

# **Global Justice Protesters Respond to the September 11th Terrorist Attacks: The Impact of an Intentional Disaster on Demonstrations in Washington, D.C.**

**Patrick F. Gillham**  
Department of Sociology  
University of Colorado

**Bob Edwards**  
Department of Sociology  
East Carolina University

---

## **Introduction**

This paper examines the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks on the United States from a perspective that provides insight into the future of social movements and political dissent in a context of heightened concern over threats to national security. Specifically, we examine the way a range of social movement organizations responded to the dramatically changed political climate in the three weeks following the terrorist attacks. The organizations examined here had been planning a series of global justice demonstrations against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to be held in Washington, D.C., during the last week of September 2001. Based on field observations, interviews, and systematic review of e-mail list-servs and websites, we chronicle the organizational field of protesters and the roster of protest events as they changed during the three weeks after the terrorist attacks. The crisis precipitated by the September 11th disaster dramatically heightened concern over national security and the public rallied around the President with nearly unanimous approval of his handling of the situation. During such crises the contrast between groups and events like those examined here and broad public sentiment appears stark. The political and social costs of dissent are heightened and its public display is either curtailed

by dissenters themselves, as in the case of most of the groups discussed here, or at times actively quashed. Yet such periods of unanimity never seem to last very long and a social and political climate more favorable for dissent returns rather quickly, as the 15 months since the events analyzed here have shown.

### **Background**

For months a diverse coalition of national and international advocacy groups, local church and community organizations, and a smaller loosely affiliated contingent of anarchists had been organizing a series of protest events in Washington, D.C. The series of protests and related events called the Mobilization for Global Justice (MGJ)\* was to coincide with the meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) scheduled for the last week of September 2001 (see the glossary for list of acronyms and description of organizations and events). The MGJ would be the latest in a series of high-profile, mass demonstrations in world policy and financial centers since the “Battle in Seattle” had nearly brought the November 1999 meetings of the World Trade Organization (WTO) to a grinding halt. Having experienced a similar series of disruptive actions in April 2000, the Washington, D.C., police were expecting the MGJ to be an even larger and more-difficult-to-manage series of events. Management of the protests would be especially complicated since the World Bank and IMF meetings would be held in a mixed business and residential district, making it difficult to control access to the area. World Bank and IMF officials were just as concerned as police that the protests might prevent their meetings from occurring. Their concerns intensified throughout the summer as the MGJ Coalition and the roster of planned protest events grew. On July 11, 2001, World Bank and IMF officials decided to relocate the meetings to their central buildings in downtown Washington, D.C. (Fernandez and Blustein, 2001). Within a month they had shortened the meetings to two days and reduced the number of participants. It was hoped that these decisions would make it easier for the police to defend the space and control protesters (Santana and Blustein, 2001).

Through the first week of September 2001, planning for the MGJ progressed smoothly although the overall coalition had subdivided into three distinct branches. The smallest and most confrontational branch included the Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC) and other anarchist groups who were secretly planning confrontational and illegal actions aimed at halting the World Bank and IMF meetings. A second branch intended to disrupt the meetings and communicate opposition to the global trade establishment by engaging in non-violent acts of civil disobedience like sit-ins, obstructing

---

\*This and other organizational acronyms are explained more fully in a Glossary that appears at the end of this paper.

traffic, or blockading buildings. The third and largest branch included a wide range of prominent advocacy organizations, church groups, environmental groups, and labor unions that had obtained permits for legal marches, rallies, and teach-ins. By the morning of September 11th planning for the permitted events had advanced so well that their sponsors had scheduled a major press conference to publicly articulate the MGJ's four demands against the World Bank and IMF, and to announce final plans for the mass rally and march set for September 30, 2001. Present would be AFL-CIO President John Sweeney, Friends of the Earth President Brent Blackwelder, as well as Feminist Majority President Eleanor Smeal (Cavanaugh, 2001; AFL-CIO, 2001a). The press conference was scheduled for September 11, 2001, at 11 a.m., EDT, outside the Methodist Building one block east of the Capitol and across the street from the Supreme Court. The news conference never happened.

Tragically, at about 8:45 that morning the first jetliner was piloted into the north tower of the World Trade Center in New York City. By 10:37 a.m. authorities had reported that other planes had crashed into the second tower, the Pentagon, and a Pennsylvania field (Murray, 2001). In a state of shock, the organizers of the press conference released a perfunctory cancellation notice (AFL-CIO, 2001b), which received no local press coverage. Members of the press along with everyone else in Washington, D.C., had, for the time being, lost all interest in the upcoming demonstrations. The terrorist attacks of September 11th instantly transformed the American political context, leading each organization involved to reappraise its mission and activities. The World Bank and IMF cancelled their meetings. Protesters cancelled certain events and planned new ones considered more appropriate for the current circumstances. The roster of organizations involved changed dramatically as well, with some dropping out as previously uninvolved groups joined.

Originally, the MGJ had planned a 10-day episode to occur from September 23—October 4, 2001 (MGJ, 2001a) outside the Woodley Park Hotel, the meeting place used by the World Bank and IMF for the last 20 years (Fernandez and Blustein, 2001). However, September 11th profoundly changed the MGJ and related events. By September 14 a significant exodus occurred among larger organizations who had been planning the legally permitted events. A few days later most of the MGJ Coalition was dissolved. Within another two weeks, only a few groups had maintained the same level of involvement that they had planned before September 11th happened, a few others had altered their involvement, and a number of new groups had entered the organizational field. Pre-MGJ events were either cancelled or significantly changed. The majority of MGJ events were cancelled, especially those involving public outdoor gatherings. Only one activity continued as planned. New events and previously planned but altered events focused on providing sympathy for those killed in the attacks, showing solidarity with those threatened by racist retaliation for the attacks, discussing the causes of

terrorism, and promoting the nascent peace movement. The next section describes our research methods and data collection and clarifies the specific questions to be addressed in the remainder of this paper.

### **Research Methods, Questions, and Data**

This research capitalizes on a “natural experiment,” which provided the unique opportunity to examine how a specific coalition of social movement organizations was affected by, and responded to, the suddenly imposed transformation of the political climate after the terrorist attacks.<sup>1</sup> The coalition planning the protests, the Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition (MGJ Coalition), represented a diverse range of advocacy groups, churches, unions, and community organizations. The volatile atmosphere after September 11th reshaped the prevailing context of political opportunity within which the MGJ Coalition and its constituent organizations had oriented their actions (McAdam, 1996). In the span of a few hours each group involved, whether reformist or radical, risked losing legitimacy in the eyes of its core constituents. More mainstream groups, most of which had only recently joined the ranks of active, public MGJ participants, risked irreparable loss of credibility with policy makers and segments of the public who supported their positions on a range of non-MGJ issues, creating a powerful incentive to withdraw. Conversely, the most radical groups involved felt an equally strong incentive to forge ahead with their intended confrontational and disruptive actions lest their core supporters think they had been co-opted. The politically charged nature of deciding, in that situation, whether or not to continue with planned protests, divert resources to relief efforts, or engage in other displays of solidarity and symbolic support had become particularly acute for protest organizers (Vanderslice, 2001a; Grusky, 2001).

In this paper we focus on two broad questions facing these groups: should they remain involved, and if so, what would they do? Specifically, we consider changes in the roster of organizations involved and changes in the types events undertaken. Given their differences in organizational form and constituency the response of coalition members may vary significantly. The research addresses these questions:

- (1) Changes in the Organizational Field—What groups were involved in the protest planning before September 11th? Which groups remained involved? Which groups dropped out? And which previously uninvolved groups joined in after the terrorists attacks?
- (2) Changes in Events—What events were originally planned before September 11th? Which events were continued? What new events were organized after the attacks?

The organizations in this study had been identified during previous research as those actively planning this “episode of contention” against the World Bank and IMF (Gillham, 2003; McAdam et al., 2001). The episode, known as MGJ by its organizers, was scheduled for the week of September 23–30, 2001 and was to include a series of protest events culminating in a day of mass rallies, marches, and direct action. Eleven organizations officially sponsored the MGJ Coalition and numerous other organizations participated in working groups that were formed to carry out the goals of the MGJ. Together, these organizations formed a diverse coalition consisting of labor unions, religious organizations, environmental, human and civil rights groups, as well as anarchists and other loosely tied anti-capitalist grassroots organizations.

Data were collected through in-depth interviews, by observing strategy meetings and protest events, and by monitoring websites and e-mail list-servs. Interviews were conducted during the two weeks immediately after September 11th. Six leaders from four Washington, D.C., advocacy groups were interviewed for 30–60 minutes each. All respondents had been involved in planning for the MGJ: one was with the national AFL-CIO office; another with the AFL-CIO Washington, D.C., Metropolitan Labor Council (MLC); two represented the Jubilee USA Network; another was affiliated with Saint Stephens Episcopal Church; and the last directed the Washington, D.C., chapter of the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC).<sup>2</sup> During the same time period, the researchers observed three different decision-making meetings, an AFL-CIO “disaster relief blitz,” two activist gatherings at the Anti-Capitalist Convergence Center, as well as numerous protest events (a teach-in, People’s Summit, an interfaith prayer gathering, two legally sanctioned sets of rallies and marches, and one illegal march). Numerous documents were collected at the observation sites. Finally, electronic information was gathered from the websites and e-lists of advocacy organizations during the two weeks preceding and following the September 11th disaster.

### **From “The Battle in Seattle” to the Mobilization for Global Justice**

In this section we set the stage for mass protests planned for September 23–30, 2001 in Washington, D.C. First, we provide background information about the global justice movement and its activities and the coalition of trade policy protesters converging on Washington, D.C., in September 2001. Second, we describe how the coalition of organizations changed after September 11th.

The organizations under analysis were involved in coordinating a week-long series of events challenging the policies of the World Bank and IMF.

The World Bank and IMF were meeting in Washington, D.C., for their annual fall convention, which typically brings together several thousand staff persons from around the world, as well as foreign and U.S. dignitaries. The protests were meant to coincide with the World Bank and IMF's annual conference rescheduled for September 29–30, 2001.

This was the third contentious episode held in the United States against institutions associated with the promotion of economic globalization and trade liberalization. The Battle in Seattle was the first, in which 50,000–100,000 activists successfully shut down the WTO meetings in Seattle during the fall of 1999 (Gillham and Marx, 2000). A second episode targeting the policies of the World Bank and IMF brought upwards of 20,000 protesters into the streets of Washington, D.C., in April 2000 (Santana and Fernandez, 2001).

In all episodes, activists singled out the WTO, IMF, and World Bank as the driving forces behind the global expansion of neo-liberal economic policies. Activists blamed these policies for everything from global environmental degradation and human rights violations, to the undermining of public education and health care, to the worsening of fiscal problems in developing nations, to the growth of the AIDS epidemic in Africa (Danaher, 1994; Danaher and Burbach, 2000; Jubilee USA Network, 2002; Mander and Goldsmith, 1996; MGJ, 2001a; Thomas, 2000; Welton and Wolf, 2001).<sup>3</sup> The fall 2001 meetings provided advocacy organizations yet another opportunity to express their dissent before an international audience and the IMF and World Bank elites themselves.

Some of the groups planning this episode of protest had been actively involved in the global justice movement since the 1999 Battle in Seattle brought wider public attention to policies of the WTO, World Bank, and IMF. Each round of recent protests against the global trade and international lending institutions had been planned, in part, by a coalition using similar organizational structures, though a shifting membership. The first episode involved a broad network of coalitions that shared information with each other, but also carried out distinctly separate plans. Thus, in Seattle for example, mainstream environmental groups, the religious community, and organized labor worked together to organize a number of marches and rallies. Each of these groups also worked with Public Citizen, the advocacy organization started by Ralph Nader, to organize teach-ins, marches, and rallies. The Direct Action Network (DAN), a more radical group credited for orchestrating the civil disobedience that shut down the first day of WTO trade talks, also coordinated activities with Public Citizen, although mainstream labor and environmental organizations distanced themselves from the DAN activists. The overlapping, yet often discrete, threads of the Seattle coalitions suggest a latticed networking of groups that shared overarching critiques of neo-liberal economic policies, but often disagreed about appropriate strategies for social change and protest tactics.

As in Seattle, each subsequent episode of contention in the emerging global justice movement was collaboratively organized by a loosely knit and diverse array of social movement organizations. Many of the organizations were involved at some level in the original Seattle protests. As the movement evolved, the network shrank and increased in density. This occurred as the number of these coordinating coalitions decreased while their organizational make-up broadened to include more established and mainstream groups, while at the same time pushing to the margins those who would not renounce the use of vandalism.

Thus, in the earlier protests, groups like the AFL-CIO and the Sierra Club had kept a degree of distance from organizations involved in the direct action. While the larger and more mainstream organizations continued to distance themselves from confrontational tactics, the 2001 MGJ was the first episode where prominent national social movement and public interest advocacy organizations had agreed to work in a more formal manner with the medium-sized national and international advocacy organizations, and smaller local groups. Groups entered the coalition knowing that some MGJ members planned to use non-violent direct action, but assumed that violence and vandalism would not be directly associated with the mobilization.

### **Terrorist Attacks Reconfigure the Global Justice Coalition**

#### **Mobilization for Global Justice Planners before September 11th**

The MGJ Coalition had formed, in large part, around the task of planning and coordinating the series of inter-related MGJ protest events against the World Bank and IMF. The MGJ Coalition generally functioned “as a host for all groups . . . organizing and planning actions” that week (MGJ, 2001b). Specifically, the MGJ had hoped to provide the infrastructure for the protests by setting up temporary housing, preparing legal and medical training, establishing a convergence training and welcoming space, and coordinating a series of events in which local and visiting activists could partake (MGJ, 2001b). The MGJ explicitly demanded that the World Bank and IMF (1) open all World Bank and IMF meetings to the media and public; (2) cancel all impoverished country debt to the World Bank and IMF using the institutions’ own resources; (3) end all World Bank and IMF policies that hinder people’s access to food, clean water, shelter, health care, education, and right to organize; and (4) stop all World Bank support for socially and environmentally destructive projects (MGJ, 2001c).

Twenty-nine U.S. organizations officially sponsored events that would occur during the contentious episode (Table 1, column 1). Some were national labor organizations like the AFL-CIO, while others were national human rights advocacy groups like 50 Years is Enough and Jubilee USA Network. There were also local advocacy organizations such as the

**Table 1. Organizations involved in Washington, D.C., protests before and after September 11th.**

INVOLVED BEFORE SEPT 11TH <sup>1</sup>	INVOLVED AFTER SEPT 11TH	DIFFERENCE <sup>2</sup>
Anti-Capitalist Convergence (ACC) Essential Action Global Exchange Homes Not Jails Religious Working Group <sup>P-11</sup> Alliance for Responsible Trade AFL-CIO <sup>P-11</sup> American Lands Alliance Center for Economic Justice Coalition of Immokalee Workers Feminist Majority <sup>P-11</sup> Friends of the Earth <sup>P-11</sup> Institute for Public Policy International Rivers Network Jobs with Justice <sup>P-11</sup> Mexico Solidarity Network Mobilization for Global Justice (MGJ) <sup>P-11</sup> Oxfam America <sup>P-11</sup> Rainbow Coalition <sup>P-11</sup> Rainforest Action Network Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE) United Students Against Sweatshops (USAS) <sup>P-11</sup> World Bank Boycott	ACC Essential Action Global Exchange Homes Not Jails Religious Working Group	ACC Essential Action Global Exchange Homes Not Jails Religious Working Group Alliance for Responsible Trade AFL-CIO American Lands Alliance Center for Economic Justice Coalition of Immokalee Workers Feminist Majority Friends of the Earth Institute for Public Policy International Rivers Network Jobs with Justice Mexico Solidarity Network MGJ Oxfam America Rainbow Coalition Rainforest Action Network UNITE USAS World Bank Boycott



50 Years Is Enough <sup>P-11</sup>	50 Years Is Enough	50 Years Is Enough
American Friends Service Committee (AFSC)	AFSC	AFSC
Jubilee USA Network <sup>P-11</sup>	Jubilee USA Network	Jubilee USA Network
Ruckus Society	Ruckus Society	Ruckus Society
Interfaith Service 57 Groups (e.g., Bread for the World, Center of Concern, Church of Brethren, Friends of the Earth, 50 Years Is Enough)	International Action Center (IAC) Washington Peace Center	IAC WPC
	Interfaith 57 + American Muslim Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Global Justice, Home for Peace & Justice, Insight Mediation Community of DC, Jubilee Colorado, Jubilee Oregon, National Coalition Building Institute, Salvadoran American National School of International Service of American University, Shalom Center/EPH, Alliance for Jewish Renewal, Sikh Kharma	Interfaith 57 + American Muslim Council, Fellowship of Reconciliation, Global Justice, Home for Peace & Justice, Insight Mediation Community of DC, Jubilee Colorado, Jubilee Oregon, National Coalition Building Institute, Salvadoran American National Network, School of International Service of American U., Shalom Center/EPH, Alliance for Jewish Renewal, Sikh Kharma

<sup>1</sup> P-11 superscript denotes one of 11 groups sponsoring some of the largest legal permitted MGJ events.

<sup>2</sup> Level of Involvement: Plain = Same  
*Italics* = Decreased level of involvement  
**Bold** = Newly involved after September 11.  
~~Strike-Through~~ = Withdrawal

People's Repo and the ACC. Many of the groups' memberships consist primarily of other organizations. Some are mixed, relying on both organizations and individuals for support. A few, such as the ACC, rely primarily on the support of individuals and only come together for specific events such as the protests in Washington, D.C. (ACC, 2001a, 2001b).<sup>4</sup> Most MGJ sponsors concentrate on national or international issues, while some groups focus on both. The ACC addresses local issues within the national and international context of global capitalism. The People's Repo is specifically interested in local issues and concentrates on returning under-utilized and abandoned housing to homeless people in Washington, D.C. (Homes Not Jails, 2001).

Planning for the MGJ began long before September 2001 and proceeded through an increasingly formalized and "on-site" (Washington-based) process as the time of the protests approached. On March 16, 2001, the coalition issued its first call to action meant to recruit other organizations to join in planning (Essential Action, 2001a). The call originated on the Essential Action e-list and quickly was disseminated to other advocacy lists around the United States and the world.<sup>5</sup> While it is unclear how many people and organizations received the original call, given the exponential nature of e-mail forwarding, it was likely in the several thousands. Planning for the protests occurred primarily in the Washington, D.C., metropolitan area. During the early MGJ meetings a number of working groups were formed in order to facilitate organizing the protest.<sup>6</sup>

### ***Spokes-council and Affinity Groups***

As in previous global protests, the MGJ Coalition made broader decisions using a spokes-council/affinity group structure and used working groups for accomplishing tasks. The spokes-council provides a forum in which a facilitator manages discussions among affinity groups, aimed at reaching consensus on issues at hand. Each affinity group consists "of 5-20 people who work together [yet autonomously from the larger group] on direct action or other projects" (MGJ, 2001e). This decision-making model is organic in nature and challenges the hierarchy of top-down decision making (MGJ, 2001e). Each local affinity group and MGJ sponsor sent a representative or a "spoke" to a weekly spokes-council meeting. While these meetings were open and attended by many different people, only spokes could speak during the session. The spokes-council engaged in two types of decision making. Agenda setting entailed making decisions about what would be covered during a specific meeting. Once the agenda had been established, the spokes-council dealt with more instrumental questions about how to proceed with the mobilization. The council then delegated responsibility for developing such plans to working groups, which became affinity groups to the larger spokes-council. Each working group therefore sent a representative to report back and make decisions during the spokes-council meeting.

### **Working Groups**

Immediately after the MGJ Coalition came together, 14 working groups were formed to pursue specific tasks. In contrast to the formally representative structure of the spokes-council, the working groups were open to anyone who wanted to participate and decisions were made on the basis of consensus among all participants. Moreover, not all organizations actively involved in working groups were official sponsors of the larger mobilization. Some dealt with generic responsibilities like media relations, fundraising, outreach, and logistics (MGJ, 2001f). Other tasks were more political in nature, including crafting the message and disseminating it through working groups focused on public education, website development, arts, and action. Still other working groups planned permitted rallies and marches, a concert for the largest permitted rally, training activities, and a civil disobedience scenario meant to close down the IMF and World Bank meetings. Some working groups had subgroups; for example, outreach was subdivided into student, labor, and neighborhood working groups (MGJ, 2001g).

The MGJ relied in part on list-servs for planning. Moderated and un-moderated MGJ discussion lists were started within the first month of planning, and un-moderated working group lists were formed whenever a specific group was started. Working groups also added a “members only” feature to their lists to help screen those who could join and review their e-mail archives.<sup>7</sup> Should a member prove unhelpful in the planning or be suspected of being an undercover police officer, the group could remove the person from the list. The lists allowed for running feedback across the MGJ Coalition and within working groups on the evolving plans for the September 2001 protests. They were also used to announce meeting times and locations, and to post breaking news such as changes in dates of the World Bank and IMF meetings. The un-moderated list provided an open forum for anyone on the planet with access to e-mail. Discussion there focused on a broader range of movement-related issues, provided general information regarding the planning and coordination of these efforts, and gathered feedback on the emerging plans from a far-flung constituency.

The permitted-scenario working group (P-11) organized a number of legal protest events throughout the week for which it had obtained official permits from local authorities. These events were to conclude with a large rally and march on September 30, 2001. Activists called this group the P-11 because it consisted of 11 sponsoring organizations including the AFL-CIO, Jubilee USA Network, 50 Years is Enough, and Jobs With Justice, which were only officially involved in organizing and engaging in legally permitted activities. Some of these organizations were also general sponsors of the MGJ. Besides the 11 sponsoring organizations, the P-11 working group consisted of other Washington, D.C., advocacy organizations, including prominent social movement organizations like the Sierra Club, Friends of the Earth, Bread for

the World, and Oxfam America. These informal members did not formally endorse either the broader array of MGJ events or the more limited list of legally permitted events organized by the P-11 working group, in part perhaps because of concerns that some MGJ events would include illegal and confrontational actions. Most organizations in the P-11 had cooperated together for years on legislative advocacy issues of mutual interest (Cavanaugh, 2001). Meeting behind closed doors at the AFL-CIO headquarters, these groups shared their plans and concerns about the larger mobilization. Decisions about permitted events and concerns were then reported back at MGJ spokes-council meetings. Other working groups operated similarly, though the P-11 group is the only one that consisted primarily of large national and international social movement organizations.

The specific form of the MGJ and the exact roster of events it would encompass emerged gradually out of this back-and-forth process between the spokes-council and the various working groups, and through input from the larger constituency of advocacy groups and individuals accessing the e-lists from around the world. The variety of events created the potential for conflict within the coalition. To allow for internal disagreement, MGJ Coalition members could agree not to sign on to events that they disliked. For example, while the AFL-CIO was a central sponsor for the permitted mass rally and march scheduled for September 30, it did not sign on for the non-violent direct action scheduled for the same day.

### **Organizational Attrition and New Arrivals**

Like everyone else in Washington, D.C., activists were significantly affected by the attacks of September 11th. They witnessed the nonstop news footage of the destruction that occurred at the Pentagon, the World Trade Center, and in Pennsylvania. Some advocacy groups had constituencies directly affected by the attacks, such as the AFL-CIO, which reported that 634 union members were killed (AFL-CIO, 2002). Moreover, many Washington, D.C., advocacy groups were affected by evacuations that occurred on the day of the attacks. For example, members of the Jubilee USA Network were evacuated from their office situated three blocks east of the Capitol building (Vanderslice, 2001a). Others experienced sorrow and anger not only because of the attacks, but also because they felt that the attacks could have been avoided had politicians heeded concerns raised by advocacy organizations over the years (Hoover, 2001). The grief and anger extended to concerns about an imminent war and further loss of life (Vanderslice, 2001a; Hoover, 2001).

#### ***P-11 Withdrawal***

One way that the MGJ changed after September 11th involved the withdrawal of central organizations. Organizations involved in the permitted

events withdrew first. Of these, the AFL-CIO was the first to publicly announce its removal of support. According to Mike Cavanaugh, Deputy Director in the AFL-CIO's Department of Field Mobilization, the decision to withdraw was made during an emergency meeting with AFL-CIO national staff on September 12.<sup>8</sup>

The next day, during the P-11 working group's weekly meeting, the AFL-CIO told those present that it would redirect all material and human resources to disaster relief (Cavanaugh, 2001). At the same meeting representatives from other national and international organizations also voiced that they were considering withdrawing from the protests (Cavanaugh, 2001). Some groups, like Jubilee USA Network, wanted to wait until after an emergency spokes-meeting of the MGJ Coalition (scheduled for September 15) before deciding (Vanderslice, 2001b). It was agreed not to publicize decisions to withdraw until Monday, September 17. This delay would allow both the MGJ Coalition to hold its emergency spokes-council meeting, and for P-11 organizations to make final decisions and write press releases. All organizations officially withdrawing from the broader MGJ and specific P-11 sponsored events could then release the news on the same day in a show of cooperation and solidarity.

The next day (September 14), however, AFL-CIO President John Sweeny released a press statement officially withdrawing the confederation of unions from the protests (AFL-CIO, 2001c). Other national and international social movement organizations, like Friends of the Earth, Bread for the World, Oxfam, the Sierra Club, and Greenpeace, quickly followed, withdrawing from the protests before the spokes-council meeting could be held. Some organizations informally involved in the P-11 did not officially withdraw because they were never officially involved. Instead, these organizations either dropped out quietly, or released press statements expressing sympathy for those who lost family and friends in the attacks. Rather than follow suit, Jubilee USA Network and Essential Action sent representatives to the September 15 MGJ emergency meeting.

### ***MGJ Coalition Disbands and Peace Organizations Step Forward***

An emergency spokes-council meeting was quickly arranged using the pre-existing moderated MGJ and working group list-servs that had been used to coordinate planning throughout the mobilization. At first it was scheduled to occur at All Souls Unitarian Church in the Columbia Heights neighborhood, but was relocated to a large room at St. Aloysius Catholic Church, near Union Station. A temporary and quickly scrawled sign placed on the door at All Souls, which directed people to the new location, revealed the urgency of the meeting.

Approximately 150 people attended the three-hour meeting, though members of the ACC, and many of the established labor and environmental

groups involved in the P-11 working group were noticeably absent. An ad hoc committee had developed a tentative agenda focused primarily on whether and how to continue with the MGJ. A long-time Washington, D.C., activist and director of the local AFSC and member of the Washington Peace Center (WPC) facilitated the meeting. Each agenda item was briefly outlined and amended in the larger group. Then, those in attendance separated into their original working groups (e.g., media and un-permitted scenario) for a 15-minute “breakout” session to discuss the agenda items.

By the end of the evening it was decided that MGJ Coalition would withdraw support from the permitted and non-permitted demonstrations scheduled for September 30, but would continue to endorse the People’s Summit and September 29 Prayer Vigil. The general agreement among those at the meeting was that the MGJ could neither continue as planned nor could the coalition formally endorse the peace marches that were now being scheduled by the WPC, the International Action Committee (IAC), and the ACC. This was because organizations and people from around the world who had sponsored the MGJ (through money donations and endorsements) could not be contacted quickly enough to confirm such a shift in focus. Nevertheless, several of the MGJ organizations, many with roots in the peace movement, agreed to informally encourage local and visiting participants to attend a peace march being sponsored by the WPC on September 30. At the same time, most organizations decided not to support the two September 29 anti-war marches independently organized by the ACC and IAC.

Support for the ACC was rejected because the group was seen as too confrontational for the post-September 11th political climate. The IAC march was rejected because the MGJ Coalition considered the IAC to be both too autocratic and undemocratic in its decision making and too controversial in its goals (Vanderslice, 2001a). Groups involved in previous demonstrations with the IAC had noted its inclination to make unilateral decisions without consulting other coalition members. Moreover, there was great concern that the IAC had taken a pro-Saddam Hussein position during the Gulf War, when it engaged in overly controversial actions like featuring a speaker favorable to Saddam Hussein’s regime at a Gulf War protest in 1991. The vast majority within the MGJ Coalition and the broader global justice movement opposed such IAC positions vigorously, as did the broader peace movement during the Gulf War.<sup>9</sup>

The final decision of the night was that the media working group would release a statement by Monday, September 17, cancelling the mobilization. After the spokes-meeting, organizers expressed disappointment that the MGJ events they had worked so hard on would be cancelled or altered. This disappointment was evident in that most of the 150 participants quickly left the building when the meeting recessed and only a handful of activists joined together on the following day to forge the press release. On Sunday,

September 16, a day ahead of schedule, the MGJ media working group released a terse press statement officially cancelling the protests (MGJ, 2001h).

In all, most organizations involved in the MGJ Coalition withdrew their support. The major advocacy groups in the P-11 were the first to withdraw. Organizations less integrated into Washington-based policy advocacy withdrew some of their support, though a few stayed in for the People's Summit, Globalization Teach-in, and Prayer Meeting. The most radical groups (ACC and Homes Not Jails) or those with their own foundational support (such as Essential Action or Global Exchange) stayed involved in the same capacity, and two new groups joined in after the attacks (see Table 1, columns 2 and 3). Organizations like Essential Action and Global Exchange are not radical and thus did not remain involved to prove their credibility to a small, radical constituency. Rather, these groups could remain involved for at least two reasons. First, they have rather secure sources of funding. Essential Action's resources come primarily, if not exclusively, from the Public Citizen Foundation, while Global Exchange raises the largest portion of its revenue from proceeds on its own eco- and other-issue educational travel tours and the sale of merchandise. In addition, Global Exchange had received a substantial donation from a patron a year earlier. Second, since both organizations have strong ties to the Green Party, neither would have felt pressure to drop out of the MGJ in order to maintain ties or legitimacy with Democratic politicians. Public Citizen founder Ralph Nader ran for President, and Global Exchange Co-Director Medea Benjamin ran for the U.S. Senate in California in 2000 as Green Party nominees critical of the Democratic Party.

Not only did the groups that participated shift substantially in the immediate aftermath of September 11th, but the roster of events changed as well (Table 2). Clearly, with the MGJ Coalition disbanding and withdrawing its official sponsorship from all previously scheduled events, the roster was profoundly altered in response to the terrorist attacks.

### **What Was Being Planned and What Actually Happened**

In this section we shift our attention from the changing cast of organizations to the roster of events originally planned and how they were changed in response to the terrorist attacks. First we describe the protest events initially planned to occur during the week of September 23–30, 2001, then discuss how this roster of events was changed in response to September 11th, and finally describe the events that were actually undertaken.

#### **Events Planned before September 11th**

The roster of MGJ events planned for the week of contention included activist training in civil disobedience, art and puppet making and first aid; legal

**Table 2: Time-table of events planned before the attacks, occurring after, and changed between September 11 and October 10, 2001.**

DATE	EVENTS PLANNED	EVENTS OCCURRED	DIFFERENCE <sup>1</sup>
9/11 9/11	P-11 Press Conference	MGJ Emergency "Spokes" Meeting	P-11 Press-Conference MGJ Emergency "Spokes" Meeting
9/12 9/12		1st of Daily Peace Vigils AFL-CIO Emergency Meeting	1st of Daily Peace Vigils AFL-CIO Emergency Meeting
9/13		AFL-CIO Memorial Service	AFL-CIO Memorial Service
9/13 9/14	P-11 Weekly Meeting	P-11 Weekly Meeting AFL-CIO Withdrawal from MGJ & Tolerant Press Release	P-11 Weekly Meeting AFL-CIO Withdrawal from MGJ & Tolerant Press Release
9/14		Silent Processional through DC streets	Silent Processional through DC streets
9/14-9/18 9/15-9/16	Ruckus Action Camp AFL-CIO/MGJ Protest Blitz		Ruckus Action Camp AFL-CIO/MGJ Protest Blitz AFL-CIO Relief Blitz
9/15	MGJ Weekly "Spokes" Meeting	MGJ Emergency "Spokes" Meeting	MGJ Emergency "Spokes" Meeting
9/16		MGJ Withdrawal Press Release	MGJ Withdrawal Press Release
9/24		Rally for Restraint	Rally for Restraint
9/24-10/2	MGJ Welcome & Convergence Center		MGJ>Welcome & Convergence-Center



9/24-10/1	Anti-Capitalist Convergence Welcome & Convergence Center Immigrant Rights Rally Taco Bell Protest Citi-Corp Protest	ACC Welcome & Convergence Center	ACC Welcome & Convergence Center
9/25	Immigrant Rights Rally		<del>Immigrant Rights Rally</del>
9/25	Taco Bell Protest		<del>Taco-Bell Protest</del>
9/26	Citi-Corp Protest		<del>Citi-Corp Protest</del>
9/27		Local People's March for Peace Announced by AFSC & WPC	<del>Local People's March for Peace Announced by AFSC &amp; WPC</del>
9/27-9/28	People's Summit	People's Summit	People's Summit
9/27-9/29	Ending Global Apartheid Teach-In	Ending Global Apartheid Teach-In	Ending Global Apartheid Teach-In
9/28	Sweatshop Retailers Action		<del>Sweatshop Retailers Action</del>
9/28	Clean Energy March		<del>Clean Energy March</del>
9/29	ACC Direct Action	ACC March Against Hate, Cap & War	<del>ACC March Against Hate, Cap &amp; War</del>
9/29		International Action Center ANSWER Rally & March	<del>International Action Center ANSWER Rally &amp; March</del>
9/29-9/30	Prayer Vigil, March & Intervention	Prayer Vigil	<del>Prayer Vigil, March &amp; Intervention</del>
9/30	MGJ P-11 Rally & March		<del>MGJ P-11 Rally &amp; March</del>
9/30	MGJ Un-Permitted Direct Action		<del>MGJ Un-Permitted Direct Action</del>
9/30		Washington Peace Center – Local People's March for Peace	<del>Washington Peace Center – Local People's March for Peace</del>

<sup>1</sup> Plain text = An unchanged event  
*Italics* = An event that was Changed  
 Strike-through = An event that was cancelled  
**Bold** = An event added after September 11th

permitted public dissent events such as rallies outside of corporate businesses targeted for abusing labor rights and the environment; educational and networking events such as teach-ins and workshops; solidarity actions like an interfaith prayer vigil; and illegal public assemblies or “un-permitted” events meant to disrupt the World Bank and IMF meetings on September 30.<sup>10</sup> Two important activities planned in advance of the MGJ included a nonviolent civil disobedience training camp to prepare for the un-permitted action, and a joint AFL-CIO/MGJ Blitz, where small groups of union and MGJ activists would visit several thousand metropolitan Washington, D.C., union households, recruiting participants to attend the legal events for which demonstration permits had been secured from local authorities (see Table 2, column 1).

### ***Pre-MGJ Activities***

Two pre-MGJ events were of particular importance for training activists and recruiting participants. The Ruckus Society had organized a four-day “Global Justice Action Camp” to be held September 15–18 in Middlebury, Virginia, just outside Washington, D.C. (MGJ, 2001i). Cosponsoring the training were the Washington, D.C.- based advocacy groups Institute for Policy Studies and Jobs With Justice, along with the Bay Area’s Global Exchange. The camp was directed towards activist leaders and was to include teach-ins on issues regarding the World Bank and IMF, as well as workshops for training in nonviolent direct action and in how to conduct high visibility tactics. The camp also wanted to advance networking between national and international activists (MGJ, 2001i). Much of the training would prepare activists to engage in more confrontational tactics during the MGJ week. Just as important, these newly trained activists would lead training at the MGJ Convergence center in the days before the mass civil disobedience.

Another important pre-MGJ activity was a joint AFL-CIO/MGJ Blitz in which union volunteers would team up with MGJ activists to visit 10,000 union member households. The Blitz, sponsored by the national office of the AFL-CIO and the Washington, D.C. Metropolitan Labor Council, was scheduled for the weekend of September 15–16. Organizers expected 200 union volunteers and activists to make home visits at which they would explain the upcoming MGJ events, outline the criticisms leveled against the World Bank and IMF, note reasons for the AFL-CIO’s involvement, and identify ways that the rank and file could get involved (Cavanaugh, 2001).

### ***MGJ Week***

The MGJ week itself would include activist training, large spoke-council decision-making meetings, educational and networking activities, a prayer vigil, and numerous legal and illegal demonstrations.

Activities focused on training and democratic decision making were central. The MGJ had planned to open a convergence and welcome center from September 24 to October 1. It would be located in a warehouse within walking distance of the protests or near a metro line. The convergence space and welcome center would provide a place for activists to network, share meals, construct and store large props and puppets, share child care, and receive training in an assortment of skills. Training would focus on nonviolent civil disobedience, puppet making and street theater, talking with the media, dealing with legal and medical issues, and engaging in affinity group and spokes-council decision making. The affinity group and spokes-council training was important since the MGJ spokes-council would now shift its focus from building infrastructure for the broader protest episode (including teach-ins and permitted events), to carrying out the mass non-violent direct action on September 30. The spokes-council would therefore need to integrate hundreds of additional affinity groups coming from out of town. The better trained these groups were in consensus decision making, the more efficiently the potentially cumbersome spokes-council meetings would function. The ACC planned to mirror the MGJ convergence, and would concentrate on welcoming and training a relatively small but zealous contingent of anarchists coming for the protests.

***Educating, networking, and strategizing***—The MGJ also emphasized education, networking, and strategy events. Educational events included teach-ins that critiqued IMF and World Bank policies, while networking and strategizing occurred through interactive workshops.

The Ending Global Apartheid Teach-in was the largest educational event planned. It was scheduled to fall right before the weekend of the mass demonstrations, with the intent to educate the large number of activists who would be arriving from around the globe. Sponsored by 50 Years is Enough, Essential Action, International Rivers Network, and Jubilee USA Network, the teach-in would include over 20 speakers from around the world (Essential Action, 2001b). Some of the sponsoring organizations provided transportation and lodging for the international speakers. Teach-in topics included “Democratizing Development” and “Corporate Globalization and Indigenous Rights” (Essential Action, 2001b). Since no single building secured by organizers was large enough to accommodate all the people they hoped to draw, teach-ins were dispersed among different churches throughout the Columbia Heights neighborhood (Essential Action, 2001b). Inside each church, literature tables would be set up, both to help organizations allied with the global justice movement recruit new members and to encourage networking among activists.

The People’s Summit combined education, networking, and strategizing into a single event where cadre activists could join with activist leaders and experts from around the world in more intimate workshop settings. The

summit, which overlapped with the Ending Global Apartheid teach-ins, was scheduled for September 27–28 at the Luther Place Memorial Church. Many of the international leaders would be shuttled from the global apartheid gathering in time to participate in the workshops. Each workshop would include at least one speaker to lead discussions on issues such as “Dialogue on Diversifying the Movement” and “Privatization: Making the Local-Global Connection” (DC Indymedia, 2001; Essential Action, 2002).

**Solidarity and action**—In order to encourage solidarity and provide the faith community a unique means to educate themselves and express their concerns about the IMF and World Bank, the Religious Working Group on the IMF and World Bank and Jubilee USA Network scheduled an interfaith prayer vigil.

Jubilee USA Network leaders and the Religious Working Group had organized the prayer vigil for Saturday, September 29 to kick off the mass demonstrations.<sup>11</sup> The vigil was to begin at 7 p.m. and last until early the next morning. It would include times of singing and both public and contemplative prayer. These activities would be structured around the testimonies of visitors from developing nations describing the negative effects of international debt, and the policies and programs of IMF and World Bank on the lives of those in their countries. Many of these same speakers would speak during teach-ins and workshops earlier that week. In the early morning, vigil participants would then march to the un-permitted direct action, which would be taking shape outside the World Bank and IMF buildings in downtown Washington, D.C.

As noted by one organizer (Vanderslice, 2001b) the decision that vigil attendees would march to the direct action was based on concerns voiced during earlier MGJ spokes-meetings that violence might erupt between police and protesters. Some of the anarchists had suggested they would show less restraint than they had during the April 2000 protests, and police were worried that vandalism associated with other global protests would be repeated in Washington, D.C. (Santana and Fernandez, 2001).<sup>12</sup> In response to these concerns, organizers of the prayer vigil hoped that their presence would defuse possible confrontations between police and direct action activists.

**Permitted public dissent**—The P-11 working group and other organizations organized a number of permitted activities dedicated to expressing public dissent. These events included an immigrants’ rights rally as well as rallies outside branches of multinational fast food restaurants, banks, and retail stores.<sup>13</sup> In planning these events the P-11 cooperated with local authorities by using the institutionalized protest permitting process or “Public Order Management Systems” (POMS) that has grown up in Washington, D.C., since the early 1970s (see McCarthy, et al., 1999).<sup>14</sup> This is a marked contrast to the policy of “open secrecy” used by other groups to plan large-scale acts of civil disobedience discussed below.

Opening the week on September 24 was to be an immigrants' rights rally to be held outside of the Capitol. It was organized by the Mexico Solidarity Network and hoped to bring attention to the poor working conditions of immigrant workers in the United States, as well as IMF and World Bank policies that forced their migration in the first place. In another permitted event scheduled for September 25th, the Coalition of Immokalee Workers had planned to hold a rally outside a Taco Bell restaurant demanding that the food chain ensure that their contractors pay living wages to North American tomato pickers. Until the demands were met, the organizers would encourage customers to join a national boycott against the giant fast food chain (CorpWatch, 2001; Coalition of Immokalee Workers, 2002).

Labor activists from the Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees (UNITE), United Students Against Sweatshops, and Behindthelabel.org planned another protest. They would hold a march and short rallies outside of downtown Washington retail stores selling clothes made by people believed to be working under sweatshop conditions.

Environmental concerns were also to be addressed through legal public dissent. In one case, the Rainforest Action Network of San Francisco, and the American Land's Alliance of Washington, D.C., had planned a demonstration for September 26 outside a branch office of Citi-Corp. The advocacy groups would demand that the corporation stop funding logging projects in old growth forests (World Bank Bond Boycott, 2001). Likewise, the Institute for Policy Studies organized a clean air march for September 28, demanding that the World Bank promote public transportation and renewable energy projects in developing nations.

The week was to conclude with a large permitted MGJ rally and march scheduled by the P-11 working group for September 30th at the Ellipse, immediately south of the White House. Organizers, including the AFL-CIO, hoped to draw tens of thousands of participants to listen to activist speakers and musicians passionately describe the international ills generated by the World Bank and IMF. After the mass rally, protesters would then march through a corridor of union marshals along a preplanned route, past the fence and barricades surrounding the World Bank and IMF, and then back to the Ellipse. Using the POMS, police and organizers worked out details in advance so that marshals and police would keep the permitted march from combining with the civil disobedience occurring with the other major MGJ event.<sup>15</sup>

**Un-permitted public dissent**—By contrast, a working group not directly connected to larger organizations planned the un-permitted event. The direct action scheduled for September 30 hoped to force the cancellation of the World Bank and IMF meetings. Based on a belief that the policies of the World Bank and IMF were morally indefensible, participants in the direct action would engage in intentional lawbreaking to shut the meetings down. Affinity groups from around the world would take on the task of shutting

down or delaying the meetings. In order to coordinate the mass direct action and provide participating affinity groups an idea of what to expect from each other, spokes-council meetings would be held at the MGJ Convergence and Welcoming Center the four nights before the mass civil disobedience.

Organizers for the un-permitted mass direct action refused to cooperate with police in pre-protest planning and relied on a structure of “open-secrecy” in their planning. The mass direct action was intentionally organized without input from or cooperation with police. While all spokes-meetings were open to the public both before and during the MGJ week, only general plans were discussed regarding the un-permitted scenario, such as the plan to have affinity groups blockade intersections around the IMF and World Bank meetings. Final planning on how these blockades would occur was made within affinity groups among people who were well acquainted with each other, minimizing what police could actually know in advance. This reliance on structured secrecy allowed affinity groups to cooperate in general terms while also maintaining an element of surprise on the day of the direct action, and preventing police from undermining the plans through infiltration and co-optation.

While all the plans were not settled as of September 11th, the direct action would have likely included activities similar to demonstrations previously held in Seattle and Washington, D.C. If so, large numbers of affinity groups, some using mechanical devices such as lock boxes, would blockade intersections to prevent IMF and World Bank delegates from entering the World Bank Headquarters where the meetings were scheduled to occur. Some activists were planning to participate under the ACC banner and intended to engage in even greater confrontational actions.

### **The Reconfigured Roster of Events**

Because the composition of groups involved in the mobilization changed significantly, events were also affected. While the MGJ itself was cancelled, a few events continued, others were changed, and a few newly added.

#### **Pre-MGJ Events**

The pre-MGJ events were affected by travel delays and occupational solidarity with those affected by the attacks. Furthermore, new events arose out of the grassroots Washington, D.C., peace community. After September 11th, all commercial airlines were grounded for several days. As a result, the three-day Ruckus Society training camp scheduled for September 15–18 was scrapped because the San Francisco-based trainers could not travel to Washington, D.C., in time to set up their camp (Ruckus, 2002).

The AFL-CIO Blitz dramatically changed its focus to disaster relief. Since many of those injured and killed in the attacks were union members, the AFL-

CIO felt an obligation to assist with mutual aid. Relying on the infrastructure of the already-scheduled Blitz, organizers changed the focus from disseminating information about the MGJ to recruiting unionists to give blood, donate money for mutual aid funds, and to gather contact information for volunteers should another disaster occur. The MGJ activists who had planned to team up with the 200 union volunteers withdrew, perhaps because their wishes to recruit unionists for anti-war protests were met with little support from AFL-CIO organizers (Miller, 2001).

Peace and solidarity activities occurred immediately after September 11th as some organizations within the MGJ returned to their peace activism roots. The two major activities included the organizing of daily silent vigils at Dupont Circle, and a 1,000-person candlelight peace and solidarity march through Washington, D.C., neighborhoods the Friday after the attacks (Hoover, 2001).

### **MGJ and Anti-War Events**

Mobilization for Global Justice training and decision-making events were cancelled, while the educational and networking events and the prayer service continued, with significant modifications. All MGJ permitted and unpermitted protest events were also cancelled. Many of the main MGJ permitted events were replaced with anti-war events. In some cases permits granted for a cancelled MGJ event were transferred to the organizers of a new peace event.

#### ***Training and Decision Making***

Since it was decided at the emergency spokes-meeting to cancel all activist training and decision-making events, there was no reason to open the MGJ Convergence and Welcome Center. On the other hand, the smaller ACC opened its convergence center as originally planned. In the two weeks after September 11th, ACC activists argued that the attacks could be traced to violence perpetuated by global capitalism, including policies advanced by the World Bank and IMF. While unable to find a space near downtown, the ACC rented a community center in the Columbia Heights neighborhood.<sup>16</sup> This site was in close proximity to a subway station, allowing relatively easy access between the ACC Convergence Center and the newly scheduled peace and anti-war protests downtown. The ACC continued as planned with some scaling back of training, perhaps due in part to fewer people coming to town for the new protests than had promised to come for the MGJ.

#### ***Educational and Networking Events***

At the MGJ emergency spokes-meeting it was agreed that greater emphasis should be placed on educational events. Some organizers hoped that

the tragedies of September 11th might open up discussions around the causes of such animosity towards the United States. Thus, no educational and networking events were cancelled, although all were substantially changed to reflect issues of causality behind the attacks, to oppose war in Afghanistan, and to note that economic policies of the World Bank and IMF kill people just as efficiently as do terrorist attacks.

The WPC had joined as a central organizer for the Ending Global Apartheid Teach-ins. Its involvement marked a shift towards rooting the causes of the attacks in U.S. militarism and growing concern among activists about a possible war in Afghanistan. The teach-in continued although sessions were added addressing these concerns. Progressive authors like Noam Chomsky and Howard Zinn would lead discussions for the new sessions. U.S. and international speakers previously scheduled for the teach-in redirected their comments towards addressing causes of terrorism and in noting how their countries had experienced economic terrorism at the hands of the World Bank and IMF.

The People's Summit grew in significance as well and focused on describing the connections between the World Bank and IMF violence and terrorism. For example, a workshop titled "Anti-Arab Racism and Anti-Semitism in Europe and the US," was added to the schedule (MGJ, 2001k). Another workshop called "Where do we go from here?" addressed concerns among activists that the movement would be significantly reshaped by the events of September 11th.

### ***Interfaith Service***

The prayer vigil and interfaith service continued with some changes. It was decided to limit the service to the evening rather than an all-night vigil, to cancel the public march and peacekeeping, and to show solidarity with people of Middle-Eastern descent by denouncing reactionary racist attacks occurring across the country. The prayer service focused on articulating the linkages between U.S. foreign policy and international poverty. Approximately 400 people attended the service, which began with a local choir singing hymns and peace songs. This was followed by a processional and candle-lighting ritual inside the church. Later, several citizens from developing nations spoke about the ways that economic globalization promoted by U.S., World Bank, and IMF policies contributed to the violence of poverty and war experienced each day in their countries. Organizers and speakers also contended that such policies benefit the interests of elites at the expense of the world's poor, creating desperation and animosity that gives rise to terrorism. Many of the speakers gently noted that the 4,000 deaths attributed to the terrorist attacks at the time, while tragic, were nothing new in nations from the global south. One South African spokeswoman noted that millions of Africans have died from AIDS after being denied access to lifesaving drugs. Her final analysis was that



global capitalism favors large corporations through establishment of trade agreements meant to protect patents at the expense of human beings (Rowden, 2001).

## **Permitted and Un-permitted Events**

### ***Permitted Events***

All MGJ permitted events were cancelled, while two new permitted anti-war events were scheduled for the September 29–30 weekend. Cancelled events included the immigrant rights rally, the clean air march, Taco-Bell and sweatshop product retailer actions, and the mass MGJ rally and march originally planned by the P-11 working group.

In contrast to the cancelled MGJ events, the IAC scheduled its permitted protest for Saturday, September 29 at Freedom Plaza several blocks east of the White House. It was called the Act Now to Stop War & End Racism (ANSWER) rally and march. The demonstrations focused dissent on the potential war against Afghanistan, which organizers labeled as a “racist war.” The event began with a two-hour rally and concluded with a march up Pennsylvania Avenue to the Capitol. Speakers in the rally included an emergency medical technician from New York City who had lost friends in the collapse of the World Trade Center. Several thousand people participated in the march and rally. Many of the participants had come from cities on the East Coast.

Likewise, the WPC sponsored another new event, the “People’s March for Peace,” on September 30. Unlike the IAC protest from the day before, organizers relied on local networks and drew many Washington area activists. The People’s March for Peace began at Malcolm X Park in Colombia Heights. After a rally emphasizing empathy for those affected by the attacks and suggesting the need to avoid further bloodshed by not going to war, protesters marched along a pre-arranged route through Dupont Circle and down Embassy Row. The march stopped briefly at Sheridan Circle to recognize and mourn violence against immigrants. The park was the site where a Kurdish man had been killed a year earlier, apparently because of his Middle-Eastern appearance. Marchers then retraced their steps back to Malcolm X Park in the late afternoon.

### ***Un-permitted Events***

No previously planned, un-permitted MGJ events occurred as planned. The ACC did, however, change their plans for direct action into a new anti-war rally featuring a flag burning followed by an illegal march to World Bank headquarters. At 9 a.m. September 29, approximately 1,000 activists, many dressed in black and wearing bandanas over their faces, converged in a park near Union Station. Nearly as many police dressed in full riot gear were

waiting to meet them. After activists ceremoniously burned an American flag, police told the organizers to disband or risk arrest for unlawful assembly. After a short stand-off, police negotiating through intermediaries from the Lawyers Guild agreed to allow an un-permitted march to Edward R. Morrow Park just outside the World Bank. Protesters flanked by columns of body-armored police made the two-mile march together. Police vehicles led the unusual procession of black-clad youth, while cross streets at every intersection were blocked with police cars. This provided a backup should the crowd break through the corridor of police on foot and ensured that the march would continue moving towards the agreed-upon destination.

Scuffles between police and ACC activists slowed the march at times. Eventually, protesters arrived outside the World Bank, where they found hundreds of Metro Police, Secret Service, National Park, and other law enforcement officials surrounding a perimeter of steel barricades. Authorities forced the marchers into the large human corral where they detained them for over an hour. The crowd was eventually herded several blocks to Freedom Plaza where the IAC was holding its permitted rally. While there were rumors that members of the ACC and IAC harbored hostilities towards each other, there were no incidents at the rally or during the IAC march back towards the Capitol. In all, the crowd numbered somewhere near 10,000. By 4 p.m. the independently organized ACC and IAC events ended at the same park where the ACC march had begun earlier that morning. The crowd slowly dispersed as activists walked to the Union Station subway to board trains back to the ACC Welcome Center, home, or temporary lodging.

### **Discussion**

The MGJ protests were significantly affected by the September 11th terrorist attacks. As noted, most of the original protest events were cancelled. This was in part due to the withdrawal of sponsorships and endorsements for the MGJ, including the withholding of important resources by core supporters. Strains were also created within the coalition, especially between groups that at times experience conflicting interests in other settings, such as unions and environmental groups. Moreover, tensions emerged around the more radical groups, like ACC, because of its decision to continue with the flag burning and an un-permitted march to the World Bank and IMF Headquarters on September 29. The events of September 11th also generated new activities and the re-distribution of resources to such activities as disaster relief, solidarity actions, and three additional protest events.

As discussed above, a number of organizations who had worked for months on the MGJ events quickly distanced themselves from the MGJ or dropped out entirely after September 11th. Organizations that withdrew from the planned protests most quickly or became notably less involved tended to

be those whose primary or core goals were not directly related to those of the MGJ. For example, labor unions and environmental groups withdrew quickly, while groups like 50 Years Is Enough, World Bank Boycott, Essential Action, and ACC remained actively involved although in sometimes different capacities. The AFL-CIO and Sierra Club were core sponsors and organizers of MGJ before September 11th. Neither organization had been similarly involved in Seattle in 1999 or in subsequent global justice events (Gillham, 2003). For each organization, the MGJ represented a relatively recent extension of its issue repertoire and relatively new public affiliations with some P-11 organizers and sponsors. The MGJ represented new issues for both groups and their involvement had also been carefully crafted as a way to educate their large and somewhat diverse constituencies about globalization and its relationship to long-standing concerns of their core constituents. These goals could not have been accomplished in the post-September 11th environment. Continuing to try would have created internal confusion and controversy among their members.

Such groups also withdrew to preserve their credibility with the general public by avoiding de-legitimizing affiliations. The P-11 organizations had taken great care to clearly differentiate themselves and the permitted events they were sponsoring from more radical groups and un-permitted and controversial actions. In the immediate aftermath of September 11th it became quite apparent that such distinctions carefully and painstakingly crafted over months of planning would be completely lost on the press, the general public, and perhaps most importantly upon their own members. Without the attacks they could have successfully distanced themselves from the confrontational actions of the ACC. But because of September 11th, mainstream labor and environmental organizations would likely have been lumped together with the ACC and IAC, risking substantial loss of legitimacy with the general public.

Groups like the AFL-CIO and Sierra Club withdrew, in part, because the goals they had for MGJ involvement could no longer be accomplished, and to avoid de-legitimizing affiliations that would have undercut their public support and offended large segments of their members. More radical and confrontational groups like the ACC remained involved and continued with their planned actions for similar reasons. Their ability to accomplish their goal of disrupting the World Bank and IMF meetings and symbolically communicating their utter antipathy for global capitalist institutions could both still be accomplished in the post-attack situation. In fact, the post-September 11th environment may have been even more conducive. Moreover, following through with their planned actions offered an even greater opportunity to confirm their radical stance to their constituents and members. Small, radical groups like the ACC maintain legitimacy with their own members precisely by demonstrating their antipathy for mainstream

economic, political, and cultural institutions. If the ACC had withdrawn after September 11th, it would have been widely criticized from within for “selling out” and many of its own members would have questioned the ACC’s legitimacy and perhaps ended their affiliation with the group. Thus, confrontational anti-war and anti-capitalist groups were endeared to their narrow, radical constituencies by protesting in the immediate aftermath of the attacks. Such actions preserved their legitimacy just as withdrawal did for groups like the AFL-CIO and the Sierra Club.

### Conclusion

The peace movement, whose initial re-emergence is captured above, has since gained momentum with over 120 rallies or demonstrations held nationwide on December 9, 2002, in conjunction with World Human Rights Day (Carr, 2003), and a series of mass anti-war actions in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, and other cities over the Martin Luther King Day holiday weekend in 2003. At the time of this writing, peace groups were coordinating “penny purchase” actions at gas stations around the country in conjunction with the upcoming State of the Union Address to demand that the U.S. not attack Iraq to gain control over its oil. Similarly, the global justice movement, while slowed, has remained active, planning for the next round of World Bank and IMF meetings. Moreover, advocates on a range of other issues continue to protest and demonstrate, despite continued national security concern and large-scale military deployments to the Middle East, as recent demonstrations on the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* decision by both pro-choice and pro-life advocates makes clear. The events chronicled above clearly altered one episode of contention in the ongoing global justice movement, yet the issues of concern persist and the movement continues to mobilize.

For decades disaster preparedness and response activities have been relatively non-politicized. Yet, on the eve of the formation of the cabinet-level Department of Homeland Security, it remains unclear how extensively the disaster community will become involved in preparing for and responding to the kinds of national security threats posed by terrorist attacks. What seems clearer is that in the future disaster preparedness and response may no longer enjoy relatively a-politicized operations. To the extent that disaster and emergency response agencies become associated with perceived curtailments of civil rights and government intrusions on privacy, they may well find that their policies and actions become the object of the sorts of public protest or political contention examined here.

## Notes

1. One author had been researching the evolving coalitions behind a series of contentious anti-globalization protests since before their emergence to public attention in Seattle in 1999. His research into the series of protest events being planned and organized in Washington, D.C., in September 2001 was well underway when the terrorist attacks occurred on September 11th.
2. AFL-CIO is the largest federation of labor unions in the United States. During the last 10 years the federation has begun to reemphasize workplace organizing and political advocacy in response to economic globalization and global free trade agreements. Jubilee USA Network is a coalition of religious and non-religious organizations working for international debt cancellation. Saint Stephens is a Washington, D.C., congregation long known for its involvement in social justice causes since the Civil Rights movement. Activism on progressive causes by the AFSC reaches back to Abolitionist support for the Underground Railroad and has extended consistently through the 20th century.
3. The United States with its allies formed these institutions near the end of World War II. Each was to perform a specific task related to rebuilding war-torn Europe. The Bank was to lend capital for rebuilding national infrastructures. The IMF loaned money for restoring banks and improved fiscal management of European nations. The General Agreement of Trade and Tariffs (GATT), from which the WTO was later formed, provided oversight to encourage free trade across Western Europe. It was thought that the creation of these institutions would prevent future war because it was assumed that nations who traded together would not go to war against each other. After Europe was rebuilt, rather than be dismantled, the institutions redirected their focus to poverty reduction in developing nations, primarily through the provision of loans and the management of infrastructure projects like building dams and roadways.
4. The ACC is a network of anarchist activists formed primarily for the week of protests. It differs from a coalition in that those involved in the ACC regularly share information, without actually maintaining a formalized organizational structure. Instead, the ACC is a loose affiliation of individuals and smaller collectives from around the world. Most of those who endorsed the ACC were from the eastern United States. The ACC is linked electronically through websites and discussion lists with other anarchist organizations including those involved in protests in Seattle. While there are no formal leaders in the ACC, the individuals and collectives that create and maintain the network's web pages and list-servs are essential actors and appear to be leaders by default. There was much organizational overlap between the ACC and MGJ, though some observers wanted to make a distinction between the two. For some, the ACC represented revolution, whereas the MGJ worked for reform of the World Bank and IMF. According to the MGJ website, this distinction was artificial and promoted in part by police efforts to divide the movement. The MGJ and ACC intentionally played

down their differences to provide a unified front (MGJ, 2001d). For clarity, we treat the MGJ as the primary coalition organizing the protests and the ACC as a more radical and relatively small member of this coalition.

5. Essential Action, a Washington, D.C., clearinghouse for trade and international debt information, is part of Public Citizen, a Washington, D.C.-based public interest advocacy organization founded by Ralph Nader.
6. The ACC issued a similar call directed primarily towards radical activists in the Baltimore/Washington metropolitan area. They participated in the MGJ planning and established their own parallel spokes-council and working groups in order to conduct independent actions during the MGJ week (DC Indymedia, 2002; ACC, 2001c).
7. “Members only lists” require a moderator to add potential members to the list. This allows the moderator to screen potential members, adding an element of control over who may join the list. Whether or not such screening actually occurs or acts as a deterrent is unclear. Regardless, organizers claim that no “covert” discussion occurred over e-mail. This openness reflects a central value for many in the global justice movement and is the basis for their critique of the World Bank and IMF’s closed meetings (MGJ, 2001c).
8. This meeting occurred immediately after a silent vigil held outside of the AFL-CIO headquarters for the families and friends of those killed in the attacks, which included 634 AFL-CIO members (Cavanaugh, 2001).
9. In 1991 during the peace movement’s mobilization against the U.S. military buildup in the Persian Gulf, two “warring” coalitions formed to oppose U.S. intervention, culminating in rival “national” demonstrations on successive weekends in Washington, D.C. The IAC was a leading group in the much smaller of the two coalitions, which took a highly controversial pro-Saddam Hussein position. By contrast, the much larger and broader-based peace movement coalition refused to cooperate with the IAC and publicly denounced its position (Marullo and Edwards, 1997). We note that at the time of this writing (January 2003), this same split appears to be developing in the re-emergent peace movement as a larger and broader-based contingent of groups opposing a U.S. invasion of Iraq moves to disassociate itself from the more controversial positions of the IAC and ANSWER.
10. The strategy to interrupt the meetings was successfully used in Seattle in 1999, and to a lesser extent in Washington, D.C., in April 2000. In response, police planned to install a 9-foot-high fence around the World Bank, IMF, and White House (Fernandez, 2001).
11. Their decision to hold the vigil the night before the protests was based in part on the success of the Jubilee Northwest gathering the night before the protests

against the WTO in Seattle in 1999. Upwards of 10,000 people participated in that event.

12. The possibility for confrontation may have been further increased since police had decided to construct a security fence around the World Bank and IMF buildings. MGJ organizers believed the fence would create additional frustration and anger among some demonstrators regarding perceived violations of the First Amendment, and might also generate a siege mentality among police themselves (MGJ, 2001j).
13. This same strategy was used during the WTO protests in Seattle. Not only did activists target the WTO meetings, they also held public rallies outside of Weyerhaeuser and Monsanto offices demanding that the corporations end unsustainable logging practices and the development of genetically modified organisms, respectively. According to Pellow (2001), target expansion to non-government entities like corporations is a relatively new phenomenon.
14. Such “permitted events” are completely legal and usually entirely non-confrontational. Even when acts of civil disobedience are performed, their timing and location are often coordinated with law enforcement. Many argue that the POMS produces positive outcomes for all involved. Protesters are able to express their dissent, often for a media audience, without concern that police will end their show early. Police on the other hand, know what to expect from protesters and are thus able to manage protests in ways that reduce the risk of having to use force, or expending large amounts of money in police overtime and other expenses.
15. Police reports suggest that one of the main failures in Seattle resulted in not keeping permitted and un-permitted protesters apart (McCarthy and Associates, 2000).
16. This location was used the previous year by the MGJ after its original convergence zone was closed down in a pre-emptive police raid.

## References

- Anti-Capitalist Convergence. 2001a. "Donate to the ACC." <http://www.abolishthebank.org/en/donate.html>.
- Anti-Capitalist Convergence. 2001b. "General Information Packet." <http://www.abolishthebank.org>.
- Anti-Capitalist Convergence. 2001c. "Anti-Capitalist Convergence." <http://www.abolishthebank.org/en/index.htm>.
- American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. 2001a. "Broad Coalition to Release Joint Principles and Plans for Sept. 30 March and Rally for Global Justice." Press release September 7. Common Dreams News Center. <http://www.commondreams.org/news2001/0907-07.htm>.
- American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. 2001b. "Cancellation of Press Conference Today." Press release September 11. Common Dreams News Center. <http://www.commondreams.org/news2001/0911-01.htm>.
- American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. 2001c. "Statement by John J. Sweeney On September IMF/World Bank." Press release September 14. <http://www.aflcio.org/publ/press2001/pr0914.htm>.
- American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations. 2002. "Sept 11—Remember, Reflect and Recommit." [http://www.aflcio.org/sept\\_11/index.htm](http://www.aflcio.org/sept_11/index.htm).
- Carr, Jen. 2003. Interview with Jen Carr of Peace Action. Conducted January 26.
- Cavanaugh, Mike. 2001. Interview with Mike Cavanaugh, AFL-CIO. Conducted September 16.
- Coalition of Immokalee Workers. 2002. "Boycott the Bell." [http://ciw-online.org/tz\\_site-revision/home/home.html](http://ciw-online.org/tz_site-revision/home/home.html).
- CorpWatch. 2001. "S-25: Show Taco Bell What Democracy Looks Like!" Bulletin board post July 25. <http://www.corpwatch.org/bulletins/PBD.jsp?articleid=410>.
- Danaher, Kevin, ed. 1994. *50 Years is Enough: The Case Against the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*. Boston: South End Press.
- Danaher, Kevin and Roger Burbach, eds. 2000. *Globalize This! The Battle Against the World Trade Organization and Corporate Rule*. Monroe, ME: Common Courage Press.
- DC Indymedia. 2001. "Media Care Package Sept. 21—Oct. 1, 2001."



DC Indymedia. 2002. "Ocotber RACB Intiative [sic]: Revolutionaries: Organize and Converge on Washington DC!" Discussion list correspondence dated May 6, 2001. [http://dc.indymedia.org/display.php3?article\\_id=8684&group=webcast](http://dc.indymedia.org/display.php3?article_id=8684&group=webcast).

Essential Action. 2001a. "Actions at IMF/WB Annual Meetings, Sept. 28—Oct. 4 2001—Washington." Discussion list correspondence dated March 16, 2001. <http://lists.essential.org/pipermail/stop-imf/2001q1/000382.html>.

Essential Action. 2001b. "Ending Global Apartheid Calendar." Ending Global Apartheid Organizing Packet distributed before September 11th.

Essential Action. 2002. "Tonight at 7PM—MGJ Education meeting!" <http://lists.mutualaid.org/pipermail/mgj-discuss/2002-July/000804.html>.

Fernandez, Manny. 2001. "Globalization's Diverse Foes: Wide Range of Protesters Unites Against IMF, World Bank." *Washington Post* (September 5): B01.

Fernandez, Manny and Paul Blustein. 2001. "IMF, World Bank Move Meeting Site." *Washington Post* (July 11): B01.

Gillham, Patrick F. 2003. "Social Movement Organization Structure and Action: Three Contentious Episodes in the Global Justice Movement." Ph.D. dissertation. Boulder, CO: University of Colorado.

Gillham, Patrick F. and Gary T. Marx. 2000. "Complexity and Irony in Policing and Protesting: The World Trade Organization in Seattle." *Social Justice* 27(2): 212–236.

Grusky, Sarah. 2001. Phone interview with Sarah Grusky. Conducted September 12.

Homes Not Jails. 2001. "Homes Not Jails DC." <http://www.homesnotjails.org/dc/index.htm>.

Hoover, Betty. 2001. Interview with Betty Hoover, AFSC, Washington, D.C.. Conducted September 18.

Jubilee USA Network. 2002. "Jubilee USA Network Front Page." <http://www.jubileeusa.org>.

Mander, Jerry and Edward Goldsmith, eds. 1996. *The Case Against the Global Economy: And for a Turn Toward the Local*. San Francisco: Sierra Club Books.

Marullo, Sam and Bob Edwards. 1997. "Persevering for Peace: Organizational Survival and the Transformation of the Peace Movement, 1988–1992." Pp. 181–202 in Thomas R. Rochon and David S. Meyer, eds., *Coalitions and Political Movements: The Lessons of the Nuclear Freeze*. Boulder and London: Lynne-Rienner Press.

McAdam, Doug. 1996. "Political Opportunities: Conceptual Origins, Current Problems, Future Directions." Pp. 23–40 in Doug McAdam, John D. McCarthy and Mayer N. Zald, eds., *Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilizing Structures, and Cultural Framings*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McAdam, Doug, Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly. 2001. *Dynamic of Contention*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

McCarthy, John D., Clark McPhail, and John Crist. 1999. "The Diffusion and Adoption of Public Order Management Systems." Pp. 71–94 in Donatella della Porta, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Dieter Rucht, eds., *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*. New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc.

McCarthy, Ronald M., and Associates. 2000. "An Independent Review of the World Trade Organization Conference Disruptions in Seattle, Washington November 29—December 3, 1999." Final Report.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001a. "Call to Action!"  
<http://www.september30.org/s30/news.cfm?ID=76>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001b. "Frequently Asked Questions: Who is the Mobilization for Global Justice?"  
<http://www.september30.org/s30/knowledgebase.cfm?section=About>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001c. "Frequently Asked Questions: What Does the Mobilization for Global Justice Stand For?"  
<http://www.september30.org/s30/knowledgebase.cfm?section=About>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001d. "Frequently Asked Questions: What's Your Relationship to the Anti-Capitalist Convergence?"  
<http://www.september30.org/s30/knowledgebase.cfm?section=About>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001e. "Affinity Group Information and Resources." <http://www.september30.org/s30/feature.cfm?ID=153>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001f. "Working Group Contacts." <http://www.september30.org/s30/feature.cfm?ID=9>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001g. "Outreach Working Group." <http://www.september30.org/s30/feature.cfm?ID=39>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001h. "Mobilization for Global Justice Cancels its Call for Street Demonstrations Against World Bank/IMF at End of September." Press release September 16.  
<http://www.september30.org/s30/feature.cfm?ID=208>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001i. "Announcing Global Justice Action Camp! 9/14 – 9/18." <http://www.september30.org/s30/news.cfm?ID=160>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001j. "8/17 Press Statement – Fence Represents Symbol of Repression and Division." Press release, August 17. <http://www.september30.org/s30/news.cfm?ID=97>.

Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition. 2001k. "People's Summit: To Globalize Justice and Peace." <http://www.september30.org/s30/feature.cfm?ID=218>.

Miller, Rachael. 2001. Interview with Rachael Miller of Metropolitan Washington, D.C. Labor Council. Conducted September 16.

Murray, Frank J. 2001. "INFAMY; Hijacked Planes Destroy World Trade Center, Ram Pentagon." *The Washington Post* (September 12): A1.

Pellow, David. 2001. "Environmental Justice and the Political Process: Movements, Corporations, and the State." *Sociological Quarterly* 42(1): 47–67.

Rowden, Rick. 2001. "Prayer Vigil video compiled by Rick Rowden."

Ruckus. 2002. Personal telephone correspondence with Nisha Anand of Ruckus Society. August 5.

Santana, Arthur and Paul Blustein. 2001. "IMF Trims DC Session To 2 Days; Police to Seek \$38 Million in Federal Aid for Security." *The Washington Post* (August 11): A01.

Santana, Arthur and Manny Fernandez. 2001. "Police Await 100,000 Protesters." *Washington Post* (August 18): B01.

Thomas, Janet. 2000. *The Battle in Seattle: The Story Behind and Beyond the WTO Demonstrations*. Golden, CO: Fulcrum Publishing.

Vanderslice, Mara. 2001a. Interview with Mara Vanderslice of Jubilee USA Network. Conducted September 15.

Vanderslice, Mara. 2001b. Interview with Mara Vanderslice of Jubilee USA Network. Conducted September 29.

Welton, Neva and Linda Wolf. 2001. *Global Uprising: Confronting the Tyrannies of the 21st Century*. Gabriola Island, BC: New Society Publishers.

World Bank Bond Boycott. 2001. "RALLY AGAINST CITIGROUP: The World's Largest and Most Destructive Financial Institution." E-list announcement made September 10. [bank-boycott@yahoogroups.com](mailto:bank-boycott@yahoogroups.com).

### **Acknowledgments**

We thank two anonymous reviewers for helpful comments on an earlier draft of this paper. We also thank the University of Colorado's Natural Hazards Center and the National Science Foundation for support through the Quick Response grant program.

Correspondence should be directed to Patrick Gillham, Department of Sociology, 327 UCB, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO 80309-0327; e-mail: [Gillham@colorado.edu](mailto:Gillham@colorado.edu).

### Glossary of Organizational Acronyms and Names

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Name of Organization</b>
ACC	Anti-Capitalist Convergence
AFL-CIO	American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations
AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
ANSWER	Act Now to Stop War & End Racism march emerged after September 11th attacks and sponsored by IAC.
DAN	Direct Action Network, the activists responsible for organizing much of the direct action that paralyzed Seattle during the WTO protests. Planning for the September 2001 protests was modeled on the success of DAN.
Global Justice Movement	Refers to a broad, international social movement opposed to neo-liberal trade policies and their consequences
IAC	The International Action Committee organized the ANSWER Rally and March after September 11th attacks.
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MGJ	Mobilization for Global Justice was one contentious episode within the broader global justice movement, which was originally scheduled for September 23—October 4, 2001, in Washington, D.C.
MGJ Coalition	Mobilization for Global Justice Coalition was a diverse coalition of social movement organizations that had formed temporarily to sponsor and plan the MGJ.
MGJ Coalition Spokes-Council	A democratic, deliberative body comprising working groups and formal organizations involved in the MGJ Coalition. Meetings are open to all, but speaking and decision making are limited to members.
MLC	Metropolitan Labor Council is a Washington, D.C., chapter of AFL-CIO
P-11	“Permitted Eleven” refers to 11 organizations that had received demonstration permits for a series of legal MGJ related events.

POMS	Public Order Management Systems
SMO	A social movement organization is any named group or organization that pursues the social change goals of a social movement. SMOs include conventional issue advocacy organizations, community-based groups, church-related organizations, as well as radical groups using confrontational, direct action tactics.
UNITE	Union of Needletrades, Industrial and Textile Employees
WPC	Washington Peace Center
WTO	World Trade Organization