

Main Identity

From: Ravi Narayan <chcravi_narayan@yahoo.co.in>
To: Community Health Cell <sochara@vsnl.com>
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 CHC11 PM
Subject: Re: PHM Newsbrief - lcttr from Prem

Dear Gopi, Please send all the listed ASF repts and Chander's compilations to Prem who can make the necessary extracts. Tell him that the meetings in the USA so far are going extremely well though they are very hectic We finished with the AiD group at around 11.30pm last night. Trust all else is well at CHC.

Thelma and Ravi

Community Health Cell <sochara@vsnl.com> wrote:

----- Original Message -----

From: Community Health Cell
To:
Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 CHC2 PM
Subject: Fw: For Gopi

>
> ----- Original Message -----
> From: hariprem
> To:
> Cc :
> Sent: Wednesday, March 05, 2003 CHC9 AM
> Subject: For Gopi

>
>
>> My dear Gopi,
>>
>> I have been given the task of putting together the PHMm Newsbrief which
>> will then be published from Dhaka by Qasem.
>>
>> I was supposed to have received a report on ASF, Hyderabad from the
>> Bangalore office for inclusion in the Newsbrief. So far I have not
>> received
>> it. I don't know who is supposed to have done this . Will you check with
>> Ravi, where ever he is at the moment, and tell me?
>>
>> Warm regards and thanks
>>
>> Prem
>> http://www.ddsl.net

① Tobacco related:

350: E. Chander / Tobacco / ✓ 1. ASF side light
workshop and seminars / ASF / ✓ 2. ASF Tobacco
Article
3) Tobacco
Statement

① blma bta report / Prem forward
350/E/Chander / PHM / Support to PHM /

② blma PHM - ASF blma bta workshop report

3/6/03 ✓ 4) Tobacco
Workshop...

Rb
6/2/03

> Dear Prem,

> Greetings from Community Health Cell

> Shall get in touch with Ravi and get back to you.

> With regards,

> Gopi

From : Gopi

To : Ravi

③ Environment workshop report

850/2 / Chander / PHM / Support to PHM

1) Statement of Concern

2) Handout for Tatha Learning

④ PHM Forward

C : Chander : PHM / Support to PHM

document: PHM Forward.

⑤ CHCJ ASF feed back

A toxic-free world is possible!

ENVIRONMENT & HEALTH: A PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN
A Seminar at the Asian Social Forum, Hyderabad

Facilitated by: Community Health Cell, Bangalore

Co-Organisers: Greenpeace & CHES (Community Health & Environment Skill Share) Network

3rd January, 2003: 2.30 pm to 6.30 pm

Session One		
2.30 – 2.40 p.m.	Introduction to the Seminar, background and objectives	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ravi Narayan (CHC)
2.40 – 4.25 p.m.	Expert Panel – 1 Chairperson: L.C. Jain (India)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Sarojini Rengam (Malaysia) ▪ Parasuraman (India/Thailand)
	Introduction of the Panel (5 min)	
	Testimonies (10-12 minutes each) Animated by visuals (2 min video)	Industrial estates/disasters: 1. Eloor – V. Jose 2. Doddaballapur – Shivanna 3. Cuddalore – Nizamuddin 4. Vellore – Gopal 5. Patancheru – Vimalamma 6. Bhopal – Champa Devi Shukla 7. Kodaikanal – Raj Mohammed
	Comments by the Expert Panel followed by discussion (15 min)	
Session Two		
4.30 – 5.45 p.m.	Expert Panel – 2 Chairperson: Hasan Mansur (India)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Qasem Chowdhury (Bangladesh) ▪ Romy Quijano (Philippines)
	Introduction of the Panel (5 min)	
	Testimonies (10-12 minutes each) Animated by visuals (2 minutes)	1. Jadugoda – Ghanshyam Birulee (Uranium Mining) 2. Nellore – Siddamma (Mica Mining) 3. Angul – Lakhmidhar Sethi (mining/ powerplants) 4. Sukhinda – Bijay Prusthi (Stone Crushing) 5. Sukhinda – Sambhari Ho (Chromite mining) 6. Warangal – Jagadeeshwar (pesticides)
	Comments by the Expert Panel followed by discussion (15 min)	
6.15 – 6.30 p.m.	Evolving a collective statement of concern and collective action	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Ananth (Green Peace)

CHC is a voluntary health organisation and community health resource centre based in Bangalore. It is also an advocacy group working closely with the governments and communities to improve health care and access to health care. CHC is involved in training individuals to become health workers so that communities at the grassroots are empowered.

Greenpeace is an environmental NGO. In India the organisation works on the issues of Toxics, Genetic Engineering and Renewable Energy. The organization campaigns, using non-violent creative action, scientific research and education to influence governments and people to work towards a just, safer, cleaner and greener future.

CHES is a national collective of people, communities and groups working against toxic pollution created by a range of unsafe and unsustainable activities (mining, industrial estates, waste dumping, pesticides, tanneries, radiation etc.).

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1. Eloor, Kerala (Industrial Pollution)

Eloor, situated beside river Puriyar in Kerala is seriously threatened by many hazardous industrial effluents emerging from nearby factories. There are around 250 factories here, 125 of which are chemical factories. Some of the more prominent ones are FACT, IRE, HIL, CMRL and TCC. The occupational health status of most workers is a grave concern. Biotic communities in and around the river are imperiled, reflected in the extinction of many plant, butterfly and fish species. The criminal practices of the companies in this largest industrial area of Kerala are jeopardizing the sources of drinking water and food of the communities. For the last 15 years, the struggle for a toxic-free existence has been on in the Eloor-Edayar belt. Local communities have undertaken health studies as well as scientific sampling of water and soil to prove the crimes perpetrated by the industries. Very recently, a River-Keeper has been introduced for Penyar, to patrol this area and monitor pollution.

2. Doddballapur, Karnataka (Industrial Pollution)

The town of Doddballapur and its adjoining villages in Karnataka, an hour's drive from Bangalore, have been facing severe environmental problems, visibly so in their ground water, due to industrial pollution. This is the result of illegal effluent pipelines and effluents being bored deep into the ground. Of the lot "GOGO Exports", a company in the business of dye making takes credit or rather discredit for this. Drinking water near the GOGO factory for a radius of almost 4 kilometres has been rendered non-consumable. Asthma, skin problems and deformities are being reported from the area, linked to the contamination and there is an urgent need for a proper health assessment. The area is part of the Mysore-Bangalore industrial corridor that the government is carefully nurturing through many incentives and schemes.

3. Vellore, Tamil Nadu (Pollution mainly from Tanneries)

Vellore district has about 300-odd tanneries located there and accounts for around 70% of the country's leather production. Before 1996, there used to be 570 units in 5 towns within a stretch of eighty kilometres along the river. These units would use 47 litres of water for every kilo of leather that they processed. In the Palar river basin region, about 35,000-40,000 hectares of land turned fallow and the groundwater polluted. In 1998, when the local campaign built up strong opposition and filed a case, there was a verdict to close down those units without treatment plans. The Supreme Court set up the "Loss of ecology authority" to look at the loss to the farmers and fix compensation. This authority, for the first time in the country, fixed compensation farmer-wise as well as apportioned the liability between different units, at a total of 30 crores of rupees. 8 crores of the compensation collected from the units is now being distributed amongst the impacted. Meanwhile, the workers in the units face several health problems - skin diseases, asthma, respiratory problems, cancer, infertility, TB etc., are reported. In fact, Vellore has a large specialized skin hospital to treat mostly tannery workers.

4. Cuddalore, Tamil Nadu (Industrial Pollution)

Cuddalore has been a hub of chemical industries ever since the State Industries Promotion Corporation decided to promote chemical industries in Tamil Nadu. To date, there are around 50 chemical industries in this sector alone. Multinational companies like Bayer, SPIC and others have been releasing their untreated effluents into the water bodies in the vicinity. The eco-toxicity of these effluents is apparent in the number of fish that got killed in the river when the effluents are released. There have been no systematic scientific studies taken up to assess the health impacts or other impacts of this criminal polluting behaviour of the companies.

5. Patancheru, Andhra Pradesh (Industrial Pollution)

Around 400 industrial units are located in this industrial area just outside Hyderabad in Andhra Pradesh, many of which are chemical units. It is common knowledge that most of the units do not treat their effluents and either dump them openly or inject them into the ground. Studies have revealed very high levels of mercury, arsenic, manganese, nickel etc. in the water and soil of the area. Around 30 villages in the vicinity are affected, including fourteen small tanks (*cheruvus*). There has been a noticeable increase in incidence of respiratory diseases, cancer, epilepsy, paraplegia and spontaneous abortions in women in the area. Arsenic poisoning, reflected in hyperkeratosis and high prevalence of contact dermatitis is also reported. High numbers of cattle deaths are also recorded in the area.

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6. Bhopal, Madhya Pradesh (Industrial Disaster)

Bhopal is now the biggest symbol of industrial disasters and crimes in the world. While 8000 people got killed during the terrible night between the 2nd and 3rd of December 1984 and the subsequent few days, the death toll to date has been around 20,000 with several thousand more dying a slow painful death due to the effects of the deadly gases that spewed out of the Union Carbide plant. There are an estimated 120,000 people still suffering from many ailments and illnesses, many of them rendered unfit for earning a livelihood and for leading a normal healthy life. The children born to gas-exposed parents are also affected and studies point out to their stunted growth and abnormalities. To make things worse, the Carbide-Dow facility continues to poison the lives of around 20,000 people to this day, due to the toxic chemicals lying in the factory premises and the consequent contaminated water and soil in the vicinity. Drinking water sources have been contaminated in the area and survivors' organizations had to struggle very hard for the contamination issue to be even acknowledged by the government. The campaign efforts are focused on getting Dow Chemical to take on its liabilities.

7. Kodaikanal (Mercury poisoning)

Hindustan Lever Limited's (a 51% subsidiary of multinational Unilever) thermometer factory has been responsible for shocking levels of contamination over the last 18 years in and around Kodaikanal in Tamil Nadu. Contamination levels in the environs of the Shola forest, were measured at 600-800 times the permissible limits in the soil! The Company initially however claimed that the loss of mercury to the environment was only 559 kg in all, which would not impact the environment. Later reports from the company claimed 1000 kilos of mercury loss, while independent calculations showed nearly 30 tonnes of mercury waste to have been dumped into the surrounds. The company's practice of dumping mercury bearing waste glass has also been well-documented. Strong campaigns forced the closure of the factory. HLL has been extremely callous with regard to their workers' health. The workers were exposed to unacceptable mercury vapor levels and their health reports demonstrate this: persistent and visible problems such as bleeding gums, skin patches, eye irritations etc. were not even noted in their medical records. Newborns have congenital heart problems, it is being discovered. Kidney problems are also commonly reported.

8. Jadugoda, Jharkhand (Uranium Mining)

Jadugoda in Jharkhand is experiencing a corporate crime that would have few other parallels in our time. The main culprit that has irreparably damaged the communities and their environs in this area is the Uranium Corporation of India. Jadugoda has India's only productive uranium mines - three active mines, and one newly opened in November this year. Displacement is a much-experienced phenomenon for the people here. The communities here are exposed to radiation from the mines and waste which include known carcinogenic agents. The company engages in such criminal practices as using radio-active waste for land fills and building roads, as well as allowing innocent people to use it for construction purposes. The Corporation has also built several tailing ponds to store the waste, some of which are already saturated. The radio-active elements which are being left behind will continue to be active for tens of thousands of years and affect all living forms in the area. Jadugoda is a great catastrophe waiting to be discovered and halted.

9. Angul, Orissa (Mining, Thermal Power Plants)

Talcher-Angul is a major coal mining and industrial area of the country, situated in Orissa. There are thermal power plants, aluminium companies, fertilizer companies and coal mines in the area - the dubious distinction of the area is that it houses the biggest aluminium company - NALCO and the biggest power plant in Asia: NTPC Talcher. Polluted water from the mines are pumped into nearby water bodies by many of these companies including the River Brahmini, even as productive agricultural land is being rendered useless by these same companies. More than 3000 acres of agricultural land has been diverted into ashponds. Further, dust from the mines and fly ash from the NTPC plants pollute the air, causing lung and respiratory diseases in the human population there (fibrosis, bronchitis and pneumonitis are reported). NALCO is the latest culprit on the scene. The ashpond breach on December 31st 2000, which affected more than 29 villages in a 20-kilometre radius, is a clear illustration of the great hazard of the situation here.

10. Sukhinda, Orissa (Chromite Mining & Stone crushing)

The chromite ore mines in the Sukhinda valley exploit the largest deposit of precious chromium in Asia. The mountains of red sand outside the Sukhinda chromium mines in Orissa - eleven of them in operation now - are far from natural. It is laterite (overburden) left over after chromium has been extracted from it. The

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overburden (of about 70 million tonnes of stockpiles) has become an environmental problem in the area with chromium traces seeping into the water-table and poisoning it. These mines are the deepest open cast mines in India. The water released from those mines contains trivalent and hexavalent chromium and pollutes ground water as well as River Damsala, which is the source of drinking water and irrigation for nearly 55,000 people. Ensuing illnesses include skin diseases, liver and intestinal diseases. Air pollution further aggravates the problem and is responsible for many respiratory diseases found in the area. The Sukhinda mines were earlier leased to TISCO (upto around 2000 hectares) and in the early 1990s when the lease ended, the Central government split the lease amongst five players: the Tatas, the Mittals, the Jindals, Facor and IMFA.

Operation of stone crushers and black granite quarries in Jaipur district created not only air, water and soil pollution but also fierce sound pollution and induced vibrations. Diseases and deaths are rampant amongst the workers of these units who are usually unorganized migrant workers from tribal districts like Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj). There are nearly fifty villages which have been badly affected because of this activity of 500 crusher units and around 50 granite quarries. Usual diseases resulting from these crushers and quarries are silicosis, asthma, skin diseases and TB. Further, livelihood sources are also affected. For instance, around 10,000 acres of land has been affected. Dharmashala tehsil is particularly badly affected. The larger companies engaged in this activity in the area are L & T, Gammon India, Agrawal Group, Mahashakti Pvt. Ltd. etc.

11. Warangal, Andhra Pradesh (Pesticides)

Warangal district in the dryland region of Andhra Pradesh is emerging as one of the main cotton growing areas in the country next to Guntur district. Last year, cotton was sown in an area estimated to be more than 250,000 acres. But the low productivity and economic returns has been the cause of distress, suicides and deaths of farmers. Cotton is a crop that has become synonymous with pests and pesticides, which result in high investments and high debts, with returns not matching the investments. Last season, over 600 metric tons of pesticides were used in Warangal district, it is estimated. The adverse effects of chemical agriculture on environment are well known. But the full impact of its effects on human health is being manifested in recent years in Warangal. Pesticide exposure and spraying of pesticides has begun causing deaths and a spate of illnesses amongst farmers and agricultural workers of the district. It is estimated that there could have been more than 500 deaths in Warangal district and more than 1000 people seriously affected due to pesticide exposure in just one cotton-growing season in 2001! This issue of deaths due to pesticide exposure during handling and spraying has not caught the attention of the government or civil society yet and needs to be tackled urgently.

12. Nellore, Andhra Pradesh (Mica Mining)

There are eleven mica mines in the Sydapuram block of the district which employ around three to four thousand people to this day, even though most mica mines are closing down with dwindled demand. The working conditions are harsh: long hours, little pay and little benefits. In India, mica is mainly found in Andhra Pradesh. White quartzite is also being quarried, mostly in an illegal manner, as there are some abandoned quarries in the area. A number of communities are affected by these activities, with the women in the community and women in the mines being particularly impacted. Many women are widowed with their husbands having died of TB contracted during their work in the mines. Most of the affected people are from tribal and tribal communities. They are usually temporary and migrant workers in these mines and therefore, cannot avail of the medical facilities provided under the mica mine labour welfare act. Some of the common illnesses seen in the community in the recent past are asthma, tuberculosis, silicosis and a decrease in eyesight. Further, the water sources are also contaminated including groundwater. Another source of contamination are illegal stone quarries with their blasting leading to accidents in the area.

The '1000 Bhopals' Jatha organised by Greenpeace India, starting from November 2002, in its efforts to link up various toxic hotspots of the country, culminated in the 'Environment and Health – A People's Campaign' seminar at the Asian Social Forum, Hyderabad. This bus tour connected communities with each other, and brought to the fore the common issues of criminal behaviour of companies, nexus with the government agencies, the apathy of the government to the distress and disaster imposed on the communities as well as the spirit of struggle in the communities.

ENVIRONMENT AND HEALTH: A PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN

A seminar in the Asian Social Forum, 3rd January 2002
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X

Reflections and Review of Asian Social Forum

Prahlad.A

Five day Asian Social Forum was held Nizam College grounds in Hyderabad between 2nd and 7th 2003.

As a team member from CIIC I had prepared to attend workshop on Right to Health Care. After participating in the plenary on 2nd afternoon I participated in Right to Health Care workshop on 3rd afternoon. This small group discussion and workshop organized by CEHAT, Mumbai was very informative. Serious discussions and deliberations happened. Variety of speakers from different parts of Asia (majority from different parts of India) took part in the deliberations. On 3rd sessions was on social, legal, constitutional framework for Right to Health Care while on 4th session was on Operationalization and Finance matters related to make right to health care a reality.

3rd January 2003;
2.30 to 6.30 pm

Dr. Abhay Shukla shared about the objectives of the workshop, which were as follows- 1. *To give direction to the campaign*, 2. *To outline International and local scenario*, 3. *To describe and outline Indian constitution*. Dr. Abhay Shukla also provided a overview of situation that has led today that people have to campaign for their fundamental rights. It is more than sufficiently proved that public health system has weakened. Spiraling medical cost have made the facilities far reaching from common man with quality of care provided is very low in public health system. It is estimated according to one study that more than 25% of hospitalized families will fall below the poverty line over a period of time.

Dr. Srinath Reddy opined that any changes in the economic sector (WTO) will have effect on health sector as well, which is impeccable. It is very important to note that human right component should be given equal importance as much to economic factors. He tried out point out few important factors which has given rise to a situation where people have to struggle for their fundamental right. These factors include, 1. No proper interaction between state and central governments. 2. Lack of opportunity for the peple and decentralization of supervisory functions, 3. Absence of ideal and quality health care model, 4. No regulation of irrational medical practice.

Mr. John Samuel, National Center of Advocacy Studies called Rights as "toothless wonders" without the support of law, people and money. He called upon for complete decentralization on Kerala model with more powers to Panchayat system. He even told PRIs require statutory powers for effective implementation of right to health care.

Mr. Colin Gonsalves, ICHRI, New Delhi for ensuring everyone's right to health care. some of the important issues are - encouraging indigenous medical system and making life saving drugs available for poor.

Ms. Sadhana Hall, from Global Health Council shared about some international experiences. She shared about three (Canada, South Africa & Costa Rican) models, which India could use as example in improving the public health system. Some of the important points to be noted in these models are , Catastrophe Insurance model from Canada, model of motivation and security from South Africa & decentralization and spread out of Primary Health center from Costa Rica.

Dr. Nouman , Chairman ,PHM, Bangladesh from shared about Bangladeshi experiences of People's Health Movement and explained how it was seen as a fundamental right issue to the people.

4th January 2003
2.30 - 6.30 p.m

Mr. Jean Drezc, Delhi School of economics told the group that very important activity that can improve the chances of people to right to health care is to publish people's voices in very authentic manner. Economics of health is very important for both economist and health professional, he told . He also called upon for various group to press Government to allot budget of 3% for health. As NFHS shows 30% decline in utilization of public health services effectivity and efficiency of the system also needs to be questioned. Along with other issues that needs attention are- 1. Urban - Rural divide, 2. Pressurising Government for full capacity staffing at PHC level ,3. Issues related to Price control of essential drugs.

Mr. Brian Lobo identified three important factors in ensuring right to health care; right to information - proper redressal system - and community practising of health system. He told the group that health is economic, social and cultural issue.

Dr. Sudarshan shared about Karnataka's experience on preparation of report of Task Force and Karuna Trust's experience on implementing Social Insurance project. Primè factor in Task Force activity was to see that there is least discrimination. Right to participation and right to

monitor is very important in successful implementation of the recommendations of Task Force.

Dr. Ravi Duggal of CEHAT lamented that most of the entitlements in this country have been through policies but not through rights. Concept of Primary Health Care has become very limited and it is right time to expand concept of P H Care. Discrimination is very obvious towards rural population and expenditure on health care is reducing. Another important factor is utilization pattern. Very clearly it is shown it is better in urban area. Another important factor is expenditure patterns. It is very clear that Government is spending only 15% while the rest is coming from other sources. Debt arising out of health expenditure is also very common. Characteristics of Health expenditure should be understood in deeper sense. In Public domain common characteristics are Rural/Urban divide. Provision and Promise dichotomy and Plan and Non-plan expenditure. In private domain common characteristics are only curative, unnecessary and irrational..

Basic care framework should be developed, he asserted. Some of important measure he suggested were as follows: restructuring the system, creating autonomous system, standardizing and regulation of the system, properly structuring the finance mechanism etc. He further explained about the various priorities to make right to health care a reality. These includes constitutional and political reforms, Licensing and regulation of medical profession , Integration of various types of system, instituting pricing mechanism and continuing medical situation. Financing the system is very important thing . He told that using already existing system effectively is important. Innovations in financing includes- using resources efficiently, decentralised financing, block funding, generating additional resource, increase allocation in the present budget, compulsory primary health care services and social security measures.

On 5th morning along with few CHC members went around Nizam grounds to purchase books for the library while in the afternoon Workshop on strengthening People's Health Movement was attended.

On 6th in the afternoon workshop on Alma Ata and primary health care was attended. In the evening cultural programmes were attended and watched street play on feudal system in Teiangana part of Andhra Pradesh.

On 7th morning we attended final plenary and little later went to place where Gaddar was leading anti-ASF protest. He was of the opinion that lot of the participants in the ASF are leading NGO getting money from oppressive forces that needs opposition.

Overall impressions about the ASF:

- # It was nice experience to meet of lot like minded people and get understanding into variety of issues bothering common public.
- # Many programmes offered variety of activities, but it was very difficult to choose between them.
- # Too many programmes in near proximity disturbed serious discussions being held in conference center.
- # Discussions were mostly on Globalization and particular political party bashing , while discussion on privatization and double standard secularism was conveniently left out.
- # Though the programme was very well organized it could have been better if little more planning had gone into it.
- # Lot of innovative programmes were being organized outside conference hall, but interaction with commoners outside the compound revealed that little more publicity among common public was required.
- # Media strategy in publicizing issues of ASF discussion was excellent as most of the leading news paper covered lot of articles about ASF.
- # Serious conferences and street theater could have been organized in different venues so that both could have proceeded without much disturbances.

✓
Workshop (2)

Alma Atq Anniversary (78-2003)

Looking Back, Looking Ahead at the Asian Experience

Date: 6th January 2003

Time: 2.30 – 6.30 P.M

Asia Social Forum

(Facilitated by CHC on behalf of JSA/PAM) (Co-sponsored by: CHAI/ACMAI)

This workshop had two parts. The first part termed 'Learning by Doing' had presentation of 6 case studies of known Community Health Programs, which chronologically were from the three decades of 70s, 80s and 90s. The second part termed 'Practice to Policy' had presentations from different Asian countries on policy related issues.

'Learning by Doing' Presentation of case studies:

Dr. Mira Shiva and Dr. Ravi Narayan chaired this session. Mira in her introductory remarks said that even as a young post graduate professional she had not heard of 'Alma Ata Declaration' until her medicine professor brought it to her attention and ever since she has been committed to promoting primary health care. She introduced the various presenters who (and their organizations) had done commendable work popularizing primary Health Care.

'Arogya Iyakkam' T.N.

Mrs Kalpana Balaji presented the 'Arogya Iyakkam' experiences of the Tamil Nadu Science Forum. This was an evolution from the people's literacy movement and women's movement, at the point when government support was withdrawn. This comprehensive health programme with people's participation is being implemented roughly in one thousand (1000) villages spread over twenty one (21) blocks of Tamil Nadu. The Programme had the following objectives.

- Focus on improving children's nutrition (using weight measurement as an index of change).
- Making government health services responsive to people's needs and demands.
- Improving the cultural health practices
- Putting health on the agenda of Panchayati Raj Institutions (PRIs)

The key intervention strategies included:

Intervening through the 'Village Health Worker' who is a community representative and whose orientation on health included a socio-political perspective of the family's health (world view)

Maintaining a register of every child, which records vital events, six monthly records of weight and which, is 'understood and owned by the family'.

Maintaining a village level register of services provided by the public health services (Primary Health Centers) which is placed in the 'Gram Sabha' meetings for monitoring and follow-up.

Promoting and mobilizing a broad-based organizational structure at the village level (which includes the Panchayat member) for taking responsibility for health.

During this short period of implementation 'Arogya Iyyakam' has advocated on issues such as

Resumption of 'Dai Training' by the PHCs

Public hearing on the abusive style of functioning of the public health functionaries.

'Arogya Sathi'

Dr Abhay Shukla of CEHAT shared their experiences of promoting 'Arogya Sathi's in four different locations in Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

The objectives that guides these efforts included:

- Developing strategies to make public health care an 'entitlement' for the people (as opposed to the present notion that it is a set of services provided by this welfare state)
- Ensuring sustainability of community health process.
- Developing innovative approaches to training of Arogya Sathis (illiterate Health Workers)
- The Strategies for implementing included:
- Engaging mass organizations to take up health agendas (as NGO based health programmes were not sustainable in the long run)
- Promoting people based structures (village health committees and Jan Swasthya Samithis, which includes NGOs) for taking responsibility for health.
- Developing pictorial training materials including for assessment of the trainees (even if illiterate) and campaign materials that demystified health.

The Programme aimed to address issues relating to public sector in health, the private sector in health, the health/ill health determinants as well as towards promoting people's alternative strategies for health. The public health sector was challenged to be accountable by monitoring their services (village health calendar) and through specific issue based campaign. The private sector was challenged to be rational and transparent in their services through promoting awareness of the people on their exploitation and through signature campaign with the private professionals. The 'determinants' affecting health taken up for campaigning included 'Anti Alcohol Campaign' and 'Right to Food Campaign'.

Within a short period the programme has yielded results in the form of Arogya Sathis being able to handle 60% health contingencies of the community and considerable savings of the health expenditures of the people

Gonoshasthaya Kendra (GK) Bangladesh

Dr. Kasim Chowdhary presented on GK, which effort was initiated in 1972, six years prior to Alma Ata Declaration. The programme currently is involved in ten locations in Bangladesh, covering population of seven lakhs.

The objectives of the programme included:

- Developing a model of primary health care
- Promoting women's rights
- Promoting economic emancipation of people
- Advocacy for people oriented policy changes.

The strategies includes:

A three- tier institutional approach to Primary Health Care (para- medic at the village level covering a population of 4000, the sub-centre and the referral hospital)

Other sectoral interventions in the areas of poverty alleviation, environmental protection.

GK has taken up national level advocacy campaigns towards the development of Health Policy and a Rational Drug Policy. The preventive services of GK are completely free, whereas for the curative services fees are charged.

4. DEENABANDHU PROGRAMME-TAMILNADU

Dr.Hari John presented about this programme which drew its inspiration from the 'bare-foot doctors' of China and which was initiated prior to Alma Ata Declaration.

The Programme had three (3) district phases. The first phase (before 72) was focussed on Community Health Care delivery, through appropriately trained illiterate women workers and reviving indigenous health practices. The second phase upto late 90s focussed on community health and development through interventions in credit unions, revival of indigenous knowledge in the area of agro -eco-systems and other income generation schemes. The third phase was linked to the struggles of the people for their livelihood rights and also focussed on 'social capital' building.

Some of the outcomes of the Deenabandhu effort includes bringing down IMR from 125 to 50, enhanced role of community and local health workers in health provision, and promoting people's actions for their rights.

5. Child in Need Institute (CIN) West Bengal

Mr.Anup Das presented on the CINI experience. This programme is directly reaching four (4) lakh population through institution based services and CINI are also involved through their training role in the states of Orissa, Jharkhand and some in North-East.

The objectives of this programme includes:

- Sustainable health and nutrition
- Development of women and children in need

The operational strategies include:

- Case management of individual patients
- Behavioral change communication

- Convergence and partnerships (at different levels and with diverse actors including the government)

6. RUHSA – TAMILNADU

Dr. Rajaratnam Abel presented on the RUHSA experience, which is a project of 'CMC' Vellore. The objectives the programme addressed itself included:

Improving the nutritional status of children and women
 Control of communicable diseases
 Bringing down chronic illnesses
 Improving the economic status of families.

In its approach to implementation, RUHSA promoted a comprehensive approach, community participation, enhancing people's economic activities and had a positive bias for the poor, who were organized into self-help groups. As a result RUHSA has been able to demonstrate positive outcomes in all these above areas.

B). The second part of the workshop focussed on health related policy issues especially in the context of 'Globalization' from different country experiences. Mr. Nooman from Bangla Desh and Dr. Ravi Narayan chaired this session, whose brief summary is given below:

Dr Prem John gave a brief overview of the primary health care challenges in poorer Asian countries analyzing the variables, 'health status of the poor', 'Access to meaningful health services', 'Viable PHM (People's Health Movement) existing or are possible in the future (the one page analysis is attached).

ON A SCALE OF 0-10	HEALTH STATUS OF THE POORER % OF POPULATION	ACCESS TO MEANINGFUL HEALTH SERVICE	WHERE WORTH WHILE PHM ISON	WHERE OPPORTUNITIES /PARTNERS FOR PHM
MYANMAR	3	2	0	1
BIHUTAN	5	5	0	5
LAOS	5	4	0	1
INDONESIA	4	4	4	7
EASTTIMOR	3	3	0	1
VIETNAM	8	8	2	5
CAMBODIA	4	3	5	7
PHILIPPINES	5	5	6	8
INDIA	4	4	7	9
BANGALADESH	4	4	7	9
NEPAL	3	2	6	8
SRI LANKA	6	7	7	9
MALDIVES	7	7	0	1
PAKISTAN	-	-	3	5
CHINA	7	6	1	3

TAIWAN	9	9	0	0		
S.KOREA	10	10	2	5		
JAPAN	10	10	4	7		

Prof. Thesian from Sri Lanka said that 'Globalization' started in Sri Lanka from 1977, and that Sri Lanka had a fairly reasonable public health care services prior to that! There has been a rapid deterioration after the 'Civil War' started. He highlighted the following policy related issues:

- Legalising of 'Private Practice' by the public sector doctors has led to a vested interest in ill health.
- The new model of economic development followed in Sri Lanka has increased economic disparities.
- Removal of price control in the Drug Policy is hiking up the prices of drugs.

There has been an emergence of new set of health issues, such as- chronic diseases, pesticide poisoning, increased mental health problems and suicides.

Dr. Kasim Chowdhary said that, Bangla Desh has no written health policy and that from the 90s, the government has been forced to implement 'Selective Primary Health Care'. He added that though health infrastructure is good, it is not functional. He highlighted the following issues:

Fifty percent of the population has no access to health care

The new emphasis on 'center- based health care' (which in effect removes the role of community based health workers) is retrogressive.

The dilution of the progressive drug policy of Bangladesh has resulted in two sets of essential drug lists, different for public and private sectors, which is irrational.

The Family Planning Program, which was functioning quite well, has 'platoued' since 3 years.

Dr. Shyam Ashtekar spoke on the Community Health Worker (CHW) experience. The world over the CHW experience according to him has been a failure except the 'Bare- foot Doctor' scheme of erstwhile China. In India the CHW program has failed, though in smaller locales there has been successful experiences. He opined that no standardized pattern of CHWs exists and in each of the three variables of 'Community' 'Health' and role of the 'Worker' there is great variation across different models.

Madhulika Bannerji spoke on 'Primary Health Care (PHC) and Traditional systems of Medicine (JSM). She said integration of traditional system into PHC was complicated by the existing relationship between modern system of medicine and the traditional systems, which has worked against the TSM. TSM has been disabled by lack of public support, though the 'Textual Systems' in TSM have managed to survive the market pressures.

She highlighted two issues:

The dominant religious political discourse presently holding sway, is also manipulating the TSM, due to its relationship culturally.

The market forces are taking control of traditional knowledge and taking it away from community's control.

She felt PHC would find an ally in the fundamental research being done in the traditional system.

Dr. Thelma spoke giving an overview of the Primary Health Care policy issues in India. Though the country's health policy '82, gave an impetus for the expansion and realization of PHC, it did not materialize due to leadership failure and for want of effective pressure from the ground to make it functional. She highlighted the following issues, which require attention for Primary Health Care to be realized:

- Adequate budget allocation
- Transparency in functioning
- Involvement of the community in all the areas (Planning, implementation, monitoring)
- Inter sectoral coordination
- Addressing basic determinants of disease/health including industry induced determinants (such as Tobacco, Alcohol and Medico-pharmaceutical).

Mr. Nooman of Bangladesh the chairperson summed up the inputs on policy issues.

The last part of the workshop related to Alma Ata Anniversary plan of PHM.

Dr. Ravi Narayan the incoming Secretary of International PHM said that the two successful elements of Primary Health Care policy had been the campaign against 'Baby Food' promotion and Essential Drugs promotion. The Essential Drugs policy has been diluted (failed) and is an issue for sustained campaigning.

The International Steering Committee has decided on the following initiatives, which could be taken up by the countries.

Review of PHC experiences at country/state/district levels.

To issue press statements in connection with every 'National Day' events highlighting the PHM demands concerning those events.

Instituting awards 'People's Health Awards', to those who have made important contributions to advancing PHC.

Documentation of current success stories and problems in primary health care, including a film 'Reviving the Dream'.

A web campaign of a million signatures.

Dr. Unnikrishnan spoke on the Web based campaign 'Health for All Now' that meant to collect a million signatures demanding adoption of 'Health for All'. These would include Nobel Laureates to simple grass-root workers. He requested that efforts be made to overcome the 'Digital Divide' by printing out the campaign material by those having access to internet and promoting among those who did not have access. The e-group address is AVIV@NETNAM.VN

Information was given that the international health journal 'Contact' has brought out a special issue on PHM after Dhaka and the national journal 'Health Action' will be serializing the deliberations of ASF Hyderabad, related to health. The workshop ended with thanking all the participants and the rapporteurs Dr. Mani Kalliath and Dr. Joy Verghese.

✓ Workshop ① cont. 4

Action Towards a Tobacco Free World

A workshop at Asia Social Forum, Hyderabad

Date: 3rd January 2003

Time: 2:15 to 6:30 P.M.

Venue: Taj Mahal Hotel, Abids Road, Hyderabad

Facilitated by:

Community Health Cell, Bangalore on behalf of Jan Swasthya Abhiyan / People's Health Movement)

Partner Organizations

Consortium For Tobacco Free Karnataka
PATH-Canada. LIFE

A Report by Dr. Anant Bhan, Community Health Cell

The workshop began with registration of all participants. They were given files with background material about the purpose of the workshop. Around 40 people participated in the workshop.

The workshop began with an introduction to the purpose of conducting the workshop by Mr. S.J. Chander from the Community Health Cell who spoke about the global problem that Tobacco had become and the targeting of Asia and developing countries by Tobacco MNCs and hence the importance of a concerted effort to network for freedom from tobacco.

Dr. Ramesh S. Bilimagga, Radiation Oncologist and member, CFTFK (Consortium For Tobacco Free Karnataka, Bangalore, chaired the first session. He welcomed all the participants to the workshop and reiterated that tobacco was a major problem not just in India but also across the world. He stressed that a small step by everybody in the direction of a tobacco free world would make a big difference. He then invited Dr. Thelma Narayan from CHC to give an overview of the problem.

Dr. Thelma explained that the workshop was being held under the platform of Jan Swasthya Abhiyan (PHM) which was active in more than 92 countries and was working towards making the govt. and WHO and international bodies accountable to their commitment for Health For All. She stressed that many coordinating and facilitating agencies had helped in organizing the workshop and also enumerated the other events at ASF being facilitated by CHC/JSA/PHM. She said that the workshop would help us understand the tobacco issue especially in regards to dealing with the tobacco industry. It was needed to share our solidarity in the ASF platform and to strategize and reflect. The effect of globalization on public health needed to be studied in depth. Opium had been used in the past by Britain to subjugate China and now the western powers through the tobacco MNCs were using tobacco to subjugate the Asian countries. The US was promoting the global consumption of tobacco and there had been a sharp increase in tobacco usage in many areas; the issue of tobacco

ASF Reflections
Tobacco Workshop Rpt
8/50/E/At62103/850-4 Jan 03/ASF Reflections

advertising was also an important issue. While tobacco use was reducing in the North America and Western Europe, the tobacco market was being relocated with increasing use in Asia and developing countries. Data from different Asian Countries was presented. The dynamics and intricacies influencing the negotiations of the Frame Work Convention For Tobacco Control (FCTC) led by the WHO (World Health Organization) needs to be more transparent in order to evolve a useful instrument

A Magic Show and a talking doll show followed this. The magician stressed on the ill effects of tobacco and requested people to not let their lives go up in smoke and to avoid the bad habits. It was well appreciated by the audience. He also wished everybody present a very happy and tobacco free New Year.

Dr. Ramesh then invited Dr. Prakash C. Gupta, an epidemiologist and a public health consultant from Mumbai having 36 years of research experience in the field of tobacco. Dr. Prakash began by saying that tobacco is a public health problem even at the grassroots level. Understanding the problem was not enough and something needed to be done about the problem. There were various organizations working in the field of tobacco control in India- a loose coalition of which was the ICTC (the Indian Coalition for Tobacco Control). Each of the organizations was free to pursue their own agenda but it was an interactive forum for all participating organizations to pool their resources. He expressed hope that more organizations would join the fold. He also mentioned that a death clock had been installed in Delhi that would register the deaths being caused by tobacco usage in India.

After thanking Dr. Prakash, Dr. Ramesh introduced Mr. Sonam, a bureaucrat from the Ministry of Health and Education in Bhutan. Mr. Sonam said that Bhutan had initiated tobacco control regulations as early as 1729; the state religion (Buddhism) did not permit the usage of tobacco. He cautioned that in their experience regulation alone was not enough and there was he need to take undertake aggressive information dissemination and work for anti-tobacco legislation. The Hon'ble Minister of Health had ensured that the sale and consumption of tobacco had been banned in public places. The effort had come through a decentralized approach wherein 18 out of the 20 districts in the country had themselves taken up the initiative to work for local tobacco control. He said that a dilemma that faced the govt. was the continuing sale of tobacco in the duty free shops in the capital city, which could not be stopped because of diplomatic problems- he invited suggestions from the participants on how to deal with the problem. He said that one of the queens in Bhutan was committed to the cause of tobacco control and had been appointed as a goodwill ambassador by the UNFPA and she advocated the tobacco and health issues in various districts that she regularly visited. Appreciating the people of Bhutan, Dr. Ramesh said that it was important to remember that perseverance was the key.

Dr. Ramesh then called upon two members of the Bangladesh Anti Tobacco Alliance to speak about efforts at tobacco control in their country. One of them Mr. Ratan Deb said that sometime ago though there were many groups working in the field not many were working together. Only school level programs were being organized to raise awareness about the harmful effects of tobacco and these also not very effective as they were leading to rebellion in many cases. He felt that what would work is strict enforcement, high taxes, controlling of advertising, more elaborate warning in the packs. He said that BATA has little resources compared to other groups and tobacco companies. BATA had filed a case in the Bangladesh courts and had managed to achieve a significant legal victory which led to decrease in the rampant advertisement of tobacco companies and had also proved that British American

Tobacco Company's antismoking campaign was a sham. BATA has been closely working with the Bangladeshi govt. and have been attempting to spread the message of harmful effects of tobacco even in the regional languages. A law for stricter tobacco control is now pending in the parliament. A second writ petition is now pending in the courts under the Right to Life campaign against the Imperial Tobacco company. The court has given a stay order on all relevant advertisements for two months. Many organizations and facilities in Bangladesh are now tobacco free due to the efforts of BATA. He ended stressing that working together was very important for tobacco control. Mr. Naveen Thomas expressed the view here that one major factor for the success of the campaign in Bhutan was the fact that the political, religious and local leadership had come together to fight the problem and were very much involved.

Dr. Ramesh appreciated the efforts of BATA and raised the fact that the various govt. had a dichotomous attitude towards tobacco wherein e.g. the Karnataka govt. had an anti tobacco cell in the Kidwai Memorial Institute of Oncology, it also had a research wing in the Tobacco Board to try to improve productivity and quality of tobacco crops. He said that in K'taka

- There were 8 million tobacco addicts.
- 6000 children under the age of 15 yrs of age and as many between the ages of 15-24 enter the pool of tobacco users.

There was a need to publicize the tobacco issue among the lay public as they had the right to information.

Mr. Jaggaiah, a security guard from Hyderabad who used to smoke around 48-50 beedis a day for over 40 years presented his medical problems directly related to his tobacco addiction. He used to get cough, dyspnoea and chest pain, he had to undergo surgery (pneumonectomy) for pathology arising from his tobacco usage. He said that he had now stopped smoking and was proud to be free from tobacco.

Ms. Lalitamma from Karnataka, an ex-cultivator then shared her experience. She said that she had been working in the tobacco fields for over 15 years; most of the workers used to be employed as daily wage workers by the rich cultivators and had work for only 3-4 months/yr. The workers had very hectic work in the fields everyday and at the end of each day they were so tired that they could not adopt any hygienic methods before consuming food or have a bath before sleeping. They also used to use a lot of pesticides in the tobacco nurseries in their homes and because of all this problems she felt that they used to inadvertently consume a lot of pesticides. During the course of her work, she developed health problems and approached a medical practitioner who advised admission - her treatment bills were in the range of about Rs 30,000. She said that she had resolved to never do that kind of work again and was hoping that other people also left that hazardous work.

Dr. Ramesh thanked all the speakers for giving an insight into the various issues related to tobacco that were affecting their lives and work. He then thanked the organizers for having given him the opportunity to chair the session and handed over the stage to the next chairperson, Ms. Devaki Jain.

Ms. Devaki then chaired the next session, which was distribution of certificates and mementoes of appreciation to

- The people of Bhutan for having shown great collective resolve for the fight against tobacco. This was received by Mr. Sonam Thunsho, secretary, government of Bhutan in charge of health education.
- The members of BATA for their work for tobacco control in their country and for dragging the guilty tobacco companies to court and make them accountable for their unlawful practices. This was received by Mr Ratan and Mr. Biplob
- Dr. Prakash C. Gupta for his extensive work in research in the field of tobacco.

A short tea break was then announced which gave the opportunity for the audience to interact with the speakers and also for them to view the exhibition of anti tobacco posters that had been put up by Community Health Cell in the hall.

The tea break was followed by a panel discussion on various facets of the tobacco issue. The discussion was chaired by Ms. Devaki Jain. She said that the amount of money the govt. spent on treating diseases arising from the usage of tobacco was more than the money it received through excise. Tobacco related deaths were more than the number of deaths caused due to HIV, Malaria, and T.B. combined. There was a need for campaign mode activists, as knowledge about the ill effects of tobacco did not deter people from harmful habits. Death was a close phenomenon in India especially among the poor and hence morbidity and mortality due to tobacco could not be used as an effective deterrent in that sector. There was a need to work to change attitudes; also important was to fight the tobacco industry, which was targeting the young by using unfair advertising means. There was a need to talk about it in the background of globalization and macro-economic program. The relation between poverty in India and the addiction to tobacco, alcohol and the susceptibility to HIV in poor communities was well known and proven in studies such as one done by NIMHANS. Also, interestingly, the govt. had included Tobacco in the Foods and Beverages list. Dr. Devaki then invited Dr. Prakash Gupta to give his presentation. Dr. Prakash's presentation had the following salient points:-

1. There were only two causes of death that were increasing worldwide- HIV and Tobacco.
2. Death was an objectively measured event; Tobacco usage was the single most preventable cause of death in the world.
3. Current WHO estimates of tobacco attributable premature deaths are in the range of 4.9 million/yr. This is expected to rise to 10 million / yr by the year 2030; already in the 20th century approx. 100 million people had died due to health problems related to tobacco usage.
4. India was the second largest producer and consumer of tobacco in the world; ICMR estimate for the annual attributable mortality from tobacco was 8,00,000.
5. Tobacco causes a lot of medical problems and addiction is a key issue because of the nicotine content.
6. Children are the most severely affected and unfortunately they are powerless to fight against this evil.

7. There were many misconceptions related to tobacco e.g. that it was not a high-risk product and that tobacco users do not have any choice, once addicted
8. The truth was that more than half of chronic tobacco users would die of health problems arising from that habit.
9. Tobacco smoke had a lot of toxic chemicals and carcinogens and had an effect even on passive smokers; hence there was a need for concerned people to fight for their right for clean air
10. Tobacco and social justice was also an important issue- as its usage was more among the lower SE strata and the relative risks were also higher in this group. beedis, commonly used by this group were more harmful than cigarettes; also unfortunately, most of the interventions were aimed at the higher SE strata.
11. The rising usage of tobacco among the women was alarming- one study had shown that as many as 10% of college going women in Mumbai were using tobacco

Dr. Devaki then invited Dr. Srinath Reddy to present his views and experience as the Indian govt. nominee and as a NGO health activist at the FCTC deliberations. FCTC was an attempt by WHO to exercise its treaty making power for tobacco control. The critical issues included stronger action required on the demand and supply sides. There were the issues of trade and public health involved; most country representatives participating in the deliberations were advocating a total ban on all forms of advtg - direct and indirect. But there had been pressures from some quarters and in the ongoing round the talk was around restriction of advtg, unfortunately the issue of surrogate advtg had not been addressed. The WB and developed countries were of the view that there was a continued increasing demand for tobacco irrespective of control measures (more in the developing countries and lesser in the developed ones). Global resources were lacking for implementation unless a global fund was set up. Also, cross border advertising continued to be an issue and trade v/s public health was a battle that was still being fought out in the FCTC. The recent draft of the FCTC was disappointing. It has been prepared for the next round of negotiation in February 2003.

Ms. Devaki thanked Dr. Reddy and mentioned that the UN precincts and most eateries in the developed countries are smoke free. She then invited Ms. Shobha John of PATH Canada (Programme For Appropriate Technology for Health) based at Mumbai to make a presentation. Shobha spoke about the poor being affected the most by tobacco usage and she presented some data from her PATH studies which showed that the tobacco consumption among the pavement dwellers was 82% and among the street children was 76% - these people were spending less amount of money on food than tobacco. She also raised the issue of misplaced targeting by activists who were not addressing the tobacco problem that was afflicting the poor SE strata and the need to reach out to that group. In Bangladesh, a study had proven that many households were spending 18 times more on tobacco than health. The tobacco issue was causing a loss to the country as the estimated health costs were in the range of Rs 6.5 billion while the excise returns were only Rs 4.5 billion; hence the economic loss to the nation was immense. Also the tobacco industries were themselves promoting smuggling of their products and were using a lot of front groups for surrogate advertisements. The industry's argument that a lot of workers would lose their job had to be viewed with scepticism because the companies as they were getting mechanized were laying off a lot of workers; also experience had shown that the

industry was actually quite exploitative: Ms. Devaki mentioned that some traders in B'lore had been subletting the space outside their shops which was actually govt property to vendors; she then invited Ms. Suvarna to share the findings of her study in Shimoga in Karnataka

Suvarna mentioned that she had been working in the area for the last 12 years and she had noticed that tobacco cultivation had decreased by more than 50% - this had sparked an interest to initiate the study. They had discovered that the cultivators were actually the large farmers as the govt. Tobacco board regulations were that all tobacco cultivators should possess a minimum of at least 3-4 acres of land. Tobacco cultivation was labour intensive. It also required a lot of wood for curing which had led the farmers to steal wood from the forests. Almost 80% of the forests had been depleted and now the local populace had sometimes to walk a distance of 10 kms to collect firewood. Good quality wood was required for curing wherein temperatures were maintained at 90-120 degrees Fahrenheit for 4 days. The alternative crops that some families had shifted to in the state were maize etc.; they had noticed that the land became more fertile if tobacco cultivation was decreased. As tobacco was a very labour intensive work, the people used to be busy from morning to evening in their work, which had affected families, as there was nobody to look after children and the elderly. This has been shown in falling attendance in school for the children of cultivators and agricultural laborers. The Sanghas and self-help groups discussed this and decided to utilize the govt. programs. Supporting each other, they started animal husbandry and were managing to get continuous money inflow. In tobacco cultivation, women were the most affected - they had occupational problems, were made to work hard and do menial jobs; there was gender insensitivity and the women were made to do the most difficult and strenuous work. This had affected the lives of many women and children adversely. Ms. Devaki appreciated the presentation and mentioned the need for linked narratives to help with advocacy issues.

This was followed by a group discussion involving all participants that was chaired by Dr. Srinath Reddy. The main points that were highlighted in the discussion by various participants were: -

- Coronary Artery Disease (CAD) caused by tobacco usage needs to be studied and publicized.
- FCTC needs to advocate strong regulations- local and national.
- Need to sensitize the politicians about the issue.
- Need for effective political lobbying and policy level interventions.
- Need to safeguard the interests of the involved people and to try to bring the larger forces to come together.
- Lesser emphasis to be laid on health and more on the fiscal and the environmental aspects.
- To try to attempt a linkage with the right to food campaign and the environmental issues.

- Promote the usage of the 73rd and the 74th amendments that promote local governance.
- Need for economists to study the long term effects of tobacco usage.
- Promote the ban of tobacco consumption in public places as it gives the right to people to protest tobacco usage.
- Alternate employment strategies to be promoted.
- Need to understand that there was no direct subsidy by the Govt. of India to the tobacco industry but indirect subsidy.
- Legislation against tobacco would be ineffective if people were not informed and convinced about the reasons for legislation.
- Need to approach and convince even the local and vernacular media to cover tobacco related issues.
- Need to convince the film producers and artists to not promote the usage of tobacco in the movies/serials; this was especially relevant as the theme of the World No Tobacco Day this year was '*Free Films from the influence of Tobacco*'.
- The information about tobacco to be integrated into existing health programs and through the educational system in school and colleges.

Mr. Niranjana from the People's Health Movement in Sri Lanka shared that the cost of one cigarette in Sri Lanka was 7-8 rupees and that was an effective deterrent also; it was discussed that Prof. Panchamukhi's study on Karnataka had proven that tobacco farmers were ready to diversify into vegetable cultivation but the market support was not in place. Whereas the tobacco industry was picking up its produce and taking it to the market, this support was not available for the farmers involved in vegetable farming to transport their produce to the distant markets.

The group then discussed the statement to be issued by the workshop participants- certain changes were suggested for incorporation in the statement before finalization and distribution to the ASF organizers and the media. The modified statement and the press release are attached.

Dr. Srinath thanked the participants for their active participation in the group discussion.

A formal vote of thanks was proposed and the workshop ended.

Feedback of the participants at the workshop on “Taking the peoples health movement forward.”

Vimal Bharthi BGVS secretary

In supel district, which has 180 panchayat, BGVS is working in 6 panchyats with 60 villages. This district is affected by the Kosy river and most of the time the local people have no access to health care. The condition of the govt health care system is very bad. There are some times no medicines and at times there are no doctors. This creates all kinds of problems. This is accentuated during monsoons when getting medicine is quite difficult. There is an attempt to encourage people especially females to be informed about their health. There is lot of difficulty in transporting serious patients because of lack of roads; this has resulted in many avoidable deaths. BGVS has tried an experiment wherein a health center has been made the model center and all the medicine being received from the govt are made available at this place. SHGs have been encouraged and the women of their sanghas are educating the women of their villages about their health. All of us BGVS members are trying to introduce health work in our areas. We are trying to coordinate with govt agencies to help this work. the govt officials have agreed to be a part this initiative. We are hoping to get encouragement and guidance from all of you in our endeavour.

Harischandra BGVS (Bihar)

Request

Bihar's Saharsa districts there are 11 blocks having 172 panchyats. Saharsa BGVS has been work in 6 panchayat areas in 60 villages with public cooperation. I am coordinating surveys in these villages. BGVS is training 60 men and 60 women self help groups. self help groups are encouraged to meet once in 15 days and open bank accounts. The members are being encouraged to get educated through the BGVS and this is where the ISA is slowly taking shape. It is necessary as the people especially the women and children in these areas are quite weak and sick.

Mr. Mandal

60 villages- a village has a male worker and a female worker; there are 6 ANC workers and each ANC worker guides 10 villages' workers. During the survey it was realized that the poor families especially the harijns and members of SC communities suffer more from malnutrition and women are forced to work the whole day and they have no time for themselves. Through training and awareness we are trying to change this. Women (educated ones) believe in superstition, we are trying to slowly remove this by organizing meeting and visiting families – I call this work ISA. The people working at the village level – VHWs, in panchyats, 2 panchyat ISA workers are regularly meeting and slowly our work is bearing fruit

Feedback of Mr. Sowrimuthu animator in an slum in Bangalore

First time in our area women's group, youth group and men's group are formed and through these groups sessions being held on health and social development. I support in running of these groups. In order to tackle the health problems community meetings are held and out association whole-heartedly support these activities.

Suggestion

PHM should unite all the urban slums works in Bangalore and take action at policy level to improve their health.

Dr. Venkatesh LIFE –HRG

For strengthening

Dissemination of ideas
Support this initiative
Sharing of information
Linking with similar areas of interest
Coordinate/resist/ force attempt to suppress initiatives

For promotion

Interesting this PHM
Training in social work
Inputs on issues on health

Advocacy

Need for integration of vertical programmes with local issues
To cut down overheads and increase effectiveness.

Babul K Adhikari

PRSP and Health Network Bangladesh

- Organize campaign meeting on PRSP health in union and thana level involving local governments
- Organize 10 district level workshops
- Organize 3 district level workshops
- Organize national workshop

Attend different meeting and campaign programme in PHM Bangladesh.
Continue coordination and supporting to PHM Bangladesh circle secretariat.
Attend national and international event of PHM

Suggestion

PHM Bangladesh circle should go for a legal status with loose structure and a broad constitution.

Conceptual clarification, workshops for two days in 6 divisions and also in Dhaka as national level.

- Organize district circle within 2003
- Define the relation, representation and role of Bangladesh circle in the regional and global level. And also be clear the role of regional and global circle to national circle – Bangladesh.
- Introduce membership both for organization and individual with subscription.

- A regular bulletin of PHM- Bangladesh circle along with website.

Suvarna

Spandana- Karnataka

Since 2000 have been participating the peoples health movement activities. My involvements have been in the following areas:

1. awareness on personal hygiene
2. programmes on villages cleanliness and water management
3. pulse polio programme
4. awareness on prevention on bad habits
5. eye camps
6. training on women and health
7. a study on tobacco
8. directed street plays on HIV/IDS

Suggestion

- Give more attention for health of the rural women
- Awareness on ill effects on alcohol and tobacco, this must be part of the school syllabus.

Nagaraj

Sandeep Seva Nilaya- Nelamangala, Karnataka

Following programmes have been organized in the area of primary health;

- Given awareness on first aid, personal hygiene, family planning, TB, leprosy and HIV/AIDS. They have also conducted training at village level on these issues.
- Awareness on health issues have been done through pamphlets, video, and writing on walls.

Suggestions

- There should be committees at village level; inclusion of government officials is necessary.
- Make the health worker visit once a week the village and meet people.

Sumathi Nayar

Work done

Organised a workshop and worked on health, organised meetings in different villages, participated PHA and raised awareness.

- ◆ Strengthening village health committees
- ◆ As beedi workers organization raised issues of tobacco and health
- ◆ Attended PHM meetings, monitoring health care in its health in corporate sector.

Suggestions

- ◆ Give PHM in Bangladesh a legal status and constitution needs to make clear plan.
- ◆ Define relationship between circles – all three levels bring out a regular bulletin. have Website.
- ◆ Health melas have to be held in all villages, give classes on health and hygiene in all schools and colleges
- ◆ PHC must be implemented in all countries.
- ◆ Good trained health worker is crucial.
- ◆ Access to health is a right of the poor.
- ◆ Actions must go down to country level, must move from country to policy otherwise change will not come.
- ◆ Set up mens group bring about change in womens issues too. to raise awareness on male alcoholism in slums and raise health issues.
- ◆ Address addictions people- tobacco etc.
- ◆ Systems of dialogue between people and health providers.
- ◆ Translate critique of policy documents to reach people.
- ◆ Include peoples experiences in healthy policy discussions.
- ◆ Join PHM people and continue monitoring women's health put pressure on uppa zilla level.

Individual action

- ◆ Worked at village level
- ◆ Block level health enquiry and record of health status
- ◆ Promoting self help groups for women
- ◆ Undue focus of use of Condoms for AIDS must be stopped.
- ◆ Distributing PHC to other organizations and bringing out news letter on PHM and hold meetings.

Suggestions

Wants to form more self help group of women.

Block level finances need to be collected to help develop a fund to care for

How to combine the reality of lack of basic care with supporting the PHM ideas

Self help groups for women is very empowerment tool
Policy level – address issues of “stunting” of population, keep checking height for age.

Niranjan Udumalagala

Individual level

- ◆ Popularize the PHC
- ◆ Provide information about PHM
- ◆ Distribute sinhala version of PHC
- ◆ Attended PHM meetings organised by Tamil Nadu Science Forum.
- ◆ Study on pharmaceutical pricing in SA countries
- ◆ Participated television and radio discussion in PHM.
- ◆ Pharmaceutical bank

At organizational level

1. Participated PHA activities
2. Helped organizing 3 seminars, pharmaceutical and reasonable price for Sri Lanka
3. Preparation of country report on health for world summit on sustainable development.
4. PHA national level meeting in 2002
5. Publish local newsletter bimonthly.

S.J.Chander, Community Health Cell.

Programmes organised

- ◆ World Health Day rally
- ◆ Access to essential drugs workshop
- ◆ Seminar on “reaching the Unreached” (the professionals and organizations other than public health and community health)
- ◆ Students rally on tobacco
- ◆ Introduced PHM to voluntary agencies

Suggestions

- ◆ Complete Peoples Health dialogue, get a picture of health situation, problems and needs from peoples point of view and use the information for advocacy.
- ◆ Simplify and translate Critique of National Health policy, Pharmaceutical policy, population policy etc and disseminate the issues of contention through voluntary agencies.
- ◆ Organize protest rallies at state, national and international levels
- ◆ Encourage more peoples groups to communicate their concerns to the concerned authorities, use eg; like dear doctor letter.
- ◆ Document peoples experiences and concerns and present it to the international bodies responsible it.

Savarimuthu**Ambedkar Welfare Association, Sudamnagar, HAL, Bangalore**

I am savarimuthu, vice president of Ambedkar Welfare Association, first time in our slum adult men's, women's and youth are organised. Different health and development programmes are going on with the help of CHC and Navajeevan. We are completely involved and participate in community health approach to tackle alcohol which is recently initiated in our area.

Suggestions

All the slum peoples organisation should be helped to come together to have joint action in the policy level for developing the health status of Bangalore slums.

Is PHM clear of its goal and duration?

Peoples health charter is exhaustive- can PHM achieve all that or should it be divided into components with different teams leading each component.

In a movement to succeed work with media is essential, is it adequate?

What are the critical achievement that must /can be made in the short run for the PHM to

1. SHG movement for women as excellent sustainable medium for health care and reducing poverty.
2. Successful cultural effort at malaria control among the tribals in Orrissa.
3. Have been able to withstand sustained pressure to promote indiscriminate use of condoms in health care.
4. Advocate the use of structure measurement as a indication to measure improvement in health and decrease in poverty- international level.
5. Concern at a new WHO policy on deliveries skilled attendant at delivery TTBAwith adequate.

Fakhrul Ferdous**Coordinatro DCI, Bangladesh**

What DCI has done after PHA 2000?

1. Actively participated in forming PHM circle Bangladesh
2. Attended circle meeting
3. Participated in Bangladesh Health Assembly
4. Discussed DCI participation in EC meeting
5. Observed breast feeding day
6. Organized community level discussion to raise health awareness
7. Organized feed back session for the staff members.
8. Observed mothers day
9. Health related household survey is being conducted

10. Health awareness billboard demonstrated.

What DCI wants to do after ASF 2003?

1. Complete the household survey
2. Identifying health related needs of the people
3. Set up a health care service structure
4. GO-NGO linkages development
5. (GO-NGO -peoples participation) health strategy setting.

AFIA BILQUIS

Bangladesh

1. After PHM 2000 as member of DORP the health program is extended for more three years
2. To PRSP expand the health programme 22 agenda have been fixed up in collaboration with the villages.
3. On the basis of the 22 agenda a village book is proposed by the villages in participatory process
4. Involve the school students, teachers, head masters, parents of the students and the community in the movement.
5. Starting the progress with the socially disadvantaged women of Dhaka city.

My involvement in PHM

1. I involved with the divisional workshop of Chittagondg. National workshop of Dhaka.
2. I was involved with PHM publication, since last three years three books and one poster.
3. As PHM BC secretariat is at DORP office, so I organized the meeting PPHM BC at my organization.
4. PHM BC and Global PHM with G8 linkages should be increased.
5. PHM B should be more active.

ZILLUR RAHAMAN

UDDYOG
Bangladesh

Individual opinion

As a member worker I have been working for empowering the peoples in their health right such as personal hygiene practice, preventive measure of diseases as a part of people's development which start from myself and my family members through doing by sharing other.

I am working with UDDYOG a non governmental development organization which is engaged in the northern Bangladesh with the aboriginal people community and the very poor communities.

The present activities of health and environment of UDDYOG

- Awareness raising on personal hygiene practice
- Disease prevention
- Nutrition- homestead gardening through homestead use planning.
- Identification of village level health problems and planning by the village/ community people
- Linking with the Govt. health facilities.
- Awareness raising to the students and teachers and mobilization.
- Screening of arsenic contamination tube wells and awareing villages on alternative measures.
- Promoting and exploring herbal trees.
- Promotion of natural agricultural and fisheries
- Participate the meetings of PHMB and work for expansion.

Recommendation

- Training programme should undertake for increase rural health workers
- Preventive health care
- Campaign for reducing the depending of drugs should be increased
- Natural agricultural and traditional agriculture should be expanded for secure the human being.

F.FERDOUS

DCI , Bangladesh

1. Local level

1. Strengthening PHM – BCI activities
 - ◆ Establish district circles
 - ◆ Health assembly to be organized
 - ◆ Dialogue with Govt. for policy planning.

2. Regional level

- a. Establishing linkage between organization and networks
- b. Representation to Govt. from the secretariat
- c. Translation of PHC and distribute
- d. Publish PHC newsletter

International

- a. Realization of PHC
- b. Policy advocacy
- c. Organize Assembly (Africa and Latin America)
- d. Dialogue with WHO
- e. Media linkage development
- f. Translate and distribute of PHC

g. Media exposition of charter

Vandana Prasad

I would have like to se great differentiation between what JSA will do and what PHA will do!

Just to add

1. monitoring of both international bodies (UNICEF,WHO,UNFPA etc) and international covenants and declaration related to Health, feeding into country campaign this kind of information.
2. Organization structure should remain flexible and simple. Involve sustainable funding.
3. Involve from 1st meeting (Zafrullah with Delhi groups) onwards brought in FORCES network been part of NWG from the start contributed to the little booklet. Convened JSA Delhi and since closely associated except not currently with FORCES.

Suggestions

1. Place should be suitable
2. Some sustained health programme on the ground supported by the campaign.
3. Advocacy issues should be closely linked if not emerging from the campaign closest to the ground.
4. Pace should be sustained (should be also accountable, slowest, fastest)
5. Organizational structures should be determined by the demands being placed upon the campaign.

JAKIA BEGUM

Nari Pokko, Bangladesh

Focus

Health and reproductive health

Suggestion

- Already advocated to ministry of health to increase health budget
- When her neighbors asked why was she going to India to attend ASF. She replied she is going to learn to work for improvement of people.
- Most people have no idea about mental health

- 90% of the people do not know about the government health care facilities. When they come to cities they fall ill when they go back to their village, they go to quacks who only are available to them.
- There is corruption, in spite of paying money, people don't get health service.
- Government health programme must be made accountable and transparent. People need awareness on these issues.
- Government is committed for providing the health care for the people and the budget of the hospital should be increased.
- Private practice by the government medical officers must be stopped.
- Primary health care must be improved not only in Bangladesh but in all poor countries.
- I will try to reach the health services to all people.
- Make people aware about the health awareness scheme. She said she would reach through training to Health workers and paramedical workers.
- Organize health melas in every district
- Awareness on govt. health service to school, college about their rights.

Shiria Rahaman
Nari Pooko, Bangladesh

We work for people through PHM.
 We are reaching out to people by training health workers.
 Make people aware of their health, we do it by campaign approach from one village to another village
 I participated in Agartala PHA in India.

Sonia Asfin
Naripokko, Bangladesh

Participated in PHA
 Organized 12 workshops involving media doctors and women leaders and health workers.
 Participated in different PHM meetings.
 I have taken active role in upazilla health committees.

Suggestion

There should be networking from national to local level.
 There should be local monitoring cell to monitor the local health care facilities

Buli Durbar

Nari Pokko, Bangladesh

Through small group discussions, discussed various aspects of health
Observed world breast-feeding day.
Discussed health issues with the health authorities through PHM.

Sahosan

Naripokko, Bangladesh

There should PHM office all over the world
PHM people should be in every district and thana level.
There should be a meeting every 2-3 months.
Should be a mass awareness in TV and radio about PHM.

Najuma Begum

Naripokko, Bangladesh

Conduct workshop on campaign and lobbying.
Improve services on emergency, gynecology and forensic medicine.

Rokia

PHM, Bangladesh

- Improve family planning services
- Each village should have a health center.
- We are training health workers
- I am working for promoting immunization.
- Health services should be made available at grass root level.
- Organize many training programmes.
- Every village there should be one health committee.
- Health training should also be given at school level.
- Establish network between all Asian countries

Najma Begum

Naripokko, Bangladesh

- Our organization participated at district level workshops.
- Networking of women's organization promoted,
- Conducted workshop at district, thana and local levels
- Conducted training on human rights focusing on sex workers. Discussed women's health problems in the programme.
-

Suggestion

Make people aware about govt. health services.

Promote networking NGO for lobbying and advocacy

Collected information on health

Organized many workshops on health

Syria

GK, Bangladesh

Established PHCs

Started health insurance schemes

Started sub centers

Started referral systems

10 lakh people are covered

Doing school health programme

Making people aware about their nutrition

Working on women's development

Will do in future

Identify poorest of the poor

Make efforts to reach the services at people's doorstep

Organize regular health checkups for people about 60 years.

Expand health insurance scheme to each and every village and people should get treatment with minimum expenditure.

Poor people should be made aware on nutrition.

Training of health workers

Additional training for health workers at hospitals

15 doctor training on miocardiology

work for general improvement of women

Asia Social Forum- a Reflection

By Dr. Anant Bhan, CHC

The recently concluded Asian Social Forum held from January 2-7, 2003 was the first attempt at the Asian regional level at unifying all forces that have faith in the surmise that Another world is possible- another world that need not necessarily be dominated by imperialists & where the third world would not be continuously subjugated in the name of globalization.

To be able to work to bring together different organizations, networks, issues, people of diverse nationalities, cultures and give them an opportunity to be able to an exchange of ideas through conferences, seminars, workshops, open houses, cultural performances, movies and plays was always going to be difficult but ASF managed to pull it off.

More than 14,000 delegates and a floating population of at least 6,000 more people had ample opportunity to unite and find common ground even within the diverse fields and issues that they were advocating. So there were burqa clad women from Hyderabad attending the dalit events and relating to the feelings of suppression; there was the mother(Nora Cortinas) from a Latin country(Argentina) whose son had been taken into custody and than never seen again who saw the hands that wield power in Burma use rape as a means of suppression on the hapless citizens; there were the health-wallas from the Peoples Health Movement trying to remind everybody that this was the 25th anniversary of the Health For All call of WHO which has been conveniently forgotten by the governments in favor of the selective health care that the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund advocate & hence it was time to demand healthcare as a fundamental right; there were those who could still not understand why Gujarat could have exploded the way that it did; there were those who were dedicated to the cause of protecting our indigenous plant varieties and traditional folk-systems; there were also those who felt that they needed to attend because they wanted to prove that *they had done their quota of social work for the year* & happily went back home in their latest imported cars with soft drink cans in one hand and sleek mobile phones in the other.

Was there something achieved at the end of such a mammoth gathering- or was it a huge loss of resources? I have now come to realize after talking to my senior colleagues that the whole purpose of the meeting was just to be a platform- for everybody to be able to stand up and have their say; there was no hierarchy and negligible security (though I guess the organizers lament that after the Hussain outburst) and so you had the activist celebrities mingling with the grassroots workers who were the real strength of the organizations. It was a great opportunity for people to meet old friends and make new ones.

The outlets serving Hyderabad food, the dances, the continuous roll of drums in some part of the sprawling Nizam College grounds, the jostling around at the stalls that sold all kind of stuff from books, bags, handicrafts to short eats and ASF memorabilia just added to the 'mela' feeling and believe me at the end of each day, if you had not managed to gather enough dust to have to necessarily drag your tired body to have a pre-snooze bath, you had not entered into the true spirit of the ASF.

The mass of volunteers from all over Andhra who ran the whole show guiding delegates, making sure that you did not get fleeced by the autos and stayed on the grounds in the shamianas need to be appreciated. The efforts of NAZ foundation to provide safe drinking

water to the thirsty masses went along way in ensuring that ASF did not become a public health nightmare that it so easily could have turned into.

From the opening plenary, when we began to the calls of the Telugu theme song '*ASIA SOCEL PHORUM*' to the closing plenary when many joined in the chorus of the song, it was an experience that left of us enriched and convinced that Another World is Possible. Another Asia is Possible.

For a young medical graduate like me who had come from a biomedical background and had only attended medical conferences that were less of academic updates and more of marketing juggernauts of 'pharma' companies who sponsor everything from the delegate registration and travel to toilet paper in the rest rooms, ASF was a refreshing change. It offered a chance to remember a plethora of lost issues that the govt. and the media has conveniently forgotten. There was at the end of the event a deeper understanding in all of us of how the macroeconomic policies affect each and every corner of our country and continent. The interaction and time spent with people from diverse nationalities learning about their lives and the reasons for their convictions are memories that will last a lifetime. The discovery that arises from almost all the events at ASF is that health is inextricably linked to all the topics that were being debated whether it be poverty, women's issues, malnutrition and the right to food, dalit marginalization or the problems of the landless, the agony of those affected by torture and communal disharmony. This is a learning process that cannot be conveyed through textbooks, lectures or seminars in our ivory towers of medical education but has to be explored through the sharing of experiences that ASF provided space for.

Sometimes, there was the feeling that the most of local populace of Hyderabad were not aware of the ASF and hence were conspicuously absent; also the fact that most events spent too much time on analysis and discussing much less of action was disappointing. There was also a feeling of mistrust in some sections about the funding and the involvement of the World Bank indirectly in the organization of ASF, which was unfortunately not clarified. This led to some groups deciding to organize an 'Alternative ASF' in Hyderabad which was purportedly free of the machinations of multinational funding agencies while others decided to protest- one of the most visible being the one led by Gadgar, the revolutionary poet from Andhra. Their views have to be respected and thought upon, as there has to be room for dissent in the 'another world' that we are seeking. But these were minor hurdles which I guess, are to be expected in an event of the magnitude of ASF.

ASF as a meeting point was a success- a success that need not be quantified and critically reviewed too much in detail. It has been an experience that has left its mark on all those who participated in it. In this time of turmoil that the country is going through, I am sure we need more social forums to experience the feeling of togetherness which all of us felt during the ASF and while traveling to & fro to the events in trains and buses, singing, raising slogans and exploring new ideologies, new languages and new cultures etc.

I am sure we'll successfully organize World Social Forum in India next year as we have all learnt in ASF that national boundaries are not barriers to the basic problems that all of us face and the indomitable courage that some of us exhibit in the face of these problems to be an inspiration to mankind.

Dr. Anant Bhan
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Collective Statement Of Concern And Demands

WE.....

.... the communities affected by toxic activities like industrial pollution and waste dumping, mining, radiation, quarrying, pesticides, tanneries etc., based on our experience of these unjust, unsafe, unsustainable and destructive practices imposed on us by criminal corporations and governments

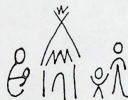


- ◆ Recognize that these practices constitute and result in a gross violation of basic human rights!
- ◆ Know the fact that the health, livelihoods, future generations and their right to life and diversity of life forms in our areas have been seriously endangered!
- ◆ Have experienced that local, national and international governance structures have failed in their duty to anticipate, prevent and remediate harm arising out of such practices and substances therein!
- ◆ Realize that our very right to survive is immediately threatened with such practices and substances, accelerated by processes of globalization, liberalization and privatization marked by reckless pursuit of profit by corporations,

WE therefore demand that:

- Effective, appropriate and immediate steps are taken to end unsafe, unsustainable and ecologically destructive practices and to ban substances which are hazardous to any forms of life
- Government ceases to support and subsidise the manufacture and use of toxic substances and instead promote, support and subsidise community-driven safe alternatives and best environment practices

- Government ensures full and public disclosure of information, studies and documentation on all such toxic substances and practices
- The precautionary principle forms the basis of all policy and decision-making
- Corporations engaged in criminal and unethical practices of contaminating and endangering communities and their environment accept their liabilities including criminal liabilities and pay appropriate compensation and take up remediation



- ♦ Civil Society networks, NGOs, health and development activists, people oriented academics, researchers, policy makers, media and all those who have gathered at ASF, Hyderabad, support our campaign



"We demand"

...that all decision-making should be participatory involving peoples organisation and communities affected by these decisions and transparent and all development adopted should be sustainable keeping in mind the physical, mental and social health of all those affected and benefited by that development.

In addition, we demand the following things specifically:

- that both workers directly affected by mining and the communities who may not be directly engaged in any mining-related work be provided access to medical care (on par with the corporate medical-care available to the employees)
- that the nexus between the government and industry be broken
- that moratoriums on new industry be declared unless some basic criteria are fulfilled
- that special courts be set up to dispense the cases related to such pollution affected communities
- uninformed and illiterate people's rights, especially right to know and information have to be upheld
- health surveys as benchmarks have to be taken up before any project is initiated and full information should be disclosed on the products, processes and materials used in the project beforehand and known knowledge about the hazards of such substances and processes put out proactively
- similarly, enforcement of the requirement of a gramsabha endorsement to projects before they are set up should be ensured
- privatization of public goods should be stopped immediately
- rehabilitation of workers, specially also on the economic front, should be the responsibility of the liable corporation
- international frameworks should be used and enforced in a better fashion to ensure safe and sustainable practices and protect the interests of local communities

FEEDBACK OF COMMUNITY HEALTH CELL ON THE ASIAN SOCIAL FORUM

PREAMBLE

Community Health Cell is the functional unit of the society for Community Health Awareness, Research and Action, Bangalore, Karnataka. CHC is an active constituent of the Jana Swasthya Abhiyan – a national network of 18 networks that are evolving a People Health Movement in India. From 1st January CHC also become the host of the international secretariat of the Peoples Health Movement. CHC had decided to actively participate in ASF, welcoming the spirit, process and objective of the WSF India process. We were not on the organizing committee directly so our involvement and perceptions could be clarified as those of an active General body member or participant. Over 140 participants nearly 1% of ASF registered participants were facilitated by CHC bringing together countries India, Bangladesh, Bhutan, Philippines, and Sri Lanka and backgrounds disciplines which included development stalwarts, health activist, professionals, campaign groups, social activist, NGOs, health and development workers, students and CHC team members. The age group ranged from 20- 80. CHC brought 11 out of 17 of its own staff because we also saw this intersectional dialogue opportunity as of great significant for staff enrichment and development. In that sense ASF proved to be a very relevant opportunity for us to enhance the socio-political- economic- cultural contextual analysis for our team members. On return we had a debriefing session at CHC and the following strengths and weakness were identified which we are sending as feedback to WSF India. These are based on contributions from different staff members and associates.

INTRODUCTION

Platform for expression of diversity

(1) It was an event of unity in diversity of voices expressing the concerns over the negative implications of Globalization. It was the first attempt at the Asian regional level at unifying all forces who believe that Another world is possible- Another world that need not necessarily be dominated by imperialists & where the third world be continuously subjugated in the name of globalization.

(2) To be able to work to bring together different organizations, networks, issues, people of diverse nationalities, cultures, and give them an opportunity to exchange ideas through conferences, seminars, workshops, open houses, cultural performances, movies and plays was always going to be difficult but WSF India managed it well.

(3) It was nice experience to meet many like-minded people and get better understanding of various points of views on different issues of concern to the movements and civil society. Like all events there were lessons to learn definitely both positive and negative.

STRENGTHS

Presence of Dalits was felt stronger

1. The over arrangements at the venue were good considering the magnitude of the event- plenary halls, market place, food and water arrangement and cultural space.

Presence of Dalit was stronger

2. The presence of dalits was impressive, well organized confident and assertive. Very encouraging part was that many Dalit NGO groups realized the seriousness of alcoholism especially among Dalits and decided to plan some intervention initiatives in their ongoing programmes

3. Media coverage

Media strategy in publicizing issues of ASF discussion was excellent as most of the leading newspaper covered lot of articles about ASF.

4. Space for people's health movement

The opportunity for PHM/JSA to share ideas and learn from other sections was significant. There were the representative from the Peoples Health Movement form several states and countries trying to remind everybody that this was the 25th anniversary of the Health For All call of WHO which has been conveniently forgotten by the governments in favor of the selective health care, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund advocate & hence it was time to demand healthcare as a fundamental right. There were over 10 event that were organized by them using the opportunity of this significant inter sectoral event.

WEAKNESSES

1. Too many programs

Too many programmes offered variety of activities, but it was very difficult to choose between them. The near proximity between the programs in some centers disturbed serious discussions held in the conference center.

2. Focus of the discussion

Discussions were mostly on Globalization and particular political party bashing, while discussion on privatization and secularism was conveniently left out. Also the celebration of alternative was not as strong as it should have been.

3. Local not aware of the event

Sometimes, there was the feeling that the most of local populace of Hyderabad were not aware of the ASF and hence were conspicuously absent.

4. The fact that most events spent too much time on analysis and discussing much less of action was disappointing.

5. Lot of innovative programmes were being organized outside conference hall, but interaction with commoners outside the compound revealed that little more publicity among common public was required so that the larger unconverted public should be reached.

6. Though the programme was varied an interesting, it could have been better if little more planning had gone into it to coordinate events so that similar focus events could have been clubbed together and more collectivity in efforts promoted which would have enhanced that dialogue between groups. .

7. The discovery that arises from almost all the events at ASF is that health is inextricably linked to all the topics that were being debated whether it be poverty, women's issues, malnutrition and the right to food, dalit marginalization or the problems of the landless, the agony of those affected by torture and communal disharmony. This is a learning process that cannot be conveyed through textbooks, lectures or seminars in our ivory towers of medical education but has to be explored through the sharing of experiences that ASF provided space for. While the presence of the People's Health Movement was strong much more needs to be done.

8. It was not an event to conduct serious business. People were in a celebration mood. Instead of announcing of so many seminars and workshop, there could have been more plenary to share themes, perceptions, case studies and alternatives.

9. There was also a feeling of mistrust in some sections about the funding and the involvement of the World Bank indirectly in the organization of ASF, which was unfortunately not clarified. This led to some groups deciding to organize an 'Alternative ASF' in Hyderabad which was purportedly free of the machinations of multinational funding agencies while others decided to protest- one of the most visible being the one led by Gadar, the revolutionary poet from Andhra. Their views have to be respected and thought upon, as there has to be room for dissent in the 'another world' that we are seeking. But these were minor hurdles which we guess, are to be expected in an event of the magnitude of ASF.

IN CONCLUSION,

10) Serious conferences and street theater could have been organized in different venues so that both could have proceeded without many disturbances.

11) Some times we wondered whether we were trying to convert the converted through the slogan shouting and demonstration in front of participants who were already aware of the many issues.

12) Planning of more plenary sessions with an opportunity for short presentations on various issues of concern expressed by the various groups/ organization present would have helped more people to know at least the keys issues on each of the broader problems that ASF was trying to cover.

SHOULD WE HOST THE NEXT WSF?

We are sure it possible to successfully organize the World Social Forum in India next year as we have all learnt in ASF that national boundaries are not barriers to the basic problems that all of us face and the indomitable courage that different groups have exhibited in the face of these problems can be an inspiration to others.

But the planning and organizing must not only be much more inclusive but also balance anti globalization and pro alternative development events and initiatives.

ASF as a meeting point was a success- a success that needs to be evaluated in a SWOT mode looking at strengths and gains and also at weaknesses and missed opportunities. It has been an experience that has left its mark on all those who participated in it. In this time of turmoil that the country is going through, we are sure we need more social forums to experience the feeling of togetherness which all of us felt during the ASF. While traveling to & fro to the events in trains and buses, singing, raising slogans and exploring new ideologies, new languages and new cultures. This was its greatest strength.

While offering this feedback we would also like to thank all the WSF- India for a job well done. It can always have been better. So the feedback taken in that spirit will make WSF 2004 even better.

Compiled by *S.J.Chander*
Community Health Cell, Bangalore.

ASF Sidelights

The venue of Asia Social Forum, Nizam College grounds, thundered with the resounding rhythms of dappudrumms. Marxist intellectuals to Gandhians were seated on the dais. From revolutionary groups to anti tobacco groups, participated in the programme.

Nora Cortines an octogenarian from Argentina seized the attention with her active approach and inspirational speech. Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka not withstanding the scorching sun sheltered under umbrellas.

Medha Patkar and the leaders of the Left parties squatted in the masses before the Plenary.

Statement issued by the participants of the
WORKSHOP ON ACTION TOWARDS A TOBACCO FREE WORLD
 On 3rd January 2003
 ASIAN SOCIAL FORUM, HYDERABAD, INDIA

FIGHT TOBACCO THE KILLER !!!

Realizing that tobacco and its products including cigarettes, bidis, guthka, and chewed tobacco:

- Is one of the biggest killers worldwide and particularly among the poor killing 4.6 million people every year and reducing life by 15-20 years. Tobacco causes cancer of the various organs: throat, heart, blood vessels, lungs and other organs leading to suffering disability and death.
- Is highly addictive with nicotine being more addictive than cocaine or heroin.
- Is the most freely available consumer product worldwide.
- Has an adverse environmental impact using of millions of tonnes of wood for curing tobacco, excessive use of pesticides and chemicals depleting soil fertility.
- The tobacco industry results in an overall fiscal loss with loss of productivity and cost of treating tobacco related illnesses being more than the revenue generated.
- The tobacco industry indulges in misinformation through aggressive advertisement and sponsorship targeting children, youth and women.
- Affects millions of non-smokers and particularly pregnant women, retarding the growth of the unborn children and causing abortion through passive smoking.
- Tobacco use perpetuates poverty at household and larger levels.

We the participants of the workshop on Action Towards a Tobacco Free World in the Asia Social Forum issues this statement and call upon Government, civil society, media and the people to take up urgent action:

- On public policies in the context of right to health, right to work and public health reduction.
- Work through local government and local bodies, focusing on grassroots level.
- Hold the tobacco companies responsible for the losses incurred and the adverse consequences on individuals and families of tobacco use.
- Ban all direct and indirect advertisement of tobacco and its products including sponsorship of sports and cultural events by the tobacco companies and affiliated bodies.
- Ban the manufacture and sale of chewed tobacco in any form since markets are especially vulnerable.
- Progressively reduce the area of cultivation of tobacco utilizing the areas that were the most fertile for crops.
- Prevent the cutting down of trees and denudation of forests for curing and packaging tobacco.
- Increase progressively the tax on tobacco and its products and utilize the revenue thus received for health promotion.
- Introduce legislation and enforceable punishment laws for prohibition of smoking in public places.
- Use all means to increase public awareness.
- Reduce glamorization of tobacco products through films and media.

"WORKING TOGETHER FOR TOBACCO CONTROL" TOGETHER WE CAN DO IT!

NGO-14.0

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM

CONFRONTING EMPIRE

ARUNDHATI ROY

I'VE been asked to speak about "How to confront Empire?" It's a huge question, and I have no easy answers.

When we speak of confronting "Empire," we need to identify what "Empire" means. Does it mean the U.S. government (and its European satellites), the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organisation, and multinational corporations? Or is it more than that?

In many countries, Empire has spawned other subsidiary heads, some dangerous byproducts — nationalism, religious bigotry, fascism and, of course, terrorism. All these march arm in arm with the project of corporate globalisation.

Let me illustrate what I mean. India — the world's biggest democracy — is currently at the forefront of the corporate globalisation project. Its "market" of one billion people is being prised open by the WTO. Corporatisation and Privatisation are being welcomed by the government and the Indian elite.

It is not a coincidence that the Prime Minister, the Home Minister, the Disinvestment Minister — the men who signed the deal with Enron in India, the men who are selling the country's infrastructure to corporate multinationals, the men who want to privatise water, electricity, oil, coal, steel, health, education and telecommunication — are all members or admirers of the RSS. The RSS is a right wing, ultra-nationalist Hindu guild, which has openly admired Hitler and his methods.

The dismantling of democracy is proceeding with the speed and efficiency of a Structural Adjustment Programme. While the project of corporate globalisation rips through people's lives in India, massive privatisation, and labour "reforms" are pushing people off their land and out of their jobs. Hundreds of impoverished farmers are committing suicide by consuming pesticide. Reports of starvation deaths are coming in from all over the country.

While the elite journeys to its imaginary destination somewhere near the top of the world, the dispossessed are spiralling downwards into crime and chaos.

This climate of frustration and national disillusionment is the perfect breeding ground, history tells us, for fascism.

The two arms of the Indian government have evolved the perfect pincer action. While one arm is busy selling India off in chunks, the other, to divert attention, is orchestrating a howling, baying chorus of Hindu nationalism and religious fascism. It is conducting nuclear tests, rewriting histo-



MARCELO LIMA/AFIP

"We can turn the war on Iraq into a fishbowl of the U.S. government's excesses," declared the writer Arundhati Roy in her address to the Stadium Anti-War Rally at the III World Social Forum at Porto Alegre, Brazil, on January 27, 2003. Speaking in the company of Noam Chomsky, she proposed various ways to "lay siege to empire... to deprive it of oxygen... to shame it... to mock it." This is the text of Roy's speech:

like Afghanistan. The port is linked to Afghanistan by road. India will also help build a road from the Iranian town of Zaranj to connect it to a main transport artery that serves the major cities of Afghanistan.

Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee told the media after the signing of the Delhi Declaration that the "full

years that an Indian armed forces chief had visited Iran. Joint India-Iranian naval exercises are expected soon.

ADDRESSING a meeting of Muslim intellectuals and clerics in New Delhi, President Khatami said that the West is using "psychological operations" to demonise Islam. According

under the leadership of Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, the country's spiritual leader.

In his speech Khatami noted that Islam, after it came to India, was enriched by Indian mysticism and spiritualism. He urged Muslims to play a constructive role to strengthen the country. Religious conflict and intolerance would only strengthen the hands of the "enemies inside". Khatami paid tribute to India's pluralistic political culture.

According to Indian officials, the sensitive Kashmir issue did not come up during the bilateral discussions. The government of Iran has on many occasions said that it wants a peaceful resolution of the conflict in Kashmir. This position was reiterated during President Khatami's recent visit to Pakistan. In a speech during that visit Khatami had said that there "must be a resolution of the (Kashmir) issue in line with the aspirations of the people of Kashmir. As a Muslim, as a human being and as an Iranian, the acute suffering of the people of dear Kashmir are unforgettable for me and I sincerely hope, God willing, that the Kashmiris achieve their



Iranian President Mohammed Khatami with Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee before the signing of agreements in New Delhi on January 25.

significance" of the agreement will only be clear after some time. President Khatami said he welcomed the presence of India in "the commercial and scientific fields in Central Asia". Both the leaders, however, emphasised that their cooperation is not directed against any third country. "Iran and India are situated in a region that is quite susceptible to crisis, and that is why the regional countries' shared efforts are aimed at strengthening the foundations of peace and stability," President Khatami said at a banquet hosted in his honour at Rashtrapati Bhavan.

India and Iran also plan to consolidate defence cooperation. India's Chief of the Naval Staff, Admiral Madhendra Singh, was in Iran prior to Khatami's visit to India - the first time in five

years that an Indian armed forces chief had visited Iran. Joint India-Iranian naval exercises are expected soon. Khatami, the West had to create a "new enemy" after the "collapse of Communism". He said that powerful countries like the U.S. needed "enemies" so that huge amounts of money could be allocated to their defence budgets. He pointed out that it was not only the U.S. which has been subjected to terrorist attacks. He reminded his audience that the Palestinian people have been the target of terrorism since a long time.

Khatami, who was elected twice with a huge popular mandate, told his audience that Islam and democracy are not incompatible. A flawed democracy, he said, was preferable to an authoritarian dictatorship. In his country, Khatami is currently engaged in a political struggle with authoritarian clerics,

goals." He also reminded his Pakistani audience that Islam was the strongest link binding the people of Iran and Pakistan.

Khatami's speech in Pakistan did not go unnoticed in New Delhi. But Indian officials are also aware that Teheran is also wary of the U.S. military presence in Pakistan and Central Asia. Teheran knows that it could be next on the hit list of the U.S. after Baghdad. Israel, America's closest ally in the region, has for long been arguing that Iran constitutes a bigger threat than Iraq. Given the circumstances it is in, Teheran, at this juncture, cannot be too choosy about its choice of friends. The same holds true for New Delhi, which today has stronger strategic links with Tel Aviv than with Teheran. ■



At a rally that marked the beginning of the World Social Forum on January 23. (Inset) An activist with a photomontage showing U.S. President George W. Bush along with Adolf Hitler.

some twisted form of international etiquette. It's like leaving the "doggie door" open for last minute "allies" or maybe the United Nations to crawl through.

But for all intents and purposes, the New War against Iraq has begun.

What can we do?

We can hone our memory, we can learn from our history. We can continue to build public opinion until it becomes a deafening roar. We can turn the war on Iraq into a fishbowl of the U.S. government's excesses. We can expose George Bush and Tony Blair — and their allies — for the cowardly baby killers, water poisoners, and pusillanimous long-distance bombers that they are. We can re-invent civil disobedience in a million different ways. In other words, we can come up with a million ways of becoming a collective pain in the ass.

When George Bush says, "you're either with us, or you are with the terrorists," we can say "No thank you." We can let him know that the people of the world do not need to choose between a Malevolent Mickey Mouse and the Mad Mullahs.

Our strategy should be not only to confront empire, but to lay siege to it. To deprive it of oxygen. To shame it. To mock it. With our art, our music, our literature, our stubbornness, our joy, our brilliance, our sheer relentlessness — and our ability to tell our own stories. Stories that are different from the ones we're being brainwashed to believe.

The corporate revolution will collapse if we refuse to buy what they are selling — their ideas, their version of history, their wars, their weapons, their notion of inevitability.

Remember this: We be many and they be few. They need us more than we need them. ■

own people. It won't be long before the majority of American people become our allies. Only a few days ago in Washington, a quarter of a million people marched against the war on Iraq. Each month, the protest is gathering momentum.

Before September 11, 2001 America had a secret history. Secret especially from its own people. But now America's secrets are history, and its history is public knowledge. It's street talk.

Today, we know that every argument that is being used to escalate the war against Iraq is a lie. The most ludicrous of them being the U.S. government's deep commitment to bring democracy to Iraq. Killing people to save them from dictatorship or ideological corruption is, of course, an old U.S. government sport. Here in Latin America, you know that better than most.

Nobody doubts that Saddam Hussein is a ruthless dictator, a murderer (whose worst excesses were supported by the governments of the United States and Great Britain). There's no doubt that Iraqis would be better off without him.

But, then, the whole world would be better off without a certain Mr. Bush. In fact, he is far more dangerous than Saddam

Hussein. So, should we bomb Bush out of the White House?

It's more than clear that Bush is determined to go to war against Iraq, regardless of the facts — and regardless of international public opinion. In its recruitment drive for allies, the United States is prepared to invent facts. The charade with weapons inspectors is the U.S. government's offensive, insulting concession to





FRANCO PINESAR

(Facing page) A demonstration against the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) at the World Social Forum on January 26. (Above) Venezuelan President Hugo Chavez at the Forum.

ry books, burning churches, and demolishing mosques. Censorship, surveillance, the suspension of civil liberties and human rights, the definition of who is an Indian citizen and who is not, particularly with regard to religious minorities, is becoming common practice now.

Last March, in the state of Gujarat, two thousand Muslims were butchered in a state-sponsored pogrom. Muslim women were specially targeted. They were stripped, and gang-raped, before being burned alive. Arsonists burned and looted shops, homes, textiles mills and mosques. More than a hundred and fifty thousand Muslims have been driven from their homes. The economic base of the Muslim community has been devastated.

While Gujarat burned, the Indian Prime Minister was on MTV promoting his new poems. In January this year, the government that orchestrated the killing was voted back into office with a comfortable majority. Nobody has been punished for the genocide. Narendra Modi, architect of the pogrom, proud member of the RSS, has embarked on his second term as the Chief Minister of Gujarat. If he were Saddam Hussein, of course each atrocity would have been on CNN. But since he's not — and since the Indian "market" is open to global investors — the massacre is not even an embarrassing inconvenience.

There are more than one hundred million Muslims in India. A time bomb is

ticking in our ancient land.

All this to say that it is a myth that the free market breaks down national barriers. The free market does not threaten national sovereignty, it undermines democracy.

As the disparity between the rich and the poor grows, the fight to corner resources is intensifying. To push through their "sweetheart deals," to corporatise the crops we grow, the water we drink, the air we breathe, and the dreams we dream, corporate globalisation needs an international confederation of loyal, corrupt, authoritarian governments in poorer countries to push through unpopular reforms and quell the mutinies.

Corporate Globalisation — or shall we call it by its name? — Imperialism — needs a press that pretends to be free. It needs courts that pretend to dispense justice.

Meanwhile, the countries of the North harden their borders and stockpile weapons of mass destruction. After all they have to make sure that it's only money, goods, patents and services that are globalised. Not the free movement of people. Not a respect for human rights. Not international treaties on racial discrimination or chemical and nuclear weapons or greenhouse gas emissions or climate change, or — god forbid — justice.

So this — all this — is "empire." This loyal confederation, this obscene accumulation of power, this greatly increased distance between those who make the

decisions and those who have to suffer them.

Our fight, our goal, our vision of Another World must be to eliminate that distance.

So how do we resist "Empire"?

The good news is that we're not doing too badly. There have been major victories. Here in Latin America you have had so many — in Bolivia, you have Cochabamba; in Peru, there was the uprising in Arequipa; in Venezuela, President Hugo Chavez is holding on, despite the U.S. government's best efforts.

And the world's gaze is on the people of Argentina, who are trying to refashion a country from the ashes of the havoc wrought by the IMF.

In India the movement against corporate globalisation is gathering momentum and is poised to become the only real political force to counter religious fascism.

As for corporate globalisation's glittering ambassadors — Enron, Bechtel, WorldCom, Arthur Andersen — where were they last year, and where are they now?

And of course here in Brazil we must ask...who was the president last year, and who is it now?

Still...many of us have dark moments of hopelessness and despair. We know that under the spreading canopy of the War Against Terrorism, the men in suits are hard at work.

While bombs rain down on us, and cruise missiles skid across the skies, we know that contracts are being signed, patents are being registered, oil pipelines are being laid, natural resources are being plundered, water is being privatised, and George Bush is planning to go to war against Iraq. If we look at this conflict as a straightforward eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation between "Empire" and those of us who are resisting it, it might seem that we are losing.

But there is another way of looking at it. We, all of us gathered here, have, each in our own way, laid siege to "Empire." We may not have stopped it in its tracks — yet — but we have stripped it down. We have made it drop its mask. We have forced it into the open. It now stands before us, on the world's stage in all its brutish, iniquitous nakedness.

Empire may well go to war, but it's out in the open now — too ugly to behold its own reflection. Too ugly even to rally its

neg-14.

ASF

Subject: Article on ASF

Date: Wed, 8 Jan 2003 18:39:26 +0530

From: "L.C. Jain" <lcjain@bgl.vsnl.net.in>

To: "Shanta Mohan Dr." <shantham@nias.iisc.ernet.in>,

"Peggy Antrobus" <pantrobus@hotmail.com>,

"Sakiko Fukuda-Pari" <sakiko.fukuda-parr@undp.org>, "Ravi Narayan" <sochara@vsnl.com>,

"Mayank Gandhi" <modcllc@vsnl.net>, "Aruna Roy" <aruna@sttil.univ.ernet.in>

Dear Friends,

Thought you may be interested in this report which will appear in EPW - this Saturday issue on 11th January.

Devaki

The Empire strikes Back. Report on the ASF hvd 2003.doc

Name: The Empire strikes Back. Report on the ASF hvd 2003.doc

Type: Winword File (application/msword)

Encoding: base64

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The Empire Strikes Back : a report on the Asian Social Forum, Hyderabad 2-7 Jan 2003

Devaki jain Bangalore

Devaki Jain, Member of the South Commission

Brinda Karat,--- of the AIDWA , in a TV interview on Sunday 5th Jan, said it is the Empire we , gathered at the Asian Social Forum, are resisting. The gathering of 14,000 persons in Hyderabad, of whom unusually almost half were Dalits and women, apart from those who work with the rights of the most oppressed and excluded, could be seen as a defining moment for the Empire to strike back , on many counts . As an expression of the vitality of the new identities, like dalits, displaced persons, workers and their ability to share a common space; an expression of the widespread understanding of the international order, therefore the fact that information on the "big Picture " has reached the remote, - thus justifying or affirming the value of forums and networks which have carried the message of where and how the increasing pressures on dignity and survival are coming from ; a quest for alternatives to the current political and economic regimes and the theories that back them up – and last but not the least of all- developing the mode and skills to hold international or world conferences outside of the UN's initiative.

It could be said that the themes and the formation as well as the presentations at the panels and workshops were not providing anything that could be called new knowledge, as the agonizing over this over generalized programme called globalisation has not only been on for some time, but its impact experience, hearings, theatre and *naras* are now almost a catechism. The groups and expressions on the criminality of war , on the ugly State and the uglier politicians that run it , and the voices on the TV and other media who are the quoted on this package are also a known scenario. As an experience for those who have been witness to these journeys and forums, therefore it was nothing especially new .

But for those who were in it for the first time and given visibility and voice in large tents holding 1000s of people , sprinkled with delegates from other countries, it was a resounding moment of self empowerment, of celebrating their particular experience, whether as victims , or part of collectivities like Dalits or displaced persons.

A young man, who is part of the electoral reform and accountability campaign, located in Bombay was so overwhelmed by the throbbing, procession and drums and loud speaker filled Campus or fields of the Nizam College, and all so peaceful, no violence at all, no garbage thrown all around like a political party congress, no hierarchies at all, no cars , - just space space and space, and crowds crowds and crowds milling to gether, finding their way around . He was so captivated with this marvel that he went back to , as he said, to feel that pulsating place again before he took the plane back to Bombay. He

was transformed for life, and realized that what he was doing was just a small corner , compared to where other campaigns had reached .

Beginning as an off shoot of the World Social Forum , which also had a beginning as an alternative to the World Economic Forum, with "globalisation," and the Bretton Woods Institutions as the whipping boys, the Asian Social Forum took a shape of its own, expanding the space, almost encroaching on the primacy of space usually occupied by not only government representatives but the ever present UN agencies and bilateral donors; looking for potentials for funding and for their legitimacy as upholders of Human Rights, and supporters of poverty removal efforts . There was also the shift in the character of those present from NGO types usually engaged in "development" to People's Movements Also evident was the learning that had filtered in , from the earlier experience of participating in the NGO Forums of the UN – for which naturally the UN system and the Bilateral donors, have to be given Credit- from Durban for the Dalit groups, from the People's Health Assembly of the Health for All movement , from the various women's conferences for the women.

Whether it was Medha Patkar, of the NBA fame, or Thomas Kocherry of the Fisher peoples Struggles , or Aruna Roy of the MKSS, or ---- and Ruth Manorama of the Dalit struggles, or Thelma and Ravi Narayan struggling to argue for the primacy of health over all other services, for the poor; or Jean Dreze for food, or Samy of the National Centre for Labour, for protecting the dignity of work, they were not deterred by the falling sky. The overpowering march of that great exterminator, the new political face of economic power,- Bush and his allies. The impending war against Iraq, the overpowering of the UN as an international arbiter and protector of the sovereignty of nations, the hot pursuit into Pakistan , the incapacity of any other comity of nations to challenge this crushing march of this monolith, the many domestic laws , in the USA as well as in all other countries, promulgated as anti terrorist laws which violate human rights, the hate language, built around religion which has given new pugnacity to domestic fundamentalist forces, may have been in their consciousness, but there was also a resolve to get on with their work on the ground. At the ASF, they were recharging their batteries. Kocherry to defend the fisher people on the island, Medha to work for a development mode which did not displace, in other words against the large infrastructure projects and the style in which they are put on the ground, Aruna for accountability , and a host of persons for rebuilding the collective united Asian front - for women against war and violence of other kinds, for Labour in facing the international labour protocols , for Media , health , environment and a host of other areas.

There were murmurings that the Forum was dominated by the "leftists" while there was also the phenomenon of some left groups publicly dissociating themselves from the Forum. The alliances like the NAPM, the NCL – apart from many others such as the movement spearheaded by Vandana Shiva , bear shades of the Gandhian inspiration. As has been commented upon by many in recent times, the progressives in the India of today, are increasingly referring to Gandhi's political and economic ideas and methods as inspirational. So the alliances of left and Gandhi were not on a collision path or even

demeaning or demonizing each other as was wont some time ago. Yet the reference to Gandhi had to be muted, as the Dalits would dissociate from the explicitly Gandhian presence. Ideological premises, controversial Ikons, did not impede the "soul" of the space, the sense of oneness of the gatherings.

To a criticism that all these alternatives, do not add up to a unity – mere celebration of identities, in such diverse contexts and approaches, cannot provide the basis for a challenge to the exterminator. an interesting reply by a feminist, who was once a member of the CPML, was that it was good to be free of a unifying political theory. Belonging to such formal ideologies had been suffocating, as it quelled difference of opinion, debate and transformation. Confusion was good, as it gave the space to form new alliances, shape new formulations, design new approaches, and may be even new theories to underpin all the alternatives. Unity can be *forged*, but not *forced* as was happening before the diverse groups got a shared space to understand their differences and shape their commonality.

Was there sufficient attention to the post Sept 11th reassembled world? Since some of the language was from the old categories of capitalist, imperialist – the analysis also came from the classical analysis which divided the global landscape on those lines. The re-configuration of the world powers, the new hegemony, where location and religion superceded the ownership of capital, where political leaders were unselfconscious in using the language of hate, where the sovereignty of nations was crumbling, and where conservatism in political leadership was being supported by citizens, did not challenge the intellectual speakers to re-define globalisation. It was not moved from its simplistic characteristics of privatization and liberalization – to its new face of militarisation, and unipolarity. Not enough attention was paid to the design of a response – the importance of a community of sovereign, independent even in economic terms, nations who could challenge this new monolith. Thus the importance of building strong states, but with a political leadership which was different from what was in existence. Politicians were denigrated, but the strategy for political alternatives not developed. The potential within the peoples movements for entering the campaigns for electoral reform, for strengthening grassroots democracy, for releasing new energies into formal politics, through campaigns to fill the elected bodies, with women, excluded groups, leaders of movements for social justice- what Gandhi called constructive workers was not central to the Agenda as the mood was anti State and therefore anti Politics.

Neither the Asian Social Forum nor the World Social Forum, nor the enormous street confrontations, nor even the valiant successes of people's movements on the ground, can push back this new hegemony, the Bush power. It needs the Sovereign states, it needs configurations like the NAM of old, which had a political stance, which distanced itself from the former colonizers. Thus the Need to rebuild the State, to address politics

1624 words

Broadening of Anti-Liberalisation and Anti-Communal Alliance the Media Ignored

KAMAL MITRA CHENYO

The fourth World Social Forum, the first outside Brazil, ended on January 21 after six days of intensive discussions, rallies and cultural events. Extensively reported in the international media, less so in India, what did this event really mean? Why did 100,000 people—including 15,000 from more than 100 countries—and an overwhelming number of urban and rural poor, participate? They came because the failure of neo-liberal globalisation to provide equitable and sustainable development has become clear.

There was a wide variety of views from various social movements—environmental, women's, Dalits', indigenous peoples', workers'—from various diverse theoretical and political tendencies. This plurality was the WSF's strength. It was an "open space" that allowed contending opinions to be debated: from those like Joseph Stiglitz, who want a liberal alternative to the 'Washington consensus' that dominates the IMF-World Bank-OECD thinking, to more radical critics who want an anti-capitalist alternative like Samir Amin and Walden Bello.

But critics—from commentators in the Indian media to the Maoists in the Mumbai Resistance—ask: isn't this talk-shop a secular, foreign funded *kumbh mela*? The overwhelming majority of Indians who attended came at their own cost, including lost income from the workdays they missed, with little subsidy from their organisations. So did most middle class activists from India and abroad. The WSF decided not to take funding from agencies like the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations and DFID. So the media-promoted image of elite, foreign-funded intellectuals dominating the 'rented' crowds in Mumbai is a canard.

The range of views and discussions in the WSF reflects the serious thinking among those for alternative, pro-people models of globalisation. With regional, national and even local specificities there can be no one alternative model. For instance, socio-economic alternatives in West Bengal will differ from those in Assam and Jammu and Kashmir.

The author is a Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlar Nehru University, New Delhi. He was on the Organising Committee of the WSF.

Similarly, there are alternative ways of combating patriarchy, communalism, casteism, racism and militarism. Yet isn't the fact that such a range of issues are discussed by major intellectuals, leaders of mass movements and activists, in audiences ranging from 50 to 50,000 unique?

Yet commentators in the media, who were not there but should have known better, condemned the intellectuals who participated as "dishonest". This shows their arrogant disregard for democratic debate and the responsibility of intellectuals to question received wisdom, no matter where it may emanate from. However, the media committed to the neo-liberal orthodoxy chose to instead play up the alleged rape by a South African judge of another South African delegate which occurred in a five-star hotel miles away from the WSF event. The charge has since been withdrawn.

While all harassment of women must be condemned—and the organisers of the WSF were quick to do so and rallied against violence on women the next day—was this the major, not to speak of central, feature of the WSF? Are more horrendous crimes against women reported with the same alacrity and persistence? Or was this a not-so-subtle attempt to deride an unprecedented popular mobilisation, larger and more diverse than in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2003? What about the discussion by feminist organisations, and noted intellectuals like Nawal al-Sadawi and Shirin Ebadi, the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize winner, which critiqued patriarchy and suggested alternatives to counter it?

Four decades ago, emphasising the importance of the media, Marshall McLuhan predicted that "the medium is the message". Noam Chomsky, Edward Herman and others have analysed how the media "manufactures consent". Large parts of the Indian media, with honourable exceptions, chose to defend neo-liberal economic reforms against the critics massed in Mumbai. While it is perfectly legitimate for press editorials and commentators to defend and propagate mainstream views, it is undemocratic of

the media to ignore and deride internationally supported democratic alternatives.

The fact that the WSF Charter stresses openness, plurality and non-violence, in sharp contrast to its ultra-Left critics, was virtually ignored by the media. The Forum is unlikely to meet again in India, at least for this generation. The question arises then, what did this meet achieve for Asia and India? The WSF International Council which met just after the event was clear that the Mumbai event, because of its mobilisation, diversity and organisation, was a milestone. Future meetings will build on this

experience and will take this process forward.

This, ultimately, is a real, popular instance of "India shining" because this massive mobilisation marks both the broadening of the anti-liberalisation as well as anti-communal alliance. For the first time, political mass organisations, "social" movements, NGOs and intellectual activists have worked together respecting their differences but uniting on a common platform with common goals. If it continues, as is the intention, the people and the media, would have a lot to look forward to in the future. ■

(Courtesy: *The Indian Express*)

UTTARANCHAL

Hill Seats May Decrease

HARISH CHANDOLA

The Uttaranchal hills are going to be punished for keeping their population low, while the State's plains areas are likely to be rewarded for unrestrained growth, in the delimitation of the State's electoral constituencies.

The State has five Lok Sabha constituencies and 70 Assembly ones.

On examining the 2001 census figures, India's southern States found that while their efforts to check the population growth had succeeded, that of the northern States had not and the number of people there had increased considerably. Based on the census figures, they were apprehensive that seats of the northern States would increase in the Lok Sabha and that of southern States decrease. They brought the matter to the notice of the Union Government leaders, who then assured them that the number of seats would remain fixed and unaltered until the first census after 2026.

For the Uttaranchal State, however, the story is turning out to be different. Though its total number of seats in the State Assembly would continue to remain 70, there would be an adjustment of its constituencies or delimitation, based on the 2001 census figures, according to the detailed guidelines and methodology instructions and a working paper issued last year by the Delimitation Commission of India. The guidelines, methodology and working paper had been sent to the associate members of the Commission from Uttaranchal who are Members of Parliament and the State's Election Commissioner.

In this State too while the population of its plains

region has grown considerably, that of its hill region increased only very slightly. That means that in the delimitation, the plains constituencies and seats would increase and those of the hills decrease. When delimitation is completed, the hill region is likely to lose six seats in the Assembly and the plains region will gain them, on the basis of population.

An important social organisation of the State, called Dhad, headed by the former Commissioner of the Garhwal region, S.S. Pangtey, has sent strong representations to the Delimitation Commission against this move.

It says the number of seats in a Legislative Assembly is fixed by Parliament, under clause (1) of Article 170 of the Constitution, which is not part of the process of delimitation and is thus beyond the purview of the Delimitation Commission. Its guidelines, methodology and working paper are therefore against the provisions of sub-clause (1) to the third proviso of clause (3) of Article 170, and should therefore be cancelled.

There are other anomalies. Some Uttaranchal parliamentary constituencies in the plains have a smaller population than those in its hills. The ones in the hills are spread over vast areas of difficult access, particularly along its northern and eastern international borders. For instance, the densely populated plains constituency of Hardwar has a population of only 14,44,213 (2001 census), which lives in an area of less than 2000 square kilometres, while the constituency of Tehri has 17,31,870 people

Resisting when Bush comes to shove

Meena Menon visited the World Social Forum and Mumbai Resistance, 2004, and found varying viewpoints not just about issues raised, but about the forums themselves

The incessant drumming and protests have stopped and the thronging multitudes have left. By the time this report appears in print, the enormous amounts of dust generated at the banner strewn, sprawling NESCO grounds in Goregaon east, Mumbai, would have settled down. For many of the estimated 100,000 people who took part in the six-day event between 16 and 21 January 2004, the World Social Forum (WSF) will remain a vivid memory. Not a noisy and dusty one, of a dream that another world possible.

For some there will be the painful aspect of stinking or no toilets, no water and poor camp arrangements. The shock of colours and diverse protests made for a grand photo-op for the hundreds of cameras but for many who did not know English, the WSF offered little room to understand the proceedings. If its chaos that is required for the creation of a new world, there was plenty of that and more at the WSF.

"The American dream has created nightmares," screams one poster. The WSF demands justice and survival and for these reasons, we must consider ourselves to be at war, declares the ever-popular Arundhati Roy. "It is not enough to say *jeetenge bhai jeetenge*," says Roy, who called for choosing two US corporations who had benefited from post-war reconstruction in Iraq and shutting them down. The WSF has already been hailed as the world's second super power. But Palestinian leader Mustafa Barghouti says it is a better super power as it gets its power not from weapons or from money but from the people – "a power that can never be overcome".

"We don't need a common front against terrorism, we need a common front for social justice," declares Samir Amin, neo Marxist thinker from Egypt. Amin says, "We are facing a new imperialism which is different in character from the previous stages. The US cannot maintain its present standard of living without money from the rest of the world. That is not market access, that's plunder. Military control is used to compensate for the deficiencies of the US economy and the US establishment has created the project of military control of the planet with 600 military bases. Another better world is possible – the precondition of this is the defeat of the US plan of military control of the planet."

More than 80,000 people from 2,660 organisations in 132 countries registered for the WSF and 2,300 press persons were accredited from over 45 countries. Every day, from morning till night, the main streets were clogged with one protest after another against trade policies, Bhopal, imperialism, war, corruption, deportation of migrant workers, WTO, IMF, USA, labour conditions and you name it. "It's a crime to be poor in the era of globalisation," says Roy. "In the new era you don't need apartheid, you have the WTO, the World Bank and the IMF." There was recognition that what happens in one part of the world affects all of us. And the numerous signatures on the long white banners held by Tibetan monks, the number of supporters wearing Palestinian scarves, and all kinds of support badges for other movements was a testimony to that. Trade unionists, feminists, lesbians, gays, transsexuals, children, indigenous peoples, Dalits, the physically challenged, took to the streets with great gusto

Two land rights activists, Sarita and Mahesh, were brutally killed on 24 January 2004 in Gaya, Bihar. The circumstances of this murder are still not very clear, but the basic facts seem to be the following. Sarita and Mahesh had been working for several years in Shabdo village, where they were helping the local community to achieve a sustainable and equitable use of land resources. Their tireless work, in an area where extreme violence and oppression are rife, had been widely appreciated. However it antagonised the local land mafia, partly because it involved reclaiming common land that had been encroached by powerful gangs. On the fateful day, Sarita and Mahesh were stopped by heavily armed men as they were travelling on a motorcycle, and shot at point blank range.

Close on heels of the murder of Satyendra Dubey, one fact appears to emerge – anyone who antagonises vested interests is vulnerable to elimination. The silver lining is that courageous citizens continue to resist this state of affairs and to work for the restoration of making democratic rights in Bihar.

A national protest march from Patna to Sabdo, Gaya will be organised on 12 February 2004.

Contact apoor.anand@rediffmail.com for details

making mobility somewhat impossible at the venue. Along the main road leading to the maidan, in front of a banner, a South Korean conducted a lone protest, announcing at periodic intervals how migrant workers in thousands were being deported from his country. Street plays took place at various corners and musicians and drummers added their voice too.

Protest banners were strewn all over – across lampposts, roads, over shops, on people themselves and everywhere you looked, the word 'NO' was hard to miss. On trees, black cutouts were hung symbolising women killed for dowry and pamphlets littered the ground. Stalls teaching instant yoga, selling hand painted scarves, Palestinian posters, organic food, farming techniques, terracotta tiles, books and what not, abounded and harsh anti-war cries sometimes mingled with the softer sounds of Hare Ram, too. It was inexplicable though why the Art of Living group and the Anand Margis had set up stalls at the WSF.

The language of protests was not just words, but theatre, art, film, demonstrations, music, and even a drag queen show! There were no limits on expression and dissent at one level it seems, but the parallel conference across the road called Mumbai Resistance (MR) 2004, felt there was plenty to crib about the present WSF and its charter of principles.

While the media in Mumbai paid little attention to the WSF in general, the alleged rape of a WSF delegate (the case was later withdrawn by the woman) made it to the front pages. On the concluding day of the Forum, one paper ran four stories on the incident and only one on the WSF. While this case made it to the front pages, the story of X, an activist from Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh did not. She was given space during an evening meeting by Ms Roy to speak before a massive audience about her plight. She was raped by an official and the district collector, after being arrested for a crime she did not commit in December 1999. The high court ruled that such educated people cannot commit rape, a sentiment later endorsed by the Supreme court. Her entire family was harassed and tortured while the culprits have escaped punishment. "They destroyed me and my family socially, economically," she said, appealing to the people

for justice.

The fourth WSF moved away from the place of its origin, in Porto Alegre, Brazil, to India and as Boaventura Sousa Santos, social theorist from the Centre for Social Studies, Portugal put it, it was the first attempt to internationalise the event. The WSF in Brazil drew participation from mostly South America and Europe while here for the first time, a plethora of movements from Asia and Africa was there in strength. As Karamat Ali from the Pakistan Social Forum

PHOTO BY SUKHDEV KUMAR



Stand tall, make a stand

(PSF) says, it was time for the WSF to shift to Asia and he demands that it be held in Asian cities for the next three years. For Pakistan, it was their first serious engagement in the World Social Forum, says Irfan Mufi, national convener of the PSF. Only 502 of the 1,200 delegates who applied for visas were allowed to come to India and Mufi alleges that this was complete discrimination. People lived on the road, some of them had to put up with appalling conditions in camps but no complaints came from the PSF delegation.

The hard to get "Chico" (Francisco Whitaker Ferreira) Whitaker from Brazil, a leading social activist and one of the founding figures of the World Social Forum, says, "We cannot continue to meet only in Brazil. We feel another world is possible – it is not only necessary, it is urgent. We can't do this staying in Brazil

and we need to exchange our experiences across the borders. The WSF is becoming more of a process than an event, and it is an open, horizontal space in which new initiatives are emerging. Our challenge is we need a permanent network to deepen our solidarity to build a new world."

Medha Patkar of the Narmada Bachao Andolan feels, "It is a unique social forum with the widest range of organisations that symbolise people's power and we are not only saying another world is possible, but we are defining that new world and the people's right to an alternative paradigm of development." Dalit organisations from India were very much part of the WSF and about 30,000 were there in strength.

In this large and confusing gathering there were many who had overcome their personal grief to set up movements to keep the memory of their dear ones alive. Frail and pretty Nora Cortinas, 73, co-founded Madres De Plaza de Mayo,

Argentina, in 1977, which is working to keep alive the memory of the over 30,000 missing men and women from the repressive regime of the seventies. She feels each meeting of the WSF was strengthening the alliance of people's movements. The benefits are political, cultural; but what is of serious concern is the impact of globalisation on indigenous people, she adds. Nora's 24-year-old son Carlos Gustav was taken away by the military as he was a political activist, 27 years ago. "Till today the government has not given me any answers about his whereabouts. I am proud of my son's struggle and his honesty and fight," she says.

The problems of Iraq, Palestine, Kashmir, Burma, Afghanistan, Tibet, to name a few, were brought home to Mumbai. Iraq is the culmination of both imperialism and neo-liberalism intoned Roy, and Abdul Amir al Rikaby from Iraq's National Democratic Opposition spoke of many huge demonstrations that were taking place in the south of Iraq while the WSF was in progress. "War is a political weapon against Iraq – it was not an accident – it is part of a new hegemonic strategy of the USA. Time is running out and occupation is destroying the people of Iraq. The people of Iraq need to know you are here for them," he appealed.

The anti-apartheid wall campaign in Palestine focuses on the new ghettoisation of the West Bank. "Israel is building

an eight metre high concrete wall around the West Bank villages, isolating houses and cutting off people from their lands. Two hundred bulldozers are working at the same time. It's an occupation the world is silent about," says Sharief Omar Khalid from Jayyous village on the West Bank. He points to his village on the map at the Palestine stall, and shows us the dark line which is the wall snaking along the settlements. "I can't reach my 40-acre fields now where I grow citrus, olives, and loquats. The wall was begun a year ago – there are gates for farmers to access their land but you need permits for that. They don't give me a permit because I say 'no' to the wall. They issue permits to old women who can't walk or young children. We need wings to fly over the land. We don't know our future – the wall is a polite way of saying 'get out'. They don't want us. We will starve without any work. I feel for the trees – they are my sons," says the 60-year-old farmer who misses his land every minute.

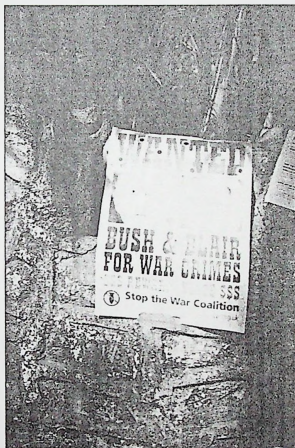
Celebrities like Madame Nguyen Thi Binh, vice-president of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, and Nobel Peace Laureate Shirin Ebadati called for a world in which people were equal and which preserved human dignity and human rights. Apart from war and imperialism, patriarchy was one of the central themes of the WSF and there were nearly 150 events, all organised by diverse groups, on women's issues. Over 150 feminists from Africa, Asia, Latin America, the Caribbean, Europe, North America, the Pacific

and India took part in what is called the Feminist Dialogues, for the first time, according to Indian feminist Bina Srinivasan. "The whole process began seven months ago involving eight women's networks from various parts of the world, as we felt it was important to make a clear feminist voice heard through the WSF and discuss some of the challenges ahead. It was an opportunity we did not want to miss in the context of globalisation and fundamentalism. We looked at human rights in the context of fundamentalism as well as reproductive rights. Sexual rights, and different sexualities draws a lot of viewpoints and the issue is how to create alliances from the local to the global fields," she says.

Sunila, activist from INFORM, a human rights documentation centre in Sri Lanka, says another world is not possible without interactive transnational feminist movements that continuously envision and struggle for women's alternatives. The two big plenaries on dialogue between movements – among feminists, trade unionists, Dalit activists and gays and lesbians, and the one on sexuality was a major achievement in the WSF, she says.

In the dialogue between movements, a lot of issues cutting across organisations were put on the table for the first time. The women's movement did not, for instance, take up issues of manual scavenging even though it's banned. Due to the preoccupation with survival issues, sexual orientation was not such a major issue for Dalits, according to Dalit activists. "Everybody agreed on working together strategically and for the first time, we can take this forward because there is an understanding that there can be a dialogue between diverse people," adds Sunila.

Mama Koite, president of the African women's Development and Communications Network (FEMNET),



Clear and present enemies

Mali, says African women gave priority to different issues. "It's very difficult to talk of human rights when we don't have basic education and we are continuing victims of violence. An issue not discussed outside Africa is the question of female genital mutilation, which must be addressed as a human rights issue. In Africa there is a very clear impact of globalisation – cuts in the labour market have affected many women and even when they have higher education, there is joblessness. Women are at the mercy of an informal and precarious labour market," she explains.

The International Council of the WSF has an overwhelming mass of males and only a handful of feminist organisations, according to Gigi Francisco from Philippines, regional coordinator, Development Alternatives for Women in a New Era (DAWN), south east Asia. "In the first WSF, we felt the need to focus on the concept of social reproduction and then abortion was not even an issue – it is an issue not owned by men and was not seen as a priority. Abortion is a taboo topic for many males – men can talk about poverty but not about sexuality and on abortion, many of them have moral positions as funds for WSF come from many organisations linked to the Vatican," she feels.

More than 52 per cent of the participation at WSF came from women, says Gina Vargas from Feminist Articulation Marcosur, Peru, and while the women's agenda was weak initially, it has grown over the years. In any broad-based struggle, women's sensibilities must be visible, she adds.

Caste and class oppression and rising fundamentalism in the world as a whole, rounded off the WSF events. Sessions discussed the commodification of women in the era of globalisation, and sexuality of Muslim women, which was open only for women. The Asian Women's Human Rights Council organised a World Court of Women on US War Crimes with detailed testimonials from affected women. Latin American women who had lobbied for inclusion of a wider range of women's issues, and who had originated a campaign against fundamentalism, distributed masks and scarves with large red mouths – "the mouth against fundamentalism" at the WSF.

Caste was also a focus at the WSF with activists from Nigeria, Japan and other countries speaking about the

marginalisation and oppression of sections of people by virtue of birth. Dalit rights activist Martin Makwan says, "We have to share a difficult dream – we want a world where manual scavenging and untouchability don't exist. We dream of a world where caste and communal divisions are not there. We have gathered here amid a sense of powerlessness. Even today, many Dalits cannot use well water in villages of India. They continue to live as manual scavengers, surviving on waste food. They are forced to sell their small pieces of land as they cannot farm and their children drop out of school. Even after death they are buried in separate cemeteries. There are 200 million Dalits in India and when will we change the caste system? Globalisation for Dalits means a full stop to land reform, drastic reduction in social welfare measures and becoming slaves to the rich."

The dialogue on sexuality – a first of sorts, had several



Many panels, much to discuss: Pakistani delegation at WSF

women in prostitution. HIV positive persons, and organisations dealing with gender and sexuality raising the simple yet fundamental issue of their dignity and acceptance. "Why do you hate us? We are also citizens," said speaker after speaker. Among the issues discussed were the problems of women in

prostitution, and their increasing brutalisation at the hands of the law, apart from the stigma attached to HIV positive people. "They came to kill me with swords," says Shabana, a sex worker and activist from Nipani. When she went to file a police complaint, they told her she could not as she was not a citizen (since she was a sex worker).

"Don't judge us," said the brilliantly dressed transsexuals who milled around the Forum, and daily protests were taken out by women in prostitution, lesbians, gays, transsexuals and bisexuals who came together under the Rainbow coalition, demanding recognition of their rights as human beings. Prima Donna, a drag queen song and dance show, was the culmination of the expression of different sexualities at the Forum.

Marieme Helie-Lucas, who has campaigned against fundamentalism in Algeria and now lives in Paris, said the WSF invited people like Ahmed Ben Bella who were allied with fundamentalist groups in Algeria (Ben Bella did not make it). It should draw a limit so that fundamentalists are

not invited. "Fundamentalism is by no means a religious movement – they use religion to fit their political agenda and gain political power. Women are their targets and Algeria witnessed a femicide in the streets: women were killed for the only reason that they were women, veiled or unveiled. A better world cannot happen under gender apartheid," she adds.

While war and imperialism got priority, the issues of Hindutva and the Gujarat riots raised by Roy and others were not as much in focus as they should have been, though there were protests against fascism and Narendra Modi. As Tanika Sarkar, Professor at the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, says, "Unless the social movements weave in a sustained ideology of anti-fascism into their pores. I don't think they have a future in this country's soil – nothing can grow in the soil of fascism, except hatred, except death." Teesta Setalvad, of Communist Combat, adds, "We must join issue on fundamentalism in the sub-continent." And not a moment too soon.

Issues of corporate control of natural resources and corporate crimes were also in focus. Maude Barlow from Ottawa, Canada, a writer and activist, attacked corporations for the theft of the world's water. In China, small farms are closed in

Northern parts so that water can be diverted to industries. Every eight seconds, a child dies in the world because of dirty water and access to safe water is a big issue. However, big corporations are looking at water – blue gold – as the most precious commodity in the world. Struggles against Coca-Cola in India and other parts of the world form a significant aspect of anti-globalisation movements. Big dams and displacement continue to be major issue in India as well as other countries. Indigenous people were the worst affected by large projects. "Our water is not for sale," adds Barlow. "Our world is not for sale" – a theme of many protests and banners in the WSF.

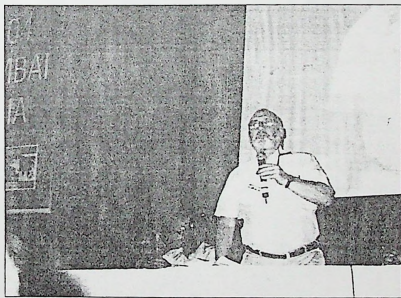
It is not only water but all natural resources which are under increasing threat of privatisation. As Patkar puts it, "A crisis of survival is before us in control over natural resources. We must take a clear position on every form of foreign funding which in turn brings in displacement, destruction and disparity."

Coal mining, and other mining projects have serious environmental consequences. At MIR 2004, Jeanna K Carino from the Cordillera People's Alliance, Philippines, fighting mining, says, "It was important for people to make their voices heard and build a wider unity because we are fighting a common enemy. We think of our struggles as separate, but they are not." Many issues taken up here were similar to WSF with the same speakers in some cases. Devranjan Sarangi who is fighting bauxite mining in Kashiapur, Orissa, spoke of how non-government organisations were increasing due to liberalisation. While the gram panchayats opposed mining in Rayagada, their voices were not even heard. Protestors were fired on but the judicial inquiry into the firing, approved mining and did not condemn any one for the incident. Funding agencies were active in promoting pro-mining projects, he adds.

Women were victims of poverty and food insecurity, and

the green revolution in India and other countries like Thailand has reduced farmers to penury. In Thailand, there was a demand to shift from a market based economy to a community based one and for communities to manage their own resources.

Chandramohan, a Dalit farmer from Karnataka, told a WSF meeting that the State was only promoting company interests at the cost of



Stiglitz makes his point

poor farmers. In his village of Devdanampatta, 150 small farmers owned small pieces of land and have cultivated them for 75 years. However, land records were lost due to caste conflict and they had no legal status. Agitations of landless people from Brazil and other countries were also in focus. In Bihar, Dalit who are allotted land by the State cannot access it due to the influence of landlords who still subject them to slavery.

Globalisation and the increasing problem of people being put out of farming was discussed by Via Campesina, a global farmers group, and Jose Bove, of Confederation Paysanne, France, who demands that agriculture should be removed from WTO. "The WTO is not for most farmers in this world – it is only for the small minority who own tractors and animals. In two years since joining the WTO, China has lost 100 million farmers and in the next five years more than 300 million will be forced to leave farming. Where will they go? The same situation could well apply to India."

he says. The battles against WTO which began in Seattle and continued in Cancun, must be fought, feels Bove. Echoing Gandhi's call for the British to Quit India 72 years ago, he said it is time for companies like Coca-Cola, Nestle or Monsanto to quit India now.

While space seemed to be available to most people, for the 500 disabled people who paid their own way to the WSF, the event turned out to be near-nightmare. Posters saying "Why are YOU also ignoring disability" plastered everywhere, drew attention to their being ignored by India's policy and decision-makers. At the WSF too, there were no proper ramps or facilities for them and accessibility was a major issue, according to Rama Chari, of the National Disability Network. On the opening day of the Forum, they held a silent candlelit protest against this problem. "We wrote to the WSF organisers for six months regarding facilities for the disabled but there was no reply. There are no special toilets, ramps are not there in all places and it is difficult for them to move around the venue on wheel chairs. We would like to protest against marginalising disability in the social sector but even here,

in the WSF, there is a total lack of accessibility for our people who have come here from 24 states of India." It is quite obvious that another world is some time away for the people who are handicapped not by their own physical and mental abilities, but also by the inability of others to see their problems and be sensitive to them.

The Rs 12.5 crore WSF, funded by 17 organisations including Action Aid-UK, Alternatives-Canada, Christian Aid-UK, Oxfam International, Heinrich Boll Foundation-Germany, HIVOS, Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA), World Council of Churches, and others, had 1200 events. Rs nine crore was raised from these agencies while Rs 1.5 crore was raised by charging for services and solidarity contributions. There is a budget deficit of Rs 1.5 crore now, says Minar Pimple of the India Organising Committee. While no funds were accepted from Ford Foundation, the entire funding process came in for criticism by MR 2004 which raised its budget of Rs 20 lakhs mostly from people's contributions and was held on a much more modest scale.

At MR 2004, seminars took place in tented enclosures

which doubled as sleeping space for the participants. The four-day MR 2004 programme focused on WTO, agriculture and imperialism, attack on democratic rights, role of working class in globalisation, globalisation and marginalisation of adivasis and Dalits, students and youth, and only one of its eleven sessions was focused on women. Shiva Sunder, one of the members of the organising committee of the event, says, "There were three main reasons why we felt we could not be part of WSF. The construction of the problem of imperialist globalisation is deliberately inadequate with WSF. They consider the problem as the 1991 neo-liberalism policies. Another world is not possible by fighting these policies. You should go deep into the system which makes these policies. Globalisation is the response of imperialism

as a system – the system is the main cause, if not, your fight is peripheral. Forces in the WSF are the CPI and CPM, and West Bengal chief minister from CPM is saying that globalisation is a must. The bulk of the participation is from non-government organisations. Who are these non-government organisations? They accept funding from foreign aid agencies. For instance, ATTAC

– an alliance against globalisation, receives funding from the French government. So we feel the agenda is deliberately inadequate. It is saying struggle is not required but negotiation."

"In 2001 we saw direct territorial annexure – the struggle against imperialism is becoming passive while imperialism is becoming aggressive." He feels there are "irreconcilable contradictions offered by WSF. I don't see any systemic changes. WSF says it is an open forum but armed struggles are excluded. Certain people are not allowed. There is a politics of selection. We cannot exclude armed struggles because it constitutes an important challenge to imperialism." However he adds that, "We are not an event, but a process." Does that sound familiar?

Moreno Pasquinelli of Anti-imperialist Camp, says, "The chief of international terrorism is Bush. The Iraqi resistance is obliged to use bombs – can you fight the US with flowers?" he asks. "WSF needs to adopt a more radical position with respect to Iraq resistance – we have sent 15 of our comrades to fight in Iraq but now the voluntary forces are in a tragic situation. The main problem for them is international



Women and globalisation: amid the slogans

political support. We have to remember the Iraqi resistance is fighting for all of us. We have chosen to fight on one front – Iraq – and we have to win the war in Iraq. The problem is that WSF cannot support the Iraq resistance openly.”

Darshan Pal, convenor, MR 2004, says there was a meeting in Thessaloniki in Greece in June, 2003, to discuss an alternative to WSF. “Before the Asian Social Forum, no one was critical of the WSF but there too we had a parallel meet and many of us felt that we should take this to a higher level. I feel non-government organisations, social democrats, funding agencies, etc. have an alternative concept of civil society. We feel it will diffuse the people’s movement and institutionalise discontent. WSF is a safety valve – people come and discuss without any plan. We thought let’s have some action – and on 20 March we have called for protests on the anniversary of the US invasion of Iraq.” WSF too has given a similar call.

Pradip Prabhur of Kashtakari Sanghata, which works with activists in Thane district of Maharashtra, and who participated at MR 2004, says,

“If one looks at the overall struggle configuration, who is there at WSF? Only the National Alliance for Peoples Movements, the rest are with us. We are in defensive struggles as we are protecting our lives and dignity from further erosion. The question is can we enhance dignity?” It is different from getting material possessions. Let us say we have space here. At the end of this do we have a greater commitment for action and increasing clarity of motivation? That is the issue.”

While war and imperialism form one end of the agenda, Trevor Ngwane, human rights activist from South Africa, who took part in WSF, says “Many people still worry about what they will eat the next day, where they will sleep and the struggle is not only the struggle of the oppressed, it is a struggle against capitalism. Neo-liberalism has failed to meet the needs of the people and the government of hope of Nelson Mandela has become the leader of oppression with massive water and electricity cuts, unemployment and cuts in social expenditure. This is what capitalism has to offer in exchange for apartheid.” Declaring he is not a pacifist, he feels that the WSF has to clarify its political stance and identify who

are its friends and enemies. The struggle in South Africa against apartheid was armed and by the charter of principles of WSF, many of those who took part cannot be here, he says.

Globalisation has had a serious impact on developing countries with increasing privatisation of the social sectors. Says Amin, “The South has to rid itself of the illusion that it will benefit from the global market. It is the termination of the global market.” Prof Joseph Stiglitz, Nobel economics laureate and Professor of Economics and Finance at Columbia University in New York, said the development agenda should not only address economic development but also reduction of poverty. The most important element was job creation and there must be an explicit commitment to

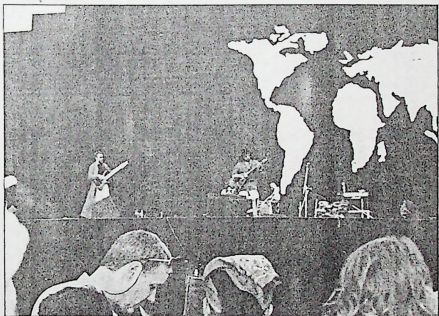
pace globalisation with job creation. One of the most important aspects of poverty is a sense of insecurity, with respect to economic, health, and social dimensions. There is a clear connection between unemployment and the level of violence.

Social insecurity is bad for economic growth and social dimensions have

been under-emphasised so far. One cannot separate economic issues from the broader social and political issues, he says, demanding an integrated approach. He feels that there is no doubt that privatisation of social security has led to instability in the roaring nineties. While globalisation has resulted in enormous problems in many countries, there is a need to reform it to increase security for developing countries. Civil conflict and wars have an adverse effect on economic development and are an impediment to development, he adds.

Others like Walden Bello from Philippines, Director of Focus on the Global South in Bangkok, feel that there is a need to reinvent the market back into society. “We need a total revamp of the current economic institutions and the Bretton Woods institutions have to go. There is a need to disempower such institutions, which have such a strong direction over development and make them ineffective. More space and more pluralism – that’s what we need in terms of global governance.”

Anti-globalisation campaigner, writer, and columnist,



Pakistanis rock for Another World: Junoon

George Monbiot, said it is difficult to revamp the Bretton Woods institutions, given their Articles of Association, but the Third world countries have a source of power and that is their debt. "They could collectively default on their debt – you don't need weapons then," says Monbiot.

Issues of language and exclusion and participation came up for some discussion during the course of the WSF. The innumerable smaller workshops offered more scope for participation while the large meetings turned out to be one-sided for the people except in a few cases. Dr Nawal El Saddawi from Egypt, celebrated writer and activist, made a point about power language – people who do not know English cannot come here. She questioned the concept of the Third world and tore apart colonialism which had plundered the so-called 'developing' countries. Monbiot, too, has reservations about the WSF. While "he had the time of his life," he says there were two social forums at Mumbai (no. not MR 2004). "There is a social forum for intellectuals and one for the working classes. Language has been a barrier as many people do not understand English. In the next WSF, I would like to see a number of specific events designed to bring the two communities together and it should be the Dalits and the indigenous people and other marginalised communities who should decide what to do."

On the last day of events, at the session on neo-liberalism, war and the significance of WSF, the audience decided it had had enough of listening and it was not a sponge for information. People demanded to be heard and they spoke about the lack of coverage in Mumbai and even in the UK media, the need for the WSF to move to Africa, the importance of the Alternative media coverage and other issues. Ironically, the Internet, which was invented as a weapon of war by the Pentagon, has become a weapon of peace and many people read about the WSF through that medium. Leonard Schaefer, member of the Communist party from Italy, comments, "We must learn about communication – they are flying, while we are on the ground. Otherwise it will be just another Woodstock."

While the WSF does not aim at coming up with future plans, some of the discussion did focus on the last four years of the Forum and ways



Human rights, everybody's rights

of taking it forward. Nandira Shah, of the 57-member India Organising Committee, feels the autonomous women's movement has been able to form alliances and raise many women's issues for the time. "We have expanded the foci from globalisation to include other issues of caste, fundamentalism, patriarchy and that is the most important contribution by the WSF here to the whole

process. There is openness in all movements to look at other agendas and my hope is that we will continue it in a more serious way and talk of multiple identities. WSF has taken the position that while we have open space, we can't have political parties coming here," she says. If Digvijay Singh, former chief minister of Madhya Pradesh was here, it was because it was an event organised by others, not the WSF, she clarifies.

"Regarding MR 2004, I feel even if it was a separate event, groups across the board came together. If you give any one political focus to this event, many will be left out. What WSF allows is for people to come together and forge their own alliances. Instead of asking WSF to create space, it is up to the movements to take the space. No one ideology or point of view can dominate this process. If it takes one political course, it will die. We are looking at diversities," she explains. "All movements have come to a point of saturation where we need another level of politics – if this Forum provides that, it's a good thing." The real challenges for her, are ahead in terms of inter-movement dialogues, are ahead.

However, there were some who were for a sharper political focus. Dita Sari of the Indonesian National Front for Workers Struggles, says it was important to look at the struggle and the movement in general. "To achieve alternatives, we need political power and the political agenda of the WSF is not clear – can we as social movements adopt different tactics?"

Sohi Jeon from the Coalition for the Korean People against WTO, says, "It is a time for us to assess where we go from here. There are 100,000 people here but the size does not matter, it is where we are headed with all these meetings and discussions... I am not saying WSF is useless, there

Leonard Schaefer, member of the Communist party from Italy, comments, "We must learn about communication – they are flying, while we are on the ground. Otherwise it will be just another Woodstock."

is a tendency to view it as an objective. WSF cannot be detached from the mass movements and it has to change in order to accommodate the political and cultural characteristics of that country."

She says, "I notice few Indians in the rooms, I was told they have a different way of political expression – to sing and dance. The format of the WSF has to change to fit in the diverse aspects of expression. I think of how would it be to have a WSF in Korea – we are unfamiliar with the language of the WSF which is West-oriented. The quality has to change but are we ready for these changes in the international arena? WSF is at a crossroads – we are in a crisis. If we want to radicalise the movement, we have to think of the aims and how we will take what we have learnt back to the people."

Monbiot was for a parallel forum to the WSF. "While it's a wonderful Forum, no one here can pretend it's a democratic forum. We do not represent the people of the world and the moral authority of the WSF is limited. Wonderful as it is we need a directly elected global body – a world Parliament, not a world government but one which can exercise moral authority. There will be sense of ownership and for that, we need global democracy first," he says. Monbiot advocates no private funding for political parties or elections and scrapping of the whip. Is it legal to bully elected representatives not to vote for their conscience, he asks.

Laura Tavares, professor and researcher from the University of Rio de Janeiro, says, "We need an alternative centre of power away from the US and EU. Holding the WSF in Brazil had a big impact on people there and the main thing was that it was possible to put together different perspectives. The impact on the countries that host the WSF is great – we must put WSF in countries which need visibility. India was showcased at this event and we must take it to Africa, for instance."

Christophe Aguiton, from France, leader of the movement against capitalist globalisation and ATTAC, (Association pour la taxation des transactions financières et l'aide aux citoyens), says, "While the World Economic Forum which is also an open space, has all the tools they need – IMF, World Bank – we in the WSF don't have these tools." Simon Boshieldo from the Congress of African Trade Unions feels the WSF is not a feel good association. "We need fresh air in the international system. We have to be effective to make ourselves heard in Washington and it cannot be business as usual," he adds.

However, some feel the WSF is the answer to neo-liberal

policies. Michel Warschawski, working to bridge the gap between Palestinians and Israelis, says the WSF has been able to develop a new kind of campaign in the international crisis. It is a new concept of solidarity. However, there is a strong demand for it not to be a place for discussion but be action-oriented as well. Dr Vittorio Agnoletto of the International Council of the WSF and the Italian League for the fight against AIDS (LILA), says, "Mumbai is an important change for the WSF and after this marvellous event, we cannot go behind. The next focus must be in poor countries. A lot of neo-liberal papers say we are dreamers but I want to quote a Sandinista leader who said 'We are dreamers but we dream with our feet on the ground; we are able to recognise our friends and enemies'."

While many felt coming to the WSF was an inspiration and they gained strength from other movements, exposure

to movements and social realities is not in itself an end. The enemy is sometimes not so obvious. And often, the enemy is not far away but within. There is "clear and present danger" from rising fundamentalism and rising fascism too. If WSF gives space to forge alliances – these must be formed at the local level as well. Besides, this is a time India is said to be "shining" and many do not see the grime beneath the glitter. One paper says that this event was held ten years

too late as India has already arrived in the globalised world.

"More of the world's income-poor live in India than any other country," according to a World Bank paper, May 2002. And disparities between the poor and the rich are increasing. To say that neo-liberal policies have nothing to do with these disparities or poverty is to ignore the truth. Even the "developed" countries are facing unemployment, and outsourcing of business is becoming a controversy. These aspects need to be understood by more people and the media too has a responsible role to play in reporting realities and not the opinions of an elite which believes in neo-liberal policies, and feels the WSF consists of Leftist "furies" or a lunatic fringe.

The challenge before us is to forge a sharper political response to the present day context of aggressive imperialism, but this has to be linked to local and national issues too. Otherwise, as someone has already remarked, the WSF may well end up as a Woodstock of social movements.

Meena Menon is an independent writer and researcher based in Mumbai. She can be contacted at cats@bol.net.in

Which way to Another World?

Suruchi Yadav was at the World Social Forum, Mumbai

Tibetan monks praying to the sweet tolling of bells next to boisterous protests demanding the liberation of Iraq, singers from Tamil Nadu singing to the beat of South African drummers while a Brazilian woman waltzes with an adivasi from Madhya Pradesh. These are some of the images that hit you at the World Social Forum 2004 (WSF), held between 16 and 21 January 2004 in Mumbai. United by the common experience of being victims of vulgar globalisation and neo-liberalisation that has left them poor, oppressed, and marginalised, they are here to share their experiences and diversity, learn from each other's differences and struggles, and to form new alliances to reclaim the world from the hands of the capitalist enemy. They are tired of listening to rhetoric; they want action and change. As former President KR Narayanan put it, they want to bring about the "dawn of another world for which people have been fighting and dreaming".

The WSF, founded as a resistance to the capitalist powers trying to control the world, was held annually in Porto Alegre, Brazil from 2001. The success of a regional forum held in Hyderabad last year and the existence of a multitude of movements and struggles in India, together with the Indian independence movement being one of the first major blows to imperialism, made Mumbai the perfect choice.

For Santoshi Khatri, spokesperson for Ekal Nari Shakti Sangathan, who had traveled from her village in Rajasthan, it was women's issues that needed immediate attention. She felt globalisation had led to the situation of women worsening; especially for women labourers, who were subject to unimaginable atrocities. From the other side of the globe, Priscilla Achakpa, Executive Director of Women Environmental Programme (WEP), Abuja, Nigeria, was drawn to the WSF by her curiosity and urge to take back experiences she gathered here, to her country. Having traveled the world, she was appalled at the disparity between the west and the rest of the world. How was it that when "god created

us one", such imbalance was allowed to exist? A former member of the trade union in Nigeria, she had also been moved by the problems women workers faced especially with respect to environmental hazards. Doing her bit, she had quit and gone back to school to educate herself and subsequently founded the WEP. She hoped to take back the experiences at the WSF to her country and use them there in the move towards a civil society.

Reaffirming the degenerate impact of globalisation on women was Jayati Ghosh, Professor of Economics at the Jawaharlal Nehru University, while speaking at a conference on Women and Globalisation. What else could be expected when governments consciously "handed over basic rights and services as profit centres to the private sector", but denial of these rights to the less privileged and women being a minority were obviously worst hit whether it was basic needs, employment, working conditions or wages. For instance, even though women were the "backbone of the exports boom" of the eighties and nineties, they were the "first to be displaced" when governments moved to subcontractors, who employed these same women at cheaper rates. And what about women having to migrate for work? Ghosh felt that there was a very "thin line between voluntary migration and trafficking" as women had to resort to any and every means to support their families. On a positive note, she did feel women were now strongly resisting and women's



The strength of women: Ekal Nari Shakti Sangathan, Rajasthan

movements were one of the most "progressive parts of the movement against globalisation" and this was evident from the fact that there were many more women occupying important public offices. Irene Khan, Secretary General of Amnesty International, speaking at a conference "Wars against Women. Women against Wars", stated that women's wars were not just about "misery, but about courage and commitment" from which the world should learn.

With war being identified as a key tool the capitalists used to dominate and rule, the forum saw several seminars and protests against war. For Ngawang C Drakmargyapon, spokesperson for the Tibetan delegation, it was a peaceful appeal to people to support the Tibetan cause against the totalitarian Chinese domination of Tibet that had lasted

US, were rich in "weapons", his people, he added were rich in "dignity" and got their power "from the people". He cited the example of the Indian independence movement that in spite of the might of the British empire had succeeded in its goal and he hoped the same would be repeated in Palestine.

The antagonism towards the US especially because of its war policies loomed large at the forum. Joseph Gosner from the US, lamented that the US had used the 11 September attacks as a cover for a lot of wrongful actions.

Wars of "hunger and misery" are what Beverley Keene, economist and human rights activist termed US policies. She added that the US was indulging in economic and financial terrorism. For instance the US had infused illegitimate debt into Latin America and the Caribbean and increased its military presence in more than 11 countries in the region. If any of these countries tried to resist financial bullying, they were intimidated by the threat of military action. Distressingly, she noted that the US even pressured these countries to support and intervene in the wars waged by it.

Booker prize winner, Arundhati Roy mocked the so-called "policing of the unruly world", the US indulged in. How come the US chose to liberate nations only when it stood to derive increased economic benefits from such action? For while the US had chosen to invade Iraq and save it from terrorism, it had interestingly not bombed India which saw enough terrorism. Perhaps, because as long as multi-nationals were given a free hand in India, it would not come under the US net.

The antagonism towards capitalist tactics and vested interests of multinational corporations was expressed not just by prominent and knowledgeable dignitaries but vehemently voiced even by the common man. Laxman Singh, belonging to the Sampark Seva Sansthan from Dhapua district in Madhya Pradesh lamented that new kinds of pesticides that large corporates had flooded rural areas with were polluting the atmosphere and were environmental disasters. Moreover seeds that farmers used earlier lasted over ten years and could be used several times over, but now the new varieties of seeds sold by large corporates could be used only once. This, he alleged, was a devious strategy by them to increase their profits at the cost of the farmers. He wanted to voice his protest but



"To the sweet tolling of bells...": remember Tibet

over four decades. A victim of alien rule, his family had itself been forced to leave Tibet when he was only two. He had however continued his struggle from the outside as he was against the "mass ethnic genocide" and "denial of fundamental rights" in Tibet and feared that the alien invasion was a threat to the very survival of the identity of Tibetans.

"Prisons and ghettos" is what Mustafa Barghouti, spokesperson for the Palestinian National Initiative, said the streets of his country had been transformed into. The whole nation had been prevented from using roads and streets for three years. Fifty-six women had been compelled to give birth at check posts, 2,742 people had been killed and 48,000 injured. Yet the Palestinian struggle continued, a struggle he termed a "struggle for independence and not a negotiation" and he urged people to extend their support. While the Israeli, funded by the

also to go back and tell his people that their cause had several supporters.

The IMF and the World Bank came under severe fire from all fronts. Laura Tavares, an expert from the University of Rio de Janeiro noted that a diagnosis of the proposals of the IMF and the World Bank showed that the policies were imbalanced and discriminatory and most solutions for issues like poverty alleviation were emergency solutions, not permanent. In fact, the IMF had even cut down on social expenditure.

Citing labour market reforms as key to the creation of a civil society at a conference on Labour and the World of Work, Indian Economist Prabhat Patnaik felt that unemployment co-existed with unutilised capacities and sub-optimal utilisation of resources, and better choices need to be made. Trade unions could get more active and increase the activity levels and demand levels in the world.

The forum also saw large participation from children voicing their demands. Little Abhay from the Narmada valley was a picture of confidence as he asserted his right to equal opportunity for education and health at the Child Relief for WSF (CR4WSF) conference. Supporting the movement for children, Vittorio Agnoletto, spokesperson for the Italian Liga for the fight against AIDS (LILA), and an activist against pharmaceutical companies in Italy, spoke out against the merciless profit-making attitudes of pharmaceutical companies that had medication for AIDS but did not make it freely available. He questioned how such profit making could be allowed when there were 40 million HIV infected people in the world with two million being children.

"Religious fundamentalism and Sectarianism" were also identified as a means to exclude, oppress and dominate. As Amarjeet Kaur, a committed activist put it, fanaticism was a "distractionary tool to extend exclusions and kill movements". The world faced a "threat of recolonisation" and markets taking control of lives. History, she said, was witness to the role of the corporate sector in creating Hitler and the mass genocide that followed. Pervez Hoodbny, professor of physics at Quaid-E-Azam University, Islamabad, Pakistan and Marieme Helei Lucas from Algeria both shared Kaur's sentiments and added that fascists were "glorifying and using as an excuse a mythical past" to commit atrocities and eliminate

any opposition and unfortunately this mentality existed in all social strata including the working class.

Besides all the intense talk and demonstrations, the forum was also home to a rich and diverse cultural confluence with 550 different groups performing and 85 films, from 74 countries, being screened. An exhibition on the twin tragedies of the earthquake and the riots that befell Gujarat drew a massive audience. Prominent artistes like Anand Patwardhan, Habib Tanvir, Junoon, Shubha Mudgal, Indian Ocean and Gilberto Gil were at the forum. Other performances included staging of plays, musicals and reading sessions, all in some form echoing the message of the WSF. A youth forum also ran alongside the WSF.



Delegates from Nepal

Besides exploring the main issues of the WSF, it also considered the issues of child rights, sustainable development, health, education and employment.

So what was achieved at the end of the six days of the WSF? Where does the movement stand? What, if any, is the way forward? While the initial days of the forum saw vehement protests, identifying the "enemy" and its "tools", the concluding sentiment was clearly for the need for immediate and urgent "action" to eliminate the enemy. To charge in the direction of "another world", based on "peoples' rights to dignity, equality, employment, diversity and resources".

While the WSF makes no formal declaration, several powerful suggestions concerning the key issues were put forth.

Abdulk Amir Al Relaby believed it was "power of the people" that was the key. A strong activist for the anti-war movement, Jeremy Corbyn, Labour MP from Britain, believed that "unity among the people and victims of

globalisation" could bring about the desired changes. Pakistani activist and recipient of the Magsaysay award, Asma Jehangir, called for the US to be made accountable for its wars and removal of US bases from all over the world. The US should be made to sign a pact that it would not "unilaterally" go to war, she asserted. A "full-stomached globalisation" is what she demanded. The forum had released a lot of energy, she observed, and urged people to channel this energy and carry the message of the forum to the grass roots for the movement to become stronger.

South African freedom fighter Dennis Brutus stated that there was a plan for "a global action against war". On 20 March, marking the first anniversary of the US invasion



And freedom from debt too

of Iraq, there would be marches against war across the world. Such resistance was now being recognised as threats by the imperialist powers and this was evident from the fact that when six million people had marched against war last year, the New York Times had been compelled to report that there were now "two superpowers" in the world: the US and the "people in the street". He added that on 22 to 25 April, when the World Bank and IMF were celebrating their 60th anniversary, there would be a parallel resistance and a declaration that they were not needed any longer. Shirin Ebadi felt that the remedy lay in "greater respect for human rights". An integral part of the International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH) and the International Criminal Court (ICC), she felt that more countries should be persuaded to ratify the ICC.

The media emerged as a powerful tool for bringing about change. Prominent French journalist and one of the founding members of the WSF, Bernard Cassen, noted that while media at present acted on behalf of vested

"economic interests", the need for "an alternate media is frontline". He said that a year ago a powerful "counter power to media", Media Watch, had been established which was a network of international observatories, comprising eminent journalists, academics and users, who would observe and "carefully monitor media action".

Mainstream media was severely castigated as being a "propaganda vehicle" for capitalist interests. Fernando Martinez from Cuba noted that media power had in the past led to the downfall of colonisation and the formation of democracies but "imperialism had led to a stop and reversal of this trend". Ruing that mainstream media aimed at putting an end to diversity by controlling and concealing information and ideas including cultural domination.

Nikhil Wagle, editor *Mahanagar*, a publication in India, added that media driven consumerism was leading to "insensitivity and communalism" and if we wanted "another world", then we needed "another media" too. He added that no social order was eternal, and history had shown that media could bring down even powerful empires. He cited the example of a small radio station in Hyderabad that was committed to the cause of the people and all successful movements initially had started out with humble beginnings.

Joseph Stiglitz emphasised the role media played in the failure of the Cancun talks, which is a major victory against the WTO. The media would send information back to governments quickly about trade deals about to be struck and the respective governments would jump into action by asking their representative trade ministers to re-negotiate. While sharply criticising the World Bank and the IMF for policies that catered only to a "single set of objectives", Stiglitz claimed that "economic policy cannot be delegated to the technocrats" as it affects diverse segments. He advocated "growth shared by all", together with job creation and labour market reforms. On a less aggressive note, Indian film star Rahul Bose, who was there to support women's issues felt that major achievements were possible by appealing to "people's subconscious".

Suruchi Yadav is a freelance journalist based in Mumbai. She can be contacted at suruchi_yadav@hotmail.com



Pre-Sex selection Test:
a hidden femicide

World Social Forum, Mumbai
 Monday, 19 January 2004
 5 to 8 p.m.
 Venue: B 31

Dear Friends,

*W*e stand on the brink of an impending disaster, a disaster that can be avoided if you and I can bring to the center stage of our politics the value of the feminine- a value that now stands devalued, denied and destroyed. The galloping advance of medical science by way of amniocentesis, chronic villa biopsy, sonography, ultrasound and imaging techniques is progressively spreading in its misuse to prevent the arrival of female babies. What is now even more alarming is that it is now possible at the pre-conception stage itself, to engineer the desired sex of the unborn, which universally is in favour of the male.

Every successive census data has consistently shown a decline in sex-ratios, the drop being very steep in the last decade, due to the advent of ultra sound scanning.

*Women are in cold stark
 reality becoming an endangered species/gender;
 a femicide that is invisible, incalculable, silent*

1294
 19/1

Pre-Sex selection Test: *a hidden femicide*

World Social Forum, Mumbai
Monday, 19 January 2004
5 to 8 p.m.
Venue: B 31

Introduction

Globalisation and Femicide

Dr. Vibhuti Patel, Member Secretary, Women Development Cell,
University of Mumbai, Mumbai

Techonoligisation of medical practice

Dr. Puneet Bedi, Foetal Medicine expert, Apollo Hospital, New Delhi

Rising trends in Sex Decline

An overview by Dr. Sabu George, Girl Child activist

Science and female foeticide

Dr. Manu Kothari, KEM Hospital, Mumbai

Can Law Check the declining Sex Ratio

Sanjay Parikh, Eminent Lawyer, New Delhi

Ground Realities:

- An experience of A Sting on a practitioner of Sex Selection, *Vimochana, Bangalore, Karnataka*
- Declining Sex Ratios: Issues and Concerns *By P.Phavalam, Campaign Against Sex Selective Abortions, Tamil Nadu*
- Field realities, *Dr. Narendra Gupta, Prayas, Rajasthan,*

Let us Connect

Networking with other groups

Dance Drama on Female Foeticide by *Vimochana, Forum for Women's Rights, Bangalore, Karnataka*

Jointly organised by *Vimochana, Forum for Women's Rights, Bangalore, Karnataka and Campaign Against Sex Selective Abortions, Tamil Nadu*

Supported by British High Commission



Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

The whole world is one family

Towards Mumbai 3, WSF Issue

15 January 2004

Democratising the International Order

How can we ensure that all those affected by global forces can participate in an equal and democratic manner in the global exchange, decisions and governance?

Governments have to provide means for more democratic international community. This is de-

To be legitimate in a democratic manner, global decisions must be based on globally equal participation and universal human rights.

clared and searched for by several initiatives and open dialogues, including a co-initiative of the Finnish and Tanzanian foreign ministries, the Helsinki Process. It remains to be seen, whether and how governments can advance global democracy and rights of the marginalised majority.

To be legitimate in a democratic manner, global decisions must be based on globally equal participation and universal human rights. Marginalised voices of the southern global majority should be equally resourced to make their concerns and pro-



posals on global issues treated. These proposals should be realised as far as they advance global equality and democracy.

Law, democracy and justice need to be based universally on fundamental rights and constitutional powers, independent from commercial interests.

Constitutions shall thus not establish laws on commercial powers, like the draft EU constitution, but on human rights and on people's power to vote the persons who initiate legislation.

Draft EU constitution would be first such a constitution in the world, where all rights and powers

Marginalized voices of the southern global majority should be equally resourced to make their concerns and proposals on global issues treated.

of justice become subordinate to economic powers. It is often assumed that modern democracy and democratic constitutions derive from European traditions of law and culture. The new EU draft would ironically commercialise constitution and justice into technical instruments for market aims and for increasing bureaucracy of "liberalisation".

If this new EU-model of a "constitution" becomes globalised all over the world, the whole constitutional principle of democracy and justice, which is independent from money and commercial powers, will collapse.

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Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam will organise a workshop in WSF in order to advance the notion of comprehensive democracy and to build affiliations around the VK initiative. Various dimensions, such as political, social, cultural and economic democracy, are to be advanced simultaneously.

A Coalition for Comprehensive Democracy - The Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam Initiative
17.1. at 5 PM to 8 PM, B 68

Related events

- **NAFTA & FTAA the Global North Meets Global South, 17.1., 9 A.M. to 12 Noon, Hall 2**
- **What after Unilateralism?, 17.1., 9 A.M. to 12 Noon, D 119**
- **For a Democratic, Fair, Responsible International Governance, 17.1., 1 P.M. to 4 P.M., A2**
- **Democracy and Constitutions – a North-South Dialogue on the Constitutional Processes (of the EU, India, Africa etc.), 17.1. at 5 P.M- 8 P.M., B 67**
- **People to People Dialogue on Multilateralism and Democracy Globally, 20.1., 1 P.M. to 4 P.M., B 30**
- **Socialist Responsibility for deepening Democracy Globally, 20.1., 5 P.M. to 8 P.M., Hall 5**

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Another
world is
possible!

Let us build
it together!!

Democracy and knowledge

The basis of human advancement is in the free exchange of information. The cumulative nature of knowledge has been possible due to institutions that have encouraged sharing of information and storing it in public domain. In the modern times universities and libraries are some of prime examples of this.

The industrial era, and the last decades of globalisation in particular, has introduced a regime of intellectual property that is reversing this nature of free knowledge. This has to be resisted and new regimes of free exchange and depository developed.



Related events

- Dialogues on Knowledge in Society 17.1.1PM to 4PM, D 129.
- Freedom Matters - Free Software Foundation, 18.1. 1 PM to 4 PM, D140.
- On Democratization of Information with a Focus on Libraries, 19.1. 9 am to 12 noon, D126
- Transformative Education in the Process of Global Democratization, 19.1. 1 PM to 4 PM, A7.
- Free Software - Freedom - Libertad, 20.1. 9 am 12 noon, D 128.

Water must be available to everyone

Our life depends on water. Today there is a global water crisis because of technological explosion and economic interests, which try to attach a price to water and make it a commodity. But the value and the price of water are two very different things. Free water must be available to everyone. One example of the present water problem is the gigantic idea

presented by the government of India to link the country's rivers without considering its consequences. The proposal is supposed to cause irreversible damage on the environment and social conflicts that will emerge due to massive displacement. Water policies must become based on the principles of equity and sustainability. Water is a human right.

Related events

- Water in the Era of Globalisation, 18.1. 1 PM to 4 PM, D133.
- Water for livelihood: Linking People, Not Rivers, 18.1. 5 PM to 8 PM, A4.
- Linking Rivers, Dividing People, 20.1. 9 AM to 12 noon, B65
- The Round Table Session on Conversations on the Philosophies of Water, 20.1. 9 AM to 12 noon, B 65
- Exhibition on Water 18-20.1 at Keshav Gore Smarak Trust, Aarey Road, Goregaon West

Friends of Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

- 50 Years Is Enough Network
- Abhiyan
- Action Aid
- Agrabamee
- Alliance 21
- Apne Aap
- Centre for Change
- Centre for the Study of Developing Societies
- Centre for Public Affairs
- Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health
- Coalition for Environment and Development
- DRUM - Desis Rising Up & Moving
- Federation of Young European Greens
- FoE Malaysia (Sabahat Alam Malaysia)

- For Mother Earth
- Forum for Biotechnology and Food Security
- Free Software Foundation of India
- Friends of the Earth Finland
- GASPP
- Gharelu Kamgaar Panchayat
- Global Greens
- Global Resistance
- Globalisation and Comprehensive Democracy Dialogues
- Grassroots Global Justice
- Heinrich Böll Foundation
- Himalayan Peoples Forum
- Hipatia
- IBASE
- Indigenous Environmental Network
- Institute for Southern Studies

- Instituto Paulo Freire
- Janata Weekly
- Jobs With Justice
- JP Foundation for Asian Democracies
- Jubilee USA
- Keshav Gore Smarak Trust
- Lok Shakti Abhiyan
- Lokayan
- Lokniti
- NAPM
- National Campaign Committee For Central Legislation On Construction Workers
- National Campaign Committee For Rural Workers
- National Campaign Committee for Unorganized Sector Workers
- National Conference of Dalit

- Organisations (NACDOR)
- National Network for Immigrant and Refugee Rights
- Naya Sangharsh
- Network Institute for Global Democratization (NIGD)
- New Trade Union Initiative
- Nirmala Niketan - Domestic Workers Forum
- North American Alliance for Fair Employment (NAFFE)
- Other Indian Press
- Paulo Freire Institute
- Pedal Panchayat
- Promoter Networks of Solidarity-based and People's Economy
- Rajendra Prasad Academy at the Institute for Democracy and Sustainable Development

- Ramanika Foundation
- Rashtra Seva Dal
- Shoshit Jan Andolan
- Socialist Front
- Socialist International
- South Asia Study Centre
- South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy
- Swadeshi Trust
- Swasthya Panchayat
- The Ecological Foundation
- Third World Network
- Uttarakhand Chaulpa
- Vitae Civilis
- Washington Alliance of Technology Workers (WashTech)
- Women of Color Against Violence
- Women Struggle Committee
- Yusuf Meralcher Centre

Who should decide about our environment?

Most of the people living on Earth want to have clean air to breathe and clean water to drink and to swim in. They do not want their forests and farmlands to be polluted by pesticides, fertilisers, and radioactive waste. And they want to use energy that does not cause global climate changes.

However, a very complex web of economic and political power has created a situation where most people with their lifestyles and consumption habits are destroying their own environment. Therefore we cannot save the environment without tackling the issues of democracy and equality. Ecological democracy is an important dimension of democracy, and a prerequisite for sustainable human societies.

Who should decide how much of the natural resources can be used each year and by whom? Who should decide

The Kyoto process shows how difficult it is to decide on a global level who should reduce their use of fossil fuels.

If only a certain amount of greenhouse gases can be produced without harming the climate, shouldn't that amount be equally divided on a per capita basis?

The discourse of the West and among westernized organisations in the South is often very alienating for the majority of the rural people. This discourse may result in programmes and measures neither understood nor owned by them. In the long run, such programmes can backfire. A better approach is to concentrate on people's control over natural resources, and integrate the various environmental and conservation concerns in such an approach.



what part of the nature to be protected and how? Should environmental decision-making be done on local, national or global level? Does everyone have the right to consume as much as they like?

“We need more exchange of ideas”

interview: UMA SHANKARI

Uma Shankari doesn't call herself an environmental activist. "I am just active", she says with a smile. Shankari has done her Ph.D. in sociology at the University of Delhi. Now she is a farmer in a village 50 km from Tirupathi in Andhra Pradesh in the south-eastern part of India. She works with the local farmers' organisations and land reform movements. Her main focus has been on agriculture and water problems. She is also associated with the National Alliance of People's Movement (NAPM).



What is the situation of the green movement in India?

In the beginning of the 80s there was a positive attitude and a lot of hope and promise for a change to the better. But the movement has not kept up the momentum. There has been too much fragmentation and a set back as many radical environmentalists have been co-opted and NGO-ised, and the organisation becomes more important than getting our act together and doing things together. There are thousands of small environmental groups all over India, but their political role is marginal.

What is the attitude of the political parties on environmental questions?

There is no green party in India, but all the big parties claim to take responsibility for the environment. But this cannot be seen in their actions. Their development paradigm emphasising economic growth is directly harming the environment. But there has been some individuals in different parties doing a good job for the environment.

What do you consider to be the worst environmental problems in India?

Deforestation is considered a serious problem by most people here, but little has been done to stop it. The water situation is another difficult problem. 80% of the water here is used for agriculture, but in an unsustainable way. The government policy favors the use of water intensive crops, although there are many better alternatives. The bore well technology which is just twenty years old has already created a serious ground water crisis, simply because it allows us to extract more water than can be recharged. The pollution of the water by pesticides and fertilisers is alarming. In the big cities the water is polluted by the industry and household waste. The air is also very polluted in most big cities.

What is your message to the environmentalists in the North?

We need more understanding and exchange of ideas. But traveling around the world and producing new reports doesn't alone help the environment. Our work must be based on strong local actions on the grass root level.

Uma Shankari is a sociologist and farmer from Andhra Pradesh.

GLOBAL GREENS

Global Greens is the international network of Green movements and parties. In April 2001, 800 people from more than 70 countries gathered in the Australian capital Canberra for Global Greens 2001. This conference agreed on the Charter of the Global Greens. This workshop will debate the

challenges of green politics based on this Charter, and discuss the future of the international green movement.

www.global.greens.org.au/charter.htm

Global Environmental Citizens Manifesto, 17.1. 1 pm to 4 pm, B67.

Related Events

- Trees for Survival, 17.1. 9 am to 12 noon, A20
- Agrarian Struggles: People Before Profit, 17.1. 5 pm to 8 pm, B 49.
- People's Transport Policy in the Era of Globalisation. 18.1. 9 AM to 12 Noon, A 15
- Peasant Survival in Globalising World, 19.1. 1 pm to 4 pm, D133.
- Development Induced Displacement: Perspectives and Strategies, 20.1. 2 pm to 5 pm, Hall 1.
- Initiatives for Renewable Energy Technology, 20.1. 5 pm to 8 pm, D116.



Majority of the people use sustainable transport means, such as bicycles.

BOOK OF TREES

- A Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam Perspective by Risto Isomaki and Maneka Gandhi Available from the Other India Bookstore.

interview: RAJNI BAKSHI

"Gandhiji's ideas and example remain the guiding influence"



How do you see Gandhi's heritage in relation to the so called global civil society?

Firstly, the term 'Gandhi's heritage' covers a vast area, from ethics to wisdom on material issues. In the context of WSF, most dramatically to mind springs Gandhi's firm insistence that the struggle for justice and dignity was not a conflict

between nations or races but between different perspectives on the purpose of human civilisation. The fact that WSF has emerged confirms the feeling many of us have that Gandhi was ahead of his time and it is the 21st century that might be 'Gandhi's Century'.

For Gandhi the departure of British rulers was not the core objective of India's struggle for freedom. True 'Swaraaj', Self-Rule, would come from a rejection of all those technologies and political structures which centralise power, deny active participation to ordinary citizens and thus disempower millions of people.

What are the contributions of Gandhi in India today?

This is a tough question. The common impression is that Gandhi's perspective has been brutally crushed in every aspect of life. It can be seen in the nature of industry, in the painful deterioration of Hindu-Muslim relations, or in the failure of the affluent classes to move towards simpler and more sustainable lifestyles. And yet Gandhi's ideas and example remain the guiding influence for thousands of activists in India and across the world.

The primary reason for this is that you can disagree passionately with Gandhi on specific issues or some particular decisions he made, but you cannot help being inspired by his emphasis on always giving more importance to the means of our action over the ends. We lean on his example because he lived recently and he was made of ordinary clay like the rest of us but he managed to live out this truth with a dazzling passion. The most blessed among us travel with sheer joy the same path in everyday life.

Rajni Bakshi is a Mumbai-based journalist and writer. She is author of 'Rupa Kati: Journeys in Rediscovery of Gandhi', Penguin India, 1998.

GANDHI'S ALTERNATIVE

Another world is possible, but what would it look like according to Gandhi? He challenged conventional wisdom, broke through traditional categories of thoughts, and opened new philosophical and practical possibilities. Alternative world views are debated by politicians, philosophers and activists.

**Engagement with Gandhi:
An Alternative World View**
18.1. at 5 PM to 8 PM, Hall 5

Related event

➤ Gandhi's ideas involve political, ethical, philosophical and spiritual dimensions. All of these form a whole. In the workshop, among others, is discussed Gandhi's methodology of non-violence as a political strategy as well as his vision for a new social and political order:

Gandhi in Our Times, 19.1. 1 PM to 4 PM, D111.

What Would Gandhi Say if He Came to the WSF Today?

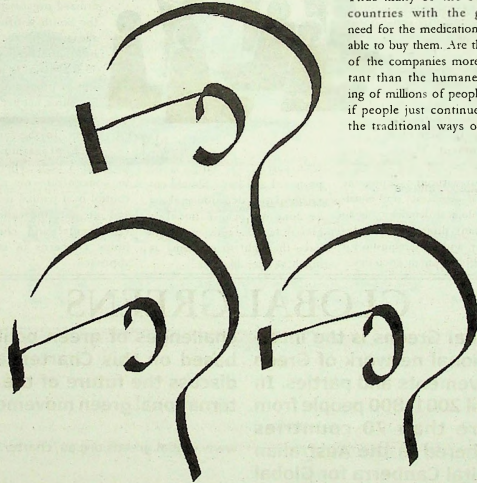
Gandhi's thoughts on self-rule of small areas like villages, the fight for decentralising power is still accurate. Would Gandhi's way of localisation be

instead of suicide attacks successfully resist the invading forces by nonviolent civil disobedience and non-cooperation, like the Indians did to

could be against the WTO's TRIPS Agreement, according to which for example different species of seeds or medication can be patented.

Now, when many of the seeds are patented, farmers become dependant on the multinational companies selling the seeds and the farming becomes impossible for many small farms. Also the high prices, for example on the AIDS medication, are caused by the patents of the medicine. Thus many of the Southern countries with the greatest need for the medication are not able to buy them. Are the rights of the companies more important than the humane suffering of millions of people? What if people just continued using the traditional ways of farm-

At the moment for example the WTO or the World Bank are making many of the biggest decisions concerning the development of the South often without listening to the voices of the countries involved



a tool for increasing democracy and equality among nations and people? If instead of liberalising trade, the amount of tariffs would be progressive so that it would cost more to import goods from countries far a way, would it help national states or smaller units to be more self sufficient? At the same time the decisions would be made closer to the people so that every one could take part in decision-making on the issues which effect their own lives. At the moment for example the WTO or the World Bank are making many of the biggest decisions concerning the development of the South often without listening to the voices of the countries involved.

Could the people of Iraq

Would Gandhi be the one encouraging people to stop the World Trade Organisation, World Bank or the International Monetary Fund by non-violent civil disobedience?

gain independence from the British empire? Would Gandhi be the one encouraging people to stop the World Trade Organisation, World Bank or the International Monetary Fund by non-violent civil disobedience?

Gandhi marched for the right to local salt production in his famous Dandi March and encouraged people to be disobedient and start making their own salt by vapourising the seawater. Today's Dandi March

ing? What if the countries of the South would break the patents of medicines and produce them with a lower price for them selves? The people are strong enough to change the system!

Today's Dandi March could be against the WTO's TRIPS Agreement

SATURDAY 17th JANUARY

TITLE	SPEAKERS	VENUE	ORGANISERS
9 AM - 12 Noon			
NAFTA & FTAA - the Global North meets Global South	Havier Coria, Benedicto Martinez, Njoki Njehu, Fred Azcarate, Gustavo Godas, Tom Goldtooth, Gerome Cott	Hall 2 (4000)	Grassroots Global Justice (GGJ)
Socialism of the Future	Bhai Vaidya, Harsh Mander, Aruna Roy, Suniti, M.P. Parmeswaran, Chico Whitaker, Pradip Giri, Keshav Jadhav, Vinod Prasad Singh, Geetha, Folke Sundeman, Subhash Ware, Gabriel Dietreich, Shekar Singh	A 4 (1000)	Socialist Front, Lok Shakti Abhiyan, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Yusuf Meherally Centre, Rashtra Seva Dal, S M Joshi Socialist Foundation
Trees for Survival	Sunder Lal Bahuguna, Rajendra Dhasmana, Mr.Mburu, Rajendra Gupta, Bhuvan Pathak	A 20 (100)	Ped Panchayat, Coalition for Environment and Development, South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy
Perspectives on Alliances of Communists, Greens, Feminists and other movement groups for comprehensive democracy	Pannalal Surana, Luis Ayala, Ulka Mahajan, Chittaroopa Palit, Khurshid Anwar, Shaheed Kamal, Satu Hassi, Mukul Sharma, Yrjo Hakanen, Anil Bhattarai, Vandna Mishra, Aii Anwar, Sathyamala, Amarjeet Kaur, W.R. Vardarajam	D 129 (100)	Rashtra Seva Dal, S M Joshi Foundation, Yusuf Meherally Centre
Strategies Toward Global Democratization - What after Unilateralism?	George Monbiot, Asthriesslav Rocuts, Jill Timms, Candido Grzybowski, Heikki Patomaki, D.L. Sheth	D 119 (100)	NIGD, Network Institute for Global Democratization, IBASE, Centre for the Studies of Developing Studies (CSDS), UNESCO Chair on Civil Society of the Polytechnic University Catalunya
1 PM - 4 PM			
For a Democratic, Fair, Responsible, International Governance	Antonio Guterres, Luis Ayala, V.P. H.D. Devegowda, Enrique Baron, Eliodi Rupo, Cristoph Zopal, Bernard Soulage, Kader Arif, Erkki Tuomioja, Jakaya Kikwete, Viya Chauhan, Nitin Desai	A 2 (1000)	Socialist Front, Socialist International
Dialogues on Knowledge in Society	Avinash Jha, Krishna Gandhi, Tenzin Rigzin, Ananya Vajpeyi, Sunil Sahasrabudhey, Krishnarajulu Naidu, Jinan K.B., Amit Basole	D129 (100)	Indigen Research Foundation, Lokavidya Samvad
Global Environmental Citizens Manifestos	Shekhar Singh, Wolfgang Sachs, B.K. Roy Burman, Satu Hassi, Marko Ulvila, Mukul Sharma, Iina Sen, Gini Shrivastav, Bhuvan Pathak, Suresh Nautiyal, Cathrine Greze	B 67 (100)	Democracy Forum Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, HBF India, South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy
Ecofriendly and Equity Arrangement in Water Management	Pannalal Surana, Popatrao Pawal, Ghare	A16 (100)	Rashtra Seva Dal, Socialist Womens Council, Chatra Bharati Students Wing, All India Socialist Teachers Forum
Recasting the Discourse on AIDS: Lessons for Public Health from Africa/Brazil/India	Robert Shell, Anandi Yuvaraj, C. Sathyamala, Roehelle / Ruchira Gupta, Anchita Ghatak, Vijay Thakur, Anand Zachariah, CORE team	A 20 (100)	Swasthya Panchayat-Lokayan, Apne Aap, Women Worldwide, Coalition for Environment and Development, ActionAid India
5 PM - 8 PM			
Agrarian Struggles: People over Profit	Devinder Sharma, Vijay Javanhia, Hilka Pietila, Sarath Fernando, Rafael Alegria	B 49 (100)	National Alliance of Peoples Movements, MST, La Via Campesina, Monlar - Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, HMKs
Democracy and Constitutions - a North-South Dialogue on the Constitutional Processes (of India, European Union, Africa etc.)	Erkki Tuomioja, Digvijaya Singh, Rajendra Sachchar, Vijay Pradhan, Pravin Wagh, Abdul Kadir A'Shareef, Thomas Wallgren, Ville-Veikko Hirvela, Anil Mishra, Harsh Mander	B 67 (100)	Democracy Forum Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Lokayan
A Coalition for Comprehensive Democracy - the Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam Initiative	Satu Hassi, Prabhash Joshi, DL Sheth, Thomas Wallgren, Ville-Veikko Hirvela, Outi Hakkarainen, Mirja Rynanen, Dev Dutt, Aruna Roy, Suresh Nautiyal, Vagish Jha, Ritu Priya	B 68 (100)	Democracy Forum Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

SUNDAY 18th JANUARY

TITLE	SPEAKERS	VENUE	ORGANISERS
9 AM - 12 Noon			
The Politics of the WSF's "Open Space": prospects and limitations of the struggle against the Empire	Immanuel Wallerstein, Chico Whitaker, Virginia Vargas, Meena Menon, Anibal Quijano, Jai Sen, Teivo Teivainen, Thomas Ponnaiah	A 2 (100)	NIGD, Network Institute for Global Democratization, Paulo Freire Institute, Focus on the Global South, Flora Tristan
Child Labour And Social Security Among Unorganized Sector Workers		B 61 (100)	National Campaign Committee For Unorganized Sector Workers (NCC-USW), Campaign For Child Labour (Cacl)
Peoples Transport Policy in the Era of Globalisation	Rajendra Ravi	A 15 (100)	Lokayan, Coalition for Environment and Development, South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy, Delhi, TRIPP-IIT, Delhi, Jan Parivahan Panchayat, Delhi
Democracy in the Himalayan Region: Including the Excluded	Vijay Pratap, Hari Roka, Rajendra Dhasmana, Shekhar Pathak, Arun Joshi, Deepak Bhatt, B.B. Pandey, Bhupen Singh, Ravindra Garia, P.C. Tiwari	A 20 (100)	South Asia Study Centre, Uttarakhand Chaupal, Himalayan Peoples Forum, All India Nepalese Free Students Union ANNFSU
1 PM - 4 PM			
Cooperatives as a collective bargaining strategy		B 32 (200)	New Trade Union Initiative
Democracy and Human Security in South Asia		B 51 (100)	LOKNITI- A programme of the Centre for the Study of Developing Societies (CSDS), LOKAYAN, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Heinrich Boll Foundation
Water in the Era of Globalisation	Nirmal Sen Gupta, Vaidyanathan, Satish Chandra, Medha Patkar, Bhiksham Gujja, Peter Boshard, Rajendra Singh, Anupam Mishra, Deepak Mipani	D 133 (100)	South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy, Coalition for Development and Environment, Himalayan Peoples Forum, South Asia Study Centre
Care of elderly in rural societies of the third world	Manisha Jha, Habibullah Ansari	B 53 (100)	Swasthya Panchayat
How To Deal With Lack Of Money In Small Communities		B 60 (100)	Alliance 21 Workshop on Social Money
Resisting State and Interpersonal Violence Against Women of Color	Kaaryn Gustafson, Women of Color Resource Center; Julia Sudbury, Critical Resistance, Ethnic Studies Mills College; Margo Okazawa-Rey, Mills College Women's Leadership Institute, Simmi Gandhi, Incitel; Andrea Smith (Cherokee), Incitel, Michigan Uni	C 105 (100)	INCITE, Women of color against violence
Freedom Matters!	Richard Matthew Stallman	D 140 (400)	Free Software Foundation of India
5 PM - 8 PM			
Engagement with Gandhi: An Alternative World View	Digvijay Singh, Ashish Nandy, Chico Whitaker, Sunil Sahasrabudhe, Nirmala Deshpandey, Sudhir Chandra, Thomas Wallgren, Pradip Giri, Sayeeda Hamid, Wolfgang Sachs, Vijay Pratap (initiator of the debate), Anil Mishra (moderator)	Hall 5 (4000)	JP Foundation for Asian Democracy, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Committee for Cultural Choices and Global Futures, Lok Shakti Abhiyan
Water for Livelihood: Linking People, Not Rivers	Medha Patkar, Ramaswamy Iyer, Peter Boshard, A Vaidyanathan, Sudhirendar Sharma, Rajendra Singh, Bittu Sehgal, Dinesh Mishra, Shaikat Munir, Nirmal Sengupta, Bhiksham Gujja, Sudhir Vombatker, & others	A 4 (1000)	National Alliance of Peoples Movement, Narmada Bachao Andolan, International Rivers Network, Bangla Praxis

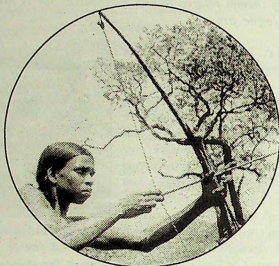
MONDAY 19th JANUARY

TITLE	SPEAKERS	VENUE	ORGANISERS
9 AM - 12 Noon			
Impact of Globalisation on Agricultural Workers And Rural Poor		B 37 (200)	National Campaign Committee For Rural Workers
Domestic Workers in the Era of Globalization		D 125 (100)	Gharelu Kamgaar Panchayat, Domestic Workers Forum, Nirmala Niketan, Socialist Front, Delhi, Institute for Democracy and Sustainability
Anchalik Asmita Evam Lokantatra Samvardhan (Regional Identity and Deepening of Democracy)	Rabi Ray, D.L. Sheth, Usha Titikshu, Arun Kumar Panibaba, Rajendra Dhasmana, Vagish Jha, D.P. Yadav, Rajkumar Jain, Kamal Morarka	C 74 (100)	Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam
Putting the Debt Issue Back on the Political Agenda	Heikki Patomaki	D 132 (100)	NIGD (Network Institute for Global Democratization)
Democratizing information with a focus on libraries	Kay Raseroka, Karisiddappa, T.A.V. Murthy, Pandey S.K. Sharma, Sunil Abraham, Mahiti, Fred Noronha, Doug Schuler, Mirja Ryymanen, Mikael Bök. (Note: First part on 18.1. 9 am - 5 pm at TATA Memorial Library.)	D 126 (50)	NIGD Network Institute for Global Democratization, Bytes for all
1 PM - 4 PM			
World Dignity Forum 2 PM - 5 PM	Chandra Muzaffar, Rada Ivekovich, Hanaa Edwards, Ilan Halevi, Karamat Ali, A. Padmanabhan, Wolfgang Sachs, Eugenio Poma	Hall 1 (8000)	National Conference of Dalit Organisations (NACDOR), HBF, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam
Time to Retire: The IMF & World Bank at 60.	Njoki Njoroge Njehu, Shalmali Guttal, Oduur Ong'wen, Demba Moussa Dembele	A 4 (1000)	50 Years is Enough Network
New Imperialism In World Today	Yrjo Hakanen	D 134 (400)	Social Scientist and Social Science Probing
The Role Of Transformative Education In The Process Of Democratization	Annibal Quijano, Thomas Ponniah, chair Azril Bacal	A 7 (400)	Instituto Paulo Freire, CETAL, Uppsala, Sweden, NIGD
Climate Justice- Linking Human Rights, Environmental Justice and Climate Change		D 129 (100)	Global Resistance, Lokayan, Indigenous Environmental Network, Vitae Civilis Third World Network, FOE Malaysia, SNEEJ Friends of the Earth International
Voices on Democracy: From Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal, Bhutan, Myanmar and Afghanistan	Pradip Giri, Shailaja Acharya, Karamat Ali, M. Tehsin, Moinuddin, Prabhat Kumar, Ahmed Salim, M.H. Qureshi, K.P. Oli, Anil Bhattarai	C 74 (100)	Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Aman Parivar
Gandhi in our Times	Suresh Sharma, Thomas Wallgren	D 111 (100)	Modernity, Rationality, Moral Philosophy - Philosophical Studies: Academy of Finland research project, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam
No Money for War - Boycott Bush	Pol	A 11 (50)	For Mother Earth, Peace Choice Campaign, Barnard-Boecker Centre Foundation (Canada), Friends of the Earth Finland
5 PM - 8 PM			
Third World Movements Within the First World		A 12 (200)	Grassroots Global Justice
Dialogues on Knowledge in Society II	Avinash Jha, Krishna Gandhi, Tenzin Rigzin, Ananya Vajpeyi, Sunil Sahasrabudhey, Krishnarajulu Naidu, Jinan K.B., Amit Basole	D110	Indigen Research Foundation, Lokavidya Sanvad
Indo-European dialogue on prospects of peoples security and peace in 21st century globally	V.V. Hirvela, Leena Rikkila, Muchkund Dubey, Deepak Nayyar, Suresh Sharma, Ajit Jha, Heidi Hautala, Arun Kumar, Anand Kumar, Rizwan Kaiser, Nitin Desai	C 74 (100)	Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Maulana Azad Vichar Manch

TUESDAY 20th JANUARY

TITLE	SPEAKERS	VENUE	ORGANISERS
9 AM - 12 Noon			
Survival of Indigenous people / adivasi globally	Ram Dayal Munda, Heidi Karjalainen, Vasavi, Dayamani Barla, Indu Netam, Kaluram Dhondhare, Vahru Sonwane, Gameji Vasawa, Rose Kerkatta, C K Janu, Minimnon Lalu, Nirmala Putul, Bitta Murmu, Gunjuli Nayak, Shivrama Krishna, Pradeep Prabhu, Ashok Chaudhry, Harishankar Mhale, Sukhdeo Babu Uaike, Sanjeev Barua	Hall 3 (4000)	Friends of the Earth Finland, NAPM, Abhiyan, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam, Ramanika Foundation, Agramamee, Shoshit Jan Andolan, Coalition for Environment and Development, Rупantar, Astha, Judav, LAMP
The Quest for Participatory Democracy	Luis Ayala, Partho Mukherjee, D.L. Sheth, Manoranjan Mohanty, Ramesh Dixit, Geetha, Ashok Bharti, Anand Kumar, Aruna Roy, Moema, D P Tripathy	B 31 (200)	Rajendra Prasad Academy/ Institute for Democracy and Sustainable Development
Dialogue on Participatory Democracy and Civil Society Movements	D.L. Sheth, Thomas Wallgren, Medha Patkar, Nikhil Dey, Suniti, Surekha Dalvi, Aditya Nigam, Hari Roka, Anil Bhattarai, Mohammad Tehsin, Anand Kumar, Kumar Saptrishi, Rizwan Qaiser, Prabhat Kumar, Rajendra Ravi, Lalit Batra	B 60 (100)	The Civil Society, Globalisation and Comprehensive Democracy Dialogues (CSGDD), Books for Change - Hindi, Third World Forum
Survival of Peasants Globally	Vijay Javandhiak, G.K. Chaddha, Subhas Lomte, Naresh Sirohi, Sumit Chopra, Gopal Iyer, Sunilam, Suman Sahai, representatives of Via Campesina and Farmers Organisations	B 61 (100)	South Asian Dialogues on Ecological Democracy, CSGDD, Committee for Cultural Choices and Global Futures
Linking Rivers, Dividing People	Medha Patkar, Peter Boshard, Ramaswamy Iyer, A Vaidyanathan, Sudhir Vombakere, Sudhiredra Sharma, Dinesh Mishra, A Latha, Pandurang Hegde, Convenors: Uma Shankari, Gopal Krishna, and Suresh Nautiyal	B 65 (100)	The Ecological Foundation, Forum for Ecological Democracy, Working Group on Ecological Democracy
US hegemony in South Asia: Quest for South Asian Solidarity	Vijay Pratap, Rajendra Dhasmana, Hari Roka, Shekhar Pathak, P.C. Tiwari	D 133 (100)	Himalayan Peoples Forum, South Asia Study Centre, AINFSU, Uttarakhand Chaupal, Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam
Questioning Prevailing Paradigms in Public Health: Putting People Centre-Stage	Onkar Mittal, Anant Phadke, C. Sathyamala, team of Researchers from JNU, Outi Hakkareinen, Atal B.Sharma, Krishna Soman, Ritu Priya, chair Deodhar	B 53 (100)	Swasthya Panchayat, GASPP, Centre of Social Medicine and Community Health
Free Software - Freedom - Libertad	Richard Stallman, Juan Carlos Gentile, Nuria del Rio, Vicente Ruiz, Free Software Foundation India, G. Nagarjuna	D 128 (100)	Hipatia
U.S. Hosting the G8 and IMF/WB 60 th Aniv. In 2004		C 93 (100)	Jubilee USA
1 PM - 4 PM			
Development Induced Displacement: Perspectives and Strategies 2 PM - 5 PM	Medha Patkar, Trevor Ngnana, Girish Patel, Smit Kothari, Ashok Chaudhari	Hall 1 (8000)	National Alliance of Peoples Movements, Narmada Bachao Andolan, MAB, MN&P, Focus on Global South, Forum for Forest People and Forest Worker, Lokayan
WSF Roundtable for Dialogue and Controversy: Challenging Unilateralism and UN Reform	Maude Barlow, Canada - Virginia Vargas, - Sara Longwe, Zambia - Gita Sen, India - Marco Aurélio Garcia - Professor Muchkund Dubey - Paul Nyrup Rasmussen	Hall 4 (4000)	IBASE, ONU dei Populi, UBUNTU, FIM Canada, DAWN Brazil, NIGD
People to People Dialogue on Multilateralism and Democracy Globally	S.P. Shukla, Jakaya Kikwete, Muchkund Dubey, Baren Ray, D.L. Sheth, Ville Luukkainen, Marko Ulvila, Suman Sharma, Mahendra Sharma, Mirja Ryyanen	B 30 (200)	The Civil Society, Globalisation and Comprehensive Democracy Dialogues (CSGDD)
Globalization, Mass Media and Culture	Nikhil Wagle, Rajendra Dhasmana, P.C. Tiwari, C.P. Jha, Anil Mishra, Shekhar Pathak, Suresh Nautiyal, Ravindra Garia, Rajesh K Jha	D 129 (100)	South Asia Study Centre, Himalayan Peoples Forum, AINFSU, Ultrakhand Chaupal
5 PM - 8 PM			
Socialist Responsibility for Deepening Democracy Globally	Antonio Guterres, Sadanand Varde, Pannalal Surana, Enrique Baron, Thomas Wallgren, Luis Ayala, Arun Kumar, Sanjeev Sane, Atal B. Sharma, Manimala, Anil Bhattarai	Hall 5 (4000)	Socialist Front, Janata Weekly, Naya Sangharsh, Lok Shakti Abhiyan, Rashtra Seva Dal
Indigenous Peoples Identity and Their Rights	Victoria Corpuz, Joan Carling, Ram Dayal Munda, Pradeep Prabhu, CK Janu, Sanjay Basu Mullick	D 134 (400)	National Alliance of Peoples Movements, Narmada Bachao Andolan
Solidarity with Palestine: United grassroots resistance in the United States to Israeli Occupation	Rania Masri, Institute for Southern Studies; Cecille Surasky, Jewish Voices for Peace, and Nirsin El Amin, Grassroots International	B 34 (200)	Institute for Southern Studies
Initiatives for renewable energy Technology	Marko Ulvila, Sudhiredra Sharma, Karun, Ashok Rao	D 116 (100)	Coalition for Environment and Development

Indigenous peoples' rights and survival



Millions of indigenous people are increasingly displaced from their territories. Due to globalised exploitation, their traditions and natural resources are taken away in the name of development. This results in a fast degradation of quality of life and human rights.

According to the widely ratified international ILO Convention, states are responsible for ensuring indigenous peoples' collective right to the land and its resources, which are needed for their livelihoods and subsistence. Human rights require that a people shall not be deprived of its own means of subsistence. However indigenous peoples' means of subsistence are widely negated by commercial interests.

The consumerist expansion and Trade-Related Intellectual Property Rights under WTO are framed to poach upon the traditional knowledge systems and cultural rights. The new

information technology does not allow a process of genuine engagement of indigenous people on equal footing. The forces of globalisation go far beyond and threaten to eradicate the cultural diversity and plural world-view, music, literature, etc. and endanger the very identity and survival of the Adivasis. Simultaneously with the Adivasi identity, the symbiotic way of life, the art of plural co-existence and the culture of shared celebration are threatened.

There is a need to discover and analyse not only the threats to the indigenous people, but also their strengths, rights and contributions to the world. Their life and the way their means of subsistence are their "own", provide the world an elucidation on how the basis of our universal human rights to land and natural resources is much wider than commercial ownership. The land indigenous people live in

and its natural resources belong to them culturally, socio-economically, ethically, spiritually and by their right to political self-determination. They need to have sovereignty in decision-making over the use, management and conservation of resources, which are necessary means for their life. Indigenous people's free and informed consent is necessary prior to the approval of any use of their lands or means of subsistence.

Constructing the indigenous vision with authentic voices and aspirations is a challenge. These, if articulated politically, will contribute to the struggle for the survival of this planet, equitable social order and sustainable development. Indigenous people have the right to the conservation of the environment of their lands and to uphold their distinctive spiritual and material relationship with the lands and resources and their responsibilities to future generations. Indigenous people constitute still about 4 percent of the world population and have been the trustees of about half the natural and cultural resources. Their survival is an essential concern for the survival of our planet earth as living mother nature. Understanding the Adivasi way of life, their world-view, livelihood engagements, cultural contexts and meaning systems operating within them, will provide vital clues in the making of an alternative vision for the survival of our planet.

Survival of Indigenous Peoples Globally

20.1. 9 am to 12 noon, Hall 3

This large debate on the survival of Adivasi Globally will contain indigenous speakers around the World. The World Social Forum in India is a good forum to consider indigenous issues as India has the world's larg-

est population of indigenous people or "Adivasis". Thousands of Adivasi-representatives are participating in the WSF, where more than 60 seminars and work-shops discuss the indigenous issues.

interview: HEIDI KARJALAINEN

"We need co-operation to make a difference"

One of the many indigenous groups having representatives at the WSF is the Sami people from Northern Europe. The Sami live in the northernmost areas of Finland, Sweden, Norway and Russia and their traditional livelihood consists of fishing and reindeer herding.

Heidi Karjalainen, Äslat Juovssä Ranba Heidi in Sami language, is 22 years old and has been actively involved in Suomen Sami Nuorat (Sami Youth organisation in Finland) since four years. She took part in her first SSN meeting during her last year in high-school and became enthusiastic about taking part more actively. The next year she was asked to join the board and her interest in more active Sami politics increased. "Since then I've gone deeper and deeper into the activities of SSN and am now the chairperson of the board", Heidi says.



She has also participated in planning a project with the Parakuiyo Masai community in Tanzania and took part in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues at the UN headquarters in NY last spring.

How do you see the international co-operation of Adivasi people today?

I see working together as being very important. In a world that is getting 'smaller' all the time, it's necessary to create co-operation opportunities. In today's world it's impossible to isolate oneself and in some aspects I see co-operation as unavoidable: when you're on your own the chances to make a difference are smaller. The power of working together can for example be seen in the UN Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and other similar events.

What are your expectations from your visit to the WSF in Mumbai?

It's hard to point out anything specific. For us in the Sami Youth organisation in Finland it's obviously important to gain experience and knowledge about acting on the international level. As the land of our people is divided between four states we already act on an international level in some aspects. In addition I find it interesting to see how the WSF works. I expect it to be quite different from the events I've been to, as there are also many other issues present than those related to Adivasi people. I'm also looking forward to meeting other young people.

Heidi Karjalainen is chairperson of the board of Sami Youth organisation in Finland.

Related events

- ▶ Indigenous People and their Land Rights, 18.1., 1PM to 4PM, A18
- ▶ Indigenous Peoples Identity and their Rights, 20.1. 5 pm to 8 pm, D134
- ▶ Tribal Women and Rights over the Natural Resources, 17.1, 9AM to 12NOON, D114

SOCIAL DIMENSION ON A RISE

The idea to ensure human dignity globally means that more attention should be paid to people instead of profit. The neo-liberal hegemony has caused social problems like

On the age of globalisation we are facing a serious crisis in democratic decision-making, which means that economies have been liberalised and deregulated against the will of

rights of all human beings. That is why there's an urgent need for self-rule.

People have to assert their power and strengthen the possibilities to make decisions



The ideals of equality have been totally rejected by neo-liberal forces.

poverty, alienation, unemployment, and inequity. Present global forces are worst hitting farmers, fishermen, indigenous people, women and otherwise already discriminated classes.

the majority of the citizens. These harmful decisions are made to serve the benefit of small global elite without taking into consideration the moral aspects and universal

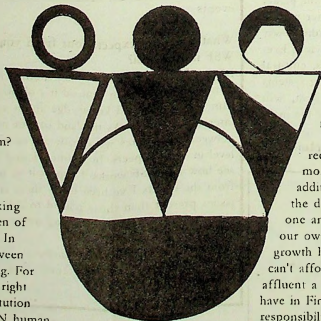
when our own welfare and resources are in question. The new rise of the socialist values is needed in the times of total rejection of the ideals of equality and fraternity by neo-liberal forces.

Towards equality

How is it possible that people are living on the streets? How can small children be forced to make their living by begging in the middle of a traffic jam? What are the forces behind all this?

It raises many questions while walking in Mumbai as a citizen of Nordic welfare state. In Finland the gap between the rich is not that big. For us basic income is a right written in the Constitution and according the UN human rights it should concern everyone. So how is it possible that it's still just a dream?

Experiencing Indian atmosphere shows us once again that present neo-liberal economic expansion is unsustainable. The growth



distributed like this is never going to bring fruits to everyone. Social dimension, family ties and emotions are under threat of consumerism. In Finnish consumption society we already have social problems like exclu-

sion and loneliness which hopefully are not going to be part of Indian lifestyle in the future.

So how to redistribute welfare more equally? In addition to work for the democratisation, one answer is to change our own lifestyle. The growth has its limits so we can't afford having as affluent a society as we now have in Finland. It is our responsibility to rethink the values of western lifestyle and avoid consuming those goods produced in unfair circumstances and in too large quantities.

Welfare is possible for all if we are satisfied with what we really need.

Interview: USHA TITIKSHU

“People and energy are our strengths”

Usha, 31, is a central committee member of Civic Solidarity For Peace in Nepal. By profession she is a freelance photo journalist and has photographed especially themes related to social injustice. She is involved in dialogic process.



What are the weaknesses and strengths of social movements in South Asia?

In South Asia there are many social problems so we need to have real grassroots, peoples volunteer networking. Nowadays one problem is that NGOs are paying big money for their workers and many of them are too corporate. We need peoples organisations that don't work for money and link with political parties.

Our strength is that we have people and energy. Those people want to build a beautiful network for justice, non-violent movement, equality and progress. There are different ways people are fighting against globalisation and militansation, but sometimes the challenge is to understand people from different regions with their own problems. There is a need to deeply understand and learn from each others, because how could we build the international solidarity against globalisation and militansation without understanding?

How do you see the WSF contributing the movement building in the region?

Since a month I've been in Mumbai, travelling around and meeting people, I've met only few who have known something about the WSF, so the impact might not be that big. But of course the meetings around the WSF are gathering people together from different parts, give chances to meet good people and get new friends. The WSF is not just a way to build a network but more like an open ground, which is also needed for better understanding. It also provide a possibility to see local problems on international level. Challenge in the WSF is the big question: Another world is possible, but for what? Using other words, where is the beautiful garden? Many flowers are there already: All should be there, but through which way?

Related Events

> DIGNITY TO ALL

A conference of dignified, racially, socially and otherwise discriminated communities is organised. Special interest will be on the globalisation and it's impact on poorer sections of the society. The goal of the conference is to evolve a common programme and a live network of these communities.

World Dignity Forum, 19.1. at 2 PM to 5 PM, Hall 1

> FUTURE SOCIALISM

Discussions about socialism together with eminent socialist leaders:

Socialism of the Future, 17.1. at 9 PM to 12 PM, A4

For a Democratic, Fair, Responsible, International Governance 17.1. at 1 PM to 4 PM, A2

Socialist Responsibility for Deepening Democracy Globally 20.1 at 5 PM to 8 PM, Hall 5

Economic democracy, a political instrument

Economic democracy is about strengthening the position of the weakest. This could be done by empowering the poorest of society

It is necessary to develop complementary money systems to democratise economy

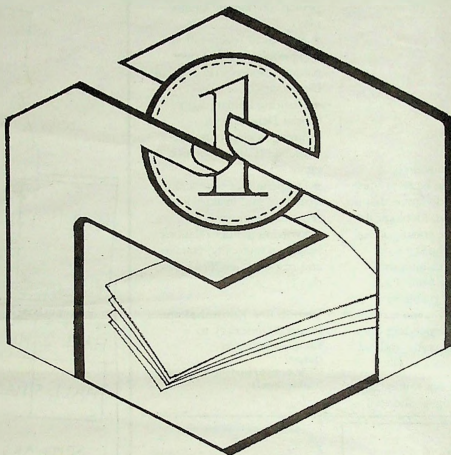
and develop systems which protect the needs and rights of them.

It is necessary to develop complementary money systems to democratise economy. Community-based exchange systems encourage self-reliance and support local production. By using local currency people who are in need of national currency are still able to fulfill their needs. The local markets are more based on actual demand, not on the aim of multinational companies to make profit by selling useless goods.

Concretely alternatives to 'hard

Economic democracy refers also to the use of money as a political instrument.

currency' mean different kinds of self-help groups who have set up community currency systems, loan groups, savings clubs, producer/consumer cooperatives etc. Economic democracy refers also to the use of money as a political instrument. One example of changing the world by using money is boycotting.



Concretely alternatives to 'hard currency' mean different kinds of self-help groups who have set up community currency systems, loan groups, savings clubs, producer/consumer cooperatives etc.

MONEY AND POWER

> SOCIALMONEYANDLOCALCURRENCIES

Workshop arranged by Alliance 21. The goal of the workshop is to demonstrate the possibility of using community exchange and currency systems to improve quality of life, social and economic solidarity and appropriate economic development.

Social Money & Solidarity Socio-Economy, 19.1 at 5 PM to 8 PM, B40

> BOYCOTTBUSH

On the workshop organised by For Mother Earth the purpose will be to share campaign experiences and plan actions for the ongoing consumer boycott of US multinationals companies.

No Money For War - Boycott Bush, 19.1 at 1 PM to 4 PM, A11

PUBLIC HEALTH CARE

There is ferment in health service systems across the world. Challenges of high costs on one hand, and health sector reforms with declining public expenditures and health systems' capacity on the other are reopening old and new paths for health services development. At the same time the negative impact of economic policy changes on health status has generated a growing recognition of the need for effective health systems.

The threat of privatisation of public services is right behind the corner all around the world. Privatising the public health care could have serious impact on the health status of different countries.

AIDS is one of the public health crisis affecting the whole world, but with greatly varying degrees of severity. The epidemic is so serious in many countries that it is bound to influence the public health discourse and future services development. The epidemic has followed a different course in different societies in diverse contexts and evoked diverse responses.

The HIV epidemic provides its lessons on how such conditions have come about, including their exploitation by the neo-colonial processes, adoption of the north-led models of development, and the impact of globalisation. How have these affected women's lives and gender issues in various segments of the population?

In many of the African countries a public health care system had been built by the 1970s. Is the break down of this systems over the 1980s, greatly caused by the structural adjustment programs, one of the significant factors in limiting the capacity of the system to respond to the epidemic?

Related events

> Recasting the Discourse on AIDS: Lessons for Public Health from Africa, Brazil, and India, 17.1. at 1 PM to 4 PM, A20

> Questioning Prevailing Paradigms in Public Health, 20.1. at 9 AM to 12 Noon, B53



From Democracy to Sampooran Swaraj

Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam is an idea aspiring to redefine democracy from a mode of governance to a way of life. The age old concept *vasudhaiva kutumbakam*, meaning the whole world is one family, can provide a basis for a dialogue on the future directions of societies.

Dominant science, social and economic processes, and policy tend to fragment life, issues and people's ways of looking at them. Democracy has come to mean merely 'representative' political structures. But there is another perspective of democracy. It is an idea about relationships being based on equality, mutuality and respect in individual interaction between family members, communities, human beings and the rest of nature, between genders, in the market and the nation state, and between peoples across the nations. The challenge for all of us is to build politics around this

perspective to channelize all institutions towards ever expanding and deepening democratisation.

For Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam socio-cultural



diversity is a source of strength. The basic premise of this world-view is that no sect, religion, ideological group, class, socio-political formation, the state, or church can claim a monopoly over *truth*. Each one's 'truth' is able to capture only some aspects of the *Truth*, depending upon the vantage point, and not 'the *Truth*' as a whole.

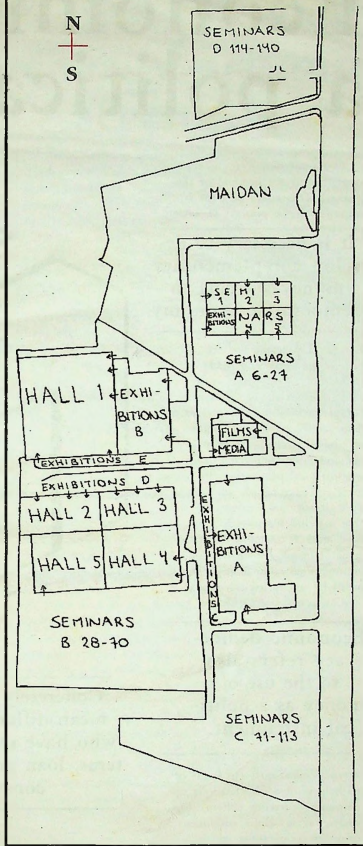
Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam wants to engage the civil

society in dialogues at local, regional and international level on a number of crucial issues:

- ◆ Empowerment of the *daridranarayan*, the 'last person' (Economic Democracy).
- ◆ Ecological regeneration and people's control over natural resources (Ecological Democracy).
- ◆ Ensuring human dignity (Social Democracy).
- ◆ Strengthening plural co-existence (Cultural Democracy).
- ◆ Deepening of democratic structures and institutions (Political Democracy)
- ◆ Evolving gender relations based on mutuality, equality and respect (Gender Democracy)

Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam: From Democracy to Sampooran Swaraj
(<http://www.demokratiiaforumi.fi/vk-booklet.html>)

The WSF Venue



Another world is possible!
Let us build it together!!

Don't forget to visit

STALLS		
A-HALL		
Harit Chaupal - Green Corner		A 6-7
Coalition for Environment and Development		A 8
Hind Mazdoor Sabha		A 17
Lokayan		A 57-59
National Alliance of People's Movement		A 67
Narmada Bachao Andolan		A 69
Socialist Front		A 91
Eklavya Pratishthan		A 92
Yusuf Meherally Centre		A 93
Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam		A 94
Shanti Van		A 95
B-HALL		
ActionAid		B 268-282
Other India Bookstore		B 332
Centre for the Study of		
Developing Societies		B 375
Mines, Minerals & People		B 355-356
Rainbow Publishers		B 378
Free Software Foundation		B 412-413
C-SECTION		
International Federation of Terre des Hommes		C 152
Terre des Hommes (Germany)		C 153
E-SECTION		
NACDOR		E 132-133

MUMBAI RESISTANCE 2004
On the other side of Western Express Highway is taking place the parallel happening of WSF. MR 2004 from 17th to 20th of January has the same issues like WSF but the methods they believe differentiate. More info www.mumbairesistance.org

LAND RIGHTS MELA
A four-day (18th to 21st January) mela on land, tribal and peasants 15 km north of the WSF site behind Thakur Complex, Kandivli East. Panels, discussions, musical celebration and experience sharing. Future strategies for a global campaign on land rights. Cultural presentations. For details contact Ekta Parishad at their stall.

INTERNATIONAL VIA CAMPESINA SPACE
The international farmers movement Via Campesina arranges on the 18th and 19th of January an independent space for discussions and debates on agricultural issues. Themes include peasant rights, land reform, struggle against GMOs and

food sovereignty Venues :
On 18th : Satyam Park, Shreyas Colony, near Aarey Road Check Naka, Goregaon (app. 1 km from WSF Grounds).
On 19th : Leela's Banquet Hall, Opp Hotel Jay Prakash, near Rly. Stn., Goregaon (E).

DHARAVI
To experience some impacts of presents politics and situation in India it might be interesting to visit Dharavi, also called as biggest slum in Asia. Just take the train to Mahim Railway Station and head to the east. www.indiatogether.org/opinions/ddsouza/dharavi.htm. If you don't have enough time for Dharavi, it's worth to walk just 100 meters to north from Nesco Grounds and visit a smaller slum.

MALABAR HILLS
A trip to Malabar hills, the wealthiest and poshest area of Mumbai is home of Mumbai's 'nouveau riche'. Take train to the Charni Rd Train Station and walk along the coast to west.

WSF : An Imperialist Trojan Horse!

Dear Friends,

WSF is holding its fourth annual meet at Mumbai. With its slogan "*Another world is possible*", the WSF has succeeded in projecting itself to be the centre of Anti-Globalization movements. The pomp and glitter created by its huge money power, the participation of intellectual celebrities and the international dignitaries along with well-executed media hype, naturally draws the attention of the masses. In the coming days media will blare the loud 'anti-imperialist' proclamations of the WSF speakers, leading people to believe WSF to be a congregation of anti-imperialist forces. Is it true?

The truth is a resounding NO. WSF is not a vanguard of anti-imperialist forces, but a *Trojan horse* of Imperialism, cunningly designed and launched for the express purpose of sabotaging anti-imperialist struggles.

In the last decade when anti-globalization demonstrations rocked the European, Latin American and South East Asian countries and also the U.S., when the number of people participating in such demonstrations swelled to millions, when their screams against capitalism got louder, and finally when the high priests of the Empires were forced to search for safer hide-outs to conduct their deliberations the idea called WSF was born.

WSF is not a new formation altogether. It's only a reincarnation of voluntary organizations (now called NGOs or Civil Society Organizations) begot by the imperialists 40 years ago. The massive students' demonstrations and the widespread anti-imperialist movements of the sixties and the ignominious defeat of America in Vietnam, shattered the credibility of Imperialist Global System and the public opinion swayed in favour of Communism. Unable to quell the people's movement from above, the imperialists resorted to the strategy of penetrating and contaminating the grassroots, through large-scale recruitment of the educated middle class in Non Governmental Organizations.

The mission of NGOs is to divide the people on the line of identities, promote careerism, economism and apoliticism amongst the masses, while indulging in radical phrase mongering. 70% of the World Bank aided projects are routed through NGOs, and they serve as the power centers of Imperialists, studded in the grass root to monitor the project of Recolonisation.

More than 10 Lakh NGOs are functioning in India, and they receive around Rs.5000 Crores annually from the imperialist funding agencies. Though the NGOs are segregated and seem mutually independent of others, they are coordinated and directed by a centralised imperialist think tank. Thus NGOs are strategic weapons of the imperialists to be used against Communism, and tactical tools to implement the Globalization from below.

Their sphere of nefarious activity encompasses a wide spectrum including economics, politics and culture of a country. Neither the 'honesty' of the individuals who work in the NGOs, nor the immediate succour provided by them to the poor can justify this treason. NGOs are political mercenaries of Imperialism, and these mercenaries form the backbone of the WSF.

lib-WSF file

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The Second important constituent of the WSF are the pseudo communists i.e. the CPI, CPI(M) and various shades of Socialist parties. They cry hoarse against Globalization, when they are out of power ; in power they behave as servile slaves of the World Bank and IMF and implement their diktats. From *Lula* of Brazil to *Buddhadeb* of India, they have proved this in practice. Red is their banner, but it is soaked and drenched in bourgeois politics.

Opportunistic electoral alliances to share the spoils of the state machinery and betrayal of the working class for holding on to their leadership in trade unions, remains to be their 'revolutionary' politics. Their anti-globalization 'tirade' is just a ruse to assuage the sentiments of the masses.

The Economism of the pseudo communists and the identity politics of the NGOs belong to the same genre. No wonder that the CPI(M) has seamlessly coalesced with NGOs in the WSF, conveniently forgetting their own outcry against these imperialist stooges in the past.

The active role of CPI, CPI(M) and other pseudo communists and the presence of Anarchists, and Trotskyites lend the much needed credibility to the WSF. Thus an imperialist Trojan horse is portrayed as a red coalition!

The next important partner in this coalition is the church. The church, which has a tradition of serving as a henchman to the Empire during the colonial era, also plays an important role in the WSF. It organises the people under its control and offers them at the altar of Imperialism.

This is what the WSF is! This is the combination that pretends to be anti-imperialist. Radically sounding slogans like "*Abolish World Bank and IMF*", "*Scrap WTO*" etc. are raised from the 'space' called WSF. But those words are mere sounds and they do not bear any practical significance. The 'practice' of WSF is confined to debates; endless debates and empty sloganeering to dissipate the anger of the people ravaged by Imperialism!

Even a political novice can understand that 'Globalization' is a euphemism for blatant imperialist aggression. Hence, an alternative that does not demand the destruction of Imperialism, or stops short of overturning the capitalist social system, betrays itself to be hollow. The cry for a solution to this crisis is destined to be a cry for Socialism and Communism.

Armed aggression and oppression can be repulsed only with an armed retaliation. Centralised apparatus of the enemy can be smashed only with a Centralised Party Organisation; a Revolutionary Communist Party Organistaion.

But the WSF is a crowd of incongruent forces. It's a Trojan Horse of Imperialism.

We call upon the people to boycott WSF!

We call upon you to join the Revolutionary movement!

**People's Art and Literary Association
New Democratic Labour Front
Tamilnadu**

R.Srinivasan, No.4, Fifth Street, Jagannathapuram, Chetpet, Chennai - 600031
Ph: 044 - 2836 0344. E-mail: puthiyakalacharam@hotmail.com

To Contact at Mumbai : 98928-38646



PRIA

*Organizes a Two-Day Deliberation
on*

*Globalization and Localization:
Reflection on Past, Living in Present,
Strategies for Future*

19th to 20th January 2004

WORLD

SOCIAL

FORUM

(WSF)

● *January 2004,
Mumbai*

Venue:

Hotel Ramee Guest Line,
462, AB Nair Road, Juhu, Mumbai-400 049

Institute for Social Science (ISS), New Delhi, India, established in 1985, aims to study contemporary social, political and economic issues and problems. It takes an interdisciplinary perspective and makes its findings and recommendations available to government bodies, social scientists, policy makers, civil society organizations and concerned citizens.

Mahila Milan (MM), Mumbai, India, is an informal federation of women's collectives from pavement and slum settlement. It is a network of women's collectives from the communities, which are affiliated to National Slum Development Federation (NSDF). The network assists women's collectives to get recognition and support from the settlements, and trains them to undertake activities, and skills needed for them to become central in the community's decision-making process.

National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), Mumbai, India started in the mid 1970s by the slum leaders from several cities who wished to participate in all policy discussions affecting the poor. It works in partnership with SPARC and the Mahila Milan. It organizes and mobilizes the social and political environment, which would create conditions for the poor to negotiate with resource providing institutions.

Slum and Shack Dwellers International (SDI) is a network of community-based federations in urban poor settlements (and their partner NGOs) in 12 countries in Asia and Africa.

Society for Promotion of Area Resource Center (SPARC), Mumbai, India, founded in 1984, aims to facilitate the development of environments- the physical and social space- and to support the capacity building processes and institutions of poor people. It trains, educates, advocates and lobbies to set up this process. SPARC along with NSDF and Mahila Milan have brought the shack dwellers together and helped them speak with one voice. The three organizations refer to themselves collectively as the Alliance, combining the knowledge and skills of professionals and community members to help poor illiterate women to secure land for their homes.

Voluntary Network of India (VANI), New Delhi, India, is a platform for safeguarding and highlighting voluntarism and voluntary action in India.

Logo-Link Programme is a global network of practitioners from civil society organizations, research institutions and governments working to deepen democracy through greater citizen participation in local governance. It encourages learning from field based innovations and expressions of democracy which contribute to social justice.

CIVICUS, World Citizen Alliance for Citizen Participation, Washington DC, USA, is dedicated to strengthening citizen action and civil society throughout the world.

Commonwealth Foundation, London, UK, is an intergovernmental organization of the commonwealth. It aims to strengthen the ability of citizens and civil society organizations to work together and with government and private sector towards the achievement of fundamental commonwealth values especially those relating to good governance, people centred sustainable development and poverty eradication.

Development Research Center for Citizenship, Participation & Accountability (DRC) is a research network coordinated in Bangladesh by Bangladesh Institute of Development Studies (BIDS), in Brazil by Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento (CEBRAP), in India by Society for Participatory Research in Asia (PRIA), in Mexico by Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales of the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (IIS-UNAM), in Nigeria by Theatre for Development Centre of Ahmadu Bello University (TFDC), in South Africa by the Centre for South African Studies & School of Government of the University of Western Cape. DRC aims to recast debates of inclusion, participation and accountability in a rights-based and citizenship-centered mould both in theory and practice and to construct new forms of citizenship that will help make rights real and inclusive for the poor.

Forum International de Montreal (FIM), Canada, is global alliance of individuals and organizations with the goal of increasing the influence of international civil society on United Nations & Multilateral systems.

Hauser Center for No-Profit Organisations, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA, is an interdisciplinary center that aims to expand understanding and accelerate critical thinking about civil society among scholars, practitioners, policy makers and the public by encouraging scholarships, developing curriculum, fostering mutual learning between academics and practitioners, and shaping policies that enhance the sector and its role in society.

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM (WSF)

Programme Design

Theme-11 Global and Local Spaces: Civil Society Dynamics under Globalization

Date: 20 January 2004.

9.00 A.M-9.30 A.M

Opening Plenary

Introducing the Theme: Rajesh Tandon, President, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India

Session I Globalization and Civil Society

Chair: L. David Brown, Associate Director for International Programme, Hauser Center for No-Profit Organisations, Harvard University, USA

9.30 A.M-11.00 A.M

Panel Presentation

- John Clark, Project Director, Panel of Eminent Persons on UN-Civil Society Relations, United Nations
- Mario Lovie, Director, Montreal International Forum (FIM), Montreal, Canada
- Ranjita Mohanty, Research & Academic Linkage Programme, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India

Discussion/Question & Answer session

Comments by the chair

11.00 A.M-11.30 P.M

Tea/Coffee Break

Session II Global and Local civil society: Conflict and Co-operation

Chair: Kaustuv Kanti Bandopadhyaya, Programme Manager, Civil Society Building Programme, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India

11.30 A.M-1.00 P.M

Panel Presentation

- A. Jochin, President, National Slum Development Federation (NSDF), Mumbai, India
- Carlos Cortez, Development Research Centre for Citizenship, Participation & Accountability (DRC) Mexico
- Lynn Muthoni, CEO, Africa Women's Development and Communication Network (FEMNET)

Discussion/Question & Answer session

Comments by the chair

1.00 P.M-2.00 P.M

Lunch Break

Session III Futures we are In: Strategies for Coalition Building

Chair: Michel Charette, CECI, Montreal Quebec, Canada

2.00 P.M-4.00 P.M

Panel Presentation

- Salil Shetty, MDGs Campaign Director UNDP, New York, USA
- Jagadananda, Member Secretary, Centre for Youth & Social Development (CYSD), Bhubaneswar, Orissa, India
- Helen Dalton, Chief Programme Officer, Commonwealth Foundation, London, UK

Discussion/Question & Answer session

Comments by the chair

4.00 P.M-4.30 P.M

Tea/Coffee Break

4.30 P.M -5.00 P.M

Highlights of the Day

- Ashok Singh, Director, Sahbhagi Shikshan Sansthan, Lucknow, Uttar Pradesh, India
- Shailendra Dwivedi, Programme Coordinator, Haryana PRIA, India.

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM (WSF)

Programme Design

Theme-1 Globalization and Decentralization: Opportunities and Challenges for Local Governance
Date: 19 January 2004.

9.00 A.M-9.30 A.M

Opening Plenary

Introducing the Theme: Rajesh Tandon, President, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India

Session I Globalization and Local Governance

Chair: John Gaventa, Fellow, Participation, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex, UK and Director, Logo-Link Programme

9.30 A.M-11.00 A.M

Panel Presentation/Discussion

- Zander Navarro, Political Sociologist, Institute of Development Studies, Participation Group (IDS), Sussex. UK
 - Sheela Patel, Director, Society for Promotion of Area Resource Centre (SPARC), Mumbai, India
 - Mark Robinson, Fellow, Governance, Institute of Development Studies (IDS), Sussex. UK
- Discussion/Question & Answer session
Comments by the chair

11.00 A.M-11.30 P.M

Tea/Coffee Break

Session II Positive Action to Promote Local Governance: Ideas & Experiences

Chair: Dr. George Mathew, Director, Institute of Social Sciences, New Delhi, India

11.30 A.M-1.00 P.M

Panel Presentation/Discussion

- Jose Carlos Vaz, Board Member, Instituto de Estudos Formaco e Assessoria em Politicas Sociais (POLIS), Saolo Paulo, Brazil: Logo link Programme
 - Jane Nabunnya, Programme Coordinator, Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Association (DENIVA), Kampala Uganda: Logo link Programme
 - Ashok Kadam, Director, Parivartan, Ratnagiri, Maharashtra, India
- Discussion/Question & Answer session
Comments by the chair

1.00 P.M-2.00 P.M

Lunch Break

Session III Strategies for Alliance Building

Chair: Kumi Naidoo, Secretary General, CIVICUS: World Citizen Alliance for Citizen Participation, Washington DC, USA

2.00 P.M-4.00 P.M

Panel Presentation/Discussion

- Luis Marcelo Renjel, Grupo Nacional de Trabajo para la Participacion (GNTP), Bolivia: Logo link Programme
 - Joel Rocamora, Executive Director, Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Manila, Philippines: Logo link Programme
 - Satinder Singh Sahni, Programme Director, Donor & Government Linkage Programme, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India
- Discussion/Question & Answer session
Comments by the chair

4.00 P.M

Departure for WSF Venue

Session IV

Chair: Rajesh Tandon, President, PRIA (Society for Participatory Research In Asia), New Delhi, India

5.00 P.M-8.00 P.M

Panel

- Jane Nabunnya, Programme Coordinator, Development Network of Indigenous Voluntary Association (DENIVA), Kampala Uganda: Logo link Programme
- A. Jochin, President, National Slum Development Federation (NSDF), Mumbai, India
- Joel Rocamora, Executive Director, Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Manila, Philippines: Logo link Programme
- Mandakini Pant, Respondent Commentator, Research & Academic Linkage Programme, PRIA, India
- Discussion
- Closing comments by the Chair

LOCAL & GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY UNDER GLOBALIZATION:
CONFLICT OR COOPERATION?

● *Background note prepared by
PRIA for the international workshop on
“Globalization and Localization”
Reflection on Past, Living in Present,
Strategies for Future*

convened by



PRIA

and

partners at

*World Social Forum (WSF),
Mumbai during January 19 – 20, 2004*

CONTEXT

Civil society has historically acted to strengthen democratic values of equity, social justice and local development. Individual and collective initiatives for common public good initiatives since early times have been driven by an ideological and spiritual commitment to social reform and change. Development NGOs began to be noticed in different countries around the 1970s, for their alternative development paradigm, which implied local level development. This was in contrast to the prevailing national agenda, which tried to establish uniform national priorities through a series of top-down development interventions by national governments.

The most dynamic characteristic of the alternative development paradigm was its participatory nature. This paradigm believed that development cannot be delivered from outside; that people can develop themselves; their own involvement, knowledge and contribution is an essential foundation for any sustainable development. People's own participation can be enabled through local knowledge and local resources, and enhanced through a series of interventions leading to their collective empowerment. This approach relied substantially on conscientization and collective mobilization of the marginalized themselves. Non-formal education, community organizing and leadership building were the kinds of interventions that this alternative development approach of NGOs signified. This contrasted from the mainstream development paradigm, which focused on growth in GNP and macro-economic development. People's participation in the 1970s was not on the agenda of most governments or international agencies.

Alternative development paradigm, therefore, was an alternative to the practice of the state. In many parts of the developing world, large scale development projects were resulting in displacement of indigenous people, rural poor, urban slum-dwellers from their land, livelihood and community. Civil Society Organisations began to critique such development projects on the basis of who benefits and who bears the cost of such projects. It is this critique, which then subsequently led to what began to be called a 'rights approach' to development. These human rights were larger than civic and political rights and included right to a decent livelihood, right to life and right to life with dignity.

After two decades of consistent practice of such alternative development efforts by the voluntary sector throughout the world, a number of significant outcomes could be noticed in the practice and discourse of development by the mid 1990s. Civil Society gained high degree of visibility in almost all the countries of the world. Their roles and contributions began to be noticed. Their presence, their experience and their point-of-view began to be heard by the developmentalists, nationally and internationally. National governments began to take stock of the development NGOs in their own countries. A large number of intermediary development NGOs came up in different countries of the world. International NGOs began to operate in many more countries of the world. The nature of NGOs also began to develop a broader range of internal differentiation - from service delivery to welfare to emergency operations, to policy advocacy, to networking, research and capability building.

Such NGOs also gained enormous access during this period. They began to be invited to be part of the various official government committees at the provincial and national levels. They began to be invited to for of the United Nations System and the Bretton-Woods Institutions. They gained access to the highest level of development decision-making in the UN and multi-lateral system as well as the national policy-making institutions. United Nations Conferences in the 1980s and 1990s presented unique opportunities for NGOs to influence policy formulations and development debates. As a result, by mid 1990s, many principles, approaches, methodologies and projects earlier carried out as micro experiments by such NGOs became formally a part of "mainstream" development planning and programming nationally and internationally.

Since the fall of Berlin wall, a neo-liberal economic regime has been universally imposed on all developing countries. The economic imperatives when translated in political terms implied: (1) withdrawal of state from the social sector such as health, education, (2) freedom of markets from all constraints, and (3) civil society to organize their own social and

economic reproduction instead of dependence on the state. Reform induced economic policies attacked the very concept of welfare state. For instance, in the beginning of the 1990's, Indian government explicitly recognized the role of markets in supplementing the state efforts in the area of development stating that education, health care and food security could no longer be left entirely to the state. The marginalized citizens (viz poor, women, tribals and dalits) are more in disadvantageous position. Recent spate of suicides among cotton farmers and weavers, feminization of labour, the international trade in children tells the painful story of the emerging impact of such policies in India.

Civil society organisations have had to face up to this challenge. Decline in international aid, particularly for small, innovative, experimental projects in southern countries is widely affecting such CSOs; pressure to undertake service and project delivery in a narrow sub-contractor mode from government departments and international agencies are significantly reducing the autonomy and voluntary spirit of CSOs. Political space for independent and critical voice of civil society, particularly if it challenges existing neo-liberal paradigm, is being increasingly restricted at local and national levels.

The growth of civil society in the international domain, in recent years, has been phenomenal. CSOs are working together across national frontiers tackling local problems globally and shaping global policies. The intensive and visible anti-globalization protests that began from Seattle in the US following WTO conference in November 1999 have created a new kind of protest space, a *transnational public sphere*. The civil society component of transnational public sphere has provided the stage for global civil society alliances.

Globalized world has provided the setting and modern communications have provided the opportunities. Modern information and communication technology (ICT), cheap telecommunications, air travel and increased use of English as the language of international communications have provided opportunities for intensive civil society action. '*Think locally and globally and act locally and globally*' is the current mantra.

DILEMMAS

Things are, however, not as simple and straight as they seem. Stakeholders from the local sphere are often not heard. The 'voices' of global civil society are invariably heard through the 'mouths' of 'northern' civil society actors who are based in and operate from the Northern country locations. The reality of globalization and its impact on the lives of ordinary citizens is different, and is experienced and perceived differently from such 'locations'. Even when 'southern' individuals operate from these 'northern locations', that 'northern' reality influences their perceptions. Mass-based southern CSOs are usually concerned with local or national issues; it is generally the more intellectual, city-based donor funded CSOs in the south who engage in global civil society networks. Some 'southern' civil society actors are global citizens and operate in global fora with ease. Within a national context, such civil society actors are many a times distant from, and disconnected from, local citizen aspirations and actions. A related dilemma in global civil society multisectoral alliances is the problematical questions: whose voices are heard in global fora? What types of issues and analysis those voices articulate? Are there any mechanisms by which global discourse carried out in such global fora is feedback to, or systematically shared with, local and national civil society actors? How do processes of citizen engagement with governance at local and national levels connect and interface with processes of citizen engagement at global governance? Does sharing platform for protest naturally imply convergence of interests? These are not merely questions of representation, legitimacy and accountability (important and critical as they are). These are also questions of differences and conflicts (in views, beliefs and capacities) of different layers of civil society locally, nationally and globally.

The divide between civil society actors at local, national and international levels is accentuated by unequal access to information and knowledge. Cyber savvy global activists are influential because they speak the language that can command attention and applause. But whatever happens to ordinary people or civil society organizations in the local sphere that

do not know the relevant language for significant impact in the international politics; do not have access to computers to wage their battles; are not in a position to participate in acts of resistance at the annual meetings of the international financial institutions? Whose agenda, therefore, gets priority in global governance? Global CSOs often have excellent speakers; are generally regarded as experts by the media and others who shape public opinion. But their legitimacy has been challenged within civil society. For instance, trade unions have charged them with just speaking for themselves and with promoting elite and northern concerns at the expense of world's workers. Mass based organizations have charged them as not being the legitimate spokesperson for the exploited. Who decides who has the right to speak? It is increasingly common to hear southern voices in the international forum but they are usually handpicked and financed by their northern partners. Southern groups assisted and financed by their Northern partners usually get to speak in the international platforms.

The 'reality' of globalization is partly a product of modern media. Its global reach to billions of homes creates a common image of global events worldwide. Global civil society is likewise "projected" through this global media. Citizen actions against corruption in European and North American parliaments are relayed persistently – similar actions in Zimbabwe and Bangladesh do not get noticed. Global media is located in the North, controlled by a few in the North, and presents a global view of citizen engagement as seen from those locations in the North. Thus 'dramatic' protests receive global projection, not silent struggles. Does global civil society mostly imply protest actions against global institutions (like World Bank, International Monetary Fund and World Trade Organization)? Is global media creating the contemporary public knowledge and wisdom about global civil society?

While structured forms of citizens' engagement with multilateral institutions of United Nations System have been developed, there is a gap in engaging other actors which shape and influence global decision-making. How does civil society in local spheres engage with international actors, in particular for-profit, private sector actors who shape and influence global decision-making?

Since forces of globalization are highlighting contradictions among global and local business interests, what are the consequences of global civil society collaborating with global business? And local civil society collaborating with local business? What happens to collaboration if local civil society challenges global business to follow global standards in its labour and environment policies? What are the constraints in collaboration when profit making motives of business (particularly in the short-term) conflict with social development motives of civil society? How does civil society handle both conflict and collaboration with for-profit private sector?

KEY QUESTIONS

Therefore, the key questions for consideration are how do processes and forces of globalization undermine or restrict the sphere of civil society organizations at the local, national and global levels? What are the ways in which local and national civil society interests cooperate with or come in conflict with, international civil society actors? The critical issue before us is how to connect ordinary citizens to global regimes? The challenge in the present context is to enable people to engage with the new context from a position of strength. We are particularly referring to the deprived sections of society — women, indigenous people, dalits. A position of strength implies information, understanding, collective voice and sustained influence. How can local/national/international civil society actors work together to promote the concerns of the poor and marginalized people? What specific strategies for building alliances should take place so that the voices of the ordinary citizens are not lost?



Globalization and Localization

Reflections on Past, Living in Present, Strategies for Future

Relations across people, communities, societies and nations have been seriously affected by the phenomenon of globalization as it evolved over the past 15 years (since the fall of Berlin wall). International organizations, new and old, like WTO and WB/IMF, are increasingly encouraging neo-liberal economic policies in many countries in the third world. Standard solutions are being imposed without any consideration for local, national or regional variations and priorities. These change processes are managed in ways that have expanded inequities. Gaps in wealth, power and opportunities are widening in ways that are both unethical and dangerous.

As globalization has surged forward, local governments have experienced erosion of institutional authority and mandate in relation to control over physical and natural resources within their jurisdiction.

Therefore, the key questions for consideration are how do *processes and forces of globalization undermine or restrict the sphere of legitimate authority of local governance institutions?* Are these forces significantly more impactful in restricting the arena of decision making for public good by local bodies or do they impact nation-states and local institutions equally?

How can we increase the autonomous, independent and yet, engaged, *voice of local governance institutions in the context of globalization?*

Are there ways in which elected representatives of local bodies have *collaborated with civil society* to broaden their sphere of action and their collective assertion to negotiate new priorities and deals for local bodies and their peoples?

Over the past fifteen years, new ways of expressing citizens' voices have emerged in the global arena. Global civil society has become visible and even impactful. Several questions have emerged in this regard: Does global civil society have local roots and accountability? Whose voices are heard on global fora? Does local citizens' aspirations and priorities form the agenda at global spheres? In what ways "northern" civil society support, or indeed undermine, local indigenous "southern" civil society? How can ordinary citizens in the south influence global institution in the north?

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM (WSF)

PRIA

PRIA is a civil society organisation, undertaking development initiatives to positively impact the lives of poor, weak, marginalised and excluded sections of the society, by encouraging and enabling their participation in the processes of their governance. It strives for achievement of equity and justice, through a people centered approach, focusing on 'Citizens'- 'their participation and inclusion', 'awareness and empowerment' and 'their democratic rights'.

It recognises the value of people's knowledge, challenges traditional myths and concepts, raises awareness of people's rights and promotes experiential learning. PRIA applies a multi dimensional strategic approach of creating knowledge, training and capacity building of stakeholders, public education and policy advocacy and intervenes at various levels of the demand and the supply segments, to reach out locally, nationally and globally.

It engages itself in strengthening of panchayati - raj institutions and municipalities, promoting environmental and occupational health, facilitating a network of strong civil society organizations, promoting citizen leadership, monitoring policies and programmes of bilateral, multilateral and government agencies, to achieve an agenda of 'Governance where People Matter.'

PRIA proactively involves and engages a range of stakeholders including academia, media, donors, bi-lateral and multi-lateral agencies, civil society organizations, trade unions, industry, corporate and government institutes in its efforts and provides a platform for a multi-stakeholder development approach. Ongoing grass-root level research, studies and analysis provides inputs and directions to its interventions.

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH

- ◆ *Institute for Social Science (ISS), New Delhi, India*
- ◆ *Mahila Milan, Mumbai, India*
- ◆ *National Slum Dwellers Federation (NSDF), Mumbai, India*
- ◆ *Slum and Shack Dwellers International, Mumbai, India*
- ◆ *Society for Promotion of Area Resource Center (SPARC), Mumbai, India*
- ◆ *Voluntary Network of India (VANI), New Delhi, India*
- ◆ *Logo- Link programme*
- ◆ *CIVICUS: World Citizen Alliance for Citizen Participation, Washington DC, USA*
- ◆ *Commonwealth Foundation, London, UK.*
- ◆ *Development Research Center for Citizenship, Participation & Accountability (DRC)*
- ◆ *FIM: Forum International de Montreal, Montreal, Canada*
- ◆ *Hauser Center for No-Profit Organisations, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA*





SOLIDARITY/ PEOPLE'S ECONOMY

World Social Forum IV



January 16 to 21 2004,
Mumbai, INDIA



Saturday, January 17th 2004

Fair Trade for an equitable economic order (seminar)

Mr **S.N Menon**, Special Secretary, Department of Industry & Commerce, Government of India
Prof. **Ranjan Mitter** of IIMC
Ms. **Françoise Michalon** of Artisans du Monde
Mr. **Mike Muchilawa**/ Mr. **Rudi Dalwai** - FTO Mark/Global March
Ms. **Safia Minney** (The Next Best Thing)

Venue: 81 from 9:00 to 12:00 AM

Discovery of Solidarity Economy / People Economy reality in Asia (seminar)

Mr. **Duarte Bareto** (FEDINA , India)
Society of women in action for total empowerment (Swate) ;
Mr. **John Samuel** (Action Aid) ;
Ms. **Ashwini Kulkani** (Vachan - Voluntary Association for Community health and Nurture) ;
Pilor (Pakistan Institute for Labour Education and Research) ;
Mr. **Laurent Fraisse** (PSES - Pole de socio-économie solidaire / MES - Mouvement pour l'économie solidaire) ;
Ms. **Carine Guidicelli** (GESQ - Groupe d'économie solidaire du Québec) ;
Mr. **Lenivaldo Marques da Silva Lima** (FBES - Foro Brasileño de la Economía Solidaria) ;

Venue: 812 from 9:00 to 12:00 PM

Sunday January 18th, 2004

Innovative practices and Self management (seminar)

Mr Marcos Arruda (PACS, Red Brasileña de Economía Solidaria), moderator
Mr. Humberto Ortiz (GRESP, Red Peruana de Economía Solidaria)
Ms. **Carine Guidicelli** (Quebec RIPPES)
Mr. **Wim Polman** (UN-FAO Regional Office for Asia & Pacific, Thailand)
Ms. **Idalina Maria Mello** (RBSES, Brazil)
Ms. **Sarah Daraban** (Organisation: Réseau des Femmes de Mano River Union, Guinea)

Venue: 813 from 9:00 to 12:00 PM

Monday January 19th, 2004

Social Responsibility of SMEs for Development of Peoples Economy (seminar)

Mr. **Ben Quiñones** (Asian Coalition, Philippines), moderator
Mr. **Joao Sucupira** (IBASE, Brazil)
Mr. **Ed de Guzman** (QCD Ventures Co., Philippines),
Mr. **Wim Polman** (UN-FAO Regional Office for Asia & Pacific, Thailand)
Mr. **Michael Gidney** (Traidcraft, U.K)
Ms. **Girish Kowle** (IRFT, India)

Venue: 832 from 1:00 to 4:00 PM

Economic Public Policies, Relation between State and Society (seminar)

Mr. **Humberto Ortiz** (Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria del Perú (GRESP)), moderator
Mr. **Abdou Sallam Fall**, Afrique (RIPESS, Senegal)
Ms. **Heloisa Primavera**, Latin America (Argentina-Brazil)
Mr. **Randy Eldrige** (Rural Coalition (Mexico, US))
Mr. **Laurent Fraisse** (CRIDA, France)

Venue: B44 from 1h00 to 4h00 PM

Social Money & Solidarity Socio-Economy (seminar)

Mr. **Arup Rahee** (LOKOJ, Bangladesh)
Dr. **Apichai Puntasen** (Rural and Social Management Institute, Thailand)
Mr. **Stephen DeMeulenaere** (Strohalm Foundation for Integrated Economics, Indonesia)
Mr. **Yasuyuki Hirota** (Japan)
Mr. **Luis Lopezllera** (Economía Solidaria, Mexico)

Venue: B 40 from 5h00 to 9h00 PM

Tuesday January 20th, 2004

Towards a world wide social finance system / circuit (seminar)

V.Satyamurti (All India Association For Micro Enterprise Development)
Mr. **Ben Quinones** or Mr. **Sunimal Fernando**
Mr. **Titus de Sa Dhan**
Mr. **Henri Rouillé d'Orfeuil** (Finansol, France)
Mr. **Frans de Clerck** (Triodos Bank et Inaise)
Mr. **Lars Pehrson** (Merkur bank et Inaise)
Mr. **Giovanni Acquati** (Mag 2 Finance et Inaise)
Ms. **Heloisa Primavera** (WSSE (Alliance21) Social Money workshop, Argentina)

Venue: A19 from 9h00 to 12h00 PM

TOWARDS PEOPLE'S ECONOMY: REALITIES AND STRATEGIES FROM LOCAL TO GLOBAL (PANEL)

Ms. **Carolina Reintjes** (REAS, Spain), moderator
Ms. **Altagracia Villareal** (Colacion Rural, Mexico, US)
Mr. **Marcos Arruda** (PACS, RBSES, Brazil)
Ms. **Rabia Abdelkrim-Chikh** (FAMES, Senegal)
Mr. **Giorgio dal Fiume** (Ctm Altromerato, Italy)
Mr. **John Samuel** (Action Aid, India)
Mr. **Benjamin Quinones** (CEO, Asian Coalition for SME Development, Philippines/Malaysia)

Venue: Hall 2 from 1h00 to 4h00 pm

Reports and Synthesis on Solidarity Economy events (seminar)

Mr. **Randy Eldrige** (Coalicion Rural, Mexico, US), moderator
Ms. **Nedda Angulo** (Gresp, Peru)
one speaker by ES topic

Venue: B37 from 5h00 to 8h00 pm

Related events of Solidarity/People's Economy at the WSF IV, January 16 to 21 2004, Mumbai India

Topic: Solidarity Economy

DATE	TITLE	ORGANISATION	FORMAT	TIME	VENUE	SPEAKERS
17	Deepening democracy	KERALA SASTHRA SAHITHYA PARISHATH	Panel	5 to 8 P.M.	Hall 5	Carolina Reintjes, REAS, Spain; speakers on Participatory Economy, Self-management, participatory budget, and People's and Solidarity Economy
19	How to Redistribute Wealth and Power Globally?	CIDSE International Cooperation for Development and Solidarity	Panel	1 to 5 P.M.	Hall 5	Duncan MacLaren, Secretary General Caritas Internationalis; Jack Jones Zulu, Jubilee Zambia; Vandana Shiva, Director Research Foundation for Science, Technology and Ecology; Maria Teresa Diokno Pascual, Foundation for a Sustainable Society; Eveline Herkens, UN Secretary General's Executive Coordinator for the MDG campaign; Javier Iguiz, Economist at the Catholic University in Lima, Peru; Oded Grajew, President of the "Instituto Ethos"; Facilitator: Jean-Marie Fardeau, President of CIDSE.
20	BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN SUCCESSFUL INITIATIVES	WSSW (Alliance 21) Workshop on Integrated Development Projects	Workshop	1 to 4 P.M.	B48kk	

Topic: Fair Trade and ethical consumption

17	Fair Trade Makes for Choices	Fair Trade Forum - India	Panel	5 to 8 P.M.	C92	Chair: Safia Minney, speakers: Arun Raste, IRFT, Roopa Mehta, Sasha, Girish Sohoni (BAIF)
17	Privatisation, Liberalisation and Impact on the Disadvantaged - Loss of Economic sovereignty under Globalisation.	Federation of Consumer Organisations - Tamil Nadu & Pondicherry (FEDCOT)	seminar	9 to 12	B33	
17	Promoting Organic	Navdanya Trust	workshop	1 to 4 pm	A13	Mr. Pipo Leraud (IFOAM-Argentina), Ms. Prabha Mahale (IFOAM-India), Dr. Ranjith de Silva (IFOAM-Sri Lanka), Mr. Bernward Geier (IFOAM-Germany), Dr. Vandana Shiva (Navdanya Organic Movement, India), Dr. Colin Hines (UK), Mr. Claudio Martini (President of the Region of Tuscany, Italy), Mr. Tito Barbini (Regional Minister for Agriculture, Italy), Mr. Will Allen (IFG, USA), Mr. Ram Kalaspurkar (Vidharba Organic Farmers Association, India), Mr. G. Nammalwar (Tamilnadu Organic Farmers Association, India) and Others.
18	Fair Trade and Food Sovereignty	Fase Nacional, Brazil	seminar	5 to 8 P.M.	D140	Dr. Vandana Shiva (Navdanya / Research Foundation for Science, Technology & Ecology); Ibrahim Koulibaly from the ROPPA (West African Farmers Network), Anne-Françoise Taisne (Federation Artisans du Monde), Rosemary Gomes (Fase/FACES do BRASIL/RBSES), Maria Eunice Wolf (Fetrafsul/ADS-CUT/FBES)
18	Can Free Trade be Fair Trade	Fair Trade Forum - India	workshop	1 to 4 pm	C92	Chair: Laila Tayabji, Panelists: Jared Ogonyo (Kenya), Moon Sharma (Tara), K. Panchakshram, Sipa, Anand or Samar of Oxfam GB, New Delhi

18	How micro-eco-alternative like the Fair Trade movement can build concrete proposition in the alterglobalisation movement ?	Magasins du monde-OXFAM	seminar	5 to 8 P.M.	D132	
18	Commerce équitable	Village Artisanal	reunion	5 to 8 P.M.	D131	
19	Campaigning for fair trade regulations at international and regional levels	Fair Trade Workshop - Federation Artisans du Monde - Chaire Économie et Humanisme	workshop	9 to 12	A21	Moderator: René Audet, speakers: Fabienne Kervarec (Artisans du Monde, France), Deborah Lucchetti, (Roba dell'Altro Mondo, Italy)
19	BUILDING SOCIAL STANDARDS FOR FAIR TRADERS	IFAT LATIN AMERICA		9 to 12	D119	
19	Comércio Ético e Solidário e Territorialidade	FASE NACIONAL	workshop	5 to 8 P.M.	D140	
19	Fair Trade and social economy: strategy and criteria to strengthen the economical growth, effect and public opinion	Ctm altrromercato	course	9 to 12	D118	
19	Strategies and Campaigning on Trade and TNCs	Our World is Not for Sale	workshop			
19	Thickening the Fair Trade Student Movement	United Students for Fair Trade	workshop	1 to 4 P.M.	B45	
20	Producing and distributing more added value for the producers in Fair Trade channels	WSSE (Alliance21) Fair Trade Workshop - La Chaire Economie et Humanisme.	workshop	9 to 12	C79	Moderator: Arun Raste, Jared Ogonyo, KEFAT (Fair Trade, Kenya), Maria Eunice Wolf (ADSRBSES, Brazil), Safa Minney (Global Tree)
20	Fair Trade and local development	Chaire Economie et Humanisme - RIPESS - Fair Trade Workshop	workshop	9 to 12	A20	Moderator: Aurélien Atidegla (Benin), Karien M'Bengue (RIPESS, Senegal)
20	Fair Trade in Cancun: social movements for an international social equality	Roba dell'Altro Mondo	seminar	5 to 8 P.M.	D113	Monica Di Sisto (ROBA) and René Audet (Chaire Economie et Humanisme - Université du Quebec)

20	Seminar: Trading Outside Capital Across National Boundaries	IFAT	seminar	9 to 12	B37	
20	The spirit of social threefolding in global fair trade	Ulmer Weltladen (World Shop Ulm)	w o r k - shop	1 to 4 pm	A11	
20	Fair trade in tourism	EED TOURISM WATCH	seminar	1 to 4 pm	C79	

Topic: Agriculture/Land Rights

17	LAND RIGHTS and FOOD SOVEREIGNTY	International Federation of Rural Adult Catholic Movements	seminar	5 to 8 P.M.	B35	Carolina Reintjes, REAS, Spain; speakers on Participatory Economy, Self-management, participatory budget, and People's and Solidarity Economy
17	Agriculture - beyond Cancun	Regional Government of Tuscany	seminar	1 to 4 pm	A6	Mr. Claudio Martini (The President, Region of Tuscany, Italy), Mr. Tito Barbini (Regional Minister for Agriculture, Region of Tuscany, Italy), Mr. Chiara Boni (Regional Minister for Communication and Information, Region of Tuscany, Italy), Dr. Vandana Shiva (RFSTE, India), Dr. Edward Goldsmith (Editor Ecologist, London), Dr. Bernward Geier (IFOAM, Germany), Dr. Jerry Mander (International Forum on Globalisation, USA), Dr. Colin Hines (Member IFG, UK), Ms. Debi Barker (Ex Director- IFG, USA) and Others
17	Roundtable on Alternative Food Systems : Workers, Farmers, Consumers, do we have any common interests ?	Focus on the Global South	w o r k - shop	1 to 4 pm	A19	
19	Food Security and Food Sovereignty	KUDUMBAM-LIESA Network	display		B36	
19	GLOBALISATION- IMPENDING DANGERS : FOOD SECURITY IN SOUTH EAST ASIA	AFFSO (ACTION FOR FOOD SECUR- ITY -ORISSA	seminar	9 to 12	B62	
19	Peoples Food Sovereignty	Asia Pacific Research Network	seminar	1 to 4 pm	D137	
20	Another Food Security System is Possible	Forum for biotechnology and Food Security	seminar	1 to 4 pm	B40	

Topic: Solidarity Finance

17	Quelles solutions pour le financement du développement ?	CRID	seminar	9 to 12	D110	Carolina Reintjes, REAS, Spain; speakers on Participatory Economy, Self-management, participatory budget, and People's and Solidarity Economy.
18	Social and solidarity finance around the world, exchange of experiences. Towards a world wide social finance system	INAISE, International Association of Investors in the Social Economy	workshop	1 to 4 pm	D109	V.SATYAMURTI (C.E.O ALL INDIA ASSOCIATION FOR MICRO ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT) Ben Quinones or Sunimal Fernando (à confirmer) Mr Tilus de Sa Dhan (à confirmer) Henri Rouillé d'Orfeuil Frans de Clerck (Triodos bank et inaise) Lars Pehrson (Mercur bank et inaise) à confirmer Giovanni Acquati (Mag 2 Finance et inaise) Heloisa Primavera (à confirmer)
18	Future of microcredit	TAMILNADU SCIENCE FORUM	seminar	1 to 4 pm	C93	
19	Les finances solidaires peuvent-elles générer des richesses pouvant porter un développement socialement équitable?	Intercontinental network of the promotion of social/solidarity economy (Ripess)	workshop	5 to 8 pm	C 81	

Topic: Social responsibility

18	Accountability and Transparency in Multilateral Institutions	Centre for Community Economics and Development Consultants Society (Cecoedecon)	seminar	9 to 12	A 10	
18	Beyond good intentions, strategies for corporate accountability	Corporate Accountability Caucus	debate	1 to 4 P.M.	hall2	
19	Can internal accountability mechanisms of IFIs give justice to local affected communities?	Bank Information Center	seminar	1 to 4 pm	D 122	
19	Multi nationals accountability and industrial democracy	New Trade Union Initiative	workshop	1 to 4 pm	A 17	

Topic: Women and Economy

17	UNDERSTANDING FEMINIST ECONOMICS AND ITS LINKS TO WOMENS CRITIQUE OF ECONOMIC LIBERALIZATION	International Gender and Trade Network.	seminar	1 to 4 P.M.	A23	
18	Diverse Alternatives for Global Changes	Latin American Information Agency -ALAI- and other networks	panel	9 to 12	Hall3	
18	Globalisation and gender: privatisation of public goods and social services	WIDE-Network Women in Development Europe	seminar	9 to 12	D131	
19	Grassroot Democracy by women in Governance	Resource & Support Centre for Development - MRA	workshop	9 to 12	C86	
19	Alternativas de paz frente al ALCA, la privatización del agua y sus efectos sobre mujeres niñas y niños en zonas rurales.	Mesa de Trabajo Mujeres Y Economía	workshop	9 to 12	D133	
19	Réseau international femmes et économie solidaire : les avancées	Les Pénélopes	workshop	5 to 8 pm	D119	
19	Women and Food Security and Women and Agriculture	Diverse Women for Diversity	seminar	9 to 12	A17	Dr. Jean Grossholtz (USA), Dr. Maria Mies (Germany), Dr. Ana De Ita (Mexico), Dr. Ursula Oswald Spring (Mexico), Dr. Christine von Weizsacker (Germany), Dr. Vandana Shiva (India), Dr. Mira Shiva (India), Ms. Hikka Pietila (Finland), Ms. Ingrid Spiller (HBF, Germany), Ms. Bhanwar Dhabai, Ms. Amarjeet Kaur, Ms. Brinda Karat, Ms. Carolyn Mugar (Farm Aid), Ms. Debi Barker and Others
20	Women, actresses of social change	CCFD COMITE CATHOLIQUE CONTRE LA FAIM ET POUR LE DEVELOPPEMENT	seminar	5 to 8 pm	B35	Eglantina Gjermeni (Women's center, Albanie), Dominique Jacquemin-Mangin (ACGF, France), Mariana Buceanu (association rom de Roumanie : Romani criss), Cristina SAMY (SWATE, Inde), Olga Lucia RAMIREZ (Vamos MUJERES, Colombie), Noemie (INDESO Mujer, Argentine),Nedda Angulo (GRESF, Peru),Claude MORMONT (ENTRAIDE et FRATERNITE , Belgique), Isabelle Guérin
20	Educação Popular, Sócio Economia Solidária e Gênero	União Brasileira de Educação e Ensino	workshop	1 to 4	C87	

Topic: Social Money

18	HOW TO DEAL WITH LACK OF MONEY IN SMALL COMMUNITIES	WSSE (Alliance 21) Workshop on Social Money	workshop	1 to 4 P.M.	B60
19	HOW TO TAKE THE BEST FROM EVERYONE	WSSE (Alliance 21) Workshop on Collective Intelligence	workshop	1 to 4 P.M.	B65

Topic: Social Money

19	ECOLOGICAL DEBT, EXTERNAL DEBT and TRADE	OILWATCH , JADES WSSE (Alliance21) workshop	seminar	9 to 12	B70	Vinod Raina, Asia Pacific Movement on Debt and Development - India, Thabo Madhiaba - Environmental Justice Networking Forum - South Africa, Pantoro Tri Kuswardono - JATAM - Indonesia, Miguel Palacin - CONACAMI - Peru, Cecilia Chérrez - Acción Ecológica - Ecuador, Joan Martínez Alier - Universidad Autonoma de Barcelona, Lidy Nacpil - Jubilee South, Ms. Lapapan Supamanta - The General Secretary of Int'l Engaged Buddhists, Martin Khor - Third World Network, Eric Toussaint - CADTM, Belgium, Radja Siregar - Whali, Indonesia, Demba Dembele - Senegal
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- ◇ Action Aid Asia (Asia, International)
- ◇ Alliance 21 Solidarity Socio-Economy Workgroup (WSSE, International)
- ◇ Asian Coalition for Social Responsibility of Small and Medium Enterprises (South East Asia, International)
- ◇ Associazione Botteghe del Mondo (Italia)
- ◇ Astha Sangsthan (Rajasthan, India)
- ◇ Artisans du Monde (France)
- ◇ Centre for Cooperative Research in Social Sciences (CCRSS, Maharashtra, India)
- ◇ Coalición Rural/Rural Coalition (México and US of America)
- ◇ Collectif associatif des Finances Solidaires (FINANSOL, France)
- ◇ CTM, Altromercato (Italy)
- ◇ Dinâmica de Taller Permanente sobre a economia dos setores populares urbanos da América Latina e o desenvolvimento (Several countries in Latin America and Europe)
- ◇ Eco Friends (Kanpur, India)
- ◇ Ekta Parishad (India)
- ◇ Fair Trade Forum India
- ◇ Feminist Gift Economy Network (Canada)
- ◇ Forum des Femmes africaines pour une Economie solidaire (FAMES, Senegal)
- ◇ Frères des Hommes (International)
- ◇ Groupe d'économie solidaire du Québec (GESQ, Québec, Canada)
- ◇ Grupo Red de Economía Solidaria de Peru (GRESPE, Peru)
- ◇ Indian Resource for Fair Trade (IRFT, Maharashtra, India)
- ◇ Iniciativas de Economía Alternativa y Solidaria (IDEAS, España)
- ◇ Initiative in Research and Education for Development in Asia (INASIA, South and South East Asia)
- ◇ Instituto para el Comercio Equitativo y el Consumo Responsable (ICECOR, Argentina)
- ◇ International Fair Trade Association (IFAT, International)
- ◇ International Resources for Fairer Trade (India, no official confirmation yet)
- ◇ International Association of Investors in the Social Economy (INAISE, International)
- ◇ Maestría en Economía Social (Instituto del Conurbano, Argentina)
- ◇ Mekong Institute (Thailand)
- ◇ Mouvement pour une Economie Solidaire (MES, France)
- ◇ News, European Federation of Shops of the World (International)
- ◇ National Centre for Advocacy Services (Maharashtra, India)
- ◇ Observatorio de la Economía Social (Argentina)
- ◇ Pipal Tree (Karnataka, India)
- ◇ Plateforme Française pour un Engagement Citoyen dans l'Economie (PFCE, France)
- ◇ Rede Brasileira de Socioeconomia Solidária (RBSES, Brazil)
- ◇ Red Chilena de Economía Solidaria (RCES, Chili)
- ◇ Red de Redes de Economía Alternativa Solidaria (REAS, Spain)
- ◇ Red de Trueque Solidario (RTS, Argentina)
- ◇ Réseau intercontinental de promotion de l'économie sociale solidaire (RIPESS, International)
- ◇ Rete di Lilliput (Italy)
- ◇ Red de Útiles Financieros Alternativos y Solidarios (RUFAS, Spain)
- ◇ Resource and Support Centre for Development (RSCD, Maharashtra, India)
- ◇ Thai Action on Globalization (Thailand)
- ◇ Ventures and Entrepreneurship Development Centre in the Orient (VEDCOR, Philippines)
- ◇ Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation (VPDF, Vietnam)
- ◇ Voluntary Association for Community Health and Nurture (VACHAN, Maharashtra, India)
- ◇ Xarxa de Economía solidaria, (XARXA, Catalunya, Spain)

WHO ARE WE ?

47 networks that, in continuity with the WSF in Porto Alegre, 2002 and 2003, and of the Latin-American, African and European Social Forums, took the initiative of setting up a coordination with a number of goals:

- ⇒ gathering together Solidarity Economy (SE) networks international, national and sector-based - from all over the world;
- ⇒ providing information on alternative economic practices and raising their profile;
- ⇒ exchanging and putting together proposals for a different world; opening discussions with the various elements of the alternative-globalisation movement.

WHAT IS SOLIDARITY/PEOPLE'S ECONOMY ?

As an answer to neoliberal globalization we need transformation and constructive alternatives in the social, economical, political and cultural context. Solidarity and People's Economy is an answer to the challenge to provide an alternative globalization with local and global realities and strategies for the socioeconomical context.

Solidarity-based Economy (denominated People's Economy in Asia) designates all production, distribution and consumption activities that contribute to the democratization of the economy based on citizens' commitments both at a local and global level. It is not a sector of the economy, but a transversal approach that includes initiatives in all sectors of the economy.

Solidarity-based Economy is a strong tool of empowerment, social and economical change that starts from the initiatives of responsible citizens who want to keep control of the way they are producing, consuming, saving, investing, exchanging. It is a model of community-based and locally-based People's Economy.

Solidarity-based Economy should not be a simple instrument to achieve a fairer framework for economic activity but should be instead the subject and main agent of a social, economic, political and cultural transformation."

WHAT DO WE PROPOSE DURING THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM IN MUMBAI ?

The international networking is coordinating a complete space of Solidarity and People's Economy, coordinating the following Panel/Debate and Seminars.



Dear All,

Only organisations/groups of organisations/platforms who propose to hold self-organised events at ISF 2006 should fill in the form below. A self-organised event entails that its proposers will be in charge of defining the format and the content of the event, contacting and inviting potential speakers, arranging and hiring the necessary equipment beyond the minimum provided. For the conferences and panels, the equipment will be mikes and speakers, and also translation. For seminars, it will be mikes and speakers. The ISF Organising Committee will provide the venue for the event, and will publicise it on the World Social Forum web site and in the printed programme, providing the event is duly registered by October 15, 2006. Please send in duly filled forms to the WSF India Office - 14/187 LGF Shivalik Road, Malviya Nagar, New Delhi 110017. Ph: 26674123, 26683910.

Each registered event corresponds to one three-hour slot. Events that will run over one such slot must be registered again, for as many slots as required. For example, if your event is to run for 4-6 hours, you will have to register for two slots; if it is to run for over 6-8 hours, the registration will have to be for three slots. If you are registering an event for more than one slot, please entitle the event as having parts, using the format <Event Name: Part 1>, <Event Name: Part 2>, <Event Name: Part 3>... etc. Thus, if your event will run for 4-6 hours, you will have to register for two slots, where the first slot will be entitled <Event Name: Part 1>, and the second, <Event Name: Part 2>.

Each organisation may propose at most four (04) one slot events. This means that if your events will be of a two-slot duration, you will be able to self-organise a maximum of two events. Early registration is recommended. Registration will close on October 15, 2006

After the event is confirmed by the Program Committee (by 15th October), the registration fee for the activity would have to be paid. The payment would be Demand Draft payable in Delhi or local Delhi cheque favouring 'World Social Forum - India' to the WSF India Office, 14 187 LGF Malviya Nagar, Shivalik Road New Delhi. The last date for receiving Event Registration payment is October 31st, 2006 .

Activities	Number of Participants	Spaces	Total Activities	Registration fee
Conferences/Panels	1,000	4	40	50,000
Conferences/Panels	500	6	60	20,000
Seminar	200	15	150	2,000
Seminar	75	20	200	1,000
Workshop	35	50	500	500

Note: For the Conferences and panels, it was decided by the India Working Committee that 50% of the activities would be for movements (including the ISF organised activities). These would be decided jointly by the Mobilisation and Program Group after the registrations.

On Behalf Of Programme Group
World Social Forum India

Library
AK

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27/10

ACTIVITY REGISTRATION FORM

*** MANDATORY FIELDS (Forms will not be accepted if you do not fill the mandatory fields)**

1. Organisation Name* :
2. Organisation Address* :
3. Contact Person's Name* :
4. Country / Region* :
5. Telephone* : Ext.
6. Tele Fax : Ext.
(International code-local code-number)
(International code-local code-number)
7. Organisation e-mail* :
8. Organisation URL/website :
9. Language in which you want to receive information : Hindi English Other
10. Is your organisation in accordance With the World Social Forum Charter of principal?* : Yes NO
11. Brief description of your organisation :
(If necessary attach extra sheet)

SECTION -2

1. **Main ongoing projects or activities of the Organisation.** :

(If necessary attach extra sheet)

2. **Which WSF or Continental social forum (or Surrounding place) your organisation Participated in.** :

(Please select from table-1)

3. **Other Social forums (describe)** :

4. **Does your organisation participate in International networks or other organizations? Which one?** :

(If necessary attach extra sheet)

5. **Type of Organisation** :

(Please select from table-2)

(Any Three)

During previous consultations many organisation used the field "Other". It is recommended to try to pick from the list instead. Multiple selections are possible – and add a complementary comment – please use "other" only if you do not find a reasonable match in the list.)

6. **If you wish, explain briefly your selection (s) above** :

(If necessary attach extra sheet)

7. **Broad field of activity** :

(Select from table-3)

(Any Four)

("Broad field of activity" can be: who is in the Organisation, what is the target public of the organisation and /or what are the concerns of the organisation – the objective here is not to answer a survey aiming at creating a worldwide categorization of organizations – it is to give indication to other organizations for a quick and efficient search function on this website aiding interconnection.

8. **Comments on your selections if you wish :**

9. **Scale of Organisation** : Global Continental

Regional

National

Local

Event Details

1. **Event Type*** :
(Please select from table -4)
2. **If you wish, leave a comment on the relevant :
of the above proposed list.**
(If necessary attach extra sheet)
3. **Event Suggested Title*** :
(If necessary attach extra sheet)
4. **Aim of the Event*** :
(If necessary attach extra sheet)
5. **The ISF is committed to upholding and :
promoting diversity with equality at
all levels. How will your activity
contribute to realizing this goal,
both in terms of its subject matter as
well as its speakers/participants?**
(If you need more space attach sheet)
6. **Confirmed speakers (if there are) - :
names and the topics they will speak on.**

EVENT CONTENT DESCRIPTION

1. **Theme** :
(Select from table -5)

2. **Keywords** :
(Select from table -6)

Please select any number of keywords that describe the thematic focus/foci of your event from the (drop down) list below. The initial list here is the list of keywords used in the past for WSF events. You may also add up to two keywords to the list. The additions will be periodically examined to check for duplication, and if really new, will be added to the indicative drop down list. Please note you will not be able to add to this list if you have not chosen a theme.

- Help Organisations find partners, and suggest way in which events/activities may be coordinated /combined.
- Facilitate the allocation of events of a similar/related nature in a singly neighborhood, wherever possible.

3. **New Keywords** :

4. **Brief activity outline / description** :
(If necessary attach extra sheet)

5. **Existing Partner (s)** :

If you have more than one partner organisation,.
Please enter with multiple name with Comma(,) Separate.

6. **Would you like to add future partners** : Yes No

7. **Future Partner (s)** :

if you have more than one partner organisation,. Please enter with Multiple Name with Comma(,) separate.

WISH LIST ABOUT LOGISTICAL ORGANISATION

The information you provide here will guide the Organising Committee in planning the venue space. Although all efforts will be made to respect the wish list you give here, the final allocation of venue (s), dates, times, and other resources will be constrained by the availability, feasibility, and logistical/infrastructure.

1. Expected Public : 35 75 200 500 1000

2. Preferred date : 2nd Day 3rd Day 4th Day 5th Day

3. For Cultural :
activities, describe
special needs if
that would be
required

4. Do you need : Yes No
Interpretation/
Translation
Services

5. Which languages :
are spoken by
speakers?

Events Participated Table No-1

WSF 2001 Porto Alegre	African SF 2001 - Bamako	Pan-Amazon SF 2002 - Belém
WSF 2002 Porto Alegre	African SF 2003 - Addis Abeba	Pan-Amazon SF 2003 - Belém
WSF 2003 Porto Alegre	African SF 2004 - Lusaka	Pan-Amazon SF 2004 Ciudad Guayana
WSF 2004 Mumbai	European SF 2002 Florence	Pan-Amazon SF 2005 - Manaus
WSF 2005 Porto Alegre	European SF 2003 Paris, St Denis, Bobigny (Seine-Saint-Denis)	Thematic forum in Argentina 2002
Americas SF 2004 - Quito	European SF 2004 London	Thematic forum in Palestina 2002
Asian SF 2003 Hyderabad	Mediterranean SF 2005 Barcelona	Thematic forum in Colombia 2004

Organization Type Table No-2

Alliance	Cooperative	Organisation
Association	Federation	Other convergence place
Autonomous space connected to a Social Forum Base	Foundation	Professional group
Community	Grassroots	Research or documentation group
Campaign	Media, independent media	Social centre or squat
Coalition	Minga	Social forum committee (local, regional, etc.)
Collective or Affinity group	Movement Network	Solidarity or social economy actor
Community group	NGO	Union
		Workshop

Board Field Of Activity Table No-3

Advocacy	Equality	Non violent action
Agriculture, food, food sovereignty	Cross border traders	Pastoralists
Aids	Farmers, peasants	Peace
Alternative models	Gay and lesbian rights	Precariousness and unemployment
Animal rights	Gender	Public services
Anti-corporate power	Genetic modified organism	Religiosity and spirituality
Antifascism	Global governance, International organisation	Religious sectarianism
Castes	Health	Research
Charity	Hip-hop	Sexual orientation
Children rights	Homeless	Sexual exploitation
Class struggle	Housing	Slum dwellers
Common goods	Human and civil rights	Social exclusion and poverty
Communication	Feminism	Social rights
Community organizing and local development	Feminist economy	Students
Conflict resolution	Financial institutions	Sustainable development
Cooperation development, North/South relation	Immigrants rights	Unemployed
Cross thematic movement networking	Indigenous	Trade
Culture, Art	Informal sector	Trafficking
Cultural and linguistic diversity	Intellectual property, creative commons	Territory
Democracy and politics	International solidarity	Violence against women
Disarmament	Labour	War
Ecology and sustainability	Land, land reform	Water
Economy	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender	Women
Education	Media and publication	Workers
Energy	Migration and antiracism	Youth
Entertainment	Minorities rights	Other

Activity type Table No-4

Celebration	Cultural/artistic event	Research
Conference/seminar/workshop/meeting/panel discussion	Declaration	Testimony
	March/demonstration	Other

Themes and Sub-Theme Table No-5

<p>1. Democracy, Secularism, Multiculturalism and Dignity</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Alternative visions, practical experiments and struggles for inclusive, plural and radical democracy » Autonomy, separation, reconciliation, toleration » Just and Democratic Governance » Human Rights, Constitution and Law » Indian Diaspora » Visions for a new State and Civil Society, with reference to religious intolerance and majoritarian tendencies » Visions for a new State and Civil Society, with reference to gender and the 'double' exclusion of women » Visions for a new State and Civil Society, with reference to non-citizens, migrants and refugees » Cultural imperialism and shaping subordinate identities » Globalisation and cultural resistance » Fundamentalism and Sexual Identities <p>2. From Caracas to Nairobi via India</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » The Politics of International Aid » Hunger and Poverty » Racism and Exclusion » Battling AIDS » 'Community' vs. women » Building Alternative Futures » Indian Diaspora <p>3. Casteism, Racism, Exclusion and Discrimination</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Exclusion, discrimination based on caste, class, race, gender, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, ability/disability » Social Security and Social Opportunity » Affirmative Actions in Public and Private Sectors » Labour Market Discrimination » Deprivation, Domination, Displacement, Descent-based occupations » Social Inclusion, Social Justice and Inclusiveness » Politics, Movements, Struggles on Social Justice » Displacement and Forced Migration » Caste and Communalism <p>4. New-Liberal Globalisation, Militarism and Hegemony</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Corporate Globalisation, Free Trade and Debt » Globalisation of Finance and Trade » Transnational Corporations, Corporate Control and Self-reliance » Trade or Justice » Human Security » World Economy, WTO, World Bank and IMF » India in the new World Order » Multinational Companies 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> » International Trade Negotiations » Corporate Social Responsibility » Alternative Economic Spaces » War on Terror: US Militarist Agenda and Resistances » Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Palestine » Global Disarmament and Nuclear Weapons » Imperialist War and Control of Resources » UN, International Law and War » Zones of Conflicts, Border Areas and Peace in South Asia » Internal Conflicts » State Terrorism: Civil and Political Rights » Self Determination and Nationalities <p>5. Theories and Practices of Sustainable Development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Livelihood Rights: Biodiversity and Livelihood; Land, Water and Livelihood; Energy and » Livelihood; Urban Livelihood » Poverty and Wealth; Atmospheric Commons, Community Rights on Genetic Knowledge » Community Rights on Resources, Environmental Rights, Right to Information » Market, Trade and Environment » Environment, Industry, Labour » Environmental Movements » Alternative Technologies » Risks and Disasters <p>6. Worlds of Work and Labour</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Work, Labour and Employment » Globalisation, Liberalisation and Labour » Dynamics of Labour Movements » New Industries, New Labour » Informal and Small Sector Labour » Law & Labour » Social Security and Well Being » Technology and its Impact » The Problems of Agriculture and Rural Labour » Footloose Labour: Issues, Rights and Struggles of Migrant Labour <p>7. Media and Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Cultural expressions as tools of imperialist globalisation and counter culture challenging the status quo » Globalisation and the media. » Media and alternative visions of another world » Sponsorship and Censorship » Alternate media » Media as an instrument of exclusion and a space for democratic struggle (social audit of old and new media, changing content and form, state-owned media vs. public broadcasting) 	<p>8. Social Sector</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Right to Food, health and education » Right to Shelter » GATS, WTO and Service Sector » Employment, Work and Security » Privatisation of Health and Education » Social Security » Urbanisation, Development and Well-being » Reproduction, Health and Sexual Rights » HIV and AIDS » Child Rights » States and Social Sector <p>9. Young India</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Young Visions » Vision of a new India through the lens of children » Globalisation and its impact on children and youth » Youth, Work and Employment » Youth and Student Movements » Youth: Rights, Respect, Responsibilities » Children and Youth for Peace » Media and Culture – the vision for Children and Youth <p>10. Women's Era</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Women, Caste, Class » Women Work, Labour and Globalisation » Sexuality, Obscenity, Community » Women, War, Terror and Violence » Gender, Power, Equations » Women Social Spaces » Contribution of Feminism » Patriarchy » Trafficking » Women and Communalism » Nation, Law and Women's Rights » Reproductive Health and Women's Lives » Women's Movements and Organisations <p>11. Developing Alternatives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> » Alternatives to Corporate Globalisation » Decorporatisation and Decentralisation » Just and Sustainable-Trade and Financial Systems » Deepening Democracy » Economic Democracy » Principles for Sustainable Societies » Development for Dignity » Social Movements, Mass Organisations and Alternatives » Ideologies and Alternatives » Resistance Movements » Forms of Movements
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Keywords Table No-6

<p>Advocacy Affirmation, caste/class Affirmation, ethnicity Affirmation, gender Affirmation, sexual orientation, Africa Agriculture, access to means Agriculture, crisis of Agriculture, policies/practices of Alternatives: Building Another World Alternatives: Caste/Class Alternatives: Children Alternatives: Development Alternatives: Disabilities Alternatives: Economic Policies Alternatives: Education Alternatives: Gender/Sexuality Alternatives: Health Alternatives: International Politics Alternatives: Law and Justice Alternatives: Pluralism Alternatives: Social Justice Animal rights Anti-corporate power Armed insurgencies Art Art and social transformation Art, policies/practices of Art, universal access to, Arts: performing or visual Asia, Asian people Biodiversity Biodiversity, protection of Capitalism Capitalism, actions against Caste Casteism and religious fundamentalism Casteism, elimination of Casteism, practices of Charity Child rights Citizen control Citizen control, on governance Citizen control, on information Citizen control, on research Citizenship, building of Citizenship, participation in Citizenship, rights of Citizenship, world Civic and political rights Civil servants Class struggle Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism Colonialism/Neo-Colonialism, actions against Common goods Communication Communication, democratisation of Community and local development Community, organisation of Conflict, resolution of Consumption, responsible practices of Corporate power, actions against</p>	<p>Farmers/peasants, exploitation of Farmers/peasants, impoverishment of Fascism, actions against Fascism, manifestations of Fascism, safeguards against Feminism Feminism and social movements Financial institutions Financial institutions, reform of Fisher folk, Fisher folk, challenges and problems Food and food sovereignty Food production, development of Forest Fundamentalism Fundamentalism and majoritarianism Fundamentalism, struggle against Gay and lesbian rights Gender Gender, issues for social change Global governance, international organisation Globalisation Governance Governance, global Governance, reforms in Health Health, policies/practices in Health, universal access to HIV+/AIDS Homeless Housing Housing , universal access to Housing, policies/practices in Human Rights, civil/political Human Rights, persons with special needs/disabled Human Rights, protection of Human Rights, social/cultural/economic Human Rights, violations of Identity, politics of Identity, radical potential of Identity, social construction of Identity, subordination of Immigrants, rights of Immigration, policies on Indigenous peoples Indigenous peoples, rights of Industries, closure of Industry, trends in Informal sector Informal sector Information Technology, democratisation of Information Technology, free software movements Information Technology, new developments in Intellectual property, democratization of Information Intellectual property, creative commons International Institutions</p>	<p>Political violence, repression Politics and democracy initiatives in Popular education Poverty and Social exclusion Practices for change, development of Professionals Public policies Public policies, promotion of Public policies, promotion of welfare Public policies, promotion of affirmative Public policies, promotion of distributive Public services Public services, privatisation of Public services, protection and development of Racism Racism, action against Refugees, displaced Religiosity and spirituality Religiosity vs. Fundamentalism/Communalism Religious sectarianism Religious sectarianism, struggles against Repression, struggles against Responsibility, building of Rights Human and civil rights development - fight for Science and Technology Science and technology, access to Science and technology, control of Science and technology, policies/practices of Self development of groups and individuals Self organisation - efforts at Self organisation - support to Self-determination Self-determination, support to Sexual exploitation Sexual exploitation, struggle against Sexual orientation Sexual orientation, tolerance of Slum dwellers Social change, tools/methods for Social justice, laws/policies of Social justice, policies/practices of Social justice, struggles for Social researchers Social security Social security, policies/practices of Socialism Socialism, building of Society Society, building of civil Society, strengthening of Solidarity economies Solidarity practices, development of State State, democratisation of State, democratisation of</p>
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Corruption	International institutions, reforms in	State, developmentalist
Corruption of state institutions	International Law	State, minimal
Corruption, actions against	International Law, progress in	State, reform of
Credit, microcredit/social	International relations	State, repression by
Cultural exception	International solidarity	State, violence of
Culture, building of	Journalism	Students
Culture, development of	Justice	Students, education of
Culture, expressions of	Justice, environmental	Students, political participation of
Culture, protection of	Justice, fiscal	Students, struggles of
Dams	Justice, international	Technologies, alternative
Dams and Barrages related struggles	Justice, social	Technologies, new
Dams, barrages and	Knowledge, access to	Technologies, rural
Dams, displacement and	Knowledge, democratisation of	Terrorism
Dams, environmental cost of	Knowledge, production of	Terrorism and sectarian violence.
Debt	Labour	Terrorism and war
Debt, cancellation of	Labour, bonded	Terrorism, struggle against
Decentralisation and Devolution	Labour, child	Tourism
Democracy	Labour, cross border movement of	Tourism and communities
Democracy and politics	Labour, democratisation of work for	Tourism and development
Democracy,	Labour, exploitation of	Tourism, responsible policies of
direct/participative/representative	Labour, policies/practices in	Trade
Development, economic policies/ practices	Labour, right to/protection of	Trade, agreements of
Development, goals of	Land, policies/practices in	Trade, control of
Development, popular participation in	Land, reform of/rights to	Trade, development of fair
Development, social costs of	Land, universal access to	Trade, international
Development, sustainable practices of	Latin America	Trade, politics of
Devolution and decentralization	Latin America, actions for social transformation	Trade, regional/ national
Disarmament	Latin America, political changes in	Trade, unfair practices of
Disarmament, arms control and	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender	Traders, cross border
Displacement	Liberation	Trading blocks
Diversity, building/preservation of	Liberation, struggles for	Trafficking
Diversity, Cultural and linguistic	Media and democratization	Trafficking, control of
Drugs, prevention and social control of	Media, electronic	Transgenics
Drugs, traffic in	Media, independence of	Transgenics, control/ethics of
Ecology, sustainable practices of	Media, independence of	Tribal
Economy	Media, print	Unemployment
Economy, control over dominant forms of	Middle East	Unions
Economy, democratisation of	Migrants, rights of	United States of America
Economy, gender budgeting of	Migration and racism	United States of America, imperialism of
Education	Migration, causes of	United States of America, nuclear policies of
Education, actions for universal access to	Militarisation/demilitarisation	United States of America, trade practices of
Education, policies/ practices of	Minorities	University, access to democratization
Education, popular	Minority rights	Violence
Education, progressive values in	Movements, grassroots	Violence, politics of
Emerging alternatives to Globalisation	Natural Resources	Violence, social
Empire/Imperialism	Natural Resources, privatisation of	War
Empire/Imperialism, the fight against	Networks	War, struggle against
Empowerment	NGOs	Waste, recycling of
Energy	Non violent action	Waste, toxic
Energy, policies/ practices of	North/South Cooperation,	Water
Energy, universal access to	North/South Cooperation,	Water distribution, policies/practices in of
Entertainment	democratization and dialogue on	Water distribution, privatization of
Environment	Nuclear Energy	Water, distribution of
Environment, climate change and	Nuclear Energy, control of	Women
Environment, ecology and	Nuclear Weapons	Women, actions against patriarchy
Environment, forests and	Nuclear Weapons, control of	Women, double burden of
Environment, global/national policies of	Participation, democracy	Women, patriarchal violence against
Environment, globalisation and	Participation, development of	Women, sexual harassment of
Environment, habitat issues in	Participation, governance	Women, violence against
Environment, livelihood issues in	Participation, political	Workers, domestic
Environment, technology and	Participation, social	
Equality	Pastoralists	
Equality, building of	Patents	
Ethics		

<p>Europe Europe, Europeans Europe, imperialism of Europe, trade practices of Family</p>	<p>Patents regulation Patriarchy Patriarchy struggle against Peace Peace, building of Peoples with particular needs Policies, neoliberal Political Parties</p>	<p>Workers, home-based Workers, migration of Workers, organizations of Workers, private sector Workers, public sector Workers, retrenchment of Workers, rights of Workers, struggles of Workers, training of Workers, unorganized sector Youth Youth, culture of Youth, political participation of Youth, struggles of Youth, unemployed</p>
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Appeal for Corpus Contribution

Dear Friend,

You are aware that the India Social Forum is being organised in Delhi this year, on November 9-13, 2006. The ISF is to go beyond a purely India-specific scope to also embrace Asian and African solidarities, particularly in light of the forthcoming WSF in Nairobi in January 2007 and the need to strengthen the WSF process in Asia.

The India Working Committee has discussed and put in place a set of principles for raising the necessary financial resources for organising this event and in general for the WSF process in India. Briefly, the thrust is on maximizing internal resource generation and reducing dependence on external funding agencies including limiting the funding obtained from any single source. Towards this end, as far as the ISF is concerned, the IWC is preparing recommendations for event registration, delegate fees, raising funds from Indian public sector entities and solidarity contributions.

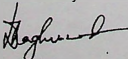
In This connection, the contribution that could be made by Organisations/Movements who consider themselves integral parts of the WSF process in India was reviewed. It was found that, only a few "founding" Organisations had contributed Rs. 5000/- each in response to an appeal way back in 2002 prior to the Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad. Today there are over 200 Organisations in the India General council and more than 2500 organisations/Movements who are closely associated with the WSF process in India. A Corpus formed by contributions by these organisations, on either a one-time basis or an annual basis, would go a long way towards the goal of building a self-reliant WSF process in India.

We appeal to all IWC/IGC member Organisations to as well as to all other Organisations and Movements to kindly express their renewed commitment to the WSF process in India by making a Corpus Contribution to WSF India. National Organisations/networks are requested to contribute Rs. 5000/- and local organisations + grassroots movements may kindly contribute Rs. 1000/-. Contributions may be made by cheque or Demand Draft payable in Delhi favouring "World Social Forum India".

All contributing Organisations are requested to ensure that funds are remitted to WSF-India from Rupee accounts and not from FCRA Accounts.

Looking forward to a prompt response, and thanking you in anticipation,

In solidarity



Dr. Raghunandan
Facilitator, Finance Group

GLOBALIZATION AND LOCALIZATION:
SPHERES OF GOVERNANCE?

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*Background note prepared by
PRIA for the international workshop on
"Globalization and Localization"*

*Reflection on Past, Living in Present,
Strategies for Future*

convened by



PRIA

and

partners at

*World Social Forum (WSF),
Mumbai during January 19 - 20, 2004*

CONTEXT

Relations across people, communities, societies and nations have been seriously affected by the phenomenon of globalization as it evolved over the past 15 years (since the fall of Berlin wall). International relations across countries have been undergoing significant restructuring after the second World War. Several categories of world had begun during the 'cold war' period — First, Second, Third. The United Nations system incubated new formations — G 7 (now G 8), G77 and more recently G 20(or 22?). NATO as a transatlantic military alliance and non-aligned movement (comprising largely of newly liberated countries of the "third world") emerged in the 60's and 70's as strong transnational associations. In the decades of the 70's and 80's, growth of Multinational Corporations (MNCs) fuelled economic development, not only in Europe and North America, but also in the Far East (Japan, South Korea, etc.). Numerous treaties of the UN system (human rights, literacy, gender justice, habitat, sustainable development, social development, reproductive health etc.) in the 1980's and 90's became binding policies for national governments. In the same period, structural adjustment loans from the World Bank (and regional development banks) and IMF further shaped and determined economic and social policies in the "recipient" countries of the South. Massive expansion of IT and telecommunications technologies supported increased global capital flows in the 1990's. Policies and rules of World Trade Organisation (WTO) facilitated the expansion of global trade to unprecedented levels and integration of global markets to an accelerated pace in the last 15 years.

It has been argued that the forces of, and trends in, globalization have resulted in several significant implications on the functioning of governing institutions at the national level:

- a) Forces of globalization have been shaping national policies in the spheres of economic development and trade. Not only policies and conditionalities imposed through such formal mechanisms like WTO and WB/IMF determine national policies, but also informal arrangements like the World Economic Forum (Davos) have significant influence over economic and monetary policies of national governments.
- b) Regional trading blocks and arrangements (ASEAN, APEC, NAFTA, EU, MERCOSUR, SADC, and now even SAARC (?)) have begun to further determine priorities and policies of national decision-makers.
- c) National governments, even elected parliaments, have on many occasions not been able to fully know of, debate and decide upon the terms of various global agreements. Few parliaments know of terms of structural adjustment ...or Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) of the WB/IMF; few political parties discuss texts of emerging treaties from the UN System (be they on xenophobia & racism, human rights or environment or gender).
- d) Social development issues and policies on access to basic education, health care and drinking water etc. have been significantly influenced in most developing countries as a consequence of these forces of globalization. Standard solutions are being imposed through standard institutional designs — one size fits all? — without consideration for local, national or regional variations and priorities. C8 (an informal club of the leaders of the richest countries in the World today) is defining development agenda for Africa, called NEPAD?
- e) Present forces of globalization have been led from the top — globalization of the elites across countries has created immense gulf and distance across families and communities within countries as well. The recent

advertising & media campaign of Government of India projects "India Shining", without reference to nearly 350 million Indians still living in abject poverty, illiteracy and ignorance. Policies of liberalization and privatization of government control and ownership over productive natural, physical and financial resources have been so far practiced from the point of view of large national and trans-national industry and trade interests, not from the point of view of a tribal "self-employed" family living in forest areas. Such subaltern communities have become losers in globalization, mere spectators from far.

EMERGING DYNAMICS

If globalization undermines the authority of nation-states, what happens to local bodies? National government's decisions related to use of natural resources, policies related to industrialization and agriculture, import and export are dictated through the forces of globalization. How does it affect the constitutional mandate of local bodies over decisions in local arena? In nearly 100 countries of the world, the period of intense globalization since 1990s has also witnessed a parallel phenomenon of growing mandates for decentralized governance. In many developing countries, devolution of powers and resources from national authorities has been constitutionally mandated over the past decade. In that context, local governance structures have also emerged as electorally mandated democratic forms of governance at local levels in rural and urban areas.

It has also been argued that the sphere of governance in public decision making at the local level is the first and most critical sphere. Control over local resources, physical and natural, under the jurisdiction of these local bodies has to be first and foremost exercised by institutions of local self-governance. Therefore, in this argument, forces of globalization need to negotiate and deal with democratically elected institutions of local governance at the local level. As a result, the voice of democracy has to be dealt with by forces of globalization, including multinational corporations. In the absence of local governance, local level officials, in a hierarchically controlled bureaucracy from the center of the nation-state, are "persuaded" to take decisions without any reference to local aspirations and voices.

Numerous examples can be quoted to demonstrate how locally elected governing institutions have resisted and, in fact, altered decisions taken at higher levels about the use of local resources in the interest of global players. In this, local governance institutions are important stakeholders and negotiators in use of resources for public good.

In addition, citizen engagement and participation in structures of local governance in many countries has been the breeding ground for democratic politics. Citizen participation in local level decision-making builds processes and structures of participatory governance; these experiences of citizen engagement result in formation of a demand for concerted citizen engagement in institutions of national governance as well. Thus, practice of local governance, from the point-of-view of citizen participation, and not merely as an electoral legitimization, creates opportunities and spaces for significant learning and mobilization around issues of democratic governance. Many instances of grassroots democracy, bottom-up micro planning, social audit, budget monitoring, negotiating conflicting interests around use of limited resources, can be drawn from the experiences of local governance, which have then become the bases for broader mobilization at macro levels.

QUESTIONS?

Therefore, the key questions for consideration are how do processes and forces of globalization undermine or restrict the sphere of legitimate authority of local governance institutions? Are these forces significantly more impactful in restricting the arena of decision making for public good by local bodies or do they impact nation-states and local institutions equally?

In the womb of globalization and its associated forces and institutions, are there new opportunities for enhancement of local governing bodies, from the point-of-view of citizen participation and local priorities? Are there new ways in which local governing institutions express their priorities and share their innovations more widely and globally, than otherwise was possible within the 'restricted' domain of nation-state? What positive actions to promote local governance in the face of forces and structures of globalization exist? What can be learnt from them? How can we increase the autonomous, independent and yet, engaged, voice of local governance institutions in the context of globalization? Democratic governance of global institutions is a far more crucial and urgent agenda for humanity today.

What specific strategies for building alliances across local governing institutions have worked? Are there ways in which elected representatives of local bodies have collaborated with civil society to broaden their sphere of action and their collective assertion to negotiate new priorities and deals for local bodies and their peoples? Do access to new information and communication technologies enable local bodies to access ideas, information, capacities and resources in a manner that have advanced their immediate specific local priorities? Do collaborative multistakeholder approaches work in strengthening voice of local governance in a period of rapid and widespread globalization? Do local bodies collectively assert pressures to resist 'unilateral' globalization by, and for, the elites? Do they open up forces of globalization to multifarious voices of citizens and their aspirations?

It is important to recognize in this discourse of the World Social Forum in Mumbai (January 2004) that Port Alegre in Brazil is a local governing body. The institutions of local governance in Port Alegre had advanced considerably from the perspective of citizen participation over the last decade, before it invited, hosted and so successfully organized World Social Forum. It is important to acknowledge that the birth of World Social Forum was "midwifed" by an institution of local self-governance, built on the spirit and practice of citizen participation.



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Asian Social Forum

GLOBALISING RESISTANCE

Aijaz Ahmad: U.S. War Designs Against Iraq

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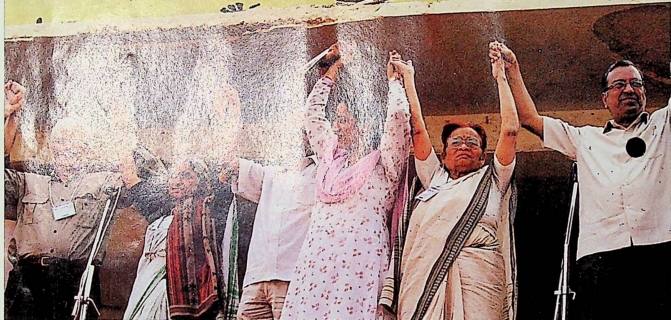
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On the cover: Activists wearing masks at a rally taken out in connection with the Asian Social Forum; photograph by P. V. Sivakumar
Cover design: U. Udaya Shankar

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GLOBALISING RESISTANCE

The Asian Social Forum held in Hyderabad, conceived as part of the international consultations going on for the past two years under the umbrella of the World Social Forum, provides a unified platform for diverse groups trying to mobilise people's power to turn back the tide of imperialist globalisation. ●

SUKUMAR MURALIDHARAN
in Hyderabad

FOR individuals and groups working in relative isolation, fighting against overwhelming and unseen forces girdling the globe and eroding the autonomy of communities and nations, the city of Hyderabad provided a much needed tonic in the first week of January. Globalisation has for long been characterised as an irresistible force that only the primitive or the foolhardy would choose to oppose. Often confined in isolated pockets, the groups holding out against this authoritarian logic faced severe odds and frequent setbacks.

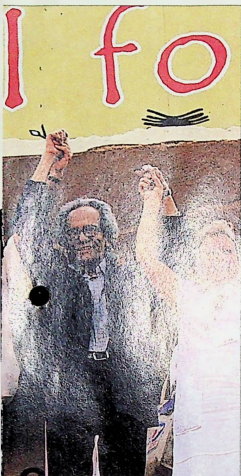
In Hyderabad between January 2 and 7, several of these groups came together to forge a unified platform for resistance that

could both end their relative isolation and lend greater strength to their individual struggles.

The first session of the Asian Social Forum (ASF) was by every criterion a significant moment in the mobilisation of people's power to turn back the tide of globalisation. Whatever the reckoning, whether by the scale of the assembly, the range of issues considered, or the scope of the dialogue, the ASF was a momentous gathering. Conceived as a part of the international consultations that have been going on for the past two years under the umbrella of the World Social Forum, the ASF could now become an annual event, and each successive gathering could be a progressive milestone towards establishing a true politics of alternatives.

Early in the 1990s, developing countries – termed the “global South” in the official discourse of the time – were just beginning to awaken to the catastrophe that had visited them subtly and surreptitiously over the preceding decade. It became almost the common sense understanding then, that the 1980s had been the “lost decade”, which had enormously set back all aspirations for a better life among the poor and the disadvantaged.

Most countries then suffered a crushing burden of external debt and a fiscal crisis that effectively crippled the possibilities of fair governance. To fulfil the basic promise of these countries' struggle for political autonomy – that of meeting basic human needs and providing for an improvement in standards of living – it



PICTURES: P.V. SIVAKUMAR

seemed that they needed to chart an entirely new course. Ironically though, most of these countries were stamped into a new phase of integration with the global economy that was, with a few cosmetic changes, merely more of the same.

The new consensus was forged on the partly coercive logic that there was really no alternative to a closer integration of the global economy under the stewardship of the United States. The rapid eclipse of the socialist model that the Soviet Union embodied seemed to lend new strength to this logic. As the decade wore on, the resistance began to crystallise around a number of platforms. Traditional political parties of the Left, momentarily disoriented by the Soviet collapse, soon managed to reorganise and mount a challenge, even if in narrow pockets. A potent new force was added in the course of the decade in the form of non-party social movements, each advocating a more specific cause, but often impelled by underlying realities to seek broader resolutions with other, often very disparate groups.

Future generations would undoubtedly

(Left) At the inaugural of the Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad on January 2, a representative group of intellectuals and activists on a common platform.

(Below) A street play is on at the Nizam College grounds, the main venue.

ly spend fruitful hours studying the etymology of the word "globalisation". On current reckoning, the provenance of the term is unclear. It is agreed that it became common currency during the 1990s, originating particularly in the practice of economic policy.

When the first major shakeout of the 1990s occurred with the crises in Russia and various Latin American countries, "globalisation" was not yet a term to conjure with. But by the time of the Asian economic meltdown of 1997, the Western powers and the institutions that worked under their command had become active proselytisers in the cause of globalisation. The term, representing a process supposedly rich with possibilities of social and economic advancement, now became an inescapable part of the ideological tutelage that the developing countries were subjected to.

If the resistance until then had been sporadic and relatively unorganised, the following years witnessed a rapid change in fortunes. It was convenient in the initial years for the champions of globalisation to maintain a facade of liberalism. Voices of dissent, as articulated notably by non-party social movements – variously termed civil society organisations or non-governmental organisations (NGOs) – came to be accepted as a part of the discourse on globalisation as the 1990s wore on. During the



tenure of the Clinton administration in the U.S., an active effort was made to embrace this element of dissent, at least at the rhetorical level. This enterprise proceeded on the lofty pretence that the critique of globalisation was founded on little else than the fear of uncertainty. In this rather patronising reading, the coalescence of forces against globalisation was the consequence of a failure of communication. Once the authentic picture was provided and appreciated, the resistance would simply melt away.

This pretence was decisively punctured by the events on the streets of Seattle in December 1999. In flagrant disregard of the widespread apprehensions that had been aroused by the Uruguay Round of global trade negotiations, the Clinton administration had embarked on the project of commencing a new round at Seattle. The venue had been chosen with the specific purpose of showcasing the rich promise of the digital age and urging the general acknowledgment of the need for new and appropriate trade rules for the new age. The ferocity of the street demonstrations shattered the complacency of the negotiators who had gathered with seemingly nothing to do but sort out a few residual disagreements before launching a new trade round.

All subsequent conclaves of the missionaries of globalisation became venues of bitter contention – Washington and Prague in 2000, Davos, Quebec, Gothenburg and Genoa in 2001. And from the chaotic and often conflicting play of special interest groups in Seattle, the anti-globalisation protests gradually began to acquire a coherent and clear political core.

Concurrently, there was under way an effort to organise the voices of dissent against globalisation on a common platform. The initiative began in continental Europe, with a small nucleus of social activists and scholars banding together to advocate the cause of a tax on speculative financial transactions that held the markets of several developing countries in their thrall, invariably with destabilising effects.

ABASE in the global South was imperative, since the resistance was principally expected to emanate from the regions that most intimately felt the ravages of globalisation. With a rich diversity of social movements and a bewildering complexity of problems, Brazil seemed a natural choice as a venue for instituting a regular event that would serve as a platform for pooling experiences and learning from one another. Porto Alegre in the south of the country seemed an appropriate choice of venue for

several reasons. Porto Alegre is the capital of the Rio Grande province, which had witnessed several significant movements of resistance to neo-liberal globalisation. And Porto Alegre itself had won worldwide notice with its experiments in democratic municipal budgeting, which seemed to embody new principles of participation and transparency that other units of administration could conceivably emulate.

The Porto Alegre gathering was conceived as a frontal challenge to the orthodoxy of neo-liberalism, which then seemed best represented by the annual conclave of corporate and political leaders at the Swiss ski resort of Davos. Though a feature of the annual social calendar for top business executives since the 1970s, the World Economic Forum at Davos began to acquire the status of a citadel of economic wisdom only in the decade of globalisation inaugurated in the spirit of "Share-Ownership". Porto Alegre chose the name of the World Social Forum, to reflect its belief that the economy and the markets should serve society rather than the converse.

The location obviously allowed to a large extent which groups would have most access to the WSF platform. After the two Porto Alegre gatherings, in 2001 and 2002, the international committee overseeing the organisational aspects began to urge the dispersal of the effort to other corners. India was considered an appropriate venue for a future gathering both because of its size and its relatively well-established democratic traditions and in recognition of the fact that it had managed to take the debate on alternatives to globalisation to a fairly high plane.

THE ASF in Hyderabad was conceived as a way station towards India hosting the WSF at some early future date. It was convened in full conformity with the WSF principle of "offering space for free discourse, debate, interaction and discovery, of inviting the participation of a rich diversity of mass organisations, peoples' movements, citizens' bodies and groups to join in the process of mutual learning, informed debate and participatory formulation of alternative models with the worth and viability to address the challenges of development with justice".

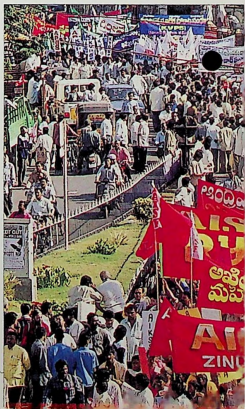
From the time the delegates began arriving in Hyderabad, ASF hosts were expecting a deluge of participants and possible organisational chaos. These expectations were in large measure fulfilled, though disruptions of the first day were

A view of the rally on the concluding day, January 7.

V. SRIDHAR

GUSTAVO CARLOS, an Argentine youth, "disappeared" on May 15, 1977 when Argentina was under the iron grip of a brutal military regime, which snuffed out the lives of more than 30,000 youth. Twenty-five years later, his mother, Nora Cortinas, remains in the fight for the ideals for which her son sacrificed his life. Seventy years old, she is a popular icon of resistance in not only her country but across the world, at various protest gatherings that mark the globalisation of resistance to neo-liberalism. Wearing her trademark white scarf with her son's name embroidered on it, she is a regular participant at not only the World Social Forum (WSF), but also the regional and national social forums across the world. She spoke at several sessions of the Asian Social Forum (ASF) and in each of them she said that she "saw her son in each of the persons gathered there, as a reminder of her lost son".

On April 30, 1977, some of the mothers of the missing youth decided to gather at the Plaza de Mayo (May Plaza), opposite the presidential palace in Buenos Aires. This gave shape to the Madres de la Plaza Mayo (Mothers of May Plaza) movement, as an expression of solidarity among those who had lost their beloved ones. The idea of go-



A mother and a movement

ing to the Plaza de Mayo came from one of the mothers who went knocking on the doors of the powerful, in search of their missing children, during the years of military dictatorship in Argentina. Exasperated at getting no information from the corridors of power about the whereabouts of their children, the mothers decided to meet at the Plaza: hence the name of the organisation.

Although most of the mothers never saw their children again, the movement has continued. Even today members gather at the Plaza every Thursday evening. It is not only an expression of solidarity among the mothers, but also an expression of protest against repression wherever it is felt.

Being the only place where mothers could face the responsible military rulers, Nora Cortinas said, "It was during the protests made us politically aware. The first step was to come to grips with the reality of why our children were taken away. But gradually we began to understand the neo-liberal agenda, which were dictated by the countries of the North." She said that though the economically powerful countries dictated these policies, the levers of power in the country were operated by the local elites, including the top layer of the clergy. "We mothers understood our own children

better – after their death. Our everyday struggle, in search of our children, made us understand the struggles of our own children and what they sacrificed their lives for." She said that this realisation widened their understanding of oppression – in all its dimensions – from the economic to the political and social.

Although popular upsurge forced the ouster of the military regime, the successive governments in Argentina did not punish the military rulers who perpetrated the atrocities against the people. In fact, Nora Cortinas says that the neo-liberal policies imposed by the military regime continue to be perpetuated by successive civilian governments. A substantial part of the debt incurred by Argentina during the years of military rule was "polished off" by the rulers. But the civilian governments continue the same World Bank-International Monetary Fund policies and the conditionalities that were a part of the package that came with such debts. "The military dictatorship," said Nora Cortinas, "has been replaced by an

economic dictatorship."

The balance sheet of the Argentine version of neo-liberalism presents a stark picture. Seventy per cent of the urban population in Argentina – which has a high degree of urbanisation – lives in poverty. The economy contracted dramatically in 2002, by as much as 16 per cent in the first quarter. Unemployment is at about 30 per cent and wages in real terms fell by 20 per cent in 2002. Virtually all industries and services – the railways, the airlines, the oil industry, telecom and even water supply – have been privatised. Nora Cortinas said that the absence of even a rudimentary form of social security in the country had led to widespread hunger and homelessness. She said that the state had "given up any role for itself in the realms of public health and education".



Nora Cortinas.

"Everything except the air we breathe in Argentina has been gifted away to private interests," Nora Cortinas said.

Nora Cortinas is a social psychologist. She holds a chair in the Economics Department at the University of Buenos Aires. The subject she teaches is the relationship between economic power and human rights. ■



rapidly overcome to bring the events back on track. The final reckoning showed that about 20,000 delegates had registered to participate in the ASF, of which 789 were from overseas. No fewer than 840 organisations were represented at the event, which had apart from 10 conferences structured around broad themes and an equal number of panel discussions, no fewer than 160 seminars and 164 workshops.

The subjects discussed in Hyderabad ranged over a vast canvas – from the global peace and security environment to environmental concerns, the rights of traditional communities, the problems of marginal and excluded groups, the rise of identity politics, the global disarmament dialogue, alternative energy sources, the deepening of democracy, and the politics of natural resources.

Yet with all these diverse subjects being discussed, the common themes were relatively easy to identify. There was virtually unanimous consensus that the globalisation that was being advocated and pursued

by the world powers, and especially by the U.S., was little else than the new manifestation of imperialism. The imperialist project had been pursued for over a decade through the subtle coercion of finance capital and the markets. But the crisis of the Pax Americana was now evident in the increasingly overt recourse to the force of arms to sustain the coercive global order.

At a number of its conferences, panel discussions and seminars, the ASF put itself firmly on the side of the beleaguered people of Palestine and Iraq. It deprecated the new salience of nuclear weapons in the military doctrines of the U.S., after a brief period when they seemed to be a receding menace.

WSF principles – which the ASF adhered scrupulously to – do not call for any kind of agreed final statement representing the entirety of deliberations. But the necessity of non-violent struggle was underlined by so many of the speakers and participants as to make it virtually a representative posture of the forum. Speakers from Japan and the Philippines spoke about the growing strength of movements that favour the eviction of the U.S. military presence in the countries of East and South-East Asia. They also underlined that the task of combating the aggressive new posture of imperialism would be enormously facilitated if countries were to exercise their sovereignty and check the use of their territory by U.S. forces.

Other speakers pointed out that developing countries' sovereignty would be more illusory than real as long as they remained in thrall to their dollar-denominated debts. "Don't owe, won't pay," was a common refrain at the ASF, with several of the delegates insisting that the debt incurred by developing countries had been more than repaid and was only being sustained at immensely bloated levels by the sleight-of-hand of Western governments and financial institutions.

Delegates from Japan shed the prevailing taboos over the use of the word, by characterising the current drive for global dominance by the U.S. as "fascist" in its scope and methods. Neo-liberal globalisation does not in theory endorse the sustenance of a strong state. But if the state is to play a role supportive of capitalism, then it is allowed to assume powers to the appropriate degree. The "welfare state" has no legiti-



From a performance by the Praja Natya Mandali, a cultural group.

macy in the globalisation paradigm, though the "warfare state" does have. Another focus of the deliberations was the rising prevalence of civil strife in societies caught up in the currents of globalisation. The incidence of wars as conventionally understood – conflicts between states – had diminished. But levels of social violence had spiralled upwards, mostly in the form of conflicts within states.

At the global level, the war was being waged for the privatisation of the "commons", understood as the public spaces that afford entitlements to all, notionally on an equal basis, though more often in a fashion that reflects prevalent patterns of social stratification. Globalisation had over the last 10 years dramatically heightened levels of inequality within these societies,

with dominant groups managing to increase their privileged access to resources while partly ceding control to global corporate entities.

The ASF, again showing remarkable unanimity, affirmed the right of marginalised and excluded communities to an equal share of the resources that they have been traditionally dependent on. It considered various forms and variants of institutional arrangements that could secure these communities their rightful share in resources. It heard the testimonies of communities that have seen livelihoods crumble under the onslaught of neo-liberal economic policies. And it resolved that the only credible response to the situation would be to restore the autonomy of individuals and communities that had been eroded by globalisation.

PERHAPS the most significant feature of the ASF was its open and participatory character. Not all the groups that chose to participate came convinced of the utility of the gathering. But they all invariably left with positive perceptions and with the resolve to make the gathering a more significant forum for evolving practical political strategies. The future of the ASF still remains indeterminate. A decision is expected by March on the venue that will host next year's gathering, as also on India's prospects of hosting the WSF. These two fora would in future be propelled in the main by the enthusiasm of its diverse participants.

Uniquely for an event of this scale, the central organisation wields little financial clout in mounting it. Each organisation brings its own resources and pays its way, including for each seminar or workshop that it may put up. This should allay the concerns of some that the WSF – as also the ASF – has been overly dependent on semi-official donor agencies in the West, which could pull the plug on it if it becomes too strident a challenge to Western dominance. But there is no question that each individual organisation that brings its talents to the WSF platform may have its own ties of dependence to Western donor agencies. But the foremost priority for these groups today is not to contemplate a danger that is yet to manifest itself, but to use the available space and time to push the frontiers of the global debate on alternatives. ■



A march against the communal pogrom in Gujarat.

Strategies for the battle

The Asian Social Forum analyses the nature of neo-liberal economic policies, highlights their adverse impact on people, and suggests alternative paradigms of economic progress and development.

V. SRIDHAR

in Hyderabad

At the end of the Asian Social Forum, a journalist, worrying over the peg for his next story, asked: "What have Medha Patkar and Sitaram Yechury in common, to come together on a single platform? What can these discordant voices achieve?" But if he had followed the sessions more closely, he would have noticed that this was precisely what key speakers at the numerous sessions at the forum saw as offering hope. They stressed that the onslaught of neo-liberal globalisation, associated with a set of identifiable economic and social policies, provided a focal point for unity among diverse communities, nations and peoples across the world, because of their shared sense of suffering. This unity among seemingly discordant voices and unrelated elements was, in fact, seen as something that offered hope, in the fight to reverse neo-liberal policies. Indeed, the feast of plurality of viewpoints on offer at the forum – perhaps unprecedented on an Indian platform of mass organisations since Independence – was a key highlight of the event.

Trade unions, organisations representing peasants, Dalit and tribal peoples, social advocacy groups and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), all engaged in mobilising people on a range of causes, spoke in one voice at the forum, urging the dismantling of an unequal social and economic system.

Three elements of the plurality of dissent against neo-liberalism stood out at the ASF. First, there was a convergence of views that the standard set of policies associated with neo-liberalism, applied uniformly on a world scale, had affected the popular base of organisations espousing a variety of causes. Second, there was unanimity among these organisations that they were ranged against a common enemy. Third, there was consensus that an alliance of organisations was a necessity because the neo-liberal onslaught raised problems that had many dimensions. There was the realisation that the paths

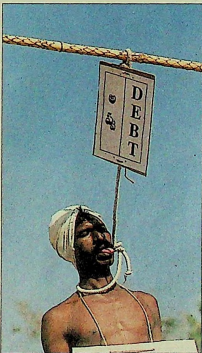
of mobilisation pursued by these organisations intersected on several issues because of the multi-dimensional nature of the problems. It was felt that on several major issues, the policies worked in ways that affected the target communities and societies of these organisations so fundamentally that a successful reversal of neo-liberalism demanded an alliance of organisations.

For instance, in his address at the opening plenary at the ASF, Prabhat Patnaik, Professor of Economics at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, referred to the paradox of "hunger stalking the land" even as the government held 60 million tonnes of foodgrains rotting in government godowns. Addressing a session later, economist Jean Dreze, who is closely involved with the national campaign for the right to food, related the food security issue to the functioning

of India as a democracy. Articulating the possibility of building a popular movement, Dreze said, "The fight for basic rights, such as those for food, is a step forward in the path against neo-liberalism." Still later, health activists and doctors gathered under the All India People's Science Network (AIPSN), an umbrella group with a wide-ranging agenda for activism in diverse fields, related the Indian food security situation to the growing evidence of malnutrition in India. Specifically, they pointed to the fact that the evidence on growing malnutrition among the adult population – India already has very high levels of malnutrition among children – indicated the possibility of a dangerous situation developing in the immediate future. They pointed out that the problem was systemic and not one that was drought- or water-shortage-specific in the country.

In his address, Patnaik outlined the key elements of what constituted neo-liberal policies. Setting the background in which such policies have become the standard equipment of governments across developing countries, he pointed out that the "globalisation of finance" had laid the basis for such policies. "Globalised finance," he said, "does not want an active state", one which was a "welfare providing entity". Instead, the state took measures that resulted in the contraction of national economies, particularly focussing on undermining welfare measures and reducing development expenditures, he said.

The issue of debt and its relationship to development figured prominently at the ASF. Neo-liberal policies, closely associated with the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and backed by its sister institution, the World Bank, were perceived as being basically deflationary in nature. The growing debt burden of developing countries was seen as a key instrument of "enslavement" of the countries of the South. The policies, aimed at protecting the interests of lenders in the North, result in the contraction of the economies of the borrowing coun-



The noose of debt, a tableau highlighting the fact that hundreds of farmers were driven to suicide by the neo-liberal policies pursued by the Andhra Pradesh government.

tries. The main policy instrument used to achieve this was the reduction of public expenditures of governments, it was noted. They resulted in cuts in subsidies for the marginalised and the poor, which essentially reflected the abrogation by the state of established and constitutionally guaranteed social contracts. On the trade front, elements of the SAP include the increasing export-orientation of national economies, the dismantling of tariff barriers to imports, the linking of the local currency to the international markets and the privatisation of nationally owned assets. In India these policies have resulted in a severe contraction of public expenditures – which got halved in the liberalisation era – and, therefore, in widespread unemployment, and a fall in the incomes of a large segment of the population. It is this that is reflected in the mounting foodgrain stocks in the hands of the government and the stagnation in industrial production, reflected by widespread industrial sickness.

TYPICALLY, neo-liberal policies require that countries maintain a high interest rate – in real terms, that is, netting out the effect of inflation – so that the currency is maintained at high levels. Although countries may be able to attract investments in the short term, the inflows also increase the value of the local currency, making exports costlier. This, in turn, exerts pressure on the balance of payments accounts of nations following such policies. Other elements of the “package” include a squeeze on public investments of any kind, whether on account of welfare measures or owing to the government’s role as an economic agent.

The issue of what constitutes globalisation – or what constitutes the elements of the world economy and the way it is linked – was discussed at several sessions of the ASF. However, there was a remarkable degree of unanimity among organisations that debunked the generally accepted, and simplistic, notions of globalisation. The dominant account of globalisation presents it as a new phenomenon in which countries and markets are linked, almost inevitably; that nations have no choice in the matter of linking with the rest of the world, particularly because of the growing importance of trade among nations; that modern technologies, particularly those in the realm of communications and information, have reduced the world to a “global village”; and, that if only governments follow “reasonable policies” that are attractive to foreign investors, particularly

in a situation in which capital is mobile, they could be on the road to economic development.

However, these notions of globalisation were repeatedly spiked at the ASF. For one, though it is true that international trade, as a proportion of the size of the economies of the industrialised West, has increased, they are only as large as they were about a century earlier. Seen in the background of a longer historical time-frame, therefore, the current march of globalisation appears decidedly less spectacular. And, as far as the claims about the massive transfers of investment are concerned, they are even less impres-

sive. In fact, countries are being asked to adopt in order to attract foreign investors. Indeed, this also explains why the movements ranged against such policies have come together on a global scale, billed as the “globalisation of resistance”.

The dominance of finance capital requires that finance be not only allowed to enter and leave national economies at will but that their interests be protected by suitable policy measures. The growing pressures on national governments to privatise state companies engaged in productive activity, or operating in sectors that have a crucial impact on the well-being of large sections of people, has led



A tribal group at the ASF. Such groups added to the diversity of the gathering.

sive. For instance, even in the United States, foreign direct investment (FDI) accounts for a small proportion of the economy. Moreover, as has been pointed out many times over, substantial proportion of FDI invariably goes not to finance tangible production but for mergers and acquisitions.

A more reasoned approach to understanding globalisation contends that though globalisation has always been a key feature of capitalism, globalisation in the current epoch is not merely more of the same of what has already happened in history. It suggests that the fundamentally new characteristics of what is new are to be found not in the way trade or production is organised on a world scale, but in the clout that international finance has come to wield over the international economic system. The roots of the neo-liberal policies are thus to be found in the new elements associated with finance capital that govern the global economic system. This also explains the one-size-fits-all ap-

proach that countries are being asked to adopt in order to attract foreign investors. Indeed, this also explains why the movements ranged against such policies have come together on a global scale, billed as the “globalisation of resistance”.

not only to massive scandals because state assets have been sold to private companies at throwaway prices, but also the exclusion of large sections of the poor who were serviced by these companies. Under increasing pressure from finance capital, governments in developing countries are being asked to sell not only companies engaged in industrial activity but also utilities such as water and electricity.

The issue of privatisation figured prominently at the ASF. Activists from across the world highlighted the predatory nature of privatisation, that is, the handing over of state-run enterprises to private companies at throwaway prices. The more disturbing aspect of the issue, the sale of rights over natural resources such as water, was also highlighted. Vinod Raina, associated with the AIPSN, referred to the looming crisis in the shortage of water, particularly in developing countries. He pointed out that the supply of water, which is generally a part of “municipal services”, is in danger of be-

ing sold to private companies. Happening in the context of the "finite availability of sources of water", the privatisation of water is already threatening social unrest across the world.

Oscar Olivera, a machinist in a shoe factory in Bolivia and a hero of a successful movement that reversed the privatisation of water services in Cochabamba, a province in Bolivia, livened audiences at several sessions during the ASF. Both Raina and Olivera stressed that the initial move towards privatisation did not draw popular resistance because the state-run institutions had lost their moorings in the communities they served. Privatisation, they pointed out, could not be reversed unless these institutions were made accountable to the people they served. Only genuine participatory democracy, which will ensure the community's control of these institutions, can be the "real alternative", according to them.

Kjeld Jakobsen, from CUT (Central United Workers), Brazil, said that privatisation in Brazil started in 1990, soon after a civilian government was elected. The context for privatisation was set in 1986 when Brazil renegotiated its external debts, planned under the stewardship of the IMF and the World Bank. In successive waves of privatisation, state assets in the telecom, electricity, water supply, railroads, ports and several other sectors, were sold to private interests, many of them owned by overseas investors. Jakobsen also pointed out that the scale of privatisation had been so great that about half of the FDI that flowed into Brazil was used to buy state-owned assets. In response to the groundswell of hope expressed at the ASF about the transformational possibilities in Brazil after the election of Luiz Inacio Lula da Silva of the Workers' Party (P.T.) as the country's President, Jakobsen said that the new Left government would be "under pressure" to protect the interests of the large masses of the working people who had elected it.

A striking feature of the debate at the ASF on alternatives to neo-liberal globalisation was the perception that there can be no real change unless the policy regime that tied countries as unequal partners to the global economic system was snapped. The widespread acceptance of the suggestion that the countries of the South "delink" from such a system, would have appeared "far too radical" some years ago, indicating the distance the "anti-globalisation" movement has travelled in the last few years. Patnaik pointed out that an alternative to the pre-

sent system was "not only possible, but necessary, for our very social survival". There was consensus on the view that any alternative must first bridle the flows of capital into countries. Trade regimes must also be regulated so that they do not cause "deindustrialisation". There must also be a step-up in public expenditures, which could be used to create jobs, and incomes and promote the welfare of large sections of the people. However, the tax structure must also be altered significantly so that resources can be mobilised for financing these expenditures. Patnaik referred to the fact that the tax-GDP (gross domestic product) ratio in India had de-



Oscar Olivera, who led a Bolivian struggle against the privatisation of water resources.

clined dramatically during the era of liberalisation; he pointed out that the Indian state would have mobilised at least Rs.30,000 crores more if it had refrained from offering tax sops, which basically went in favour of the rich.

The alternatives on offer at the ASF were not in the nature of quick fixes to the problems that globalisation posed. Speaking at the opening plenary, eminent political economist Samir Amin pointed out that "social progress and economic development are synonymous" (see interview). But this, he said, hinged crucially on the regulation of markets. He said that bringing markets under social control was a prerequisite for a genuine alternative. However, refusing to accept autarky as an alternative to the current dominant vision of globalisation, Amin said that countries must negotiate their inter-dependence with the rest of the world. This, he said, necessarily

meant breaking out of the clutches of imperialism, represented by the U.S.-led "triad" (its other members are countries of Western Europe and Japan).

Speaking at a session on alternatives to globalisation, Amin said that though the fight had a global dimension, the arena in which popular forces had to contest neo-liberalism was within the confines of the nation-state. However, he pointed out that popular forces had to form alliances with others on the global stage because the "solidarity" among the nations of the South had the potential to lay the basis for an alternative means of economic inter-dependence among nations, one which had the capability to offer genuine mutual benefit to the nations of the world.

THE irony in the ASF and the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) holding their meetings in Hyderabad at the same time could not have been starker. One was a meeting of about 25,000 delegates. Of course, the Indian component was predominant, but more than 750 foreign delegates from 42 countries, covering all the continents, were present. More than 760 organisations – some of them platforms for as many as 60 to 70 organisations – participated in the ASF. Coming from all over the world, men, women and even children, dressed in vivid colours, met at over 140 seminars, conferences and workshops spread over six days. They also sang and danced during the festival that held Hyderabad agog.

The "other" world gathered in the comfort of five-star hotels, for the Partnership Summit, where foreign investors, heads of governments and captains of Indian industry heaped praises on Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister N. Chandrababu Naidu for having implemented the very neo-liberal policies that the ASF was protesting against. The fact that hundreds of farmers in the State had committed suicide precisely as a result of the neo-liberal policies, gave concrete shape to what the ASF was up against.

Former President K.R. Narayanan, freed from the tight protocols that he was earlier circumscribed by, appealed to the State government to release about 300 delegates who had picketed the venue of the CII event. He said: "Those who have been arrested represented people from all over the world who were engaged in the fight for human rights." Waving enthusiastically to the crowd, he said: "It is exhilarating to see such a massive gathering of people." ■

For struggles, global and national

Interview with Samir Amin, political economist and director, Third World Forum.

The antecedents of the World Social Forum (WSF) can be traced to January 2000 when a small group of about 50 activists, representing trade unions, intellectuals, peasant organisations and other social groups, gathered in Davos. Samir Amin, an intellectual who is regarded as one of the foremost thinkers on the changing dynamics of capitalism, was among those assembled at the "Anti-Davos in Davos". Since then he has been actively associated with not only the WSF but also the regional forums that have evolved as a challenge to imperialist globalisation. He is director, Third World Forum (TWF), located in Dakar (Senegal) and Cairo and in Belgium, a network of social scientists and intellectuals from developing countries. Amin has also played a key role in the formation of the World Forum for Alternatives, which was launched in 1997. The WFA aims to service the needs of social movements that are engaged in challenging the dominant discourse on globalisation. It is also involved in the search for alternatives by developing the tools for "the globalisation of resistance and struggles".

Amin's seminal work, *Accumulation on a World Scale*, first brought to the attention of the English-speaking world in 1970, came as a whiff of fresh air to the nascent field of development economics because it challenged the then-ruling orthodoxy propounded by the American economic historian W.W. Rostow in 1960. Rostow had argued that the economically backward countries could be on the road to development if there was infusion of capital, in the form of foreign investment or aid. Amin first propounded the concepts of "centres" and "peripheries", linking the issue of development to the nature of capitalism and imperialism. He turned the ruling orthodoxy on its head by pointing out that the problem of underdevelopment was itself a result of the nature and dynamics of capitalism on a global scale.

He spoke to V. Sridhar in Hyderabad, where he participated in the Asian Social Forum (ASF). He spoke about the changes in the nature of imperialism and

globalisation and its consequences for the countries of the South. Articulating an alternative vision for the peoples and countries of the South, he pointed out that the plurality of visions against globalisation is a positive feature in the search for social change. He argued that any alternative system must allow each country and society to negotiate the terms on which it engages with the rest of the world. Excerpts from the interview:



► *What is the significance of the WSF-ASF and the regional fora that have emerged in the last few years as a challenge to imperialist globalisation?*

I consider these events important. I do not mean that there are no problems with them. There are many, and growing, social movements around the world. They are very different in nature, struggling either on social fronts, for the defence of labour and of the rights of the popular classes, or on political fronts for basic political rights. There are the feminist movements, ecological movements and many more. What is characteristic of the present time is that these movements are fragmented, in the sense that they are

mostly national-based, or, in many cases, local-based. Most of them deal with a single issue or with a single dimension of the problem, without articulating it into an overall alternative political project.

This is the result of recent history. Social organisations that emerged after the Second World War gradually reached their historical limits. I am not only referring to the Soviet pattern of the alternative, but also what has happened and is happening in China, and the erosion of the social democratic pattern in the developed capitalistic West. I also refer to the erosion of the variety of what I call the 'national populist' alternatives in the South...

► *You mean those such as the Nasserite and Nehruvite types...*

Yes. As a result of these developments we have moved into a period characterised by fragmentation. There will be no alternative to the present powerful system, neo-liberal globalisation or imperialist globalisation, which is a new phase of imperialism, unless these movements come together to articulate an overall alternative. You cannot fight on a single front. Even if you are successful on that front, the success will be limited, fragile and vulnerable because things are inter-related and because, in the final analysis, we need an overall alternative in all its dimensions.

The alternative vision obviously has to have an economic dimension. But the political, social, and cultural dimensions will also have to be addressed.

The WSF is not an organisation with a common political platform for devising strategies. But it is also not a forum that is open to everybody. It has a charter to which participating organisations must adhere. They must make it clear that they are opposed to neo-liberalism, not necessarily to capitalism. They must also be opposed to militarisation of globalisation – not necessarily imperialism, which means much more.

I think that it is a duty of all people, who think they should articulate an alternative, to participate, and not to boycott... I saw some people calling for a boycott of the ASF. They are wrong and

sectarian. There might be a number of NGOs (non-governmental organisations), about which I personally have doubts. Some may be corrupt and may also be manipulated by imperialism. Okay, but that is life. We must realise that such organisations do not represent a major force. The major forces are the popular organisations such as the trade unions, peasant organisations, organisations of professionals, feminist movements, ecological movements and many other social groups. We have to respect diversity of concepts and views. Different points of view also need to be articulated at different levels – at the national level, but also at the global level, because globalisation is a reality. Imperialism has been a reality for a long time (laughs).

► *You have said that a unified movement of the peoples of the South is a prerequisite for change in the present situation. What is the role of the peoples of the North in this?*

I am an internationalist. I am a Marxist, socialist, internationalist and a universalist. I am not a chauvinist, certainly not a Third Worldist. The world is one, but a very unequal one. Capitalist development, which has shaped the modern world, has done it on the basis of growing inequality among nations, and within them as well. For the last five centuries there have been countries at the centre and, there have been countries that have been at the periphery. Thus, one of the major elements of the global system is its imperialist dimension. Imperialism is synonymous with growing polarisation among nations. It is based on the rationality of capitalist profitability. The awareness of popular forces in the South, which is at the periphery of the global system, is a fundamental prerequisite for any change.

After the Second World War there was a gigantic movement of the peoples of Asia and Africa for national liberation. They had one target: independence. This was correct, because it was the first step. But the forces that united around this demand represented different classes. In countries such as China, Vietnam, and Cuba, the leadership was with the radical Left. But in countries like India the leadership was with the middle classes during the fight against British imperialism. In Africa and in the Arab countries, a variety of forces led the movement. The leadership in these countries understood that they not only needed to support one another but also build a common front after independence, based on their common demands *vis-a-vis* the global system. That

is how Bandung happened in 1955.

The common front did yield results. It created a space for these countries to achieve several decades of relatively high rates of economic growth. There was industrialisation and also gigantic efforts in education and in other fields. In political terms, it enabled these countries to transcend ethnic, local and national chauvinisms. The alliance among nations was based on politics, depending heavily on the countries' position against imperialism. That explains why someone like Nasser in Egypt was an ally of India, and not Pakistan. It was because India had an anti-imperialist position, unlike Pakistan. The fact that Pakistan was predominantly Muslim, like in Egypt, was not of any importance.

During the last 20 to 30 years, the visions that came out of socialism, whether of the Russian or the Chinese kind, and out of the more radical of the national liberation movements, reached their historical limits.

► *Were these countries also not bargaining between the two camps – imperialism, on the one hand, and with socialism, on the other?*

Sure, that is true. The Soviet Union could provide ideas – good in some cases, but bad in many cases – and, in some cases, good armaments (laughs) to these countries, which acted as a check against imperialism. It was not possible for the U.S. to act like a gangster as it does today, when it can unilaterally decide to bomb any country in the world.

But owing to the erosion of the leaderships' support bases, these countries entered a vacuum, resulting in regression on all fronts. Afro-Asian solidarity was also eroded. This has opened the way for other patterns of pseudo-solidarities, which are very reactionary, based on ethnic or pseudo-ethnic chauvinisms or, on religious fundamentalism. Let me put it polemically: If the majority of the Indian people accept Hindutva, if the majority of people in the 'Muslim' countries accept the nonsense of political Islam, there will be no change on the world scale if these are not transgressed by another vision of human solidarity.

► *How were the limits in these countries reached?*

There was some room for development because colonialism resulted in low levels of industrialisation in a few countries, and none at all in many others. So, there was room for industrialisation after national liberation. But as they moved along, it became costlier, in terms of cost of investment and technology. These

countries also inherited social systems with very low levels of education, which offered enormous room for upward mobility for people, through education. As long as the children of the popular classes (the lower middle class and the peasantry) could move up through education – and this happened in a huge scale in India, Egypt and many other countries – the system benefited from legitimacy. Even if they were not democratic, they were seen as delivering something. Countries that had high rates of economic growth, accompanied by not-increasing levels of inequality (I do not mean socially just), and those that offered upward mobility for large sections of society, enjoyed credibility and legitimacy. Some of these countries were semi-democratic, like India. Others, like Nasserite Egypt, were not democratic at all. But they were equally legitimate and credible because they delivered. Once the system reached a point where it could not progress within the same logic and on the same basis, the political system became more corrupt and lost legitimacy. This created a vacuum, which reactionary forces started to occupy.

► *How do you characterise the current phase of globalisation, in contrast to previous ones in history?*

Globalisation and imperialism are nothing new. The history of capitalism since the very beginning has been the history of imperialist expansion. And, the system was always global. The contention of some people that globalisation is something new is laughable. After all, what was the colonisation of India, if not globalisation? The building of the Americas since the 16th century was globalisation. The slave trade, which played a crucial role in the building of the Americas, was globalisation. Later, colonialism was globalisation. And globalisation has always been imperialist globalisation. It has never been achieved by peaceful and equal negotiations between peoples. That is history. But we would be wrong if we think that it is the same old story. We cannot develop an efficient counter-strategy if we do not focus on what is new.

The dominant discourse, the Rightist one, says: "Well, change is always for the better and happens spontaneously. Change is always painful, but it is only transitional. The market, that is, capitalism, will by itself solve the problem in the long run (when everybody is dead)." That is not even ideology. It is propaganda. But this is what is repeated daily by the politicians, written everyday in the newspapers, shown daily on television and even

presented as There Is No Alternative (TINA).

We have to look at what is new in a different way. How can the popular forces reorganise to reduce the damage associated with global capitalist expansion? What can they do to impose their own agenda in the short run, to create the conditions for an alternative? The alternative, in my opinion, has a name. It is socialism. It had the same name in the past and will remain the same in the future too. But the way we imagine socialism will not be the same as our fathers imagined it to be.

► *You said that the nature of imperialism today is different from that of the past. Has it anything to do with the way globalisation is different today?*

Yes. Imperialism had always been characterised by rivalry among the major powers. The Spanish and the Portuguese, against the Dutch in the 17th century; the British against the French later; and, the German-Japanese against the others, still later. Rivalry among the imperialist nations had been a major feature. It was on this basis that Lenin – correctly at the time before the First World War – thought the system must lead to a revolution because it will lead to war, which the proletariat, being the victims of the war, will revolt against. History proved Lenin right. There was a revolution. Whatever happened afterwards is another story, but there was a revolution.

After the Second World War, the U.S. and Japan became allies, Japan in a subaltern position. The U.S. and Western capitalist Europe came together after the Marshall Plan and the formation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO). In geographical terms, the world capitalist system includes the U.S. and its outer province, Canada; capitalist Europe, at that time limited by the Iron Curtain, now a little further east; and, Japan. At that time (after the Second World War), we had an explanation, an easy one, but one which was only partly true. The imperialist powers put an end to their rivalry because they had a common enemy, the Soviet Union. They paid more attention to their common interests rather than the rivalry among themselves.

Since then, however, though the Soviet Union disappeared, these countries have not become rivals again. This is reflected in the economic management of the global system – the functioning of the G-7, a group of the most powerful nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the WTO [World Trade Organisation]. These are not global organisations; these are organisations of

the Global North – of the capitalist centre. We also do not see any major differences among these countries within these organisations. We ought to ask ourselves a number of questions. First, why are we in this situation? Second, does this mean there are no contradictions among these countries? Third, if there are contradictions, in what ways are they different from contradictions of the earlier period, in which imperialist countries were in rivalry? Fourth, how do the contradictions relate to North-South relations?

I am suggesting – as I said at the WSF in Porto Alegre, at the Egyptian Social Forum in Cairo, and at the ASF – that capitalism has entered a new phase, of a higher level of centralisation of capital. This has laid the basis for the solidarity of capitalist interests at the global level. During Lenin's time, before the First World War, and continuing till about 30 to 40 years ago (I shall not put a date to it), monopoly capital needed a large market that could be accessed as an empire. A capitalist centre or metropolis with a number of colonies or areas of interests was thus the norm. That was the basis on which rivalries among the imperialist powers existed – on the sharing or re-shaping of colonies and the control of the global system. Now it is being said – not only by us, but by the bosses of big business – that in order to be efficient, transnational corporations (TNC) need to access markets on a global scale. They cannot be successful even if they enjoy overwhelming market shares of even the big regional markets such as the European Union or in North America or other parts of the global market. Therefore, the globe is the terrain on which competition among them is fought out.

But these monopolies also need a global system to operate. The change in the nature of imperialism does not negate the importance of changes in the processes of labour and other dimensions, which need to be taken into account so that the popular classes can reinvent efficient forms of organisations. But in order to be efficient at the global political level, and in North-South relations, we have to take into account the basic fact that imperialism now operates collectively as a triad, represented by the U.S., the E.U. and Japan.

Does this mean that there are no contradictions among these powers? I say there are. We can see them developing, but the nature of the contradictions is different. Basically, there is no common state. And, capitalism cannot operate without a state. The claim that capitalism

is ruled by markets, without a state, is complete nonsense. There is no single state, even confederal, of the North. Even Europe with its Union is built on national states, which in many cases have deep historical roots. Therefore, how is the political dimension of collective imperialism to be run? That is an unsolved question.

► *You have said that there is a tendency for the "centres of gravity" of countries to fall outside the domain of nation states. What does this mean for the peoples of these nations, in terms of a search for an alternative? And, how does such a system operate and what are the contradictions in such a system?*

I would like to think I am right, without appearing to be arrogant. But yes, the centre of gravity has moved from inside nations to somewhere else. This has happened to all the nations – to the U.S., the European nations, and to the big and small nations of the Third World. This change is related to the size of dominant capital, which is global in scale. Since these are major decision makers, they cannot be submitted to a national logic. That creates problems. The issue was discussed at the European Social Forum, in Florence. Many people felt that a new Europe should be built. They said that a political Europe was needed, not necessarily with a unified state because, for historical reasons, there are nations with a long history of a common language and culture. Some suggested a kind of confederation. The point is that such a Europe cannot be based only on a common market; it also has to have a common political reality. Another Europe, like another Asia, is possible. This new Europe ought to be based on a social compromise between capital (because we cannot imagine the end of capital immediately) and labour and other popular classes. But I also believe we cannot achieve this other Europe without changing its relationship to the South. Europe cannot change if it continues to be a partner in the collective imperialist system.

Regionalisation will enable the countries of the South to strengthen their capacities *vis-a-vis* the global system. This can be based on, for instance, history and culture, as in Latin America. The countries of Latin America have a lot in common. Two closely related languages, Spanish and Portuguese, link these countries together. The other common factor is a common enemy for over two centuries – the U.S. I do not think Islam can provide the basis for such regionalisation. But the Arab countries, with a common language, could be the basis for unity

among nations. There has never been a history of these countries being unified by a single state, except in the imagination of the nationalists. But this alliance among countries must be based on politics, not merely common market.

Even the larger countries face the menace of imperialism. The Americans do not like large countries. China and India are too big. We need to recognise that there are differences within countries. Let me address frankly the case of India. There are different nationalities, languages and groups, apart from the fact that there are Hindus and Muslims. The way the power system is dealing with this diversity even in India – which is certainly not among the worst in the world (it is at least a semi-democracy) – there are problems such as the rise of communism.

What is the position of the nation-state in this search for the alternative?

The need for a common front does not negate the crucial importance of the nation-state. For a long time in the future, we will need the nation-state. Markets have to be regulated. But markets cannot be regulated at the global level or even at the regional level if they are not first regulated at the national level.

You have to fight on two fronts. I am of the opinion that the crucial front is the one at the national level. Nothing will change from above. Things will change only when the balance of political forces within countries creates the possibilities for changes at the regional and even at global levels. Change has to start from inside countries. That is why the nation-state is so important.

► *What are the elements of an alternative to neo-liberal globalisation?*

I shall summarise the principles that could possibly govern another kind of global system. The first is the logic of the transition to socialism. This will combine the criterion of capitalism, that is, efficiency as measured by profitability; and, the criterion of social justice. Although the term social justice is very elastic, certain elements can be defined in concrete terms. I am sure any Indian citizen from the popular classes can tell you what he/she means by social justice. It would necessarily mean jobs, reasonable and decent wages, schools for his/her children and decent health care. That is social justice, not socialism. These are not going to be produced by the market, but these will be imposed on the market by a social policy

of the state. This kind of system associates capitalistic criteria with social criteria, which will be in conflict. But the system recognises that they are conflicting and therefore must be managed without allowing the market to dominate society unilaterally. It also recognises the fact that the free play of markets creates problems for society. Therefore, society will solve the problem through the exercise of political power. If such a system obtains in several countries, then we can create the conditions for regional arrangements among them, and of changes in the global system.

The second condition that is needed for substantial change is genuine democracy. Social change in the past – whether of the Soviet or Maoist type or of the



“You have to fight on two fronts. I am of the opinion that the crucial front is the one at the national level.”

national populist types in the Third World – had very little democracy or no democracy at all. But whatever their achievements, very little was left to the initiative of the popular classes. They were controlled and directed in many ways, with varying degrees of the negation of democracy. The fact that the people want progress but that they also want liberty is also progress from the earlier situation. We cannot have a remake of the Soviet Union or a remake of Nehru's India. There are no remakes in history. Democracy in the dominant discourse is based on delinking it from the issue of social justice. That does not work, because if democracy does not result in social progress, people no longer find it credible. The main reason for the move backwards towards religious fundamentalism, ethnic solidarities and so on is the failure of democracy.

► *What is the role of religious and ethnic movements in the context of neo-liberalism and the search for an alternative?*

Imperialism and cultural fundamentalism go together. Market fundamentalism needs religious fundamentalism. Why is this so? Market fundamentalism says: Subvert the state and leave it to the market at the global level to run the sys-

tem. How can such a system be run? It can be done only when states are disempowered completely; and, within states, if the popular classes (the victims) are disempowered by the negation of their class identity. Moreover, the system can be run politically if the South is completely divided, with nations and nationalities hating one another. Religious fundamentalism and ethnic fundamentalism – they are similar – are perfect instruments for ruling the political system.

This is the reason why they are supported – ideologically, politically, even financially – by imperialism. The U.S. has always supported Islamic fundamentalism. It has always supported the Saudi Arabian regime, just as it has always supported Pakistan and the Taliban. It continues to support such regimes even today, though they are now compelled to do this in a covert manner. In Europe it uses ethnic movements to achieve its goals, as in Yugoslavia.

► *Can you tell us the ethos in which you grew up to be an intellectual?*

I am a Marxist and have always been a part of the communist movement. That is not a secret. As a child, during the Second World War, I was enthused by the Soviet resistance against Nazi Germany. In those days, Egyptian society was highly politicised; even 13-14 year-old youth were quite politicised. While in elementary school, only about 20 per cent of those in my age group were non-political. The rest were distributed equally in two camps, communists and nationalists. The nationalists used to say that the main enemy of the Egyptian people was Britain; but the communists said that capitalism, operating through Britain, was the enemy. Egyptian society is not as politicised now. Many of my contemporaries were or are communists. I came from a relatively privileged family. I came from a family of the intellectual bourgeoisie, a family of doctors. My father belonged to the Waqf party, very much like the Congress party here. My mother owed allegiance to the radical socialists, the Jacobins, in France. Incidentally, my great great-grandfather was among the first republicans in Egypt, in the 1860s.

As a student in Paris, between 1947 and 1956, I was associated with organisations of students from Third World countries. This created a strong link with many youth who later became leaders of national Left movements in Africa and West Asia. ■

Another Europe is possible

The European Social Forum held in Florence turned out to be an impressive congregation of groups ranging from political parties to non-governmental organisations in search of an alternative social and political order for Europe.

AMIYA KUMAR BAGCHI

IN Firenze (Florence), Italy, a number of organisations, political parties (mostly of the Left), non-governmental organisations, mass organisations involved in education, trade unions and individuals protesting against the way the world is being directed by vested interests organised the European Social Forum with the major banner proclaiming 'Un'altra Europa è possibile: Another Europe is possible'. All the participants had to register and take the general oath of the social forum, which included the commitment to use only non-violent means of protest and each one had to be certified by some organisation as a genuine participant in the search for an alternative social and political order. The registration process began on November 6 and went on till November 9 when the formal deliberations of the forum ended. The main seminars and conferences were held on November 7 and 8. The biggest demonstration that any city has seen so far against the United States' preparations for the invasion of Iraq was held on November 10.

I was invited by two of the participating organisations - Associazione Culturale Punto Rosso and Forum Mondiale delle Alternative - to give a talk at a seminar entitled 'The world is not a map: the movement and the war'. The seminars were held mainly in a huge pavilion, called Fortezza da Basso, with several halls capable of accommodating between 2,000 and 5,000 persons and others with room for several hundred persons at a time. But as the number of participants was far higher than anticipated, meetings had to be organised at the Palace of Congresses, and other locations in the city. The forum was made up primarily of European participants but there was also a scattering of participants from West Asia, North Africa and Latin America. There were only a handful of Indian participants, including some delegates charged with organising the Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad, and representatives of the Indian chapter of the Fourth International.



A march taken out by peace activists on November 9 as part of the European Social Forum held in Florence from November 6 to 10.

When I turned up at the entrance gate of Fortezza da Basso, I was told firmly that I, like all the other participants in the Forum, must acquire a badge of accreditation before I was let in. Given the obvious displeasure of the Berlusconi government for the kind of movement the Forum represented, it was necessary to prevent the infiltration of *agents provocateurs*. I went to the Palace of Affairs and acquired a badge. The enthusiasm about the Forum was evident from the swelling numbers of registered participants: on November 6, 6,000 persons registered, by November 7 the number had gone up to 18,000, and by

November 8, the number would have doubled. The vast majority of the participants were women and men below the age of 40. I talked to lorry drivers from England, schoolteachers from Italy and workers from France. There was an atmosphere of carnival on the grounds outside the seminar halls. People burst into impromptu songs, coined slogans and formed dancing groups. In the evenings there were cultural events all over the town. Concerts and street plays were held in open piazzas. Performances were made by major theatre groups in halls. Films from all over the world were screened, and a play by Dario Fo, directed

by the great writer himself, was staged. Other events were too numerous to be detailed here.

Inside the seminar halls, people sat or stood, and listened with rapt attention to serious discussions on the social and political issues troubling various parts of the world. The official brochure listed 143 seminars; there were several dozen workshops and more than a score campaigns listed in the brochure. There were additional workshops, campaigns and even seminars, which were announced after the brochure was distributed. The subjects of the seminars ranged from human rights and their abuses in Europe and elsewhere, the problems of the Mediterranean region, the attempted colonisation and genocide of Palestinians, globalisation and hunger, consumerism and people's livelihood, regional and global environmental destruction, resistance against war-mongering, the violence of the Hindu Right and the rights of trade unions, to North-South relations.

In the panel of which I was a member, there were some charismatic leaders of the past and the present. Georgio Riollo of Punto Rosso coordinated the proceedings, and Samir Amin of the World Forum for Alternatives, in his opening speech, laid out the main agenda of discussion. According to him, neo-liberal capitalism has reached a heightened phase of militarisation. With the current state of war prevailing under the auspices of the U.S. and its allies or clients such as Israel, and the totally unreasonable and aggressive stance adopted by the U.S. and Britain towards Iraq, the world is in a situation that is as serious as in 1932, on the eve of Hitler's accession to power.

AHMED BEN BELLA, the legendary hero of the Algerian struggle for independence, and the first President of independent Algeria – still physically upright at the age of 86 – denounced strongly the criminal waste of resources in war, when the only defensible goal before humanity was to feed and nurture everybody in order to sustain their development into well-educated, free and healthy human beings. He also said that his experience taught him that there is no such thing as a holy war, or a just war.

Edmilson Rodrigues from Brazil pointed to the extensive usurpation of the Brazilian people's resources by multinational corporations under the neo-liberal regime reigning in that country until now. In the name of fighting terrorism in Colombia under Plan Colombia, he pointed out, the U.S. government was trying to impose an army of occupation not only on Colombia but on the surrounding countries, includ-

ing Venezuela, Bolivia and Ecuador, because the people of all those countries were trying to break the shackles of neo-colonialism. The alternative, Plan Amazonico, promoted by organisations linked to the Workers Party led by the victorious President of Brazil Ignacio Luiz Lula da Silva is a programme to restore the land rights to the landless peasants and the indigenous people of Brazil.

The hall in which the seminar was held, Sala Ghiãia (the Yellow Hall), was packed with the listeners, a large number of whom were sitting on the floor or standing around the seats; I was told that there were about 4,000 persons present in the hall.

Carlos Tablada, a Cuban diplomat, spoke of the depredation caused by multinational corporations, backed by their client governments, upon the inherited resources and livelihoods of the people of the Third World. The audience stood up and cheered Ben Bella, Rodrigues, and most others following them.

Mustafa Berghouti, of the National Association of Palestinians, spoke of the terrible atrocities committed by the Israeli occupation army on Palestinians as they took over more and more land from Palestinians in order to create an even larger number of illegal Jewish settlements. Already 2,000 persons out of a total Palestinian population of 3.3 million in the Israel-occupied Palestinian territory have been killed over the past two years. Most Palestinians experience 24-hour curfews for days together, when they cannot go out of their houses for work, in case of medical emergencies or for procuring essential commodities. In the town of Nablus, there was a curfew for 135 days. Intifada was the Palestinians' struggle against the Israeli attempt to subject Palestinians to a permanent system of colonisation, apartheid and eventual expulsion from their homeland. Ali' Ekber Uguz, leader of the Kurdish Party in Turkey, spoke of the right of the Kurdish people to be treated as full participants in the political process in the countries between which they are now distributed.

Giovanni Berlinguer, a doctor and the son of Enrico Berlinguer, who was the Secretary of the Italian Communist Party after Togliatti, spoke on the numerous ways in which children are victimised by war. They face premature death, or are forced physically or through sheer hunger to work far more cheaply than adults; they can also be turned into brave soldiers because children do not develop the sense of self-protection that adults learn through experience. Raffaele Salinari, president of Terre des Hommes, talked about the utterly criminal waste of resources and misuse of science

when 30 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa alone die every year of hunger. Yet the rich countries spend hundreds of billions of dollars on preparing weapons of mass destruction. Manlio Dinucci, a writer, warned about the continuing danger from nuclear arms, whether they are stockpiled or used for a final military solution by the U.S. or other nuclear powers.

Giulietto Chiesa, an eminent Italian writer and journalist, spoke eloquently about the dubious role played by most of the established media in keeping people in ignorance and misleading them by manipulation and selective suppression of news. Ordinary people did not even know the terrible fate that their so-called leaders are preparing for them through the pursuit of armed neo-liberalism.

In my brief presentation, I touched on the motives for the U.S. government's eagerness to start a war against Iraq and against countries it dubs as forming the axis of evil, even though it possesses a far larger arsenal of weapons of mass destruction than any government has ever had access to, and even though it has systematically perpetrated terrorism against the associates or mere neighbours of anybody it regards as an enemy. Two of these motives are strictly economic: to allow the multinational arms manufacturers and their agents to make more profits, and to monopolise the huge oil resources of Central and West Asia. The third motive is political, namely, to distract the attention of ordinary citizens from the impoverishment and loss of human dignity that they have been subjected to under the neo-liberal dispensation.

There is a dreadful precedent for what George W. Bush and his cronies may be contemplating. It is people like them among their ancestors who killed native Americans and grabbed the wealth of the resource-rich U.S. Why not mete out the same fate to the Arabs who are sitting on huge reserves of oil that Bush's backers want to take over? Newspaper reports of the mobilisation of a large army for crushing Iraq lend credibility to such a monstrous fear.

I had to come away before November 10 and therefore could not take part in the anti-war demonstration in Firenze on that day. According to reports of the news agencies, between 400,000 and 500,000 demonstrators marched in the biggest, wholly peaceful, demonstration against war and neo-liberalism that Europe has ever witnessed. ■

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U.S. design and global complicity

The war-mongering vis-a-vis Iraq is only part of the United States' larger global design for the 21st century — to attain unchallenged supremacy of the world.

AIJAZ AHMAD

WITH 1,200,000 troops of the United States already stationed in the Gulf region, reservists being called up across the country, and the U.S. gripped by war hysteria, all the way from its leaders to its media networks to the overwhelming majority of the population, it now seems beyond doubt that the full-scale invasion — and possible occupation — of Iraq by the U.S. shall come sooner rather than later, even though the United Nations-appointed inspectors, who are doing the U.S. bidding, have so far failed to produce any evidence of Iraq's having in its possession or having the capacity to produce any weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear or biological or chemical weapons. The U.S. seems determined to proceed with its plans, however, regardless of any evidence proving

or disproving its claims, while it is also likely that some sort of evidence may well be manufactured in the foreseeable future; for all the current posture of impartiality, Hans Blix, the chief U.N. inspector, is deeply committed to the imperial agenda. In any case, the invasion shall come because it is part of a much larger, inflexible global design which we shall detail below. Before proceeding with that wider analysis, though, it is important to recall some salient features of the situation as it has prevailed in the immediate past.

In an article that was published some months ago ("In the shadow of permanent war", *Frontline*, October 11, 2002) I had pointed out that the Anglo-American bombardment of Iraq had lasted longer than the U.S. war on Vietnam, indeed longer than the combined duration of the two World Wars. This began

with the Gulf war of 1991 which, in very important sense, has never ended. It was then, some 12 years ago, that George W. Bush Senior, the father of the current U.S. President, first determined that the overthrow of Saddam Hussein and the achievement of full mastery over Iraq was a key objective, and the U.S. has never swerved away from that objective. The only reason why the full-scale invasion, which is now impending, did not come sooner is that while the objective of overthrowing Saddam and defeating the Iraqi Army could be achieved very quickly, thanks to the overwhelming U.S. military superiority, the U.S. has never been quite sure what would follow that victory and has therefore toyed with various more or less dubious scenarios while its unremitting war-mongering has held a nation of 22 million suffering people to ransom.