

Palgrave Studies in the History of Social Movements

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

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Jon Piccini

Transnational Protest, Australia and the 1960s

Global Radicals

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For Francis

PREFACE

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

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

Contemporary historians are not only beginning to historicise these relatively recent political developments; they are also trying to relate them to

a longer history of social movements, including traditional labour organisations, such as working-class parties and trade unions. In the *longue durée*, we recognise that social movements are by no means a recent phenomenon and are not even an exclusively modern phenomenon, although we realise that the onset of modernity emanating from Europe and North America across the wider world from the eighteenth century onwards marks an important departure point for the development of civil societies and social movements.

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

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

This series seeks to promote innovative historical research on the history of social movements in the modern period since around 1750. We bring together conceptually-informed studies that analyse labour movements, new social movements and other forms of protest from early modernity to the present. With this series, we seek to revive, within the context of historiographical developments since the 1970s, a conversation between

historians on the one hand and sociologists, anthropologists and political scientists on the other.

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

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

Transnational Protest: Australia and the 1960s is an important contribution to the recent move towards conceptualising the period around '1968' as a global history and as a 'transnational moment of change', as Rainer Horn and Padraic Kenney have called it. *Transnational Protest* is a book about how activists, practices and ideas crossed borders, and how this mattered. But it also shows how border crossings always came with a degree of local groundedness.

The book is one of the first monographs to analyse Australia's '1968' in a global context. Australia makes for an especially fascinating case study: not only because of its politics, which during the 1950s and into the 1960s saw the emergence of a vehemently anti-communist political culture; but also because of its relative geographical proximity to some of the key refer-

ence points of the global '68, namely China and Vietnam. Not least, as a former settler colony, Australia still was part of the global 'Angloworld', with its circulation of knowledges, practices and ideas.

In this book, Jon Piccini has mined a plethora of different primary sources: governmental papers, activists' diaries and memoirs, movement papers and magazines, and the countless pamphlets that activists produced. His aim is to present us with a 'globally attuned, yet locally specific' history, one that 'identifies the local in the global, as well as the global at work locally'. Piccini illuminates how 'the idea of global revolution' became a local reality in Australia, by considering Australian contributions to '68 activism worldwide; but he also analyses how Australian activists engaged with the outside world. The Australian case is interesting from another perspective as well: the protesters' engagement with the indigenous Australian population highlights the importance of race and anti-imperialist drive of '68 activism more generally. Thus, Piccini's history also offers some rewarding conceptual insights into how to connect local activism with a global frame of reference, which makes it a fascinating read for all social movement scholars.

Stefan Berger (Bochum) and Holger Nehring (Stirling)

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ABBREVIATIONS

AAPA	Australian Aboriginal Progressive Association
ACS	Australia-China Society
ALP	Australian Labor Party
ALR	Australian Left Review
ASIO	Australian Security Intelligence Organisation
AUS	Australian Union of Students
BLF	Builders Labourer's Federation
CAP	Congress of African People
CDA	Centre for Democratic Action
Cominform	Communist Information Bureau
Comintern	Communist International
CPA	Communist Party of Australia
CPA (M-L)	Communist Party of Australia (Marxist-Leninist)
DFPA	Defence Forces Protection Act
FCAATSI	Federal Council for the Advancement of Aborigines and Torres Strait Islanders
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
ISSW	International Students Solidarity Week
MLC	Monash Labor Club
NLF	National Liberation Front
NTC	National Tribal Council
NUAUS	National Union of Australian University Students
OPAL	One People of Australia League
OSS	Overseas Student Service
PRC	People's Republic of China
SAI	Students for Australian Independence
SDA	Students for Democratic Action

SDS	Students for a Democratic Society
SEATO	South East Asia Treaty Organisation
SNCC	Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee
SOS	Save Our Sons
SRC	Student Representative Council
UAW	Union of Australian Women
UNIA	Universal Negro Improvement Association
UNSW	University of New South Wales
UQ	The University of Queensland
VAAL	Victorian Aborigines Advancement League
VAC	Vietnam Action Committee
WFYS	World Festival of Youth and Students
YCAC	Youth Campaign Against Conscription