THE PALGRAVE DICTIONARY OF TRANSNATIONAL HISTORY

Edited by Akira Iriye
Harvard University, USA
and
Pierre-Yves Saunier
Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, France
1960s. While earlier women's groups tended to draw on images of maternal power, this new wave was connected to the sexual and cultural revolutions of the young, as well as to protests against US neo-imperialism, and worldwide anti-colonial and anti-war movements. To distinguish themselves from earlier generations of women activists, the women's movements of the 1960s associated themselves with a new term, 'women's liberation.' Originating nearly simultaneously in locations as diverse as the United States and Japan, the Netherlands and Australia, the cultural revolutions of the young, as well as the liberation of homosexuality, started to gradually spread much more broadly, in part through United Nations sponsorship of a series of worldwide women's conferences from 1975 through 1995.

Female activism in the last third of the 20th century has been called the 'second wave' of women's movements. But viewed from a transnational perspective, the gap between the two eras looks far narrower. For instance, these new women's movements built on previous birth control achievements to emphasize women's control over their reproduction, sexuality, and health, with the issue of abortion one of the flash points worldwide for women's activism and anti-feminist reaction. As with earlier women's movements, education has remained an important issue. The form that it took in the late 20th century was the development of a specialized field of study, women's studies, directed towards examining work and issues of gender. Women's studies scholarship has been particularly influential in the area of international development, where it has produced a major re-evaluation of the impact of modernization policies on women's status. The field of women's studies first developed in the US but now institutions and centers can be found nearly everywhere.

Among other agencies, the Ford Foundation and the United Nations have encouraged internationalization of the field and links between women's studies scholars.

Perhaps the most characteristic and influential concern of modern women's movements has been the issue of violence against women. Rape has been dramatically re-conceptualized as an endemic crime, not of passion but of power, occurring not only between strangers but within marriage and among acquaintances. Awareness has dramatically increased about other forms of violence against women such as domestic assault and workplace harassment. Organized women have marched militantly through city streets to 'take back the night,' pressed police agencies to take rape accusations more seriously and established their own shelters for women and children. Women lobbied successfully for recognition that rape during wartime should be punished as a serious human rights abuse.

As with earlier women's movements, education has remained an important issue. The form that it took in the late 20th century was the development of a specialized field of study, women's studies, directed at examining work and issues of gender. Women's studies scholarship has been particularly influential in the area of international development, where it has produced a major re-evaluation of the impact of modernization policies on women's status. The field of women's studies first developed in the US but now institutions and centers can be found nearly everywhere. Among other agencies, the Ford Foundation and the United Nations have encouraged internationalization of the field and links between women's studies scholars.

Perhaps the most characteristic and influential concern of modern women's movements has been the issue of violence against women. Rape has been dramatically re-conceptualized as an endemic crime, not of passion but of power, occurring not only between strangers but within marriage and among acquaintances. Awareness has dramatically increased about other forms of violence against women such as domestic assault and workplace harassment. Organized women have marched militantly through city streets to 'take back the night,' pressed police agencies to take rape accusations more seriously and established their own shelters for women and children. Women lobbied successfully for recognition that rape during wartime should be punished as a serious human rights abuse.

Bibliography

Related essays
1848: abolitionism; birth control; children's rights; Christianity; criminology; democracy; empire and migration; empires and imperialism; feminism; Ford Foundation; freedom of religion and sex; higher education; human rights; intellectual elites; Inter-American Commission on Women; intergovernmental organizations; International non-governmental organizations (INGOs); International Women's Day; Jacobs, Aletta; kindergarten; labour standards; liberation theology; nation and state; nursing; pacifism; philanthropic foundations; political exiles; Schwimmer, Rosika; social justice; temperature; translation; United Nations; decades and years; United Nations Women's Conferences; White Slavery; workers' movements; youth organizations

Jacobs, Aletta 1854–1939
Aletta Jacobs was the founding mother of many aspects of Dutch feminism: higher education; suffrage; birth control; pacifism. She was born in 1854 in Groningen Province, the Netherlands, the eighth child of a liberal Jewish middle-class family. In 1872, she married her companion Cariel Gerritsen, another Dutch physician and reformer; they had no children.

She was the first Dutch woman to complete formal medical education and her practice, focused on women in the slums of Amsterdam, inspired her to find a way to help women avoid unwanted pregnancies. Encouraged by British physicians, she found her answer in 1878 in an antecedent of the vaginal diaphragm, the Mensinga pessey, developed in Germany. In 1905, Jacobs shared her knowledge with Margaret Sanger, who brought the device back to the US. Jacobs was also an ardent suffragist. In 1883, she attempted to register to vote, in response to which Dutch law was clarified to disfranchise women explicitly. In 1892, she became president of the Dutch Woman Suffrage Association and remained so until Dutch women won the vote in 1919. Jacobs was also active in the International Woman Suffrage Association, which held its second meeting in Amsterdam, at her invitation. In 1910–12, along with Carrie Chapman Catt, president of the International Woman Suffrage Association, she visited China, Indonesia, South Africa and Egypt to meet with women and discuss women's emancipation.

Workers' movements
The current vogue of 'globalization,' popularly used to describe a wide range of contemporary phenomena of international integration ranging from free trade to cosmopolitan cultures to current workers' movement responses, has the singular merit of directing attention to the importance of international processes in the making of workers' movements. Global interconnections are a decisive element of modernity and capitalism, and contemporary globalization is only one phase in a larger historical trend in the last four centuries. This suggests the importance of understanding popular class formation as an international process shaped by global forces, whose significance varies over time. It is useful to reconsider workers' movements from the perspective of what Marcel van der Linden calls 'transnational labour history,' which questions the use of the nation state as basic unit of analysis for understanding labour history.

In relativizing and historicizing the nation state, transnational labour history directs attention towards examining workers' movements from a global perspective, stressing the role of transnational processes and interconnections in shaping labour history and the importance of comparative...
analysis. A national focus was character-
ing of both old labour history, focused on
stitutions and leaders, and new labour
history, which examined cultures and
and activities. Thus, E. P. Thompson's master-
work took the English 'working class' as its
focus; it did not really examine the imperial
and international context that Thompson's
own material indicated was an important
fluence. Thus, without discounting the
importance of 'national' factors in workers'
movements, transnational labour history
questions assumptions that workers' move-
ments necessarily develop into national-
level movements, or are primarily shaped
by forces operating within the boundaries of
the nation state, and thereby raises ques-
tions about the standard practices of fram-
ing labour histories as a series of national
narratives. Transnational workers' move-
ments are not, we argue, the exceptional
primary feature of the history of the
popular classes.

It is important, then, to situate the de-
velopment of 'workers' movements within
the context of transnational, national as
well as local, dynamics and developments.
Transnational labour history also raises
fundamental questions about the standard
categories and conceptual repertoire used in
understanding labour movements. A global
perspective, by drawing attention to a wide
variety of evolving labour processes and
arrangements form part of a global division
of labour within an evolving capitalist sys-
tem with an evolving global character, trans-
formations in communications and transportation),
a period of relative deglobalization from the
1920s into the 1970s, and the 'second' modern
globalization that followed.

Workers' movements in protoglobalization
The 'protoglobalization' of the 19th and
earlier centuries characterized by processes of
proletarianization and transnational
labour relations over the first few centu-ies, and in suggesting that these multiple
arrangements form part of a global division
of labour within an evolving capitalist sys-
tem with an evolving global character, trans-
national labour history points to the need for
a wider understanding of basic concepts like
'labour', 'workers', and the 'working class'
itself. A transnational labour history for the
modern period should, arguably, include the
history of slaves, tenant farmers, independ-
ent artisans and peasants, as well as of wage
earners, both free and unfree. In line with these points, this entry
examines transnational workers' move-
ments from the perspective of modernity, with particular attention
to the role of transnational connections,
solidarities and organizations. It does not
restrict itself to a classical Marxist under-
standing of the working class as simultan-
eously 'free' of both ownership of the means
of production and extra-economic coercion.
Routine use against wage-labour at direc-
t coercion, debt-bondage systems and
indenture militates against such an under-
standing, while workers have continually
resisted and overlapped with classes like peasants and
and independent artisans.

Linked by flows of people, ideas, models
of organization and repertoires of strug-
gle movements from the perspective of the longue
durée, located within evolving international
and regional political economies and labour
markets, transnational workers' movements
have been a recurrent development, often
surfing forward during international crises,
when pulses of revolt have swept through the
popular classes and accelerated connections
across the borders of provinces, colonies,
empires and nation states, as well as of those
of nationality and race. Our approach prob-
lematizes setting up neat binaries between
so-called 'first' and 'third' worlds, or their
population categories. On the contrary, the
fusions of intellectual history, it draws
attention to the importance of multiple and
overlapping, yet often international, proletar-
ian public spheres. Modifying A. G. Hopkins'
tion in the
modernization, the 'first' modern globaliza-
tion in the late 19th and early 20th centuries
(associated with industrialization and revolu-
tion in the Americas and elsewhere, and
expanding if generally preindustrial manufac-
turing in Western Europe. Agricultural produc-
together with the abolition of the slave trade in Africa, the
plantation systems in the Americas and elsewhere in the
Atlantic basin. The Great Acceleration described by C. A. Bayly,
based on expanding and cheap steam and rail
transport, the proliferation of telegraphs and newspapers, and of growing global flows of
imports, was under way. European imperial
expansion and the growth of international trade and migration laid the basis for new forms
of global political relations.

At the same time, the popular classes
were reshaped by the emergence of mass-based
and nationalist movements, which pervaded
the Americas and elsewhere in the
Atlantic basin. The Great Acceleration described by C. A. Bayly,
based on expanding and cheap steam and rail
transport, the proliferation of telegraphs and newspapers, and of growing global flows of
imports, was under way. European imperial
expansion and the growth of international trade and migration laid the basis for new forms
of global political relations.
Workers' movements

weight worldwide. As slavery declined, so the focus of proletarianization shifted from Europe and Asia to Africa, and as late industrialization took hold outside of Northern Europe, millions of people migrated between and within, the Americas, Australasia, East Asia, and parts of Africa. Indentured labour from the Indian subcontinent and China was widespread, and the world became a source of cheap labour, especially in agriculture.

Rapid proletarianization and urbanization were associated with the rise of new forms of class consciousness and mass political parties appropriate to the new period, and a growing proletariat. Other forms of popular organization nonetheless persisted or developed: the spread of early women's movements internationally, and the importance of rent strikes and community struggles caution against conflating working-class movements with unions and parties in this period.

Unlike the earlier period, this was a time of increasingly formal international linkages, with efforts going back to the 1820s culminating in the International Workingmen's Association (IWWA) in 1864. Within the IWWA, a critique of Marxism (which emerged in the 1840s, placing its hopes in the factory and state power) was already being developed. The IWWA aimed at a new 'anarchist' tradition (which elaborated revolutionary unionism, or syndicalism, sought to organize peasants, and emphasized self-management and formal linkages). Both traditions promoted universal symbols and rituals, like May Day, and were associated with new repertoires of struggle, such as sabotage, go-slows, and strikes.

The different traditions of the 1880s and 1890s came together, however, in the International Workingmen's Association (IWWA) in 1886. The IWWA, a critique of Marxism (which emerged in the 1840s, placing its hopes in the factory and state power) was already being developed. The IWWA aimed at a new 'anarchist' tradition (which elaborated revolutionary unionism, or syndicalism, sought to organize peasants, and emphasized self-management and formal linkages). Both traditions promoted universal symbols and rituals, like May Day, and were associated with new repertoires of struggle, such as sabotage, go-slows, and strikes.

The IWWA, a critique of Marxism (which emerged in the 1840s, placing its hopes in the factory and state power) was already being developed. The IWWA aimed at a new 'anarchist' tradition (which elaborated revolutionary unionism, or syndicalism, sought to organize peasants, and emphasized self-management and formal linkages). Both traditions promoted universal symbols and rituals, like May Day, and were associated with new repertoires of struggle, such as sabotage, go-slows, and strikes.

The workers' movement in this period took an overtly formal character, yet the parties and unions were often embedded in more informal structures. Sections of the Labour and Socialist International, for example, were organized as parties, but in Germany and elsewhere, the larger parties also established significant countercultures, including neighbourhood groups, bars, sports clubs and popular libraries and schools. This development, culminating in dense networks of insurgent popular association life in the movement's great strongholds, such as Argentina and Spain.

A formal commitment to internationalism was important in this period, but international aspirations were rarely realized in practice. The Labour and Socialist International was primarily a labour international for Greater Europe, and strikingly absent elsewhere. Anarchists and syndicalists, on the other hand, were an important force in parts of Europe and the Americas. The development of new federations was the backbone for the rise of segregationist White Labourism in the British Empire and the United States of America, which combined social democracy with racial exclusion.

Garveyism, with its 'race first' policies and plebeian base, could be regarded as expressing a similar tendency to combine race and class demands, although the 'Negro State' which it aspired to was never constituted. In both cases, rhetorics of labour internationalism overlapped with racial politics: in South Africa, for instance, the (White) Labour Party advocated socialism plus segregation, while in the (African and Coloured) Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, Garveyism coexisted uneasily with syndicalist ideas derived from the Industrial Workers of the World, with its vision of One Big Union of workers.

If the lived experience of transnationality helps account for the appeal of internationalist ideas amongst mobile workers in the first modern globalization, then, it does not follow that there was any simple linkage between transnational lives and internationalist politics. Nationalist networks amongst Africans, Cubans, Germans, Indians, Irish, Jews, Koreans, Poles and others also flowed within the human rivers of labour that straddled the globe; doctrines such as Garveyism, pan-Africanism, nascent pan-Islamism and White Labourism, which stressed national, racial, ethnic and class identities, were an important force in parts of Africa, for instance, the (White) Labour Party advocated socialism plus segregation, while in the (African and Coloured) Industrial and Commercial Workers Union, Garveyism coexisted uneasily with syndicalist ideas derived from the Industrial Workers of the World, with its vision of One Big Union of workers.

Starting with the First World War (1914-18), the period of global interconnectedness, the world was a single world, and the world became a single world. The world was a single world, and the world became a single world. The world was a single world, and the world became a single world.
and was drowned in repression by 1924. If the Labour and Socialist International had failed to test its formal commitment to anti-militarism and international solidarity, important new workers' international movements emerged in the postwar period: the Communist International (Comintern), the IWA/AIT, and the Communist Workers' International. Nationalist regimes imposed economic protectionism in Latin America, parts of Eastern Europe, as well as in southern Africa; fascists created authoritarian regimes stressing the virtues of nation and race; socialism became increasingly identified with the new Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, rather than with the international workers' movement; radical labour movements like those grouped in the IWA/AIT were pushed into exile by authoritarian regimes generally, or brought into national-level class compromises; the relatively laissez-faire internationalisms declined. The Great Depression, and the subsequent rise of demand-management policies in the 1930s, accelerated the trend towards national economies, as did the collapse of the remaining empires and the rise of scores of new states, identified with nationalism or the Soviet model. As nation states spread and individual everyday life increased, as nationalism became the dominant ideology, and as socialism became identified with loyalty to the Soviet bloc and its allied "progressive" regimes, the space for transnational workers' movements and internationalist imaginations declined.

In the 1970s, of course, relative in the global boom of the 1950s and 1960s, world trade increased 800 per cent, commodity production expanded 40 times, and the number of international corporations first emerged. The boom entrenched the trend towards national-level class compromises, enabling rising real wages and welfare retentions despite mounting international strain; rapid urbanization, and a new wave of industrialization, the latter expressed dramatically by the Newly Industrializing Countries (NICs) (including those of the Soviet bloc). There was, meanwhile, substantial if highly regulated international immigration, often into the Middle East and Greater Europe (by 1980, as Ronald Frank notes, as well as in Japan, the USA, and parts of Africa and Latin America, triggering a massive strike wave into the 1970s. Overall, however, deglobalization limited space for internationalism and, when the working classes of NICs like Brazil, Poland and South Africa began to organize on a large scale in the 1970s, their politics were heavily coloured by nationalism.

Globalization and labour movements today

The mediated international integration of deglobalization began to fall apart in the 1970s. Nation states played a key role in creating the new globalization, particularly through neoliberal policies, as did multinational corporations. New communications technologies and falling transport costs facilitated integration, the boom ended; national-level class compromises broke down, and international labour markets and migration expanded sharply. The economic crisis of the 1970s, followed by structural adjustment policies, hit agrarian countries especially hard, devastating many labour movements, but the retreat of the workers' movement was an international phenomenon.

The world's working class is both relatively and absolutely larger than ever before: there are more industrial workers in South Korea today, says Chris Harman, than in the entire global total at the end of the 19th century. The revival Labour and Socialist International was primarily a loose body of parties with a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rallying point for radical workers, and was more successful than its Marxist predecessor in drawing the working class of Asia and elsewhere into alliances with Western labour. Similarly, it was as an instrument of Russian foreign policy, its dissolution in 1943, and the acceptance of "national" road to socialism limited the strategy of a tripartite body, rather than a workers' international. The Comintern provided a rally...
action, in which workers' movements have played an important role, at the same time as cleavages along ethnic, national, racial and religious lines have thrived.

Conclusions

An examination of transnational connections in modernity raises substantial questions about the definition of the 'working class' itself, as well as highlighting the point that workers' movements should not be reduced to union movements. A transnational perspective on labour history challenges the assumption that secure, waged jobs are the normal employment relationship: a wider view of workers' history shows that rather than secure, waged employment making unions possible, it is the reverse that seems true. Our overview also raises important points about the relationship between class, nationality and race, indicating a history both of deep divisions, as well as of intercultural and multinational solidarities. When Cedric Robinson posits 'black collective identity' as the negation of capitalism, or David Roediger treats White racism as the negation of Black collective identity, we are able to see that the terms of racism are deployed and reworked in ways that are often invisible to those who regard the history of Black movements as a division between them and us. Here, globalization is not a novel challenge for workers' movements, but a recurrent feature in the development of the working class.

References


Related essays

1888-1960; Abolition of Forced Labour Convention; abolitionism; African liberation; anarchism; anti-racism; capitalism; class; Cold War; Comintern and Cominform; Commission on International Labour Legislation; Communist Manifesto; consumer cooperation; contract and indentured labourers; convergence and divergence; diasporas; empire and migration; empires and imperialism; ethnicity and race; executives and professionals; exile; fascism and anti-fascism; freemasonry; Garvey, Marcus Mosiah; Ghose, Aurobindo Ackroyd; globalization; guestworkers; human mobility (including $100); The International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes, founded in 1966, arbitrates disputes between member nations and individual investors. Furthermore, the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency promotes foreign direct investment in the developing world. Capitalized at over $1 billion when it began in 1988, the agency insures private investors from political risk, disseminates information, and advises government on how to attract investments, and mediates between investors and host nations. While the IDB has 184 members, the other agencies vary in members between 140 and 178, and nations can choose to join any of the five agencies.

The IDA and IDB are the two agencies in which governments are directly attached. In the 1950s, it became evident that the terms of loans given by the IBRD were too rigid for the poorest of nations to meet, so the United States led the way in establishing the IDA as a means for the 'have' to help the 'have nots'. The two World Banks are also financed by the profits of the World Bank and thus is where it was placed under the World Bank's jurisdiction. Handing out its first loans in 1960, to Sudan, Honduras, Chile, and India, the agency had provided over $1.6 billion in credits to 108 countries up to 2005. The terms of loans are 'soft', or concessional, meaning that the maturities extend from 30 to 40 years, with a ten-year grace period ticked on before repayment. Thus, IDA coffers must be periodically replenished. The IDA does not just work with governments, but with non-governmental organizations and citizens, to foster a sense of ownership over the development process in host countries.

The IDA's successes have been many. At one level, it advocates for the countries most marginalized from globalization by seeking, on their behalf, more access to the markets of industrialized nations and encouraging regional integration. But it is at the micro level of a nation's economy — individually owned enterprises — that the IDA has made a tremendous impact. It has done so largely through the support and cooperation of transnational non-governmental organizations. Some successes include a National AIDS Control Project in India, which has trained over 52,000 doctors and 60 per cent of the nursing staffs in HIV/AIDS management; a Flood Disaster Prevention programme in Yemen that directly protects 21,000 households, a primary school textbook project throughout Asia, and the construction of thousands of healthcare facilities in rural Asia, and social investment programmes that generate employment in Latin America.

Yemen's efforts to provide financial and non-financial facilities to microenterprises and small businesses are another example of the IDA empowering individuals across borders. In 1998, in a nation in which 42 per cent of the population lived below the poverty line, the Yemeni government teamed with the World Bank to establish the centrepiece of the programme: a system in which non-governmental organizations would invest in the tiniest and poorest of Yemen's enterprises in order to foster employment, rising incomes, and encourage further microfinance. The IDA's Social Fund for Development Project, which harnesses the finances of the NGOs, makes possible such creative solutions to poverty through loans spread out to thousands of citizens. Thus, in Dar Seid, a 47-year-old mother of nine borrowed just $100 from an NGO to purchase a table and chairs, which she then rented out to local kids who flocked to her front yard to play. Her family's income, before barely enough to put food on the table,