

## **Collect, Focus, and Move On: What did the WSF 05 in Porto Alegre give us?**

***Carla Krüger, Member of Attac and rls-delegation at the WSF***

I had felt entitled to this experience, mainly because of four things: In 2002-2003, I had been a rather dedicated activist against the Iraq war, (co-)organised a committee in our living area, participated at many information booths, gone to demonstrations, workshops, vigils, and motivated people for the largest event that took place in Germany, the anti-war demonstration of the 500,000 on February 15, 2003. When the anti-war demonstrations and vigils died down, I had switched to activity against social demolition, a terrible problem in East Germany, because the Schröder government has planned its labour market reforms in a generally heartless manner. We distributed leaflets in front of the Unemployment Agencies, assisted at strike posts during the IGM strike in Summer 2003 and also organised large demonstrations, in particular in April and October 2004. By then I had become a full-time translator, doing work on related topics.

In November 2003, I had been a volunteer interpreter for the Babels network at the ESF in Babels. Mostly at the Bobigny location, I interpreted for hours on end, what more or less decided activists/lobbyists had to say on Poverty, the prevention of drug use, and the interconnection between AIDS and poverty and on their future strategy and networking efforts. In my breaks, I had listened to professor Elmar Altvater and others on war and peace, assisted at the Iraq war panel in Saint-Denis, one conference on the WTO and attempts at developing regional economies, in particular in Palestine, South America and India, and a youth and trade union panel, much more academic and less enthusiastic than the one I was to attend in Porto Alegre. My accommodation was in a youth hostel, together with one woman, already from the rls delegation, and two men, both of which got pretty drunk and threw up (but I did not blame them, because the event was rather strenuous). Especially memorable was the demonstration from Nation over Bastille to the Place de la République. Many of my German activist friends, who had not participated in the seminar events, had come from Germany especially for this purpose.

The year afterwards, I had travelled to London as part of the 'solid-delegation. We stayed in a Kurd community centre, sleeping in sleeping bags- with only very few toilets, and maximally 4 showering devices, with about 500 other activists from many countries, including Africa. Glad to say, we got along very well and were very enthusiastic. We started by visiting Marx' grave on a private (!) cemetery. Here in London, after the entry celebration with Susan George – promotress of the GATS-free zone idea - etc., I participated in several seminars on privatisation and the Bolkestein directive (coming back from London, a few of us immediately went to a meeting with Bolkestein himself to tell him what we thought of his idea), a seminar on the East-European left, an event on the newly formed (May 2004) European Left, and panels on the constitutional treaty, WTO, GATS, in other words, the evolving neoliberal imperial structure, as well as one or two seminars on plans for a future post-capitalist society. Some of us took some time off to see more of London than the community centre, Alexandra Palace (the latter already offered a beautiful view of it) and the university area. Then there came the final demonstration, which also led through a good part of London, ending on Trafalgar square. The only thing that did not play along was the weather; it rained most of the time. I was also glad to be able to sign up for a theatre group on the neoliberal European constitutional project. Finally, and fourthly, I had translated, for free, the book *Challenging Empires* on the WSF 1-4 into German for the Dietz publishers. I had also been to China in the summer, and wondered, why this

country, which despite its difficult situation in between socialism and state capitalism is still a lot richer than neighbouring Russia, which had sent people especially to the preparatory meetings in Berlin and to London, does participate so little in the forum process. This might change now. The rls as well this time had at least one woman Chinese speaker on its panels.

With all this experience to share, I felt entitled to participate in the fifth world forum as part of the Attac delegation, and was really quite enthusiastic about some of the international Attacis I met (see below). Yet, very few people had come from Attac Germany; I had also been a little impatient with Attac lately, because some activists had joined the newly formed WASG, others had given entry possibilities to Neonazis, which undermines our struggle against social demolition and also against the European constitution, other groups seemed to be sleeping, and maybe for all of these reasons, if also personal ones, some activists I really liked, had simply dropped out. So I drifted rather to the rls delegation.

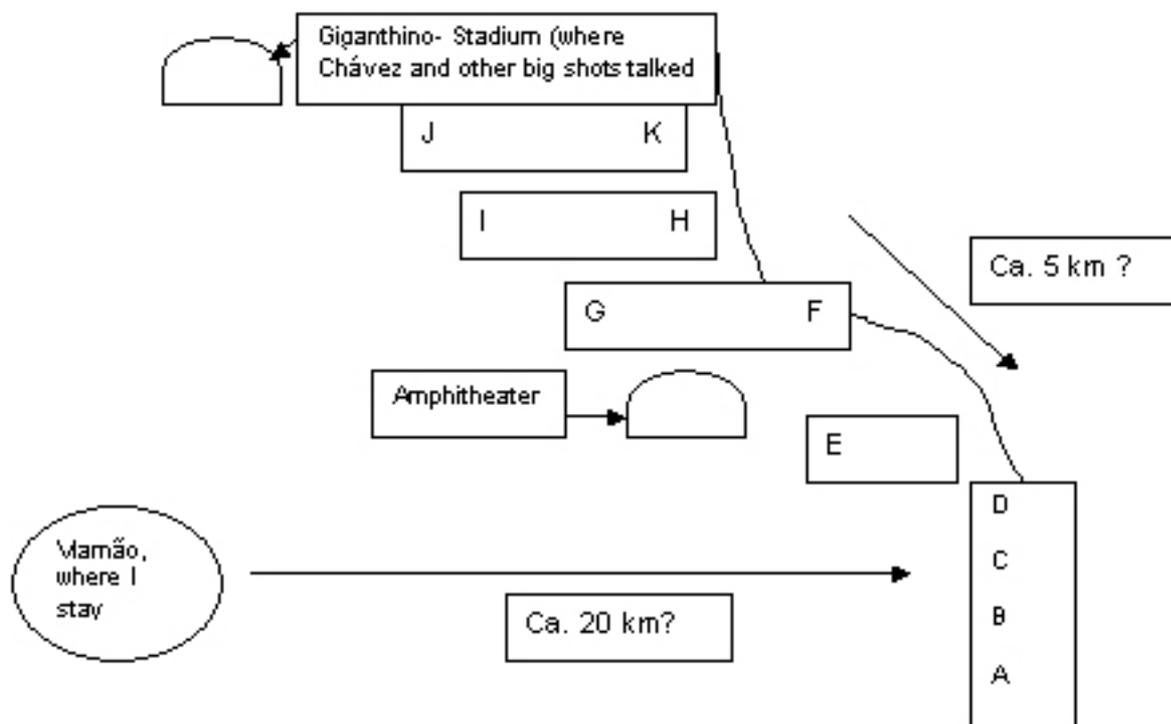
### **January 25, 2005**

We had departed in Berlin in the snow – here we have about 30 C and covered skies. For the next few days, there is going to be sunshine, with temperatures rising up to 40 C. Only on the day of our departure does the barometer fall a bit, to about 20 C, and there is rain. So we can make the most of the forum, which takes part partly in an old factory, some harbour store houses, and partly in tents. I, together with a few Austrian Attacis, am accommodated outside of Porto Alegre, in the independent municipality of Viamão, in a church-run asylum for alcoholics. Because my last name is Krüger, the sisters have played a little practical joke on me and put me in the cellar, but luckily, there is a window, no terrible insects, only on the first night I am pretty frightened by a small lizard, I call the sister, she kills it, but in the next days, I learn that they come out and disappear again without really causing much damage. I learn how to deal with the limited water supply etc., everything is fine, except that my forum bag gets stolen. (Even counting that loss and one cab ride in the evening, I come out over half cheaper than my rls companions, who stay in the hotel.) I have brought presents under the assumption that my landladies are teachers: the book on the social forum I translated (see above), and lots of PDS and Gregor Gysi pens, and a few stuffed animals and GBM calendars. I hope they all reached their takers. Then I get on my way. At the filling station on the corner, I ask for the bus. A young man, looking like my cousin Eric van Gemeren, directs me in broken English. I take the wrong direction, and first get to see the centre of Viamão, around a Latin American style church, somewhat classical with bell-shaped tower tops. Then a few Brasilians help me back in the direction of Porto Alegre. Even without much English on their side and no Brasilian except “Bom dia!” and “Obrigada!”, and only a little broken Spanish on my side, they help me with body language, nodding when its the correct bus etc. The next morning, the Austrian sister Joanna explains to me that the bus has to have “Aparecida” on it, and from then on, until the last day, I take the bus in the morning together with many other Brasilians going to work our school. Except for a few alcoholic or drug addict men, they all look comparatively well-to-do, and only on the last day driving back to the airport do we spot a small slum. That does not mean that poverty is not a big problem. I read in a newspaper that 90 Reals, that is 30 €, is the calculated minimal income; yet water is expensive (washing water probably out of reach, and also drinking water for at least 1 R. for a small bottle despite the heat), a sandwich costs 2.50R.; even if they are not slums, most houses look run-down (even if there are of course nice villas owned by the well-to-do); to make the long story short, the WSF, meant in my understanding at least in part as an open university for the poor, is unaffordable for most of them.

I arrive at the Central Bus Station, and with the help of a nice American (from the organisation “Friends of the Poor People of the Earth”), who is very interested in my Attac background, I make it to registration next to the old gas tower (which now has Forum

Social Mundial on it in big, colourful letters). Then I run around on “campus” and investigate the tents.

## Site Map



The one where Micha and John Holloway are supposed to give their talks on the 27<sup>th</sup> even has a dark pink-coloured floor, in tune with Rosa’s name. So I get to talk to the “Rosaluxis” as I call them and get taken along in a cab to the opening meeting for the German participants at the Goethe Institute. Even the German ambassador to Brasil and the Consul have come; first the meeting is moderated by local Goethe institute people, then by my friend Philipp Hersel from Attac and some trade unionists. By that time, the ambassador and the consul have disappeared again. Everybody is allowed to introduce him or herself and state why they are here. I say that I am with Attac and want to resist the neoliberal and militaristic EU constitution, which is likely to have terrible consequences also on developmental cooperation, with Latin America, for instance. I puzzle, whether the Brasilians, who seem rather to look down on the Spanish-speakers, even want to be called part of Latin America... There are difficult problems of political culture even at left-wing gatherings... On the other hand, I am surprised at how voluntarily Swiss and Austrian trade unionists, Attacis and Leo Gabriel from the Austrian Social Forum mix with us “Great Germans” (a couple of trade unionists from Austria even join the rls farewell dinner on the 32 January). One of our interpreters, Sina, tells me on the airplane home that the relationship between Brasilians and other Latin Americans also has become already a lot less bad than it used to be, when she started to work in that area. So, *globalisamos esperanza!*, as one man shouted next to me, when Hugo Chávez entered the stage at the Gigantino.

### January 26, 2005

On the next morning, there is still a similar warm-up meeting at the hotel of the rls. This time I recall my paper “From Capitalism to Socialism”, on whether property change and

cooperative development might not be an entry project for a new world (more on that below), but there are a lot of resistances at all levels. Micha reproachfully (?) shows me my own translation of a paper on privatisation of public services, wherein two girls have investigated for the rls, certainly not how firms are being resocialised, but on the contrary, how the last corners of public services: electricity, transport, water, education, health, culture are being privatised or at least corporatised in all European countries. Then some of us can go to a meeting of the landless movement in Brasil, MST, meant especially for our participants from South Africa. I am supposed to help interpreting, but that role gets taken over by the very nice Danilo from the local rls branch (so as not to have to do relay), and I can listen to the history of Brasil from colonial times to retrace how the land question developed, about recent governments before Lula and what they did or did not do, the activities of the MST (education before strike organisation, Danilo himself is a lecturer in sociology) and its ambiguous relationship to the wavering Lula government, which oftentimes does not know whether to orient towards the international organisations, which give credit, or towards a more radical reformist path of land reform and resocialisation as pursued by Chávez in Venezuela. In the garden of the convent, which MST has leased, we can see that, as in Africa, it is mainly a question of water, and our African friends say they are eager to move on from theory to their trip around Brasil to see how village organisations takes place in different settings.

We even get a free lunch. Then in the evening, there is the gorgeous opening march with 100,000 participants concluded by a concert. I find the rls people with their flags, a grey-coloured image of Rosa Luxemburg and rls on it, and am allowed to help them distribute their newsletter in Portugese at the amphitheatre (on the map next to E) which is the end point of the demonstration. The march is supposed to allow people to present symbols of what preoccupies them: we have our flags, others have multi-image flags sown together to show diversity, others have death masks and costumes, but some also wear Carnaval dresses, and some come as Robin Hoods etc.

## January 27, 2005

### 1. Multitude (with John Holloway and Micha)

Rainer Rilling: What do people have in common, when notion of class is applied to today's time? How can the key subjects unite? From the beginning on, the parties have been "taboo" at the WSF; yet, parties were also heavily involved. Of course, the key feature has remained "diversity". "Multitude" is the term developed by Hardt and Negri to characterise this diversity. Frederic Jansen of Duke University in this context talks of "cognitive mapping". For instance, at the demonstration yesterday, people were asked to represent with signs their maps (see above, there appeared signs of death, beauty etc.). The next step then is to find a common goal, a vision that unites the movements. Typically, they find themselves over a problem, which they know how to solve. Political parties can solve the problem of "power"; an ecological movement can solve the problem of ecology. But then it still depends on the kind of expertise that is shown and on the kind of power being exercised. Individuals bring in their (his/her) individual capacities, knowledge as well as their capacities to create. Then the question arises as to why certain groups are excluded? For instance, those that advocate violence?

John Holloway: Also thinks that the point on diversity is crucial, but is going to talk about it differently. All the groups present at the forum have the "No" in common, "No"s against neoliberalism and militarisation, what is this "No" based on? It is very urgent. Without it, we would all be lemmings rushing towards our graves, racing on the highway to the total destruction of humanity. Maybe it is time that we stop pinning down people on a right to left spectrum. It is much more important *to break the dependence*. Generals after all also depend on their soldiers, masters on their servants. Their "No" is the source of their power.

Then the next question is, how do we stop reproducing that dependence, how do we stop reproducing capitalism? That is the problem of revolution. Instead of thinking about the structure of capitalism, we have to start thinking about how to change it/stop making it? We have to think about how to organise the “No” so as to improve the terms of negotiations, and to stop the rush towards destruction, at least to change the speed. We cannot get all together to rise up together and say “No”, but many people say “No” in different ways. All these “no’s” cause “cracks”, “fissures” in capitalism. We should therefore not think of revolution as great blow, but as the *disaccumulation of capitalism*, which gradually makes these cracks bigger, so as to make it possible to construct another world. We should not think of theory as something positive (neoliberal economic theory of capitalism), but as something negative, the theory of saying “No”. The “Yeses” then, contrasting the “nos”, are generative of alliances, they make the blossoms of another world flourish.

Michael Brie: John Holloway has put a lot of emphasis on the “No”s. He wants to stress the “Big Yes”. Maybe because of my Communist background, I am sceptical about the “Yes”. Russia said a strong “No” to war and to “Tsarism”. The Bolsheviks added to that a strong “Yes”, a yes to state-owned property, but that led to a crash in the countryside. The GDR people in 1989 said “no” to “dictatorship”, no to “state-owned enterprises”, at least to the way they had functioned so far, and they said a “big Yes” to the unification of Germany. Now, there is up to 20% unemployment in East Germany, industry is ruined, and there are increasingly high income differentials. There are different projects to change this, but as long as these projects are not united into some basic project, we won’t be able to overcome capitalism, won’t be able to mobilise. Therefore, there should be a common project, despite all the diversity. We are fighting a very strong enemy: “neoliberalism”, the enemy is very strong, it has a very strong “Yes”. “Free society” means that a market economy is corresponding to a political structure, and based on this combination, capitalism thinks that it has a solution for everything. People in Germany also say “no”, for instance, when it is tried to impose, by way of elections, the only “right” solution, similarly, when in other parts of the world, people are not in agreement with the solution offered to them, and when they are then finally defeated by a military solution.

Therefore, there is a need and it should be possible to combine all the different projects into one common basic project. There is one big condition, coming out of the experience of state socialism: Gramsci, when in prison, wrote something on why the Communists were defeated by the Fascists. I also have the experience of such a terrible defeat. Rosa Luxemburg, on the other hand, while she was enthusiastic about the Russian revolution, also said that she was afraid that the Bolshevik solution would not be superior to capitalism. If all the “Yeses” are combined, what is the common funds: Lenin and Gramsci put their emphasis on the “higher degree of social productivity”, which means economic productivity combined higher social productivity, which implies a higher degree of collective liberty.

For this, we need an alliance between the bottom of society and part of the middle classes. This alliance should be at the centre of society and give it a future and be able to combine socialism and democracy.

**My Comment: Holloway: a little too soft, no way to get to revolution by way of cracks and fissures only, Michael Brie: maybe to some may seem a bit too old-fashioned, not clear, where this alliance for the “Yes” between the middle and the bottom is to come from. (And the weaker it is, the less way or room there is for (self-)control of a party that would stamp one out of the ground, compare the SMS I sent.)**

Ulli Brand: (Has handed out some comments.) Wants to combine the two, the “no”s into a strong “Yes”. Needed for that are 1. identities and interests; 2. the theory of movements, and 3. a critical, negative theory.

The difference is to be in daily life, and there has to be an understanding of the very different experiences of a *piquetero* fired from a factory in Argentina and someone subsisting on Hartz IV in Germany. They face very different problems.

There are not so many “No’s” seen in Germany, they have to surface. A generalised “No” would mean “generalised resistance”. But we are a far way from it. There is a need to discuss it.

2. The theory of movements suggests a point on institutions (although I am always accused of being overly enthusiastic on institutions). Capitalism reproduces itself through institutions (universities etc.). The history of social movements in West Germany during the 70s and 80s shows it. The problem of the German environmental movement was: how do we avoid violence to change society? Violence is inherent in institutions, extreme violence was used on the movement. The idea was not to strike back, but instead to begin the “march through the institutions”, but that has worked out against the movement.

3. As for theory, there needs to be a “revolution of thinking”, and I agree with John that the theory needs to be negative.

Questions: 1. Whether theory needs to be negative, depends on the object of theory. What is necessary, is the independence from and the critical reflection on the object of critique?

2. Problem of new formation? What happens after elections are won?

3. How to get out of the impasse of being constantly confronted with capitalism and having to fight it?

4. Role of media? Role of violence?

5. Don’t know what is meant by “common project”?

John: “No” implies that the project is oriented by Utopian star. Very different “beyonds”, dreams of life after capitalism, also seen at demonstration: death, beautiful women, many flags sown together.

Many different projects that cannot necessarily be compared.

There are some parts of capitalism that show a projection beyond it.

To make the “Big Yes” that Michael is talking about, need to see many small “Yeses” together, so that they form one big “Yes”.

Many people think that there are not enough “Nos” in the EU (Ulli says that for Germany), but impossible not to say “no” sometimes, otherwise oppression would get much too great.

Micha: just as afraid as John Holloway is of dictatorship, before 1986 and also considering the way capitalism is oppressive now. The WSF is creating a road of diversity and a space for participation. The space has changed over the last 2 years, there are more people, we have been to India, also in Germany, things have changed: there has remained the necessity for “jobs”, the introduction of a kind of forced labour in connection with “Hartz IV”. Against that, our party sets the idea, promoted by Katja Kipping, sitting in the back of the tent, of a kind of “basic insurance”, so as to allow for diversity. This project is based on the idea of maintaining and creating a space of diversity by entitling everyone to a basic income. The second basic project would be the POA participative budget project (see the summary of Andreas Trunschke’s speech below).

1st Comment from the audience: But there is the danger of remaining caught in capitalism. There is the necessity to create a sphere outside of capitalism.

2<sup>nd</sup> Comment (Dorothea Härlin): It is important to have a counter-project. Hartz IV introduces forced labour at 1-1.50€. It does not matter whether one says: at least 2-3€ or makes another kind of proposal, the important thing is to say that these people, the Hartz money recipients, are asked to live in an impossible way and to stand up against it.

## 2. International Financial System

### Elmar Altvater

1) financial crises very hard for the countries concerned

2) in Europe: the Maastricht criteria constrain the monetary and fiscal policies of the countries concerned, and the world-wide neoliberalism the possibility for capital controls. The main problem is the existence of dominating classes and dominated ones, plus the fact that genuinely liberated financial Markets (compare Marx) are extremely hard to control, so that crises are likely to ensue.

Those countries, which have really liberated their financial markets, such as Argentina, are much worse off than some Asian countries and Brasil under Lula, which have left some capital controls.

However, partial controls also do not function so well, as the examples of China and Malaysia show.

### Jacques Nikonoff

Capital is grabbing more and more power on a global scale. What can we do against it?

1. Probably the best would be to get rid of capitalism altogether, but since this is not so easy, there are

2. intermediary solutions

- Let's annul all debts of the South, in fact, we have debts with it.

- Let's introduce an international taxation.

Let's put together all the different and diverse movements against capital. Assessment that excess-profits amount to 10% of the world GDP, i.e. 3100 billion \$.

How to get them back? Globalisation profits to the capital owners at the expense of the people. Therefore, Attac proposes three axes for taxation:

- on the financial industries, the so-called Tobin Tax on transactions, transfers etc.

- a tax on the multinationals

- a tax on the international public goods.

The good thing is that we really have some power. By way of public pressure, Chirac, Zapatero and three others have proposed this model at the United Nations, 107 states have accepted it from the beginning.

### The next speaker is a journalist writing on off-shore capital, money laundering, and profit squandering

The first example she gives is E.On. E.On has a world-wide branch structure and despite profits of 1.8 billion \$, received a big refund from the US tax office. She names another group of firms, Microsoft, among them, which despite 12.3 billion € in profits, had to pay no US taxes whatsoever.

They might be taxable in the countries, where they do their business, but the governments of these countries (e.g. Columbia) don't get export and import invoices, so that they have no way of knowing, how much business is done.

Then there are tax havens, especially also in the matter of

**Transfer prices**, meaning over-invoicing of imports and under-invoicing of exports (she gives a series of horrendous examples of that). When countries try to reassert control, they often run up against horrendous US government opposition. Money gets laundered by way of US subsidiaries. The peripheral governments should have the right to force governments to comply,

to impose sanctions of companies not behaving in a social way, meaning paying their taxes and allowing for workers' rights. There will be a further meeting of the tax justice network at this WSF to work out a strategy against tax evasion. More info on: [www.tax-justice.net](http://www.tax-justice.net) and [info@tax-justice.net](mailto:info@tax-justice.net).

Questions: 1. What about the new recently formed Debt Relief and Tax Committee formed by the US government? What chances for societies to participate in that?  
2. How could one rebuild the international trade and financial system on the basis of fixed prices? Is there a chance of that?

#### Altvater

As to 1) Only a system of international democracies.

As to 2) What is sure is that on the basis of transfer pricing, lots of crimes are possible. The societies have to have the right to break up these off-shore havens.

#### Tax Justice Network speaker

As to 1) Part of US Tax Committee, subcommittee recently made permanent, meant to exclude and not to include societies, reporting takes place on individuals but not activities of big shell companies.

#### Nikonoff

On 2) There cannot be the question of either fiscal or social control, the two must be combined. The “Politburo in Washington” cannot simply decide that we are all under the cut of globalisation, all have to fear delocalisation and deregulation. On the other hand, if the above-mentioned taxes were introduced, the companies would no longer be able to flee anywhere. This struggle is not Utopian at all, what is necessary is the pressure by the citizens.

#### Altvater

The formal rights granted to the people in constitutions are more and more insufficient. There is a need to build up informal rights by way of social action. There is no need to rush things. As the struggles in the Latin American countries show, it is important to identify the political struggles and to built integration between countries on their bases. This integration has to be built on nation states grounded in popular power.

#### Tax-Justice Network Speaker

To repeat it once more, the system of off-shore tax havens should be shut down. The tax system is sucked out by the profit laundering of the big companies using transfer pricing as their means. That is what we know, We have to act.

#### Nikonoff

The social riches have been snatched from those, who should have the power over them. We are not more stupid than their experts. The people can stand up.

**My Comment: Attac F with as its head Susan George, Jacques Nikonoff, and Ignacio Ramonet and others, whose names I did not catch, seems more intellectually powerful at this Forum than Attac D, which did not even send that many people. Maybe the German Attacis should work on themselves.**

### **3. Reform or Revolution**

#### Introduction (Micha)

How to know, which is the way: struggles of the people. Then there is the question, which way they will take: one of revolution or one of transformation. There are dangers inherent in both ways. Therefore, it is important to know, who we are, different movements, there is the problem of achieving unity among us.

#### Emir Sader

In history, emancipation took place on the basis of work. It is on the basis of work that individuals identified themselves as social subjects and then also as political subjects. When socialism arises from the street, this takes also place on the basis of informal work. It is from there that the new proletariat obtains forms of expression, even though it is victim of the culture of domination. It is in this way that it finds its identify.

The struggle for the right to work finds its obstacle in the fact that the trade unions separate themselves from the workers, that is why there is so much informal work. Mass resistance remains a spectre for the politicians, the fact that people are looking for new forms of the political based on social conscience, and a new educational system as a new cultural foundation for workers.

These new organisational forms create new forms of civil society, as the struggles in Nicaragua, Cuba, Haiti, Afghanistan, Iraq show. All these struggles have important implications as does the struggle of the Palestinian people, all point in the direction of a better, more just world.

#### Cornelia Hildebrandt

Current practice of expropriation vs. access to all necessary goods for everybody  
Emergence of a new historical block against neoliberal domination (characterised not only by economic and military might, but also political and cultural might), by which “daily consciousness” is imprinted.

Need common search for new strategies.

High productivity combined with social progress

Vs. the fact that ever more areas are deregulated and the market is elevated into institutional rank by the planned European constitution

There is the increased marginalisation of the working poor. Surveys show that 25% of the population earn only 50-75% of the minimal income in the EU. 15% are unemployed and/or live in poverty.

We need new strategies, a new block, and a recreation of society Vs. the fact that whole regions are given up to poverty.

The internal structure of the working class has changed, no longer Ford or flexspec, but information workers as the new crown of creation.

Dictate of “utilisation” decisive for someone’s integration. Therefore, plan to meet with WSF.

#### Attilia Boron

Nowadays the idea reform vs. revolution is cast into other terms: revolution vs. transformation. It is clear that there will always be other projects: reformist or revolutionary ones. And as a matter of fact the debate would be constrained, if we only considered the one or the other.

(that line earns him a lot of applause)

The defeat of socialism is a defeat only, if it is considered as the only alternative possible to capitalism. But the only result that follows from that (and other) experiences that one cannot build a socialism on the power of the employers.

The problem exploited by the capitalists is that life depends on material sustenance, that provides the material for a competitive society.

That is a problem also for the future socialist society.

The science of capital is the form of self-knowledge of capitalism that also reproduces the legitimacy of capitalism.

Example of the rural workers transformed into slave or into workers for industrial progress. Have to consider the diversity of areas and spaces where rural struggles take place. On their bases it will be possible to construct alternatives. And there certainly has to be a plurality of alternatives.

#### Ulli Brand

Example of the Greens: led into the wrong direction

Then we have the example of new struggles: for instance against the deregulation of public services, e.g. the struggle for water in Brasil, but there is no grand strategy for either revolution or transformation; the fight against militarisation is another possibility.

Questions and comments: 1. The world changes through education and change in consciousness, that makes our struggles possible.

2. Capitalism is predatory, it excludes and mutilates/murders people; the place to begin changing is the WSF.

3. What to do with a party that monopolises everything?

Etc. etc.

(Difficult to follow, there are many questions and comments, and in typical capitalist, predatory manner, translation is available only for the podium; many people are also at the same time impatiently waiting to acquire the book accompanying the panel, see below:

Reforma ou Revolução?)

#### **4. Latin American- European cooperation I (with our deputy Gabi Zimmer)**

##### Introduction

Difficult road to cooperation: first, of all there are different approaches to trade, the one proposed by the United States and the one based on regional corporation (also see Elmar's talk above). The network of this particular speaker is trying to critically accompany the EU proves of negotiating with Spanish-speaking America and Brasil.

##### Attac F

It is important that we bring in our proposals not on the basis of the general assumption of a "good" Europe and a "good" Latin America, since this is not the situation; we also need to ask the question of what a "large world region" looks like.

Certainly, such a region should be able to oppose counter-tendencies to neoliberalism.

Instead what we have had in Europe is the enlargement and the application of neoliberal policies everywhere. Nonetheless, each smaller or larger region is bearer of a demand of the people for autonomy and for the fight against neoliberalism. The important thing is to do that together.

Instead of forcing all countries to get into the neoliberal market, the autonomy of the regions should be reinforced. Globalisation indeed reveals the difference between the EU and Latin American. The EU is the most hard-line ally of the US in pushing through the institutionalisation of the rules of the market by way of its common trade policy.

Latin America, on the contrary, is only at the beginning of these processes. Europe is part of the dominating block, is part of the triad (to which there also belongs Japan) . In fact, this is the block of the majority stockholders in the world economy.

Europe profits from the rules of the global economy; therefore, in order to change things, there is a great need for an alter-mondialist movement (globalisation critical movement or movement for another globalisation). There is a need to change the rules of the market.

There are, at this forum, 471 seminars on rights. There is a need for strengthening associations, movements (e.g. trade unions), oppose a collaboration based on security considerations to one which relies on partnership, one in which associations of consumers, legions for human rights, local collectives and communities all cooperate in developing the cooperation between two countries.

There is a need for a unified, multinational campaign on the debts and on the millennium objectives (see below...) as well as on the control over enterprises (see the seminar on capital controls above...)

There is a need to develop the action against the IMF in the streets and at the UN; we have to mobilise all those, who are against neoliberalism in the world. Countries which oppose themselves to the total liberalisation of their markets (for medication etc.), similar classes must promote all these goals together.

### Attac Italia

Indeed, we need to talk about the movement of the movements, for another Europe and another Latin America. We will resist to the liberalisation of commerce. A decision was recently taken against Cuba; it was refused rights on the market of the EU; also problem of medication patents affecting also rights of the indigenous people; case of Italian firm which has recently committed grave violations in that area.

### Gabi Zimmer

She is deputy on the GUE/NGL list. She is happy to speak after her Italian colleague, because she can support his point that cooperation and developmental work is bad. Right now she is working on behalf of the developmental committee on a report on credits of the European Investment Bank, trying to find out, whether it lives up to its own expectations. Barriers to trade at the bilateral or multilateral level are easy to claim, but this is no real basis for cooperation. The neoliberal and privatisation policies are among the main obstacles. Counterproductive are also the preventive security policies and the fight against terrorism (drug trade!). The EU is hurting itself with these policies, whether it is a question of trade or of security.

The state is being pushed out. Yet, it is impossible to fight poverty by way of competitive institutions. The people are trashing one another by way of their development level. The mandate for development policies kept at the usual low level. Credit policies are more and more restrictive, and programmes against poverty are not financed. Help rather takes place by way of bonds.

We criticise this, because the EU in fact mandates that we work towards developmental goals. The EU itself, with its millennium goals, oriented at reducing poverty by half until the year 2005 (this year). Yet, still today, only 20% of development aid (the usual 0.3%) are oriented towards that goal. This has to be drawn into the focus of our discussion. The handing out should be oriented towards more *participation* and *transparency*. Cases of Mexico and India. Full financing has to be the prerequisite. Recently, Sachs, the managing director charged with realising the millennium goals, has warned himself that we have to drastically change the direction policy. We need to bundle means and direct them at the worse threats. For instance, several million children die each year of malaria all over the world. 2/3 of a billion would be sufficient to supply them all with nets as well as to offer them food and drink and a basic education.

**January 28, 2005**

## **1. Philosophical Reflections on Preconditions for a new World**

### Anibal Quitano

Redistribution taking place from the bottom to the top. What amounts to almost a slave trade is taking place at the border of Mexico. The system of domination, as has been already mentioned at several places, as “mental product”.

For instance, when he considers the notion of “race”, he does not consider it from the point of view of the materiality of the world; rather, it is the relationship of dominance that counts.

And there are similar relations, where one man is superior in all things and which run parallel to the idea of race. Work, for instance, founds such superiority; paternalism of man over woman also.

The sequence running from capitalism to socialism as follows

A     →     B     →     C     →     D  
Oppression     Party     Revolution     Socialism

aside from the fact that it leads to corruption, has been inverted for the last couple of decades. Therefore, the revolutionary energy is different today. It spills into forms of capital and exploitation that did not even exist before.

We direly need to get out of Eurocentrism, the traditional relations of colonialism: 2% hold almost all the riches, 70% have to subsist on around 1 € a day. The polarisation is extreme.

A re-concentration of authority has taken place and countries have formed an imperial block based on the United States. But that – the fight against terror – requires constant reduction of public liberties. A de-democratisation of the state is taking place. There is less liberty for everyone, and a need to fight for those that remain. There is a need for a new conception of democracy, and we need a liberty of equals.

#### Raúl Zibechi (Professor from Venezuela)

Our differences with Western values show themselves as deficits, conflicts, gaps to fill. For instance, there is a great gap between society and “naturalness” (meaning both the natural environment and the natural behaviour of human beings. It is said that “we of the lower races” are more natural, women are considered more “natural”. But modern science is based on the concept of diversity, and once that is accepted, then naturalness also leads to a different relationship being established than that of democracy.

Democracy means the respect for all forms of equal dealings among humans. Cannot think of a “social democracy”, because it first needs to be separated from the nation of domination and separation.

“Naturalness” means in fact a re-edification of forms of democracy. The poor consumer, who has nothing but TV and one paper thinks there is only one form instead of a plurality of such practices.

#### Luis Alberto Gomez

Wants to raise theme of revolution of power, after all revolver implies rupture, something new, in Leningrad, Soviets were rising up against predictable course of history; the difference between revolt and revolution is that revolution also implies a mutation, for instance, when women rise up against ancient domination by men.

Revolution is an option for a society, in which many people think there is a profound cause to change things, then change them together, so that revolution can result in democracy. Otherwise things keep in upheaval.

There is need for help for thought: we need more patience to analyse the situation than we can muster right now.

We have to analyse, for example, also the international situation in which Lula acts.

Another world was, is and will be possible. Also other worlds are possible, if we find new practices and thoughts to overcome old practices and thoughts. History is ours.

#### Libia Grasco

Need to analyse international situation: spectre of “state terrorism”. The Union of American States is used as instrument of US, instead we want to build a society with different sectors, e.g. rural, small crafts, which are independent and autonomous, need to develop new practices within the social movements, rehabilitate the idea of revolution. There is the fight for food, the need to distribute use rights to the land and to struggle continuously against all hegemonic models.

#### Roberto Espinoza

The US in Perú has thwarted the choice between development for the people and development for the elite. This has led to the birth of the “sendero luminoso”. But nowadays the popular movement is almost dead, even though the working people are the class of the vanguard and is still at the profound source of our progress.

One sign of progress is the rural revolt in Ecuador. It has a project for the whole Ecuadorian society, based on the idea that “Todo es poder!” (Everything is power.) Against

power, they want to set the solidarity of all American peoples and races. In this way, the people have occupied the hill and the valley.

A similar situation can be observed in Argentina, the revolt against foreign capital. Based on the concept of territoriality, we will be able to disatomise the market instead of privatising the water. We say “No!”. Nature and the people say no to privatisation of the water. We also need to decolonise the educational system. We need to reconstitute the political bases of the country on the basis of our cultures, an example being the Zapatistas in Chiapas. We need a plurinational state, and a radicalisation of democracy. We need to rehabilitate Marxism and investigate the meaning of other criticisms of society. We need to give a new sense to society, institute a democracy of sexes and of work. IBase has had a seminar investigating the meaning of Communism and democracy. We are in this space since yesterday; and there is also a lot of movement in other spaces. It is not correct to say: “We already have the theory, the organisation.” So, how should we think of who we are today. We are humans, individuals, more than 150,000 individuals and several thousands of organisations and 2,500 events. Can we agree on fighting North American imperialism (Chávez)?

**Then there is an ad for a summarising event on Sunday with lots of prominent people: Chico Whitaker, Sousa Santos, Immanuel Wallerstein, presented as figure heads and guides of the movement**

## **2. Left-wing governments under neoliberalism: What can left-wing governments do to overcome neoliberal dominance? ( cut off by International “Linksruck”-type Demo to mobilise for March 19th-20th, mainly Japanese)**

Introduction There exist a number of these progressive governments, in Argentina, Brasil, Venezuela, India. But what are the real politics they can do?

Maximilian (Venezuela) Praise of Chávez, wants to talk about Venezuelan revolution. Chávez will come to speak to us thanks to our friends from Punto Rosso, will talk to us much better than I can.

But what about political, economic and social transformation in Venezuela? The reactionaries are trying to stifle the revolution. There is only little revolutionary and social-democratic potential, the structure of society is very bureaucratised.

Therefore, the process of Bolivarian constitutionalism was initiated, involving the participation of the system, incorporation of the people to defeat conservatism and also so as to convert them into complete citizens, with full rights based on various social programmes: - education, - health, - with the help of Cuba. There are things we cannot do directly and cannot leave them to bureaucracy, so we need to create **missions** that will go to the people and at the same time work with the ministry concerned, but mainly reach out to the people. Each mission is headed by a Commission and is helped by Cuba. 210,000 people help at the local level solve concrete problems: organise collective villages, help with family problems, other small problems, make sure that people are entitled to medicine, for that, also Cuban doctors are important (this is, he explains, because our Venezuelan doctors come from the upper classes, don't really want to help the poor, to help the poor, doctors have to be imported...).

One of the main goals is to raise consciousness, to give people a “voice”; we want to do that on the basis of a participative budget, the “democratic city” it is called; the experience of Brasil helps us in this respect.

We have a lot to do with problems of a social-ecological nature: we need to recuperate control over natural resources, esp. oil.

Nowadays, a lot of taxes go to finance popular programmes, but our problem is that we import more than 70% of our needs from the US.

That causes problems for land reform. Certainly, there is a need for a social revolution as well. Our conceptions of security are elitist, so we reproduce alimentary scarcity.

We need to assert control over communication, the press and the TV stations are dominated by conservative elites. We need an economic upswing and the continuation of work on our social problems. By the way, not only the youth festival this autumn, but also part of the 6<sup>th</sup> WSF will take place in Venezuela.

#### François Houtart

The question of alternatives, what to do? Suggests that we have to finish off rebellion to achieve real change. The relationship between social movements and the people on the one hand and the politicians on the other needs to be at the centre stage of politics. The social movements should not simply accompany the changes, but the changes are also important for the social movements, how to operate agrarian revolution, if there is no political power to support it. We are not “pure”, we cannot get power “pure”. It is good to have a Forum like this one. Here, we can articulate new ideas, proposals and turn them into a political programme, then transform them into reality. Then we have to analyse the situation: ***What are the available parties? How can we maybe revise the political scenario and sector?*** Then one can attack concrete problems such as the petrol tax in Bolivia (see below), land reform in Brasil, resistance against occupation in Iraq. We need a strategic vision, and one of the important challenges is that we should populate all the projects as part of the global projects, e.g. there will be different casts, the indigenous people will be different and yet they should have something in common.

#### Sureka Dalavi

Congress Party emerged as organisation of workers, rural workers. Good for us that last year's WSF took place in Mumbai, India. Here we could focus on the fact that women have been struggling of justice together with the lower classes. The Congress Party has become a “centralised Party organised on Stalinist principles”, completely oriented at the world market. The state is supposed to be the guardian and not the partner of the governed people. Nature of a government seems to be that of a fat ox feeding on the people, suppressing education, small industry etc.

Women's education at the local, middle level and up to the highest level leads to them turning against the poor...

Reforms presuppose other large reforms... The situation is constantly changing at the national level. In 1990, an understanding between left-wing parties to oppose neoliberalism and globalisation was reached. They tried to orient towards the needs of the lower and middle classes, they could prevent the impending shift to the right, some decisions to withstand international institutional pressures were taken upon suggestion by the left-wing alliance. The number of organisations in that alliance has even increased during the last year and has contributed to increase the conscience of the people. So there are new plans: 1) a new environmental policy to improve cultures, 2) the establishment of local community rights, 3) the opposition to fascism in the world, 4) policy for all the people, not only for a few.

#### Edmilson Rodrigues

A Brazilian intellectual to remember once said that we have to remember that the country is very big, we need both local community power as well as good macroeconomic policies. The question is the old: “What to do?” “Qué hacer?” After all, it has already been possible to unite the French left, the Indian left etc. all behind the same idea, namely that there should be no compromise with ruling powers. Yet, it is clear that we do not have one single solution for our multi-structural societies. There is the experience of working class fundamentalism and the experience of intellectuals. Then people can do a constitutional process, if they are aware that it is they, who are doing it (“How can we say that we are radical? It is the people that is radical!”, Lula). All other Latin American countries also break with the policies that are particularly oppressive. People largely agree that neoliberalism is wrecking things, the educational and informational process cleared that and that capitalism is a synonym of barbarity...

### Vittorio Agnoletto

Deputy of the GUE/NGL. He will simply talk about progressive governments? What can they do to break with neoliberal structures. They come from very different quarters, so they will work together through political structures, then come to power and then change the economic and political structures, so as to bring to bear the autonomy of society. Yet, the problem is that one country alone cannot break with neoliberalism.

The Brazilian case showed it: there was the cancellation of debt, approved in the Gaddis plan, but it turned out to overcome poverty in this way.

Political culture/civil society is braver than the politicians. It can enter into a high level of international solidarity, and that will be a great coalition, because ex-colonised countries will turn against the ex-colonial powers and say: "Look, your subsidies destroy African agriculture!" "We Brazilians, although we are a rich country, amount to only 1% of world trade!" and change all of this when they come to power. Of course, the level of expectations will be high then, and if it starts to turn against the people, it will fail again. The new government will have to respect diversity, if it comes to power in a European country, it will have to come to terms with the European level and have to ask the question: Does the EU exercise the required power to change world interrelationships? But right now, we are not so far yet, we are still in the process of commercialising everything. The EU has to assert itself against the USA, and generally the supranational powers against the national ones. The Brazilian government is not alone, it represents also the social movements and Latin American solidarity, and it fights in this very way the idea that there is only one way possible.

### Meena Menon

One of our most important goals in coming to power as European left must be to prevent the liberalisation of services. We cannot put the liberalisation of services between us and the developing world. The next WTO meetings must serve to make this case.

How to govern? How to deal with these and other kinds of challenges? There is a need to demand from other governments to deal with social problems, environmental damage, and to demilitarise.

2) To achieve the millennium goals. The international environment constantly wields violations of basic human rights. The European economies, being among the most globalised in the world, must challenge, not spoil the net of the world. "We are only making the world", one British thinker said at the beginning of the last century.

### Michael Brie

Rosa Luxemburg was German and at the same time an internationalist. Reading her work, we already get a lot of answers to our questions. Let me ask you one question: Do you, in your heart of hearts, support left-wing governments in power? Some people raise their hands but look a bit befuddled.

Rosa Luxemburg gave a good answer: She said, using as an example, the participation of the Socialist Party in the French government (maybe what she said is not entirely relevant, but her answers are important). There were, according to her, three reasons for saying No: "No!No!No!"

- 1) Once you are in the government, you have to realise capitalist policies, you will start reproducing capitalism;
- 2) There will be a split between the leading party and the movement; one part will govern, the other will fight it.
- 3) If you cannot bring pressure to bear on the government, better to stay outside, and to bring pressure to bear on government from outside.

Of course, on that basis, we may study the experiences of governmental participation in Berlin, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern and Brasil.

**It broke off a bit too quickly, people did not expect that, that was also the reason there was no applause.**

### Representative of CLASCO (Cuba)

We in Cuba have used public policies to help the poor. We have to hold out against capitalism, so as for the revolution to survive. Thanks to the realisation of our public policies, we have been able to provide professional education in youth, nowadays also in informational technologies, and the former local culture continues to support our revolution.

### **Then the anti-war demonstration...**

### **3. Post-neoliberal Agenda I (then Dinner with Tobias, Erhard etc.)**

#### Ulla Lötzer

De-regulation world-wide, privatisation in Europe itself (compare the Dickhaus-Dietz study); these are the neoliberal responses to neoliberal crisis. Tax dumping goes together with merging of public and private capital (e.g. in Berlin). Public monopolies became private monopolies, EU has demands to Mercosur and to the countries of Eastern Europe which are forced to completely abide by our standards. Aggressive privatisation leads to mass unemployment, destruction of work standards, destruction of Latin American trade. Public services (such as water) were transferred into private paid services, which impoverished many people; far-reaching liberalisation also took place by way of TRIPS; the fact that neoliberals seem to want a far-reaching deficit of public goods also belongs in this area.

The post-neoliberal answers are

- Participative budget
- Cooperatives (because Indian non-governmental organisation recently complained that state banks do not give credits to poor peasants in India. So they created a cooperative bank to supply such credits),
- progress against tax dumping, so that public control can be recovered.

#### Brasilian speakeress: Guarica César de Oliveira

In Brasil, there is a movement by peasants. Women, blacks against expropriation, privatisation, make complex proposals as to how to overcome neoliberalism. We have to give aid to these movements/support them, instead of clinging to this notion of progress as homogenous, linear. We want an universal evolution. How do we want to construct this post-neoliberal agenda. Debate alternatives, one of the most important of which is the idea of **solidary or solidarity-based economy** (see also flyers for further workshops on that topic below), this is a movement just in the process of forming itself, use it to escape from capitalist hegemony, competition, the predatory nature of capitalism.

#### Andreas Trunschke

RIs and PDS together worked out a little bit exotic view to consider the issue of development and the question of participation. Consider Timerlan, a fictitious country in Africa, only located on the computer. When the neoliberal planners were let loose on the case, they made six crucial errors in its development:

1. they managed things the wrong way,
2. they made the wrong analysis, they neglected the general view over the detail,
3. they used the wrong success criteria
4. they gave money to Timerlan, but they forget about culture, education, participation,
5. They tended to exaggerate. Some of their measures yielded no effect at all, and yet they continued them; other things yielded a big effect, but the effect was the opposite from what was expected,
6. They used the wrong way of exercising authority.

Children playing on the same game yielded better results than the politicians. The conclusion by the scientist was: 1) it was easier to solve single problems than to impose solutions, 2) then to move on to the next problem. However, once we solved second

problem, the initial givens of the first changed, and the result was no longer good. Therefore, there was a need to be open-minded and to organise work differently rather than just relying on an organisation. Learn from nature (nature constantly reutilises things, we tend to throw away) from this forum; from other forms of participation.

#### Ivo Lesbaupin

We have to think about new forms, base ourselves on collective solutions, then find answers to ulterior problems. One might depart from the problems of a region, as Alex Grinson has done for Buenos Aires. A form of capitalist system of existence resists change, resists power of the equals, and reproduces inequality between centre and periphery. We need projects of cooperation between countries of the South. All these block-forming efforts, despite all the cultures involved, get stuck rather at the inter-state level. Must be accompanied by civil society. In this way, it is prevent that things are done from a purely commercial perspective. There needs to be a new system of financing the international exchanges, which helps the cooperation among the semi-periphery countries.

### **Proposals for a Post-Neoliberal Agenda**

1. Solidary Economy (cooperatives etc.)
2. Participative budgeting
3. Regional associations based on reciprocity, designed to overcome the gap between centre and periphery

It is crucial to achieve food security, to support the new regional economics at all levels. This energetic development will be difficult to resist by agricultural firms.

#### Tobias Pflüger

European deputy, not member of a party, but has been elected as a non-party person on a non-party list. I come out of the area of the peace and globalisation-critical movement, am also on the Scientific advisory board of Attac. Now, in the Parliament, I am responsible for war and military related question. The Question is about post-neoliberal approaches. This is not the left time to think about that, since nowadays it is the time to organise protest and resistance against neoliberalism. EU is just taking of in the area of neoliberalism. The international order is based on US power and Ulla Lötzer has already talked about deregulation, which is actually part of the Lisbon strategy of creating jobs in the area of high technology. But actually that was used to look through the whole social systems and to destroy all the security nets. In a few days, the Lisbon strategy is about to be checked. Barroso has already called his project for the next 5 years “dangerous bubble”. The demonstration on March 19<sup>th</sup> in Brussels is among other things against what Barroso calls “bubble”, one of the most important parts of which is the European constitution. Very few people are actually interested what is in it, but everybody is enthusiastic that it even exists. Everything neoliberal, an “open market economy with free competition” and the “right to entrepreneurial liberty” is fixed in this treaty. Yet, the neoliberal policy is only part of the game. At the same time, the US are trying to style themselves into world power. Battle interventions of European troops are turned into a firm commitment, up to and included so called “disarming missions” as into Iraq. “Defence lines” will often run abroad. Therefore, need to travel there, need to see with one’s own eyes.

#### Questions and comments

1. Poverty: what to do about it?
2. Participative budget experiences in Lichtenberg and Marzahn, without stressing the patience of our Brazilian and Latin American listeners, what can you tell us about it?

3. Why did a movement person enter parliament?
4. Can Europe be a counter-force to US?
5. What about the anti-liberal policies of Cuba?
6. Thinking of the social forum, can we make it see the world in a different way?
7. Cooperation between EU and Latin American left: Can we start something here at the forum?

#### Guarica

There are so many seminars at this forum about post-capitalism and post-neoliberalism. Do we really have something? There is a deep crisis of neoliberalism. That shows itself last but not least in the fate of women.

#### Andreas Trunschke

Actually, Germany seems like a developing country, where there is a question of participative democracy and participative budget as an experiment. Actually, it is a good form of continuing education. It is a very good **entry project** towards a transformation. Now what is the situation with this project. At first 6 cities in the West of Germany tried it, and there it was not organised by the left, but by the neoliberals: they were happy that people seemed to understand that there was no money; so it was a way to manage conflicts; the participative budget can also be used to delude people into no longer seeing where money is going; some other cities in Brandenburg did at first very well and then very strangely. The good thing was that two initiatives demanded it from the bottom up; the strange thing was that all large parties were very happy about it; let the things be managed by their foundations, and worked together very happily, from the Left to the Right. The PDS still has a very hard time with participative democracy. Has to open, has to struggle for a determinate model. When the two initiatives proposed the projects, again the PDS should have inspired itself from nature: every product is the raw material for something new, nothing in nature is secondary, and nothing absolutely, one may well say here totally dominates.

#### Tobias Pflüger

The new social movements are getting ever more important; by contrast, party members constitute an ever smaller percentage of the population. He thinks as a matter of fact that walls of civilisation are cracking. One needs to be very sceptical about state structures, one also needs to be wary of social movements. While people think that movements are exercising their power, their representatives are in fact concerned with keeping own power, instead of fighting state terrorism. People once they get into power, often tend to behave in exactly the same way as the parties they criticised, before they came to power. There is a need to organise struggles from below.

#### Ulla Lötzer

There could be a common European- Latin American campaign for a more pacific, social Europe behaving differently towards the outside world, just as there is a common campaign of left parties and social movements in Europe, for instance, to declare cities, municipalities and localities GATS-free zones

#### **Dinner**

Over a nice Mexican-influenced dinner fetched from a tent restaurant by the river, Tobias tells how he challenged the other EU deputies to a No position on the European constitution. Erhard explodes: "You won't tell me that Markov and Brie waited for you to form their opinion." But Tobias remains beer earnest and committed. It is a shame, how the parliamentary administration allows the right wing to parade their "Not in my name!" signs, while left-wing critics and their slogans and banners are almost chased out. He is going to demonstrate against Bush's coming, he nods eagerly to himself. He is going to speak in Mainz on that day. Those of us, who have barely made it to Porto Alegre, wonder

how they will be able to support him on that trip... Then he has to leave to join Sahra at an official dinner.

**January 29, 2005**

## **1. Trade Issues (Gabi Zimmer and others)**

### Speaker from Iraq

Terrible situation under occupation, there are no jobs, but we want to have a future. There is the question of elections...

### Gabi Zimmer

WTO meeting in Singapur decided deregulation of money flows, transparency, and competence.

2003 Cancún wanted to negotiate everything concerning jobs concerning Singapur, but Europeans enforced postponement of the issue.

Thus very important steps on neoliberal agenda

Agenda on arms: limitation of arms sales decided, but EU unable to constrain military industrial complex, difficult to reach code of conduct, rather EU will now reopen trade to China, lifting the embargo, due to economic interest

Same concerning Nairobi agreement on land mines, even though 144 countries have signed the convention, but the results are not good, because China, US and Russia have not signed, have not destroyed their mines and continue to produce them. There are many land mines in Latin America, in Europe also on the Balkans, despite enthusiastic campaign by ICDL (International Campaign to Destroy Landmines).

### Victor Agnoletto

As a physician, now deputy of the GUE/NGL, he has worked a lot on this issue. Trade is a war. Access to medication one of the most sensitive issues. Many people die for the lack of it. State monopolies on trade in this area undermined. Generic medications forbidden. 39% of profits financed from branding, only interests large stockholders, 74 (0) billion \$ and huge responsibility of politicians, trade unions, and NGOs. In Almaty, a UN conference stressed health as a primary good. But the Chicago economists have changed this scenario. WTO, IMF, World Bank have outrun the WHO, undermining the economy of the developing countries. The economy is the independent variable: there is better redistribution needed to accelerate circulation. Countries have demanded the WTO, whether in case of an epidemic, they could not also buy directly from countries and not from multinational, requiring expensive registration. Pressure on Switzerland and other rich countries to give money to enable countries to directly produce medicine so as to get them out of that loop. 27<sup>th</sup> December: Tsunami devastated parts of India and South Asia, scenario of US AID was to allow them to buy medication in Brasil, but currently WTO is taking sanctions against countries violating the rules: Kenya, Birma, and Germany all buy medication, they are not permitted to buy by the WTO rules. WTO is not content with state of realities, started bilateral negotiations with poor countries to make them comply; otherwise sanctions to undercut this trade success by Brasil.

40% of the European parliament voted against allocating 1 Billion \$ to allow this change of rules of the WTO, but before the Commission and the Council, the vote of the parliament does not count, until another four millions have died from lack of medications.

### Davi Rumel on Aids in Brasil

42 million people world-wide affected by AIDS, of those 24 million in Africa, 17 million are women (6-7 million are children). National policies have been doctors' education, information and medication. But after 1994, profits of the pharmaceutical industry soared: 3.6 million \$ spent on Alzheimer's research, 1 million on AIDS, weight loss 33 million, diabetes 2.9, only 9.4 on cancer. Viagra gets more research attention than some medical afflictions.

**Table 1 (Rumel)**

	2000	2005
Health research spending by nations	41.4%	18%
By multis	58.6%	82%

Table 1 shows that health research spending by nations has declined dramatically, and the gap has almost entirely filled by the large pharmaceutical companies. This has entailed a commercialisation of the sale of AIDS medication.

The focus of Aids research has been to increase the resistance to the virus, but the viruses also mutate. Thus the four most important medications alone are responsible for 57% of the medical turnover on AIDS. Brazilian state is trying to tax the subsidy, but also need to turn to the patients; ensure equality, universality, payability, and affordability of access. But then problem of pauperisation due to unemployment. Many more minors under 19 years of age get sick. Those with fewer years of education also get it more often. Therefore, need to make society more responsive to these special needs at all levels. It was tried to overcome technological backwardness by importing from China and India. But there is the problem of the incorporation of TRIPS into Indian and Chinese legislation. Yet, Brasil up to now has only four national factories, and in order to increase national capital for AIDS research quickly, there is a need to make intellectual property rights on the world market quickly accessible.

Another problem is to get quickly to population in difficult access zones. In 2004, 150,000 have been under treatment, this number has been constantly increasing. Due to increased numbers of infection, both mortality and survival have been going up, but due to stress on natural means of prevention, mortality has remained at 50%. Still 90,000 death could be avoided each year of hospitals were spread, and negotiations with China, Russia, India, Cuba on intellectual property, production of medication, therapy succeeded bilaterally and in breaking with world trade rules. Our 4 hospitals already depend on these countries.

Overcome social protractionism.

Sureka Dalevi

India very rich and poor country at the same time, agriculturally based, religious law and cast system, then private property introduced in British times. Contradicted the idea that land, forests and water should belong to everybody. Land reform gave unproductive land to the landless, but the process was incomplete, and then a lot of industry was set up in the rural areas. In the 90s, privatisation and de-regulation allowed the entry of even more multinationals, in the area of fertilizer industry, and even into corporate farms. Idea of land reform nowadays would be to make small farmers independent of foreign investment, agricultural credits might be given by cooperative banks. India should beware of international trade, because of wrong prices that threaten the survival of small farms, so that peasants migrate from the land, India can also no longer buy the patents on fertilizer, thus the problems that Gabi has detailed for arms, and Victor und Davi for medicine, also hold for fertilizers for India. Peasants fighting for the rights.

José Luis del Roio

Same for Brasil, in government responsible for restructuring relationship with international organisations: three ministries have to be coordinated: agriculture, industry and trade. As for agriculture, 30% of the population lives on the land, using 25% of the credit, but producing 60% of food production. Develop specific national programme to make Brasil independent from EU and USA, avoid things that will hurt us. Neoliberals think that public policy affects everything negatively. But here the details matter. Tailor-made policies are needed to protect family farms in the various regions: South, North, West, and to assure independence from imports and alimentary self-sufficiency. Then the Mercosur is needed,

because 90% of our exports sold to these countries; in exchange get medication, hygiene and strengthening of our relationship with EU. Gabi Zimmer has already talked about Singapur process. At each round of these trade negotiation processes, the international aspects become more important for Brasil. Brasil and others become more dependent. Mostly the companies lobby for profits, while it is the countries that should pay attention to their small farmers and cooperatives and how to help them.

#### Questions and comments

- 1) To Agnoletto: WHO should be stressed more at forum.
- 2) To Luis de la Roio: How to help small farmers and cooperatives after all?
- 3) These are the problems of Governor Lula, but is he doing anything about it?
- 4) Question to Gabi Zimmer: If in Germany, all firms start to complain that they are no longer getting any more subsidies, how do you behave?

#### Victor Agnoletto

Exactly as in the case of agricultural products, the WTO's intent is always to de-regulate. As for small peasants and cooperatives, need to struggle for their rights.

#### Gabi Zimmer

(ignoring the question about firms, which in any event to her as democratic socialist does not apply) All types of agriculture should blossom, but right now, the situation is not that, the competition is unfair, within the country and with the rest of the world.

## **2. EU- Latin American cooperation II: Domination or cooperation (Sahra and others)**

### Introduction

This event takes place on the basis of preparatory meetings in Paris, London, Brussels, all dedicated to this topic. The issue is relevant both at the intergovernmental level as well as between the people. Thematic areas cover trade accords etc. and cooperation, bilateral or multilateral .

The conclusion of cooperation agreements is in the interest of the large concerns, that is the problem of the WTO getting ever more aggressive. That leads to a cycle of devaluation and privatisation, which no longer only concerns Argentina, but also Brasil. The four speakers (two from Latin America and two from Europe), will each one of them deal with the problems raised by war and peace, militarisation and terrorism and the other with the economic problems.

The round starts with the speaker from England, Kate Hudson, dealing with the problems of cooperation from the point of view of issues of war and peace.

#### Kate Hudson

She is in Latin America for the first time and glad to speak here for the peace and anti-war movement in Britain. Ever since 9/11, we have had a busy time promoting the international cooperation among the movements, both between the existing as well as the new movements, which has resulted in a broad diversity of movements, crucial importance of international, cross-border movements and an universalistic approach.

The goal of all our movements basically is to enforce compliance with international treaties and to work against unilateralism of the US, which – let it be said in one appendix – is now again working for war against Iran. But not only that, it has unilaterally withdrawn from the anti-ballistic missile treaty and other international agreements I won't list. The US likes to lead preventive war and finds support in the planned new European constitution. While I support integration, I do not like the way it is done, by this militaristic and neoliberal constitution. For the European movements this raises the question whether to approve the militaristic stance. Some movements even think that it would be good to have some kind of militaristic counterforce to the US, but the peace movements thinks that No, first of all, for purely pacifist reasons, second, because the US is so overwhelmingly strong, it won't condone it. NATO as well as been expanded territorially and changed into a potential

aggressor. The former Soviet republic, the Balkan are all areas of expansion for NATO, similar to US expansion into Iraq, with the aid of the new NATO members, and the potentially aggressive relationship between US and China. New nuclear establishments are being set up in Eastern Europe, there is constant advance in this process, and while the Iraq war has strengthened the peace movement, we need to make explicit the contradictions that arise from a mass movement against the war.

Another speaker joins the panel, and the moderator jokes that here we have a problem similar to EU expansion

Jaime Cayendo (Columbia): Situation of Latin America vis-à-vis the great powers

The stakes getting ever greater. The Uruguay round has designed a new world order built on free commerce but has not at all dealt with protection by the large powers and the concentration of capital. International capital has no centre; the challenge is great. The power of the United States is enormous. The people of Latin America look to Europe to find a counter-force to US. The multinationals of EE redirect their business towards Eastern Europe, but also occupy an important place in LA, also as far as de-regulated services are concerned: transport, water, electricity/energy, health and education. Century of the multinationals. Main goal of US/EU protection of their commerce; majority of commercial contracts based on myth of free competition. Certainly, we have made the general criticism of that. But what about human rights?

Then we have to look at the relationship between the EU and US. Human rights are looked upon as something of a folklore. Spain is the main owner in Latin America, followed by Portugal. Their governments not very hot about human rights, although they are part of the socialist international. An additional problem is that parties, social movements, NGOs do all kinds of things and don't cooperate.

Sahra on the economic issues: The EU and Mercosur

As deputy of the GUE/NGL, she has been already several times to Latin America and involved in issues of cooperation. Both Latin America and EU movements are against neoliberalism, but the issues and the level are very different. In Latin America, the situation is much worse, especially as a result of the financially devastating decade of the 90s, that is why these countries are trying different things, turning back to experience of the Che, the best example is Venezuela, but also Uruguay.

In Europe, the situation is that it does not really matter, whether it's a neoliberal or a social-democratic government, the experience of MV and Berlin does not even merit being taken seriously, what we need is a stronger European movement fighting neoliberalism.

A stronger European movement would also have an effect on Latin America and help them change. In the debates about European economic policy, there is a need to struggle against privatisation, a European GATS spreading to all parts of the world (the struggle against the Bolkestein directive can learn a lot from the LA resistance movement).

Sacha Lorento (Bolivia): Military issues in EU- Latin American cooperation

Sahra has analysed the economic issues and at what level a movement has to arise.

There remains to deal with relations also in the framework of the war against terrorism.

1) There is a need for a climate of resistance, as Sahra has said, against the strategy of the US, which is not only one of free trade, but also implies limiting exchanges at the political level, basically limiting exercise of human rights

2) the military element is also seen in being forced to approve only of the expansion of the military, as politicians, and receive money for that from the US, for establishing bases and get one's national form crippled by the US, also through the establishment of paramilitary forces. The president focuses on rallies such as the American troops unleashed on Haiti, war against terror of prime importance, also equated to that is the war on drugs in Columbia, that is counter-productive to a peaceful solution.

Problem of human rights: EU very concerned, but does nothing about fascist gangs and how to get rid of them, system rejects them, once they get mustered out.

Meeting in Cartagena, Columbia to discuss re-insertion of paratroopers, now all the money is going into that, has even reinforced military explosiveness in the whole North of South America.

Some of the worst abuses occur without knowledge of US.

EU and US very concerned about the production of coca in Bolivia. Accord concluded that penalises export of coca, all these small producers stigmatised as terrorists.

Or consider the stop of water provision in two major cities in Bolivia, which led to major demonstrations, the problem being that the poorest 20% of the people wouldn't have gotten running water for the next 20 years. ***The logic of neoliberalism has subordinated itself human rights, e.g. that to water.***

His country has also passed a petrol law, which redefines the relationship with the multinationals. The fact that country may only keep 18% of oil revenues has led to a resurgence of a national movement; of course, one should not lump all of the EU together. Suez (the French water company) has been a bit more forthcoming; but Germany has delivered a lot of arms, and that has made a qualitative difference.

Jacobo Terra (Venezuelan speaker)

Also wants to talk about the terrorist problem. The communality across all of Latin America is the primacy of the neoliberal logic, the militarisation coupled with the resurgence of fascism, accepted by US, the lumping together by the US of things like Islamic fundamentalism, war against drugs, and resistance against profiteering. etc., all under the label of terrorism.

For the last 3 years, under Chávez, there has been a fight against all of this, yet. despite 9 electoral consultations, there is fear of US intervention, imposition of *pax Americana* from outside. He jokingly says that after all, we already have our own "Venezuelan terrorists", namely the conservative elite, in game with Columbia under its liberal government, which even extracted its critic from Venezuela.

We need a network of progressive Latin Americans withstanding this, and need more European cooperation. There is resistance in many countries, revolution in some, but problem is how to seriously achieve common agricultural market, given that Lula is utilising GMOs in Brasil, relationships based on cooperation rather than domination, in fact, Europe would need to open its markets; there is need for sustainable development and not counter-insurgency work; we also need to sue the EU for its Bolkestein directive; SINCOBAS from Italy has been working in Venezuela and stressing that we need cooperation all over Europe **and** Latin America to change economic situation.

Sahra: Venezuela avanza has a project of comparing the Venezuelan constitution and the planned EU constitution from the point of view of human rights, also social rights. Lobbying pressure on the policy-makers not useful, rather pressure by the people, need to overcome apathy, will also increase economic cooperation.

Kate Hudson: There was a kind of breathing space because the US was engaged in the war against Iraq. We are glad that there is a peace movement in Iraq and should all be solidary with it.

Sacha Lorento: Need a European hand, with a popular hand in it.

Jaime Cayendo: We need second round of Latin American construction, but often a parliament is not sufficient, the European parliament is also often overruled; we need a common policy towards the USA, which treats whole states like terrorists. Need not even mention human rights in the EU, because as Kate and Sahra have mentioned, there are problems there as well. The governments need to engage in development, support their respective civil societies, otherwise, there won't be any advance in the world.

Jacoba Terra: Wants to stress how great WSF is. We want to change my country, Venezuela, we need to be vigilant: Our workers are vigilant of our parliament, of our employers: now we already have one employee-owned paper factory, because the

government has declared this enterprise to be of public interest in Venezuela, but actually, we would like to have a state built on worker control.

### **3. Capital flux control II (Trade Union of Tax Auditors, Central Bank clerks etc.)**

#### Introduction

We need a conjunction of economic policies, monetary, fiscal, including details of tax policy, investment etc., and to do so, we need to analyse its structure: need to know the flows of capital. It is difficult to mix free market and control policy. To make control work, one needs control over: X-M, the BOP and the exchange rate, also control over how workers' and social rights can get exercised.

#### Second Speaker

Need to know even more concretely, how this will function in practice. It is clear that it is necessary to reinforce national controls, undercut off-shore practices, and unify legislation. But there is a great danger of the process getting watered down, and even in the first place, how to make it realistic. There needs to regional cooperation, of the type discussed in the first seminar (with Altwater) and the seminars on regional cooperation (Gabi and Sahra), but if one country goes its own ways by issuing paper, the process will be mucked up. Therefore, policies need to be based on a congress of friends.

#### The third speaker focuses on the related problem of convertibility as a central problem

There are problems within Brasil itself, Hitleresque urges to go it alone and by a military road are a problem, but there is a chance to build a transnational system. A great need to facilitate the process of Latin American countries' already uniting. There might be family firms and other firms, larger units such as localities joined in associations, which in turn elect temporary governmental councils respondent to the people and negotiates with other countries/regions structured in a similarly democratic way.

As far as debts are concerned, there is a need to distinguish between real and phoney debts (already several times repaid or based on wrong prices); only when that is done, can new realistic exchange rates be negotiated.

#### The fourth speaker focuses on the special problems posed by multinational concerns

There is certainly a need, as was also stressed at the first session of the panel (see above) to toughen residence requirements for multinational firms (end offshore practices). There should be no collusion or concertation between the government and large firms. Exchange rate policy should eradicate speculation, the governments should reassert control over prices (also see above) and control over workers' rights.

#### First round of questions:

1. Q. How can a progressive government such as Lula's de facto reassert control over monetary policy?
2. Q. Moreover, as there is competition among national capitals?

#### Initial Answer:

e.g. Lula comes to power and introduces controls. What happens? There is need for an institution (national and international) which brings these competing capitals together, of course, it is terribly difficult to advance on this area; the Central Bank certainly needs to keep some kind of maneuver.

#### Conclusion (rls-representative in São Paulo, Gerd, co-organiser of the event)

They had already organised a seminar on capital flight at the last WSF. The same problems persist, namely the problem of financial control, the problem of changing the international financial order. That is the fundamental problem for Latin America; it is the fundamental problem also at the international level.

*Clearly, we need social supplements to organise such a new order based on human and social rights.*

Therefore, we plan to organise yet another conference to combine actions and cohere at very different levels. Movements against capital flux exist both in Latin American and Europe; both are organising national as well as international campaigns to finish with the present system and think about a new one. They need organisation

#### **4. Brazilian social movements' meeting**

In the gigantic tent, holding over thousand people, most young people dance, wave their flags, smoke and shout slogans, until the official panel, consisting of two trade union speakers (one young, one old) and one women's representative, assembles in front. This meeting is co-sponsored by the rls. I send Micha an SMS, asking someone to come, because it is really motivating to see these young people celebrate and also maybe to distribute some more newspapers, but no answer. They have something better to do than revolution...

##### Trade Union (Youth) speaker

Originally, the PT developed as a less dogmatic offspring of the BCP (also see meeting on Rosa Luxemburg below) . The youth had a bad time uniting in this diverse country, poor and rich at the same time, and oftentimes (as these days, for example, half-way between capitalism and socialism. The cooperation of the forum is needed to shape the present; we need patience to allow for the diversity of opinions and making it possible to construct new things based on the cooperation among forces.

The new forms of communication help us (here, as in several other meetings, all participants are asked to give their E-Mails and phones, and since coming back, I already received one, if somewhat sleepy call in Brazilian). There has to be an education of equals, we have to develop struggles to liberate this country.

Agrarian reform, reduction of work-time and right to a job are the main thrusts of emphasis. Moreover, real political powers have to be conferred to the citizens, achieve victories for the working class, via the struggle of the youth movement, Via Campesina, MST, the CUT. The day of action on March 19-20, commemorating the beginning of the Iraq war, is common to all countries.

In April, for instance, CUT plans a great action day, and at the same time, the students are going to paralyze the university. This way it is going to be a unified protest against neoliberalism and a demand to change policy.

In May and June, the trade unions are going to hand out a questionnaire as consultation on working conditions. After people have filled them out, great assemblies are going to be held to debate the results.

On September 7-9, there is then going to follow another joint day of action of youth and trade unions. One day, my country will really be socialist, he concludes, with great enthusiasm in his voice and eyes.

##### João Pedro Stédile (the other trade union speaker, a lot older, and more traditional?)

One goal this year is to organise great marches against capitalism and for Cuba, the idea being to give Cuba the possibility to let the workers govern.

There is also the idea to set "a new Brazilian project" against Lula's increasingly neoliberal policies. There are so many people out of work; yet, Lula does not seem to have a real project. Our project, on the contrary, we will construct it together with all the Brazilian social movements.

##### Youth movement/Students' speaker

There are of course several political agendas represented here, and a need to unify them into agendas for education, health, employment etc. "the exit is towards the left", he shouts enthusiastically in a Brazilian even I can understand.

In May, there is going to be a congress in São Paulo to discuss common South American struggles, then a great manifestation of the people of São Paulo, which has declared a challenge to the great powers: for peace and solidarity.

In connection with the day of action on March 19-20 against war and militarism, there is going to be another assembly of social movements.

And then of course, there is going to be the big university strike in April. Students don't like the cutting and also the course programme plans of the conservative.

His movement also plays conferences, one on Agrarian Reform in Brasil and one on education.

His movement also mobilises for the great fiesta of youth in Caracas. Youth has to start thinking in such terms as "A Caracas!", "A l'educação!" (to education), "Paralisação!" (at the universities) and "Mudar l'educação!" (let's change education!) to really effect change.

#### Women's representative

In addition, there will also be a great assembly on women's rights, A day of Action against Women's and Racial Demonstration.

And November 4 will be a day of education, co-sponsored by her movement.

**Dates start repeating themselves, the younger ones start to leave, of course, there is a lot of lead time, not all mobilisations are likely to go equally well, yet there is an enthusiasm and an energy and urgency to tackle all these complicated issues: workers', peasant, women's rights, war and peace, and education and to do so in the interest of Brasil and, with some of those present one can feel this, in the true interest of socialism.**

**January 30, 2005**

### **1. Rosa Luxemburg (Zhang Wenhong and others)**

#### Introduction (Evelin Wittich)

One has to see Rosa Luxemburg in a differentiated way...

#### Isábel (who wrote the book on Rosa Luxemburg for the Brazilian rls)

Is very happy to be here and to present the book she has authored on Rosa Luxemburg.

To make it clear and simple, there is a moment of disorientation and crisis of the left. What brings people to the left today are mainly humanitarian ideals, less the concern with practical politics. In 68, the rebellious students found in Rosa Luxemburg an ideal to identify with, a revolutionary ideal as well as against the state socialism of the GDR and the state capitalism in the FRG. Has always been an inspiration to socialists everywhere, who think differently. (And then she looks questioningly at Micha, whether this presentation of the German case finds acceptance before his eyes).

As for Brasil, the Manifesto of the PT of 1991 directed against the authoritarianism of the official Communist Party of Brasil. Now that the Left is looking again for alternatives, important to turn to Rosa Luxemburg' model of how to combine socialism and democracy: There is a question of stages and one of speed.

Certainly, in any event, as Rosa Luxemburg stressed many times, the revolution has to be built on participation by the masses, see the discussion at the founding congress of the Communist Party of Germany

This is a way to inspire present-day anti-globalisation movements; it is important that movements are not centralised or bureaucratised, so that the masses learn how to exercise power.

There are all kinds of abuses of power under neoliberalism: violations of women, suppressed struggles against privatisation.

It is important to articulate Rosa Luxemburg's idea that these are not individual forms of actions, but alternatives to the market and also to the chauvinistic behaviour of social

democracy. Rosa Luxemburg stays an example for the struggle for socialism, the conquest of worker power, the fight for socialisation and popular democracy. Elmar Altvater has extended this to the global economy, by proposing a model of accumulation, which is a model for the fight against neoliberalism and against privatisation and for new forms of organisation of the lower classes that allow workers' participation.

### Zhang Wenhong

Rosa Luxemburg is well-known not only as thinker, but also as the founder of the German CP.

Her work is marked by her thinking about inner-party democracy.

This is very important for China, for the build-up and success capacity of the Party in the new country that has emerged.

What is the relationship between democracy and the respective democratic thinking of party members. It is necessary to ensure comprehensive democracy within the party. Democracy should not be subordinated to the principle of the class struggle. In fact, Rosa Luxemburg condemned the cleansing in the Bolshevik party, if the party power becomes power of the few, all party members should again be invited to participate in the discussion of the real problems. Today reform is mainly limited to economic democracy. And this normally contradicts the principle of democratic society.

But one cannot continue in this way, first democratic, and then neutralistic.

On the other hand, centralism hits borders; the Zapatistas have stressed that. For instance, the CP of China has decided principles to reassert power over party members. In 2003, 38,025 instances of abuse of leadership of examined, and two people were executed; at least 5,966 in 2004, of which 532 in ministries, over 500 in Beijing alone, etc.; these are the statistics. The need is seen to eradicate corruption at the core, to provoke the other party members to complain and to criticise and therewith reassert democratic principles and the vigilance of the CP, on which the leadership of the CP of China lays great value. Few countries have such possibilities as the one most populated to test new things – China.

### Peter Huida

Wants to deal with Rosa Luxemburg's concept of the other world beyond capitalism, following revolution, war, and fundamentalism. To this end, one has to deal with the period before the revolution begins.

To talk nowadays about a non-capitalist society, even a revolution, seems very far away. Luxemburg's thoughts on the issue are scattered in many places in her comprehensive works...

**Unfortunately, then I have to leave to change money to be able to pay my accommodation in the evening...**

## **2. Iraq war and post-neoliberal agenda II ( Tariq Ali, Raoul Pont etc.)**

### Tariq Ali

It is a point that should raise more than historical curiosity that Jews, Arabs and Turks have always cooperated in the historic region of the Middle East. There is the problem of the Holocaust. Jews changed into enemies after the war, because so many of them came to Palestine.

And this is why Americans make a mistake nowadays invading in Iraq, because they ignored all these historical lessons of cooperation and bad foreign influences and also the points of the peace movements of 2002/03.

Then he tells the story of February 25, and how people "disappeared" afterwards. They made a mistake... RESISTANCE is what makes the difference, and the support it receives internationally. If one only thinks back of French and Polish resistance fighters against the Nazis, and the help these fighters received by the UK and the USA, the Vietnamese resistance against French and Americans, supported by the Chinese; the Angolan

resistance against South Africa, supported by Cuba... By contrast, the resistance in Iraq against the invaders is mainly Iraqi. The differences between Shiites, Sunni, and Kurds are partly a cliché; they are used by the US to divide and rule.

Recently, Henry Kissinger and George Bush told Bush **not** to pull out of Iraq. That would be seen as a defeat for their military power, for their image (ironically, when warning against the PDS leaving the Berlin government, there is also always raised the question of our image...).

Who are the terrorists? One hears a lot about small groups of Islamists, but in fact we have to do with **state socialism**. When Ribbentrop was tried for war crimes, he tried to argue: "But I did not give any orders", but it was replied that he gave the moral initial impetus, and so did Bush, Blair and Aznar, and that is why they should be tried for war crimes.

Turning to Venezuelan revolution, that was a true case of what Chávez called: "expropriate the expropriators!" He has been to Venezuela several times, he witnessed the mass mobilisation and talked personally to Chávez: When I asked Chávez, when he had been the most depressed, he answered, not by the coup, but during the **producer strikes**. He had talked to a woman, who could no longer light a fire to cook, because there was no fuel, so she had burnt already the legs of her bed, the next the day it would be the rest of the bed, then the chairs... Nonetheless, people shouted: "Hugo, don't give up!" that level of enthusiasm only comes up, when people really trust their leaders, and indeed, within weeks of the coup, Chávez again supplied cheap Cuban medicine to the poor in the villages.

When, during the coup, an alternative president was nominated, a soldier, a trumpet player, asked his general: "What new president? We elected Chávez!" The general replied that he had to obey the new president. Thereupon, the soldier gave the general the trumpet and said: "there, he is your president! Now you play it!"

Chávez has been elected in at least 5 ways by the people. The PT government should not have sent Brazilian soldiers to suppress the uprising in Haiti. What did Aristide do? He asked money from the French he thought he did not owe them. The Brazilian military can be used when the US stirs disagreements with the Brazilian government, but in this case, Brazilian PT policies and militants suffered, and yet Lula chose the side of the US.

After all, we know how little weight the US gives to elections. Today, precisely, a new puppet government is elected in Iraq. The same will happen in Haiti in November. They are not real hopes, but Chávez is discussed everywhere as the sign of hope to the people that you can resist American imperialism and worthy of support.

#### Emir Sader

(adds) The Americans have destroyed everywhere they have been, while the Cubans have built schools and hospitals. Bands of solidarity have been knit, there is solidarity among the Latin people and those of the global South.

#### Raúl Pont ( a state deputy of Rio Grande del Sul and of several competitors of Lula)

The WSF offers perspectives on another world, for instance to socialise all activities and guarantee the basic comparability of human experiences. The WSF is already guaranteed up to the 8<sup>th</sup> session. 2006 it will be decentralised and will take in Latin America in Venezuela but also in POA, in 2007 in Africa, and in 2008 again in Porto Alegre.

We are here to discuss the alternatives for an anti-liberal movement. To compare the idea with the evidence is the main problem that poses itself to the population (Lula being criticised for his policy on Haiti, see above, on GMOs, on privatisation and on democratisation, split-off of P-SOL and other small groups from PT, revival of PCB, Raúl Pont being only one of the moderate critics). Permanent global criticism has to become possible. We need new theories on economic contradictions, and develop on that basis our sovereign economies based on solidarity and profound diversity.

We need to pay attention to our governments and our parties, we do not automatically dispute to the government the basic capacity to govern and have indeed witnessed an increase in participation and also in material benefits (economic growth), but there remains the need to change social relations and international relations, put them on a new basis, propose a new concept for Brazilian politics and stay open to the input of the social forums.

### **3. Beijing + 10**

On the way back to the rls booth, I walk past the preparatory meeting for the follow-up meeting on the 1995 Beijing World meeting of Women planned for this year in New York. The speaker I listen to stresses that it is not only a question of taking stock on the present state of affairs as far as education for women, work and career, freedom of choice, existential security also in old age, freedom from violence of all kinds, freedom of sexual orientation etc. are concerned, but also to make concrete suggestions to the UN and to national governments as to how to push this agenda further.

### **4. Chávez at the Giganthino**

There is an extremely long, but relaxed, people sitting on the lawn patiently waiting, to get into the stadium. There is a very beautiful and not at all discriminating gathering (at least that's what I see and hear), with choirs for Lula, socialism, against Bush, against US imperialism, against the IMF, for Brasil, for the people. Ignacio Ramonet praises Chávez reform (see reaction at rls meeting below). Then Chávez steps on the podium, in a bright red shirt. He does not to me have the kind of charisma I detect in the German politicians I like..., but he has a cool voice and seems very self-disciplined (one of my water vendors on the way back says proudly: "A soldier!") , yet at times humorous: Great that the WSF is working despite all the difficulties having to interact in Porturuñol... Our task is gigantic, and already many Latin American heroes, in particular the Che have tried and not quite succeeded (then we have to leave...). The next day, I read in a conservative Brazilian paper that he "only" ( I would have written "even" given the folklore atmosphere in the stadium) took 3-5 questions after his talk.

## **January 31, 2005**

### **1. Demonstration**

It goes the other way around, from the amphitheatre to the centre of town and is dominated by Brazilian and other Latin American organisations: CUT, the Trotskyite trade union, PCB, P-SOL etc. It is extremely hot at 38 C; yet, all the German participants can again be encountered at various points during the march except for Micha and Connie, but they say, they were also there. There are songs and slogans against the US, the IMF, the WTO, neoliberalism and for people's power: "O povo ...!" "El pueblo unido jamás sera vencido!"

### **2. Rosa Luxemburg concluding meeting**

appraisal of last few rls-events, the others had been discussed in the morning

- 1) The declaration of the 19 criticised as elitist, I was able to calm them: ordinary participants running around in the sun such as I and not in the net had not even heard of it
- 2) Ramonet's praise of Chávez "as if he were the second Jesus" criticised  
The fact that Lula and he could talk at all criticised, abuse of the Forum to make Brazilian politics,( but then question, where and how in Brasil to organise such a platform for it).
- 3) Lots of the speakers complained that things were badly organised, that there was not enough translation etc., only the language aficionados/academics seemed happy

But then they did not call on me, even though I was there, so in fact they were probably complaining to be able to say something at all.

4) Another youth forum to be organised in 2006, as counter-power to the Chávez plan for the Youth Festival this year (?)

5) Altvater's suggestion: surtax on English language books, so that also other languages can be published.

### 3. Dinner

Micha and Andreas talk about how to finance their children university education. Micha says he is considered too strict a Dad from the academic point of view, Andreas says he first wants to finance his children one regular course study at the university and then see, how they have developed. Meanwhile, I start a conversation with my left-hand-side neighbour from Austria. Apparently, there people are much more angry at the Federal government than at the local government of Vienna (where the social-democrats are also in power). Vienna is not as highly indebted as Berlin, still, its government has also pursued a neoliberal savings' policy.

### February 1-2, Travel

Klaus and I are troubled by diarrhea; I, moreover, by sunburn. I come to the hotel and get some free breakfast at the rich hotel – not with too much of a bad conscience; after all, that way what I could have gotten at the alcoholics' asylum can still go to poor Brasilians. We have to spend an enormously long time waiting at the airport in Porto Alegre, because we were afraid not to be able to clear controls quickly enough. Before we fly off, I get another chance to talk to an American: his groups wants to exercise pressure on the US government to renounce its renewed star wars plans. He is worried that people will not catch on to the idea. I tell him that it is potentially very worrying to have objects flying over your head in space. He doesn't laugh. I suggest to use the financial argument. When I was in the US under Reagan, SDI was hotly debated on campuses, but under Bush and Clinton, it turned out there was no money, and the issue died down. He said, no, it was taken seriously again, several billion \$s had already been allocated to that purpose. I tell him about our struggle against EU militarisation implicit in the constitutional draft. He nods. In São Paulo, Micha has a talk with Mario, criticising him for not following up his review of neo-institutionalist theories by a way of turning them into suggestions for another world, but Mario argues that they are all hegemonic and serve to support the situation that is. I have to think of my MIT professors with their distinction between standard Marxist and liberal paradigm or narrow-track explanation with not much in between either. It used to be an easy way of shooting any candidate's attempt at book-writing to say that he or she had not developed any "third" argument. During the long flight over the Atlantic, Andreas next to me talks to a girl from Paraguay, who wants to spend some time working and learning in Germany and stresses how poor her country is. In Frankfurt, we have to run to our connection, and our suitcases don't make it. But it gets delivered the next day, stuffed with all the materials that now follow:

### Material collection

#### ***Books and longer articles:***

Michael Brie, **Suffering/New Journey**, e-Book, rls, 2004-05.

Dickhaus/Dietz: **Public Services under Privatisation Pressure**, rls December 2004.

Fundação Rosa Luxemburg, Brasil, ed. **Reforma ou revolução?**, Expressão Popular, December 2004.

Reißig, Rolf: **Build bridges! The PDS Participation in the Red-Red Government in Berlin**, rls, January 2005.

Jai Sen, et al. **Eine andere Welt. Das Weltsozialforum**, rls, Dietz, 2004.

**Outlines and drafts:**

André Brie: The Social is Modern, the Social is Economical (on the European Social State), January 2005.

Elmar Altvater, Thesis for Discussion in the Panel on Capital Controls, Forum Mundial Social, Porto Alegre, January 26<sup>th</sup> –January 31<sup>st</sup>, 2005.

Ulrich Brand, Class, Multitude, Movements and Parties: Building Alliances, Thursday, January 27<sup>th</sup>, 8:30-11:30 a.m.

Carla Krüger, From Capitalism to Socialism, manuscript, December 2004.

**Orientation:**

Fórum social mundial 2005, Programação

Various event schedules, rls, Attac, Goethe-Institut etc.

**Publications:**

Journal Sinais de outra comunicação, Publicação da Casa Macunaíma, December 2004.

Sindisprev – RS: Edição Especial para o V Fórum Social Mundial, u.a. mit: As reformas neoliberales do governo Lula

Soja: Perguntas e respostas sobre a soja convencional e a soja transgênica.

Resistencia, Comisión internacional de las FARC-EP ( (Movimiento Bolivariano por la Nueva Colombia), Mayo de 2004.

Terraviva – the independent newspaper of the World Social Forum V, Porto Alegre, 26-31 January, 2005.

Unafisco – Sindicato Nacional dos Auditores: Justiça fiscal e social – Endividamento e lavagem de Dinheiro, V Forum Social Mundial Porto Alegre – Brasil, 2005.

João Siscú (Rls y Una fisco): Liberdade para o Brasil através do controre do fluxo de capitais, January 2005.

Socialismo Revolucionario, Comitê por una Internacional Operária – CIO (in Germany SAV)

Rosalux.de, Boletín de la Fundación Rosa Luxemburg para el Foro Social Mundial 2005

**Flyers:**

Associazione culturale Punto Rosso, Punto Rosso's Panels

Coordenação dos movimentos sociais, *Assembléia dos movimentos sociais brasileiros, Dia 29 de janeiro de 2005, as 19hs no « Espaço de Lutas Sociais »*

Casa da Economia Popular Solidária do RS, Ministério do Trabalho e Emprego, *Economic Solidária*

End the Occupation of Iraq, Act on 19-20th March, [www.alltogether.or.kr](http://www.alltogether.or.kr)

Festa Consulado do Mundo, música & cultura

Festa das Américas

Conlutas, Un novo mundo socialista è possível. E necessário!: Construir o plano de lutas contra as reformas neoliberais de Lula e do FMI

Agenda do P-Sol no V Fórum

II Encontro Nacional do P-Sol

Campamento Intercontinental de Juventud, Democracia sin fin para que el Capitalismo tenga fin (also in English).

Korean – Japanese People's Rally against FTAs and for Withdrawal of Korean Japanese Troops in Iraq (30<sup>th</sup> January)

Por Sinal, Revista do Sindicato Nacional dos Funcionários do Banco central

Sentido comun y diversidad cultural, Workshop, La Frague, Centro Social y cltural, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

Solidaritätsnetzwerk für Kolumbien, Workshop zur Lage in Kolumbien  
Las Canillas Abiertas de América Latina, Klaus Lederer (PDS, Alemania) and others, rls,  
casa bertolt brecht, redes..  
Prensa Latina no Brasil  
Explorações do Espaço Aberto: Aberto pra quê? Aberto pra quem?  
Politics turned Upside Down: Towards the Principles of a new Politics, Ezequiel  
Adamovsky, Tariq Ali and others on labour struggles in Europe and Argentina, Via  
Campesina, relief in the Tsunami zone, struggle against privatisation in South Africa,  
Feminists, WSF, New Left at the Grassroots, Transnational Institute and Transform, Italy  
Abaixo o capitalismo global, Lute pelo socialismo revolucionario, Comitê por uma  
Internacional Operária - CIO  
Comitê de defesa da Revolução Cubana, Internazionalista  
„Universum in Entzauberung“

**Brasilian papers:**

O Sul  
Folha de São Paulo  
(Porto Alegre daily???, with air picture of the Forum site, got lost during the flight)

**Quasi-commercial advertisement, which were distributed at the Forum, however:**

Aposentados e pensionistas do INSS, for a bank BMG (for retired people)  
Buscapé, for an education programme for disadvantaged youth  
Comitê comunitário Cidade de Deus, build local communities on religiously motivated  
solidarity  
? Quieres ser propietario de la tierra donde habitas? Organizados en Comités de Tierras  
Urbanas  
Cortez Editoria, Books on Social Forum, social problems, education etc.

**Conclusions**

1. Books to check: Rosa Luxemburg, Poulantzas, and Gramsci...  
Other lines of tradition: Russian revolution, trade unions, cooperative movement,  
Zapatistas, China, Brazil, Venezuela...
2. Incorporate New World Order into Bear Socialism Paper: based on participate  
democracy at the district/local level to democracy at the city level (frequent switch of  
politicians), constant involvement of the public, same for regions, countries united in larger  
world regions, which exercise control over each other and prevent hegemony, cooperation  
on the basis of reciprocity, non-exploitation, non-commercialisation, if use of markets, then  
built on non-private property forms, solidarity among individuals and collectives, check of  
countries over each other...
3. Cannot build EU- Latin American cooperation without Spanish and Portugese...
4. Cannot use social forum to avoid confrontation with issues at home, in particular lack of  
enthusiasm for protests as compared to Latin America, rise of Neo-Nazis...
5. Need to work to make PDS more democratic, less hierarchical, more capable of self-  
control...