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**Report on WSF International Council Meeting
Belem – Brazil
February 2nd and 3rd 2009**

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1) SUMMARY OF DECISIONS

- Mobilization calendar for 2009 (see item 3)
- Make it happen, in January 2010, policentric events to celebrate WSF 10th anniversary (see item 4)
- Try the maximum and as quick as possible to do something related to Gaza strip and the Palestinian issue (see item 4)
- Create a working group to discuss and prepare answers to the global crisis (see item 4)
- Use one day of the next IC to discuss the global crisis and formulate a document with answers and proposals. This discussion should be prepared by the Strategies Commission. (see item 4)
- Use one day during the next IC to discuss the Arab world (see item 4)

- Thematic and local chapters of the WSF, as well as the centralized events, should be stimulated to be in sync with the WSF Charter of Principles , as well as to incorporate new guidelines as recycling, hiring ethical companies, allow access to disabled people, reducing environmental impact, using sustainable transportation and reducing the use of natural resources. (see item 4)
- Publish on WSF websites the final list of assemblies, as well as a 10 line summary made by assemblies participants. Also publish links to the final documents of each assembly (see item 4)
- Improve until the calendar of mobilizations, including not only the IC members activities, but also the largest number of movements, organizations and campaign dates (see item 4)
- Make some WSF activity in Palestinian territory (see item 4)
- Previous IC decisions concerning the next WSF venue are confirmed, but it's important to consider the crisis situation to evaluate next steps (see item 5)
- The next WSF venue should be a process built during 2009 and 2010, considering crisis and movements calendar. (see item 5)
- Two proposals coming from Africa for the WSF 2011 venue were presented: Senegal and South Africa. A first debate happened in Niamey (Niger) during the African Social Forum. According to the African delegation, the decision about the venue proposal will be taken until April 2009. (see item 5)
- The Expansion Commission presented the proposal for the next IC meeting: it will happen from May 6th to 9th in Morocco (see item 8)

2) WSF 2009 EVALUATION

Chairpeople: Gina Vargas and Amit Sengupta

Evaluation presented by Belem Facilitation Group

The WSF evaluation was presented by civil society and state government representatives, followed by a discussion with all the participants. The IX World Social Forum gathered around 130 thousand participants in January 2009, in the city of Belem (Para state, Brazil).

- More than 450 organizations from all the pan-amazon region attended the WSF, highlighting the traditional peoples rights, environmental and also urban issues.
- The preparation of WSF 2009 took 1,5 years. Some organizations were overcharged in this process, mostly with the work concerning infrastructure, but also on the political debate about the forum
- The participation of communities that live around the WSF territory was considered insufficient. Besides the efforts made, civil society and government didn't come up with good strategies to involve these communities. Besides, the universities decided not to allow the entrance of non-registered people in their campus.
- Belem WSF was the first one to host the Youth Camp in the same territory where the activities were happening. The final evaluation was positive, as a low number of problems happened, but it's important to evaluate with care the decision to join Youth Camp and activities in the same territory. The youth shall be included also in the political process of WSF (International Council and others)

- Para state government contributed with the WSF since January 2008. The local committee involved the state and federal governments.. WSF needs were also the city needs. The government invested from 25 to 30 million Reais. Around 13 million Reais were invested directly in the two universities on WSF territory.
- The government also contributed with infrastructure for the WSF, including resources to the Solidarity Fund (specially for indigenous peoples of Para state) and to support communication infrastructure (internet and radio channels).
- Five “No Borders Meetings” happened to mobilize cities and peoples in the region: 1) Oiapoque (Suriname, French Guiana, Brazil and Guiana), 2) Alto Solimões (Brazil and Colombia), 3) Boa Vista (indigenous organizations and social movements), 4) Bolivia and Venezuela, and 5) Porto Velho. The agenda focused on: militarization, IIRSA (Initiative to integrate the regional infrastructure in South America), energy and development standards (specially concerning the advances of wood and mining companies).
- The physical and political presence of indigenous peoples was highlighted in the WSF 2009 evaluation. Permanent alliances were built among the 1950 representatives of indigenous and originary peoples representatives, besides the 500 'quilombolas'. The presence of originary and indigenous peoples from outside the pan-amazon region could have been more expressive.

Participants opinions and comments :

- The experience of organizing the WSF based on thematic axes (goals of action) was positive, but it's important to reach higher convergence levels in advance, so we can avoid having 2000 activities. The high number of activities indicates a high level of fragmentation and for some people the fragmentation reached it's limit on this edition.
- It's important to prioritize activities connected to the international context. Even without this direct approach, in 2009 edition the WSF hosted some expressive activities on environmental and economic crisis, as well as the ones related to the Gaza Strip invasion by Israel.
- The WSF should stimulate convergences, but shouldn't forget the small activities and small organizations, so they can feel part of the WSF.
- There was a debate concerning the NGOs and social movements presence in WSF. Some think that the NGOs should have a participation in the event, but the protagonists should be the social movements.
- Some difficulties on logistical, access, signalization and mobility inside the territory affected the WSF in a negative way. There was a notorious difficulty for people to find and reach activities venues and move from one site to the other.
- The printed WSF program was considered less useful and even the website had a considerable number of errors concerning activities venues and times. The high number of corrections, revisions and cancellations in the program even after it's final version was also pointed as a problem during 2009 edition.
- Assemblies evaluation was positive, but it was highlighted the importance of reaching “real” assemblies, with high attendance and discussion, and not only the reading of pre-approved texts. A positive example highlighted was the Pan-Amazon Assembly, with 400 people attending.
- Youth presence and role in the WSF. The WSF has it's origin in grassroots movements, most of them with a strong presence of the youth (Seattle, Genoa, Prague, etc). It's important to evaluate and think about the youth representativity in the IC and the youth should be stimulated to think about autonomy and participation.
- The presence of heads of state was positively evaluated, as it has contributed to the WSF visibility, allowed the talks between civil society and governments, and mostly because it didn't

affected the WSF process independence. Besides, the discussions on international conjuncture was broadened as the five heads of state in the WSF were elected and have the support of their countries' social movements.

- It's important to start presenting more concrete answers to the world society. The WSF should become even more a process or permanent exchange, alliance and actions. The IC should improve it's communication actions in order to make this process visible.
- The 2009 edition was the first centralized event that included participants that were not physically present, using video conference rooms that gathered 1000 people in 10 countries.
- It's important to assure the coherence between theory and practice concerning "sustainability". Issues related to waste disposal and recycling, resources conservation, transportation, territory planning and others should be considered more seriously.

3) WSF PROCESS: STRATEGIES DEBATE

Proposals / Decisions:

- 2009 mobilization calendar
 - * **March 8th** – International Women's Day
 - * **March 16th - 22nd** – Mobilization and parallel forum to the World Water Forum in Istanbul, with a Global Day of Action on the 19th
 - * **March 28th to April 4th** – Global Mobilization and Week of Action Against Capitalism and War (G20, Palestinian Solidarity and NATO)
 - * **March 28th – April 1st and 2nd** - Days of Action on G20 meeting in London (UK) and many other cities
 - * **March 30th** – Global Mobilization Against War and Crisis / Solidarity Day to the Palestinian People
 - * **April 4th** – Global Day of Action: NATO's 60th anniversary in Strasburg, France
 - * **April 17th** – Global Day for Land's Struggle and for Food Sovereignty
 - * **May 1st** – International Worker's Day
 - * **May 17th** – Global Day of Action Against Homophobia
 - * **July 8th to 10th** – Global Days of Action on G8 meeting in Italy

- * **October 7th** - World Day for Decent Work (WDDW)
 - * **October 8th to 15th** - Week of Mobilization and Action Against Debt and Global Financial Institutions
 - * **October 12th** - Global Mobilization of Struggle for Mother Earth, against colonization and commodification of life.
 - * **December 9th** - World March Against Corruption
 - * **December 12th** - Global Day of Action on Climate Justice during Copenhagen climate summit
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- To improve the international solidarity with the Palestinian movements
 - The next editions of WSF centralized events should be the result of a series of struggles that will happen until then.
 - Big networks should stimulate the local and regional chapters of WSF, stimulating also the direct communication among groups, movements and people involved in this process.
 - To search for symbolic and representative dates for mobilizations about crisis and, if possible, build a thematic social forum about the crisis
 - To multiply WSF process events, highlighting areas as the USA and Middle East

Participants opinions and comments :

- Gustave Massiah presented the document 'Facing the crisis' (see annex 1), written in accordance to the debates in the Strategies Commission about the perspectives and responsibilities of the anti-globalization movement.
- The anti-globalization movement has been consolidated as an anti-systemic movement, that brings along perspectives on the future after the neoliberal globalization. The global crisis opens some new perspectives and brings some new responsibilities.
- The crisis of the neoliberal phase of the capitalism presents itself in several ways: financial, environmental, alimentary, energetic, economic, social... But there are three main crisis: 1) the crisis of neoliberal stage of capitalism, that's mostly a social crisis – there are some economic aspects, but the main consequences are social ones; 2) the ecological crisis – that's arriving to a new stage: in previous stage, we're acknowledging it's impacts, and now the ecological crisis is also producing consequences on the social and economic crisis; 3) geopolitical crisis: that can be understood as the USA hegemonic rule crisis. There's also another crisis concerning ways of political representation and in the concept of democracy itself.
- Until now, we thought about the crisis using hegemonic rational methods – it's important to think using other perspectives. New issues, changes of paradigms and the timing of crisis – the first crisis period is in the next 3 or 4 years, where we'll be facing solutions presented by the same governments that were responsible for the crisis and we should be able to react to these solutions.

- But there's a second stage on crisis timing, a new phase of capitalist globalization. There are several possible contexts in this second stage, as the crisis is violent and the Establishment is divided between keeping the neoliberal policies (even if some elements of these policies must be temporarily suspended) or extend the policies towards more violent or conservative solutions.
- There are two big dangers on current crisis: 1) that it's consequences target only the poor, 2) the arising or consolidation of authoritarian regimes
- There are much more money available in the world then what was announced: just after the beginning of the crisis, US\$ 3 to 4 trillion simply "appeared" to save the financial and industrial (automakers) systems, at the same time governments were saying that there was no money to fight hunger and poverty.
- Facing opportunities opened by neoliberalism crisis are not an automatic: it shall be developed by those who're involved in the building of alternatives. For instance: struggles against war and militarization must be based in broad alliances to stop territories militarization and the growth of xenophobic movements.
- The failure of neoliberal option provides the opportunity of public and citizenship regulation of Democracy.
- The current system of distributing/concentrating wealth is the basis of this crisis. Some important initiatives and debates are: move forward the discussions on global minimum income, global taxation of financial operations (as proposed in WSF ten years ago) and on dismantling the global financial system based on fiscal paradises.
- We must struggle for jobs, but this struggle must be connected to changes on production and consume standards. We can reduce growth not only by individual engagement, but also reducing military expenses, and work time. Rescue the commons is an important and urgent task.
- The WSF should improve the intellectual systemic work on ideas related to the anti-globalization movements, merging the intellectual work and the social movements proposals.
- Improve the discussions around the concepts of public, cooperative and collective property as alternatives to the private property crisis.
- Look for other ways to make politics, using communication and culture to reach the largest number of people.
- The last day of WSF 2009 had an assembly about the WSF process. In this assembly it was highlighted the importance of promoting direct communication among the groups involved in the process, creating communication networks that can strengthen the existent solidarity networks.
- The WSF calendar should be based on symbolic dates that can express the many faces and struggles of campaigns and actions promoted by social movements and organizations that are part of the WSF.
- Communication efforts towards the middle classes are also important, or we're risky to have the middle classes moving towards the right on political spectrum. A big part of the population doesn't believe that finding a way out of the crisis is the same as finding a way out of capitalism and we should find ways to include them in the debates.
- Failed devices and rules of formal democracy shouldn't be highlighted as solutions. New civilization paradigms were presented in the WSF 2009 by indigenous peoples and it's necessary to look at the capitalism crisis as the crisis of mercantilization and destruction of life.
- Neoliberalism destroyed traditional social, political and production paradigms. Thinking on politics: the parties failed. Which political forces should be our allies to change the world? We should push forward the proposals coming from social movements and social actors. The

discussion shouldn't be about alliances with governments, but on how to demand Democracy and keep a critical autonomy from governments. Alliances without autonomy to criticize doesn't take us too far.

4) WSF PROCESS: 2009-2010

Proposals / Decisions:

- To make policentric events in January 2010 to celebrate the WSF 10th anniversary
- Try to make the most and as quick as possible about the situation in Gaza Strip and the Palestinian issue
- To create a working group in order to discuss the responses to the global crisis
- Use one day during the next IC to discuss the global crisis and formulate a document with answers. The discussion should be prepared by the Strategies Commission.
- Use one day during the next IC to discuss the Arab world
- Thematic and local chapters of the WSF, as well as the centralized events, should be stimulated to be in sync with the WSF Charter of Principles , as well as to incorporate new guidelines as recycling, hiring ethical companies, allow access to disabled people, reducing environmental impact, using sustainable transportation and reducing the use of natural resources. (see item 4)
- Publish on WSF websites the final list of assemblies, as well as a 10 line summary made by assemblies participants. Also publish links to the final documents of each assembly (see item 4)
- Improve until the calendar of mobilizations, including not only the IC members activities, but also the largest number of movements, organizations and campaign dates (see item 4)
- Make some WSF activity in Palestinian territory (see item 4)

Participants opinions and comments :

- Marti Olivella (Nova) presented a summary on the assemblies that happened in the last day of WSF 2009 (see annex 2)
- It seems artificial say that we'll take historical dates of movements to make a “global year of action”. We cannot “hijack” this dates.
- Will the WSF and the IC be able to become the display and expression of this new moment of the global movement?
- Methodology Commission have to build innovative methods to work on the proposals that came from the assemblies.
- The idea is to have a global forum in 2010, organized in many different spaces with different themes and issues (war, civilization crisis, etc), but that can be considered part of one forum.
- The Communication Commission should get in touch with real social actors, movements and struggles, and not figure out new actors or devices.
- Consolidate the calls from assemblies and expand and the possibility of including dates in the calendar to other networks and movements that were not able to attend the WSF 2009.
- There are different political agendas and action plans, but they do NOT come from ‘the WSF’. Some agendas belong even to organizations that did not take part in the WSF.

- The WSF should be a space for the social movements to express and make visible their struggles, mobilizations and proposals about crisis all over the world.
- All the WSF events should express the world we want to live in: we need to think on recycling, on hiring ethical business, on providing accessibility to disabled people. It's important that all the WSF events be in sync with this directions as well as to the Charter of Principles.
- The WSF cannot live only by meetings and newspapers, it has to understand and use communication technologies to transform the world.
- Coming from the Communication Commission, but gathering all the IC instances, we should start a renewing period so all the campaigns and initiatives can be visible to the WSF audience, making it easy for people to get in touch with whom they're looking for.

5) WSF PROCESS: 2011

Chairpeople: ???

Proposals / Decisions:

- Previous IC meetings decisions were confirmed, but we should look at the crisis context to evaluate the next steps of WSF.
- The next WSF venue should be a process built during 2009 and 2010, considering crisis and movements calendar. (see item 5)
- Two proposals coming from Africa for the WSF 2011 venue were presented: Senegal and South Africa. A first debate happened in Niamey (Niger) during the African Social Forum. According to the African delegation, the decision about the venue proposal will be taken until April 2009. (see item 5)

Participants opinions and comments :

- We cannot remain tied to decisions that were taken previously. It's a good idea to postpone a little the discussion about the WSF 2011, but it's important to think in a process design towards that, so we can act quickly. The crisis dynamics can open new spaces that we haven't tough before. Use the calendar of mobilizations that came from WSF 2009 assemblies can renew the WSF process, giving us some time to think, but also providing a need to move quickly.
- We shall not decide in this meeting the next centralized event meeting. We should remain collecting proposals.
- It's an important advance on our debate: to think in a long leasting process, and not only in 2011.
- We should make a WSF calendar, from tomorrow to 2011.
- In Berlin 2007 there were proposals for the following two editions of WSF: Amazon region in 2009 and Africa in 2011. In Abuja this decision was confirmed and no other option was presented. So, in fact we did take a decision about the next WSF venue.
- Women and social movements in the USA are not proposing themselves to host the next WSF. We're just informing that the next American social forum will happen in Detroit, Michigan, in

March 2010. This will provide us an important moment for discussion after one year and a half of Obama's administration. We support previous decisions about the next WSF in Africa.

- The most important tool of WSF politics is its venue. If a WSF in the United States can shift the balance of US social actors and other world movements, should it be done (in a strategic analysis)? This is the issue we should debate. Africa must be a part of this process, but we should base our decisions also in the world context.
- We said a lot during this WSF that the world is in crisis, that this crisis changed the power dispute inside the Empire, also because of the process that elected Obama as the president. He was not elected in a typical election, but in a popular campaign and we can be inspired by that. We're not a bureaucracy, we're political process. And we need to think about our decisions. The Africans themselves should go deep on this analysis, so they cannot take decisions as frustrations, but as part of the WSF growing process.
- Are there any other candidates for organizing the WSF apart from Africa? Apparently not. The USA would be a good idea but is not possible because visa would not be granted.

6) REPORT AND EVALUATION: LIAISON GROUP

Participants opinions and comments :

- The LG is only two years old, with some critical points, and it's important to evaluate this points.
- It's necessary to work in a clearer definition on what's exactly the Liaison Group. It was not clear, for instance, what were the LG tasks concerning the WSF 2009 event.
- In the last IC meeting this LG evaluation proposal was already on the agenda. Then it was postponed to this IC and we're talking on postponing again. We cannot be always postponing decisions. We're already postponing to the next IC the discussion about WSF 2011 venue, that'll probably postpone to November....
- The LG have to meet frequently, and not only during IC meetings. Who's inside this space (LG) have to meet and take care of some things (for instance, the office).
- The LG is supposed to "liaise". This group is supposed to provide links between commissions and also between the commissions and the IC itself. The LG shouldn't act in regional or local issues. IC Commissions are the ones in charge of this regional and local dynamics. But it seems we're not being able to achieve any of this tasks.
- It's important to evaluate if the LG is not working and what are the reasons: resources, commitment of its members, some structural problem or other.
- The methodology commission and some others did not work as well. I think that in the assessment somehow we have to take into account all that in analyzing the LG.
- Without office support it is not possible to do the work of the LG. Will the office continue to be in Brazil or can it be in Egypt or somewhere else? That should be discussed as well.
- The LG is not a Central Committee. We have to facilitate and to act in a very concrete job. The Brazilian office had some problems this first year. We have two problems: the LG is too small to be able to work, also because the people there are volunteers, so they do not work full time for the LG; the other is that we found problems with some commissions. For instance, according to the calendar, the methodology commission has a fundamental role in preparing the WSF event. So, the LG did its job, but we found out that the MC is more or less empty.

- We should be able to have a plane of action and names for specific tasks.
- This is not the right moment to evaluate the LG. Two years, in my opinion, is the minimum period so we can evaluate it.
- Two organizations (IPF e CADTM) offered support to the Liaison Group work and to Sao Paulo office.
- A document called “A proposal for empowering the WSF process: decentralizing the WSF office” was presented (see annex 3).

7) SOLIDARITY FUND

The International Council Resource Commission have done its best to guarantee a solidarity fund, in order to help as much as possible a balanced participation in the World Social Forum 2009, according to the priorities commonly decided in the IC meeting at Copenhagen: first of all indigenous people, then consolidated process in the global South and expansion process mainly born thanks to the 2008 Global Day of Action, as well as gender balance.

The International Solidarity Fund was based on the money donated by Oxfam-Novib (50.000 euro), Fons Catalã (for indigenous people of Americas), and also the money from international registration fees for WSF 2009 (aprox. 60.000 euro).

This fund was used to fund only ticket costs (no food, no accommodation, no visa fee) for organizations of Asia, Africa, "Great Middle East", America (excluding Brazilians), Central and Eastern Europe, former Soviet Union countries, excluded minorities organizations. Both IC members and IC commission's members could apply to the international solidarity fund. IC members could propose as well other organizations and social movements, in order to involve new social actors in the process. The fund was destined not only for the IC meeting, but also for the WSF event.

Below, the list of organizations and people who were supported by International Solidarity Fund (total: 46 people), not including the Solidarity Fund for indigenous people:

ORGANIZATION	NAME
Action pour le Changement Social (ACS) / Forum Social Congolais	Mujinga Solange Esther
ASAPSU	Paule Annick Mady
ATAWASOUL (Morocco)	Aboubakr Elkhamlichi
Bangladesh Krishok Federation	Shah Alam Alam
CADTM Pakistan	Syed Abdul Khaliq
Centre d'Information et de Documentation Pygmées (CIDOPY)	Achille Biffumbu Kagossi Malyatha
COSATU	Bekhi Nshalintshali
Daughters of Mumbi Global Resource Center on Food Sovereignty	Alice Wanjiku Kinuthia
DELHI FORUM /DELHI SOLIDARIATY GROUP	Rai Bipin Kumar

ENDA CYBERPOP	Rabia Abdelkrim-Chikh
Femme et Environnement "BATA-GBAKO"	Philomène Anicette Bia
FNDP	Pete Kone
Focus on the Global South	Meena Menon
GDPA Togo	Kossi Messan Mlatawu
GDPA Togo	Tordjo Ayaovi Marcelin
GROUPE DE DECOUVERTE DES POTENTIELS DE L'AFRIQUE (GDPA)	Moïse Ségla Akpatou
Irrigation Training and Economic Empowerment	Mwadhini Omari Myanza
KCTU	Changgeun Lee
LANAO ALLIANCE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS ADVOCACY	Janel Pesons
Mesopotamian Social Forum	Ozgur Baris Dikilitas
National Forum of Forest People and Forest Workers	Roma Malik
NAVRACHANA WORKING GROUP NRM	Sandeep Kumar Minhas
NTUI	Gautam Mody
Organisation de Femmes Pour le Développement de Thomonde – HAITI	Suze Desir
Pakistan Institute of Labour Education and Research (PILER)	Zulfiqar Halepoto
Palestinian grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign	Jamal Juma
Palestinian NGO Network (PNGO)	Eman Hammouri
PANOS Afrique de l'OUEST	Diana Senghor
Peoples Health Movement (PHM) Bangladesh	Uddin Imam
Plate forme des Organisations Haïtiennes des Droits Humains (POHDH)	Antonal Mortimé
Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign (PPEHRC)	Jennifer Cox
Rassemblement Actions Jeunesses R.A.J	Khitouche Aziz
REPEM	Janneth Lozano Bustos
SEATINI	Oduor Ong'wen
Sindicato dos Trabalhadores na Ford Rússia	Tatiana Etmanova
Sindicato dos Trabalhadores na Ford Rússia	Vladimir Lesik
Sindicato Interregional dos Trabalhadores na Industria Auto da Rússia	Aleksei Etmanov
Social Movements Indaba	Silumko Khethokuhle Einstein Mabona
Society for the Empowerment of the People Vehari Pakistan	Albert Patras
Solidaridad Suecia America Latina	Carmen Blanco Valer
The Kenya Debt Relief Network /	Mary Wahu Kaara

KENDREN	
Vasudhaiiva Kutumbakam	Uddhab Prasad Pyakurel
Women in Transition	Khalilah Veneable Collins
ZSF Harare Zimbabwe	Rita Beauty Nyampinga

8) NEXT IC MEETING

- Due to the urgent need to move the WSF process and also to face neoliberal crisis, the next IC meeting will happen only 3 months after the 2009 Belem IC.
- The Expansion Commission presented the proposal for the next IC meeting: it will happen from May 6th to 9th in Morocco (see item 8)

ANNEX 1 - "Facing the crisis"

Introduction

The alter-globalist movement has asserted itself as an anti-systemic movement with the assertion that it can provide a brighter future than the neoliberal phase of capitalist globalisation. The ongoing global crisis is opening up new perspectives and opportunities, as also posing some serious challenges, that we need to understand and address.

Over the years, the alter-globalist movement has in particular pursued the challenge of seeking alternatives, both in theory and practice, to imperialistic capitalism that operates under the neo liberal ideology. The global financial crisis has undermined in a major way the prevalent neo – liberal order. The impacts of the financial crisis have permeated other aspects of the capitalist structure by now. This weakening of the neo-liberal order can on one hand be seen as providing many opportunities for pushing the alternative agenda, but on the other hand, its immediate impacts on the already impoverished people, food and employment regimes are worrying aspects that need to be quickly addressed from an alternatives perspective. The International Council of the World Social Forum as well as the Forum process must engage with these developments with a great deal of seriousness and innovativeness.

The alter-globalist Movement

The alter-globalist movement, in its various significations, is a bearer of new hope born from saying no to pre-determined destiny; this is the meaning of the assertion "another world is possible". We are not living "The End of History" or "The Shock of Civilisations". The strategy of the alter-globalist movement is structured around the convergence of social and citizen's movements that emphasise solidarity, freedom, peace and democracy. Within the context of the WSF, the movements compare their struggles, their practices, their reflections and their proposals in order to form new alliances and solidarities. They also build a new political culture based on diversity, self-managed activities, cooperation and "horizontality" in preference to hierarchy.

Through the forums, a strategic orientation has emerged: that of access to fundamental rights for all. It's the building of an alternative to the dominant way of thinking that demands each society to adjust itself to the global market via regulation by the global capital market. It's imposed upon us as an unchallengeable fact that the only acceptable way to organise a society is by market regulation. In contrast, we have upheld the proposal to organise societies and the world based on access to fundamental rights for all. This common orientation gives the convergence of movements its meaning and results in a new culture of transformation that can be seen in the evolution of each of the movements.

The discussions underway in the movement highlight the strategic question of power, which invariably brings us back to

the discussion of the state and its ties with parties, as well as the question of the model of social transformation and the nature of development.

The alter-globalist movement is not limited to the Social Forums, but the process of the forums has a special role within it. The alter-globalist movement is constantly expanding and becoming deeper. Along with geographical, social and theme-based expansion, it has experienced a considerable increase in its impact, in less than 10 years. For all that, it can not be called victorious, even though quite a few aspects of the present crisis validate many of its analyses and justify its call to resistances. The alter-globalist movement is a historic movement with a long term agenda. It extends and renews the three previous historic movements: the historic movement of decolonisation (from this point of view, alter-globalism has deeply modified North-South representations to the advantage of a common global project), the historic movement of working-class struggles (from this point of view, the transformation towards a global social and citizen movement is underway) and the movement of the struggles for democracy starting from the 1960s-70s (and from this point of view, the renewal of the democratic necessity after the implosion of sovietism in 1989 and the regressions brought about by law-and-order ideologies). Decolonisation, social struggles, democratic necessity and freedom represent the historic reference point and culture of the alter-globalist movement.

The Belém World Social Forum (WSF) has opened up a new dimension of the alter-globalist movement. The WSF held in Amazonia, at the heart of the limits of the worldwide ecosystem posed the major question regarding the contradictions and the convergence between the ecological crisis and the social crisis. It has been marked by the new social and citizen's movement in Latin America: the alliance of indigenous peoples, women, workers, peasants and landless, and the social and solidarity economy. This civic movement has built new relationships between the social and political aspects that have led to new regimes that on one hand have renewed the understanding of the democratic necessity, and on the other, confronted the imperialistic hegemon, the US, in a substantial way. The relationship between the social movements and the state power in countries like Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador, Paraguay and Brazil has rekindled hopes, in spite of all the inherent contradictions and questions of sustainability, for a new kind of social transformation. But many challenges remain, including how to extend these new form of relationships between social movements and regimes to regions like Africa, Asia, the Arab world and so on, particularly given the new form of regime in a country like, say Nepal..

The Crisis of Globalisation

The alter-globalist movement is faced with the crisis of globalisation, which can be characterised as a crisis of capitalist globalisation in its neoliberal phase. This crisis is not a surprise for the movement; it was foreseen and announced long ago. This is a structural crisis: economic and social, ecological, geopolitical, and ideological. The current sequence of financial, monetary, real-estate, food and economic crises are manifestations of the deeper crisis. Many might say that this is also a civilisational crisis, though that might be contestable.

Three major questions determine the evolution of the situation at the global level and mark the various levels of social transformation (global, regional, national and local). The dominant system is confronted with a triple crisis: the global ecological crisis has become patently obvious; the crisis of neoliberalism; and the geopolitical crisis, along with the end of the hegemony of United States. The crisis of the hegemony of the United States is fast becoming deeper. The evolution of the major regions is becoming differentiated, all the more so because the responses of each region to the crisis of American hegemony are different. The fight against the alleged war of civilisations and the very real, endless war represent one of the priorities of the alter-globalist movement.

The neoliberal phase, if not on its last legs seems nevertheless to have been substantially undermined. The new financial crisis is especially serious, though one must remember that this is not the first financial crisis of this period (the Asian, Argentinian, Mexican financial crises are still fresh in our memories), and it alone does not adequately characterise the running out of steam of neoliberalism. The elements constituting the various crises is most remarkable. The monetary crisis increases the uncertainties regarding currency readjustment. The real-estate crisis in the United States is revealing the role that over-indebtedness, and its limits, play as a motor of growth. The energy crisis and the climate crisis are revealing the limits of the worldwide ecosystem, and hence of development. The exceptionally serious food crisis puts into question more fundamental balances. The deepening of inequalities and discriminations, in each society and between countries, is reaching a critical level, having adverse repercussions like the intensification of conflicts and wars; and a clash of values producing an ethical and moral crisis.

The institutions responsible for regulating the international economic system (IMF, World Bank, WTO) no longer have legitimacy, and they are desperately trying to renew themselves. The G8, camouflaged as the G20, is presenting itself as a bearer of solutions to the crisis. The G20 is of course more presentable than the G8, as the 20 countries represent two

thirds of the world population. For all that, it remains illegitimate as a self-proclaimed board of directors, without any mandate to represent the people of the world. Being the source of many problems, it is curious how the G20 can project itself as a solution too. In 1977, the precursor of the G8 created the debt crisis by calling on the oil countries to recycle petrodollars and banks to lend to them without looking too closely. It thereby broke the front of the Southern countries by rallying the oil countries against the poorest countries. Today it is trying the same strategy with the emerging countries. And the obedience of the latter regarding the proposals fine tuned by the economically stronger countries, which China, Brazil and India also boast to be now, leads us to fear the worst.

That leaves the United Nations! It's of course difficult to have much confidence in it when we look at it closely. Looking at all those heads of states does not give confidence when it comes to the radical reform that's indispensable. And yet the United Nations sometimes manages to surpass itself and to adopt positions much better than those who form it. Faced with the G8's attempts to marginalise it from the 1980s, the United Nations system organised global conferences and succeeded in making alliances with the civil societies, beginning with the Rio de Janeiro conference on environment and development in 1992. The adoption of the optional protocol on economic, social and cultural rights is an illustration of this: it was adopted despite opposition by nearly all the governments. At the heart of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enables alliances of social and intellectual forces to transcend the system and to force it to transcend itself. While of course disputable, the United Nations remains superior to all the managing bodies. As Churchill said about democracy, the United Nations is the worst of the international systems except all the others.

Reflecting on the Crisis

Uncertainties remain regarding the time and prospects of the crisis. The "Braudelian" analysis of the study leads to the hypothesis of the end of a Kondratiev wave. It's likely that a new cycle will characterise the next 25 to 40 years. It's not predetermined, and several ways out are possible. From an ideological point of view, the neoliberalism crisis is strongly tied to the rise in power of alter-globalism, which sharpened the contradictions within the system. For all that, the neoliberalism crisis does not signify its inevitable disappearance. Moreover, the alter-globalist movement is not the only anti-systemic movement with regards to the system's dominant way of thinking. Various other fundamentalist movements can also dispute the dominant current.

Two major tendencies are possible in the medium term. Several variants are possible for each tendency. The first tendency is that of a conservative dominant characteristic, along with a confrontation of a war on neoliberalism or of other forms of regulation. The second tendency is that of in-depth reform of capitalism in a neo-Keynesian and ecological form or a "Green New-Deal". An alter-globalist outcome is highly unlikely in the short term, as the conditions do not seem to be ripe globally; however, the reinforcement of the alter-globalist movement must have an influence on the possible outcomes. That is why the expansion and intensification of the alter-globalist movement is both an opportunity and a challenge at this stage to forge a somewhat different world order.

It's possible that within the next five to 10 years the new economic rationality will become formalised, just as neoliberalism asserted itself, based on existing tendencies, between 1979 and 1985. Discussion remains regarding what will emerge after this upcoming cycle. Immanuel Wallerstein has made the hypothesis of a reversal of the 100-year –or even multi-century– cycle, bringing up the historic possibility in the next 30 or 40 years of capitalism being overtaken, thereby giving new significance to alter-globalism. It is here that the alter-globalism movement needs to put all its creative and organisational energies in the next decade.

The dangers of the globalisation crisis

The old and venerable Chinese ideogram that represent "crisis" associates two, contradictory characters, as proper for all good dialectics: that of "dangers" and that of "opportunities".

The first danger concerns poverty. The exit to the crisis being sought after by dominant forces consists of making the poor pay for the crisis, starting with the discriminated and the colonised. It also consists of downsizing of the middle classes. And, as if that were not enough, certain categories of affluent are likely to be made to pay. While questions remain how reasonable this approach might be, if pursued, strong contradictions can be predicted.

The enforcement of such solutions will need repression, criminalisation of social movements, penalisation of solidarity; the use of terrorism, law-and-order ideology based on racist, Islamophobic and nationalist agitation for political ends; and the exploitation of scapegoats like migrants, and discriminated people. In some regions, this evolution could move towards authoritarian and repressive regimes, and even towards fascistic populisms.

Another dominant solution to the crisis could target countries, that might be marginalised and ruined. The risks of war are also a classic outcome of great crises. Let us not forget that the world is already at war and that nearly one billion people live in regions in war. Conflicts are permanent and destabilisation systematic. The forms of war have changed along with the militarisation of societies, global apartheid, the war of the strong against the weak, along with torture having become commonplace.

To fight against these dangers, we will have to strengthen the resistances and expand alliances and coalitions for freedoms, democracy and peace.

The opportunities of the global crisis

The dangers are known; the available opportunities are less so. Let us remember six opportunities made available by the crisis.

First, the ideological defeat of neoliberalism furthers the rise in power of public regulation.

Second, redistribution of wealth and the return of the domestic market give back possibility for stabilisation and guarantee of incomes, social protection and redeployment of public services.

Third, the ecological emergency requires a transformation in the mode of social development.

Fourth, along the same lines, the crisis in the political model of representation reinforces the necessity for social democracy and participative democracy, as well as new reflection on powers.

Fifth, the rebalance between the North and the South is opening up a new phase of decolonisation and new world geopolitics. It is accompanied by new urbanisation and migrations that are the new forms of populating the planet. Sixth and finally, a system of global regulation makes it possible to think out and regulate social transformation at the global level and opens up the perspective of global citizenship.

The alter-globalist movement must be directed to embrace and strengthen these opportunities.

None of these opportunities will come by themselves, without interventions. They will be able to lead towards better situations only if resistances become magnified and the social and ecological struggles, the struggles for freedoms and against wars become more intense. All the more so because the crisis is also opening up opportunities for the managing elite who will be divided between those who will lean towards renewed forms of oppression and those who will swing towards radical reform of capitalism. This radical reform is not inevitable, but it is not impossible. It will be credible only when all the paths enabling the elites to conserve the current forms of power turn out to be insufficient. Capitalism has shown, in particular after the 1929 crisis, along with the New Deal made explicit by Roosevelt, its capacity to "revolutionise" its social relationships, even if it is still capitalism.

The alter-globalist movement will be faced with attempts at radical reform, all the more so because, for the lower classes, the questions are urgent regarding the steps to take to get out of the initial, severe phase of the crisis. Likewise, in the medium term there is no equivalence between a conservative tendency and reform tendency. The questions remain unanswered regarding the capacity of these reforms to deal with the crisis and their insufficiency with regards to true emancipation. Further, assessments on these questions will differ in the movement. The position to take vis-à-vis the political forces tempted by these reforms, which we will call in an oversimplified way "Green New-Deal", will remain to be defined according to the context and to various situations in the countries and the major regions. Two questions have already been asked... How can we avoid the alliance, between the neoliberal/conservative forces and the reformers, based on minimal reforms and on green and authoritarian regimes? How can possible reform movements be radicalised to the benefit of the lower classes?

The alter-globalist movement is not neglecting the possible improvements and must not hesitate to intervene and avoid intolerable situations. It is also, in its majority, concerned by radical transformation and takes the possibilities of going beyond capitalism that are made available by the crisis very seriously. This going beyond capitalism falls within the long-term and is not predetermined. In current society, there are already social relations that foreshadow it, like the capitalist social relations that emerged in feudal societies. These are not new, finished relations; these are attempts at overtaking that emerge in social practices but do not completely free themselves from dominant relations. The breaking off does not occur with the elimination of the former social relations, but with time when new relations become dominant, subordinate the former social relations and transform them deeply. The new world born in the former is built progressively; it starts from contradictions experienced and builds new ones. The alter-globalist movement is a bearer of these new relations through resistances and innovative social practices. The social forums are the spaces of experimentation and visibility for them. They also facilitate the critical intellectual work that makes it possible to differentiate what can consolidate the reproduction of capitalist relations from that which announces new perspectives.

The alter-globalist movement must take action today at three levels:

In the short term, it must reinforce resistances against dangers.

In the medium term, it must have influence – influence on the strategies of the reformers.

In the long-term, it must transform – transform in order to go beyond capitalism.

For each opportunity, it's important to first of all indicate what the crisis highlights and what must be fought against to avoid preservation of the system and the dangers it bears. It's then important to identify the proposals that emerge and that are envisioned by the reformers and that must be radicalised. It's then important to make an outline of what comes to the surface and indicate the terms of and possible ideas for radical transformation.

And to conclude for the time being

These several reflections on the opportunities made available by the crisis show the interweaving between the readjustments and the breaking off that corresponds to more radical perspectives. By highlighting the potential that resistances can provide, the current practices and the intellectual requirements, alter-globalism gives a perspective to getting out of the global crisis in its various configurations. By encouraging resistances against authoritarian and repressive conservatisms, it allows us to reinforce the demands for social modernisations, coalitions for freedoms and democracy. It allows us to fight against the building of a new hegemonic bloc formed through an alliance between the neo-liberals and the neo-Keynesians and to push the global Green New-Deal to surpass its limits. It allows us to outline the alternatives that will characterise another world that's possible. It allows us to go further. A new project of collective emancipation is on the agenda. Capitalism is not eternal; the question of going beyond capitalism is a topical one. And we must start now to define and build another world that's possible.

ANNEX 2 – WSF 2009 Assemblies list

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05. Contra a Corrupção	Contato: Chico Whitaker intercom@cidadania.org.br ; tel (91) 8413 9138 Caio Luiz Carneiro Magri <caio@ethos.org.br>
06. Crianças e Adolescentes	
07. Crisis Civilizacion	Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas (CAOI) País: Ecuador, Bolívia, Perú, Argentina, Chile y Colombia E-mail: caicoordinaciontecnica@gmail.com "ayamtai08" < ayamtai08@gmail.com >, Responsable: Roberto Espinosa

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ANNEX 3 - “A proposal for empowering the WSF process: decentralizing the WSF office”

Some of the young participants (members, observers) of this meeting of the WSF International Council had a meeting on Feb 2nd with the current Sao Paulo office members (volunteers and regular members) and perceive the importance and urgency of empowering the Forum Office of Sao Paulo. The general perception is that the current human energies and resources devoted to practical development of the WSF process are insufficient. The Office is in dire need of expansion and decentralization, since it is virtually impossible to support a global process from a single location.

According to its charter of principles, the World Social Forum is meant to be a permanent process, not merely a series of events, but the WSF office in Sao Paulo is now the only structure with the responsibility to dedicate full-time work to this scope. This implies limitations in the number of tasks that can be accomplished, the cultural perspective that is adopted, and the potential for outreaching and involving activists and organizations from different continents.

Proposal

We believe that an expansion of the WSF process is crucial to maintain the political and human energies that have mobilized so far within this space, and that organizational change is crucial at this moment to achieve this. Hence we propose a strategy of decentralization of the WSF office, to make it truly international and multicultural, with teams of people working to support the WSF process from different continents and in constant coordination through digital forms of communication.

For example, a staff of 10 people, divided into teams of 2 people based respectively in South America, North America, Africa, Asia and Europe, could be accomplishing together the tasks currently taken by the WSF office, such as:

- producing the WSF newsletter
- supporting the Liaison Group and Commissions 'internal' communication
- WSF websites updates, maintenance and stimulation
- IC Commissions mailing lists moderation / administration
- IC meetings preparation (venue, tickets, solidarity fund)
- direct answers to WSF “audience” (via email and phone)
- IC members database maintenance
- translations (texts, messages, etc)
- preserving the 'WSF memory' (meetings reports, pictures, videos) and making it available to the world

- stimulating, organizing and making reports on commissions and LG chats.

Moreover, with a larger staff, more tasks could be added, such as supporting a more integrated and multi-language communication platform, and ensuring better coordination between the regional WSF chapters across the world.

It is fundamental that the WSF staff is accountable not to organizations who host it but to the process itself, hence we suggest that the Liaison Group develops a strategy to organize an extended and decentralized staff group, and we ask the Resource Commission to allocate funding for this expanded structure. Some consider that supporting a decentralized office may be not appealing for some donors, but we feel that excessive focus of donors on events reflects the nearly total dedication of IC members to the organization of events. Once we agree that an organizational innovation is important to empower the WSF, in a time of global crisis, donors can be given proper motivations and can easily perceive that – with decentralized offices - their support would become more visible at a global scale.

We understand the challenge of building an international and decentralized structure and bringing change into a space that is not an organization, but we know that INNOVATION is a fundamental strength for any process. Capitalism survives and expands due to its capacity to innovate from the top. Social dynamics are instead permanently changing and transforming from the bottom, hence the WSF needs eyes and ears in different locations and cultural settings in order to be more responsive to social forces, proactive and dynamic.

ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE, ANOTHER FORUM IS NECESSARY!

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Rafaela Gontijo Moreira da Costa – Brasil (Volunteer of the WSF office 2009)
Hilde Stephansen – Norway/UK (Volunteer at WSF office 2009, researcher, Goldsmiths College)
Annette Nilsson – Sweden (Fourth world association, member of IC Communication Commission)
Samir ABI – TOGO (ATTAC- TOGO, observer of IC meeting)
Rocio Valerio – USA (observer of IC meeting)
Quim Arrufat – Catalonia (CIEMEN-CONSEU, member of the IC)
Jason Nardi – Italia (Social Watch, member of the IC Communication Commission)
Monica Di Sisto – Italia (Fair, member of IC Communication Commission)
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