, as it remained committed to a policy aimed at isolating trade unions of the Eastern bloc.[41]

Intra-network tension over priorities and interests were also plainly evident in relations between the ICFTU, its regional offshoots, and many autonomous national or regional bodies beyond Europe. For example, the "lure of Pan-Africanism"[42] meant that network integrity and cohesion in the African setting was extremely difficult to attain.[43] Hostile to neo-colonialism, national(ist) trade union actors in this region were prone to accusing the ICFTU of paternalism, whether or not such a charge was warranted.[44] In Asia, the network of transnational labour organizations had to contend with the full spectrum of contending interests and priorities. Coordination and integration was mitigated under these conditions. These conditions saw national trade union movements subjected to extreme repression in countries such as China, Indonesia, Thailand, and Burma. Civil wars in the Philippines and in Sri Lanka complicated matters further. Economic underdevelopment, extreme poverty, gender inequality, religious and cultural impediments – such as the caste system in India – all meant that common cause throughout the network was very elusive.[45]

Economic development was a high priority for newly independent nations. Under these circumstances the leaderships of national trade union organizations were frequently enlisted to serve the national project. This aspect of the study will be further explored when the research turns to the movement's external political dimension. For the time being it is worth noting that under

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[39] The most important such case was the application for membership by the Italian Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro. This confederation had, until 1971, been the WFTU's most prominent Western affiliate. Ultimately, the CGIL was accepted within the European confederation, in spite of the protestations of the ICFTU.

[40] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 347-50.

[41] We dwell here on the ICFTU because of all the peak confederations it was most committed to establishing an organizational structure that was global in scope. By this it is meant that – in contrast to the World Federation of Trade Unions for instance – the ICFTU sought to establish and sponsor regional bodies of its own.

[42] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 422.

[43] The ICFTU's own regional body in Africa, the African Regional Office (AFRO), had been dissolved in 1969. It was re-activated in 1973 with the aim of countering the growing Pan-African appeal of the Organization of African Trade Union Unity. See Ibid., pp. 421-25.

[44] For a spirited, and convincing, rebuttal of such claims, see Mike Allen, "New Internationalism...Or Old Rhetoric?", *SA Labour Bulletin*, 16, 2 (1991).

such circumstances service to the state was paramount for many leaders of national trade union organizations, and the drive towards economic development made governments very intolerant of protests on behalf of workers' rights. This was especially so in the case of many public sector trade unions whose members were already engaged in servicing governments. Coercion aside, there were those who willingly submitted to such imperatives. The leaderships of the trade union movements in Japan and South Korea can be put into this category.

In Central and South America throughout the 1970s and 1980s a number of formidable hurdles stood in the way of movement integrity. The region comprised only a few industrialized countries – for example, Brazil, Chile, and Argentina – with most engaged in the export of raw products and agricultural produce. All peak confederations were experiencing difficulties in maintaining relations with – and between – national affiliates in these regions as they endured tremendous hardship. Poverty and underdevelopment had increased dramatically in this period as governments embraced neoliberal, free-market orientated economic programs.[46] This exacerbated existing socio-economic problems of inequity in land ownership, and in the rights of ethnic and indigenous minorities.[47] Throughout this period repressive regimes subjected trade unionists to extreme violence, with the governments of Colombia, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Chile among the most notorious offenders. In addition, civil wars in Nicaragua and El Salvador meant that those countries' labour movements were all but paralyzed for much of the 1970s and 1980s.

In this landscape stood ORIT,[48] the ICFTU's regional organization. This was an unusual organization in that it pre-dated the ICFTU itself, having had a previous incarnation as the Confederación Interamericana de Trabajadores (1948 to 1951). This prior history is relevant because even though it now represented the ICFTU in the region, ORIT still retained a considerable degree of independence. When the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations withdrew its affiliation from the ICFTU, its participation in ORIT continued.[49] The Federation asserted its influence in the region through the latter, and changed the complexion of the ICFTU's regional body in a way that made it far more amenable to the conservative political forces

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[45] ICFTU-Editorial, "The Limits of Regionalism", *Free Labour World*, 272, February (1972).

[46] Coker provides an interesting account of Venezuela's preoccupation throughout the 1980s with the repayment of debt, and the effect this had on a once solid labour-government relationship. See Trudie Coker, "Globalization and Corporatism: The Growth and Decay of Organized Labor in Venezuela, 1900-1998", *International Labor and Working-Class History*,60, Fall (2001).

[47] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 446-49.

[48] Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers.

[49] This caused great consternation within the ICFTU, and especially among its European affiliates. For more detail on the withdrawal of the AFL-CIO from the ICFTU refer to Anthony Carew, "Towards a Free Trade Union Centre: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1949-1972)", in *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, eds. Anthony Carew, et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 323-28, J.P. Windmuller, "Internationalism in Eclipse: The ICFTU after Two Decades", *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 23, 4 July (1970), pp. 510-11.

in the region.[50] At a time when right-wing coups and dictatorships were commonplace, the approach taken by the Federation and ORIT enraged many affiliates of the ICFTU in that region and beyond.[51] Undeterred, the Federation also threatened to withdraw its funding from ORIT unless its chosen leadership team was installed.

The ICFTU Executive Board was, for a time, divided over how to counter this form of interference. This was a delicate issue not least because the Federation's financial contribution to ORIT was crucial.[52] These differences over political and ideological allegiances reverberated throughout the network. Some important European affiliates to the ICFTU threatened to cease financial contributions because of what they considered to be the latter's ambivalence over such conservative tendencies, especially as they related to Central and South America.[53]

We have focused, once again, on the ICFTU – and in this case, its regional representative – because its experiences at this time reveal the nature of the discord and competing interests within the world of cross-border labour politics.[54] But it is important to also emphasize the fluid nature of these tensions during this period.[55] Indeed, throughout the 1980s ORIT was to some extent rehabilitated as it began to place greater emphasis on opposing human rights abuses and economic 'austerity' policies. This episode is important because we see here the effects of a great many contending interests, with questions of autonomy, political allegiances to state, and paternalism coming to the fore. The point to be stressed is that labour politics – and the interests and priorities upon which such politics was founded – was virtually inseparable from the politics of state.

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[50] ORIT's mute response to the 1973 overthrow of the social-democrat administration of Salvador Allende in Chile was a case in point. Some, unsubstantiated, accounts have it that ORIT distributed a press release congratulating the coup leader, General Pinochet. See Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 454-56.

[51] The most outspoken opponents of the American presence were the labour movements of Colombia, Argentina, Brazil's CNTI, and the Central Única de Trabajadores de Chile.

[52] By 1979, the ICFTU Executive Board had managed to re-assert itself within ORIT. The pressure placed on them by not only the region's affiliates, but also by important European members – the Swedish and Danish labour leaders played important roles in this campaign – resulted in the expulsion of puppet labour confederations installed by the dictatorships of El Salvador, Uruguay, and Guatemala. ORIT's constitution was re-drafted, and several pronouncements made with a view to curtailing the influence of the more conservative elements of the American labour movement. See Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 458-60.

[53] The Swedish trade union confederation, Landsorganisationen i Sverige (LO), took this stand in 1977-78. Ibid., pp. 458-59.

[54] To some extent, it is unavoidable that the research follows more closely the fate of the ICFTU. This is partly for the reasons mentioned above, but also because of the relative dearth of material available on the other peak confederations of the day.

[55] Like so many others, this survey has to some extent been guilty of relying too heavily on Cold War-caricature depictions of the peak confederations. This is not to say that the East-West dichotomy upon which such caricatures are premised are totally invalid. To in any way down-play the role of the Cold War would be unwise, for there is no doubt that anti-communism and anti-imperialism were powerful motivating forces in the respective camps. However, this preoccupation with the Cold War sometimes assumes the role of an "incantation", one that tends to conceal important commonalities, as well as fault lines, between the major transnational confederations, and their respective constituents. Allen, "New Internationalism...Or Old Rhetoric?", pp. 63-64.

In a sense, the above represents a 'bottom-up' survey of the pressures, interests and priorities that served to divide the constituent parts of the network. Broadly, these contending interests stemmed from tensions over economic integration, *détente*, colonialism, neo-imperialism, development, repression, and human rights violations usually within the context of civil strife. Across the European, African, Middle Eastern, Asian, and American settings these constraints served to keep national trade union actors orientated towards the state. Such turmoil placed immense obstacles in the way of the peak bodies, thwarting efforts to attain integration, even within their own confederacies. Reconciling these contending interests was an immense task. Establishing a presence in all regions was difficult in itself; maintaining and asserting that presence was harder still.

Yet in spite of these differences the peak confederations also shared many 'integrative' interests. Even though political sensitivities and alignments largely determined the tone of declarations on contentious issues[56] – declarations that cast the peak bodies as bitter rivals – there was also consensus on quite fundamental matters. There continued to be agreement on such matters as opposition to apartheid, the nuclear arms race, the abuse of power by multinational corporations, Third World debt, discrimination based on race and gender, the growing violence inflicted on trade unionists, as well as on support for the United Nations.

At a still more abstract level we can characterize the various confederations in ways that reveal even deeper ideological similarities. Ultimately, these similarities can be distilled to the point where a consensus emerges over one ideological tendency. The contention is that during this period virtually all peak and regional trade union bodies expressed a deep commitment to the ideological tendency that privileged development, modernization, and progress. What is more, this commitment – one that by no means excluded other ideological influences – orientated the network as a whole in a way that made a turning away from the state all but impossible throughout the period under review. What follows is an elaboration of this claim.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the ICFTU maintained its determined commitment to development, as well as to an equitable redistribution of wealth across nations. The ICFTU repeatedly stressed the importance of generating economic growth for the sake of such

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[56] While the ICFTU railed against 'dictatorships', it was mute in relation to the United State's sponsorship of such regimes. As well as the aforementioned example or ORIT's favourable response to the Pinochet *coup d'état*, we search in vain for ICFTU condemnation of American support for the brutal regimes in place in El Salvador and Guatemala throughout the 1980s. We also note the WFTU's refusal to offer even token support for the beleaguered Polish Solidarity movement throughout 1980-81. The WFTU's silence became deafening when the Jaruzelski regime imposed marshall law in December 1981 and moved to abolish Solidarity. An excellent analysis of this episode can be found in Alain Touraine et al., *Solidarity: The Analysis of a Social Movement, Poland 1980-1981* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982). Gary Busch's research is also very useful. See Gary K. Busch, *The Political Role of International Trade Unions* (London: The MacMillan, 1983), pp. 233-38.

development. Its commitment to economic growth and progress went hand-in-glove with support for free trade within a worldwide capitalist market. We can refer to any number of pronouncements, declarations, and resolutions over this twenty-year period that demonstrate the ICFTU's commitment to attaining development in this manner. The following are typical of the statements made to encourage development and economic growth under a more just global economic order.

> [the ICFTU] recognises the importance in the GATT negotiations of further liberalisation of all aspects of trade between the industrial countries in order to ward off the danger of the creation of rival and inward looking economic blocks.[57]

> The open world trading system is threatened...A programme for balanced development must include a strong international framework for the coordination of trade and adjustment policy. The forthcoming GATT Ministerial Council should build on the recent Tokyo round and counter protectionism...[58]

In sum, the ICFTU espoused the view that "only economic growth can provide the means for more jobs and incomes, whether in the North or South".[59] It was by virtue of its support for this economic model that the ICFTU became known – among its critics – as the standard-bearer for reformism and accommodation.

While the ICFTU's rival, the WFTU, proclaimed itself to be anti-capitalist, this did not preclude it from also committing to a modernizing and developmentalist mission. The importance of 'economic and social development' became a constant refrain in the published material of the WFTU throughout this period. The following statements are indicative:

> What is needed...is the mobilization of all the productive forces around specific and commonly agreed upon short and long-term plans for economic development.[60]

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[57] ICFTU, "Statements Made and Resolutions Adopted by the Tenth World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at The Tenth World Congress of the ICFTU, London, 1972), p. 9.

[58] ICFTU, "Programme for Balanced World Development: 1982 ICFTU World Economic Review", *Free Labour World* 379-380, February (1982), p. 15.

[59] ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #37) - Executive Board - North/South: A Programme for Survival", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980). For more on the ICFTU's view on development see ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #24) - Preparations of the UN's New International Development Strategy: Elements to Be Included", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980), ICFTU, *Towards a New Economic and Social Order: ICFTU Development Charter* (Brussels: ICFTU, 1978), ICFTU, "Unions' World Development Priorities: The New Delhi Declaration", *Free Labour World*, 369-370 (1981), ICFTU-Statement, "ICFTU Statement to UNCTAD IV" (paper presented at the UNCTAD IV, Nairobi, 5-29 May 1976).

[60] Ibrahim Zakaria, "The Unions Must Coordinate Their Efforts in the Search for a Solution to the Development Crisis (Extracts from the Introduction to the Discussion)", (paper presented at the 36th Session of the WFTU General Council, 1984), p. 4.

> There is no "development crisis" in the world as such but only in the capitalist world...The socialist countries have shown that through planning, with the participation of workers and trade unions, high rates of growth of the national economy, balanced industrialisation and social progress can be ensured.[61]

Like the ICFTU, the WFTU considered economic and technological advancement to be crucial for delivering to its constituents a form of emancipation from material want. And like the ICFTU, the WFTU – in contrast to the preceding 1945-72 period – also began to stress the need for free trade, albeit in somewhat cryptic terms. Calls were made for "an end to discrimination in trade and politically-orientated trade and economic boycotts organised by imperialism",[62] and "mutually advantageous commerce".[63]

One can also attribute a commitment to developmentalism and progress to trade union organizations in the post-colonial settings. Here, pride in recently won independence was very strong. Complementing this was a commitment – especially prevalent among the leadership class within labour organizations – to a form of nation building that was synonymous with technological, economic, and social development.[64] In this context, to enhance national independence was to embrace a modernizing project. Like their transnational counterparts – the ICFTU and the WFTU – these national organizations were enthusiastic advocates of development, while ostensibly remaining committed to a pursuit of global justice and equity.[65]

To claim that throughout the 1970s and 1980s organized labour – across the spectrum – was committed to the development imperative is not in itself so significant. What makes this claim relevant to this study is that in each of the contexts mentioned above development was dependent upon the smooth functioning and integrity of the state and, more specifically, upon the cooperation of governments. The authority of the state was integral to achieving the desired levels of

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[61] WFTU-Editorial, "Solidarity for Development", *World Trade Union Movement*, March (1980), p. 32.
[62] WFTU, "Trade Unions and the Challenges of the 1980s: 10th World Trade Union Congress" (paper presented at the 10th World Trade Union Congress, Havana, Cuba, 10-15 February 1982), p. 20.
[63] Ilie Frunza, "We Must Struggle for a Mutually Advantageous Commerce", *World Trade Union Movement*, 8 (1981).
[64] This touches on discussion to follow that looks at the relationship between organized labour and the state. It is suggestive of the ways in which the labour 'elite' were incorporated within the apparatus of state, and the ways in which these labour leaders imbibed the values of incumbent governments. Petras and Engbarth refer to this process when they claim that "The ubiquitous state institutions...penetrate and control trade unions at the apex – the leaders of federations and confederations frequently appear to be functionaries of government labour ministries". It is at this level of labour representation where the commitment to developmentalism is most evident. Petras and Engbarth, "Third World Industrialization and Trade Union Struggles", p. 103.
[65] I would like to stress here that support for developmentalism, and opposition to the practices of predatory capital, were by no means mutually exclusive. Clearly, it would be an injustice to depict Third World unionism (itself an all-but-meaningless category) as universally compliant and subservient to the will of state or capital. It is only to suggest here that the imperative of nation building through development was very strong, especially among those representatives of labour within national trade union confederations.

advancement. This applied equally to trade union cultures of the West, the East, or the developing world.

If we were to distil the above we would conclude that while the peak confederations had distinct political and philosophical dispositions, they also shared quite fundamental aims. The most important of these was the commitment to development. Their shared commitment to these ideals – however understood – implied an investment in the authority of government, an investment that continued to mitigate processes that would figure in a deeper form of globalization for labour.

1972-89. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

This is an appropriate point at which to review all the foregoing discussion of the internal dimension of change within the network of transnational labour organizations. We commenced by noting that the network's organizational configuration had long-ago assumed global proportions, but that this was not necessarily indicative of an integrated, outward-looking, or globalized political community. In the survey of the prevailing forms of integration within the network we first highlighted the roles of the various media through which relationships were constituted. Here, conclusions were somewhat tentative. The increase in face-to-face interactions – seen here mainly in the form of the conference – was interpreted more as a symptom of internal discord than of the emergence of an integrated and globalized network. In relation to print and electronic media, the conclusions were also very speculative. The proposition was put that the apparent decline in the importance of in-house publications indicated an ever-widening gap between the peak confederations and their audience of national labour affiliates. And while it was evident that various electronic forms of communication had been in use for some decades, such media were not altering relationships in any profound way, at least not in the period under review.

The role played by interests and ideologies concluded the review of the internal-integrative dimension of change. Interests were identified as being either divisive or unifying, and the commitment to developmentalism was seen to be the most important commonly held aspiration throughout the network of transnational confederations. There were no grounds to believe that any of these interests provided the basis for a turning away from the authority of the state. Even the commitment to the universalistic notion developmentalism in no way put organized labour at odds with the state. On the contrary, the developmentalist imperative increased trade unions' dependence on the state, and mitigated any profound form of movement globalization.

PART THREE

CHAPTER SIX

EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1972-89

1972-89. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

During the 1972-89 period there emerged trends suggesting a weakening of the labour-state nexus. To explore in greater detail the nature of this possible disengagement with the state we turn to the external-political dimension of change. This will involve, firstly, an analysis of the relationships between organized labour and the state on a national plane; and then between labour and the collectivity of states on a global plane. It follows that the former will concentrate mainly on national trade union organizations – and even individual trade unions – that are necessarily preoccupied with specific national settings. As we turn to the global realm, the peak transnational confederations resume their place at center-stage.

1972-89. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE NATIONAL

Throughout this period developments in this external dimension of change hinted at a disengagement between organized labour and the state. The significance of these developments is difficult to assess, though I am inclined to the view that in spite of a loosening of the ties connecting organized labour and the state – a change that may indeed have enhanced labour's globalization – it would be unwise to view this as a network-wide trend. At best, these changes represented portents of more fundamental changes to come. To elaborate on these claims we first look at the fate of the corporatist, and then the functional, relationships between organized labour and the state in the 1972-89 period.

These were the relationships that had, for decades, kept trade unions within the orbit of the state. In the earlier survey of organized labour's engagement with this external dimension (1945-72) it was asserted that the national-political was by far the most important realm of interaction. This

predictable finding emerged after a review of corporatist regimes – in both voluntaristic and statist forms – and also of the various ways in which trade union organizations committed themselves to defending the interests of the state. Implicit throughout this was the assumption that the labour actors at furthest remove from the national-political realm – i.e., the peak transnational confederations – acted as disengaged agents, rather than pivotal actors within the transnational network. In other words, the fixation on the national ensured that this transnational confederacy remained very weak indeed, in spite of its ever-increasing global reach.

What changed in the two decades following 1972? Some of the most important changes related to the voluntarist and statist corporatist arrangements outlined earlier. The nature of these changes is explored in what follows. In the early 1970s national trade union organizations outside the communist countries were preoccupied with insinuating themselves into states' decision-making processes. Being party to institutionalized, voluntarist, corporatist relationships increased trade unions' influence at this national level throughout the 1970s and early 1980s. Organized labour moved closer to the political arena as it became more intimately involved with state institutions engaged in managing and reforming economies. This was evident in changes to industrial relations systems across continents.[1] According to Regini, the increased level of incorporation from the early 1970s involved a number of important elements: two of these are of particular interest. The first involved respective actors – businesses, governments, and trade unions – "exchanging legitimacy" within highly politicized forms of negotiation.[2] The second element in this heightened level of incorporation typically involved very centralized regimes of collective bargaining that placed little emphasis on enterprise level negotiations.

The profound changes already noted in the structures of production and organization were to trigger significant changes to these regimes. The recession of 1973-75 was followed by down-turns in 1981-83 and in 1987. The subsequent upsurge in neoliberal and conservative ideologies combined to sweep aside many social-democratic governments. In many contexts we saw the decline of such phenomena as the Keynesian welfare state, Fordist production methods, and of social-democratic parties in general. In the workplace, systems of production were – by the mid-1980s – characterized as being 'flexible' and 'post-Fordist'.[3]

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[1] While the 'voluntarist-statist' distinction is adequate for our purposes, it should be noted that much has been written about the variations that exist within these categories. A useful elaboration of these sub-types can be found in the writing of Gerhard Lehmbruch. He posits a *cumulative scale of corporatism*. He situates different countries within the following categories of relationship scenarios: pluralism, weak corporatism, medium corporatism, strong corporatism, and 'concertation' without labour. See Gerhard Lehmbruch, "Concertation and the Structure of Corporatist Networks", in *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, ed. John H. Goldthorpe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 66.
[2] Marino Regini, ed., *The Future of Labour Movements* (London: Sage, 1992), p. 6.
[3] Moody captures this moment in a very evocative introduction to a chapter entitled *Corporatism, Neoliberalism, Free Trade, and the State*. Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997), pp. 117-26.

Beyond the workplace these changes manifested themselves in the dismantling of many centralized bargaining systems, reduced state intervention, a greater emphasis on adversarial dispute resolution. and the shifting of power from unions to employers.[4] In these turbulent conditions, according to Regini, trade unions were considered by elites to be a

> constraint on the choice among different policy options facing employers and governments as they responded to the double challenge of rising inflation coupled with growing recession...[These] actors came to regard the participation of trade unions in the management of economic policies as a second-best solution.[5]

The following examples reveal how this trend impacted on the nexus between national trade union organizations and governments in various countries. We will see that in some cases the labour-government nexus – as it was sustained by voluntarist corporatist relationships – had weakened considerably by the late-1980s. While important actors within the transnational network of labour organizations continued to work closely with governments, others drifted – or were pushed – away from the centers of political authority.

Such disengagements between organized labour and governments were apparent in the Latin American setting throughout the late-1970s and 1980s. Two examples of this trend are used here to illustrate the nature of the disengagement. We earlier touched on the Mexican setting, suggesting that trade unions in that country had for many decades been enlisted to serve as stabilizing influences by ruling parties. When the incumbent labour-inclined party – Partido Revolucionario Institucional – embraced neoliberal ideology in the early 1980s it set about reversing traditional policies of state expansion, protectionism, and rigid labour markets. The subsequent increase in trade liberalization and privatization led to high levels of urban unemployment and instability.[6]

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[4] See Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury, "An Introduction to International and Comparative Employment Relations", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998).

[5] Regini, "The Past and Future of Social Studies of Labour Movements".

[6] Space does not permit a respectful explanation of the economic, political and social forces at play in the Mexican setting during this period. Aside from the aforementioned generalized conditions associated with the rise of neoliberalism, we must also consider specific problems such as national indebtedness. For a more complete analysis of this period see the following article by Steve Niblo. Stephen Niblo, R., "The World Economy and an Economically Active State: From Economic Radicalism to Neoliberalism in Mexico", in *The State in Transition Reimagining Political Space*, eds. Joseph A. Camilleri, Anthony P. Jarvis, and Albert J. Paolini (London: Lynne Reinner, 1995).. For a good labour orientated account of this period see M. Victoria Murillo, "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America", *World Politics*, 52 (2000), M Victoria Murillo, *Labor Unions, Partisan Coalitions, and Market Reform in Latin America* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

Embracing what some have labelled 'savage flexibility',[7] the Partido put in place an industrial relations regime that had a dramatic impact on the once symbiotic relationship between trade unions and government. One aspect of this new regime was the undermining of the status of trade unions. This happened when reforms were made to the traditional system of highly inclusive collective contracts that had hitherto offered protection to workers across industries. These contracts were reconstituted in a way that accommodated the needs of predatory capital, and that ensured that trade unions were marginalized. In many cases the existing trade unions were replaced by sham 'business unions'.[8] The greatest impact was felt among the trade unions representing employees of the privatized state utilities, and those in the burgeoning system of *maquiladora* assembly-line plants within free-trade zones in the country's northern regions.[9]

Of particular relevance here was the effect this change had on Mexico's principal trade union confederation at the time, the Confederación de Trabajordores de México. In order to retain relevance as a corporatist partner the Confederación eased its opposition to privatization, wage-restraint, and other reforms aimed at increasing flexibility.[10] This restraint on the part of the Confederación only served to diminish its importance to government, and severely undermined its own legitimacy in the eyes of its affiliates. Thus, by the end of the 1980s the once strong corporatist relationship between the Confederación and the ruling Partido Revolucionario Institucional had weakened significantly.

At the same time, a divergence of a similar sort was occurring in Venezuela. The protagonists here were the strong social-democrat party, Acción Democrática, and its trade union partner, the Confederación de Trabajordores de Venezuela. A symbiosis had existed between the two since the 1960s. The Acción Democrática provided the trade unions with social and political benefits, and labour leaders with political influence; while the trade union organization provided the party with logistical and administrative assistance during elections, support for reform programs, and a union leadership eager to be integrated into mainstream party life.[11]

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[7] Enrique de la Garza, Javier Melgoza, and Marcia Campillo, "Unions, Corporatism and the Industrial Relations System in Mexico", in *The State and Globalization: Comparative Studies of Labour and Capital in National Economies*, ed. Martin Upchurch (London: Mansell Publishing, 1999), p. 251.

[8] These are unions that are totally dependent upon the employer, not affiliated to the principal national confederation, and who endorse subcontracting, temporary hiring, and are committed to achieving employer production plans. See Ibid., p. 254.

[9] Changes to the collective contract system affected the society and economy in various ways. A more thorough account would consider how such change affected relations across different industries, and public service sectors. It would also consider the way such changes facilitated the emergence of the sham, or 'yellow', company-unions mentioned above. For more see Ibid., pp. 252-56.

[10] Coker's analysis of the Venezuelan setting also includes some interesting insights into the Mexican experience. See Coker, "Globalization and Corporatism: The Growth and Decay of Organized Labor in Venezuela, 1900-1998", pp. 194-95.

[11] Murillo, "From Populism to Neoliberalism: Labor Unions and Market Reforms in Latin America", p. 140.

In common with the Mexican experience were the extremely high levels of national indebtedness and the consequent pressure to adopt neoliberal economic reforms. In the case of Venezuela, the implementation of these reforms was delayed somewhat because the nation's oil revenue provided a significant buffer. When this declined, and the level of debt reached crisis proportions, the Acción Democrática embraced policies that were to threaten the long-standing corporatist relationship with the Confederación de Trabajordores de Venezuela. These policies included the removal of subsidies on important staple food items, and the enforcement of a series of wage freezes. Under these circumstances, according to Coker, "pact-making deteriorated, and labor increasingly acted outside of its corporatist constraints".[12] As in the Mexican example, this also served to deny the trade union organization the influence it once enjoyed, resulting in the "deterioration of corporatist bonds in Venezuela...[and the Confederación's] steady loss of legitimacy among workers".[13]

In Europe the voluntarist corporatist [illegible] nts between governments and trade union organizations were also subject to great stress during this period. The British experience is illustrative. Here, the Trades Union Congress was connected to government through its association with the Labour Party, and through a long-established and elaborate network of tripartite relationships with the civil service.[14] This hitherto uncodified relationship was formalized in a 1974 agreement dubbed the 'Social Contract'. For the remainder of the 1970s this agreement delivered to the union movement increases in pensions, food subsidies, a rent freeze, price controls, and a strengthening of union rights. It also delivered to the Trades Union Congress unprecedented levels of political influence. Ultimately, the deteriorating economic conditions, and consequent wage-restraint obligations embodied within the Social Contract, undermined domestic trade union support for the Congress. This, in turn, led to the abandonment of the agreement in 1979.[15] Subsequently, the incoming Conservative government set about dismantling any residual ties between organized labour and government, marking the end of a period in which trade unions had invested heavily in this version of "state fixation".[16]

In Italy a similar pact – the *solidarietà nazionale* – also failed to withstand the pressures associated with the wider structural changes to production and organization. The largest national trade union organization, the Confederazione Generale Italiana del Lavoro, entered into this agreement in 1977. Through the agency of this contract the Confederazione gained unprecedented influence over

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[12] Coker, "Globalization and Corporatism: The Growth and Decay of Organized Labor in Venezuela, 1900-1998", p. 190.
[13] Ibid., p. 193.
[14] Andrew J. Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics* (London: MacMillan, 1989), p. 111.
[15] Marino Regini, "The Conditions for Political Exchange: How Concertation Emerged and Collapsed in Italy and Great Britain", in *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism*, ed. John H. Goldthorpe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 136-38.
[16] Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics*, p. 101.

industrial and labour market policies. In return, it committed itself to wage restraint.[17] However, the *solidarietà nazionale* pact also failed to survive into the 1980s. Like its British equivalent, this pact was abandoned by the national trade union body because of a reluctance on the part of affiliated trade unions to endorse the compromises inherent. There followed a period of reform entailing more decentralized collective bargaining throughout Italy, and the marginalization of major trade union organizations.[18] There also followed years of industrial unrest as all parties attempted to withstand the effects of greater neoliberal reform.[19]

In Sweden – the quintessential corporatist state – strains were also evident in relations between government and the country's major trade union organization. The much-vaunted Swedish model suffered a serious blow in 1976. In that year Sweden's social-democrat party, Svenska Arbeter Partei, lost power after forty-four years in office. The country's main trade union organization, the blue-collar Landsorganisationen i Sverige, had to that point been party to a strong corporatist relationship based on the 1938 'Basic Agreement'. Pivotal to this agreement was a commitment to a system of centralized collective bargaining. The gradual breakdown of this system and its replacement with local bargaining followed in the wake of Svenska Arbeter Partei's loss of power. This breakdown was the result not only of this party's demise, but also of the clamouring on the part of business for greater flexibility in the labour market and in wage determination across all sectors.[20] Further weakening this voluntarist corporatist arrangement was the Landsorganisationen's waning influence relative to the emerging white-collar trade union organizations.[21] The latter's rise to prominence was itself a symptom of important change in the structure of production; change marked by the reduction in the numbers of manufacturing jobs in Sweden at the time.

Voluntarist corporatist relations in the then German Federal Republic had also been characterized by relatively durable, long-standing ties between government and organized labour. While the peak national body, the German Federation of Trade Unions,[22] was tied symbiotically to the German Social Democratic Party, it had managed to remain relatively neutral in relation to other political

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[17] Regini, "The Conditions for Political Exchange: How Concertation Emerged and Collapsed in Italy and Great Britain", pp. 139-42.

[18] For an interesting analysis of transformation in the Italian industrial relations system see Harry Katz and Owen Darbishire, *Converging Divergences: Worldwide Changes in Employment Systems* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 247-59.

[19] Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), pp. 167-68.

[20] Mike Marshall, "The Changing Face of Swedish Corporatism: The Disintegration of Consensus", *Journal of Economic Issues*, September (1996). For more on the campaign by employers for greater flexibility see Katz and Darbishire, *Converging Divergences: Worldwide Changes in Employment Systems*, pp. 242-43.

[21] The first of these – Tjänstemännens Centralorganisation (TCO) – covered salaried workers; and the other – Sveriges Akademikers Centralorganisation (SACO) – covered professional workers, most of whom held university degrees. See Olle Hammarström and Tommy Nilsson, "Employment Relations in Sweden", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 229-30.

[22] Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund.

parties.[23] It was to a great extent connected to government through formalized representation in all major ministries. Its influence was most evident during the formative stages of the drafting of legislation, where its views were channelled through the Ministry of Labour. Notwithstanding the hostile economic environment of the 1980s, corporatism in the Republic continued to endure in ways unlike the previous examples.[24] Yet the 1980s also saw cracks appearing in this regime. In a climate of rising political conservatism the Social Democratic Party lost office in 1982. This ushered into power those less sanguine about trade union participation in policy-making processes or about Keynesianism in general. The mid-1980s saw high levels of industrial conflict. In an attempt to repackage itself the German Social Democratic Party distanced itself from the country's principal trade union organization.[25]

The same trend towards disengagement and decentralization occurred in other Western countries. The early 1980s saw the United States' highly flexible regime of collective bargaining loosened even further.[26] In the absence of formal links to government, the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations had for many years relied upon the same lobbying methods used by all interest groups. This meant employing professional lobbyists who would seek to influence legislators and those administering the complex Senate and House committee system.[27] To this extent organized labour was generally considered a legitimate player – albeit one of countless others – that could petition government in this way. But the Reagan-era policies "led to a reaction against [labour's] status in a way that would have been [previously] unthinkable",[28] and in a way that curtailed its access to the corridors of the bureaucracy. As well as rejecting the requests of labour's lobbyists, the Republicans excluded organized labour by deregulating key industries, and by decentralizing bargaining processes.[29] Though some might argue that this shift pre-dated Reagan by a number of years, the most crucial changes occurred in 1982 and 1986 – especially in the auto industry – and signalled a sea-change in this area of industrial relations.[30] As in the case of its European counterparts, all this marginalized the Federation from the state's decision-making processes.

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[23] Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics*, pp. 107- 09.
[24] For a more comprehensive study of the German trade union reaction to the economic and political changes of the time, see Peter Gourevitch et al., *Unions and Economic Crisis: Britain, West Germany and Sweden* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1984).
[25] Taylor, *Trade Unions and Politics*, pp. 159-61.
[26] Here, decentralization had always been the defining characteristic of industrial relations. However, corporatism in the European sense had not taken root for a number of reasons. Historically, there had never been an intimate – let alone symbiotic – relationship between the major trade union confederation and any single political party. Moreover, the centralized decision-making processes upon which corporatism relies were not suited to the fundamentally federalist system of multi-layered governance. Ibid., p. 102-03.
[27] Ibid., pp. 116-17.
[28] Ibid., p. 120.
[29] Wheeler argues that the deregulation of the transport industry was a key event in this process. Hoyt N. Wheeler and John A. McClendon, "Employment Relations in the United States", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 70-71.

In Canada and Australia the process of decentralization was also under way. Privatization of the transport and communications utilities in Canada in the 1980s weakened both the main trade union organizations.[31] Their decline continued as various provincial governments embraced industrial relations systems in which bargaining was usually conducted on a single enterprise basis.[32] In Australia the 1988 incarnation of the tripartite 'Prices and Incomes Accord' introduced a two-tiered bargaining mechanism that opened the way for even greater decentralization in the coming years.[33]

What these various examples shared in common were conditions in which incumbent social-democrat parties had either lost power, or were in such a state of retreat that concessions to organized labour were difficult to honour.[34] In addition, we saw during this period the rise of non-labour parties that shared a zealous commitment to neoliberal ideology. Finally, common to all settings was what Western refers to as the gradual "decentralization" of "nationally anchored institutions"[35] that had hitherto facilitated trade unions' involvement in matters of policy formation and governance in general.[36] All this points to a separation between the state and organized labour across many national settings. It shows that the state's participation in voluntarist corporatist arrangements had, by the late-1980s, all but disappeared at the national level.[37]

This trend suggests a profound shift: of a transformation wherein important elements within the transnational network of labour organizations were compelled to adopt a more autonomous orientation. However, it is important to emphasize that this trend that by no means universal. Lange highlights this point in his study of corporatism among Nordic countries.[38] He finds that – at least in terms of wage fixation – corporatist institutions in some Nordic states proved to be far more

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[30] The erosion of the Basic Steel Agreement, concession bargaining in the auto industry, and reduction of pattern bargaining across industry were significant events in 1982. See Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies*, pp. 173-74.

[31] There were two national trade union confederations: the Canadian Labour Congress was the largest, but also the weakest; and the Quebec-based, left-leaning, Confederation of National Trade Unions.

[32] Mark Thompson, "Employment Relations in Canada", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998).

[33] This was formed in 1983 by business groups, the ruling Australian Labor Party, and the Australian Council of Trade Unions.

[34] Moody notes that "In the late 1970s, twelve of Western Europe's eighteen governments were held by social-democratic or labor-based parties. In the US, the Democrats dominated Washington; in Canada, the Liberals sat in Ottawa...A decade later, the majority of Western governments were conservative". Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, p. 117.

[35] Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies*, p. 176.

[36] This was a pattern evident in numerous other settings. Western provides a table of *Bargaining Decentralization Trends in the 1980s*. The following excerpts emphasize how widespread this trend was. Belgium: Suspension of national bargaining from 1975 to 1986, with rapid growth in local bargaining through the late 1970s and 1980s. Denmark: Industry bargaining from 1981, following breakdown of central negotiations in 1975, 1977, and 1979. Finland: Failed attempts at central bargains common through the 1970s and 1980s. France: Aroux legislation establishes compulsory local negotiations in 1982. Ireland: Breakdown of centralized bargaining experiments in 1981, following locally organized strike activity. Ibid., p. 161.

[37] Wolfgang Streeck, ed., *Social Institutions and Economic Performance: Studies of Industrial Relations in Advanced Capitalist Economies* (London: Sage, 1992).

[38] Peter Lange, Michael Wallerstein, and Miriam Golden, "The End of Corporatism? Wage Setting in the Nordic and Germanic Countries", in *The Workers of Nations: Industrial Relations in a Global Economy*, ed. Sanford M. Jacoby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

resilient than one would expect. Developments in the Japanese setting defied all the trends noted above. Here, we saw organized labour on a trajectory that led to even greater incorporation.[39] What such accounts make clear is that one must be aware of the counter-examples that preclude universal claims.[40] Overall, however, this review of voluntarist corporatism in the period leading up to 1989 has shown that many nationally anchored trade union organizations experienced a disengagement *of sorts* from the processes and actors linking them to governments.

A more complete examination of labour's relationship within the national-political sphere requires a look at trade unions engaged in statist corporatist regimes. In the earlier review of this form of corporatism – with the focus mainly on Eastern bloc countries – it was established that up to the early 1970s trade unions served an important functional role on behalf of the party/state. Notwithstanding the cultural and political variations across states this usually entailed a commitment to achieving production goals, and to serving as intermediaries in relation to enterprise-level management. More broadly, this occurred within systems characterized by central planning, party political control, and state ownership – here, "trade unions [were] orientated towards the state as the agent of reform".[41]

This was to change throughout the 1970s and 1980s. Gradually, this entanglement with state controlled systems of management began to loosen. These transformations were closely linked to the changes in structural imperatives mentioned earlier. The deteriorating worldwide economic climate and rapid technological change were very important factors.[42] Developments that were quite unique to communist countries were also significant in triggering a shift away from the traditional dualist model of trade union representation. Though referring here to the Polish context, Kulpinska identifies factors that were evident across many settings at the time. Her list includes

> decentralization, autonomy from the central organs, and administrative management obtained by enterprises, the introduction of market mechanisms, the depoliticization of management, changes in the structure of ownership and in that of economic entities.[43]

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[39] Lonny E. Carlile, "Party Politics and the Japanese Labor Movement: Rengo's "New Political Force", *Asian Survey*, 34, 7 (1994), p. 606. For more on this phenomenon see Peter Wad, "The Japanization of the Malaysian Trade Union Movement", in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World*, ed. Roger Southall (London: Zed, 1988), Hugh Williamson, "Japanese Enterprise Unions in Transnational Companies: Prospects for International Co-Operation", *Capital and Class*, 45 (1991).

[40] This warning is echoed by Sanford M. Jacoby, "Social Dimensions of Global Economic Integration", in *The Workers of Nations: Industrial Relations in a Global Economy*, ed. Sanford M. Jacoby (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995).

[41] John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff, "Changing Models of Labour Relations in Eastern Europe and Russia", in *Labour Relations and Political Change in Eastern Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff (London: UCL Press, 1995), p. 25.

[42] The difficulty in reconciling technological innovation and central planning is an issue raised in Anatol Peretiatkowicz, "Technical Progress and Decentralization of Socialist Economies", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), pp. 111-13.

[43] Jolanta Kulpinska, "Introrganizational Determinants of Workers' Self-Management Activity", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), p. 201.

Changes also occurred in the composition of the workforce. This entailed the emergence of a more educated and technically proficient strata of workers who increasingly voiced their disenchantment with the existing form of labour representation. More significant still was the gradual relaxation of systems of command management. In their account at the time, Pravda and Ruble observed the following:

> Party and state pronouncements now urge managers to be efficiency-conscious, to extract more and higher-quality production from dwindling resources...Such demands distinguish more sharply between management and labor interests and increase the likelihood of friction between them.[44]

The corollary of this was that trade unions were forced to assume the unfamiliar role of semi-autonomous bargaining and negotiating agents. As economic growth declined further, and governments anxiously implemented reforms, trade unions assumed even greater importance as intermediaries between the state, the party, management, and workers.

Though the nature of change in labour relations varied across countries, each witnessed the same tendency towards decentralization, flexibility, and greater labour autonomy. In Bulgaria and Poland, for example, the 1980s saw attempts to introduce the *self-management* model of labour relations. Such reforms in Poland were entwined with the changes forced on the government by the Solidarność movement. The latter's demands were expressed through its *Three S* program, representing the call for greater self-management, self-finance, and self-rule.[45]

The Czechoslovak government sought greater trade union autonomy by implementing what it referred to as the *brigade form* of labour relations.[46] In the Soviet Union this process of distancing trade unions from state managed enterprises was manifest in such concepts as *business democracy*, *workers' brigades*, *work collective councils*, *teams*, and *cost-benefit incentive* schemes.[47] In the

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[44] Alex Pravda and Blair A. Ruble, "Communist Trade Unions: Varieties of Dualism", in *Trade Unions in Communist States*, eds. Alex Pravda and Blair A. Ruble (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), p. 16.

[45] Severyn Bruyn, "Toward a Social Market in Communist Nations", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), p. 275. For more detail about the liberalization of the Polish labour market see Maria Jarosz and Marek Kozak, "The Role of Self-Management in Polish Enterprises", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), Witold Morawski, "Industrial Democracy and Power Structuration in the Polish Economy", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992). For a vigorous critique of self-management in Bulgaria see Chavdar Kiuranov, "Incompatible: Bulgaria - from Managed Self-Management to Managerial Management", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).

[46] Ludovit Cziria, "Collective Forms of Work Organization in Czechoslovak Economic Practice", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).

[47] Natalia Chernina, "Perspectives of Self-Government and De-Alienation in Business in the USSR", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), Vladimir Gershikov, "Business Democracy: Work Collective Councils and Trade Unions", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).

German Democratic Republic, the transformation from transmission-belt unionism to limited autonomy was facilitated by such initiatives as the *comanagement* model of labour relations.[48] And finally, the Hungarian experience saw the introduction of *enterprise councils.* Here, as elsewhere, trade unions were forced to adapt by getting "rid of functions alien to their nature".[49] In broad terms, the liberalization of Stalinist models of labour relations demanded trade unions reorientate themselves for the sake of the state's pursuit of greater productivity and flexibility.

All this represented a form of gradual, incremental, separation from state control that was not dissimilar to that experienced by trade unions engaged in voluntarist corporatist relationships in the West. Of course, in the case of the communist countries the degree of autonomy from the state was still negligible in the period up to 1989. Clearly, it would be wrong to claim that there was a schism between organized labour and the state. However, there was an apparent trend towards a loosening of the formal linkages with government. When considered alongside changes to voluntarist corporatist relationships there emerges what seems like a more widespread re-orientation. Indeed, we can venture to say that labour relations with governments in many contexts during this period were characterized by a certain degree of disengagement – a process that might, in turn, be a precursor to a more autonomous and, hence, more globalized disposition.

Our examination of such change in the national-political dimension remains incomplete. The above accounts of both voluntarist and statist corporatist relationships are set within the comparatively genteel political environments of the industrialized world. But the world of trade union politics also consisted of engagement premised upon fear, violence, intimidation, and compulsion in many developing and Third World states. While a complete survey of this form of repression is clearly beyond the scope of this thesis, it is necessary to acquaint ourselves with relationships that did not fit easily into the categories used so far. This is important because so many of the relationships that came to be premised upon coercion involved government and labour actors that had earlier worked cooperatively during struggles for national self-determination.

Reference was earlier made to such labour-state relationships when the focus was on the role played by trade unions – and their leadership in particular – in achieving independence in many Third World countries. In that earlier discussion it became apparent that trade union leaders often made the transition into the ranks of government or the civil service once independence struggles had concluded. In subsequent decades – leading up to 1989 – many governments in developing

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[48] Volkmar Kreißig and Erhard Schreiber, "Participation and Technological Alternatives in the German Democratic Republic: The Dilemma of Scientific Prediction and Co-Management by Trade Unions in the Past and Present", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992).
[49] Lajos Héthy, "Hungary's Changing Labour Relations System", in *Labour Relations in Transition in Eastern Europe*, ed. György Széll (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1992), p. 178.

countries adopted strategies aimed at emasculating trade unions. Harris captures well the bleakness of the 1980s for trade unions in these regions:

> Everywhere in the newly industrializing countries they [trade unions] are banned or neutralized, from the tame CGT of Mexico and the yellow unions of Brazil...to the government-controlled NTUC in Singapore and the explicit legal prohibition on the intervention of 'third parties' (that is, national trade unions) in South Korean industrial disputes.[50]

Governments looking to hasten development sought to render trade unions impotent by using a range of "systems of labour control".[51] Deyo argues that the immediate post-independence phase had been one in which governments generally adopted policies of "populist inclusion" in relation to organized labour. This was to change with the onset of industrialization in the 1970s. At that point many regimes across Asia and Latin America adopted "politically exclusionary" approaches premised on violence and repression. Alternatively, many regimes chose to emasculate labour organizations through the use of "authoritarian corporatist framework[s]".[52] Under these conditions, according to Petras, the

> ubiquitous state institutions and their highly centralized structures penetrate and control trade unions at the apex – the leaders of federations and confederations frequently appear to be functionaries of government labour ministries.[53]

This swing towards repressive and coercive corporatist arrangements reflected the determination of many single-party states to maintain control, and to provide stable economic environments for foreign investment.[54] It also demonstrated these states' deep commitment to developmentalism.

In all of these relationships the state loomed large. This was so regardless of whether national relationships were characterized by exclusion or by coercive corporatist frameworks. In the case of the excluded trade union organizations the state ensured separation through intimidation. In those characterized by coercive corporatism, organized labour's incorporation was imposed. The existence of these types of relationships merely underscores the fact that there was no universal

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[50] Harris, *The End of the Third World: New Industrializing Countries and the Decline of an Ideology*, p. 196.
[51] Ronnie Munck, *The New International Labour Studies* (London: Zed Books, 1988), pp. 125-26.
[52] Frederic C. Deyo, *Beneath the Miracle: Labor Subordination in the New Asian Industrialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), p. 110. This is a somewhat crude summation of Deyo's research. Using case studies set in Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore, Deyo concludes that government policies in relation to labour changed according to the degree of militancy they confronted. Where the trade unions were weak (Hong Kong and Taiwan) governments would incorporate or exclude altogether the organizations representing labour. Where trade unions were militant (South Korea and Singapore) more coercive and repressive measures were employed. In each scenario, labour was estranged from the center of power.
[53] Petras and Engbarth, "Third World Industrialization and Trade Union Struggles", p. 103.
[54] Deyo, *Beneath the Miracle: Labor Subordination in the New Asian Industrialism*, pp. 144-47.

model in this period. There were, in fact, clearly discernible trends towards exclusion from decision-making processes, as well as incorporation, albeit through a high degree of compulsion.[55]

All this has provided us with a view from the perspective of the transnational labour network's base constituency; that is, the national organizations and their affiliates within specific national contexts. This view of organized labour's relationships with the national-political realm also focused mainly on changes to industrial relations. But as was apparent in the preceding section – concerned with the 1945-72 period – relationships were also marked by a strategic, or foreign-policy, dimension. The focus was on the extent to which parochialism and functionalism determined the disposition of influential trade union organizations, and the extent to which these labour actors were committed to the defence of the state's strategic interests. We re-connect with this aspect of the labour-state nexus with an examination of trade union bodies active in cross-border politics between 1972 and 1989.

The earlier review of strategic and functional relationships in the 1945-72 period found that the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations and the British Trades Union Congress had played important roles in the service of their respective state's foreign affairs establishments. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s the Trades Union Congress changed its orientation in this respect. Even though the Congress continued to accept direct financial assistance from the incumbent labour government – for various projects in the Third World – it exhibited, according to Press, "the more moderate aspect of the state/union foreign policy convergence".[56]

To an extent, this withdrawal on the part of British labour was an outcome of tensions in national industrial relations that increasingly saw it excluded from the corridors of power. It was also due to the fact that the Trades Union Congress' traditional commitment to the state was premised more on the need to help maintain Britain's colonial empire than it was, say, on a hostility to the spread of communism.[57] As the British empire receded, so did the Trades Union Congress' enthusiasm for

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[55] It is important to note at this point the relevance of agency. One might get the impression from the above – with the constant references to different forms of incorporation – that trade unions' disposition can be understood solely through the formal and semi-formal regimes imposed upon them and that linked them to the state. But trade unions and their confederations were not passive actors, in spite of the structural forces bearing down on them. Indeed, the period under review witnessed significant increases in militancy and organized resistance in virtually all national settings and sectors. Such resistance was largely symptomatic of the changes in structures of production, communication, organization and ideas. What needs to be emphasized, however, is that change involved a complex dynamic that cannot be reduced to structural changes alone.

[56] Here, Mike Press cites the work of a colleague – Don Thomson – pointing out that from 1977 the TUC was payed £75,000 annually by the government for its Third World programs. Press also points out that staff at the TUC's International Department had been seconded to the Foreign Office. It should be noted, as Press does, that these claims, and the inferences that flow, have been strenuously denied by the leadership of the TUC. Mike Press, "The People's Movement", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989), p. 34.

[57] For more on the ways in which the British and American labour movements differed in their orientation to important *isms* of the day – in this instance, colonialism and communism – see Anthony Carew, "Conflict within the ICFTU: Anti-Communism and Anti-Colonialism in the 1950s", *International Review of Social History*, 41 (1996).

the type of covert operations it had engaged in throughout the 1950s and 1960s. To this extent the Trades Union Congress began to gravitate away from those concerned with protecting the state's strategic interests, and instead placed greater emphasis on bilateral, solidaristic, cross-border activity.

In contrast, the functional relationship between organized labour and government in the American context seemed to follow the same pre-1972 trajectory. The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations continued to make available its various offshoot organizations for use as tools of foreign policy and for dubious cross-border activities in general.[58] The nature of these activities varied. Beth Sims differentiates between activities involving the education of 'free' trade unions, development of agrarian unionism, funding of social projects, information dissemination and visitor exchanges, political actions, and institution-building. These activities appear to be relatively benign, but when considered within the context of the "Reagan-Bush 'Democracy Offensive'" they represented valuable tools for those seeking to undermine Left-nationalist or social-democrat labour movements across many developing and Third World settings.[59] Much has been written about this chapter in the Federation's history and we need not engage it in great detail here.[60] Sims' reflections from that period suffice:

> U.S.-funded labor projects create patronage networks which enhance the appeal of allied unions and school up-and-coming union leaders in the principles and tactics of "business" and [American-style] "bread-and-butter" unionism. In addition...emphasis on directly political activities...has magnified the political impact of the institutes, as they directly fund and guide programs aimed at selecting political leaders overseas.[61]

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[58] The most important of these offshoots was the American Institute for Free Labor Development. Others included the African-American Labor Center, the Asian-American Free Labor Institute, and the Free Trade Union Institute. For more see Beth Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy* (Boston: South End Press, 1992), pp. 22-25.

[59] Hobart Spalding notes the role played by the American Institute for Free Labor Development in the wake of the United States' 1983 invasion of Grenada. There, the Institute was enlisted to restructure the Grenadian labour movement, with its first task being to mobilize the remnants of 'friendly' trade unions to paint over the slogans of the ousted New Jewell movement. In addition, Spalding notes the manner in which the Institute created its own puppet trade union federation in El Salvador, thus orchestrating a split in that country's labour ranks in order to undermine opposition to the American-backed junta. Hobart A. Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", *Science and Society*, 56, 4 (1992-1993), pp. 425-30. Spalding is worth quoting here in order to gain a more complete understanding of the Institute's orientation. He has stated that it "...refuses to help jailed unionists if it disagrees with their activities. It usually calls strikes conducted by those workers 'political' and thus fair game for state repression. [The Institute] has even run special training courses for management on how to deal with 'political strikes'". Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", p. 435.

[60] For more see Tom Barry and Deb Preusch, *AIFLD in Central America: Agents as Organizers* (Albuquerque: The Resource Center, 1986), Paul Buhle, *Taking Care of Business: Samuel Gompers, George Meany, Lane Kirkland, and the Tragedy of American Labor.* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1999), Daniel Cantor and Juliet Schor, *Tunnel Vision: Labor, the World Economy, and Central America* (Boston: South End Press, 1987), Dave Slaney, "Solidarity and Self-Interest", *NACLA: Report on the Americas*, 22, 3 (1988), Al Weinrub and William Bollinger, *The AFL-CIO in Central America: A Look at the American Institute for Free Labor Development (Aifld)* (Oakland: Labor Network on Central America, 1987).

[61] Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy*, p. 71.

The nexus between the American trade union movement and the state during this period also had a financial dimension. I refer here to the financial largesse that flowed from government agencies to the Federation's offshoots administering overseas projects. Indeed, the money provided by the Agency of International Development and the National Endowment for Democracy together accounted for ninety-eight per cent of the Federation's activities abroad, with the central executive of the Federation providing the remaining two per cent.[62] The scale of this dependence was remarkable and extended beyond the two government institutes mentioned here. Beyond these there existed a complex network of public and private bodies that acted as conduits for government funding of this sort. In return for this financial assistance the various organs of the Federation ensured that American strategic interests were advanced.

It would seem then that the American example also belies the existence of a universal trend of disassociation of labour organizations from the state. But it should also be acknowledged that during this period – and up to 1989 – there were signs that even this most conspicuous, long-standing relationship of mutual dependence between organized labour and the state was beginning to change. These signs took the form of increasing criticism of the Federation's 'foreign policy' by rank-and-file groups and officials in the American trade union movement. Throughout the 1980s, trade unionists staged large demonstrations against support for repressive regimes throughout the world, and also engaged in heated debate over these issues at Federation conventions and regional meetings. While this challenge was repulsed by the then leadership, it did indicate that by the late-1980s ties with government would no longer be uncritically accepted throughout the nationwide network of American trade unions.[63] And while such dissent may not, in itself, have constituted a sea-change in relations between the peak American trade union body and government, it did, according to Sims, "produce cross-pressures on the [Federation] whose outcomes [were] unpredictable".[64]

Meanwhile, a functional relationship of a somewhat different kind was emerging in the Asia-Pacific region. In Japan throughout the 1970s and early 1980s trade unions were aligned with either of two domestic federations. These were the left-leaning General Council of Trade Unions of Japan (or Sohyo), and the conservative, American-supported Japan Confederation of Labour (or Domei).

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[62] In 1987 alone, the Agency of International Development contributed over 27 million dollars for AFL-CIO projects in countries in Africa, Central and Latin America, as well as in the Philippines. For more details on funding see Ibid., pp. 24-25. The National Endowment for Democracy channelled 4.8 million dollars to the AFL-CIO's Free Trade Union Institute in the same year. That labour institute had received some 35 million dollars from the Endowment between 1984 and 1988. See Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", p. 424.

[63] One example of this challenge to the status quo came in 1987. In Washington D.C. 45,000 trade unionists (leading a rally of more than ninety thousand) supported leaders of dissenting unions who condemned the policies of their government and the AFL-CIO executive. See Slaney, "Solidarity and Self-Interest". Spalding, "The Two Latin American Foreign Policies of the U.S. Labor Movement: The AFL-CIO Top Brass Vs. Rank-and-File", p. 431.

[64] Sims, *Workers of the World Undermined: American Labor's Role in U.S. Foreign Policy*, p. 92.

The economic recessions of the 1970s had had an important moderating and pacifying effect on Sohyo. It subsequently followed in Domei's path and established ever-closer ties with the incumbent Liberal Democratic Party.[65] In 1987 the two labour organizations merged to form Japan's Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions (or Rengo).

Though corporatism was already a feature of the Japanese setting, this merger heralded the arrival of a still more intimate and functional regime. Rengo was determined to act on behalf of its corporatist partners beyond the Japanese setting. Indeed, we witnessed here a concerted attempt by all protagonists – Rengo, the state, and civil-commercial actors – to project their state's influence throughout the Asia-Pacific region. The most important element here was the spread of a Japanese-style 'business unionism', an issue to which we shall return in subsequent analysis.

By virtue of its affinity with the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations, Rengo was from the mid-1980s able to dominate the International Confederation of Free Trade Union's regional body, APRO.[66] Like its American counterpart, Rengo administered well financed international programs. It did this through its international organ, the Japan International Labor Foundation.[67] While not so overtly concerned with the geo-strategic interests of state, Rengo was preoccupied with expanding Japan's export-oriented corporate economy. It was determined to play a role in the internationalization of Japanese production at a time when that country was an ascendant regional power: so determined, in fact, that it devoted much time and energy to lobbying its government to increase Japan's role in foreign affairs, particularly in the Asian region.[68]

Before finalizing this section – and an assessment of the extent to which trade union organizations in this period turned away from the national-political setting – there is a need to take account of functional and strategic relationships within communist countries. Recall that the 1945-72 period saw how the major communist powers – the Soviet Union and China – exploited trade unions and their representatives as front organizations in bitter interstate conflicts. Also apparent was the extent to which the peak confederation of the Left – the World Federation of Trade Unions – was beholden to the Soviet Union. Then, it was established that during the 1970s and 1980s statist-corporatist relationships began to show signs of disentanglement. We now contemplate whether

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[65] For a thorough account of the relationship between labour and government in Japan see Carlile, "Party Politics and the Japanese Labor Movement: Rengo's 'New Political Force'".
[66] Asian and Pacific Regional Organization. Robert Q. Hanham and Shawn Banasick, "Japanese Labor and the Production of the Space-Economy in an Era of Globalization", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 110.
[67] Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, pp. 231-32.
[68] This follows similar policies adopted by Domei, one of Rengo's earlier incarnations. In that instance, Domei promoted overseas investment of Japanese capital and the revaluation of the yen. Hanham and Banasick, "Japanese Labor and the Production of the Space-Economy in an Era of Globalization", pp. 110-11.

communist trade union organizations continued to serve the interests of state beyond the confines of national industrial relations settings.

Change in this regard is difficult to discern. While it was apparent that there were signs of greater trade union autonomy in matters relating to foreign policy, these were limited. A review of the Russian setting shows the extent to which this was so. What becomes apparent is that the major domestic trade union organization in the Soviet Union was indeed given greater latitude in the 1970s to develop a foreign policy that deviated from that of the state. But like the change noted in most statist corporatist relations, this increased level of autonomy was of a very limited sort.

Like its American counterpart, the domestic organization representing all Soviet workers – the All Union Central Council of Trade Unions – maintained an offshoot body concerned with foreign affairs. The Central Council's International Department was responsible for overseeing every contact made with foreigners, as well as with formulating policy directions for the WFTU itself. Blair Ruble's study of the development of Soviet trade unions in the 1970s offers some insights into the changes that occurred within the International Department; changes that suggest autonomy from the state did increase throughout the 1970s.[69]

Ruble firstly notes the expansion of the International Department in the 1970s, with a doubling of its staff to over one hundred. This, he claims, created greater diversity of opinion in a hitherto ossified and insular body. He also notes that whereas prior to this expansion – when "foreign policy decisions affecting the unions came directly from the Communist Party's Secretariat" – the 1970s saw "some deviation, be it ever so slight, in union positions on international issues from those of the Party".[70] This was especially so throughout the 1970s and early 1980s when this principal WFTU affiliate developed broader ties with trade unions in Western Europe. This exposure allowed the International Department and, by extension, the Central Council itself, to develop a more sophisticated worldview than would otherwise have existed.

During this period the Central Council exploited the withdrawal of American trade union organizations from the ICFTU-led network of Western trade union organizations. The withdrawal by the Americans, lasting until 1982, provided an opportunity for the Soviet labour movement to engage with trade unions of the West, and this, in turn, helped trigger the aforementioned change in the Central Council's outlook. Yet, notwithstanding this newfound autonomy, the role of the Central Council continued to be prescribed by the Communist Party. While some change can be

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[69] Blair A. Ruble, *Soviet Trade Unions: Their Development in the 1970s* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 130-36.
[70] Ibid., p. 132.

discerned, it was indeed marginal. This leads to the conclusion that the WFTU itself remained very much a transnational confederation beholden to the Soviet Union.

No account of change in labour-state relationships in communist countries during this period would be complete without mention of the Polish Solidarność movement. The connection between Polish trade unions and the state was not strategic if this is taken to mean an ongoing commitment to the service of states' interests. To this extent the relationship between Polish trade unions and the state does not sit squarely with the examples used above. However, this episode is important because it reveals a fault line in the labour-government nexus that went beyond those identified in other statist-corporatist relationships of the day. It is all the more significant because the geo-political importance of Poland to the Soviet Union – the WFTU's superpower patron – would suggest that this setting would be the least accommodating of all for those trade union organizations seeking greater autonomy.

It is not possible to do justice here to the complex nature of the Solidarność trade union, or to the socio-political dynamics of the day. However, we can offer the following broad-brush outline. The independent trade union, Solidarność, came into being following the Gdańsk ship-yard strike of August 1980, though its origins can be traced to the emergence in the 1970s of a broad range of social movements. This landmark strike triggered a backlash from the state that included the imposition of martial law and the imprisonment of many Solidarność supporters. The existing national trade union organization in Poland, the Central Council of Trade Unions, was typical of the incorporated democratic-centralist federations throughout Eastern Europe at this time. Like most important affiliates of the WFTU, the Central Council of Trade Unions was closely related to the country's ruling party, the Polish United Workers' Party.

In essence, this episode in Polish history involved a dispute between those wedded to party administered 'democratic-centralism', and those demanding non-hierarchical 'horizontalist' structures of governance.[71] The strategic, instrumental imperatives of the sort found in the previous examples were not so evident here. However, we have in this case an example of trade union disengagement from a state-supported, national organization – the Central Council of Trade Unions – as well as a profound rejection of the authority of the state.[72]

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[71] Tom Keenoy, "Solidarity: The Anti-Trade Union", in *Trade Unions in Communist States*, eds. Alex Pravda and Blair A. Ruble (London: Allen and Unwin, 1986), pp. 155-56. For a more thorough examination of the rise of the Solidarność movement see Touraine et al., *Solidarity: The Analysis of a Social Movement, Poland 1980-1981*.

[72] Bendiner notes the hostile reaction to Solidarność by key figures within the WFTU and the Communist Party's Central Committee. Burton Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 34-44. In sum, Solidarność evolved into something more than a trade union, coming to represent the nation's foremost oppositional movement to communist rule. Its 1986 decision to affiliate with the ICFTU was testament to its commitment in this respect. And while this movement was inspired by a need to restore a form of national integrity – seeking to re-shape rather than disengage entirely from systems of authority – it nonetheless provides us with another instance of a distancing of sorts occurring between labour and government.

Overall, what has this examination of engagements in the national-political dimension revealed? The review of change within voluntarist-corporatist relationships suggested that in many respects organized labour was 'turning-away' – or being turned away – from the state. This view was tempered somewhat after consideration of change in the statist-corporatist regimes within the Eastern bloc countries. Here we saw a barely discernible loosening of labour-state relations that had for decades been structurally determined. The waters were muddied still further in the review of the functional relationships existing between governments and some of the major national trade union organizations. Yet it is safe to claim that even in relationships in which organized labour remained committed to serving the interests of state there appeared faint signs of more profound, future, change. All the examples used here showed that while partial disengagement was occurring in important sectors of trade union politics worldwide, there remained strong residual ties between some very powerful national trade union organizations and their respective governments.

Ultimately, I would suggest that in comparison with the preceding historical period – 1945 to 1972 – there is evidence here of a widespread, yet uneven, drift by organized labour away from the corridors of state power. While acknowledging this shift, we should note that the apparent drift did not constitute an estrangement or disengagement from the state *per se*. Clearly, these indicators alone do not prove that the constituent parts of the transnational network of labour organizations were globalizing in any profound sense. In order to make more definitive statements in this regard we need to now review the nature of organized labour's engagement with the global-political realm.

1972-89. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE GLOBAL

A return to this level of analysis necessarily brings back into view the peak confederations. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s these remained the weakest of all the constituent parts of the transnational network of trade union organizations. Nonetheless, their orientation during this period provides us with an interesting juxtaposition. For at the very historical moment when many affiliated, national, organizations were loosening formal connections to state, the peak confederations were further insinuating themselves into the inter-governmental organizations representing the collectivity of states. This was a trend identified in earlier discussion of the network's engagement with the global-political realm throughout the post-war years and up to 1972.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s there was a dramatic intensification of interaction between the peak labour bodies and inter-governmental organizations. Indeed, all confederations clamoured to engage with this level of state-mediated governance. This development shows that the process of

disengagement identified at the national-political plane did not in itself represent a turning away from the state on the part of the transnational network of confederations. What might be read in one context – the national-political – as a move away from relationships premised upon corporatism and functionalism, appears to be countered here by a concerted move towards integration with the instruments of state on a global plane. In order to gauge the extent to which this was so, we once more turn our attention to some of the major players within the transnational network of labour confederations.

The International Confederation of Free Trade Union's already strong commitment to dialogue with states within inter-governmental organizations intensified still further in the early 1970s. It was then that the upheavals produced by changes in the structures of production, communication, organization and ideology presented the ICFTU with issues that were increasingly global in scope and intensity. These were manifest in, for example, human rights abuses – including violence directed at trade unionists, discrimination against women, apartheid, and child labour – as well as the nuclear arms race, global economic instability, mass unemployment, and the ominous spread of the multinational corporation.

An important factor in the ICFTU's increased engagement was the developing countries' push within the UN General Assembly to have accepted the Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States. This was the mechanism through which demands for a New International Economic Order were channelled. The ICFTU was an enthusiastic supporter of this proposal, and tailored its campaigns on free trade, development, and debt reduction in ways that complemented this goal.

In addition, there was a growing appreciation among senior ICFTU personnel of the increasingly complex nature of the worldwide system of inter-governmental organizations.[73] Many leading figures in the ICFTU believed that if it did not adapt to this new landscape it would lose the little influence it then enjoyed.[74] The subsequent increase in participation took many forms. The ICFTU re-doubled its efforts to assert its presence in the UN Economic and Social Council and its offshoots, the UN Conference on Trade and Development, the UN Industrial Development Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, and the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization. It also extended its commitment to the International Labour Organization (ILO). In most of these bodies – with the exception of the ILO – the ICFTU had to be content with 'category A' consultative status only, and continued to lobby for the right to participate more fully

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[73] Indeed, one ICFTU Executive Board member's comments on the incredible expansion of the United Nations are indicative, claiming that such growing complexity "worries the UN themselves". ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 66eb/8(I))", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1976).

and present its views in a more formal manner. Beyond this, the ICFTU sought to participate in United Nations events that lay outside the normal framework of meetings and conferences.[75] Even though specialized agencies such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade and the International Monetary Fund continued to deny the ICFTU official status, the latter persisted in its attempts to gain recognition and influence proceedings.[76]

It is important to emphasize that the ICFTU's decision to more fully engage with the panoply of inter-governmental organizations also meant that the ILO was no longer its sole focus of attention. While the ILO remained a crucial – indeed, indispensable – component throughout the 1970s and 1980s, it also became one of many avenues open to organized labour. This shift on the part of the ICFTU reflected a greater willingness to engage in questions that had not traditionally featured on the labour rights agenda. I am referring here to a willingness to engage in broader issues relating to global trading regimes, regulation of global finance, and investment. On another level, this intensified integration within the system of inter-governmental organizations necessarily cast the ICFTU in the role of chief advocate for a labour-orientated developmentalism.

Finally, the United Nations took on special significance for the ICFTU in this period for reasons to do with intra-network rivalry. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the ICFTU's principal rival, the World Federation of Trade Unions, intensified its campaign for 'trade union unity'. The mantra of unity resonated through countless statements and resolutions appearing in the WFTU's publications. In stressing the need for cooperation between all confederations the WFTU sought to join in campaigns with trade union organizations of the West. It also sought to engage with them in conference fora outside of those provided by the 'reformist' inter-governmental organizations. The ICFTU itself was committed to many of these campaigns – the anti-apartheid struggle was a case in

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[74] It was felt by many that this decline had already begun when, in 1973, the ICFTU was excluded from a 'Group of Eminent Persons' working party set up to formulate the United Nation's actions on multinationals. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 388.

[75] The Executive Board's review of its contribution to United Nations events in 1980 is illustrative. It shows that in that year the ICFTU participated in a range of events that were outside the normal framework. There are too many of these to list here, but they included the World Conference on the UN Decade of Women, the Sixth UN Conference on the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders, the Eleventh Special Session of the General Assembly, and the UN Conference on the Law of the Sea. Refer to ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 76eb/11(A,B,C)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980).

[76] In these United Nations and associated bodies the ICFTU waged a number of campaigns. One of the most important in this period was the campaign aimed at restricting the influence of the multinationals. This was crucial, for it had implications for many other areas of concern for labour. It complemented the prolonged campaign for the incorporation of a social clause in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) treaties. The focus on multinationals also proved to be of use throughout the 1970s in the ICFTU's campaign against apartheid. Here, the ICFTU published material exposing and stigmatizing major corporate investors in South Africa, especially those known to have overtly racist employment regimes. ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #72)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1974). This circular to affiliates is one of many that listed companies with interests in South Africa. Likewise, the focus on multinationals featured prominently in the ICFTU's contribution to the ILO's World Employment Conference in 1976. The ICFTU's sister organization within the OECD – the Trade Union Advisory Council – also incorporated many concerns about the multinationals in its submissions to member states of that inter-governmental organization. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 390-95.

point – but considered calls for unity by the WFTU to be part of a ploy aimed at splitting the ranks of ICFTU affiliates and Western trade unions more broadly.

This placed the ICFTU in an awkward position. Given the nature of the issues at stake, the rejection of such overtures would reflect badly on the ICFTU. The ICFTU hoped to out-manoeuvre its rival by agreeing to cooperate only if their dealings were within United Nations fora, most notably the ILO. The United Nations system provided the ICFTU with a relatively safe site of engagement with its rival, and one in which the ICFTU enjoyed favoured status among states and national trade union organizations alike. Thus, by confining all such engagements within the established United Nations system, as well as within other inter-governmental organizations, the ICFTU was able to ensure that its rival was circumscribed by the ideology of reformist-developmentalism upon which the relevant inter-governmental organizations were founded.[77]

Whether the ICFTU's increased participation in inter-governmental organizations produced commensurate gains is not of direct relevance to this discussion.[78] It is certainly the case that such involvement did little to defuse intra-network tension.[79] What is important is that in this twenty-year period the ICFTU made a determined effort to further embed itself within the United Nations system and other inter-governmental organizations. It did this in order to facilitate the petitioning of governments beyond the ILO, and to seek to create an international regulatory framework that would compel governments to support its policies.

There is no doubt that of all the peak confederations the ICFTU was the most committed participant in the fora of inter-governmental organizations. This is not to under-state the enthusiasm of the other major players within the world of cross-border labour politics. Indeed, the WFTU, the

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[77] The UNESCO remained a site of great discord between the member states of all political disposition and, by extension, the delegates of antagonistic trade union confederations. Government representatives from communist, developing, and Third World countries expressed fierce opposition to Western economic and strategic interests in this forum. The United States was the target of much of this criticism. This conflict of member states' interests within the UNESCO necessarily implicated the labour representatives in the politics of state. Eventually, this discord precipitated the withdrawal of the American government from the United Nations in 1984. The ICFTU's sympathy for the American position was restrained but evident nonetheless. ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document 67eb/15)"., ICFTU-Editorial, "World Trade Union Unity?", *Free Labour World*, 281, November (1973).

[78] ICFTU supporters would no doubt consider the formation in 1974 of the UN Centre and Commission on Transnational Corporations as one such gain. Likewise, they might point to the 1977 adoption by the ILO of a Tripartite Declaration of Principles Concerning Multinational Enterprises and Social Policy as representing another. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 388-90. Certainly, the ICFTU's support for the international commission headed by the former German Chancellor, Willy Brandt, was crucial to the United Nation's adoption of his watershed 1980 report, *North, South: A Programme for Survival* (or, *The Brandt Report*) ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #37) - Executive Board - North/South: A Programme for Survival". And finally, the ICFTU's important contributions to the worldwide anti-apartheid struggle would have been much diminished without access to inter-governmental fora throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

[79] ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1984). In this Executive Board report the EB bemoans the 'politicization' of the UNESCO. This oft-used euphemism was employed in reaction to strident criticisms of the established order. The ICFTU delegates cast themselves as "professionals" and their rivals as "politically-minded". The ICFTU highlighted here three 'spheres of politicization' within UNESCO: these were within the secretariat, in the composition of the Executive Board, and in UNESCO's national commissions.

industry-specific International Trade Secretariats, and the World Confederation of Labour, were also investing heavily in such forms of global governance.[80] A brief review of their respective positions shows how uniform such engagements were throughout this twenty-year period.

After abandoning its initial post-war hostility, the WFTU became an ardent supporter of the United Nations system. Increasingly, throughout the 1970s and into the 1980s, it participated in the proceedings of the ILO, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization, and other such bodies overseen by the UN Economic and Social Council. It also participated in sessions of the UN Organization for Industrial Development, and the UN Conference on Trade and Development.[81] And like the ICFTU, the WFTU took part in events held outside the United Nation's normal operational framework.[82] It also mounted campaigns supporting the UN International Women's Year (1975) and, in the 1980s, the UN's second Disarmament Decade, as well as for events related to its third UN Development Decade.[83] The WFTU was also fully supportive of the UN Commission on Transnational Corporations in its attempts to draft a code of conduct for regulation in this area.[84] Thus, the WFTU had by the late-1980s become as dedicated to the United Nations as the ICFTU. Indeed, like the ICFTU, it was quick to defend bodies such as the ILO and the UN Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization in the face of attacks made on them by the American representatives.[85]

In contrast to the ICFTU, however, the WFTU was not enamoured of the inter-governmental organizations situated beyond the United Nations system. The WFTU railed against inter-governmental organizations such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the OECD, and the Trilateral Commission.[86] Unlike the ICFTU, the WFTU did not seek acceptance within these organizations, choosing instead to establish links with the informal sector comprising both nation-based and autonomous, like-minded, movements

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[80] Once again, I have chosen to overlook the World Confederation of Labour. Though still active throughout this period, we find very little primary or secondary material that might help assess the extent to which it too engaged with inter-governmental organizations. Indeed, its published 'manifesto' of 1977 scarcely refers to the United Nations at all. World Confederation of Labour (WCL), *The World Confederation of Labour (WCL)*, (Brussels: 1977), p. 21. However, fleeting mentions of the WCL in many of the other confederations' material suggest that it was also eager to interact with organizations on this global plane. See, for example, Johan Verstraeste, "World Confederation of Labour on the Threshold of the 1990s", *World Trade Union Movement*, 1 (1989), WFTU-Editorial, "With the WCL We Are Ready", *World Trade Union Movement*, 2 (1978).

[81] The following supplement to the WFTU's periodical provides a good summation of that organization's very positive approach to the United Nations. WFTU-Dossier, "The World Federation of Trade Unions and the United Nations Organisation", *World Trade Union Movement*, 11, November (1972).

[82] These were too numerous to list, but included such events as the World Trade Union Conferences against apartheid (1972, 1977, and 1983), and the ILO organized Tripartite Conference on Employment (1976).

[83] WFTU, *World Federation of Trade Unions: 1945-1985*, pp. 95-100.

[84] WFTU-Editorial, "Transnational Corporations and Their Loot of Developing Countries", *World Trade Union Movement*, 2 (1983).

[85] WFTU-Editorial, "Defenders of the Old Order", *World Trade Union Movement*, 12 (1981), WFTU-Editorial, "US-Led Opposition Rejects International Economic Action", *World Trade Union Movement*, 3 (1984).

[86] The following are representative of such denunciations. WFTU-Editorial, "Transnational Corporations and Their Loot of Developing Countries"., WFTU-Editorial, "The Trilateral - Its Philosophy and Objectives", *World Trade Union Movement*, 9, September (1980).

from across the globe. This process, we recall, manifested itself in the numerous conferences held outside the auspices of established inter-governmental organizations – conferences that caused much angst within ICFTU leadership circles.

What might this contrast between these two major players signify? If the WFTU's rejection of these market-oriented inter-governmental organizations was indicative of a network-wide sentiment there might be grounds for believing a more profound autonomous, oppositional dynamic was at work. This might, in turn, suggest a tendency towards ever greater disassociation from the state in the future. Without pre-empting what is to follow, there is little to indicate that this was the case. The important point to note here is that the peak confederations during this period – the ICFTU and the WFTU – were more committed than ever to the United Nations system of inter-governmental organizations. While the WFTU was highly critical of the inter-governmental organizations upon which global capitalism relied, it nevertheless considered the United Nations to be of tremendous importance. To this extent we can say that these peak confederations were by now more deeply entrenched within the global-political realm than ever before.

The industry-specific International Trade Secretariats were similarly investing heavily in inter-governmental organizations. As in the preceding decades the trade secretariats continued to gain *entrée* in to the inter-governmental organizations through the agency of the peak nation-oriented confederations. Hitherto, these secretariats' direct and unmediated interactions with inter-governmental organizations were largely confined to the industry committees of the ILO. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s a wider range of inter-governmental organizations came to preoccupy the trade secretariats, with those such as the UN Food and Agriculture Organization, the UN Centre on Transnational Corporations, the OECD, and the European Economic Community coming to play an increasingly important role. Here, too, the trade secretariats usually relied on the various nation-oriented confederations to act as their proxies.[87]

This is not to suggest that the interests of the trade secretariats were at all times, and in all fora, expressed through the ICFTU and other nation-oriented organizations. Indeed, secretariats continued to have unmediated relations with the aforementioned ILO industry committees and other United Nations agencies.[88] The point to make is that increasingly over this period the trade

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[87] Trade secretariats gained access to the OECD through the nation-based confederation, the Trade Union Advisory Committee; and to the European Economic Community *via* the European Trade Union Confederation.

[88] For example, direct IUF (The International Union of Food, Agricultural,,Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations) engagement with the ILO industrial activities section intensified further after that United Nations agency established permanent industry committees for the food, hotels and tourism sectors. For more see section 6(b), *Relations with other organizations: other inter-governmental institutions.* IUF, "Executive Committee Report" (paper presented at the 19th Congress, München, 25-31, May 1981). The IUF also engaged in a campaign to limit the influence of multinationals *within* such inter-governmental organizations. For this secretariat, this meant waging a campaign to rid the UN Food and Agriculture Organization of multinational proxies. See Item 8(a): *The World Food*

secretariats interacted with a wider range of inter-governmental organizations, though more often through the agency of the nationally oriented confederations. To this extent we see a universal trend among the world's peak confederations to engage more enthusiastically than ever before with this global-political realm.

The ICFTU was the most suited to this form of engagement. This was because its reformist and statist organizational disposition most complemented the liberal internationalism of the inter-governmental organizations that constituted the United Nations system. Moreover, beyond the United Nations system, the ICFTU's developmentalist orientation gave it *entrée* to the inter-governmental organizations descendent from the Bretton-Woods system of post-war governance. As we shall see in later discussion, these organizations – i.e., the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank – were to play an increasingly significant role in coming years.

1972-89. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

In sum, organized labour's engagement on both national and global planes was aimed at enlisting states' help in the amelioration of problems associated with change in the structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. For the ICFTU and the labour organizations of the West more broadly,[89] the involvement of the state was also crucial because governments were expected to put in place the legislative and regulative frameworks that would encourage free, but fair, trade.[90] For the WFTU – and especially for its affiliates in Eastern Europe – the state was considered the embodiment of the socialist ideal, and its interests were conflated with those of the working-class. It was, at once, the engine of development and the distributor of the fruits of labour. For the leaders of trade union organizations of the developing world the state represented a symbol of emancipation from historical servitude. Under such circumstances trade unionists invested a great deal of faith in governments' ability to not only maintain the integrity of the sovereign-state, but to also deliver the material benefits associated with modernity. To this extent one cannot assume that the aforementioned examples of disengagement signalled the emergence of a more globally integrated and autonomous labour network.

Situation: The FAO and the Food Crisis. IUF, "Executive Committee Report" (paper presented at the 18th Congress, Geneva, 23-28 January 1977).

[89] I include here the European Trade Union Confederation, the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the OECD and most, if not all, of the International Trade Secretariats.

[90] The role ascribed to government is encapsulated by statements such as the following: "Governments must pursue more active economic strategies...They should develop policies for controlling, steering and planning of the economy. They must initiate a coordinated reflation of the world economy, including setting targets for growth and employment and the use of selective policies". See ICFTU, "Statements Made and Resolutions Adopted by the Twelfth World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at The Twelfth World Congress of the ICFTU, Madrid, 1979), p. 3.

1972-89. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this section is to gauge the extent to which trade union organizations across the globe looked beyond the state to engage with the external civil realm. This, as earlier outlined, provides another indicator for assessing the extent to which organized labour developed into a more autonomous cross-border political community. This civil realm is divided in two in order to focus attention on relationships with both oppositional and commercially oriented actors. The former category is comprised of radical and reformist collectivist groups that – along with peace, social justice, environmentalist, and feminist movements – embrace ideologies and worldviews of a liberatory kind. In contrast, the civil-commercial actors are those that are committed to the market, economic liberalism, and instrumentalism.[91]

1972-89. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – OPPOSITIONAL ACTORS

In the corresponding section for the 1945-72 period it became evident that most of organized labour's interactions with civil-oppositional actors came about as a result of the widespread revolt against colonialism and imperialism. In addition, organized labour tended to engage with the civil realm when the New Left and social movements in general coalesced around issues at the heart of the 1968 uprisings. Such interactions, however, were tentative, with trade union organizations generally tending towards a conservative, statist disposition. This was, I suggested, because campaigns aimed at realizing national self-determination became central concerns for all elements within the transnational trade union movement. On the Left we saw the conflation of 'self-determination' with the worldwide class struggle; and on the Right, the same cause was championed on the grounds that all peoples had the right to freedom and liberty from dictatorial rule.

And yet while participation in campaigns aimed at achieving national independence may have waned during the 1970s and 1980s, trade union organizations did engage with issues and civil-oppositional actors that lay beyond the confines of conventional state-business-labour relations. Many of these interactions manifested themselves in greater intra-network acts of solidarity and cooperation. These necessarily entailed interaction along both North-South, and East-West axes, and hinted at a more profound change. Such increased intra-network cooperation in the 1972-89 period was significant because it involved those trade union organizations that were less subject to the constraints of the state-mediated political sphere. Put differently, there was an inclination on the

[91] To recapitulate – and in contrast to the previous section – a study of the civil cannot so easily rely upon a demarcation between the national and global. While references to activities in the national and global will be used in what follows, the overall differentiation is looser. This necessarily reflects both the real and conceptual ambiguity inherent in the civil-political dichotomy.

part of some labour actors to engage in political practices that were not normally associate with industrial relations. This meant, in part, that some elements within the network entered into more diverse coalitions, placed less emphasis on the "official channels"[92] that, supposedly, bound trade unions together in a transnational confederate structure. While not over-stating the significance of this trend towards 'grassroots' campaigning, it can perhaps be argued that it was symptomatic of a more oppositional inclination within a large minority of trade union organizations and, more importantly, of a greater likelihood of increased engagement with the 'unruly' civil-oppositional actors.

The following snapshots are of interactions that hinted at such a trend between 1972 and 1989. Many, as we will see, occurred at the intersection of the political-civil, and national-global, and can thus only be suggestive of more profound change. The overview thus constitutes an incomplete, yet illustrative, map of such relations in this period. We start by looking at those interactions with civil-oppositional actors where the principal protagonists were domestic and national trade union organizations. From there we move on to interactions involving the transnational confederations – those actors identified earlier as being wedded to the political sphere by virtue of their commitment to inter-governmental organizations.

Ultimately, it will become apparent that in spite of the dramatic changes in the previously discussed structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology, the transnational labour network's response was cautious to say the least. While many within this network made tentative connections with civil-oppositional actors, others remained reticent about building relationships – and engaging in practices – that might distance them from forms of governance premised on the authority of the state.

For trade unions in the 1970s and 1980s the waterfront was a significant site of movement transformation. This was especially so in many European countries. In varying degrees, the dockworkers of Spain, Germany, Britain, Denmark, and The Netherlands were to reform their trade union organizations in ways that ensured autonomy from traditional, formal, labour bureaucracies. Of these reconstituted actors, the Coordinardora (Coordination) of Spanish dockworkers stands out as a good example of a movement in transition: from bureaucratized to expansive and, perhaps, from political to civil in orientation.

The Coordinardora emerged in the late-1970s after a period of relative trade union passivity in Spain, a period that witnessed a transition to liberal democracy in that country. The subsequent Taylorist/neoliberal restructuring of the waterfront's industrial relations, job-shedding

[92] Press, "The People's Movement", p. 40.

technological advances (e.g. containerization), as well as the more generalized neoliberal attacks on the welfare system, all combined to re-ignite trade union activism in this sector. Drawing on pre-fascist traditions that derived largely from anarcho-syndicalism, the Coordinardora emerged as a labour network that paralleled the national, and international, bureaucratic structures then in existence.[93] It soon grew to represent the overwhelming majority of Spanish dockworkers.

In terms of structure, ideology, and practices this network of port unions displayed unique characteristics. Its structure was decentralized, with veto power invested in the movement's general assembly. Participatory democracy was the watchword at all levels and throughout the Coordinardora's zonal councils. Representation at this zonal level was weighted in ways that ensured that the unions of the larger ports did not exercise unreasonable influence over the whole.[94] All this was integrated using a sophisticated communications regime that exploited a range of print and electronic media.[95] When reflecting on the ideological disposition of the Coordinardora's activist class, Waterman describes a political community comprising those who had rejected social-democratic and Leninist traditions, and who were more enamoured of the political worldview normally associated with the Greens.[96] According to Waterman,

> What united them was probably a radical-democratic orientation, prioritizing the direct and active expression of collective self-interest by the workers, whilst being open towards other democratic ideas and movements (feminism, ecology, peace, Third World solidarity, etc.).[97]

Elsewhere, Waterman observes that this disposition made the Coordinardora "compatible with the grassroots democracy, informality and flexibility that hallmark the new alternative social movements".[98] All this found expression in the Coordinardora's cross-border campaigns. These ranged from acts of solidarity with kindred unions abroad, to those aimed at supporting Third World victims of repression and natural disasters. They included the boycotting of arms shipments to El Salvador, the waiving of handling fees for Nicaraguan goods, and the boycotting of South African ships. The Coordinardora – through the dockworkers of Barcelona – also participated in a

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[93] As Waterman points out, the origins of the Coordinardora lie in the assemblies and workers' commissions in place around the time of Franco's death. The Coordinardora found itself alienated from the obsessive bureaucracy of the communist-influenced trade union bodies, and the anarchism of the major national labour confederation, the Confederación Nacional del Trabajo. Peter Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms* (London: Mansell, 1998), p. 85.
[94] Ibid., pp. 86-87.
[95] Peter Waterman, *Between the Old International Labour Communications and the New: The Coordinadora of Spanish Dockworkers, Working Paper Series Number 61* (The Hague: ISS, 1989).
[96] Waterman, *Globalization, Social Movements and the New Internationalisms*, p. 93.
[97] Ibid., p. 94.
[98] Ibid., p. 87.

1985 program initiated by a Catalonian non-government organization that ensured foodstuffs for Ethiopian famine victims were collected and shipped free of charge.[99]

It is important to note that such acts of solidarity were not unique. Other Western European waterfront unions were similarly inclined, though perhaps not to the same extent. Moreover, such practices had been commonplace in the late-nineteenth century. What is relevant for our purposes is that these practices were once again becoming apparent at a time when incorporation into the political, state-mediated, sphere was widespread among trade union organizations.[100]

Another example of such non-conformism can be found in the increased militancy of American public-sector unions concerned with health, education, or urban planning during the 1970s. These unions differed from their private-sector counterparts in that they were deeply engaged with the issues and interests of the constituency they served, as well as with the political and bureaucratic structures of governance that administered the relevant services.[101]

This meant that the politics of public-sector unions came to be a politics of alliance building, and of linking communities of interest across and beyond the divisions around which labour relations were normally constituted. This also meant that these trade unionists were more attuned than most to the shifts in the wider political and social landscapes they inhabited. Thus, in looking to explain the increased levels of strike activity and overall militancy among public-sector workers throughout the 1970s, a link can be made to what many regard as the "revolt of the neighbourhoods".[102] This involved increasing grassroots pressure for public and community-sector involvement in issues hitherto thought to be the preserve of the family. These new relations between the public-sector and family life often took on a "gendered character",[103] one that reflected the growing influence of second-wave feminism. To capture the importance of this episode it is worth quoting Paul Johnston at length.

> The public workers' movement is hard to locate in social movement theory because it appears related both to the "old" labor movement and to newer social movements...it bears some relation to the *antistatist* movements of Europe and Eastern Europe...Some currents intertwine with the civil

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[99] Ibid., pp. 99-101. See also Waterman, *Between the Old International Labour Communications and the New: The Coordinadora of Spanish Dockworkers*. In the latter work, we see how the Coordinardora exploited aspects of what Waterman refers to as 'alternative international communications' in order to reach out beyond its own national setting.

[100] I am very aware that this overview of the Coordinardora is somewhat deficient. It neglects many complex aspects of the phenomena. A more thorough account would include detail on the nature of the relationships developed with waterfront unions of other countries. It would also include more on the peculiar relationship between this network of dockworker unions and Spain's mainstream labour movement.

[101] Paul Johnston, *Success While Others Fail: Social Movement Unionism and the Public Workplace* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 4.

[102] Ibid., p. 16.

[103] Ibid., p. 17.

> rights movements of the 1960s; some are feminist; in others, white men and sometimes women form defensive enclaves within segments of public bureaucracy comparable to the urban and suburban ethnic neighborhoods in which they live.[104]

Johnston is seeking an explanation for the contrasting fortunes of both public and private-sector unions in the United States at times of great upheaval. His conclusion – crudely put – is that public-sector unions were better able to weather the tumultuous 1970s, and then the hostility of the Reagan years, in large part because of their deepening engagement with the politics of the civil realm.

In the next snapshot we take account of those relationships that developed between North American trade unions and civil-oppositional actors throughout Latin and Central America. Here the focus is on engagements that seem to straddle both North-South and political-civil divides. These also seem to point to the emergence of practices and organizational forms characteristic of a network that was undergoing a significant globalizing transformation.

Beginning in 1985, a number of Canadian and American trade unions explored various forms of interaction with the growing ranks of community-based groups and autonomous trade union organizations in neighbouring countries. In Canada, the Canadian Labour Congress, along with four major unions, established a scheme whereby affiliates and their members would contribute to an international solidarity fund. Administered by the Labour International Development Committee, this fund was by the late-1980s providing up to five million dollars towards North-South assistance.[105] In related campaigns the Canadian Auto Workers and the American United Auto Workers' unions joined forces to assist a solidarity network formed to protect Ford motor company workers in Cuautitlan, Mexico.

In addition, an alliance made up of the Canadian Auto Workers, the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees, the United Electrical Workers, the United Auto Workers, teamsters, and steelworkers, among others, all began to provide support for workers in the *maquiladora* free-trade zones throughout Mexico, Central America, and the Caribbean. The Canadian unions' contribution included the sponsoring of a women's activist program in Mexico, as well as the running of health and training programs for fourteen autonomous Mexican unions.[106]

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[104] Ibid., p. 28.
[105] Don Wells, "Labour Solidarity Goes Global", *Canadian Dimension*, 32, 1 (1998), p. 35.
[106] Ibid.

All this supplemented what was a growing exchange in information related to bargaining strategies *vis-à-vis* prominent multinational corporations.[107]

By the late-1980s, trade unions concerned with campaigns in this region of the Americas were increasingly mindful of the need to establish unconventional relationships with actors situated beyond their own industrial relations settings. One of the most significant developments in this respect came at the close of the decade. In 1989, ninety-five religious, environmental, labour, and human rights organizations formed an alliance in order to pressure multinational corporations active in northern Mexico. These organizations formed the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras and focused attention on issues of environmental contamination, health and safety regulations, standards of living, community infrastructure, and the provision of basic social services such as water, electricity, and sewage.

Most of the Coalition's work took place in the 1990s, and so broader discussion about its significance will be deferred for now. What is of immediate significance about the formation of the Coalition was that it involved the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organisations, a national organization hitherto known for its business-friendly instrumentalism, as well as for its eagerness to serve the state in the latter's geo-strategic manoeuvring. This involvement prompted many to contemplate whether the Federation's "influential role in [the Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras] symbolize(d) a shift away from its tunnel vision methodology of the Cold War period".[108]

No survey of localized encounters with civil-oppositional actors would be complete without mention of the campaign waged against apartheid throughout the 1970s and 1980s. As the anti-apartheid struggle reached a climax in the mid-1980s, there emerged a coalition of trade unions called the Congress of South African Trade Unions.[109] This organization was formed out of a merger of the Federation of South African Trade Unions and the more radicalized unions affiliated to the United Democratic Front. The latter was a national grassroots political movement closely

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[107] Ibid.

[108] Ralph Armbruster, "Cross-National Labor Organizing Strategies", *Critical Sociology*, 21, 2 (1995), p. 78. In a related matter, we can point to the cleavages that emerged between the AFL-CIO's Cold War warriors – most notably, its leader, George Meany – and the middle-ranking officials and rank-and-file in general over the support offered to America's war effort in Vietnam. See Frank Koscielski, *Divided Loyalties: American Unions and the Vietnam War* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1999), pp. 43-46.

[109] The following focuses on the role played by COSATU. However, I do not wish to suggest that the trade-union resistance to apartheid commenced with the formation of this coalition. It is given prominence here because it, among all others, was most inclined to interact with actors beyond the confines of industrial relations settings, and it was the pivotal trade union actor during the period under review. For a comprehensive overview of the array of trade union and social movements existing prior to COSATU's formation, see Robert Davies, Dan O'Meara, and Sipho Dlamini, *The Struggle for South Africa: A Reference Guide to Organizations and Institutions*, vol. 2 (London: Zed Books, 1984), pp. 321-75. See also Gay W. Seidman, *Manufacturing Militance: Workers' Movements in Brazil and South Africa, 1970-1985* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), pp. 143-255, and Johann Maree, ed., *The Independent Trade Unions, 1974-1984* (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1987).

linked to the banned African National Congress. The emergence of the Congress of South African Trade Unions brought together two political trends then evident throughout the South African trade union landscape. These contrasting tendencies represented, on the one hand, the industrialized shop-floor unions and, on the other, the more community-based general unions.[110]

By the late-1980s the Congress' membership had swelled to 1.15 million, and while its growth necessarily meant the emergence of a more formal organizational structure, grassroots mobilization was not compromised.[111] Indeed, a distinguishing feature of its development was the extent to which the Congress formed what has been referred to as "union-community alliances".[112] It engaged, according to Hirschsohn, "in the struggle for national liberation and participative democracy through multi-class alliances with other SMs [social movements] and political organizations".[113] In practice, this entailed establishing links with local youth, women's, and civic organizations with a view to addressing community issues such as the crisis in education, rent boycotts, the availability of transport, and poor living conditions.[114] The Congress' alliance with the United Democratic Front necessarily meant that it became organically tied to the civil realm. This could not have been otherwise, given that the United Democratic Front had consisted of over six hundred grassroots social movement organizations that together "developed organizations of direct democracy such as street and area committees, people's courts and defence committees".[115]

It could be argued that the example of the Congress of South African Trade Unions is perhaps inappropriate, given the extraordinary socio-political context from which it emerged. Such considerations aside, the South African experience is noteworthy because – as we shall see in subsequent discussion – it not only entailed a straddling of the political-civil divide on the national plane, but it was also to become an important focal point for other transnational labour actors who were themselves to explore civil realm relationships. For now it is important to acknowledge only that this was one of the more important examples of interaction between trade union organizations and civil-oppositional actors.

There are many more examples of the ways in which national trade union actors engaged with the civil realm, both at home or abroad.[116] Ultimately, the question remains: were these and other such

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[110] Philip Hirschsohn, "From Grassroots Democracy to National Mobilization: COSATU as a Model of Social Movement Unionism", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 19 (1998), p. 641.
[111] Adler, "Global Restructuring and Labor: The Case of the South African Trade Union Movement", p. 130.
[112] Hirschsohn, "From Grassroots Democracy to National Mobilization: COSATU as a Model of Social Movement Unionism", p. 655.
[113] Ibid., p. 634.
[114] Ibid., p. 655.
[115] Ibid., p. 643.
[116] The 1970s and 1980s witnessed many such interactions. Much could be said, for example, about the intricate network of supporter groups that flourished in support of the striking British miners throughout 1984 and 1985. In addition, we could note the community-wide activities that formed a part of the 1986 campaign by female workers against British textile multinationals in the Philippines. We might also have explored in this survey the 'conduit' role played by Third

interactions indicative of a profound and widespread change in organized labour's approach to not only the state, but also to civil-oppositional actors that had few allegiances within the political sphere? It is my contention that the tentative nature of the above interactions suggests that they were not, in themselves, indicative of fundamental change.

This relative stasis is incongruous, given the dramatic changes then evident in the structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. While these engagements perhaps hinted at more profound future change, they did not signal a rejection of the authority of state, or the emergence of a truly integrated community of interest that might challenge the latter. It was apparent that organized labour at this level remained caught, in Arrighi's words, in an "uncertain minuet in old and new-left relations".[117] The examples cited above involved protagonists – labour and oppositional – that remained at arms-length, with little evidence to suggest that any form of fundamental organizational or ideological integration was occurring. Nonetheless, we might also deduce from the above that pressure was mounting on the large bureaucratized, regional, and transnational confederations to pay more heed to relations beyond those mediated by states. We now look at these transnational confederations, and to the extent to which they developed ties with the civil-oppositional actors.

One of the most important cross-border campaigns waged throughout the late-1970s and 1980s involved the International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations (hereafter referred to as the IUF). This trade secretariat was called upon to assist a beleaguered group of Guatemalan factory workers in 1979. It was in that year that the employers of these workers – owners of the Coca-Cola bottling plant in Guatemala City – began a campaign to crush the Coca-Cola Bottling Company Workers' Union.[118] Given that this trade union represented a central plank in the country's labour movement, a successful attack here would have all but crippled resistance to the excesses of foreign capital in Guatemala.

World trade unions on behalf of Western non-government organizations distributing relief aid. For an excellent survey of these forms of interactions see the following. Gerry Reardon, "Women Workers in the Philippines", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989), Jonathan Saunders, "Internationalism and the Miners' Strike", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989), Don Thomson, "Aid Agencies and Trade Unions", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989). And, of course, we omitted the quintessential civil realm engagement by labour – that of the Polish Solidarność movement – though having discussed this phenomenon earlier we do not need to re-visit it here.

[117] Giovanni Arrighi, Terence K Hopkins, and Immanuel Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements* (London: Verso, 1989), p. 89.

[118] The owners of the plant were a Texan family, the Flemings, who entrusted the management of the plant to a fellow American, John Trotter.

For nine years the company orchestrated the murder and kidnapping of prominent labour figures as well as the intimidation of many others.[119] Aside from thuggery, it employed over this period a range of tactics aimed at eliminating the trade union. On three occasions management closed the plant, only to see the workers occupy the premises until the operation was resumed. At the time of the first closure, in 1979, the IUF mounted an international campaign that mobilized fifty affiliated trade unions as well as a range of non-governmental organizations.[120] The third attempt at plant closure – in 1984 – triggered a much larger campaign. The plant was re-opened after 450 workers maintained a twelve-month vigil. There followed a change of owners and some small concessions, as well as a return to what most would consider an uneasy calm.

There is no question that the trade union's victory, such as it was, can be attributed to the sheer courage of those who persisted in the face of so much danger.[121] However, the role of the IUF was also critical, and it is this aspect of the campaign that is of relevance to this study. It is of interest for two main reasons: for the nature of the alliances the IUF entered into throughout both campaigns; and for the nature of the tactics it employed. In both respects this trade secretariat embraced partners and methods that would normally be associated with the civil realm. These were actors and political practices that did not rely for their success solely on the mediation of the state.

IUF Executive Committee documents show the nature of this engagement. In addition to enlisting the support of over ninety of its own affiliates, along with many trade unions of other industrial sectors, the IUF was able to join forces with numerous church, consumer, student, human rights, public interest, and solidarity groups, as well as with many individual donors and activists from across the globe. There were far too many coalition partners to list here: suffice to say that some of these were very well known (Amnesty International, War on Want, and the Greater London Council); while others were less so. Among the latter were the Interfaith Center of Corporate Responsibility, the Denver Justice and Peace Committee, and Jobs with Peace.[122]

The tactics employed during this campaign were characteristic of, and extended into, the civil sphere. Aside from the more conventional measures – for example, *communiqués* and delegations

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[119] Gatehouse's short, but chilling, account of this dispute describes the various forms of physical intimidation endorsed by this Coca-Cola subsidiary. Over this nine year period it is known that three union General Secretaries and at least nine other unionists were murdered. Mike Gatehouse, "Soft Drink, Hard Labour: Taking on Coca Cola", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989).

[120] IUF, "Executive Committee Report" (paper presented at the 20th Congress, Geneva, 25-29 March 1985).

[121] The introduction to Levenson and Estrada's account of this episode is particularly heart-rending. In it they quote those trade unionists who persisted throughout the nine years, enduring what seems like unimaginable tension and fear. See Deborah Levenson-Estrada, *Trade Unionists against Terror: Guatemala City, 1954-1985* (University of Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 1-13.

[122] IUF, "Executive Committee Report". This report includes a section entitled *The Second Time Around - The Coca-Cola Campaign 1984/85*. In it are listed the many coalition partners. They appear under the categories of 'union' or 'non-trade union and individuals.' In all these numbered approximately 280.

to Coca-Cola's headquarters, resolutions in support of the workers from numerous labour organizations, and financial contributions – the IUF orchestrated a number of imaginative campaigns. These included a 'tourist boycott' of Guatemala, production stoppages and industrial boycotts in many countries where Coca-Cola was located, and a consumer boycott of the company's products that took effect in over fifty countries.[123] For a time, production in thirteen production plants in Norway was stopped, with disruptions also occurring in Mexico, Italy, Sweden, New Zealand, Finland, and elsewhere.

A number of questions present themselves in light of all this. How typical was this IUF disposition of other trade secretariats, and of peak confederations in general? And were the previously cited, localized, cases also typical of a broader, movement-wide, disposition? Answers to these questions are hard to find in the existing literature. It is difficult to ascertain whether the dearth of research in this area of labour relations is indicative of the lack of engagement with civil-oppositional actors, or of an aversion on the part of scholars and practitioners to chronicling such events. On the strength of the cases cited above I can only venture that interaction with civil-oppositional actors was not a routine, or commonplace, part of labour politics during this time, even for those parts of the movement that were, by definition, globally oriented.

Before making a more definitive assessment it is important to take account of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' interactions with civil-oppositional actors. To what extent did this principal transnational confederation traverse the political-civil divide? The most notable instances of ICFTU interaction with civil-oppositional actors related to the cross-border campaigns mentioned above. One such example was the ICFTU's role in the aforementioned international campaign against apartheid.

Throughout the 1970s and 1980s the ICFTU played a crucial role in the international campaign in support of anti-apartheid elements within South Africa. ICFTU involvement had three main focuses: the support of South African trade unions; the petitioning of governments who would, it was hoped, bring pressure to bear on the apartheid regime; and finally, participation in an international campaign to force foreign multinationals in South Africa to either disinvest, or to drastically change their labour practices in ways that would benefit black workers. Under these major campaign categories came such specific initiatives as funding for the legal defence of those taken into custody, and assistance for those drafting a multinationals' codes of conduct.[124] In addition, the ICFTU became an important conduit for government and private financial aid to the anti-apartheid movement.

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[123] Ibid., p. 9/CC/4. See also Ralph Armbruster, "Cross-Border Labor Organizing in the Garment and Automobile Industries: The Phillips Van-Heusen and Ford Cuautitlan Cases", *Journal of World-Systems Research*, 4, 1 (1998).

However, the ICFTU's engagement with the anti-apartheid movement – especially with those trade unions allied under the Congress of South African Trade Unions banner – was never a straight-forward matter. The ICFTU was looked upon, especially by the more radicalized 'community unions' in this alliance, as being tainted by its close association with former colonial and imperial powers.[125] Such was the level of mistrust of the ICFTU that much of its financial assistance – usually donated by sympathetic governments – had to be diverted through its more popular and acceptable Nordic and Dutch trade union affiliates.[126]

Indeed, the main protagonists in the transnational labour movement's anti-apartheid campaign were the various national trade union organizations.[127] Perhaps this is more a reflection on the very nature of large confederate structures than on the ICFTU's political disposition. Irrespective, the ICFTU's engagement in this struggle could penetrate no further than its own structure allowed. Given that it had no organic connection to the local civil realm actors, the ICFTU could do no more than facilitate its own affiliates' engagement with the campaign. Moreover, its organizational and ideological orientation was such that its contribution relied heavily on the assistance of individual governments, as well as on the inter-governmental organizations to which it was so committed.[128] It is once more evident that the political practices involved in mounting a global campaign – practices integral to globalization – did not necessarily entail the denial of the authority of the state.

The ICFTU also made a significant contribution to campaigns opposed to state sponsored violence throughout Central and Latin America. It was an enthusiastic supporter of the IUF's campaign on behalf of the Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers in 1980. Its contribution here involved helping to devise a more effective boycott regime. It did this by canvassing support from its affiliates and by developing what it called the ICFTU Action program for Guatemala.[129] But again, the ICFTU played a supporting and ancillary role only, supplementing the work done by those with more immediate ties to civil-oppositional actors.

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[124] These were later presented to the European Economic Community, the OECD, and the United States Congress.

[125] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 410.

[126] Roger Southall, *Imperialism or Solidarity? International Labour and South African Trade Unions* (Cape Town: UCT Press, 1995), p. 312.

[127] For example, it were the Australian and New Zealand labour movements that implemented, with great effect, boycotts against visiting South African sporting teams, South African shipping, and civil air travel. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 411.

[128] See, for example, the 'Resolution on South Africa' in the following document. ICFTU, "Statements Made and Resolutions Adopted by the Thirteenth World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at The Thirteenth World Congress of the ICFTU, Oslo, 23-30 June 1983), p. 19. Here, we see the importance of the United Nations in the ICFTU's plans for economic sanctions. We also see great emphasis placed on the UN Security Council. See also ICFTU-Editorial, "Unions Press for Tough Sanctions against Apartheid", *Free Labour World*, 6, April (1985). For an excellent outline of the ICFTU's contribution to the anti-apartheid campaign see Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 397-413.

Other instances of the ICFTU's modest and fleeting civil realm engagement included the campaigns waged following the environmental catastrophes in Bhopal (1984) and Chernobyl (1986). In both cases the ICFTU sent delegations and cooperated with relief organizations. What is significant about both is that they "provoked active concern within the ICFTU with environmental issues...and helped encourage cautious cooperation with environmental NGOs".[130] This cautious approach to interaction with civil-oppositional actors was also evident in the ICFTU's campaign against child labour. This had gained momentum since the early 1980s, slowly bringing together the ICFTU and a range of non-government organizations.[131] Gumbrell-McCormick's observations help us to form a more complete picture. Her overview of such encounters hints at a significant shift in the ICFTU's orientation towards civil-oppositional actors, a shift that she implies was being imposed upon it. More specifically, she observes that a "more aggressive 'campaigning' style owed much to the revival of 'social movement unionism' as well as the tactics of NGOs".[132]

Notwithstanding these occasional encounters and a shift in style, the ICFTU did not fit comfortably in the *milieu* of non-state, civil-oppositional actors. We alluded to one impediment earlier when we noted the doubts many grassroots movements harboured about the ICFTU's commitment to oppositional politics. But the estrangement was also due to the ICFTU's own reluctance to acknowledge the legitimacy of such actors. Nowhere was this reluctance more evident than in the ICFTU's dealings with non-governmental actors in the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization. The ICFTU shared the United States' frustration with this United Nations body, arguing that it had become an ineffective forum because it accommodated a large number of – frequently 'anti-American' – non-government organizations. In Executive Board reports of the mid-1980s, the ICFTU's frustration with having to deal with such actors is apparent. The Executive Board explained its position thus:

> The ICFTU has resisted this tendency towards collective consultation because it considerably diminishes the influence of the ICFTU and enables relatively small and unrepresentative organizations to obtain undue recognition.[133]

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[129] ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #3)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980), ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #5)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1980).

[130] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", p. 512. The ICFTU, along with the International Chemical Workers' Union sent delegations to Bhopal, and subsequently prepared reports, videos, and recommendations for health and safety in such industries. Barbara Dinham, "Lessons from Bhopal", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989), p. 81.

[131] This was especially so in relation to the 'toycott' campaign. This was a boycott of toys produced by child labour throughout the late 1980s.

[132] Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 512-13.

Such pronouncements assume still greater relevance if we remind ourselves of the ICFTU's rejection of 'rogue' international trade union gatherings. Usually held under the auspices of rival transnational confederations, these gatherings accommodated oppositional groupings that were not, strictly speaking, representative of national trade union constituencies. These were groups on the fringe of cross-border trade union politics, and could not, according to the ICFTU Executive Board, legitimately claim to represent anyone.[134]

In sum, it is apparent that the ICFTU's relative estrangement from civil-oppositional actors was the result of its embeddedness within the world of 'high,' state-mediated, politics. Putting aside for one moment the charge of ICFTU complicity in Cold War manoeuvring, the reasons for such estrangement can be attributed to that confederation's affinity with the political sphere more generally. We have already noted the ICFTU's heavy investment in the inter-governmental organizations that were, increasingly, determining the nature of international human rights and economic governance regimes. This necessarily meant privileging inter-governmental organizations such as the United Nations, the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank. The more the ICFTU invested in these bodies, the more it assumed for itself the mantle of principal agent in the network of transnational labour organizations. Its leadership thus resented the encroachment of actors it thought lacked the required expertise and standing. It was for these reasons also – when viewed from the perspective of many civil-oppositional actors – that the ICFTU, and other 'official channels' of the established, bureaucratized network of trade union confederations were considered suspect.

The survey above has comprised a number of snapshots of organized trade union interaction with civil-oppositional actors. Due to limitations of space, much has been omitted.[135] Omissions notwithstanding, I am confident that the examples cited provide for a more than adequate characterization of a broader *milieu*. What then can we conclude? Engagement with civil-oppositional actors was more prevalent among those national trade union bodies that were less enamoured of the traditional, established, forms of cross-border labour politics. These were the

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[133] ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document)".

[134] The ICFTU also seemed reluctant to deal with the growing number of what can best be described as knowledge-based labour advocacy groups. Two such groups serve as examples. The Amsterdam-based Transnationals Information Exchange, and the Tower Hamlets International Solidarity, had to both tread warily when, for example, they attempted to organize non-partisan, face-to-face trade union gatherings. Inviting the affiliates of a rival peak confederation would be enough to antagonize the ICFTU, and hinder future co-operation. Mike Press, "Learning the Lessons", in *Solidarity for Survival: The Don Thomson Reader on Trade Union Internationalism*, eds. Mike Press and Don Thomson (Nottingham: Bertrand Russell House, 1989), p. 40, pp. 120-21.

[135] A more expansive study would refer to the World Federation of Trade Unions, the World Confederation of Labour, the numerous trade secretariats, and countless national trade union confederations. But one looks in vain for references to non-governmental organizations – let alone new social movements – in the published material of the WFTU and the WCL. I am inclined to believe that in the WFTU's worldview such oppositional civil realm actors were conflated within the same category as organized, anti-imperialist, trade union bodies. I am aware that many readers would object to the presumption that the ICFTU was representative of all other peak confederations. However, in relation to engagements

labour movements at furthest remove from the bureaucratized world of labour-state diplomacy. Assuming that the ICFTU was representative, the peak confederations can be viewed as being somewhat ambivalent about such interactions. Their organizational and ideological dispositions, as well as their interests, were tailored for engagement with the political sphere. This disposition seemed to change little even as profound changes were occurring in the structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. And yet such peak bodies did make significant contributions to various cross-border campaigns. The point of this is that such contributions were of an *ad hoc* nature, and prompted by crises. These contributions were not of a routine sort; they did not result from the confederations' established modes of practice.

Thus, reservations notwithstanding, it can be said that estrangement from the civil was in some respects giving way, as such peak trade union confederations took on ancillary roles in the increasing number of oppositional campaigns straddling the civil-political, and North-South divides. As the 1980s came to a close we saw signs of a willingness on the part of even the most reticent labour organizations to cautiously make connections beyond the state-mediated political sphere. This tendency could be discerned, for instance, from the statements and resolutions of the ICFTU's 1988 World Conference. While issuing the traditional exhortations to "strengthen the role of inter-governmental organizations", the ICFTU also hinted at a shift beyond the political sphere. In the conference preamble there was an expressed "recognition of the urgent need to find new ways of attracting the millions of unorganized workers – both male and female – to the trade union movement".[136] It is in such statements that we perhaps see the first signs of more profound change. As of 1989, however, such fundamental, widespread, and uniform change was not yet apparent. Arrighi's previously quoted "uncertain minuet in old and new-left relations"[137] seems to be an apt way of characterizing all that we have seen thus far.

1972-89. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – COMMERCIAL ACTORS

We now turn to the interactions between organized labour and civil-commercial actors. A survey of these interactions will help provide a more complete assessment of change in relationships beyond the state-mediated political sphere, as manifested on both national and global planes. It offers another vantage point from which to view and assess organized labour's orientation in relation to the state.

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with progressive non-trade union actors, it is plausible to believe that the similarities in approaches outweighed the differences, given all such actors' shared preoccupation with inter-governmental organizations.

[136] ICFTU-Editorial, "The Free Trade Union Movement Sets Its International Strategies", *Free Labour World*, 5, April (1988), p. 1. See also ICFTU, "Circular (to Affiliates #24) Summary of Decisions of the 14th World Congress, Melbourne, 14-18 1988", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1988), John Vandervcken, "Welcome to Congress", *Free Labour World*, 4, February (1988).

The previous assessment of labour's engagement with civil-commercial actors between 1945-72 focused on two inter-related themes: the first was a survey of how the more established forms of worker-employer interaction had developed; and the second looked at the ways in which such mechanisms came to manifest themselves on the global plane. That section examined the ways in which shop-floor, enterprise, or nationwide forms of interaction – for example, those premised on volunteerism, business-unionism, works councils, and codetermination – were replicated in relations across borders. All this was considered against a background marked, primarily, by the emergence of the multinational corporation. It was argued that tentative efforts to engage directly with multinational corporations came at a time when organized labour – viewed broadly – was less inclined than ever to commit to emancipatory worldviews. The engagement with the civil-commercial actors in this global context was interpreted not as a rejection of the authority of the state, but as a further commitment to the same developmentalist ideas that states themselves ascribed to.

The following continues to trace the growth of mechanisms of interaction between organized labour and civil-commercial actors. The main protagonists will be the industry-specific International Trade Secretariats, and the multinational corporations. I will contend that by the late-1980s, the transnational network of labour organizations had established processes and mechanisms of interaction with multinational corporations that were global in scope. Ultimately, however, organized labour's attempts to insinuate itself into the decision-making processes of civil-commercial actors met with very limited success. Moreover, while such interaction did signal a new, and ongoing, phase in the globalization of organized labour, this did not in the end diminish its reliance upon the authority of the state.

Throughout the 1970s labour academics and practitioners alike grappled with the question of how best to respond to dramatic changes in the structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. The most pressing concerns related to the changing structure of production and, more specifically, to establishing effective transnational collective bargaining with multinational corporations. There were those who believed the spread of these corporations would also entail the emergence of a worldwide system of negotiation that relied little on the mediation of the state. These "evolutionary optimists", in Ramsay's words, considered the internationalization of capital as the catalyst for the long-awaited spread of labour internationalism.[138] For their part, the "left pessimists" saw in the spread of the multinational corporations "a recipe for fragmentation and

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[137] Arrighi, Hopkins, and Wallerstein, *Antisystemic Movements*, p. 89.

[138] Harvie Ramsay, "Solidarity at Last? International Trade Unionism Approaching the Millennium", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 18 (1997), p. 506. The following are representative of this position. Charles Levinson, *International Trade Unionism* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1972), and Paul J Weinberg, *European Labor and Multinationals* (New York: Praeger, 1978).

division".[139] How were these positions expressed within the transnational network of labour organizations?

The confederations comprising peak national affiliates had little direct engagement with the civil-commercial actors. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions sought an arms-length solution to the growth of multinational corporations by investing in the state-mediated UN Commission on Transnational Corporations, and the long-awaited code of conduct on the practices of such corporations.[140] The World Federation of Trade Unions adopted a similar approach, though its criticisms of the multinational corporations and the proposed code of conduct were far more pointed. From this perspective, multinational corporations were viewed not as a new phenomenon, but as a logical outcome of capitalist expansion – hence the WFTU's calls for worker control of such enterprises.[141] Similarly, the World Confederation of Labour considered multinational corporations as the "channel of imperialism", and was sceptical of the United Nations' proposed code of conduct.[142]

Consequently, it was left to the industry-specific trade secretariats to pursue policies of direct engagement. While also supporting calls for codes of conduct that regulated the behaviour of multinationals, trade secretariats attempted to establish formal mechanisms of direct interaction, with the primary objective being the legitimization of transnational collective bargaining. In addition to these industry-specific confederations, various regional and national coalitions of trade union bodies also made efforts to engage civil-commercial actors. These were either *ad hoc* industry, or corporation-specific, coalitions, often functioning under the auspices of regional trade union bodies.

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[139] Ramsay, "Solidarity at Last? International Trade Unionism Approaching the Millennium". The work of Olle and Schoeller is representative here. Werner Olle and Wolfgang Schoeller, "World Market Competition and Restrictions Upon International Trade Union Policies", in *International Labour and the Third World*, eds. Rosalind E. Boyd, Robin Cohen, and Peter C.W. Gutkind (Aldershot: Gower, 1987). Ulman's prescient writing of the early 1970s should also be noted. LLoyd Ulman, "Multinational Unionism: Incentives, Barriers, and Alternatives", *Industrial Relations*, 14, 1 (1975). See also Ramsay's collaborations with Nigel Haworth. Nigel Haworth and Harvie Ramsay, "Labour and Management Strategies in the World Market: The Plot Thickens", in *The Politics of Industrial Closure*, eds. Tony Dickson and David Judge (London: The MacMillan Press, 1987), Nigel Haworth and Harvie Ramsey, "Workers of the World Untied: International Capital and Some Dilemmas in Industrial Democracy", in *Trade Unions and the New Industrialization of the Third World*, ed. Roger Southall (London: Zed, 1988).

[140] Kassalow points out that there were important divergences of opinion on multinational corporations from the various regional affiliates of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Some were far less antagonistic towards such corporations than others. To many, the multinational corporations were the source of much-needed investment and technology. Everett Kassalow, "Trade Union Ideologies and the Multinational Companies", in *Multinationals, Unions and Labor Relations in Industrialized Countries*, eds. Robert F. Banks and Jack Stieber (New York: Cornell University, 1977), pp. 177-78.

[141] Editorial, "Some Basic Issues for Consideration on the UN Code of Activities of Transnational Corporations", *World Trade Union Movement* 2, February (1983), Mario Ramos, "UN-Transnationals", *World Trade Union Movement*, 6, June (1982), Mario Sanfelici, "Control the Monopolies While Continuing to Fight Them: Some Suggestions for an Instrument of Control to Govern the Activities of Transnational Corporations", *World Trade Union Movement* 12, December (1976).

[142] Kassalow, "Trade Union Ideologies and the Multinational Companies", p. 176. For a broad overview of initiatives in the field of multinational regulation see Geoffrey Hamilton, "Initiatives Undertaken by International Organizations in the Field of Employee Information and Consultation in Multinational Undertakings (I.L.O., O.E.C.D., U.N.)", in *Employee*

These developments can best be illustrated by examining specific attempts at formalizing relationships with multinational corporations. We start with some examples of trade secretariats attempting to establish systems of transnational collective bargaining. The focus then shifts to more context-specific attempts by labour actors to insinuate themselves into the decision-making processes of these civil-commercial actors. What becomes apparent is that the practices, processes, and organizational forms used by organized labour to negotiate relationships in the commercial sphere all proved inadequate. This suggests that labour's connection to the state remained the keystone relationship for constituents at all levels of the transnational network of labour organizations. This was in spite of the continuing increase in the network's global reach, and the omnipresent nature of the multinational corporation.

The advantages of transnational collective bargaining are self-evident. If trade union organizations within the orbit of the same multinational corporation coordinate their claims, the implied threat of synchronized cross-border strike action strengthens the hands of trade union negotiators.[143] The trade secretariats endeavoured to establish organizational and regime-based frameworks aimed at securing such agreements. An important organizational dimension to such agreements was the World Company Council. We may recall that these were information gathering/disseminating advocacy councils dedicated to overseeing labour relations with specific multinational corporations.[144] The first of these had appeared in 1966, and by 1972 others had formed and been assigned to their respective multinationals. In these early days most of the councils focused upon corporations of the automotive industry. Throughout the 1970s the number of secretariat-sponsored company councils grew steadily. In addition to those previously identified – those designated to General Motors, Ford, Chrysler, Volkswagen-Mercedes Benz, Fiat-Citröen, British Leyland, Michelin and Dunlop -- there were company councils established in the foods and chemicals industries. Trade secretariats such as the IUF[145] followed the lead of those overseeing the worldwide automotive industry, forming councils that were designated to the likes of Nestlé, Unilever, Coca-Cola, Philip Morris and General Foods.

Consultation and Information in Multinational Corporations, ed. Jacques Vandamme (New Hampshire: Croom Helm, 1986).

[143] Crucial to the success of this process was ensuring that the expiry dates of existing agreements were aligned. However, due to a range of obstacles, such coordination was very difficult to achieve. There were existing, and differing, national collective bargaining systems with which to contend. Some of these covered many companies and corporations, while others applied to specific enterprises or even specific locations. Also common were agreements that focused only on wages, while others dealt mainly with work-place conditions. Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies*, pp. 90-92.

[144] One trade secretariat's definition of the company council concept is as follows: they are to "enable unions with common membership in specific companies to compare experience and to coordinate their policies and activities. These councils also provide participant unions with a platform from which to approach the corporate management to multinational companies on issues which are beyond the scope of national management". See IUF, "Executive Committee Report", pp. IX(a)/13.

[145] International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations.

There were many examples of secretariat–company council activity throughout the 1970s and 1980s. The company councils of the International Metal Workers' Federation – especially those assigned to Nissan, General Motors, Chrysler, and Renault – all played important roles in various industrial disputes and negotiations. A brief tour of the more noteworthy encounters will assist in assessing the fundamental nature of organized labour's engagement with civil-commercial actors throughout these years.

The Nissan World Company Council played a crucial part in resolving a 1974 dispute between management at the Nissan plant in Cuernavacos, Mexico, and approximately 1,300 workers. Negotiations over wage levels had reached an impasse and the workforce were preparing to engage in strike action. The company council assumed a mediating role by linking local workers and managers, the Nissan head office in Tokyo, and the trade secretariat's Geneva office. It played a modest, but important, role in broking a resolution that involved a wage increase. In many ways the involvement of the trade secretariat and the company council strengthened the hand of local affiliated unions and to that extent their participation was significant.[146]

Mexico was the site of a similar dispute in 1975. Workers at the General Motors plant in Mexico City took strike action when plans for factory relocation were mooted. The metal workers' secretariat again mobilized a campaign using its IMF-General Motors World Auto Council. Coordinating the campaign through its Geneva office, the trade secretariat enlisted support from its company council members worldwide. An important contribution was made by the United Automobile Workers in both America and Canada, as they were able to bring pressure to bear on General Motors' headquarters in Detroit. Other company council members pressured the mediators sent by the Mexican Labour Ministry. Once again, the outcome – a very qualified 'victory' – was due in part to trade secretariat and company council intervention.

An encounter with no clear resolution involved the Chrysler World Auto Council and Peugeot-Citröen during the latter's 1981 takeover attempt of Chrysler's European operations. Up to forty thousand jobs in Great Britain, Spain, and Belgium were threatened during this corporate manoeuvre. The company council in this instance convened meetings between British, Spanish, Belgian, and French metal workers' unions, as well as with the United Automobile Workers in the United States. A Europe-wide press campaign formed a central part of the company council's attempts to force Peugeot-Citröen management to the table. The latter's compromise solution sought to compartmentalize the negotiations within distinct company-specific fora. The response of the International Metal Workers' Federation was to form a new company council – the Peugeot-Citröen-Chrysler World Company Council – that would oversee relations in any corporate

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[146] Bendiner, *International Labour Affairs: The World Trade Unions and the Multinational Companies*, pp. 73-74.

configuration that might emerge. Though management relented to the extent that it agreed to engage with the various national trade union representatives, the company councils remained ostracized.

The final instance involving company councils of the International Metal Workers' Federation concerns the activities of the Renault Auto Council. In 1986 this council coordinated a campaign aimed at pressuring the French government into preserving state ownership of Renault. A change of government in France, and the job-shedding pressures of new technology, had made likely the privatization of this corporation. The company council in this instance had to contend with divisions between French affiliates – who were willing to countenance the closure of offshore plants if such a move averted privatization – and those of non-European plants whose jobs were seen as most expendable. The latter category included, in the main, American auto workers of Wisconsin. Ultimately, agreements were struck ensuring increased training in new technologies, and the preservation of Renault's plants in America.[147]

The same pattern of engagement can be seen in the interventions of the trade secretariat overseeing the worldwide food manufacturing and services industries. The secretariat responsible, the IUF,[148] actively promoted the idea of direct engagement through the medium of the company council. In the early 1970s the company councils of most importance to the IUF were those associated with Nestlé and Unilever. These were followed by councils designated to Coca-Cola and a range of tobacco companies, including Rothmans, Philip Morris, and R.J. Reynolds.

There is no need to provide here a similar case-by-case survey of this secretariat's company council activity.[149] Suffice to say, for all this activity – and when considered across the industrial spectrum – World Company Councils achieved little. This was especially so when one considers that their principal function was to compel multinational corporations to enter into binding transnational collective bargaining agreements. As their relevance waned, all they could hope to extract from the multinational corporations was increased information disclosure and 'consultation' regimes. By the mid-1980s most company councils had become moribund, or had collapsed altogether.[150] Far from

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[147] These snapshots of World Company Councils rely heavily on the work of Burton Bendiner. The work cited here is one the very few secondary sources available on the topic of direct engagement with multinational corporations. Ibid.

[148] The International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Associations.

[149] Typically, the IUF's councils would respond to a request from a national trade union body that had reached an impasse with a multinational corporation. Acting under the auspices of the trade secretariat, the council assigned to the corporation would respond by convening meetings of the relevant trade union representatives from across the globe. Delegations would be dispatched to corporate headquarters, and then more generalized lobbying commenced. In short, the role played by the secretariat-company council would more often be an ameliorative one. This secretariat provides thorough accounts of its councils' activities. Refer to the following for details on campaign issues, mobilization and outcomes. IUF, "Executive Committee Report", pp. 3-7, item 10, IUF, "Executive Committee Report", pp. 13-20, item 9.

[150] The level of activity of the IUF's company councils can be traced by referring to the following congress documents. Note that by 1985 the councils scarcely rate a mention. IUF, "Executive Committee Report", IUF, "Executive Committee

asserting the will of the workers on the multinational corporations, the trade secretariats' company councils were all but ignored by corporate actors. Observers who had warned of the "overheated expectations" of company councils were vindicated.[151]

While such organizational initiatives as company councils failed to live up to expectations, there were other, context-specific engagements that featured in the industrial relations landscape on the global and regional planes. Perhaps the most enduring engagement of this sort involved the International Transportworkers' Federation and its attempts to counter the 'flags-of-convenience' phenomenon within the worldwide shipping industry.[152] Flags-of-convenience ships first appeared in the 1920s and their number steadily increased in subsequent decades. The increase was particularly marked throughout the 1970s and 1980s.[153]

The Federation's response was premised upon an organizational structure that engaged with the political and civil realms simultaneously. In an attempt to minimize the use of the flags-of-convenience mechanism, the International Transportworkers' Federation relied upon two bodies. The first of these – the trade secretariat's Seafarers' Section – was responsible for lobbying governments and inter-governmental organizations. Its work was complemented by the Special Seafarers Department, the body of most relevance to this study. This department worked closely with dockworkers to build an inspection regime that confronted ship owners. It also provided a point of contact for aggrieved seafarers of all nations. The port-based inspection crews associated with the Special Seafarers Department were put in place in 1971. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s they proved effective in pressuring flags-of-convenience ship owners into accepting agreements endorsed by the International Transportworkers' Federation.[154] They also proved effective in helping the Special Seafarers Department to recoup from ship owners wages owed to seafarers. A means of applying this pressure was through the issuing (or denial) of the secretariat's Blue Certificate. Once granted, this certificate gave ships access to ports that were serviced by affiliated national unions.

Report", IUF, "Executive Committee Report", IUF, "Executive Committee Report" (paper presented at the 21st Congress, Geneva, 12-16 November 1989).

[151] Ramsay, "Solidarity at Last? International Trade Unionism Approaching the Millennium", p. 506.

[152] The flags-of-convenience practice is one that enables ship owners to by-pass the labour laws of their own country. By abandoning their country's 'flag' and then registering the vessel in low or *no*-standard countries – such as Panama, Liberia, or Honduras – they are able to acquire extremely cheap labour without providing appropriate health and safety environments. In effect, the flags-of-convenience vessels, collectively, represent what Koch-Baumgarten sees as a maritime version of "'free' – i.e., deregulated and international – production zones". Sigrid Koch-Baumgarten, "Trade Union Regime Formation under the Conditions of Globalization in the Transport Sector: Attempts at Transnational Trade Union Regulation of Flag-of-Convenience Shipping", *International Review of Social History*, 43 (1998), p. 375.

[153] From 1.2 per cent in 1939-45 to 4.5 per cent in 1950, 18.1 per cent in 1970 and by the late 1980s had reached approximately forty per cent of all shipping. Ibid., pp. 376-77.

[154] The number of flags-of-convenience ships operating under approved secretariat agreements increased steadily over the decades. From just fifty in 1952, the number increased to 2400 in 1982, and by the late 1980s was at approximately 2000. See Reinalda, "The ITF in the Context of International Trade Unionism", pp. 28-29.

By the late-1980s, however, this flags-of-convenience campaign was under immense pressure. Even this most durable and long-standing mechanism of engagement with civil-commercial actors was being steadily undermined by prevailing structural imperatives. Rationalization measures brought about by technological change and economic restructuring had led to significant reductions in employment in traditional maritime countries of the developed world. This removed a strata of relatively unskilled seafarers, leaving others to counter the influx of cheap labour from Asia or Eastern Europe. This also had the effect of reducing trade union membership across the seafaring nations and, in turn, severely affecting organizational strength. In addition, the competitive pressure of flags-of-convenience shipping inhibited improvements in wages and conditions where governments, inter-governmental organizations, and trade unions were amenable to compromise.

The flags-of-convenience campaign also came under pressure from governments that offered ship owners quasi-flag-of-convenience mechanisms. This became prevalent in the late-1980s as governments attempted to undermine trade union restrictions, attract capital, and bolster economic competitiveness.[155] Finally, hitherto latent tensions existing between seafarers of the North and South became more pronounced. Because standards in the trade secretariat-endorsed agreements had been set according to northern European criteria, this meant that seafarers of the aspiring developing countries were at a disadvantage. As Koch-Baugarten puts it, the

> internationally coordinated regulation of the FOC [flags-of-convenience] sector by collective agreements took place under the organizational hegemony of the trade unions in the capital-exporting countries and was directed towards closing the labour market to the Asian newcomers.[156]

We will soon re-visit the internal and external pressures impacting on all attempts at transnational collective bargaining. For now it is worth noting that during this period the flags-of-convenience campaign achieved only moderate success, managing to slow the spread of a still virulent practice. Like the previous attempts at engagement with civil-commercial actors *via* company councils, this mechanism for interaction was also enduring great stress, with its future viability in question by the late-1980s.

A third form of interaction with civil-commercial actors entailed the willing incorporation of a trade union agent into a multinational corporation's global and regional structure. This was alluded to earlier in the section devoted to identifying strategic and functional relationships between organized labour and governments in the national-political realm. There we referred to the case of

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[155] For the sake of brevity I have merely sketched an outline of these complex issues. For more detail see Koch-Baumgarten, "Trade Union Regime Formation under the Conditions of Globalization in the Transport Sector: Attempts at Transnational Trade Union Regulation of Flag-of-Convenience Shipping", pp. 378-80.

Japanese-style 'business unionism'. As well as involving a strategic dimension relating to the government's foreign policy interests, business unionism in this context also required a high level of symbiosis between multinational corporations and what came to be known as *enterprise unions*.

When, in the mid-1980s, Japanese multinational corporations asserted their presence throughout the Asia-Pacific region and beyond, their associated enterprise unions were by default cast as regional labour actors. However, far from pursuing cross-border campaigns that fostered oppositional labour internationalism, these enterprise unions merely entrenched – indeed, exported – a collaborative, deferential, form of labour-business relations. In short, they helped to render impotent trade unions in those locations that hosted subsidiaries of Japanese multinational corporations.

Williamson's research of Japanese manufacturing subsidiaries throughout Asia bears this out.[157] The specific focus here is on the Thai Yazaki and Associated Workers' Union, the Thai Honda Union, and the Toyota Thailand Workers' Union.[158] He concludes that even though the Japanese enterprise unions facilitated cross-border interactions with their Thai counterparts, the overriding motive was to underscore the business culture of their own parent corporation. This meant, for example, the implementation of practices requiring workers to attend morning exercises and 'Quality Circles'. To this extent, engagement with multinational corporations was relatively harmonious, formal, and institutionalized; but this was so only because of the trade unions' commitment to the imperatives of corporate enterprise.[159]

To this point we have reviewed mechanisms of engagement – the company council, flags of convenience, and enterprise union regimes – that relied heavily on relatively stable organizational forms. Clearly, these models do not cover all forms of engagement. In addition to these there were labour-corporation engagements that involved somewhat looser coalitions of national trade union organizations. There were also collaborative attempts made by various peak and regional industry-specific confederations to persuade corporations to abide by procedures for collective bargaining and conflict resolution. In each case, the trade union agents strove to establish formalized regimes of connection with corporate actors. Yet, as in the examples cited so far, these engagements –

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[156] Ibid., p. 394.
[157] Williamson, "Japanese Enterprise Unions in Transnational Companies: Prospects for International Co-Operation".
[158] The Thai Yazaki and Associated Workers' Union represented 4,600 permanent workers in five subsidiaries of the Yazaki company. The Honda union represented 960 permanent workers in two plants, while the Toyota union represented 1,200 workers in one plant. Ibid., p. 21.
[159] Greenfield's short, but scathing, assessment of this phenomena is also useful. Gerald Greenfield, "Global Business Unionism", *Asian Labour Update*, 4, August-October (1996).

formal or otherwise – were tenuous and, more often, disappointing, especially if viewed from an oppositional trade union viewpoint.[160]

1972-89. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

How can all this be related to the central theme of this thesis? What do such connections tell us about the degree of overall network integration? To what extent are the connections identified above indicative of a network that is turning away from the state? In short, what does the preceding narrative tell us about the ways in which the transnational network of labour organizations was globalizing throughout this period? Answers to these questions must be prefaced with a reminder of the wider context. This was a time when tremendous structural forces were combining to transnationalize regimes of production, distribution, trade, and transport. Moreover, universalizing ideologies of neoliberalism and developmentalism were combining with an embedded statism: one effect being the expansion of a layer of inter-governmental organizations that, together, represented a far more integrated and global system of macro-economic management.

More specifically, this was a time when organized labour's nemesis – the multinational corporation – was asserting itself in ways that might well have sparked a proliferation of activities and practices associated with labour advocacy onto the global plane. If ever trade union advocacy was to become more global it was at this point. After all, labour boasted an established worldwide organizational framework, and had access to the same communication technologies that enabled corporate actors to expand beyond borders. Moreover, the imperative to establish ameliorative, if not oppositional, forms of engagement was all the more urgent given the severe economic downturns throughout these years.[161]

Instead, organized labour's cross-border engagements with civil-commercial actors were intermittent and faltering, even when facilitated through 'permanent' organizational fixtures such as the World Company Councils. Similarly – in the case of industry-specific, or enterprise-based

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[160] Of course, obstacles to transnational collective bargaining were formidable. Aside from entrenched opposition by the commercial actors, the unity of approach was undermined because the compromises that such bargaining entailed necessarily impacted differently on the interests of the various labour protagonists. The stronger or more incorporated of labour movements were often inclined to avoid supporting transnational collective bargaining negotiations with commercial actors if there was a risk of downward harmonization in conditions and standards. In the words of Ebbinghaus and Visser, "the Brussels power play does not appeal equally to each national union movement; its appeal depends largely on national contingencies. Some union movements have reason to fear the loss of...status at home; others hold so little status in the domestic public arena that they can only gain from going to Brussels. [And] the unions that would benefit most from cooperation are least able to achieve domestic endorsement and to pursue a transnational strategy, whereas those union that would be capable of putting pressure on Brussels are reluctant to share power or fear losing their home advantage". Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Jelle Visser, "European Labor and Transnational Solidarity: Challenges, Pathways, and Barriers", in *European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective: 1950 to the Present*, eds. Jytte Klausen and Louise A. Tilly (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), p. 213.

[161] Haworth and Ramsey, "Workers of the World Untied: International Capital and Some Dilemmas in Industrial Democracy", pp. 316-18.

mediums – these interactions were often *ad hoc*, collaborative, or deferential. Even during times that were most conducive to transnational collective bargaining, the peak confederations were unable to insinuate themselves in ways that would influence multinationals. Once more we find that it was the constituent parts of the network of labour organizations – those in close proximity to the state – that were of greatest relevance.

PART THREE: 1972-89 CONCLUSION

These observations of the external resonate with those made in earlier sections concerning internal movement integrity. Indeed, the tensions identified there are very evident in organized labour's external relations throughout this period. The effects of these tensions were played out in the realm of the peak confederations, and were reflected in the nature and effectiveness of the advocacy at that level. They determined the nature of the engagement with actors external to the network, within both civil and political realms.

Throughout the 1972-89 period, the transnational network of labour organizations had grown in ways that further enhanced its 'fit' with the state. When the opportunity to go beyond the state-mediated political realm arose, endogenous and exogenous barriers combined to impede such efforts. We recall here earlier discussions on organized labour's growing commitment to the ideologies of developmentalism –on what Haworth calls "reactive conservatism"[162] – and the subsequent purging from the network's ranks of oppositional actors. All this resulted in a worldwide movement that only had at its disposal structures and political practices that usually led to a growing reliance on the state. This was so in spite of the loosening of corporatist constraints, and the tentative, yet faltering, engagements with actors of the civil realm. Though this continued to be a time of organizational expansion – and, to some extent, integration – for labour worldwide, the political practices and relationships underpinning the movement remained state-orientated. And this was at a time when the prevailing structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology were combining to open the door to the 'outside.'

[162] Ibid., p. 315.

PART FOUR

PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES 1989-2003

If 1972-89 can be characterized as a period of great instability, the subsequent years have been nothing short of tumultuous. In little more than a decade a series momentous events have impacted on the world across all spheres. We have witnessed the dismantling of the Soviet empire and the subsequent creation of new and autonomous republics in that region. There have been conflagrations in the Persian Gulf and the Balkans, as well as ethnic blood-letting in Rwanda. Since the 1990s there has been a dramatic increase in the spread of diseases, with AIDS, malaria, and tuberculosis running rampant in many regions. Global warming and the depletion of the ozone layer have caused unseasonable droughts and/or flooding, triggering environmental crises of monumental proportions. The sum of human suffering is compounded by the effects of hyper-liberalism and endemic levels of corporate theft. All this has contributed to what has come to be known as the 'failed state' phenomena, and the consequent increase in famine, displaced peoples, and refugees.[1]

Many consider such developments to be – at least in part – symptomatic of a sea-change in world affairs.[2] This is said to entail a growing sense of borderlessness, immediacy, and non-territorial linkages that appear to be undermining traditional centers of authority and social formations. But how can all this be understood in terms of change to the structural imperatives referred to throughout this thesis? The following attempts to order these complex dynamics in a way that can help make sense of the ways in which organized labour globalized throughout this period.

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[1] An excellent snapshot of these calamitous events can be found in the following supplement. Various, "Earth - Supplement", *The Guardian Weekly*, August 2002.

[2] In searching for a language that might explain such change scholars developed theories of 'globalization'. By the mid-1990s variations on this theme had emerged, each with distinctive emphases. Some focused on the idea of "supra-territoriality", others on "temporal-spatial acceleration", while the notion of "time-space distantiation" also had its adherents. These phrases were coined by Jan A Scholte, R.B.J. Walker, and Anthony Giddens respectively. Refer to Anthony Giddens, *Beyond Left and Right* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995), Anthony Giddens, *Modernity and Self-identity* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), Jan Aart Scholte, "Globalization: Prospects for a Paradigm Shift", in *Politics and Globalization: Knowledge, Ethics and Agency*, ed. Martin Shaw (London: Routledge, 1999), R.B.J. Walker, *Inside/Outside: International Relations as Political Theory* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993). I choose these as representatives of a spectrum of theoretical endeavour, in part, because they were the subject of a forceful critique of 'globalization theory' mounted by Justin Rosenberg. In this critique, Rosenberg teases out the essential

1989-2003. THE STRUCTURE OF PRODUCTION

This is a time in which transnational business networks span the globe, and in which joint ventures and strategic alliances between multinational corporations are commonplace.[3] While the propensity for capital and industry to take flight may at times be exaggerated, it is nevertheless the case that manufacturing plants continue to gravitate to semi-peripheral settings. Regardless of national base, global profitability is the central imperative for multinational corporations in what is now a highly competitive, and export obsessed world.[4]

Notwithstanding the advent of more non-hierarchical systems of control, the multinational corporation has become the principal determinant of the structure of production.[5] By the end of the 1980s, the expansion of production beyond the developed world, the integration of systems of management, and the concentration of economic power had become pre-dominant, entwined processes. Dramatic changes have since occurred in the nature of the commodities and services exchanged within this system of production. Incessant commodification has meant that trade in intellectual property has combined with advances in biotechnology to allow multinationals to use "new intellectual property rights to stake far-reaching claims of ownership over a vast array of biological resources".[6] Similarly, negotiations are under-way within the World Trade Organization to assess the viability of trade in hitherto publicly provided natural resources and services. The corollary of this may be the mandatory privatization of public utilities concerned with water supply, postal services, and other necessities.[7]

Of real concern to trade unionists has been the contraction of labour intensive industries. Financial-service sectors have displaced heavy industry in much of the developed world. Currency speculation runs rampant, with such trade emblematic of a highly dynamic, unregulated, and

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elements of these most prominent of globalization theorists. See Justin Rosenberg, *The Follies of Globalisation Theory* (London: Verso, 2000).

[3] By the late-1990s it was estimated that around 53,000 such corporations existed, accounting for up to seventy per cent of world trade. David Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1999), p. 282. Of these, a very small number – the largest one hundred – controlled approximately twenty per cent of foreign global assets, and thirty per cent of all multinational corporations' total world sales. UNCTAD, "World Investment Report 1997: Transnational Corporations, Market Structure and Competition Policy", (New York: United Nations, 1997), p. 8.

[4] Horsman and Marshall provide a vivid account of how the multinational corporation thrived in the wake of the Cold War, adopting worldwide organizational and marketing strategies that involved multi-country sourcing, procurement, production, and assembly. Mathew Horsman and Andrew Marshall, *After the Nation-State: Citizens, Tribalism and the New World Disorder* (London: HarperCollins, 1995), pp. 204-05.

[5] W Ruigrok and Van Tulder R., *The Logic of International Restructuring* (London: Routledge, 1995).

[6] This is especially so, for example, in the area of seeds and the production of genetically engineered crops. Anuradha Mittal and Peter Rosset, "The Privatisation of Seeds", *Chain Reaction*, 2002, p. 9.

[7] The following statement appearing in a leading business journal is symptomatic of this trend: "Today, companies like France's *Suez* are rushing to privatise water, already a $400 billion global business. They are betting that water will be to the 21st century what oil was to the 20th". Patricia Ranald, "Trading Away Our Water", *Chain Reaction*, 2002.

unstable global economy.[8] While high-technology industries exist on all continents, textiles and agriculture remain the province of the periphery, notwithstanding heavily protected agricultural sectors in much of Europe and North America.

How has this prevailing structure of production impacted on social and economic relations? In the developed world precarious employment, dislocation, and high levels of stress have become endemic. High levels of under-employment and unemployment also prevail as heavy industry recedes and boom-bust cycles become more concentrated in the finance and communications sectors.[9] At the same time there are tremendous disparities in wealth, with a "transnational capitalist class"[10] reaping great financial benefits. In Third World and developing countries, subsistence living is often the norm. This is so not only in rural areas, but in those urban settings that have attracted transient populations seeking employment.[11] Elements of this landscape resemble conditions in earlier periods. However, what sets today's structure of production apart is the scale and intensity of the processes inherent. Specifically, the expansion of production, the integration of markets and management systems, and the concentration of power, have all reached unprecedented levels of intensity.

1989-2003. THE STRUCTURE OF COMMUNICATION

Such changes in the structure of production are, of course, linked to advances in communication technology. Similar patterns – of expansion, integration, and concentration – can also be discerned in the changing structure of communication. At present the available communication technology consists, at one level, of a late-modern, global, information network comprising radio, television, telecommunications, and digital networks. At another level, it consists of classical-media such as postal services and the press. Both coexist in ways that have resulted in the integration of all regions across the developed and developing worlds.

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[8] John Hinkson, "Global Economy in the Year 2000", *Arena Magazine*, 2000, Susan M Roberts, "Geo-Governance in Trade and Finance and Political Geographies of Dissent", in *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance and Geography*, eds. Andrew Herod, Gearóid O. Tuathail, and Susan M. Roberts (London: Routledge, 1998), Ibrahim Warde, "Crony Capitalism in the West: The Banking System in Turmoil", *Le Monde diplomatique*, November 1998.

[9] The following journalistic accounts capture the mood of the times. Dan Atkinson and Larry Elliot, "Anxious? Insecure? You'll Get Used to It", *The Guardian Weekly*, 21 June 1998, Desmond Christy, "Downsizing to Disaster", *The Guardian Weekly*, 15 November 1998, Larry Elliot and Dan Atkinson, *The Age of Insecurity* (London: Verso, 1998), Jonathan Watts and Geoff Gibbs, "Corporate Axe to Fell 50,000 in Global Downturn", *The Guardian Weekly*, 30 August-5 September 2001.

[10] This is a term coined by Sklair. See Leslie Sklair, "The Transnational Capitalist Class and Global Politics: Deconstructing the Corporate-State Connection", *International Political Science Review*, 23, 2 (2002).

[11] I am aware that the data relating to global economic justice is complex and can be interpreted to support diametrically opposed views on the subject. While debate continues on the overall rate of development and wealth accumulation, there is consensus on the question of disparity. The following stark figures give an indication of the extent of such inequality: 2.8 billion people continue to live on just two dollars per day; the richest twenty-five million Americans have an income equivalent to almost two-billion people; the assets of the world's three richest men are equal to the combined income of the world's least developed countries. Charlotte Denny, "European Cows Are Better Off Than Half the World", *The Guardian Weekly*, August 2002, p. 7, UNDP, "UNDP: The Human Development Report", (New York: United Nations, 2002), Various, "Earth - Supplement".

The late-modern network is one in which the earth orbiting satellite is a permanent feature, and in which text, sound, and images are translated into a common format – digital or binary – that is available, in theory at least, to anyone instantaneously. Everyday manifestations of this late-modern network include the ubiquitous personal computer, digital money, cryptography, the internet, e-mail, intranets, cellular phones, info-processing algorithms, as well as display and storage technologies with remarkable capacities.[12] Significantly, the 1990s witnessed the continued growth of a "cyber-financial structure" that, in the words of one, "came to dominate virtually all other forms of social organization".[13] More broadly, the historical confluence of military, commercial, industrial, scientific, and bureaucratic interests has spawned a range of innovations in the field of communications technology.

But of what significance is all this to social relations? All these advances have fostered expanded, and yet increasingly integrated, networks of interaction. This form of integration does not preclude instability. The aforementioned 'cyber-financial structure' has come to represent a formidable impediment for governments when exercising their authority. This is so because the highly erratic and volatile nature of the global trade in stocks, bonds, and currencies have greatly affected interest rates and levels of unemployment.[14] Such advances have determined the patterns of socialization and production that have, ultimately, seen a transition in many regions to what has come to be known as the 'informational society'.

But it is worth emphasizing that classical-media – based on postal services and the press – have not been supplanted.[15] This is in large part due to the prohibitive costs of new technologies and equipment, as well as to the lack of available infrastructure for providers in developing regions.[16] It is the case that radio – a technology that can be said to straddle the classical and late-modern categories – remains the most widely used technology.[17] However, while there may not be mass-participation in the use of the new forms of communications technologies, there is a mass-audience. This form of 'passive' integration is in large part facilitated by the emergence of English as the world's dominant language. In sum, the late-twentieth century advances in communications technology have permitted a seemingly contradictory process entailing a concentration of power within a worldwide network of corporate entities, as well as the unmediated and instantaneous

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[12] Geoffrey L. Herrera, "The Politics of Bandwitdth: International Political Implications of a Global Digital Information Network", *Review of International Studies*, 28 (2002), pp. 104-19.
[13] Peter McMahon, "Technology and Globalization: An Overview", *Prometheus*, 19, 3 (2001), p. 218.
[14] Herrera, "The Politics of Bandwitdth: International Political Implications of a Global Digital Information Network", pp. 100-02, McMahon, "Technology and Globalization: An Overview", p. 218.
[15] Indeed, these forms, according to Anashin, "continue to be, for the great majority, the most important mediums". See the Anashin's contribution to the following report UNESCO, *The World Communication and Information Report 1999-2000* (Paris: UNESCO, 1999), p. 167.
[16] Ibid., pp. 167-68.
[17] Ibid., p. 179.

engagement through and around structures of authority. It is to these organizational and administrative structures to which we now turn.

1989-2003. THE STRUCTURE OF ORGANIZATION

Throughout this period the organizational structure has been constituted by, and yet also a major influence on, the structures of production and communication discussed above. The contemporary structure of organization is one that continues to be premised upon the authority of the state. And yet, this period is also one characterized by the increasing tendency on the part of governments to defer to a range of powerful commercial entities as well as to transnational and regional inter-governmental bodies.

From 1989 – and since the dissolution of the bipolar system of military alliances – the number of independent states has burgeoned, increasing from the 1989 figure of 156 to 191 in 2002.[18] Subsequently, the Cold War has been replaced as the principal organizational narrative by neoliberalism. The rivalry that once found expression through Cold War antagonism and brinkmanship increasingly manifests itself in the competition for markets. This has meant the growth of what Karns sees as "glomerations of governance" concerned with mediating relations between actors in all spheres and at all levels.[19] It has also meant the formation of the World Trade Organization[20] and the ever-increasing concentration of authority in it and its sister-bodies, the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Another tier of governing networks – those comprising, for example, the Group of Seven and the Trilateral Commission – has been joined by those such as the Group of Twenty. The latter, formed in 1999, comprises leaders of both developed and Third World countries and also supports many aspects of the existing neoliberal financial order.[21] Taken as a whole, this network of interlocking regimes of governance is committed to administering a global neoliberal market-based system.[22] Such regimes have, to a great extent, marginalized many of the more established post-war inter-governmental

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[18] These figures are available on the United Nation's Department of Public Information website at http://www.un.org/Overview/growth.htm, visited 8/10/03, updated 23 April 2003.

[19] One can refer, for example, to the following: the increased integration within the framework of the European Economic and Monetary Union (with the 1991 Maastricht, and 1997 Amsterdam Treaties facilitating still greater integration); the formation of the forum of Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (1989); the Southern Cone Common Market (or MERCOSUR, established in 1991); the North American Free Trade Agreement (1996); and the Gulf Cooperation Council. Karns also points out that this "second-track diplomacy has involved business leaders, economists and security specialists from university centers and think-tanks". Margaret P. Karns, "Postinternational Politics and the Growing Glomerations of Global Governance", in *Pondering Postinternationalism: A Paradigm for the Twenty-First Century*, ed. Heidi H. Hobbs (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000), pp. 43-44. She cites the example of the growing network of such bodies in the Asia-Pacific region. These now include the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council, the Pacific Trade and Development Conference, the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific, and the APEC Business Advisory Council.

[20] The World Trade Organization replaced the GATT on completion of its Uruguay Round in 1994.

[21] Rober O. Keohane and Joseph S. Jr. Nye, "Introduction: Governance in a Globalizing World", in *Governance in a Globalizing World*, eds. Joseph S. Jr. Nye and John D. Donahue (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2000), p. 25.

[22] Charlotte Denny, "School Doors Finally Being Pushed Open", *The Guardian Weekly*, 24 April-1 May 2002.

organizations; most notably, those within the United Nations system that are concerned with normative issues relating to social, cultural, and economic well-being.

Apart from the ever-expanding networks of inter-governmental bodies, there is now a formidable community of international non-governmental organizations that continue to insinuate themselves into decision-making processes within the United Nations and beyond.[23] Overall, while the United States reigns as *the* global empire – the dominant force in terms of military, political, economic and cultural influence – the structure of global governance is nevertheless complex and multi-layered. Increasingly, this structure integrates the system of states within an over-arching regime of neoliberal, market-oriented interactions, while at the same time serving more traditional purposes relating to state security.

1989-2003. THE STRUCTURE OF IDEOLOGY

Throughout this thesis a framework has been utilized to identify change in ideological trends. It has grouped many ideological tendencies under the category headings of conservative, instrumental, developmental, and emancipatory worldviews. By the new millennium the landscape inhabited by labour was one characterized by the prominence of instrumental worldviews. This ensemble of ideologies privileges calculating and technocratic programs designed to maximize political and economic gain. Incorporated in this are the ideas associated with neoliberalism, an ideological tendency that has attained the status of commonsense. And yet this instrumentalist neoliberal characterization does not fully capture the prevailing mood.

Combining with instrumentalism are enduring conservative creeds such as statism and nationalist parochialism. Also evident within this conservatism is the increasingly significant levels of religiosity. Of course, there is tension between these instrumental and conservative ideological tendencies. This should not surprise given the dynamic nature of neoliberalism, and the system-maintaining inclinations inherent in conservatism. That conservatism persists should also not surprise, given that prevailing structures of authority play a facilitating role in programs of neoliberal reform.

Of significance still are elements of developmentalism. While associated notions of liberal internationalism, Keynesianism, and corporatism have indeed waned in recent times, the modernizing imperative within developmentalism continues to buttress more radical and dynamic

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[23] By 1996, these international non-governmental organizations numbered approximately 5,400, an increase of 800 in the space of just seven years. Held et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture* pp. 52-55. See also David L. Brown et al., "Globalization, NGOs, and Multisectoral Relations", in *Governance in a Globalizing World*, eds. Joseph S. Jr. Nye and John D. Donahue (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2000).

elements within instrumentalism. In contrast, emancipatory ideologies – those comprising radical and reformist collectivism, environmentalism, and feminism – assert little influence, particularly within policy-making and corporate circles. Ultimately, the ascent of capitalist neoliberalism from the early 1980s has meant that both developmentalist and emancipatory ideologies have, in varying degrees, been marginalized. This has led to a structure of ideology dominated by a commonsense that at once celebrates dynamic instrumentalism and conservatism.

1989-2003. PREVAILING STRUCTURAL IMPERATIVES – CONCLUSION

All this represents a sketch of the structural imperatives with which organized labour has had to contend throughout this period. We have seen, for example, a structure of production premised upon post-Fordist flexibility and an expansion and integration of corporate power. This has been facilitated by tremendous advances in communications technology. Such expansion has also been replicated within the prevailing structure of organization as new layers of governance have emerged on regional and global planes. Importantly, the organizational structure throughout this period has also been marked by fragmentation as new states proliferate. Finally, we have seen how all this is informed by a capitalist instrumentalism buttressed by a statist conservatism. It is within this context that we situate the contemporary transnational network of labour organizations.

Before moving on to once more examine organized labour's internal and external dimensions of change it is important to point out that this part of the thesis will differ from those that preceded it. While it also sets out to map organized labour's orientation within a given period – in this case, between 1989-2003 – it does so in a way that also incorporates insights gleaned throughout the entire study. It attempts to establish a correspondence between the various dimensions of change as they have spanned the entire history of the transnational network of labour organizations. Put differently, this section attempts to reconcile the present with the past – the *what is*, with the *what was*. I do this in order to highlight the deeper trends, or trajectories, that may be evident in the ways in which organized labour has integrated across national borders, and the ways in which it has engaged with the state. This section also provides a foundation upon which the final conclusion rests.

Without pre-empting that conclusion, this section will confirm a trend that has emerged throughout this thesis. It will show that while the process of globalization has in many ways been a constant feature of the transnational labour network's evolution, this has been a globalization of a peculiar sort. In terms of integration, the transnational network of labour organizations has indeed evolved in ways that enable it to assert a more unified presence across state boundaries. To this extent it

appears to fulfil one of our main prerequisites for the existence of a deeper form of globalization. However, this has not been a globalization of *separateness* from traditional forms of governance and authority; on the contrary, the process has entailed an ongoing re-configuration that has, in one way or another, maintained the state at the network's epicentre.

PART FOUR

CHAPTER SEVEN

INTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1989-2003

1989-2003. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

A profile of today's transnational community of labour organizations reveals a network 'headed' by the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. A reduced number of industry-specific trade secretariats continue to work closely with the ICFTU. On a vertical plane, there exist a myriad of regional organizations that together represent a secondary level of representation. Highly extended and detached forms of internal relationships prevail. These manifest themselves in high levels of delegated representation – be it in distant intra-union fora, or in those associated with inter-governmental organizations – and also in the use of web-based advocacy. This profile also reveals a community of labour organizations committed to developmentalism; but at the same time, one that is strident in its advocacy in defence of human rights. This is a network that remains deeply committed to the state, while its orientation in relation to civil realm actors seems to be characterized by uncertainty and flux.

Let us now dismantle this profile, and contrast each dimension of change – the organizational and integrative, political and civil – with those of previous eras. In so doing we will gain a better understanding of the ways in which organized labour has become more integrated across national borders, as well as the ways in which it has projected itself outwards and away from the realm of state-mediated politics. Ultimately, we will find that a more integrated network has in some ways engaged in a deeper form of globalization; but it has done so in ways that do not necessarily entail a turning away from the state.

1989-2003. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION

Organizationally, the transnational network of trade union confederations has continued to integrate and expand. In this respect it has today a well-established global presence. On the horizontal plane – that is, in relation to the peak bodies – the network now revolves around one major confederation, the ICFTU. The latter has emerged as the unrivalled peak confederation following the post-Cold War demise of the Soviet-backed World Federation of Trade Unions.[1] The ending of the Cold War and the collapse of state socialism – first in Central and Eastern Europe, and then in the Soviet Union – triggered a sudden re-configuration of labour relations in those settings, changes that have resulted in a wave of new affiliates for the ICFTU. This enhanced the ICFTU's pre-eminence.[2] In addition, the ICFTU's regional offshoots are now acknowledged as important players within the transnational network of labour organizations. The third nation-oriented peak confederation – the World Confederation of Labour – remains an active, though marginal player.[3] While the ICFTU is the organizational hub of the network, the industry-specific trade secretariats also remain important actors. Like their nation-oriented counterparts, they have consolidated in number. Amalgamations were common throughout the 1990s, with the total number of trade secretariats decreasing from the 1996 figure of fourteen to ten by 2002.[4]

An organizational integration of a different sort has also occurred. The ICFTU, the trade secretariats, and the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD have collaborated to form a joint news and campaign website. This appears under the banner 'Global Unions'.[5] The extent and significance of this kind of integration will be addressed when the discussion turns to the internal,

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[1] While the World Federation of Trade Unions survives, it is moribund. Its principal affiliates are the Central de Trabajadores de Cuba, the Vietnam Federation of Trade Unions, and the All India Trades Union Congress.

[2] According to the ICFTU's homepage, the confederation comprises 225 affiliates, representing 157 million workers in 148 countries. ICFTU, *The ICFTU: What It Is, What It Does...* [web] (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 2002 [accessed 18 November 2002]); available from http://www.icftu.org/displaydocument.asp?Index=990916422.

[3] The World Confederation of Labour lays claim to 144 affiliate trade unions, representing some twenty-six million workers. See WCL, *What's the WCL?* [Web] (World Confederation of Labour, 2002 [accessed 20 November 2002]); available from http://www.cmt-wcl.org/1cmt-wcl/cmt-en/01whatis.htm. However, as Windmuller points out, these figures should be treated with suspicion, not least because this organization counts among its affiliates both individual unions, and national organizations. See J.P. Windmuller and S.K. Pursey, "The International Trade Union Movement", in *Comparative Labour Law and Industrial Relations in Industrial Market Economies*, eds. R. Blanpain and C. Engels (The Hague: Kluwer Law International, 1998), p. 94.

[4] This process of consolidation also entailed name changes. Indeed, the generic label of 'International Trade Secretariat' was itself altered to 'Global Union Federations' in 2000. I am very mindful of the difficulties many people experience when trying to comprehend the labyrinth-like world of international labour politics. One of the obstacles is the number of sound-alike confederations. I do not wish to burden the reader more than is necessary in this regard, and for this reason I will not – at this late point in the thesis – adopt the new label of Global Union Federation. I will persevere with the terms 'trade secretariat', or simply, 'secretariat'. This, I am sure, will not compromise the whole.

[5] Joining together in this cyber-alliance are the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, and the following trade secretariats: Education International, International Federation of Building and Wood Workers, International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Union, International Federation of Journalists, International Metalworkers' Federation, International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation, International Transport Workers' Federation, International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Association, Public Services International, and the Union Network International.

integrative dimension of change. For now it is important to note that the organizational integration – witnessed on this horizontal plane – now also entails an additional, somewhat abstract, form.

On a vertical plane, the network of labour organizations has expanded.[6] Added to the plethora of regional organizations already in existence are the European-based Union of Workers of Arab Maghreb, as well as over thirty Inter-regional Trade Union Councils.[7] Beyond the European setting there have appeared new regional organizations such as the South Pacific and Oceanic Council of Trade Unions, and the Asia Pacific Labour Network.[8]

The network expanded further when the trade secretariats formed offshoots in regions such as the Asia-Pacific, Russia, Africa, and the Americas.[9] This now represents another layer of representation in the regions, and one that complements those regional organizations already in existence.[10] All this has not only signalled a break from the network's traditional Euro-centrism, but has also extended the web of cross-border trade union organizations to all corners of the globe.

The above provides only a glimpse of a very complex ensemble of organizations. However, it does show that the organizational configuration of today's network of transnational labour bodies has at once integrated – with the ICFTU establishing an unrivalled leadership position – and also expanded, as bodies dedicated to specific regions proliferate. Indeed, representation in the regions has become a priority for all the major players within the network.

We can make sense of all these developments by referring to earlier trends within in this organizational dimension. As this thesis has shown, a process of organizational integration and expansion began long ago. More significantly, this form of integration and expansion seemed to reflect – or perhaps was determined by – similar trends occurring in the prevailing structure of

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[6] Recall that hitherto the number of regional organizations not structurally tied to the peak confederations numbered at around twenty.

[7] These bodies proliferated throughout the 1990s in areas of Europe that witnessed high levels of cross-border labour migration and economic integration. By the end of the decade their number had swelled to thirty. See Bernhard Ebbinghaus and Jelle Visser, "European Labor and Transnational Solidarity: Challenges, Pathways, and Barriers", in *European Integration in Social and Historical Perspective: 1950 to the Present*, eds. Jytte Klausen and Louise A. Tilly (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 1997), pp. 208-09.

[8] Ostensibly autonomous, both of these organizations were nonetheless closely associated with the ICFTU.

[9] The following trade secretariats serve as examples of this trend. The International Transport Workers' Federation has now established ITF Japan, ITF Russia, and ITF Americas. Union Network International – itself launched in 1999 after the amalgamation of four secretariats – has established UNI-Europe, UNI-Africa, and UNI-Asia-Pacific. Finally, the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions has established ICEM Asia Pacific, ICEM North America Regional Office, ICEM Latin America and Caribbean, and ICEM Russia, Eastern Europe and the Transcaucasus.

[10] These were the regional bodies earlier identified as being sustained by nation-based peak confederations; or those, like the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations that had traditionally played important roles in the regions. For examples of the peak organizations' existing regional bodies we can refer to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions' African Regional Organization, its Asian and Pacific Regional Organization, and its Inter Americas Regional Organization.

organization. In other words, the imperatives of interstate relations have always proved decisive in determining the organizational configuration of the worldwide trade union network.

Since the 1860s this network has altered its organizational configuration in ways that ensured it complemented the prevailing forms of state-centred authority. This statist inclination was evident in the short-lived and uneasy coexistence between the major trade union confederations and the class-based internationals of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[11] It was especially evident after the Second International facilitated a coupling of trade union organizations to the state in the years preceding World War One. This occurred as the social-democrat parties upon which organized labour was so dependent embraced parliamentarianism. The gradual abandonment of radicalized class-based internationals only affirmed organized labour's growing commitment to this form of political engagement, and to a more generalized affinity with the state. In the years following World War Two – and as regional and international inter-governmental organizations proliferated – trade union actors continued to embrace organizational forms that enabled intimate engagement with governments.

In the post-1945 period labour's organizational fixation with Europe also began to wane as new independent states began to emerge, and as governing regimes premised upon the authority of the state began to expand to encompass all regions. At this time significant and influential elements within the transnational network of labour organizations were enlisted to serve the interests of state. It was suggested earlier that in the context of the Cold War the statist orientation of labour leaders had as much to do with appeasing state elites, as it did with furthering the interests of trade unions worldwide. There was apparent at this time an organizational re-configuration on the part of labour that reflected the dynamics of Cold War 'bloc' politics. It followed that the ending of the Cold War determined another organizational re-configuration within the network, one that resulted in the ICFTU assuming a pivotal role, and the World Federation of Trade Unions all but lapsing into obscurity.

It is not surprising that the organizational changes within the network should mirror those of the overall structure of organization. As changes in this structure entailed the abandonment of interventionist, welfarist, and corporatist policies by governments, organized labour consequently re-configured in ways that enabled it to petition regional and international inter-governmental organizations. Thus, regimes such as the World Trade Organization, the European Union, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the North American Free Trade Agreement, as well as

[11] For example, we refer here to the International Workingmen's Association (the First International, and then later in its syndicalist incarnation), and the Industrial Workers of the World.

the International Labour Organization, all came to represent important points of entry for organized labour.

Change in other structural imperatives – most notably in the structures of ideology and production – have also shaped labour organizationally. We have already outlined some of the ways in which organized labour's re-configuration mirrored those of the states. But such re-configuration also reflected the demise of anti-statist ideologies, and the corresponding commitment to developmentalism. In addition, the structure of production has had a considerable impact, especially on the constellation of industry-specific trade secretariats. The growing integration of management and systems of production worldwide has meant that secretariats must now be cognisant of the need for an organizational presence in regions beyond Europe. To this extent we should once more emphasize the interplay between the various structural imperatives mentioned throughout.

1989-2003. THE ORGANIZATIONAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

A summary of this historical transition necessarily re-focuses attention on our principal concern; that is, on the ways in which the transnational network of trade union organizations has evolved in terms of integration across national borders, and in terms of autonomy in relation to the state. In an organizational sense, this network has indeed expanded across national borders. But a principal determinant in shaping the network in this way has been change in the wider structural organizational imperatives as they relate to interstate relations. Labour thus continues to embrace an organizational structure that best complements – albeit implicitly – national identities, allegiances and, at times, the interests of states.

Is this expanded organizational structure integrated? The organizations of this network continue to represent a transnational confederacy that is very diffuse, and one that does not have authority concentrated in its peak bodies. For all that, the extent of inter-connectedness between the constituent parts – and layers – of this loose confederacy has indeed increased, due largely to the prevailing forms of representation, interests, and ideologies. To learn more about these we now turn to the internal integrative dimension of change.

1989-2003. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

What internal integrative factors have been at play in labour's organizational expansion and consolidation? To what extent is such expansion and consolidation indicative of greater movement integration? For clues we once more turn to the internal integrative dimension in order to shed light

on the ways in which relationships within the network have been mediated and constituted. This entails a review of the communication regimes that facilitated interaction, and then an analysis of the interests and ideologies that gave shape to this internal integrative dimension.

1989-2003. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – RELATIONSHIPS

Relationships within the transnational network of labour organizations are today mediated by a combination of computer-based information technologies, as well as by more traditional communication forms such as print, conferencing, and the already established electronic forms. A closer examination of these communication regimes – and how they contrast with those of previous decades – shows that while new communication media have facilitated more instantaneous forms of interaction on both horizontal and vertical planes, they have not in themselves radically altered forms of representation or levels of integration within the network.

The 'information revolution' has heralded the arrival of technologies that have permitted an extraordinary range of interactions within the network of trade union organizations. The use of the worldwide-web and e-mail – the former enhanced by recent advances in language translation software – has made possible movement-wide electronic bulletin boards, e-mail-based discussion groups, global on-line video-conferences, and access to global interactive databases.[12] These forms of media and interaction are apparent in a multitude of trade union settings, though it is perhaps easier to conceive of them as belonging to three overlapping areas of use: the informational, organizational, and solidaristic.[13] Among the most important informational tools utilized by organized labour are the interactive databases containing information on multinational corporations, management strategies, and economic analysis in general. Such resources have become indispensable in contemporary labour's national and international collective bargaining negotiations. An innovator in this area was a trade secretariat known as the International Federation of Chemical, Energy and General Workers.[14]

This trade secretariat began producing an in-house electronic newsletter in 1987, and by the early 1990s had launched its computer-mediated campaign for "electronic solidarity".[15] This involved

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[12] Wayne J. Diamond and Richard B. Freeman, *Will Unionism Prosper in Cyber-Space? The Promise of the Internet for Employee Organization* [Web] (National Bureau of Economic Research, 2001 [accessed 22 November 2002]); available from http://www.nber.org/papers/w8483, Stuart Hodkinson, "Problems@Labour: Towards a Net-Internationalism?" (paper presented at the International Labour (and other) Networking Panel, GSA Conference, Manchester, 3-5 July 2001 2001), p. 7. This author cites statistics showing that in just two years – from 1999 to 2001 – trade union websites increased in number from 1,500 to 2,700. This growth involves the peak confederations as well as the regional and national trade union bodies.

[13] Hodkinson, "Problems@Labour: Towards a Net-Internationalism?" p. 7.

[14] Following a 1995 amalgamation with the International Miners' Federation, this secretariat later adopted the name International of Chemical, Energy, Mining and General Workers,

[15] Energy and General Workers' Unions (ICEF) International Federation of Chemical, "Computers of the World Unite: The Icef Is Networking", *ICEF INFO* 4 (1993), p. 6. For an account of the ICEF's early use of e-mail and databases see

gaining, and then providing, access to 1,500 databases, establishing company-specific computer bulletin boards, and encouraging affiliates to join the GEONET e-mail network.[16] This informational application of new technologies now also involves the easy dissemination of less complex material – bulletins, campaign updates and the like – to countless people beyond the trade secretariat's immediate setting. Another good example of an information-based service is *ICFTU Online*, an e-mail circular maintained by that confederation's media department.[17] It provides updates on ICFTU's advocacy within inter-governmental organizations such as the ILO and the World Trade Organization, as well as on its campaigns against human rights violations in specific countries.

Change in the way information is accessed and disseminated has been an important factor in the organizational reconfiguration of the entire network. Not only have the largest labour organizations been able to more efficiently maintain and administer their own affiliated networks, but such technology has al[illegible] the most unlikely players to form alliances. This is because a reliance on low-risk virtual c[illegible]munion has helped to overcome financial, cultural, logistical, and ideological differences existing within the network.[18] This is evidenced in the formation of Global Unions, the alliance alluded to in earlier discussions about changes in the network's organizational form. This is a newly formed virtual-alliance established by the ICFTU, the trade secretariats, and the Trade Union Advisory Committee of the OECD. According to the website's banner

> Global Unions is a website which is jointly owned and managed by a number of international trade union organisations...The website gives its members the ability to draw the attention of their partners, their members, and the press to the news they produce and the campaigns they run.[19]

The impact of new communication technologies is also apparent at levels that are far removed from this global plane. For individual trade unions, these technologies have provided the means by

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Peter Waterman, *International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International?*, *Working Paper Series Number 129, July 1992* (The Hague: ISS, 1992), pp. 25-28.

[16] The significance of the databases cannot be understated, for these were the same repositories of information that the business-world relied upon, and that were now available to all by subscription. The databases utilized by the ICEF were specifically related to occupational health, industry news, and stock-brokers' reports. Energy and General Workers' Unions (ICEF) International Federation of Chemical, "Yearbook", (Brussels: ICEF, 1994). Other instances of such utilization of modern communications technology include the Public Service International's use of a multilingual database on privatization and multinationals. This includes files on over two thousand companies, their activities, management strategies, and performance. Hodkinson, "Problems@Labour: Towards a Net-Internationalism?" p. 8.

[17] Refer to the following e-mail address: press@icftu.org

[18] Andrew Herod provides an interesting account of the uses – actual and potential – of the internet for trade union organizations. Andrew Herod, "Of Blocs, Flows and Networks: The End of the Cold War, Cyberspace, and the Geo-Economics of Organized Labor at the *Fin De Millénaire*", in *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance and Geography*, eds. Andrew Herod, Gearóid O Tuathail, and Susan M Roberts (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 182-88.

[19] Global-Unions, *About Global Unions* [internet] (The ICFTU, Global Unions federations, and the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, 2002 [accessed 2 December 2002]); available from http://www.global-unions.org/default.asp.

which recruitment and service to members are improved, and internal democratic processes refined and expanded.[20]

Closely associated with these informational and organizational aspects of new communications technology is the potential for innovative solidaristic activities. New technologies have enabled peak confederations to construct what Lee refers to as an "early warning network on trade union rights".[21] In the case of the ICFTU, such messages are disseminated through *ICFTU Online* updates, while other labour organizations have employed the technology during the cut-and-thrust of battle.[22]

And yet while many trade unions and their organizations have embraced information technology, others have been slow to do so.[23] Indeed, in spite of the adoption of these technologies, traditional media continue to fulfil important functions. The conference, for example, remains a pivotal form of interaction, combining as it does the intensity of face-to-face interaction with a reliance on extended agents (i.e., the delegate). This form has endured for two main reasons. Firstly, it has become more important since states began to invest more in regional governing regimes. This regionalism necessarily spawns inter-governmental organizations that labour seeks to engage. Secondly, the conference form remains crucial to labour actors aiming to exploit the growing sentiment against neoliberalism, while simultaneously promoting growth and market-oriented developmentalism. We will discuss this aspect further when our attention turns to questions of ideology. It is enough to say now that this 'contrary developmentalism' was to become the movement's common-sense view, gradually smoothing over many of the previous tensions that had, through the 1970s and 1980s, made the conference such a fraught site.

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[20] Diamond and Freeman explore how this is happening within the British and American contexts. Diamond and Freeman, *Will Unionism Prosper in Cyber-Space? The Promise of the Internet for Employee Organization*. See also John Pape, *Will the Workers of the World Unite in Cyber Space?: Critical Reflections on Information Technology and the Labour Movements of the South* [Web] (International Labour Resource and Information Group, 2001 [accessed 20/6/01 2001]); available from http://aidc.org.za/ilrig/research/cyberspace.html.

[21] Eric Lee, "Trade Unions, Computer Communications and the New World Order", in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, eds. Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (London: MacMillan, 1999), p. 240.

[22] Perhaps the most noteworthy instances of this sort came during the 1995-98 Liverpool dockers' lock-out, and in the 1997 dispute between the United Steelworkers of America and Bridgestone/Firestone. In the former, computer-mediated communications gave worldwide prominence to the dispute and led to joint action by American, Australian, Spanish, and Israeli dockworkers. In the latter, unionists were shown how to inundate the corporation, and its major clients, with protest messages sent *via* e-mail. An excellent account of such computer mediated campaigns can be found in Andreas Breitenfellner, "Global Unionism: A Potential Player", *International Labour Review* 136, 4 (1997). See also Jeff Rechenbach and Larry Cohen, "Union Global Alliances at Multinational Corporations: A Case Study of the American Alliance"., in *Unions in a Globalized Environment: Changing Borders, Organizational Boundaries, and Social Roles*, ed. Bruce Nissen (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).

[23] While some peak confederations were quick to embrace this technology, others were surprising slow. Indeed, the prominent trade secretariat, the International Metalworkers' Federation established its website in 1999. See Stig Jutterström, "Help Us Improve the Imf News", *IMF News* 4 (1999). For a similar example see International Federation of Building and Wood Workers (IFBWW), "Ifbww Action Programme 1997-2001", *Building and Wood: Bulletin of the International Federation of Building and Wood Workers*, 2 (1997), p. 7. Diamond and Freeman highlight the unevenness of union modernization at the national level. Diamond and Freeman, *Will Unionism Prosper in Cyber-Space? The Promise of the Internet for Employee Organization*.

The 'old' medium of print also endures, though it now plays a less important administrative, integrative, and informational role. For instance, by the mid-1980s the printed material of the peak confederations – in particular, the periodicals distributed to affiliates – carried far fewer detailed accounts of resolutions, statements, and executive board reports. Instead, the periodicals of the main confederations grew thinner, and tended towards bolder, more combative editorial styles. Perhaps this was a reflection of the parlous financial state of the main confederations. More likely it reflected the residues of intense intra-network competition, wherein proselytising and exhortation had become more important than detail. These periodicals had earlier served an important function for the various constituent parts of the transnational trade union network as they sought to differentiated themselves, and also to attract new affiliates.

In the contemporary setting we see a continuing, and more generalized, move away from this printed material. Today, information that was once made available in periodical form is distributed through computer-mediated communications systems. To a great extent these systems have also supplanted traditional electronic forms. Media such as the telegram, telex, and fax were much used in earlier times, but are now being replaced by on-line technologies. The older forms were utilized primarily for internal communications, and less for movement-wide awareness and solidaristic purposes. Newer technologies such as e-mail have been adopted for both functions.

Overall, there is now an interesting juxtaposition between those media that promote face-to-face and also disengaged forms of communication. The relatively intimate medium of the conference has been supplemented by a remarkable increase in instantaneous, computer-mediated, interaction. This has meant that vital information is now disseminated across the network of transnational labour organizations in a way that ultimately increases cooperation. This is to be expected given the prevailing structure of communication outlined at the beginning of this section.

But while it is easy to claim that an integration of sorts has occurred, it is more difficult to explain the nature of the integration. Under this communication regime the peak confederations have been able to attain a level of integration that is, in many respects, based on symbolic rather than personalized forms of interaction. The best example of this is the web-based Global Unions alliance mentioned above. But the unity implied – apparent in most confederation websites – cannot fully erase the often conflicting interests that have since the 1860s distinguished the constituent parts of the transnational network of labour organizations. While jointly managed websites and instantaneous computer-mediated interactions can help the top-level leadership portray themselves as champions of the working masses, it is questionable whether these regimes change relationships fundamentally on both horizontal and vertical planes. Hodkinson expresses his doubts about this symbolic integration thus:

> ...when net-internationalism does take place, it tends to take the form of an 'e-greeting' card – the uni-directional sending of solidarity messages to striking or struggling workers to let them know that other people support their struggle, know about it and are behind its continuation.[24]

The above discussion of communication media, and the relationships they have shaped, has gone some way to revealing the nature of integrative change. But a survey of the prevailing communication regime offers only a partial explanation of such change. We have yet to discern the precise extent – or depth – of this integration. An account of the interests and ideologies that permeate the movement is required before more definitive claims can be made. This will allow us to gain a clearer picture of the movement's internal integrative condition. Ultimately, there will emerge a picture that shows enhanced ideological integration, but not in a form that has undermined the network's faith in the authority of the state.

1989-2003. THE INTEGRATIVE DIMENSION – INTERESTS, IDEOLOGIES

The focus now is on the issues and interests that impact on the integrity of the transnational network of labour organizations. Accounting for these interests will enable us to then reflect upon the network's ideological complexion and, ultimately, to gain a clearer understanding of the ways in which organized labour has assumed a more integrated, and/or autonomous disposition. After contrasting all this with earlier periods, it is possible to make the following claim. Many of the issues and interests that once divided the network have either lost potency, or have disappeared altogether. Notwithstanding enduring tensions over many diverging interests, there is now a higher level of convergence, as well as of cross-border, intra-network, cooperation. Moreover, a higher degree of ideological integration has strengthened the ties between national trade union actors and their peak and regional organizations. In addition, consensus on key interests, greater movement integration, and a more global orientation, are all closely related to ideological tendencies – principally, those tending towards developmentalism – that continue to underscore the reliance upon, and commitment to, the authority of the state.

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[24] Hodkinson, "Problems@Labour: Towards a Net-Internationalism?" p. 12. There are many reasons why the prevailing communications regime has not yet fulfilled the hopes of labour internationalists seeking to foster both vertical and horizontal forms of labour interaction. Lee highlights many obstacles, including the lack of accessibility to new technologies -- particularly given the prevailing North-South divide – along with the problems of cultural, political, and economic control that the technologies are subject to. Lee, "Trade Unions, Computer Communications and the New World Order", pp. 230-34. Others, such as Pape and Rechenbach, also contemplate the obstacles to labour internationalism. Pape, *Will the Workers of the World Unite in Cyber Space?: Critical Reflections on Information Technology and the Labour Movements of the South*, Rechenbach and Cohen, "Union Global Alliances at Multinational Corporations: A Case Study of the American Alliance". While these reflections do not speak directly to our principal concern of integration, autonomy, and globalization in general, they are nevertheless closely related.

Clearly, when regarding such a complex ensemble of political organizations, any talk of network-wide consensus is fraught. As Form puts it, tensions are always endemic, and can be attributed to an infinite number of causes.

> ...segmentation of labor is based on autonomy, hierarchy, locality, technology, factionalism, ideology, and external politics. Barriers to political consensus within and among unions also arise from the social heterogeneity of their members based on skill, wealth, gender, education, ethnicity, race, and religion.[25]

When applied to relationships between trade union organizations engaged in cross-border activities, tensions also persist because of conflicting interests at the intersections of North-South, as well as East-West power relations.

On the national level these conflicts make it difficult for prominent trade union organizations to reconcile the promotion of growth-dependent economic development with the need to maintain autonomy. Tensions also frequently reflect the enduring commitment to the local; usually manifest in a close affinity with the interests of state. And even though we see – on the level of the peak transnational and regional organizations – far greater convergence of views, we should not read into this the emergence of a more centralized, hierarchical structure: the network remains a loose confederacy of confederacies. Indeed, as the following examples show, divisiveness is still endemic.

Preceding the 1994 signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement there was a great deal of tension between the labour organizations of the countries involved.[26] The American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations opposed the agreement because it did not contain effective labour protection measures. The Confederación de Trabajordores de Mexico, on the other hand, opposed moves to incorporate labour protection clauses and was, like its government, an enthusiastic supporter of the free-trade agreement. This principal Mexican labour organization hoped the agreement would attract foreign capital and also stem the tide of emigration to the north.[27] For its part, the Canadian Congress of Labour was animated by a "left nationalism"[28] that

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[25] W. Form, quoted in Daniel B. Cornfield, "Labor Transnationalism?", *Work and Occupations*, 24, 3 (1997), p. 284.

[26] While I emphasize the tensions here, it must be acknowledged that the cross-border alliance that emerged between these three protagonists represented a watershed for those concerned with recent instances of labour internationalism. See Barry Carr, "Globalisation from Below: Labour Internationalism under NAFTA", *International Social Science Journal* 159, March (1999), Barry Carr, "Labour Internationalism and the North American Free Trade Agreement", in *Protest and Globalisation*, ed. James Goodman (Sydney: Pluto, 2002), Cornfield, "Labor Transnationalism?", and George Ross, "Labor Versus Globalization", *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 570 (2000).

[27] The response of the Mexican trade union movement should not be attributed solely to a compliant disposition. An important consideration was also a wariness of American labour interference, and a form of trade union imperialism with which they were all too familiar. See Terry Boswell and Dimitris Stevis, "Globalization and International Labor Organizing", *Work and Occupations*, 24, 3 (1997), pp. 297-98.

opposed the agreement on the grounds that it would lead to greater penetration of Canada's economy by American corporations.

Tensions of a similar kind also surfaced in response to the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment. An OECD initiative that came to prominence in the mid-1990s, this proposal had as one of its central aims the liberalization of investment regimes in ways that would also protect the interests of multinational corporations. As Goodman and Ranald have it, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment was "a treaty designed to protect investors against governments".[29] In this instance, important players within the transnational network of labour organizations – most notably the national organizations of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States – were at odds with their peak confederation, the ICFTU. At a time when national affiliates were helping to mount a worldwide campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, the ICFTU and the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD were assisting those drafting it.[30]

North-South divisions also created tensions within the transnational network of labour organizations. These surfaced during the ongoing campaign to have a labour-friendly social clause incorporated into regimes of economic governance.[31] According to O'Brien, this campaign has attempted to "link the ILO's supervisory machinery with the [World Trade Organization's] enforcement mechanism".[32] While the benefits of such clauses are self-evident for many labour actors, others are concerned that the new standards might be used as protectionist devices that will favour the wealthier economies of the North.

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[28] Gordon Laxer, "The Movement That Dare Not Speak Its Name: The Return of Left Nationalism / Internationalism", *Alternatives*, 26 (2001), pp. 21-22.

[29] James Goodman and Patricia Ranald, eds., *Stopping the Juggernaut: Public Interest Versus the Multilateral Agreement on Investment* (Annandale: Pluto, 2000), p. ix.

[30] The Trade Union Advisory Committee acted as the ICFTU's proxy by insinuating itself into the negotiation process – such as there was – and by proposing the incorporation of clauses that would guarantee workers' rights. It would thus be wrong to claim that the ICFTU-TUAC approach amounted to uncritical acceptance of the MAI in its original form. Furthermore, I do not wish to characterize this episode as a major cleavage within the movement. However, the national affiliates were far more sensitive to the dangers inherent in the MAI – pro-labour clauses notwithstanding – than were their peak confederations. Tim Harcourt provides an excellent analysis of the Australian labour movement's position, as well as an outline of the nature of the ameliorating measures proposed by the TUAC. Tim Harcourt, "Australian Perspectives on the Mai: Australian Council of Trade Unions", in *Stopping the Juggernaut: Public Interest Versus the Multilateral Agreement on Investment*, eds. James Goodman and Patricia Ranald (Annandale: Pluto, 2000). See also Rebecca Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", in *The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions*, eds. Anthony Carew, et al. (Bern: Peter Lang, 2000), pp. 510-11, Sol Picciotto, "A Critical Assessment of the Mai", in *Regulating International Business: Beyond Liberalization*, eds. Sol Picciotto and Ruth Mayne (London: MacMillan, 1999).

[31] The best example of this sort of campaign is that mounted by the ICFTU. It continues to lobby for a social clause to be inserted into the regulatory regime of the World Trade Organization. The social clause favoured by the ICFTU identifies seven ILO "core conventions" that provided the minimum standards for workers' rights. These were conventions 29 and 105 on the abolition of forced labour; 87 and 98 on freedom of association and collective bargaining; 111 and 100 on discrimination in employment and equal pay for work of equal value; and 138 on the minimum age for employment. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 508-09.

[32] Robert O'Brien, "Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement", *Review of International Studies*, 26 (2000), p. 544.

ICFTU affiliates from the Asia-Pacific region have been the most sceptical about having workers' rights linked to trade. In some cases these affiliates have sided with their governments to thwart progress of the social clause initiative. This scepticism was most apparent in the stand taken by some Indian labour leaders in the mid-1990s. Working in tandem with their government, they blocked progress in the social clause campaign within the ILO's International Labour Conference and, ultimately, within World Trade Organization negotiations. Similarly, leading figures within the Malaysian Trade Union Congress were highly sceptical about this regulatory regime. In the face of this resistance, the ICFTU tempered its approach in ways that mollified affiliates in the developing and Third World countries.[33]

Relationships along this North-South axis were also strained after the demise of the World Federation of Trade Unions. Many of its former national affiliates found it difficult to accept the fact that the reformist, development-oriented ICFTU was now the only remaining transnational confederation of any standing. This posed difficulties for trade union organizations that were informed by oppositional, emancipatory programs. One such organization was the Congress of South African Trade Unions. As pressure to affiliate with the ICFTU intensified, such organizations hesitated to endorse a peak body known to harbour within its ranks a number of quisling national affiliates.[34] It was in the years preceding the South African organization's affiliation to the ICFTU that debate grew more heated between those pursuing economic growth and development, and those seeking structural change.[35] Such disagreements to a large extent reflected differences between those purporting to represent the trade unions of the South, and those representing labour in the North. Though a highly circumscribed form of economic liberalization now has the in-principle support from the majority of trade union organizations – especially those within the orbit of the ICFTU – many continue to question this trend.

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[33] The following provide a good account of the ICFTU's position (the November 1994 citation is of particular interest because it stresses the *anti*-protectionist nature of the proposed social clause). James Howard, "Hopes Rise of a Breakthrough in the ICFTU Campaign for a Gatt Social Clause", *Free Labour World*, July (1993), ICFTU-Editorial, "ICFTU Presses for a Social Clause", *Free Labour World*, March (1994), ICFTU-Editorial, "Social Clause Debate Reaches the Ilo", *Free Labour World*, June (1994), ICFTU-Editorial, "The Social Clause Remains Firmly on the Agenda", *Free Labour World*, November (1994). For reference to the Indian labour movement's resistance to the social clause see Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 509-10. According to O'Brien, the Malaysian delegates' concerns were voiced at the ICFTU's 16th World Congress, June 1996. O'Brien, "Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement", p. 544.

[34] The following editorial accuses the ICFTU of harbouring collaborationist national trade union bodies throughout Asia. The editorial claims that the Trade Union Council of the Philippines, the Malaysian Trade Union Congress, and Indonesia's SPSI were all, in one way or another, the product of dictatorial regimes. According to this perspective, one of the most objectionable features of this form of unionism is that it facilitates the establishment throughout Asia of Export Processing Zones, thus providing multinational corporations with even greater leverage over labour. SALB-Editorial, "COSATU, the ICFTU and Dictatorships in Asia", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 17, 3 (1993).

[35] A fascinating exchange between these contending positions appeared in the pages of the *South African Labour Bulletin* in the early 1990s. We read accounts there by those imploring COSATU to reject the ICFTU's offers of affiliation, and also by those pointing to the ICFTU's redeeming features. See Mike Allen, "New Internationalism...Or Old Rhetoric?", *SA Labour Bulletin*, 16, 2 (1991), SALB-Editorial, "COSATU, the ICFTU and Dictatorships in Asia"., Peter Waterman, "The ICFTU in Sa: Admissions, Revelations, Silences", *South African Labour Bulletin*, 17, 3 (1993).

Disagreements also stemmed from former Cold War divisions. The most intense manifestation of these differences were evident in Central and Eastern Europe during the immediate post-Cold War years. A brief account of this aspect of modern labour history will conclude our reflections on the divisive interests at play throughout the network.

Trade union politics throughout Central and Eastern Europe underwent significant change in the wake of the Cold War. The WFTU's national affiliates, as well as their post-Cold War successor organizations, abandoned that peak body.[36] In the transition all these affiliates underwent fundamental political re-orientation. This occurred even when many chose to retain their pre-Cold War organizational form. One outward manifestation of such change was the re-naming of national trade union organizations in ways that featured the words 'free' and 'independent'.[37] In countries such as Hungary and Czechoslovakia a number of new trade union organizations were formed, thus signalling a complete break from the past. Virtually all of these 'official' (old) and 'independent' (new) trade union organizations sought affiliation with the ICFTU.[38]

Many tensions were associated with this realignment, posing what Ashwin calls a "somewhat bizarre victor's dilemma" for the ICFTU.[39] This peak confederation was slow to adapt to the end of the Cold War and remained, well into the 1990s, very wary of trade union movements of the East. Tensions were exacerbated by the activities of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations. Determined to pursue its anti-communist crusade, the American trade union body embraced those Central and Eastern European organizations that were most willing to abandon past political allegiances. This support more often took the form of considerable financial assistance.[40] Many of the ICFTU's Western European affiliates feared that the Americans' approach would pave the way for neoliberal economic reforms in the region, and then a subsequent increase in "social dumping" throughout the continent.[41] In addition, European affiliates of the ICFTU resented the way in which their long-standing relationships with counterparts in Central and Eastern Europe were now being disregarded and undermined. This tension between pragmatism and crusading anti-communism also had ramifications for relationships between the International

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[36] With the exception of the All-Poland Trade Union Alliance

[37] Andrew Herod, "The Geostrategics of Labor in Post-Cold War Eastern Europe: An Examination of the Activities of the International Metalworkers' Federation", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), pp. 51-58.

[38] Sarah Ashwin, "International Labour Solidarity after the Cold War", in *Global Social Movements*, eds. Robin Cohen and Shirin M. Rai (London: The Athlone Press, 2000), pp. 103-07. See also ICFTU-Editorial, "Transformation of Trade Unions in Central and Eastern Europe", *Free Labour World*, 14, August (1990).

[39] Ashwin, "International Labour Solidarity after the Cold War", p. 104.

[40] Gumbrell-McCormick's overview of this period is more sympathetic to the ICFTU, stressing that the confusion and uncertainty that prevailed throughout the region at the time ought to be seen as an important mitigating factor. Gumbrell-McCormick, "Facing New Challenges: The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (1972-1990s)", pp. 499-503.

[41] Ashwin, "International Labour Solidarity after the Cold War", p. 105. Social dumping refers to the attraction of investment using as enticements the existing low wages and poor conditions. Jane Wills, "Taking on the Cosmocorps: Experiments in Transnational Labor Organization", *Economic Geography*, 74 (1998), p. 113.

Trade Secretariats and the ICFTU. Many trade secretariats also objected to the extent to which the legacy of anti-communism was permitted to interfere with their own relationships with trade union movements of Central and Eastern Europe.[42]

All this represents a survey of the more contentious issues that trade union organizations worldwide have confronted throughout the 1990s. In spite of all these tensions it is apparent that by the new century there had emerged a far more integrated network of transnational labour organizations. This network has grown more coherent and unified as still more interests converge. While much of this convergence is attributable to the events of 1989, it is also a part of a much wider process.

One cannot over-state the importance to network integrity of the passing of the Cold War. For much of the twentieth century the imperatives of the Cold War demanded that pivotal actors within the ranks of trade union organizations assume a functional, if not mercenary, role for the sake of superpowers' strategic interests. This, in turn, poisoned many intra-network relationships and for many decades hindered network integration. Cold War antagonisms also exacerbated divisions indirectly. For instance, the trend towards regionalism – most evident in the 1972-89 period – and the related emergence of the non-aligned movement, were in varying degrees reactions to the polarities of Cold War politics. These developments had a marked effect on the political disposition of trade union organizations, particularly those in developing and Third World countries. And, suffice to say, these tensions also determined these organizations' relationships with the ICFTU and the WFTU, the world's peak confederations of the time.

The relationship between these peak bodies had itself been marked by a hostility that prevented meaningful interaction within inter-governmental fora. Support for dictatorial and quisling governments – direct or through regional proxies – further damaged relations between these pivotal actors within the network in the regions and in Europe. As a result, their European affiliates were hindered in their attempts to establish bilateral relationships with trade union counterparts in rival superpower camps.

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[42] Ashwin, "International Labour Solidarity after the Cold War", pp. 114-15. For more on the ways in which the trade secretariats approached this transition see ICFTU-Editorial, "ITS Develop Contacts in the East", *Free Labour World*, 14, August (1990). Herod also provides a good account of the International Metalworkers' Federation's attempts to establish relationships in Central and Eastern Europe in the immediate post-Cold War years. See Herod, "The Geostrategics of Labor in Post-Cold War Eastern Europe: An Examination of the Activities of the International Metalworkers' Federation", pp. 51-58. We might also add here that divisions were to emerge between the new trade union bodies themselves within this region. These tensions did not always stem from the communist/anti-communist split. Rather the divisions related more to the debate over the extent to which union organizations ought adopt a narrow 'economistic' approach, as opposed to a more broad-ranging form of representation and advocacy. See David Ost, "The Weakness of Strong Social Movements: Models of Unionism in the East European Context", *European Journal of Industrial Relations*, 8, 1 (2002).

These direct and indirect Cold War-related tensions have since dissipated. Now that the aforementioned problems associated with the transition from command-economy to free-independent unionism have receded, the interests underlying network integrity have come to the fore.[43] In the economic realm, we see the agendas of peak and regional organizations featuring programs, initiatives, and exhortations aimed at ameliorating the deleterious effects of neoliberalism, while at the same time looking for ways to boost world economic growth and development. Evidence of a consensus around these themes and, hence, greater integration, can be found in the statements, programs, and campaigns of the network's leading actors.[44] This trend is evident across the network, and is often manifest in collaborative efforts between confederations. The following examples are illustrative.

The Sixteenth and Seventeenth World Congresses of the ICFTU were watershed events, during which a renewed concern for social issues became apparent. The Sixteenth World Congress, held in Brussels in 1996, saw the ICFTU's General Secretary, Bill Jordan, table a report that focused on "A world of widening divisions", "Building solidarity, attacking poverty, and creating jobs", and "Strengthening the voice of working men and women through international trade union solidarity".[45] This report, and the subsequent congress proceedings, concentrated on specific areas of concern; the most notable being the defence of trade union rights, the promotion of employment and labour standards, the need to confront multinational corporations, increasing trade union membership, and the fight for equal rights.[46] Also featured were statements and resolutions aimed at establishing collaborative relationships with other peak trade union bodies. One of the areas of common concern here was the aforementioned trade-related social clause.[47]

The Seventeenth World Congress, held in Durban in 2000, was also notable for the extent to which affiliates emphasized issues relating to global social justice. The degree of commitment to this agenda was evident in a raft of ICFTU statements and resolutions on such issues as the social clause, relations with non-government organizations, equality for women, Third World debt, and

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[43] Herod provides an excellent analysis of international trade union politics during, and after, the Cold War. Herod, "Of Blocs, Flows and Networks: The End of the Cold War, Cyberspace, and the Geo-Economics of Organized Labor at the *Fin De Millénaire*", pp. 165-81.

[44] To reiterate an earlier qualification: we must also be wary of granting too much value to 'official' statements and resolutions that, in many cases, may prove to be little more than platitudes.

[45] Bill ICFTU-Jordan, "The Global Market - Trade Unionism's Greatest Challenge" (paper presented at the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
Sixteenth World Congress of the ICFTU, 1996), p. 1.

[46] ICFTU-Editorial, "Congress Sets the Five Main Priorities", *Free Labour World*, July/August (1996).

[47] ICFTU-Editorial, "Delegates Unanimous on Social Clause", *Free Labour World*, July/August (1996), p. 5, ICFTU-Editorial, "ILO, ETUC, TUAC and WCL. All Fighting on the Same Side", *Free Labour World*, July/August (1996), p. 2. The emphasis on collaboration with other trade union organizations is also articulated in the following congress summary. ICFTU-Editorial, "ICFTU Aims to Be at the Centre of a Worldwide Social Movement", *Free Labour World*, July/August (1996).

poverty.[48] Both of these congress gatherings built on initiatives already in place since the early 1990s. The most important of these was the 1994 campaign – launched in conjunction with the International Trade Secretariats – to combat exploitation of children, and violations of trade union rights by repressive regimes.[49]

This agenda was replicated in the programs of other transnational, regional, and national labour organizations. In the case of the World Confederation of Labour the similarities were especially apparent in its initiatives on child labour, advancement for women workers, the social clause, sustainable development, and multinational corporations.[50] Collaboration with the ICFTU has become increasingly important to the World Confederation of Labour. Joint statements are commonplace, while there are also signs of "structural cooperation"[51] between the two: initially this has come in the form of a permanent coordinating group.[52]

As interests across the network of labour organizations converge, we also see the European Trade Union Confederation's relationship with these peak bodies grow closer. This European organization also focuses on such issues as discrimination in the workplace, and the use of the social clause as a vehicle for securing improved standards of human rights. As a consequence, the European Trade Union Confederation has joined the search for ways of achieving "decentralized cooperation" with other peak bodies.[53]

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[48] ICFTU, "The Future Shape of the Trade Union Movement", *Trade Union World*, 5 (2000), pp. 34-35. See also ICFTU, "End Discrimination: Equality for Women Now! Decision Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 25-29 June 2000).

[49] For background on the ICFTU's campaign against child labour see ICFTU, "Campaigning for an End to Child Labour" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 25-29 June 2000), ICFTU, "Eradicating Child Labour: A Strategy to Deal with the Causes of Child Labour: Congress Resolutions" (paper presented at the 16th World Congress of the ICFTU, Brussels, 25-29 June 1996), ICFTU-Editorial, "The World's Best Kept Secret", *Free Labour World*, 6, June (1994). For more on the question of violence directed against trade unionists see ICFTU, "An ICFTU Strategy to Defend Trade Union Rights: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 25-29 June 2000), ICFTU-Editorial, "Being a Trade Unionist Is a Dangerous Occupation", *Free Labour World*, May (1994), ICFTU-Editorial, "Union Rights Abuses "Still Alarming", Says ICFTU", *Free Labour World*, October (1990).

[50] The following record of the WCL's 25th Congress gives a good overview of that confederation's position on the role of women, multinational corporations, and development. The following page numbers refer to these topics in the sequence listed. World Confederation of Labour (WCL), "The Policy Resolution and the Topical Resolutions of the WCL" (paper presented at the 25th Congress of the WCL, Roumania, October 2001), p. 36, 38, 9, 8. For more on its position on child labour and the social clause see Delphine Sanglan, "Child Labour: Ratify Convention 182", *Labor Magazine*, 2000/1 (2000/1), World Confederation of Labour (WCL), *Social Clauses - Reciprocal Social Commitments (Rscs) as Levers* [Internet] (World Confederation of Labour, 2000 [accessed 18 December 2002]); available from http://www.cmt-wcl.org, WCL-Editorial, "Women - Marching to Be Respected", *Labor Magazine*, 2000/1 (2000/1).

[51] From Willy Peirens, the WCL's President, quoted in the following. ICFTU-Editorial, "ILO, ETUC, TUAC and WCL...All Fighting on the Same Side", p. 2.

[52] Joint statements such as the following are indicative. World Confederation of Labour (WCL), Press Statement, 5 April 2000, World Confederation of Labour (WCL) and International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU), "Joint Statement by the ICFTU and the WCL - Beyond the Monterrey Consensus: A Trade Union Agenda for the Governance of Globalization" (paper presented at the International Conference on Financing for Development, Monterrey, NL, Mexico, 18-22 March 2002).

[53] European Trade Union Confederation, *Activity Report: 1995-1998* (European Trade Union Confederation-ETUC, 1999 [accessed 18 December, 2002]; available from http://www.etuc.org/. For reference to the ETUC's campaigns on discrimination and the social clause, see pages 11, 17-18 respectively. The trend towards greater cooperation is in the context of campaigning for greater European aid to African states, though it also extends beyond this issue. See page 18 in this Activity Report.

At the same time the interests of the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD have also become more closely aligned with the main peak and regional trade union bodies. While the Committee's brief is limited to providing a select group of trade unions *entrée* to the OECD, it nevertheless has more in common than ever with its counterparts. Since the mid-1990s, the Committee has stressed the importance of core labour standards, and has become an enthusiastic advocate of a social clause component of World Trade Organization regulation.[54] And like its counterparts, it too has been outspoken in its condemnation of labour rights violations.

As noted in previous discussion of the network's organizational form, the Trade Union Advisory Committee's affinity with other peak bodies – specifically, with the ICFTU and the trade secretariats – is such that it has joined in a loose alliance known as the Global Unions. This represents another medium through which common concerns are aired. One of the most important common aims is the promotion of growth and development through a boost in trade and economic activity in general. Indeed, virtually all the principal actors within the transnational network of labour organizations look to "prevent economic slowdown", "demand [a] boost to [the] world economy", and promote "trade for development". Typical are statements claiming that "now is the time to reflate the global economy", and that "the promotion of trade goes hand-in-hand with enabling workers to exercise their basic rights".[55]

Of course, this is not an exhaustive account of the interests motivating the contemporary network of transnational labour organizations. Omitted are references to other significant issues.[56] However,

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[54] Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC), "Trade and Labour Standards: Tuac Briefing Note for OECD Workshop", (Paris: Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC), 1996), Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC), "The Trade Union View on International Labour Standards" (paper presented at the ITGLWF Conference on International Trade, Copenhagen, 5-6 October 1995).

[55] Sources are listed here in the same order in which the quotations appear. Global-Unions, *Global Union Proposes Measures to Prevent Economic Slowdown* [Internet] (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 2001 [accessed 19 November 2002]); available from http://www.icftu.org/. Global-Unions, *Global Union Demand Boost to World Economy: 16 November, 2001* [Internet] (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 2001 [accessed 19 November 2002]); available from http://www.icftu.org/. Global-Unions, "Global Unions Statement to International Conference on Financing for Development" (paper presented at the The 4th Prepcom of the International Conference on Financing for Development, New York, 14-25 January 2001), p. 3. ICFTU-Jordan, "The Global Market - Trade Unionism's Greatest Challenge", p. 22, Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC), "Now Is the Time to Reflate the Global Economy", (Paris: Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, 2002).

[56] Little has been said, for instance, about the campaigns against multinational corporations; or about their trade union shadows, the International Trade Secretariats. Nor have we covered the transnational labour movement's increasingly assertive interventions in debates over changes to the architecture of world governance. These interventions will be covered in greater detail when the thesis turns to the network's external dimensions of change. Suffice to say, these interventions are usually concerned with reform to the Bretton Woods institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization, and the World Bank. For a good sketch of this type of intervention, see Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", (Paris: Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, 2000), p. 13, 22, 39. The World Confederation of Labour's position is best outlined in (WCL), "The Policy Resolution and the Topical Resolutions of the WCL", pp. 7-11. We have also omitted from this broad-brush account the involvement of very influential national organizations such as the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, and Rengo, Japan's Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions. The following publication provides a brief outline of the ways in which these two organizations contributed to the debates on the architecture of world governance. (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", p. 29.

what all this shows is that there has been a discernible shift in priorities across the entire ensemble of labour organizations. It shows a trend away from the instrumental, parochial, and functional; and to a set of interests that reflect concern for human rights, equity, and justice. We have seen through the 1990s a renewed and concerted focus on the amelioration of the most pernicious aspects of the prevailing neoliberal order. These bread-and-butter issues relate to child labour, discrimination, safety and environment, the power of multinational corporations, and labour rights. Linked to all this is the re-doubling of efforts to have social clauses – in their various guises – inserted into trade agreements, and into various compacts with governments.[57]

We can now build on this assessment of the network's interests by making more abstract observations about its ideological orientation. Prior to 1989, change in the labour movement's ideological orientation had seen class-based emancipatory worldviews – in their various Marxist, socialist, and anarcho-syndicalist manifestations – gradually recede. Receding also were those emancipatory worldviews associated with anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism, bourgeois cosmopolitanism, and republicanism. By the 1980s, the most prevalent ideological tendency combined developmentalism – that is, an orientation that privileges, modernizing, growth-orientated programs – with instrumental and conservative statism. The latter were fuelled by the Cold War, and by post-colonial nation-building.

In subsequent years, the worldviews that have most characterized organized labour are those that combine the developmentalism mentioned above, with what seems to be an echo of past emancipatory inclinations. In a sense, we see here the commitment to economic growth inherent within the developmentalist inclination, tempered by an urgent and pragmatic opposition to extreme neoliberalism. This finds expression in calls for "sustainable economic growth", a "human face [for] globalization", and an end to "ideologically-driven privatization programmes".[58] Though this ideological tendency is still inclined towards the ameliorative and reformist, it nevertheless represents a more contrary and oppositional ideological disposition than has been the case in recent decades.[59]

However, while there has been a discernible shift away from the conservative and instrumentalist ideological tendencies – those that committed organized labour to the strategic interests of state –

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[57] The precise nature of these social clauses and compacts will be outlined in subsequent discussion of the network's external dimensions of change.

[58] TUAC and ITS Global-Unions: Statement by the ICFTU, "The Role of the International Financial Institutions in a Globalized Economy" (paper presented at the 2001 Annual Meetings of the IMF and World Bank, Washington, 29-30 September 2001), ICFTU, "Employment, Sustainable Development and Social Justice: ICFTU Programme for Sustainable Economic Growth" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 25-29 June 2000).

[59] All this is not to say that radical collectivist creeds are nowhere evident. Indeed, in subsequent discussion we will note the emergence in some parts of the network of an orientation that may have fused traditional anarcho-syndicalism with gender and environment-sensitive tendencies.

this has not meant that statism *per se* has waned. It is the nature of this statism that seems to have changed. Hitherto, the state represented, on the one hand, an emancipatory ideal – seen in the context of struggles against colonial rule – and, on the other, an agent through which imperial designs, or socialist utopias, could be realized. Today's statism is one that has organized labour looking to government – individually or collectively – to play the role of a 'guardian legislator', and to provide refuge for those facing a neoliberalism that poses a serious threat to social welfare and security. This posture also takes the form of a defensive statism, one that has organized labour mounting actions in defence of national autonomy and sovereignty.[60] At the transnational level, it is hoped that labour's perennial goal of growth and development is to be facilitated by the inter-governmental organizations whose role it is to manage trade; but whose legitimacy, ultimately, derives from the authority of the state. From all this emerges an ideological profile. The ideological disposition of today's transnational network of labour organizations can best be characterized as one that combines an enduring commitment to humane developmentalism, while at the same time embracing a pragmatic and somewhat enlightened form of ameliorative statism.

Before concluding this section on organized labour's internal dimension of change during this period, a brief digression is in order. Specifically, there is a need to reflect upon the antecedents to the changes noted above. It is clear that movement reconfiguration, be it in the organizational, or integrative dimensions of change, cannot be understood without an appreciation of what occurred in broader structural terms. For instance, neither the labour movement's organizational consolidation, or its increasing levels of ideological integration, can be understood as processes apart from, say, the ending of the Cold War – that is, a manifestation of dramatic change in structures of global organization – or from the remarkable innovations in communication technology. Likewise, changes in the structures of production and ideology also shaped organized labour's agenda, with neoliberalism creating a greater sense of urgency throughout the network. But while these structural considerations are critical, we cannot discount the importance of agency. By this I mean that changes to the network were often of an endogenous sort. One example can be found in the 'progressive turn' taken by many within the ranks of American labour. This had its origins in the rank-and-file disquiet evident years before the ending of the Cold War. The change in leadership that ensued in the mid-1990s resulted in the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations adopting a far more contrary disposition in relation to both government and capital.[61] We will return to this aspect of organized labour's evolution when the focus shifts to its external dimensions of change. Suffice to say, it is important to avoid an over-emphasis on structural determinants, and allow consideration of actor-led change.

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[60] Laxer, "The Movement That Dare Not Speak Its Name: The Return of Left Nationalism / Internationalism".
[61] Kim Moody gives an interesting account of the dynamics of leadership change within the American labour movement in the mid-1990s. Kim Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy* (London: Verso, 1997), pp. 198-200.

1989-2003. THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND INTEGRATIVE DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE – CONCLUSION

In an organizational sense, this network has at once integrated and expanded. However, it continues to embrace an organizational structure that reflects – albeit implicitly – national identities, allegiances and, at times, the interests of states. When we look to the internal integrative dimension, we see quite dramatic changes to the ways in which relationships are mediated. The traditional face-to-face relationships have been transformed by a remarkable increase in computer-mediated interaction. Under this communication regime the peak confederations have been able to increase intra-network cooperation. As a result there has emerged what can be regarded as a degree of symbolic integration. I stress *symbolic* here because there remains very distinct areas of speciality and responsibility that differentiate the various constituent parts of the network. Moreover, while the contemporary relationships necessarily entail more horizontal interactions – that is, between top-level leadership – integration on a vertical plane remains very elusive. Indeed, it must be stressed that suggestions of increased ideological and symbolic integration are not in any way meant to imply a centralization of authority within the network. There has been no surrender of autonomy by constituents to the peak confederations. The transnational network of labour organizations remains just that – a loose ensemble of confederations held together to a greater or lesser degree by commonly held interests and ideologies.

It is in the realm of interests and ideologies that important changes, and continuities, are evident. We noted a shift in priorities away from the instrumental and parochial, to a set of interests focusing more on human rights, as well as on questions of global distributive justice. These are reconciled with the ongoing support for trade and economic expansion. Crucially, both tendencies have at their core a dependence upon the authority of the state.

PART FOUR

CHAPTER EIGHT

EXTERNAL DIMENSIONS OF CHANGE 1989-2003

1989-2003. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

In the preceding section on internal dimensions of change I suggested that labour worldwide had, first of all, expanded organizationally, and then become more symbolically and ideologically integrated. I also suggested that in spite of this expansion and integration there was little evidence of a fundamental re-orientation away from the authority and centrality of the state. In this section we once more build on the foregoing by reflecting upon the network's external relations. The focus here is firstly on engagement within political (i.e., state-mediated), and then civil, dimensions of change. Ultimately, we will find that notwithstanding significant tensions within the political dimension, and a concurrent increase in engagement with civil-oppositional actors, the labour network continues to adhere to a form of ameliorative statism – an orientation that belies its globalizing pretensions.

1989-2003. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE NATIONAL

We begin by once more reflecting on organized labour's political-realm engagement at the national level. This is an important point of departure because it is within this national *milieu* that the vast majority of the network's affiliates exist. I will argue here that there is little to suggest that labour – considered broadly – has become estranged from the state, in spite of the existence of some forces for disassociation on this national plane. I expand on this proposition by firstly outlining the forces undermining the labour-state nexus, and then on those that continue to bind the two.

The importance of the Cold War was outlined in previous discussion of the network's internal integration. There, it was noted that the Cold War had greatly hindered network integrity – when understood in terms of interests and ideology – by compelling many labour organizations to serve

the strategic interests of state. That this particular aspect of the labour-state nexus has been broken is by now self-evident, and there is no need to dwell on it further. Instead, the study moves on to assess a wider range of factors that may be creating a rift between organized labour and the state.

Throughout the 1990s, powerful forces continued to undermine trade unions' institutional links to the state. The structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology were such that trade unions had to confront not only the seemingly omnipotent multinational corporations within a context of 'turbo-capitalism', but also what some refer to as the "competition state".[1] This was a form of national governance that embraced neoliberal articles of faith – trade liberalization, reduced tariffs and subsidies, financial deregulation, privatization, and casualization. It was a form of governance that in many contexts rounded savagely on labour and its representative bodies.

There was a tendency on the part of many governments throughout the 1990s to reform the legal and institutional frameworks that had protected organized labour, or had given it *entrée* into decision-making settings. In many cases such changes served to emasculate systems of arbitration and also decentralize processes of collective bargaining. These reforms saw the locale of most collective bargaining negotiation – particularly in the English-speaking countries – shift from the macro to the micro level; that is, from economy and industry-wide bargaining, to negotiation at the enterprise or individual level.[2]

Part Three of this thesis looked at the way corporatist arrangements changed through the 1970s and 1980s. Some of the subtle – and not so subtle – changes to voluntarist, statist, and coercive corporatist arrangements were mapped. The trends identified in that period, though mixed, showed a degree of disassociation: estrangement at one end of the spectrum (throughout Europe and the West); and imposed flexibility and autonomy for labour protagonists in others (throughout Central and Eastern Europe). In the 1990s, governments' aversion to voluntarist forms of corporatist relationships only intensified, while statist corporatism in the Eastern bloc was all but abandoned in the wake of the Cold War.[3]

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[1] Philip G. Cerny, "Restructuring the Political Arena: Globalization and the Paradox of the Competition State", in *Globalization and Its Critics: Perspectives from Political Economy*, ed. Randall D. Germain (New York: St.Martins Press, 2000), Ian Clark, *Globalization and International Relations Theory* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999). Related factors conspired against trade union influence. These included the decline of manufacturing, the growth of service industries and of white collar occupations, the entrance of women into the labour market, the fragmentation of the employment contract, and the growth of part-time work.

[2] Oliver Clarke, Greg J. Bamber, and Russell D. Lansbury, "Conclusions: Towards a Synthesis of International and Comparative Experience in Employment Relations", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998), p. 309, Harry Katz and Owen Darbishire, *Converging Divergences: Worldwide Changes in Employment Systems* (New York: Cornell University Press, 2000), pp. 265-66, 80-84.

[3] John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff, "Changing Models of Labour Relations in Eastern Europe and Russia", in *Labour Relations and Political Change in Eastern Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff (London: UCL Press, 1995). This article provides a comprehensive and broad-ranging analysis of labour relations in the aftermath of the Cold War. It looks at the effects of the ensuing market

Another feature of industrial relations in the 1990s was the increasing influence of managerial ideologies. While this aspect of the study properly belongs in the section devoted to labour's engagement with civil-commercial actors, it needs to also be acknowledged here. This is because in many countries these ideologies and management fads began to permeate public-sector management, and resulting in the marginalization of unions.[4] These management strategies ranged from the somewhat amorphous notion of Human Resources Management, to notions of Best Practice, Lean Production, Toyotism, and the many variants of the Just-In-Time management systems. These had in common the use of subtle, yet all-pervasive, systems of control and surveillance for the sake of flexibility, competition, cost reduction, and the emasculation of organized labour.[5] While the extent to which these ideologies shaped labour-state relations varied considerably, they nevertheless played an important role in ostracizing trade unions from collective bargaining negotiations in the public sector and beyond.[6] They were also instrumental in assuring uncritical acceptance of high levels of casualization in many industrialized countries.

The list of factors resulting in an estrangement between organized labour and the state could be extended to include the continuing decline of social-democrat parties, and of social-democracy itself. But there is no need to expand further on such developments: suffice to say that together they continued throughout the 1990s to severely undermine the capacity of organized labour to assert itself within policy-making circles at this national level. Indeed, in many cases labour was accorded pariah status. This happened when trade unions were perceived by the 'competition state' to be an impediment to progress, as defined by the neoliberal orthodoxy. As an aside, the processes outlined above also go some way to explaining the declining status of trade unions in general and, more specifically, of falls in union membership throughout the 1990s.[7]

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orientated reforms that swept Central and Eastern Europe, and the ways in which trade unions adapted to the 'shock therapy' of neoliberal economic reform.

[4] Sven Bislev, Dorte Salskov-Iversen, and Hans Krause Hansen, "The Global Diffusion of Managerialism: Transnational Discourse Communities at Work", *Global Society*, 16, 2 (2002).

[5] For more see Peter Ewer et al., *International Best Practice? A Critical Guide* (Sydney: Pluto Press, 1993), Stuart D. Green, *The Human Resource Management Implications of Lean Construction: Critical Perspectives and Conceptual Chasms* [Internet] (Department of Construction Management & Engineering, The University of Reading, 2001 [accessed 9 January 2003]); available from http://www.personal.rdg.ac.uk/~kcsgrest/Lean-hrm.htm, Duncan Macdonald, Rachid Zeffane, and Roy Green, "Managerial Ideologies: Do They Matter?" (paper presented at the 12th Association of Industrial Relations Academics of Australia and New Zealand, Wellington, New Zealand, 3-5 February 1998 1998). For a more abstract analysis of the reproduction of such ideologies see Nigel Thrift's fascinating reflections on what he calls 'soft capitalism' Nigel Thrift, "The Rise of Soft Capitalism", in *An Unruly World? Globalization, Governance and Geography*, eds. Andrew Herod, Gearóid O. Tuathail, and Susan M. Roberts (London: Routledge, 1998).

[6] Katz and Darbishire make this point clear in their research on the industrial relations regimes of the United States, the United Kingdom, Australia, Germany, Japan, Sweden, and Italy. For a summary of their findings see Katz and Darbishire, *Converging Divergences: Worldwide Changes in Employment Systems*, pp. 280-81.

[7] Membership in trade unions fell in seventy-two of the ninety-two countries surveyed by the ILO in its World Labour Report 1997-98. The most alarming falls came in former communist countries: by 50.6% in Russia, 50% in the Czech Republic, 45.7% in Poland, 38% in Hungary, and 22.8% in Belarus. Membership also declined dramatically elsewhere: by 75.7% in Israel, 38.3% in Uganda, 32.2% in Venezuala, 55.1% in New Zealand, 31.2% in France, 25.2% in the UK, 20.3% in Germany, and 29.6% in Australia. ILO, "World Labour Report 1997-1998", (Geneva: International Labour Organization, 1997).

In the developing countries national labour movements were also undermined by the effects of market liberalization, structural adjustment programs, and the subsequent decline in public sector employment. Many of these movements had hitherto played prominent roles in struggles for independence and in nation-building. Added to this was the upsurge throughout the late-1980s and 1990s of state sponsored violence directed at unionists. This, as one ICFTU researcher wrote,

> confirms that international competition is responsible for the majority of union rights violations because many governments have abdicated responsibility from their obligations and allow foreign investors to systematically flout labour laws and regulations so as to stop them from taking their investment elsewhere.[8]

All the foregoing speaks mainly to the effects of forces external to organized labour. That is, we have focused here on the tribulations of labour, and tensions in its relationship with the state, by looking at the effects of structural imperatives. But it is important to once more stress that this disassociation dynamic involved a degree of agency on the part of organized labour. I refer, for example, to a form of trade unionism that emerged in countries such as South Africa, South Korea, and Brazil. In its various incarnations – with appellations such as *social movement unionism*, or *new social unionism* – this development is reminiscent of the rise of the New Left after decades of Old Left orthodoxy in the 1960s. This is an orientation that entails an involvement with issues and actors that are not within the immediate sphere of trade union politics. Importantly, it is also an orientation that entails greater autonomy in relation to the state.[9] Again, I do not want to dwell on this aspect here, given that it so obviously bears on discussion that follows on civil realm engagement. It is only to underline the point that when considering the question of disassociation from the state, agency cannot be ignored.

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[8] Kathryn Hodder, "The ICFTU Annual Survey of Violations of Trade Union Rights", *International Union Rights*, 5, 3 (1998), p. 3. This report shows that 299 trade unionists were murdered in 1998, over 2,300 were arrested or detained for union activities, 1,681 ill-treated or tortured, over 290 received death threats, three thousand placed under police surveillance, and 450 strikes violently suppressed.

[9] Peter Waterman coined the terms *social movement unionism*, and *new social unionism*. The following article by Waterman is considered a seminal work in this area of labour studies. Peter Waterman, "Social Movement Unionism: A New Model for a New World Order", *Review*, 16, 3 (1993). See also Peter Waterman, "The New Social Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order", in *Labour Worldwide in the Era of Globalization: Alternative Union Models in the New World Order*, eds. Ronaldo Munck and Peter Waterman (London: MacMillan, 1999). The much neglected question of agency in labour politics has also been revived by Andrew Herod *et al* within the discipline of *urban geography*. See Andrew Herod, "From a Geography of Labor to a Labor Geography: Labor's Spatial Fix and the Geography of Capitalism", *Antipode*, 29, 1 (1997), Andrew Herod, "On Worker's Theoretical (in)Visibility in the Writing of Critical Urban Geography: A Comradely Critique", *Urban Geography*, 15, 7 (1994), Jane Wills, "Geographies of Trade Unionism: Translating Traditions across Space and Time", *Antipode*, 28, 4 (1996), Jane Wills, "Space, Place, and Tradition in Working-Class Organization", in *Organizing the Landscape: Geographical Perspectives on Labor Unionism*, ed. Andrew Herod (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998). This question of agency is all the more relevant at a time when the phenomenon of the 'general strike' has become more widespread, even in the more affluent countries. See Ronaldo Munck, *Globalisation and Labour: The New 'Great Transformation'* (London: Zed Books, 2002), pp. 99-102.

And yet in spite of all the factors that might point to a schism between organized labour and the state, I believe the countervailing research makes definitive claims about universal change fraught. Indeed, while the aforementioned tensions are evident, the connections between an ever-expanding and integrated labour network and the state in many areas remain strong. As most scholars within the field of comparative industrial relations point out, there remains a great deal of heterogeneity in the institutionalized industrial relations regimes still in place. These writers suggest that cross-cultural responses to exogenous, structural, change have varied dramatically.[10] This means that even though neoliberalism has undermined established regulatory systems, as well as traditional corporatist arrangements, there have emerged a range of alternative forms of engagement and cooperation between organized labour and the state.

For example, it is evident that in Central and Eastern Europe there have emerged industrial relations systems that feature tripartite forms of governance that include trade unions as active participants. In what Reutter calls "tripartism without corporatism"[11] we see a proliferation of such bodies and agreements between governments and organized labour. These are borne out of a consensus about the need for social stability during times of dramatic economic change. While these arrangements are usually *ad hoc*, and by no means institutionally embedded, they nevertheless point to an enduring connection between the state and trade unions throughout the region. As Reutter argues,

> These relations have to be cooperative...[and] this means that the parliaments or parties accept the 'semi-public' role and functions of the unions and the agreements of the tripartite bodies.[12]

Moreover, this form of engagement has in many ways been imposed on organized labour by the state, and as such belies notions of a fundamental schism.[13]

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[10] Gerda Falkner's comments on industrial relations in Europe may equally apply beyond that setting. "[There] is little use in searching for an overarching characteristic for the sum of all sectoral systems: too huge are the differences, and there is no indication for convergence". Gerda Falkner, *Corporatist Governance and Europeanisation: No Future in the Multi-Level Game?* [Internet] (European Integration online Papers, 1997 [accessed 15 July 2000]); available from http://eiop.or.at/eiop/texte/1997-011a.htm. For more on the question of whether systems of industrial relations are converging or diverging see the following. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury, "An Introduction to International and Comparative Employment Relations", in *International and Comparative Employment Relations*, eds. Greg J. Bamber and Russell D. Lansbury (London: Sage, 1998), pp. 1-33, Richard Hyman, "National Industrial Relations Systems and Transnational Challenges: An Essay in Review", *European Journal of International Relations*, 5, 1 (1999), Katz and Darbishire, *Converging Divergences: Worldwide Changes in Employment Systems* pp. 263-84, Roger Smith, "The Convergence/Divergence Debate in Comparative Industrial Relations", in *European Trade Unions: Change and Response*, eds. Mike Rigby, Roger Smith, and Teresa Lawlor (London: Routledge, 1999).

[11] Werner Reutter, "Trade Unions and Politics in Eastern and Central Europe: Tripartism without Corporatism", in *The Lost Perspective? Trade Unions between Ideology and Social Action in the New Europe*, eds. Patrick Pasture, Johan Verberckmoes, and Hans De Witte (Brookfield: Avebury, 1996).

[12] Ibid., p. 147.

[13] Thirkell, Scase and Vickerstaff also reflect on emerging post-corporatist relationships, observing that "governments of an avowedly neoliberal persuasion are prepared to enter into tripartite negotiation to avoid confrontation and in order to maintain the pace of economic reform". See John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff, "Models of Labour

Many developing countries also have in place what Bamber refers to as 'statist-micro-corporatist relationships'. These represent variants of the coercive corporatist regimes mentioned earlier, and have emerged mainly in countries such as Japan and other 'tiger economies' of Asia.[14] And finally, we also see the emergence of a similar, highly flexible, "supply-side" corporatism within the Western European setting.[15] Falkner reflects on all these changes thus: "While Keynesian macro-corporatism might indeed fade out, other but still non-pluralist forms such as 'supply-side' corporatism might survive".[16] By this Falkner means that forms of corporatism may be emerging that are specifically tailored to the needs of the market; forms that "tend no longer to be the single feature which characterises entire political systems".[17]

Signs of enduring connection are also apparent if we look at the contradictory phenomenon of the 'anti-globalization' movement, of which organized labour is increasingly a part. This movement is contradictory because it can express both cosmopolitan or communitarian intents.[18] It is possible that trade union activism here can be interpreted as a manifestation of what Laxer calls "left-wing nationalism".[19] Along with the right-wing variant, this disposition can be interpreted as a rearguard action *in defence of the state* in the face of worldwide economic and cultural integration. While it is difficult to assess the extent to which this left-wing nationalism represents an inward-looking retreat into nationhood, it nevertheless seems to make even more problematic claims of a break in the nexus between organized labour and the state.

Throughout earlier discussion about relationships on this national-political plane, I maintained that the orientation of organized labour remained inward-looking, if not statist, in character. Notwithstanding an end to the most extreme forms of instrumental and strategic labour-government alliances – as well as the loosening of more subtle cooperative regimes throughout the 1980s and 1990s – there seems little to suggest that there has been a cleavage between the constituent parts of the transnational network of labour organizations and the state. This is not to say that the continuing marriage between organized labour and the state on the national plane is a happy one. Indeed, underscoring the relationship have been the very fraught symptoms of exogenous structural imperatives; be they in the form of Cold War antagonisms, the influence of the multinational corporations or, more broadly, the deleterious effects of neoliberalism.

Relations: Trends and Prospects", in *Labour Relations and Political Change in Eastern Europe: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. John Thirkell, Richard Scase, and Sarah Vickerstaff (London: UCL Press, 1995), p. 182.

[14] Bamber and Lansbury, "An Introduction to International and Comparative Employment Relations", pp. 24-25.

[15] F. Traxler in Falkner, *Corporatist Governance and Europeanisation: No Future in the Multi-Level Game?*

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] In earlier discussion we noted the existence of social movement unionism, and what might be regarded as the cosmopolitan tendency among those labour organizations opposed to globalization.

[19] Laxer, "The Movement That Dare Not Speak Its Name: The Return of Left Nationalism / Internationalism".

To conclude these reflections on organized labour's engagement with this external-political dimension we now return to the global plane. Here, it becomes evident that while this transnational labour network continues to assert itself within the global context, this has not necessarily meant that the state is of less importance in labour's worldview. Thus, we cannot regard organized labour as having engaged in a profound form of globalization; that is, the *nature* of intra-network integration, and of its autonomy, belies such a process.

1989-2003. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – THE GLOBAL

By and large, trade union organizations have been very eager to pursue their interests within the global – state-mediated – political realm. Notwithstanding an initial wariness of the ILO in the early 1920s, and the fleeting opposition to that body by the World Federation of Trade Unions prior to 1954, the peak confederations and their constituent parts have, over the decades, clamoured to insinuate themselves within inter-governmental organizations. Since 1989 – when intra-network rivalry diminished – this form of engagement has assumed a greater level of intensity. This is because the network's advocacy in these fora has become more coordinated, with the remaining confederations aligning themselves according to common interests and ideology.

Recall that the heightened level of (symbolic) integration within the network was premised on the need to somehow insulate organized labour from the effects of contemporary neoliberalism. Such integration was also based, in large part, on a developmentalist consensus. All this expressed itself as an ideological tendency that came to the fore as doctrines promoting radical and reformist collectivism receded. Hitherto, when emancipatory worldviews were more prominent, ambivalence towards inter-governmental organizations was more evident. This ambivalence – tending to outright hostility – was initially expressed by some of the nineteenth and early twentieth century class-based internationals. These were the International Working Men's Association (in both incarnations), and the Industrial Workers of the World. In the late-1940s and early 1950s, the communist World Federation of Trade Unions also opposed such engagement, as did the powerful American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations throughout the 1970s and early 1980s.

Subsequently, the developmentalist consensus has enabled the peak confederations to gain easier access to inter-governmental organizations and especially to the former Bretton Woods institutions. Because an integral part of this consensus is the (qualified) support for free trade, a bridge of sorts now exists between organized labour and those inter-governmental organizations concerned with achieving limitless economic growth through trade and financial liberalization. Thus, labour's

engagement at this level necessarily entails a degree of incorporation within a political realm premised upon the authority of the state.

Throughout the 1990s, the peak confederations further intensified their efforts to establish footholds within the growing number of inter-governmental organizations.[20] What sets this episode apart from earlier times is the breadth and intensity of engagement at not only the global, but also now at regional levels of governance. This increasing engagement with global and regional inter-governmental organizations was precipitated by the prevailing structures of production, communication, organization, and ideology. These imperatives were such that within a short period of time there proliferated regions of deep economic and political integration. Moreover, regional free-trade regimes expanded rapidly to include new member-states, and to also incorporate smaller, existing, inter-governmental organizations.[21]

On the global plane, organized labour's determination to insinuate itself was typified by the ICFTU's efforts – made on behalf of all the major confederations – to be heard within the World Trade Organization. We have touched on this relationship a number of times, most recently when highlighting the convergence of interests that had developed around the labour standards issue. Without dwelling too much on this aspect of the study, it is important to illustrate how the effort devoted to deepening such relations intensified throughout the 1990s.

The labour-wide campaign to gain a seat at the trade negotiation table began in earnest in 1994, and then intensified in subsequent World Trade Organization Ministerial Meetings in 1996 and 1999.[22] That the results of this engagement have proved disappointing for organized labour is not a central concern here. Nor is the fact that in searching for more effective monitoring mechanisms, the transnational network of labour organizations seems to be shifting its emphasis away from the

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[20] In addition to inter-governmental organizations such as the OECD, the ILO, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, other important regimes for labour included the G8 Summits (of May 1998 and July 2000), the UN Conference on Environment and Development (1992), the UN Fourth World Women's Conference (1995), the series of UN Social Summits(1995, 2000), the UN Commission on Trade and Development (2000), the UN Environmental Programme. and the UN Cairo Conference on Population. (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", pp. 38-55.

[21] Since the previous review of such growth in the numbers of inter-governmental organization (see pages 6-7) there have emerged still more, with most concerned with the 'management' of free trade. Among these have been the following organizations within the Americas: the North American Free Trade Agreement (1994), the Southern Cone Common Market (1991), and the System of Central American Integration (1993). Since 1992, states in the Asia-Pacific region established the ASEAN Free Trade Area, and then implemented the South Asian Preferential Trading Arrangement. At the same time, the Southern African Development Community was formed. Expansion of existing regimes is exemplified by the European Union's acceptance of new members throughout the 1990s (Austria, Sweden, Finland, and, more recently, Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic). Such examples of expansion can also be found across regions, from the Americas, the Caribbean, and Asia. For more detail on the emerging layers of governance see ILO, *Globalization* [Internet] (International Labour Organization: ACTRAV Bureau for Workers' Activities, 1998 [accessed 18 January 2003]); available from http://www.ilo.org/public/english/230actra/index.htm.

[22] The relevant organization in 1994 was the General Agreement of Tariffs and Trade.

International Labour Organization, in favour of the World Trade Organization.[23] What is most important is that in its attempts to "take up a position as one of the principal parties in the global rule-making process",[24] organized labour continues to gravitate closer to those international regimes that are premised upon the authority of the state. To this extent the nature of labour's 'globalizing' process is one that entails a statist orientation, whether manifest in relations with the World Trade Organization, or with the Bretton Woods institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.[25]

We could easily add to this list of encounters between inter-governmental organizations and peak confederations.[26] Increasingly, the peak confederations – often under the banner of The Global Unions federation – have coordinate their statements and presentations within such fora. As well as reflecting the intra-network consensus mentioned above, the increasing frequency of such engagements with inter-governmental organizations is also indicative of the movement-wide efforts to be accepted within this global political realm.[27]

The same increase in state-centred forms of advocacy is evident on the regional level. As the proliferation of regional inter-governmental organizations has expanded to facilitate and manage liberalizing and developmentalist programs, organized labour's efforts to engage at that level have also intensified. The already well established institutional connection between the European Trade Union Congress and the European Union, as well as that existing between the Trade Union

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[23] An excellent analysis of the challenge posed to the ILO by labour's preoccupation with the World Trade Organization can be found in the following. Robert O'Brien et al., *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 100-06.

[24] Ashwin, "International Labour Solidarity after the Cold War", p. 110.

[25] For more on the ways in which the peak confederations have sought to influence the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund see (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", pp. 13-29.

[26] For instance, the World Confederation of Labour continues to engage with – and lobby for reform to – a range inter-governmental organizations. See, for example, the following proposals for reform to inter-governmental organizations. (WCL), "The Policy Resolution and the Topical Resolutions of the WCL", pp. 7-10. In addition, trade secretariats try to influence major inter-governmental organizations. Most of their campaigns are directed towards the IMF and World Bank, as well as towards the more established United Nations bodies. A concise summary of all secretariat involvement can be found in (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", pp. 22-29. Common to all is an imperative to not only respond to, but also establish formal liaison mechanisms with, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the OECD, and a host of second-tier bodies such as investment banks. And, finally, we might also include here the activities of some of the major national and regional trade union organizations. Organizations such as Japan's Confederation of Public Sector Trade Unions, the Nordic Trade Union Council, and the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, also devote significant resources to engagement with political realm actors on this global plane. (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", p. 29.

[27] Recall that the Global Unions federation consists of the ICFTU, the Trade Union Advisory Committee to the OECD, and the International Trade Secretariats. Numerous 'joint statements' and submissions made within inter-governmental regimes can be cited to illustrate the nature of this form of engagement. See, for example, the following: Global-Unions, *Global Union Demand Boost to World Economy: 16 November, 2001*, Global-Unions, *Global Union Proposes Measures to Prevent Economic Slowdown*, Global-Unions, "Global Unions Statement to International Conference on Financing for Development", Global-Unions, "Global Unions Statement: The Role of the IMF and the World Bank" (paper presented at the Fall 2001 Meetings of the IMF (International Monetary and Financial Committee) and World Bank (Development Committee), Ottawa, 17-18 November 2001), Global-Unions: Statement by the ICFTU, "The Role of the International Financial Institutions in a Globalized Economy". For another example of coordination of this sort see European Trade Union Confederation, *Activity Report: 1995-1998*.

Advisory Council and the OECD, have already been noted and do not need repeating here. However, it is worth listing some of the relationships that have emerged more recently, given that these represent qualitative and quantitative shifts in relations with the external-political dimension of change throughout the 1990s.

In the Americas the ICFTU and the national affiliates of its regional body, ORIT,[28] participated in preparatory talks with states planning to establish the Free Trade Area of the Americas (proposed for 2005). They did this with the aim of persuading governments to attach a labour-friendly social clause to that trading regime. This trade union grouping also established the first formal institutional relationship between trade unions and a multilateral development bank. It did this when it joined with the Inter-American Development Bank to form a labour-oriented working group in 2000.[29]

In an engagement of a similar kind, the ICFTU/ORIT combination – in conjunction with the World Confederation of Labour and its own regional representative[30]– helped to draft the Social and Labour Declaration incorporated within the Common Market of the Southern Cone countries (also known as MERCOSUR). They did this through the agency of the MERCOSUR Trade Union Commission, and through its tripartite Consultative Forum on Economic and Social Issues. Likewise, the Caribbean Congress of Labour has been actively engaged with Caribbean Common Market countries, with particular emphasis on proposals for a Caribbean Social Charter.

In the Asia and Pacific trade union bodies have also attempted to assert themselves within regional inter-governmental organizations. The latter include the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Forum (APEC), and the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN). One of the most important bodies facilitating interaction with APEC has been the ICFTU Asia Pacific Labour Network, a network that consists not only of ICFTU affiliates in APEC countries, but also of trade unions associated with the industry-specific trade secretariats. Here, resistance to organized labour involvement has been intense, with APEC granting labour only limited access. In spite of concerted efforts, labour delegations to ASEAN have also met with little success, though the ICFTU and its regional body, APRO,[31] continue to issue communiques in response to ASEAN policies, and to establish closer contacts with important ASEAN associates such as the Asian Development Bank.

Interaction in Southern Africa is facilitated through the annual meeting of the Labour Commission of SADC, an offshoot of the Southern African Development Community. Similar interaction and

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[28] Organizacion Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores or Inter-American Regional Organization of Workers
[29] (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", p. 58, 64.
[30] The Central Latinoamericana de Trabajadores.

dialogue occurs at the Organization for African Unity annual Labour Commission meeting. The transnational network of labour organizations – led, principally, by the ICFTU and its regional body, AFRO[32]– also asserts itself in Africa by sponsoring major conferences on issues of regional import, and by encouraging representatives of major inter-governmental organizations to attend.[33] The African Development Bank is one such body, and the ICFTU continues to cultivate its relationship with the bank at every opportunity. In general, these conferences provide settings in which national trade union bodies can engage with delegations from employer groups, the International Labour Organization, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank, as well as with those of their own governments.[34] This overview does not offer an extensive account of all interaction at the burgeoning regional level of governance. The snapshots provided serve merely to underscore the type and breadth of labour engagement in contemporary times. More specifically, they show that on the global and regional planes organized labour continues to seek deeper institutional connections with the state-mediated political realm.

That said, it must be acknowledged that while the inter-governmental organizations of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s were indeed larger projections of state-mediated forms of governance, today's inter-governmental organizations have become more complex sites of interaction for a plethora of non-state actors. States no longer determine outcomes in these fora to the extent they once did. And so it would be unwise to read organized labour's present fixation with these inter-governmental organizations solely as a preoccupation with the collective manifestations of the state.

Nonetheless, as Robert O'Brien *et al* argue, organized labour remains locked into this political realm because "labour issues [can only] remain on the WTO agenda to the extent that labour can influence...states".[35] Though these comments are in reference to the labour-World Trade Organization relationship, they might just as well have referred to organized labour's relationships with inter-governmental organizations in general. I would add to this by suggesting that the labour-government nexus continues to loom large – in spite of organized labour's globalizing pretensions – because influence within the political realm comes only at the behest of states. Such influence is,

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[31] Asian and Pacific Regional Organization.
[32] African Regional Organization.
[33] These included the following: the Trade Union Educators Conference (October, 1993, Kampala); the ILO/ICFTU-AFRO Workshop on Employment Creation and the Informal Sector: The Trade Union Role (May, 1999, Johannesburg); a regional educators' gathering on the Role of Trade Union Education in Employment Creation in Africa (September, 1999, Nairobi); and the high-level symposium on the Role of Trade Unions in Poverty Alleviation and Employment Creation in Africa (May, 2001, Nairobi). (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", pp. 69-70.
[34] Ibid., pp. 70-71.
[35] O'Brien et al., *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*, p. 100.

according to O'Brien and his colleagues, "extended through the state [and thus] labour groups continue to rely on the good will of particular states to advance their cause".[36]

1989-2003. THE POLITICAL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

The transnational network of labour organizations has sought out, and attained, a degree of enmeshment with governing institutions on national, regional, and global planes. This intent has been apparent even when there have been structural forces at play that tend towards disengagement. The labour network continues to mirror, as it were, changes in the global structure of organization. As forms of global governance change, so too does organized labour's configuration in relation to the external political realm. From labour's perspective, this adaptation is necessary if it is to persuade governments to mitigate the effects of neoliberalism, and also if it is to satisfy the developmentalist imperative that is such an ingrained aspect of organized labour's worldview.

These closer relations with the state seem to more evident in the contemporary period, when labour – as a network – is more globally oriented and, symbolically at least, internally integrated. To this extent we can say that while it is possible to discern the emergence of a more globalized movement, this is a globalization that does not come at the expense of close – indeed, symbiotic – relations with the state across national, regional, and global levels. In other words, this has not been a globalization of separateness from traditional forms of governance and authority. The transnational network of labour organizations has been – at least in its twentieth century incarnations – reluctant to stray too far from the corridors of state power.

1989-2003. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – INTRODUCTION

Our attention now turns to organized labour's engagement with actors within the external civil dimension of change during the years spanning 1989-2003. In keeping with previous sections, this dimension is partitioned into the oppositional, and then commercial, civil realms. At its conclusion, we will have found that organized labour remains orientated towards the state-mediated political

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[36] Ibid. O'Brien and his colleagues make the point that even the modest gains made in labour's 'most successful' foray into the World Trade Organization (WTO Ministerial Meeting, Singapore 1996) were facilitated by those affiliates who were able to enlist government help. In other words, engagement was possible because ICFTU affiliates had close relations with member governments – most notably, the United States, France, and Norway – whose accreditation gave labour greater access to government briefings and government officials. O'Brien et al., *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements,* p. 89. The importance of access to individual governments, and of the latter's role as facilitator, is also emphasized in TUAC's Millennium Report. See (TUAC), "Transforming the Global Economy: A Stocktaking of Trade Union Action with International and Regional Institutions", pp. 44-45.

realm. This orientation is based upon the aforementioned organizational and ideological affinities with the state. Interestingly, however, there is also a growing affinity with civil-oppositional actors, though these interactions are best characterized as fleeting, ephemeral, and often symbolic in form.

1989-2003. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – OPPOSITIONAL ACTORS

Periodically, organized labour has ventured beyond state-mediated politics to engage directly with civil-oppositional actors. But as we have seen in earlier discussion, these engagements have been fitful and tentative. Indeed, the unease that has characterized labour's relationship with oppositional non-government organizations, for example, is reminiscent of the fraught relationships with class-based emancipatory movements in the late-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I will reflect on these contrasts in later discussion. For now, there is a need to familiarize ourselves with the prevailing relationships between organized labour and civil-oppositional actors.

From the early 1990s it was inevitable that organized labour would develop more intimate ties with civil-oppositional actors, given the proliferation of such groups and their increasing participation in processes of national, regional, and global governance.[37] To this extent, the political dimension has become an important site of engagement for organized labour and a range of other civil realm actors.[38] Throughout the 1990s, cross-border social justice campaigns – those relating to child labour, bonded labour, violence, and the exploitation of women – have increasingly come to preoccupy a myriad of civil-oppositional actors. These movements have evolved in ways that have

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[37] Because these groups have proliferated, and have assumed such diverse areas of interest, it is difficult to give an accurate assessment of the their present status. According to Brown *et al*, the number of non-governmental organizations has grown more than fourfold over the last decade. They cite the following, astounding, figures: more than 100,000 civil society organizations are said to have emerged in Central and Eastern Europe since the passing of the Cold War; up to one million operate in India alone; and approximately 1,300 attended the Seattle meeting of the World Trade Organization in 1996. See Brown et al., "Globalization, NGOs, and Multisectoral Relations", p. 272, 78. A more circumspect study by Judge cautions against sweeping claims about non-governmental organizations. He shows how the category of 'non-governmental organization' can be an all-but-useless catch-all. This message is especially pertinent in the context of this study, given that we are relying here on the admittedly broad category of oppositional civil realm actors. Judge and Ottaway illustrate the ways in which international non-governmental organizations are becoming more accepted – albeit in a very *ad hoc* manner – by the range of inter-governmental organizations. Anthony Judge, *NGOs and Civil Society: Some Realities and Distortions: The Challenge of "Necessary-to-Governance Organizations" (NGOs)* [Internet web-site] (1994 [accessed 16/7/2000 2000]; available from http://www.uia.org/uiadocs/ngocivil.htm. Marina Ottaway, "Corporatism Goes Global: International Organizations, Nongovernmental Organization Networks, and Transnational Business", *Global Governance* 7 (2001). Most authors are in agreement about the extent to which non-governmental organizations are becoming fixtures within the world of inter-governmental organizations. The influence they are able exert is another matter altogether. For more on this aspect, see Spiro and also Boli *et al*. John Boli and George M. Thomas, *Constructing World Culture: International Non-Governmental Organizations since 1875* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), John Boli and George M. Thomas, "World Culture in the World Polity: A Century of International Non-Governmental Organization", *American Sociological Review*, 62, April (1997), Peter J. Spiro, "New Global Communities: Nongovernmental Organizations in International Decision-Making Institutions", *The Washington Quarterly*, Winter (1994).

[38] Perhaps the best example of this is the *Global Compact* initiative. This is a regime, under the auspices of the United Nations, that brings business, non-governmental organizations, and labour together on a global plane. First proposed in 1999, it came about in July 2000. Essentially, it requires of participants that they commit to a set of (nine) principles that serve to establish norms relating human rights, labour, and environmental issues. A good assessment of the ICFTU's position on the Global Compact can be found in the following. Jim Baker, *Trade Unions and Social Dialogue - the*

made transnational advocacy within both civil and political realms commonplace and, importantly, more sophisticated.[39] Advocacy in these issue areas has necessarily brought organized labour and civil-oppositional actors together. Indeed, the involvement of the latter has served to radicalize many trade union movements around the world.

The growth in what has come to be known as social movement unionism is closely related to the exposure of traditional trade union organizations to movements of the civil sphere. While Aronowitz's claims may be over-stated, he is worth quoting at some length here in order to fully convey the (potential) impact of this tendency for the broader trade union movement.

> Only the most myopic observer can regard [Solidarność] or the South African Union of Mineworkers [sic] as traditional trade unions. Like the São Paolo metalworkers, they are characterized by a whole network of cultural affinities. The union is not primarily an instrumental organization; it is the name given to their communities...In the new movements, the union is the repository of the broad social vision; it is linked to the neighbourhoods, as well as to the workplace. In short, it is a cultural as well as an economic form.[40]

What specific form did such interaction with civil-oppositional actors take? We earlier noted how this form of interaction – what there was of it – took place mainly on the national plane. This was the case, for instance, in the struggles for national liberation, in the events of 1968, and during anti-Vietnam campaigns. We then saw how some cooperation manifest itself in joint cross-border campaigns throughout the 1980s. The latter trend was to continue throughout the 1990s, with interaction increasing beyond the national to involve fora and issues that were global in scope. The following are some examples of interactions with civil-oppositional actors as they have occurred across national, regional, and global planes.

There emerged in the late-1980s coalitions between labour organizations and civil-oppositional actors concerned with protecting workers in Export Processing Zones. These coalitions were especially prominent in the border regions of Mexico and the United States, and in the wake of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Two examples of such alliances were the San Antonio-

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Global Dimension [Internet] (International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 2001 [accessed 19 March 2003]); available from http://www.icftu.org/displaydocument.asp?Index=991215155&Language=EN.

[39] The following sources are of interest because they canvass the issue of civil realm advocacy from different disciplinary vantage points: the former from a *social movement theory* perspective; and the latter from the constructivist perspective in *international relations*. Margaret E Keck and Kathryn Sikkink, *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1998), Jackie Smith, Charles Chatfield, and Ron Pagnucco, eds., *Transnational Social Movements and Global Politics: Solidarity Beyond the State* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1997). Research by Wapner is also exceptional. He focuses mainly on the rise of transnational activism among environmental groups. See Paul Wapner, "Politics Beyond the State: Environmental Activism and World Civic Politics", *World Politics*, 47, April (1995).

[40] Cited in Waterman, "The New Social Unionism: A New Union Model for a New World Order", p. 259.

based Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras, and the San Diego-based Committee to Support Maquiladoras. These were sustained by the combined efforts of trade union organizations and members of civil bodies concerned with the defence of citizen and immigrant rights. Primarily involving the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations, these relationships have, according to Carr, "galvanized...US union actors with little prior experience with trans-border work in the Americas".[41] Another body that brings together organized labour and civil realm actors in this way is the Mexican Action Network on Free Trade. This network was formed in 1991, and seeks to ameliorate the worst effects of the North American Free Trade Agreement. Comprising mainly Mexican and Canadian organizations, it is exceptional because it connects over one hundred labour, environmental, women's, peasant, and urban community groups.[42]

In his survey of such interactions, Armbruster lists a number of community-based organizations that are working alongside trade union actors in the region. His research stands out because it focuses on the tensions that exist between labour and community-based organizations. In essence, Armbruster claims that "unions and community-based organizations, despite merging strategically, remain divided ideologically and organizationally".[43] Armbruster is less sanguine about these relationships, and though he confirms that engagement is commonplace and increasing in frequency, he points to a more tentative and uneasy form of interaction between organized labour and civil-oppositional actors.

Beyond the Americas, similar engagements are also becoming commonplace. In South Korea, the Federation of Korean Trade Unions has worked closely with a range of social movement organizations to campaign against proposed International Monetary Fund reforms. The associated rallies, strikes, and campaign actions throughout the late-1990s involved not only oppositional movements, but also more conservative civil realm actors. These included the churches and farmer organizations. Of increasing importance in this loose alliance is the Korean Women Workers' Associations United, an umbrella group of more than twenty-five women's advocacy groups.[44]

At the same time, similar coalitions and alignments were becoming a feature of Australian labour politics. In 1998 a landmark waterfront dispute saw the relevant trade union, the Maritime Union of

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[41] Carr, "Globalisation from Below: Labour Internationalism under NAFTA", pp. 53-54. He cites as examples, the Communication Workers of America, and the International Longshoremans' Union.
[42] Allen Hunter, "Globalization from Below? Promises and Perils of the New Internationalism", *Social Policy*, 25, 4 (1995), pp. 2-3.
[43] Ralph Armbruster, "Cross-National Labor Organizing Strategies", *Critical Sociology*, 21, 2 (1995), p. 83, pp. 80-83. Armbruster highlights the work of the Comité Fronterizo de Obreras, and Las Mujer Obrera. The former is endeavouring to construct an alternative, grass-roots, "democratic workers' movement" in Mexico; and the latter is concerned with organizing immigrant women in garment sweatshops.
[44] Patricia Ranald, "Korean Unions Resisting the International Monetary Fund", in *Protest and Globalisation*, ed. James Goodman (Sydney: Pluto, 2002).

Australia, enlist the support of not only the wider labour movement – local and international – but also of numerous community organizations and religious groups.[45] Also of interest in the Australian setting is the existence of a humanitarian aid agency sponsored by the Australian Council of Trade Unions. Known as Union Aid Abroad-APHEDA, this agency is the medium through which the Australian trade union movement interacts with numerous human rights advocacy groups in places far removed. Program partners here include a range of women's and child rights advocacy organizations operating throughout the developing world.[46]

In North America the Canadian Union of Postal Workers has also looked beyond its normal constituency in its campaign to stop the privatization of up to five thousand postal outlets in the early 1990s. This trade union's innovative campaign – based upon relationships nurtured since the late-1980s – drew strength from the support of various community groups. These were the civil realm actors most reliant upon social services and, hence, a high standard of mail delivery. They included the farmers' coalition, 'Rural Dignity', as well as pensioner groups, students, the disabled, and retirees.[47]

It is difficult to judge – at least at this level – whether such interactions represent a sea-change in organized labour's disposition. Any prediction would need to take into account the extent to which campaigns such as those mentioned above achieved their aims. That these most prominent campaigns achieved only moderate success would indicate that the engagement with civil-oppositional actors may not necessarily become a permanent feature of labour politics. Put differently, while interactions are indeed occurring, they lack the organizational, ideological, and strategic dimensions that would signify a more profound shift in overall movement orientation.

David Ost is one who cautions against exaggerating claims of such a shift. He argues that – in the East European context at least – "it is only those unions that scale back their...social movement commitments and embrace the centrality of economic [business] unionism that are making a comeback today".[48] That the trend towards the civil may be fleeting on this national level is also hinted at by those claiming that even the quintessential social movement union organization – the

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[45] Helen Trinca and Anne Davies, *Waterfront: The Battle That Changed Australia* (Milsons Point: Doubleday, 2000), pp. 211-23, John Wiseman, "Trade Union Solidarity: The Australian Waterfront, 1998", in *Protest and Globalisation*, ed. James Goodman (Sydney: Pluto, 2002), p. 180. The latter provides an enthralling account of the community-labour confrontations with police, company thugs and, more broadly, state and federal governments intent on de-unionising the waterfront's workforce.

[46] Union Aid Abroad-APHEDA Inc, "Union Aid Abroad: Annual Report 2002", (Sydney: Australian Council of Trade Unions, 2002). It should also be noted that similar adjunct foreign aid bodies are maintained by organized labour throughout the Scandinavian countries, as well as in The Netherlands.

[47] Tuft also includes in this research an overview of a campaign mounted in Canada by the International Ladies Garment Workers Union. It is notable for its involvement and engagement with tight-knit ethnic communities who had hitherto been beyond the reach of traditional forms of labour organizing. Steven Tufts, "Community Unionism in Canada and Labor's (Re)Organization of Space", *Antipode*, 30, 3 (1998).

[48] Ost, "The Weakness of Strong Social Movements: Models of Unionism in the East European Context", p. 34.

Congress of South African Trade Unions – is manoeuvring to have itself included within "corporatist policy-making structures".[49]

If we shift our focus onto the regional and global levels, and onto the ways in which the peak bodies within the transnational network of labour organizations engage civil-oppositional actors, we see that this tenuousness is even more pronounced than it is on the national plane. In spite of the peak bodies' calls for cooperation between labour and non-governmental organizations, the linkages here are intermittent and highly symbolic in form. The following bears this out.

The peak confederations have long considered themselves to be the "leader[s] of civil society",[50] and have, in the case of the ICFTU at least, betrayed an unease at the encroachment of non-governmental organizations into labour's spheres of influence. I earlier noted ICFTU Executive Board statements during the 1980s that dismissed non-governmental organizations as being unrepresentative.[51] More than ten years later, sentiments of this sort persisted among leading figures of peak confederations. The statements of a General Secretary from one of the more prominent trade secretariats are indicative.

> we insist that the UN recognize that representative, democratic organizations like the ICFTU and the ITSs are not the same as the thousands of non-governmental organizations and 'one person think-tanks' swarming like honey bees around UN summits.[52]

Such arguments are of course valid and persuasive. However, this continued wariness of non-governmental organizations can also be attributed, in part, to the intra-network tensions of earlier times. Then, the World Federation of Trade Unions drove the ICFTU to distraction by recruiting supporters from among the ranks of civil-oppositional actors, and by using such alliances to undermine its rival confederation within important inter-governmental organizations.

This continuing unease has not altogether precluded engagement with civil realm actors in various contexts and at various levels. In previous sections we reviewed examples of cross-border campaigns waged throughout the 1970s and 1980s that involved national, regional, and transnational labour bodies. The diverse set of encounters included assistance for anti-apartheid

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[49] Philip Hirschsohn, "From Grassroots Democracy to National Mobilization: COSATU as a Model of Social Movement Unionism", *Economic and Industrial Democracy*, 19 (1998), p. 660, pp. 59-61.
[50] ICFTU, "An ICFTU Strategy to Defend Trade Union Rights: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU", p. 9.
[51] ICFTU, "Executive Board (Report/Document)", (Brussels: from the archives of the International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 1984).

movements, and for those civil actors opposing murderous regimes in Central America. It also included assistance to community and non-governmental organizations seeking compensation in the wake of industrial catastrophes, as well as to those seeking to ameliorate the symptoms of neoliberal free trade regimes in various regions and industries. But more often these cross-border interventions were – according to one ICFTU report – of a "partial and ad hoc" nature.[53] Moreover, many of the more significant interventions were reliant upon – indeed, made possible by – funds supplied by governments.[54] And so the questions remain. Has there occurred in subsequent years a re-orientation in relations with the civil-oppositional actors? And if there has, was this change of a sort that might be suggestive of profound changes to the ways in which organized labour has globalized?

Certainly, by the late-1990s the statements and declarations issued by major peak bodies began to hint that such a shift was in the offing. Statements issued at successive ICFTU World Congresses and in that confederation's publication, *Free Labour World*, serve as good examples. We read here that the "ICFTU aims to be at the centre of a worldwide social movement",[55] and that it is looking to "deepen and extend its relationships with NGOs".[56] We also read statements that claim

> coalition building with relevant non-governmental organizations is crucial to...success...and that congress insists that contacts be expanded to encourage...collaboration between the respective national-level structures of the NGOs concerned and ICFTU or ITS affiliates.[57]

Realizing these aspirations, however, has proven difficult. For the ICFTU – and its partners within the Global Unions federation – engagement with civil-oppositional actors continues to be issue-specific and sporadic.

One of the more enduring of these engagements has been brought about through the ICFTU's campaign against child labour. This has necessarily brought it into close contact with a range of

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[52] The statements were made by Fred van Leeuwen, General Secretary of Education International at the ICFTU World Congress in Brussels, in 1996. They were cited in O'Brien, "Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement", p. 553.
[53] ICFTU, "An ICFTU Strategy to Defend Trade Union Rights: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU", p. 7.
[54] Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, pp. 231-33.
[55] ICFTU-Editorial, "ICFTU Aims to Be at the Centre of a Worldwide Social Movement", p. 1.
[56] ICFTU, "Trade Unions, NGOs and Tripartism: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 3-7 April 2000), p. 2.
[57] ICFTU, "An ICFTU Strategy to Defend Trade Union Rights: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU", p. 7.

civil realm actors, most of whom could be considered to be oppositional in character.[58] The ICFTU's launch in 1994 of a global campaign to eradicate child labour was followed by a Charter against Child Labour, and then participation in the Global March Against Child Labour in 1998. These were broad-based initiatives characterized by cooperative engagement with numerous non-governmental organizations within and beyond the confines of inter-governmental organizations.[59]

More problematic was the interaction throughout the 1990s between the peak labour confederations and civil-oppositional actors within fora such as the World Trade Organization. Research by Robert O'Brien and his colleagues on this aspect of labour politics is illuminating. They focus on the 1996 World Trade Organization ministerial meetings held in Singapore, and then on meetings held two years later in Geneva. They show the fault lines that exist in relations between many civil-oppositional actors and the mainstream of the labour movement, as represented by the ICFTU.

At the Singapore meeting, for example, a lobbying coalition comprising the ICFTU and prominent non-governmental organizations came about only at "the last minute", and only on the initiative of the latter.[60] And while a relatively close working relationship eventually pertained during that meeting – in which the ICFTU provided important logistical and strategic support – the alliance did not survive beyond the event. It is therefore difficult to reconcile the ICFTU's ambivalent approach on this occasion with the conciliatory proclamations above.

Moreover, during the meeting the ICFTU and its alliance partners came into conflict with a different contingent of non-governmental organizations. Known as the Third World Network, this group opposed the ICFTU because it considered organized labour's policies to be detrimental to developing countries. According to O'Brien and his co-researchers, these tensions could be read as a "contest over legitimacy and representativeness".[61] Organized labour claimed that unlike the non-governmental organizations, it was accountable to a constituency of many millions of workers; while the non-governmental organizations countered with the charge that organized labour had no

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[58] Other participants include the OECD, the International Chamber of Commerce, and a range of multinational corporations. For a more complete list see the *Eliminating Child Labour Foundation* web-site at http://www.endchildlabour.org/links/

[59] The following conference statement provides a condensed account of the ICFTU's campaigns against child labour. ICFTU, "Campaigning for an End to Child Labour: Decisions Adopted by the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU" (paper presented at the 17th World Congress of the ICFTU, Durban, 3-7 April 2000). Most of the NGO campaign partners were themselves umbrella groups. They included *Child Labour News*, *Child Watch*, *CRIN* (Child rights information network), *Ethical Trade Initiative*, *FAFO*, *Global March*, *Instituto Souza Cruz*, *Save the Children*, and *UN Global Compact*. See the *Eliminating Child Labour Foundation* web-site at http://www.endchildlabour.org/links/

[60] O'Brien et al., *Contesting Global Governance: Multilateral Economic Institutions and Global Social Movements*, p. 86. The alliance was referred to as the *Workers' Rights Caucus*. It would not have been formed were it not for non-governmental organizations such as the *International Labor Rights Fund* (Washington), the *International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development* (Montreal), and *Solidar* (Brussels).

[61] Ibid., p. 88.

right to speak on behalf of the poorest of the poor within the developing world's informal, non-unionized, sector.[62]

I do not want to overstate the extent of the tensions evident here. Indeed, in the second World Trade Organization ministerial meeting in 1998 the relations between the ICFTU and non-governmental organizations were to improve markedly.[63] Clearly, tactical and even philosophical differences are intrinsic to all forms of 'like-minded' political communities. More to the point, it would be absurd to expect the ICFTU to simply defer to the myriad of actors within the world of non-governmental organizations. As O'Brien has pointed out in his earlier work, the community of civil realm actors – those apart from the more established such as organized labour – are themselves riven by differences over ideology, strategy, resource inequality, legitimacy, and interests.[64]

What is of interest here is organized labour's trajectory. From what we can glean from accounts such as those provided by O'Brien *et al*, the ICFTU continues to embrace political practices that seek to intensify engagement with the political, rather than civil, realms. This orientation is not one that seeks to change fundamentally structures of authority, much less one that turns the transnational network of labour organizations away from the state in any profound sense. And yet this account is also interesting because it reveals a high degree of informal and symbolic engagement between organized labour and civil-oppositional actors, especially when considered on this global plane. On reflection, given the stated aims of the ICFTU – as illustrated in earlier quotations – and the undoubted increase in interactions with civil realm actors, the possibility of more profound future change cannot be discounted.

All this has focused attention onto the ICFTU; but what of the other prominent regional and transnational confederations within the transnational network of labour organizations? Were the World Confederation of Labour and the various trade secretariats similarly oriented throughout the 1990s? During the 1990s, the World Confederation of Labour also sought to "reinforce its efforts to build or participate in a series of networks dealing with social rights".[65] By 2000, its reports and publications were peppered with references to non-governmental organizations and "peoples organizations".[66] This confederation acted on its rhetoric by strengthening its ties to many non-

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[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., pp. 100-01.
[64] Robert O'Brien, "NGOs, Global Civil Society and Global Economic Regulation", in *Regulating International Business: Beyond Liberalization*, eds. Sol Picciotto and Ruth Mayne (London: MacMillan, 1999), pp. 265-71.
[65] World Confederation of Labour (WCL), "World Confederation of Labour: Activities Report 1998-2001", (Brussels: World Confederation of Labour, 2001), p. 19.
[66] (WCL), "The Policy Resolution and the Topical Resolutions of the WCL", p. 15, 16, 17, and 19, (WCL), "World Confederation of Labour: Activities Report 1998-2001", p. 47. Other references of this sort can be found on pages 14, 25, and 37.

governmental organizations, particularly those active in South East Asia, Latin America, and Africa. These included Human Rights Watch, Social Alert, the World Organization Against Torture, and the Clean Clothes Campaign. One of the more important points of contact was the World Confederation of Labour's Urgent Solidarity Action appeals. This campaign framework has been utilized by non-governmental organizations and established labour bodies alike in order to draw attention to specific threats and crises. In general, then, the World Confederation of Labour seems also to have expressed an intent to move beyond a politics that looks, instinctively, to petition the state.

This tendency towards more frequent engagement with civil-oppositional actors is also evident among the trade secretariats. Given their historically close relationship with the ICFTU, the secretariats have also come to participate in many of the same campaigns. The more active secretariats are engaged in broad-based campaigns against existing international institutions, as well as in building relationships with civil realm actors campaigning against child labour, slavery, and for women's rights.[67]

Doubtless, a proportion of the 'official' statements made by prominent figures within the transnational network of labour organizations should be read as pieties. Nevertheless, such expressions do seem to be indicative of a willingness to deepen relationships with actors with whom organized labour has related to intermittently. These interactions – real and declaratory – seem to signify a gradual shift in movement orientation.

The causes of this shift – if it is that – are not the principal concern of this thesis, though throughout I have tried to emphasize the importance of structural determinants, as they relate to production, communication, organization, and ideology. By referring to these categories we have understood better the effects of such phenomena as the Cold War, corporatism, neoliberalism, and even the increasing levels of violence directed towards trade unionists. Also of importance – though again, only loosely related – has been the changing nature of the 'global civil society' itself. This change is important because it has entailed the emergence of a new strata of oppositional actors that shape relations in the world of cross-border labour politics. For example, we can draw attention here to the increasing influence of what might be regarded as oppositional knowledge-

[67] The trade secretariats and their campaigns are too numerous to list. Among the most active secretariats in this regard are the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers' Unions, the Union Network International, Education International, the International Union of Food, Agriculture, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers Association (IUF), and the International Textile, Garment and Leather Workers' Federation. Statements and 'activities reports' show the extent of this involvement. Support for civil realm actors and a recognition of the need to deepen relationships with them is widespread. Indicative of this sentiment are the comments made throughout the Union Network International's First World Congress, held in Berlin in September of 2001 (see page 153 for example), and those appearing on the IUF's website, http://www.iuf.org.uk/en/about.shtml. For examples of campaign cooperation see the Education International's EI Cooperation and Development website (http:www.ei-ie.org/coopdev/english.ecdtable20.htm)

based centers of critique. Their ranks include the Transnationals Information Exchange, the International Center for Trade Union Rights, the US-Guatemala Labor Education Project, the International Labor Rights Education and Research Fund, Labour Notes, Australia Asia Workers' Links, Unionists Against Corporate Tyranny, The Resource Centre of the Americas, Asia Monitor Resource Center, and the Centro de Información Laboral y Asesoría Sindical.[68]

These information-based labour advocacy groups engage in a range of activities. They facilitate on-line solidarity campaigns, help to organize direct action, and act as clearing houses for information on corporate and economic affairs. While such bodies have been in existence, in one form or another, for decades, they have recently come to play a crucial role within the *milieu* of global labour politics. Indeed, they have become inextricably tied to traditional, institutionalized, trade union affairs. On one level, this development is interesting because it comes after many years of mutual suspicion and antagonism between 'old' labour and these more radically inclined centers of critique. On a deeper level still, it shows how organized labour has to come to imbibe the values of at least one type of civil-oppositional actor.

The extent of integration with these civil realm actors is difficult to assess, though it is clear that cross-movement organizational synthesis seems very unlikely. O'Brien's observations underline this point.

> While cooperation between labour and other social movements to limit authoritarian and neoliberal forms of industrial relations holds out promise, the mechanics are sometimes difficult to envision. The labour movement has a clear organizational structure, but the [social] movements do not.[69]

And yet even though integration on an organizational level seems unlikely, it does seem to be occurring on a symbolic level. There are ideological and communicative dimensions to this process of symbolic integration with civil-oppositional actors. Earlier – in discussion of the interests and ideologies at play within the network – I suggested that the passing of the Cold War and the imperatives of neoliberalism combined with statism and developmentalism to underscore a form of internal integration. These factors have also weighed upon relations with the external civil realm. Relevant here is the growing sense of urgency among both 'old' and 'new' movements about the

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[68] Though Waterman's research here relates to the various communications regimes in place throughout the network, it is useful because in the process it familiarizes us with these knowledge-based centers of critique. Waterman, *International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International?*, pp. 24-49. Kim Moody's examination is perhaps more specific, and gives a very good account of the role of the Transnationals Information Exchange, as well as the web-based Labor Notes. Moody, *Workers in a Lean World: Unions in the International Economy*, pp. 251-268. Likewise, Thalia Kidder and Mary McGinn's research provides a very useful overview of such organizations. Thalia Kidder and Mary McGinn, "In the Wake of NAFTA: Transnational Workers Networks", *Social Policy*, 25, 4 (1995).

need to mobilize against neoliberalism. Also of great importance is a shared interest in the defence of a form of humane statism; that is, in a progressive and civically informed communitarianism that stresses the integrity of the state.[70]

This form of symbolic integration with external civil-oppositional actors is also manifest in – and facilitated by – the medias employed. Specifically, I refer here to the on-line interactive medias now commonly used by all labour and civil-oppositional actors. The significance of on-line campaigning is the subject of some debate between those such as John Pape, Peter Waterman, and Eric Lee.[71] These debates are important because the effectiveness of campaigns will have a bearing on the extent to which new media continue to be utilized. But at this stage it is important to simply acknowledge that the realm of 'cyber space' has come to represent neutral ground for engagement. It represents a relatively risk-free realm where labour and civil-oppositional actors are not "spatially fixed",[72] and where each can benefit from the loose, *ad hoc*, and symbolic nature of interaction.[73] The point to be made here is that if we are attuned only to organizational forms of engagement, then we will overlook a pattern of interaction that may in future come to form the basis of more profound integration. By acknowledging the existence of this symbolic form of interaction, we see how organized labour can remain state-oriented and wedded to developmentalism, while at the same time project itself globally in ways that allow for closer engagement with unruly civil realm actors.

How do these patterns of interaction contrast with those of earlier periods? I had suggested that organized labour's disengagement from civil-oppositional actors began in the earliest yeas of the twentieth century. By the inter-war years organized labour had, by and large, turned away from class-based internationals in favour of trade union-specific confederations with globalizing pretensions. The 1950s and 1960s saw a growing willingness on the part of those leading this

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[69] O'Brien, "Workers and World Order: The Tentative Transformation of the International Union Movement", p. 553.

[70] The following authors explore the actual, and potential, rise of progressive movements that are concerned with the defence of nation or state. Paul James, "Borders, States, Communities - Can We Find a Critical View of Borders Which Has a Place for Place?", *Arena Magazine* 54 (2001), Paul James, "Principles of Solidarity: Beyond a Postnational Imaginary", in *Protest and Globalisation*, ed. James Goodman (Sydney: Pluto, 2002), Laxer, "The Movement That Dare Not Speak Its Name: The Return of Left Nationalism / Internationalism".

[71] Eric Lee, *The Labour Movement and the Internet: The New Internationalism* (London: Pluto, 1997), Lee, "Trade Unions, Computer Communications and the New World Order"., Pape, *Will the Workers of the World Unite in Cyber Space?: Critical Reflections on Information Technology and the Labour Movements of the South*, Waterman, *International Labour Communication by Computer: The Fifth International*, Peter Waterman, "Social Movements, Local Places and Globalized Spaces: Implications for 'Globalization from Below'", in *Globalization and the Politics of Resistance*, ed. Barry K. Gills (London: MacMillan, 2000).

[72] Herod, "From a Geography of Labor to a Labor Geography: Labor's Spatial Fix and the Geography of Capitalism"; Herod, "Of Blocs, Flows and Networks: The End of the Cold War, Cyberspace, and the Geo-Economics of Organized Labor at the *Fin De Millénaire*".

[73] The worldwide-web hosts numerous sites, discussion groups, and mailing lists that facilitate labour and oppositional civil realm actor engagement. Examples include LabourStart (at http://www.labourstart, and maintained by Eric Lee), and Unionists Against Corporate Tyranny (at uactsolidarity@yahoogroups.com). Through these sites and lists pro-labour activists are encouraged to support campaigns that focus on issues across the spectrum of emancipatory and oppositional politics.

transnational network of labour organizations to be incorporated – for a range of reasons – within the state-mediated political realm. This generated many tensions within labourist circles as it put organized labour at odds with the emerging New Left during a period of great political tumult. By the 1980s there were signs of a looser, less constrained, form of political engagement, one that saw an easing of relations with civil-oppositional actors.

To complete this assessment of the extent to which organized labour has evolved to represent a more globally integrated network, and the extent to which it has simultaneously disengaged from the state, we need to turn to labour's relationships with civil-commercial actors. Here we will find that the industry-specific trade secretariats have assumed even greater importance as new instruments of mediation emerge. This may be significant because an increase in the influence of trade union actors that are, by definition, detached from the state may be indicative of a future movement-wide re-orientation.

1989-2003. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – COMMERCIAL ACTORS

It is important to once more emphasize that this section is concerned less with the many random encounters between organized labour and civil-commercial actors than it is with the more formal mechanisms of mediation between the two parties. The formal mechanisms are those that will provide the deeper insights into the extent of organized labour's integration and autonomy.

The review of such relationships for the period 1972-89 centered upon the largely unsuccessful attempts by trade secretariats to establish World Company Councils. It then surveyed organized labour's attempts to engage multinational corporations in transnational collective bargaining, before moving on to the ways in which national trade union actors were often incorporated as willing agents of civil-commercial actors. I argued then that organizational linkages between labour and this commercial civil realm were tenuous and fleeting. This tenuousness was attributed not only to the multinational corporations' aversion to transnational collective bargaining, but also to the statism that permeated the transnational network of labour organizations. In the following I will suggest that while relationships with civil-commercial actors have since become more intimate, they continue to be premised on tenuous, *ad hoc* and, latterly, highly symbolic forms of interaction. Indeed, the organizational structures needed to mediate relations in this realm remain underdeveloped, suggesting that a more profound, movement-wide shift has yet to occur.

Beginning in 1995, the industry-specific trade secretariats renewed their attempts to establish formal mechanisms of engagement with multinational corporations.[74] Having put to one side the idea of maintaining organizational 'shadows' for their respective corporations – shadows in the form of company councils – the secretariats have since opted for a quasi-legal device known as the *framework agreement.*[75] These are not collective bargaining agreements as such, and do not take the place of such localized contracts. Rather, they are voluntary agreements that are not legally binding. In most cases, framework agreements take the form of an agreed set of principles relating to workplace conditions, and to how industrial relations within a specific corporation should be conducted.[76] These agreements more often incorporate the International Labour Organization's core labour conventions concerned with the right to organize and bargain collectively, opposition to child and bonded labour, and with discrimination.[77] Although most of these agreements have involved European-based multinational corporations, the tendency in recent times is for greater involvement by those operating beyond Europe.

At present, corporations engaged in such diverse industries as food processing, hotels, construction, chemical, mining, power, and auto construction, have opted for this form of engagement with peak representatives of the transnational labour movement.[78] These agreements are not the only quasi-legal mechanism for interaction and regulation (we will touch briefly on the variants in subsequent discussion) but they are unique because they ascribe a privileged role to trade union organizations. In the words of one trade secretariat leader, the agreements "specify the unions' right to monitor implementation and to raise any breaches of the agreements with the global corporate management of the international industry federation".[79] More broadly, corporations' willingness to enter into such agreements is an acknowledgment and acceptance of "trade union bodies as global interlocutors or social partners".[80]

A variant of the framework agreement is the *voluntary corporate code of conduct*. Because trade union organizations are not ascribed a central role here, these do not, strictly speaking, belong in the category of instruments that mediate relations between organized labour and the world of

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[74] There is one exception to this: the first framework agreement – between the Swiss food processor, Danone, and the IUF secretariat – was signed in 1988. The next to be signed was in 1995 between the same trade secretariat and the French hotel chain, Accor.
[75] Also sometimes referred to as *global agreements.*
[76] Baker, *Trade Unions and Social Dialogue - the Global Dimension.*
[77] IFBWW, "Model Framework Agreement", (Geneva: International Federation of Building and Wood Workers, 2000), "IFBWW-IKEA - Agreement on Rights of Workers", (Geneva: International Federation of Building and Wood Workers, 1998), Vic Thorpe, "Facing Global Power: Strategies for Global Unionism" (paper presented at the ICEM Second World Conference, Durban, South Africa, 3-5 November 1999), p. 30.
[78] As of 2002, there were twenty framework agreements in existence. Perhaps the most important trade union players here are the International Federation of Chemical, Energy, Mine and General Workers Unions, the Union Network International, and the International Metalworkers' Federation. A complete list of all protagonists would prove too cumbersome in terms of titles and/or acronyms. A more detailed listing can be found at http://www.hazards.org/unioneffect/gufagreements.htm.
[79] Fred Higgs, "Global Agreements Call to Companies", *ICEM Info* 2 (2000), p. 20.

commerce.[81] Like the framework agreements, these codes also represent a corporation's policy statement, defining ethical standards and conduct. However, the emphasis here is on the 'voluntary' nature of the code. This means that the mechanism is endogenous to the corporation and may, or may not, allow for third party involvement in the process of verification and compliance monitoring. They are drafted by agents of the corporation and tend to stress self-regulation. And yet they bear mentioning here because they often come about as a result of sustained pressure from non-governmental organizations and/or trade union bodies. More importantly, they are employee-focused documents that usually include labour standards closely resembling relevant ILO conventions. And finally, these instruments are important because they are proliferating throughout the corporate landscape inhabited by trade union bodies. But ultimately, while organized labour usually participates in debates over what form these voluntary codes should take, the codes do not at present serve a formal mediating function between labour and civil-commercial actors.[82]

The emergence of framework agreements, and of voluntary corporate codes of conduct, is interesting not least because their implementation does not rely upon the authority of the state. From labour's perspective, it is possible that their emergence may in time come to represent a new phase in ongoing efforts to establish regimes of transnational collective bargaining. They are also interesting because they are ephemeral; that is, they represent ways of interacting that do not have an organizational form. Unlike the World Company Council, a concept tried in the late-1970s and early 1980s, these mechanisms are very nebulous.

However, one type of formal and institutionalized interaction did emerge in the mid-1990s. Known as the European Works Councils, these emerged from the social protocol of the 1993 Maastricht Treaty, and were in large part a product of many years of lobbying by the European Trade Union Confederation.[83] In essence, the councils were designed to ensure on-site representation for workers of the same multinational corporation operating across the European Union. The directives that flowed from the Maastricht Treaty required most multinational corporations in the region to establish bodies that comprised elected representatives from each of their European enterprises. The directives also required these corporations to meet with their workers' councils at least once

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[80] Baker, *Trade Unions and Social Dialogue - the Global Dimension*, p. 5.

[81] Nor are they unique to the 1990s. Indeed, these codes can be traced back to the 1940s when Johnson & Johnson's *Credo* was published in 1943. ILO, *Corporate Codes of Conduct* (ACTRAV: Bureau for Workers' Activities, 2000 [accessed February 2003]); available from http://www.ilo.org/actrav/.

[82] Lance Compa, *Trade Unions, NGOs, and Corporate Codes of Conduct* (issue 3, 2001) [internet] (International Center for Trade Union Rights, 2001 [accessed 5 October 2002]); available from http://www.citinv.it/associazioni/CNMS/archivio/strategie/www.ictur.labournet.org, Janelle Diller, "A Social Conscience in the Global Marketplace? Labour Dimensions of Codes of Conduct, Social Labelling and Investor Initiatives.", *International Labour Review*, 138, 2 (1999), Neil Kearney, "Corporate Codes of Conduct: The Privatized Application of Labour Standards", in *Regulating International Business: Beyond Liberalization*, eds. Sol Picciotto and Ruth Mayne (London: MacMillan, 1999).

[83] For a detailed account of the emergence, and implementation of the European Works Councils see European Trade Union Confederation, *Activity Report: 1995-1998*.

each year to exchange information and to consult. By 1998, approximately five hundred of these works councils – covering at least fifteen million employees – had been established throughout some 1,500 multinational corporations.[84] The potential for the spread of works councils is also considerable, with the number yet to be certified somewhere in the order of two thousand.[85]

The European Works Councils are interesting because they have an organizational dimension that connects workers with corporate actors on an ongoing face-to-face basis. Notwithstanding some resistance to the concept from various government, corporate, and labour quarters, they are being looked upon favourably by protagonists beyond Europe, and may in time become a feature of industrial relations regimes in other countries.[86] One prominent advocate calling for their expansion is the trade secretariat, Union Network International. It is calling for the ILO to introduce a convention that would encourage "global works councils"; that is, European Works Councils writ large.[87]

Even though these councils assume both legal and organizational forms that institutionalize a kind of civil realm interaction, they do not constitute evidence of disassociation from the state-mediated political realm. Nor is it certain that they facilitate more intimate ties between organized labour and civil-commercial actors across the board. This is so, in part, because the council mechanism represents a localized initiative. Secondly, the council directive mentioned above does not reserve a place for trade unions *per se*. Referring to the directive, Gallin points out that in

> its final and present form it does not mention trade unions at all, so that unions (in particular the ITSs [trade secretariats] where they have responsibility for the European structures of their sector) have to fight to nail down the right of the union officials to be part of the EWC and to ensure that the lay members should be union members themselves.[88]

More importantly, the works council regime is itself underpinned by the authority of the state, and is imposed on the various protagonists by the latter. Indeed, they would not have come about at all were it not for state intervention. Given these factors, I am reticent to ascribe too much significance to the emergence of European Works Councils.

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[84] Wills, "Taking on the Cosmocorps: Experiments in Transnational Labor Organization", pp. 122-23.
[85] Dan Gallin, "Labour as a Global Social Force: Past Divisions and New Tasks", in *Global Unions? Theory and Strategies of Organized Labour in the Global Political Economy*, eds. Jeffrey Harrod and Robert O'Brien, *Ripe Series in Global Political Economy* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 240.
[86] See, for example, the following reflections on the potential of the works councils by prominent Australian trade union figures. Greg Combet, "From Wise Counsel Good Works Shall Come", *Arena Magazine*, 2002-2003, Glenn Patmore, "Industrial Democracy for Australia", *Arena Magazine* 2001.
[87] Union Network International, "Uni Addresses Concerns to the World Commission on the Social Dimension of Globalisation", *UNI News Flash*, 3 December 2002, p. 1.

The preceding has focused on mechanisms of interaction between organized labour and civil-commercial actors that have recently emerged on the global and regional planes. It is left now to recap on changes that have occurred on the national, or enterprise, level of engagement.[89] In a sense this aspect cannot be separated from questions relating to the demise of corporatism itself. This demise was covered in an earlier section that looked at the retreat of the state from corporatist arrangements, and then at the subsequent trend towards enterprise-level bargaining between organized labour and civil-commercial actors.

In the section that looked at this form of interaction throughout the 1970s-80s we noted the prevalence – especially throughout the South Asian countries – of a new wave of 'business unionism.' Research by Zagelmeyer and others suggests that this form of willing trade union incorporation into employers' management regimes has become more widespread.[90] Admittedly, Zagelmeyer research focuses only on the European context, and only on the automobile industry. Nevertheless, because the structural imperatives driving change in the European context are universal, it is quite likely that the findings of this research will hold true in wider contexts. The research suggests that trade union organizations have been recruited as willing allies by corporations in the latter's attempts to maintain global competitiveness. Accordingly, the proliferation of

> management-labour pacts...may not just be seen as examples of concession bargaining, but rather as new, merging forms of cooperative and consensual labour relations, which are about adjusting the governance of the employment relationship to the imperatives of joint competitive success.[91]

There is an ideological imperative at work here, one that suggests that this trend extends beyond the European setting. Though we risk straying beyond the scope of this study, it is worth noting here that the inculcation of business values implied by the above is only possible when management ideologies – those expressed through, for example, the theories of 'human resource management' – are in the ascendancy. Few would deny that in the 1990s such ideologies exerted unprecedented influence of the sort needed to make acquiescent relationships more prevalent.[92]

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[88] Gallin, "Labour as a Global Social Force: Past Divisions and New Tasks", p. 240.

[89] I must preface the following by once more stressing that given the economic, cultural, and political divergences that exist across all settings, conclusions in this area should be highly qualified.

[90] Wolfgang Streeck, "The Internationalization of Industrial Relations in Europe: Prospects and Problems", *Politics and Society* 26 (1998), Stefan Zagelmeyer, "Brothers in Arms in the European Car Wars: Management-Labour Pacts in the Context of Regime Competition", *MPIfG Working Paper*, February (2000).

[91] Zagelmeyer, "Brothers in Arms in the European Car Wars: Management-Labour Pacts in the Context of Regime Competition", p. 1.

[92] Bislev, Salskov-Iversen, and Hansen, "The Global Diffusion of Managerialism: Transnational Discourse Communities at Work"., Green, *The Human Resource Management Implications of Lean Construction: Critical Perspectives and Conceptual Chasms*. For a more scathing – yet be no means lightweight – attack on the culture out of which these

Furthermore, such a disposition on the part of trade unions would be consistent with their often mentioned, and traditional, commitment to developmentalism.

The trend towards these management-labour pacts does not in itself represent a qualitative shift. And yet if considered alongside the transnational agreements covered at the outset of this section, as well as the European Works Councils regimes, it may well be that more intimate relationships with civil-commercial actors are becoming a reality. What seems to be the case is that if such relationships are emerging, then they are of a varied form, ranging from the symbolic and highly extended quasi-legal sort, to more proximate and face-to-face mechanisms, as exemplified by the European Works Councils.

1989-2003. THE CIVIL DIMENSION – CONCLUSION

There are clear parallels between the external relations that organized labour maintains with both commercial and oppositional civil realm actors. In both contexts we detect the emergence of quite innovative, yet highly symbolic arrangements, characterized by their fleeting and somewhat *ad hoc* nature. In both contexts, the principal motivation for change is the need to counter the worst aspects of neoliberalism, while facilitating continued economic development. These tenuous arrangements are most prevalent when the main labour protagonists are the peak confederations. Put differently, the realm of the global – be it in relations with multinational corporations, or non-governmental organizations – is the realm where mediating structures are at their most ephemeral. The only mediating structures of any permanence are embodied within those inter-governmental organizations that are premised upon the authority of the state.

It is in this global realm that highly symbolic interactions, whether facilitated through electronic media, or quasi-legal declarations, are most evident. This is equally true in the case of the global campaigns against child labour, as it is for the framework agreements between trade secretariats and multinational corporations. Conversely, it is on the regional-national planes where engagement with both oppositional and commercial actors is more likely to have an organizational, structural, dimension. All this is not to suggest that profound change hinges on the existence or otherwise of organizational, mediating, structures. As I have tried to stress throughout, a view of the organizational configuration of a movement provides an important, yet partial, explanation of the subject's orientation.

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ideologies emerge, see Thomas Frank, *One Market under God: Extreme Capitalism, Market Populism and the End of Economic Democracy* (London: Random House, 2000).

By the same token, the significance of institutional mediating regimes in both internal and external relations should not be understated. Indeed, it is not possible to gauge the extent of change without considering the organizational structures at work. I would argue, however, that in the context of the external relations discussed above, the relative absence of these structures – putting aside those premised on the authority of the state – indicates that we are yet to witness a sea-change in the transnational labour network's overall disposition. This holds in spite of the fact that the network continues to assert itself across all continents; and in spite of the fact that it has attained a higher degree of network integration than was previously the case. What all this tells us about the globalization of the network will be explored in the conclusion that follows.

CONCLUSION

At the commencement of this thesis I spoke of the need to give meaning to 'globalization' as it relates to agency. Throughout those introductory remarks, and then in the methodology chapter that followed, I sought to lay the foundations for a method that would achieve this aim. There emerged, in essence, an agency-focused method designed to 'read' organized labour's globalizing tendencies by gauging the extent to which it had integrated across national borders, as well as the extent to which it had become estranged from the state. In the concluding reflections that follow I am not concerned with providing an exhaustive summary of all that subsequently emerged – Part Four of the thesis served that purpose. After a very brief distillation of these findings I wish rather to reflect on various aspects of the whole endeavour. This entails contemplation of some of the misgivings I have about the research. I then highlight what I believe to be the most significant aspects of the thesis for those engaged in research of a similar kind, as well as for those concerned with the fate of organized labour worldwide.

In brief, the findings of this research show the following. Organizationally, the transnational labour network has since the 1860s spread to all points of the globe. Its peak bodies have consolidated in number, and have also been joined by a myriad of regional bodies that now give substance to the network on a vertical plane. While this network is more integrated than ever it continues to represent a very loose ensemble of actors. The passing of the Cold War – and with it much intra-network discord – has been a critical factor in growing integration. This process is also facilitated by a network-wide consensus on the virtues of development, the amelioration of the impact of neoliberalism, as well as on the value of new media that allow for detached and symbolic forms of representation. In external relations, however, organized labour remains oriented towards the state – considered individually or as inter-governmental organizations – in spite of some indicators suggesting a disengagement of sorts may be occurring. Notions of such disengagement remain heavily qualified not least because organized labour continues to display a deep unease in its relations within the civil realm, notwithstanding many fleeting interactions with both civil-oppositional and civil-commercial actors.

When considered against the criteria used throughout to assess network globalization – i.e., the extent of cross-border integration, and autonomy in relation to the state – we are left with the following summation. Just as the transnational network of labour organizations has attained a form

of symbolic integration, it seems to have also attained a form of symbolic autonomy. The former, as noted above, is marked by a greater reliance on contemporary media technologies and the diffuse nature of intra-network representation. In relation to the latter, we see organized labour striving to maintain relations with the state, while at many levels also asserting itself as a more outspoken, yet symbolic, advocate for trade unionists worldwide.

Change of the kind noted throughout has indeed been incremental. This tempts one to conclude that more profound change is unlikely to occur. And yet, it is very difficult to envisage the transnational network of labour organizations ever being as fragmented and divided as it once was; just as it is difficult to envisage its constituent parts ever being as committed to the geo-strategic interests of states as they once were. If expressed in terms of trajectories, all this suggests that organized labour is indeed entering a transitional phase of some significance: but for now we note a process marked by an integration of a kind; an autonomy of a kind; and, ultimately, a globalization of a kind.

Throughout this thesis I have been averse to making definitive claims, opting instead for heavily qualified 'conclusions' such as those that appear above. This reticence is due to an awareness of some of the limitations associated with research of this sort and, more specifically, with the method employed. While not wishing to undermine the reader's confidence in the whole, it may be useful to re-state these limitations in order to more clearly understand the outcomes and, perhaps, to provide guidance for those intending to undertake similar research.

As noted at the commencement, research that makes sweeping and abstract claims concerning change on a global scale must be treated with caution. This is because, initially, the material upon which the research is based almost invariably derives from sources in the developed world. Irrespective of authors' dispositions in relation to the vexed issues of class conflict, gender relations, and the North-South divide, this represents a limiting factor that must be acknowledged. Of course, my own predispositions and political inclinations must also be taken into account here.

One must also acknowledge the highly amorphous nature of 'political community' when considered on this global plane. While I have no doubt that organized labour does constitute such a transnational political community – by virtue, at the very least, of the formal systems of affiliation that connect its constituent parts – this does not make the task of mapping change a straight forward exercise. Under these conditions one must always guard against implausible extrapolation from the specific to the general. Once more, the source of the research material is of relevance here. While relying on this material, it is important to be aware that it more often privileges the actors, events, and trends that are of greater relevance to an audience within the developed world.

Moreover, what this material says about its chosen subject may not be applicable to the network as a whole. One example of how this problem can manifest itself can be found in the role ascribed in this research to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions. Literature concerning organized labour's cross-border activities invariably focuses on this confederation, and can give the impression that the ICFTU *is* representative of the sprawling community of transnational labour organizations. Of course, in a very limited sense it is; but an over-emphasis on the ICFTU can leave much unsaid about what is occurring throughout the world of trade union affairs.

Still, these problems are not unique to this thesis. More specific to this endeavour has been the difficulty encountered when differentiating between various dimensions of change that have underpinned the method. This, of course, should not – and did not – surprise. I had anticipated difficulties in maintaining divisions between the national/global, the civil/political, the oppositional/commercial, the structural imperatives, as well as between various ideological tendencies. Fortunately, these proved to be indispensable heuristic devices (more on their importance will follow). At the same time they perhaps added a level of definitional complexity that may have occasionally hindered the narrative. The same might be said of the notion of 'statism'. While proximity to the state has represented a crucial indicator throughout, it is also evident that observations concerning labour-state relations need to be heavily qualified. This is because the notion of the 'state' represents highly contested ground, with various interpretations carrying within them all manner of connotations that can skew our reading of the relationship. Moreover, to refer to the state as such an uncomplicated and one-dimensional entity can also leave research open to criticism. Overall, then, if there is a weakness in the method used, it is that at times it tends towards the clinical, relying as it does on the compartmentalization of activities, relationships, and dispositions of the sort mentioned above.

And yet this, I believe, is also the method's strength. Such a multi-layered approach enables us to speak of globalization in a language that is not vague or *clichéd*. Only through the use of such a method can a plausible and holistic understanding of the subject be attained. This method has enabled us to shed light on various categories of existence and interaction, while at the same time situating the subject within its historical context, and in relation to the structural imperatives of the times. Indeed, this approach has made it possible to establish a correspondence between agency and the structures; one that has paid due regard to the complexities inherent in both.

We have been able to carefully dissect the political community that organized labour constitutes, and to explore the complex interplay of relationships – internal and external – and characteristics that bind this vast, sprawling, transnational network. We have also been able to isolate various structural imperatives and note the ways in which they have changed over time. This has provided

a crucial back-drop to analysis of the ways in which organized labour has become globally integrated, as well as the ways in which its relationship with the state has changed.

It remains only to bring together what I consider to be the most important implications of this whole endeavour. To begin, this thesis has shown that the hitherto study of neglected and 'old' actors can provide fascinating insights into change that has occurred over many decades within the realm of world politics. In addition, research of the sort undertaken here is valuable because it redresses what I consider to be an imbalance in the literature favouring structure-focused globalization analyses. But not only have we placed the agent – organized labour – center-stage in this thesis, we have introduced here a set of criteria that is absent in literature concerned the transnational movements, or with what is often referred to as 'globalization from below'. Indeed, we have shown here that if we are to conceive of political communities that transcend national borders, our understanding needs to be based on more than abstract reflections. These reflections need to be supplemented with research that is founded, as much as possible, on rigorous, well-grounded, and all-encompassing analysis across all spheres of interaction and existence.

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