



The Future of the World Social Forum*

Caracol Intergalactika

abstract

The following is a transcript and translation of a public meeting at the WSF'05 between members of the International Council, the Brazilian Organising Committee of the WSF, organizers of the Intercontinental Youth Camp and Caracol Intergalactika, as well as individuals without any affiliation. This meeting took place in the Caracol Intergalactika, between the Youth Camp and the official Forum, on 30 January 2005 and was chaired by Teivo Teivainen. Due to the fairly poor recording of the event, there are many holes in this text; three dots [...] or [not clear] are supposed to represent these manifold holes of understanding. But we still think that there is value in including this transcript in this special issue, although the text can, of course, not claim to fully represent the things that were voiced there. We apologize for any mistakes and errors. The full recording of this event is accessible at <http://www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/5-2/caracol.mp3>.

English Speaker 1 (Thomas Ponniah) at 00:00:00min: ...very quickly, when you go to the a demonstration against the World Trade Organization or against the war, what is striking is that half the demonstrators are young people and usually the young people are at the front and they are the first to get teargased... Now, when you talk to a panel or a workshop or a seminar at the World Social Forum half the panellists are not young people; this is a serious problem. It's not only a problem of identity or representation, it is a problem of politics; we are not incorporating young people and the new politics they embody into the World Social Forum process. So, this is one of the reasons Teivo and I have wanted to have this event. I am going to pass the microphone over to Teivo and ... then he is going to pass the microphone over to Michael Hardt. He will add a few points and then I will pass the microphone to Teivo, and then the two of us will co-facilitate the rest of the event.

English Speaker 2 (Michael) at 00:01:31min: My impression of the Forum for each year that I have been – that I have participated in the World Social Forum – is that there have really been two World Social Forums each year. There has been what has seemed to me the most beneficial and positive part of the Forum; and this has been the encounters

* Translated, transcribed and edited by Claudia Fabbri, Jose Caballero Velasquez, Beatrice Ruffini, Rodrigo Nunes and Steffen Böhm. The editors of this special issue would like to acknowledge the support of the Centre for the Study of Globalisation and Regionalisation (CSGR, University of Warwick), and particularly Jan Aart Scholte, as well as the University of Essex, for financially supporting the transcription and translation of this record.

among activists, among people working on similar issues. This has really been the anonymous Forum. There is also the second Forum, which has been the one that is reported in the newspapers, the one also that everyone sees. In other words, the huge auditoriums with the well-known speakers. This difference between the two Forums is either a problem or at least seems to be part of the issues that we are talking about here. Actually, the visible Forum – the one that gets reported in newspapers, the one that is tempted to make pronouncements – is quite separate from the other Forum, the grassroots Forum. I think there are two ways in which this happened: I think there is the temptation – and after debating within the organizers about this – whether the Forum should act as a subject and whether the Forum itself should present the pronouncements against the war, against neoliberalism etc. There is also I think, despite the will amongst the organizers, the demand for this from the press. In other words, even if the famous participants don't claim to represent the Forum, they are taken by the press as representatives of the Forum. What the problem I think in all of this is – what troubles me – is the false notion of representation: in other words, either for organizers to make an announcement in a formal way on the basis of the Forum, or even for the most well-known of the participants to make pronouncements to the press, giving the impression of a formal representation. It is this formal representation that bothers me. There is one other impression I have had of the Forum, which is that between these two Forums, even though it appears that the visible Forum is the more powerful, I think that it is in fact the invisible Forum which is the more powerful one, and that little by little, we'll – in a way – erode the visibility and the power of the few that speak in the name of it. So, I think we should criticize all along, but when we are opposing the power relations, I think that we should also recognize what seems to me the greater power – in fact, the majority of the anonymous participants – that seems to me the greater power of all. I will stop there.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 1 (Teivo) at 00:04:39min: Thank you Michael. So, the idea is to try to have a debate, a conversation where we have some people invited and some are from the establishment, some from the Forum, some from the International Secretariat, some from the International Council, some are intellectuals from outside. The idea is not to have a panel, not to have long presentations, rather to keep the presentations short, maximum 3 minutes, and from there to open up a space for a debate, the most horizontal possible. It is never possible to have total horizontality, right? But we will try. I am going to act as facilitator. ... I think Rodrigo will raise the issue of power relations in the Forum and I propose that the speakers present themselves in the way that they wish, before starting to talk.

[Background noise]

Spanish Speaker 2 (Rodrigo I) at 00:06:43min: Well, I do not think that I will speak merely of the power relations within the Forum, but of the criticism that emerges from some situations of power relations in the Forum. I am referring here to the criticisms which emerge from the experiences of autonomous spaces. Obviously, I am not representing here any autonomous space, not the Caracol, not the GLAD in Paris, the Hub in Florence, not the autonomous spaces that took place in London during the

European Social Forum, not the Camp, but I believe that it is possible to highlight some general lines out of which we can derive the criticisms. The first criticism relating to the Forum is the criticism of its format. With regards to the format there are two issues: the issue of the size and the issue of the Forum's budget. Where does the Forum's money come from? And what are the relations that are established? Because a much larger Forum has resulted than what the social movements can do themselves; and this depends on money that comes from the State, and what are the relations established in there? Another issue is the issue of methodology and I believe at this point in 2005 there is an advance in the World Social Forum, because this year's methodology appears in fact to be much better, even though, this is a point we will return to later, it does not appear to me to be perfect. The other issue regarding methodology is I believe a story of the criticisms and critics of the Forum; that is, this year we do not have the plenaries organized by the Organizing Committee and by the International Council which in fact were, as Michael Hardt said, were a space of false representation of the Forum; that is, a small group that nobody had elected, a group which in turn selected the main themes and the people who would be presenting on these main themes. It is a victory that in 2005 we don't have any of this. Another issue is the issue of the frontiers, of what exactly is the Forum, of who stands in it and who stands outside of the Forum. I think that this is an issue in which progress was reached in regards to the autonomous spaces, because now the autonomous spaces do not appear to consider so much the issue of inside/outside but rather that the Forum is there, it is there in a time and space and they have to be occupied. But it appears to me that a good future for the Forum would be that the Forum could create a constellation of spaces, such as the space of Caracol here, spaces organized by groups who already worked jointly, who already had activities and a history of joint work, and it appears to me that this would be a much better possibility than the presence which we nonetheless still have in 2005 of a group which decides which themes will be brought together, which groups will be brought together, etc. So, it seems to me that a good future for the Forum would be a constellation of spaces rather than the existence of one central space which is then subdivided. But, perhaps a much stronger line of criticism which emerges from the autonomous spaces may be the criticism of the way things are done, because this is – in the 2005 Forum – very clear, for this is why it is being said that the Forum has changed into the Camp. And well, we see that three years were necessary for the WSF Organizing Committee, the International Council before they realized that it is incredible that a World Social Forum can exist where proprietary software is utilized in computers rather than free software, that it is incredible that a World Social Forum is held where the food is served by firms, well, and not by social movements or by popular solidarity economy enterprises, and it is incredible that the independent and community media do not have a space in the media spaces of the Forum. This is a line of criticism which emerges out of the autonomous spaces not as theory but as practice, because this was already carried out in the Camp of 2002, this was already carried out in 2003 in the Camp, at GLAD, in the autonomous spaces of London; this is a part of the history of these autonomous spaces. But also this year it appears to me that there is a serious problem; that is, this creative potential which we saw in the examples of Babels, Nomad, and of the Caracol organization, of the Camp organization – they nonetheless serve a false representation because those who work ultimately are not the ones who get to be seen/who are visible. In the end it seems that people appear who did not produce the Nomad software, people appear who were not involved in the organization of the Camp, who speak about the

Camp. And there is also another problem, and this is the last line that I raise, which is the problem that after the Mumbai Forum in 2004 there was the text of a person involved in the Forum who was talking about the inclusion of the youth. The question being asked was: how are we going to include the youth? Well, the youth is there, the youth has long been there, and it is one of the most creative and powerful things of the Forum. But there is a problem: to them this appears as rhetorically serious, because they cannot see what is happening – that four years were necessary that free software was used, for example. And in addition it is a question which shows a lack of knowledge about what are the debates surrounding these things, which they call ‘youth’. For example, it is a title which many of us do not like at all, and yet one they use, because perhaps it creates a difference between that which is ready, that which is already prepared, and that which has to be prepared. But we prepared the Forum many years, many times, and I believe that the criticisms that come out of these practical experiences, are very serious criticisms and which can guide a transformation in the future of the Forum.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 3 (Julia) at 00:16:10min: Well, I’ll speak in portunol to make it easier. ... I’ll give you some numbers to show the development of [the Youth Camp] over the years. ... In 2002, when there was a greater rapport with the decision-making levels of the Forum, the Camp was planned for 10 thousand people, there were around 17 thousand people, 14 thousand registered people. In 2003 we planned for 30 thousand people, and there were around 23,500. And now we had a planning for 30 thousand campers, and we believe there’s around 40 thousand people, considering also the people who just go through it. ... It would be great if we could have food provided exclusively by family businesses, organic producers, cooperatives, popular solidarity economy enterprises. It’d also be great if all the WSF computer ran on free software. And many other things that we propose to society. But, for example, it’s clear today that popular solidarity economy is not sufficiently developed to face all this demand; it’s a typical offer-demand case. The reflection I want to propose is then: well, what does the organisation of the Forum, of the Camp do? Do we insist with something that doesn’t meet this reality? Or do we bring the debates but say, ‘well, let’s all eat GMOs, because that’s what we have’. This is where my worry is. The Camp is overdimensioned today, and I wonder to what point does it represent a transformation, to have something so grand, so mediatic, so famous, if at the end we are reproducing practices of the capitalist world. And this in many organisational ways as well of the Social Forums and the Camp; practical things about the organisation of the Forum, hierarchies, ‘I’m the one who calls the shots’, ‘you have autonomy but I have the money’. The Forum is full of contradictions. We need to redimension what we want, and ask ourselves, especially after 2005, where do we want to go with this movement that’s so big, so grand, but

[applause]

English Speaker 3 (Friede) at 00:21:56min: (unclear)

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 4 (Teivo) at 00:25:00min: There is a line of debate, as was said by Michael Hardt, that there is a false representation in the World Social Forum, and Friede said that the whole idea of representation has shown to be an alien idea, an idea that is not worth it. Therefore, if anyone holds reflections on this matter when we speak of power relations, the possibility to democratize the World Social Forum, we need to be aware of whether we are talking in terms of representation or whether we are talking in other terms.

[pause]

Spanish Speaker 5 (Maite) at 00:26:05min: I believe that my position is a bit particular because I participate in the International Council for my own work and in this space for my activity. Therefore, I have quite a lot of information on how the Forum is constructed. I wouldn't like this debate to be construed as a debate entre the 'young' and the 'adults', because that is not accurate; this should be about different levels of radicality and political positions at work inside the Forum. ... [not clear, because music takes over]

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 6 (Virginia Vargas) at 00:28:33min: Me too, I'm in a particular position because I'm a member of the International Council The WSF for me is this space of movements, which is a permanent site of struggle, where there's a permanent struggle between the old and the new. ...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 7 (Teivo) at 00:31:59min: Another line of debate asks what is radicality? If I have understood correctly, radicality means to focus on the anti-capitalist dimension in the deepest sense, or it refers to the different struggles in their variety and there I believe you have different [views], which we can also go about exploring in this debate, in addition to the theme of representation where there are different lines of argument.

Portuguese Speaker 1 (Fatima) at 00:32:52min: My name is Fatima, I've been a member of the Brazilian Organising Committee and Executive Secretariat since the first Forum. On the relationships of power and representativity in the Forum ... I agree with Virginia that ... they represent nothing else but the different power relations that exist in our society; in it are reflected and reproduced the power relations that exist in our movements, in our society; the Forum is then a mirror of all this. Thus, the extremely low level of youth participation in the International Council is not only a consequence of the problem of how to organise a representation of youth in the Council, but also of the power that those who are in the Council have and and the difficulty the youth have of occupying that space. So i think the Forum is a mirror of our relations, but it should also be a laboratory that deals with these problems. We are trying all the time to question generational issues, issues of race, of gender, of class, also at the organising levels of the forum, and this is what this space should do.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 8 (Rodrigo II) at 00:35:11min: I agree with most of the things which have been said so far. I appreciate and value very positively the exchanges from this year and I believe that the process of listening is important; it is a process of the Forum and it is important to value it. I only have one thing I want to say. I believe there is the danger that the agenda of the World Social Forum is defined by the ... and I believe that in all the enormous variety of ideas and proposals in this Forum, some of which are more radical than others... but at least more or less we all share the need to revise the resources between the people, between the human groups in a more equitable way. It appears to me that we need to start applying these principles to the Forum itself. It is very difficult that these principles can be applied to everyone, applying them right here now ... [but we need to get more] money so that others can influence and distribute their information. I believe there are many forms of guaranteeing that resources of all kinds which are concentrated each year in the Forum are more equitable, and I believe that greater resources are needed so that the social movements can have a greater place in the decision-making.

[applause]

English Speaker 4 (Tadzio) at 00:38:00min: I've got a question, which seems maybe rather abstract, but it's rather important to me. ... The Forum needs money because it is very big and it is growing all over... So, there is the question of size... So, I wonder if it becomes too big... This also connects to something that happened in London at the European Social Forum – the Socialist Worker Party had lots of power because of its control over the money. So, if size, money and democracy hangs all together, what does this mean for our ability as a social movement... For example, if we can't manage a Forum with a few thousands people ... how can we manage large urban conglomerations ... democratically ...? So, how can we manage 150,000 people coming together in a democratic way.... I have no idea. I don't have an idea about how to solve this problem about the relationship between size and democracy ... So, it really worries me that we cannot manage lots of people getting together in a democratic way. This has something to do with money, power relations... and I would be really grateful, if [we could talk about this here].

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 9 at 00:39:57min: The fact that we're having this meeting here ... I think this is a brutal participatory development. ... In the International Council of the World Education Forum we were discussing how to relate to the WSF, and the first point was adopting the Charter of Principles. We see there are problems with parties, with governments, and a companero from Porto Alegre reminded us that the parties that call themselves 'socialist' can have neoliberal policies, governments, trade unions, NGOs too. We must be aware of that and think how we can articulate this, if not on a world level, on the local level. The strategy of the Forum ... is to get to farthest places in the world, so that we can articulate from below, in a democratic way, an encounter ...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 10 at 00:43:50min: I am Pablo Bergel; I am an Argentinean citizen because at this time all of us, those of us who are in one or another position, all of us

– the more official, the more autonomous – all of us, we all are being represented at a negotiating table [thousands of] kilometres from here in a place ... against which this space here was created ... [We are being represented] by the President of a state, of a national state, Brazil, who uses this Forum to be able to negotiate with the Forum, in the very space against which this Forum was created... [This happens] with the silence, complicity, tolerance or the impotence ... of the Organizing Committee of the Forum and all of us. This is taking place now and the moment and the possibility is current now. When I say it is current now, I mean to say that this Forum, including its Executive Committee as well as all of us in this Forum, we have the chance to ... It must be clear that Lula does not represent [the Forum]... Simply, there is a principle of the Forum that is being violated – which critically prohibits [this representation] and we all and the Executive Committee in the first place have been silenced, and this before the Forum has even ended. It is necessary to say something or this I believe will end the Forum.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 11 (Female) at 00:46:45min: [not clear, too much background noise/music]

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 12 at 00:48:31min: It appears to me that the criticism has so far been quite soft [laughter], quite consensual ... on the bureaucracy of the Forum, on the International Council, on international power relations...

Spanish Speaker 13 at 00:49:10min: The problem of representation is not the greatest of problems ... the process of the radicalization of horizontality ... when we think of the first Forums, there were 8 organizations ... the second problem, which for me is a real problem, is that power is not only vertical power, there is power inside of ... [not clear].

[applause, chit chat...]

Spanish Speaker 14 (Ms. from Mexico) at 00:52:45min: ... the Forum is more democratic and also has a greater presence of movements, but it is certain that the logic continues to be a logic of power, a Western logic, a logic in which the majority of those who sit at the table are men, they are white, they are senior, they are not the women or the young people or the children of indigenous people, or ... It is very important to include the young people in a country like Brazil, which, even though it may not be recognized as such, is a Latin country. Therefore, effectively there is a crisis of forms of power, of representation which is in the hands of the few ... not only autonomy of the poor, black autonomy, indigenous autonomy... [not clear].

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 15 (Teivo) at 00:55:51min: There are a lot of people who have asked and are asking to speak. It would also help if these people say what theme they are going to talk about, in order to have a better debate... I hope this means that Fernando will say something that is going to be very critical... let's see.

Spanish Speaker 16 (Fernando) at 00:56:28min: Well, all the problems we have discussed here... we have various moments of criticisms. But we need punctual debates, because many times those doing the work on the ground ... [too much background music].

Spanish Speaker 17 (Moema) at 00:58:55min: I'm Moema, I work for IBASE. ... I wanted to have a dialogue. The Forum is effectively a process of collective construction which we share, or it is nothing. ... [too much background noise].

Spanish Speaker 18 (Ricardo from Chile) at 01:02:10h: I believe that within the criticism, we should go back to a more radical position in criticizing the Forum as a macro space. I believe the Forum tries to embrace different social spaces within its quite big name and it leaves aside those spaces that are really generating radicalism: the small movements, and the professional movements. I believe there is a need to stop thinking that this has to be a macro event, and not just an event, a process in which we are all involved. I believe that the majority of people that could not attend this place are left aside and in their place there are other people that do not tend to think about the Forum as a space for communication, convergence, and jubilation to be able to have more radical projects within the spaces. I believe it is not valid to think so widely, knowing that in fact you are leaving aside the regional Forums, the people who really deal with struggles. Beyond of what can be done with words, there is a need for action and results. The plans of the Forum have always been dedicated to portray the Forum to the world as an event that has to be perfect without any problems, but they have a lot of capacity as well as a lot of lack ... In the regional Forums we have been working in a daily battle for the Forum camps. I believe that going beyond the speech is important. Some people after listening to big thinkers, to big intellectuals who speak about world famine, then go and eat a lunch of thirty dollars in a bourgeois restaurant. I believe that the Forum is much more than that; it is what we do on a daily basis: you are from Argentina, tell me your reality; you are from Colombia, tell me your reality; you are from United States, tell me your reality; I believe this is what really fulfils the people. There is a lack of money, lack of capacity and lack of logistics to be able to bring here the people who attended all the regional Forums and that really [requires] a bigger effort of this beautiful movement. Thank you.

[applause]

English Speaker 4 (Female) at 01:04:49h: I was really confused when we started talking about power relations when I first got here [not clear]... because I don't think they are the same thing. I think that one of the problems with locally ... and talking about the struggle ... and talking about the organizing committee, is that 'why' do we come to the World Social Forum? One of the questions I'm asking myself is 'why', why bother? ... This movement keeps sounding like something is gonna make some sort of new international organization, some sort of new religion. ... But this movement is about so much more; it's about creating new ways of being in the world, new relations ... I actually like to hear about why he did that because I think it would take us back a little bit from where we were going. I also would like for us to begin a discussion of the future of the World Social Forum at the content level: what do we want to get out of it?

Because just talking about the power relations gives them actually the power and something they can control.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 19 (Teivo) at 01:06:38h: Excellent, she is absolutely right, right? OK, I thought we were not going to be so philosophical and deep into why we are here in the World Social Forum. ... We are here to discuss power relations and we have to do it together; unity to what it means ... Time is running out and the case as well.

Spanish Speaker 20 (Enrique from Mexico) at 01:07:09h: Hello I am Enrique from Mexico. I believe that, if there's not a dichotomized discussion, then there isn't. I think we didn't propose it like that. But if there are dichotomous organizational roles, then an International Council is needed: someone has to say where to send the letters, send the money, ... or not? We need an International Council, but the Council and the Forum, they would be nothing without all the movements. As movements we do need the Council and the Council needs the movements and in this dialogue we have to progress. Now, I think that the problem of the Forum at present ... [not clear] but this was a big progress, wasn't it? Amazing, I think it deserved it. For example, I think that the consultation process regarding the eleven topics is an improvement. The Zapatistas always consult their communities when they are about to take a decision. So, we have to intensify the consultation, and we have to radicalize the topics. Let us open a discussion to all the organizations about the money; because now we can say that we don't accept money from Santander [the bank]. This is something that this Forum [can decide]. Santander did several things in Mexico; so it is strange to accept money from them. But we can neither say not to receive money from them, because then what do we do? Let us open a discussion to all the organizations of how we can finance this Forum autonomously. Let us also open a discussion of how we can organize this Forum. Because it is quite clear that we cannot bring the problems of the movements to be solved here, but there are forms of organization. Since 2003 we fought and we asked for convergence spaces, to build action centres, reference centers, places where people won't just open a workshop, but could also organize assemblies, be organized, build networks and collective spaces coming from a single organization. Then, if you follow such consultation process, then the moment of the ruling by obeying, as the Zapatistas say, can arrive: ruling but taking decisions by obeying the below, and I believe what we must do is to build a certain autonomy in the eleven axes and also build action centers that don't belong to one or two organizations but rather to multiple action centers so that they strengthen network. Going back to the beginning I feel that the role of the Council is to listen very carefully, to rule by obeying, to listen and to open consultation, and that role is up to you to play it ... We have to make our dreams and our organization become reality to make this Forum objective and autonomous.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 21 (Immanuel) at 01:09:37h: I'm Immanuel, from the United States. I am not a member of the International Committee, but I'm part of the group that has signed this manifesto, which is not called the Group of Nineteen, and we have not 'produced' a consensus, this is what the manifesto says. We have done this not because

we have power, but because we don't have power, to protest against power. This text People ask 'who's got the power?', and finally if we conclude that Moema doesn't have it, that no single person has it, this is the miracle of this Forum. This [the Forum] is a structure where power is the least important thing. In this Forum we have taken the power from below, in the Organising Committee, ... the money, why the money? Because we need the money to build the marquees; we don't have money to pay for each trip, but we have the money to This is the minimum of money we need for the qualification of our work. The political problem as many people have said is to reconcile the idea of open space, which is fundamental, very important, with reality; the real necessity to make political actions in a variable conjuncture across the world, to make what the Forum was set up to do, which is to change the world. Now in constituting this group [the 'Group of Nineteen'] that made these proposals, these are just proposals, and if you don't appreciate them, there are others. The problem for the Forum, is not the problem of power, is not the problem of money, is the problem of reconciling this Forum, this open space with political possibility.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 22 (Teivo) at 01:13:29h: The idea at this time is not to repeat interventions of the ones that have already spoken but, as Friede mentioned in the beginning, the topic of those who signed this declaration and now she has asked to make a short comment about that, I suggest that we give her the opportunity for a very short reaction.

English Speaker 5 (Friede) at 01:14:06h: I thought it was interesting that the G19 was self-chosen ... so it's not another intervention by nineteen people. I thought the number that 85 speakers here at the World Social Forum have been people with at least a BA or more education is interesting. And problem also of the 'remasculinisation' of the Forum. So, we do have the process of the old hegemonic group again. The other thing is that this manifesto [by the G19] is media based, ... focused on media attention. I'm sure you wouldn't ... Why can you have success in something like this? ... But the people who protest, and people who are opposing this, are the people with power.

Spanish Speaker 23 (Teivo) at 01:15:07h: Perfect, ... it is necessary to read the manifesto, to continue the debate. Carolina, are you still waiting; you had requested me a while ago?

Spanish Speaker 24 (Carolina) at 01:15:27h: Carolina, from Peru. I'd like to mention two things. ... To what race do I belong to? I think this is important because ... On my way from Buenos Aires to here, I met six workers from Porto Alegre who work in Chile; they came because they knew about the Forum; among the six, two were in agreement with the Forum and they were optimistic about it and they did have a positive vision for the Forum, ... and then we talked about the workers, we talked on behalf of the workers, on behalf of the natives, as a colleague from Mexico previously said; in my country there are small groups calling themselves self-representatives of this and that, and this arises from the problem of representation; I don't have the answer and I would like to confirm this reflection, because the problem of representation arises from the

monarchy; it is not even born with liberal democracy. So, I want to forward this motion to expand representation.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 25 (Teivo) at 01:17:19h: Thank you; the colleague has been waiting for better times like many others.

Spanish Speaker 26 (Ericson) at 01:17:26h: I am Ericson, I'm from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. I am going to talk about two points. The first point is that I totally disagree with Virginia and Fatima. The Forum is not only a space that works following the logic of [political] parties, where one tendency seeks the hegemony over another one. This is a trap that is made to capture us, and from which we have to escape. You have to fight for spaces, for representation, so that you can move to do something. No, it's not true, this is very bad. We are [thus] repeating the working of parties; this system of parties is exactly what we are trying to break away from; we want to get away from this. So it's very bad, this logic of institutionalisation, of power. This logic of institutionalisation of the Forum is something we have to be aware of. This is my first point. The second point is about the size of the Forum: I remember in Buenos Aires [at the Argentinean Social Forum], everything was very concentrated, and very powerful – everything took place at UBA, Universidad de Buenos Aires, and it was very powerful. And people were talking about doing stuff, planning actions. And here, if you don't know... The Youth Camp was a very revolutionary thing that totally lost its original meaning. I'm sorry to say this, I appreciate you very much as *companheiros*, but 35 thousand people... There is a lack of water, they toilets are crap, the girls are being harassed; everyone knows that, this is the pure reality. I'm sorry, I do understand that it is not their fault.

[applause]

English Speaker 6 (Meena Menon) at 01:20:08h: I'm Meena Menon, I'm from India; thank you for inviting me here. We didn't have young people in India as part of the Social Forum as it's here. This is the opportunity for me to talk to each other; learn from each other, from each other's experiences. What makes me feel very proud ... those of you who were there at the World Social Forum in Mumbai. Although I think we had a lot of problems and perhaps we decided to hide them away ... we feel all the problems, we feel the weaknesses, we had a lot of weaknesses there too, I'm sure ... I hope that in the next Social Forum we'll do in India there will be more participation from the Youth Camp; we are actively helping the Youth Camp in India and Asia to work. ... Experience is important, you have experience in organizing. The same thing applies to older people. Older people have experience, good and bad, and some we learn from, some we don't; and I think that experience is what you need to affect; learn, keep the good things and drop the bad things, and in that process pick up the wealth. I think the youth have many things to teach. Many youths want an organization ... Some of the issues raised here maybe you know the issues, maybe you don't, but I would definitely like to hear whether you can [solve some] of the issues you are raising. ... The problems about what Professor Wallerstein said is true, and it was very amusing, because I think the professor is quite right ... in order to put some kind of political content, some kind of political consensus building on the agenda. Yet, I am one of those who think that the

time is not right for the WSF ... It is not possible to build consensus so easily. I think we need a vision through the movement; we need to start with something the movement wants. How they try to visualize the world. How they strategize water. I think we need to start with that. I think the Youth Camp; the youth also needs to talk about that. What kind of world do you want? What kind of dreams do you have? Because as you get older the dream are denser, when you are younger you can dream much stronger. ... When I was younger I would smoke, drink, I had a small dream that I could do all the things that I felt like doing; ... I wondered, is it alright; is it all right to smoke more than two dopes a day; is it alright to do it; you see; and is it alright for my son and daughter to do these things; Is it alright to let her go? And I think to myself, ... I wonder how you would like your parents to deal with it. I think it's not a question of ...; it's about how you are dealing with it, when you are in the position of power again, because you are in a position of power with respect to your children and it's about responsibility; were do you draw the line? And I think is not about those things. I think is a question of what kind of dreams we have. And I think it's far more complex than young or old. If the Youth Camp consists mainly of educated white youth, mainly male, maybe this is also a problem of articulation. Because there you are again deciding what kind of spaces you occupy on how much space you are giving to someone else. ... because the need for organization is best served, when you have to solve problems of water, housing and other issues in a Forum, in a Camp. You need an organization in order to do these things ... [not clear] ... but I think there is a need for organization to do these things, and this organization can be oppressive on some level. ... I'd really like people to respond to this. ...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 27 (VG) at 01:26:14h: I'm VG, from Brazil; I would like to begin with the same critique that [Moema] made, and turn it back on her; I think you resorted to the same dichotomy of one side against the other. I think we are looking for solutions, the 'youth' and 'the adults' here, we are working together, and don't need to get stuck on this difference. I think it is really important to think how it works; the question is how to do it; because we all know that we have many thinkers, we have many people theorizing, but practice is something else. I believe there is a big difference when we see one of the organizers of the Forum drinking Coca Cola. I also believe that the Forum is a site of struggle, and that all of us make a Forum; we all are the Forum. Then I will also tell you a very important thing that in order to [interruption] maybe there is a difference but [interruption] well, let's not turn it into a debate. Yes, it is a site of struggle, but it must also have a position; we cannot have a 'soft body', as we say in Portuguese. Are we anticapitalist? I think we should start from that.

[applause]

English Speaker 7 at 01:27:49h: I'm from Belgium and I work for Belgium's Social Forum. I'm a member of ATTAC... In the Belgian Social Forum we have the same problems with young people and grassroots movements; ... if there are some ideas, we can share them. What I think is that we need some change; that is the idea. I have seen one concrete thing, but some people won't like it. The ... party from Belgium has been here, and some NGOs and trade unions; some good contacts have been made. So, this

has led to some coalitions that this party has established. So, this is a change. So, their programme has changed. They've now got some ideas. So, if you have some bright ideas, NGOs and trade unions take them; because they are more visible than we are here, they can pass on the information. The problem is that information is not radical change. So, if you can keep with these changes; the question is how can we improve the visibility, the contact with the NGOs and trade unions and the contact with the powerful people in the planet. If you want something else, we have to find something else...

[applause]

English Speaker 8 at 01:30:13h: My name is Ashani and I come from South Africa and I just wanted to comment on the issue of the Youth Camp in 2003 and this year. ... [There haven't been just] young people; there've been old people and children ... and some of the nicest comrades I met come from Argentina are not so young ... The challenge to organization, the challenge to leadership, comes not just from youth. I think it's not just a young idea to organize differently. I think having been able to share those experiences have been outside of these [forum structures]. ... The World Social Forum is coming to Africa pretty soon. And we are a bit worried because the African Social Forum ... has been dominated by people from NGOs ... I don't have an answer to that, but I think we all have to put our mind on how we get the movement in Africa actually involved in the World Social Forum when it comes to us.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 28 at 01:32:12h: Well, I will start saying that I come from Greece, and I live in France and I am travelling around here. Then, being here with all of you, I had to realize that I am part of a power and also of a minority, that we all form this power because we can be here. Good, for that reason we can start to link up differently what is 'how' and what is 'what'. Then I believe we cannot say there is not a problem and that we will find the consensus of doing what we want to do. No, the 'how' is not for consensus, first, because it is not necessary to have consensus. What we are trying to defend here is something else that leads us to other different things – not to mention 'worlds', which is directly from the Zapatista movement ... What we need to see is that we have to ask 'how' with another question. 'How' do we include, or how do we think about a space where the remaining 80 percent of people existing in this world cannot talk. We can't go on saying, 'what are we going to do to include the groups of women, or the group of the indigenous in the Forum'. I'm sorry, we are the 'group', they are everyone. They are a lot. I still haven't heard anybody talking about the people from Guatemala, the natives from Guatemala, I have not heard anybody talking about what is going on in Burma, and yes, I have heard of people who are trying to show a documentary of what is going on in Burma and nobody shows it because they don't have a tape. Everybody has to do what he has to, and has to talk about it, for this reason we are here, because we are trying to converge. Then the most important thing for me is that we must consider how we integrate with the real world.

[applause]

Portuguese Speaker 2 (Kiko) at 1:35:30h: Kiko, from Rio de Janeiro. First of all, power never ceases to exist; I think our problem, our commitment here is how to make it

transversal. We're not going to put an end to power, or these multiple powers; we need to modulate them so they can be the most radically democratic. I agree, for instance, with the criticism made by Rodrigo on the issue of free software; at the same time, I think it's great that it's finally being used [by the Forum]. This is process of appropriation that happens ..., happens with the punks, the krishnas... I think this is inevitable, this appropriation; what we should consider is how to stop this appropriation from being a form of capture. Another important issue is: of course, we are human; of course, we make mistakes; we look at each other and make criticisms, and that's good. But then we fall into this dichotomic game of saying 'yes, he makes criticisms, but look at what he does'. But criticism is everywhere; we still haven't overcome these problems. We must be serious about acknowledging these problems, we must criticise, we must evolve, but we must smile! We need an open space, a radically democratic one, where this can happen. How to make this happen? It must be done in some way.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 29 at 01:37:51h: Partner, the colleague who requested to speak, go ahead!

Spanish Speaker 30 at 01:38:00h: Well I speak Italian ... and I will have to speak a language that is not mine ... so, a little bit of mercy please. ... Well, I heard the Forum has changed. Well, I am a simple participant and I don't belong to any organization; so, I don't know if the Forum has changed. What I can see is that the attitudes of the big figures didn't change, because I saw today and right here, people, partners ... their point of view ... I am not very young; I've already seen these attitudes several times. But they are not simple attitudes ... they are political attitudes like the ones I saw in the unions, in the political parties; the leaders arrived, spoke, and then chatted with their friends and leave. I don't believe that it is a simple attitude, ... I lost the plot a bit – when is my turn to speak the ideas don't come out so easily; well then ten more seconds. All of us, we are the Forum, but that all of us are indigenous, no, it's not true, certainly not, each one have his own power relation and of its relationship it does arise its relationship of power and I say I have prepared ... because no, is not true, why the relationships of power have to be kept out? We are men and women in here. Then ... in my country there were people, colleagues, members of the council, etc. and then they decided for the quantity of the parties ... and they won but anybody requested permission. Then we don't have to include anybody, no, we are not liberals. If the other ones they want to come, then they will come but what do we do to include them? No, it is not necessary to include. The others who ... we have to know our own political limits. If the others, those excluded, if they don't come, maybe it is the case that they have other political limits.

Spanish Speaker 31 (Teivo) at 01:41:00h: Thank you. We still have half hour of the official time and we have certain flexibility to continue with the discussion later on than this, if we want. But I would suggest that from now on people will try to focus a little bit more on some debate axes, without making a very structured debate, and I believe that this is good; but we have talked about some topics here; it has been talked about representation and democracy within the Forum; it has been talked about inclusion and exclusion, the politics of those who enter the Forum the ones who don't; it has been talked about money: this is a topic that I've always found strange – that the World

Social Forum where there are a lot of people with very good Marxist formation, it is pre-supposed that there is political economy, relationships between money and power, and very little attention has been paid to relationships between money and power in the Forum – so, this is another topic that it has arisen here. There are also other debatable axes, but it would be good and in the interest of everybody if those persons who are going to talk would not drag these for too long but would focus a bit more on the debate itself, or they can start a new topic of discussion, if they have a good reason ... then it's welcome, right? But we are not trying to build consensus; it is not a reunion with this purpose, but it would be nice to see what are the disagreements and the agreements, to have an idea about certain topics, possibly advance a little bit the axes of debate. Here there is a colleague that asked to speak a while ago.

Spanish Speaker 32 at 01:42:36h: Hello, good afternoon, Mariana from Argentina. My concerns about the Forum at present are two: first, one that has been mentioned and repeated is the extension and the amplification of the Forum, with the idea of including many people that are now excluded; and the second, it could be a question for you and Manuel, which is of the topic of the Forum's challenge: how to reconcile, how to produce effective global actions. Therefore I would like to listen to different proposals, something that I think this year we are missing a bit; how to generate effective social actions mainly coming from experiences in the past years...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 33 at 01:43:38h: OK, my name is Camilo, I am from Colombia. I would like to add a little bit of pepper to three points: the first one that indeed, apart from the sounds and the annotations, I don't see any of the members of the International Committee, or either any of the representatives of the social movements whom are the ones that also give the strength, body, there is not this ... The second point, to face up to the political differences, I believe it is necessary to understand that capital has had the possibility to adapt according to particularities and in that are mainly the organizing groups because I believe that the attitude should be more pro-active and more positive in order to analyze these type of things; this leads my country to an everlasting condition of irregular war which has generated a discussion about a different connotation of peace or war... Or in India, but there the structural dominance through the castes, we can say, leads to another type of determination, and I do believe that the problem there is not to locate the differences but to determine how they have structured socially and historically in forms of domination. ... I believe that if the left is criticized so much, I believe that you cannot criticize it from the air. I don't believe ... neither here in the camp, neither in the city, neither in the neighbourhoods, I do believe that we are products of the struggle with many errors, with many faults, expensive, even worse I believe that we are products of that and to ignore them I believe it would be a brilliant stupidity. And in face of that, what I believe is that the word 'process' is to understand it according to the effects that we owe ourselves and not according to people that we assemble with. Then, if we think that the process is temporary and the status of the Forum as well, we will surely reproduce internal questions as the Fourth International and all those things of the Left, but the people and the real subject are outside and it is there, in front of those subjects that we have to look for the reality of the process. And the third, about the power, I believe that it has to carry out in the same line but

definitively within a space, I don't think we can request so much, it is not necessary to request so much, but it is necessary to know how to request what it can give and within this, I believe that there are fundamental problems in the economic issue, I don't think money is bad or not. I believe that this is a capitalist system and it is necessary to get money and without money it doesn't work. But I also believe that it is necessary to democratize and to be able to radicalize to the maximum the possibility of collecting money and the possibility of preparing the necessary resources for those characters that come every year, so that they can give us a video conference for example and that this passage becomes a way of accessing other people; but too many options can be located. But I am convinced, and with this I finish, that the revolution is not made in events, the transformation for some, call it as you want, it is not made in events. The events complete a role and in front of that I am not saying it is necessary to mount straight into the requesting permission to the coordinating committees, but stopping that feeling of resistance that we all share would neither be good.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 34 (Teivo) at 01:47:45h: Mike had asked me the word for something so important that it will justify a very short intervention.

Spanish Speaker 35 at 01:47:54h: ... that he comes five minutes and is the best economist of all of us, but well, OK. Hey, no, first I will say one thing, I find that we are discussing the Forum, the Forum, the Forum, but we are not discussing the movement. I say the Forum, it is the result of the struggle of the principle we can observe it in the movement against hunger, and the mobilizations in Europe, of Seattle, of Geneva, and all that. ... But now there will be more time to continue the discussion because we won't make another chat that we wanted to have and did it seem to us that it had a lot to do with this issue and that I find that it is previous to this one which is where the global movement is today? Where and how does the Forum serve the global movement? Do I find that if we would have these where are the Europeans? Where are they, ... what is happening? On the other hand, there are Asians participating in the Forum each year. Do I find out about these things before coming to the Forum...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 36 (Teivo) at 01:49:06h: ... later we're going to have Maite and some other colleagues who were organizing a debate some years after Seattle and the idea was to continue this event with another event but the other event has taken place in parallel to this event. And there exactly to say what we are talking about that issue, of the importance of connecting, to talk about the Forum or to talk about the movements; to me for example to talk about Seattle was that in Seattle you politicize the economic issue, the international issue, in a reaction against the capital power and that political dimension to me at least is the spirit where the Forum is born. As a result there are concerns of different types of depoliticization within the Forum: where is a space or movement, if it can be a relationship of representation and democracy within the Forum; [this is] something that we should debate, or if it is an apolitical space. And those are the concerns that arise from this, the idea that the movement has been a political movement and for that reason we are now having this debate, Steffen.

English Speaker 8 at 01:50:30h: Hi, I'm Steffen from London, the UK. I've got a very practical question; we are lucky to have some members of the International Council in the crowd: how does one become a member of the Council? How are decisions made in the Council? It's a question of power and organization. Some would argue; well, it's not really a relevant question: ... we are all the Social Forum, we can all take decisions, we have all responsibilities to include as many people as possible. But I think there is also a certain naïve position, which says, it doesn't really matter to the International Committee how decisions are made. My response to that would be, yes it is very important, and your point early on to say, it is not about power; I totally disagree with that because even in the smallest decision made in relation to where the Social Forum will take place, how money is raised, where the money is spend, is in the end a political question, is a question of power. So, we have all the responsibility to question who is on this committee: how does one become member of it? What do these people do? As far as I can see, as many people have raised it, you know, gray-haired man on the committees making decisions for us. So, somebody like Holloway has been going around saying we can change the world without taking power; well, sorry, but I really disagree, I think we have to take power and we have to start taking power and we have to start taking it in our own organization which is the Social Forum, and this to my feeling also includes the question of representation, and we briefly touched on this question early on ... as the Forum becomes bigger and bigger we can't... we have to confront the question of representation which does not mean that we have to go back to some weird liberal democracy, we all agree obviously that this is, you know, their model; but representation is something much broader ... but this becomes more theoretical and I had a very practical question: who is on the committee [International Council]? And how does one become a member?

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 37 (Teivo) at 01:53:34h: As there was a direct question, I suggest that somebody will respond to that, Fátima? No? How does someone end up being a member of the International Council? Or do I respond? Does somebody want to respond to that? Somebody wants to respond to that, I can respond, no, I want to. It's like somebody said that to be on the International Council [laughs] ... to be on the International Council of the Forum is like being in the Central Committee without knowing who Stalin is! [laughs]

Spanish Speaker 38 at 01:54:32h: Well, the first idea that I can talk about is that this process was a quite an arbitrary process, it didn't have any rules. The movements and the networks that exist are those born somehow in the beginning ... of the Forum, and this ... space where the functions have arisen changes throughout time ... The International Council has a methodology basically ... it doesn't necessarily mean that it lacks authority ... As he said, ... it is not the case of somebody taking control and decide, because the decisions are taken by consensus; sometimes there are terribly boring discussions in which we eventually achieve to decide on something ahead ... But ... there is ... a lot more from the bottom to the top. I believe that two things need to be strengthened: first to discuss representation; what does representation mean? But am I sure that Fatima can add something else.

Spanish Speaker 39 at 01:56:23h: Fatima, responding to that concrete question.

Spanish Speaker 40 at 01:56:27h: ... Formally the members of the Council ... to be a member of the Council, there is a commission that evaluates [the selection] ... who agrees with it ... The problem is that a formal representation [is not possible] ... [We shouldn't be] ... the representatives of the party, the new party. ... [not clear]

Spanish Speaker 41 at 01:57:28h: Maybe the point is still incomplete, as it keeps expanding, right? There is something interesting about the concept of open space, it was emphasized a lot ... [not clear] ... but this was all I was going to mention ... that we talk about if rules are necessary or not, ... is it important to have rules? It is a concept of open space, and open space for many means not to have any rules. And then the International Council chose the modality ... concrete applications, ... claims to become new members; and because it was a supposedly open space, no rules are needed. If there are no rules at all, it won't be possible to decide about applications, and when it is not possible to decide then it is a closed space. So, this is a paradox of open spaces that we can think about and this was very important in the expansion of the International Council, because during two years it decided that it could not take decisions because this dilemma was too complicated. ...

Spanish Speaker 42 at 01:58:53h: ... only to say that the European example shows how opening the process actually helps; it does help ... that others control; the Greeks are very divided, which is ... and in the end I think the answer is Greek ... and the balance of all this to me is that the open process is better than any selected council that is considered to be quite good.

Spanish Speaker 43 at 01:59:29h: Good afternoon, I am from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; my name is Jordano. I work with the homeless movement, the movement against the police violence in Rio de Janeiro, and the institutional movement. Well, the first point ... that grabbed attention was the point that the colleague from Argentina mentioned before, the fact that Lula is looking at our names in Davos, and I think this is unacceptable and something should be done in respect of this. [applause] We can't just sit here looking at each other without doing anything. But I would like to discuss this again with the colleague because I arrive at the same position, but starting from a totally different history of the Forum. I was at the first World Social Forum here and we participated together with twenty other ... about an action against the World Social Forum where we denounced and shared with all colleagues who came from other parts of the world and didn't know Lula and the bureaucracy and technocracy of the PT ... that this was a trick for electoral purposes on a national level, and on an international level it was a manoeuvre of the reformation of capitalism. We wrote the manifesto 'Another World is Possible Destroying Capitalism'. Later in the second Forum we wrote the manifesto 'Another Exclusive Forum'. In all the Forums we've tried to change this. I do believe that it worked, right? Today, this fifth Forum, is a tourist event, right? It was maintained for political questions not because their objectives were already concluded. I think it was an example of the movement ... and all this was called at the second Forum 'About the Parallel'. I think this year there are some kind of spaces for things like this one here, for example; but, on the other hand, there is much less energy, and the Forum in general has less energy. Because ... the Forum ... I don't agree with it being started, and we

were deceived, ... the idea of those that began the Forum already had this in mind; because it was begun with bureaucrats of the PT that are capable, if you don't know them well, ... people that are in the popular struggle are behind the police, right? We do know them well ... The Ford Foundation; well, there are other things that I wanted to say, but my time has already run out.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 44 (Teivo) at 02:02:25h: The colleague referred to the Forum having less energy than in previous Forums. A concrete question is how much energy we have to continue? [audience talk] Do we still have energy; do you find the debate important or very slack? [audience talk] Is it good? Do you agree? Perfect! Here another colleague.

Spanish Speaker 45 at 02:02:53h: Hello, I am Gabriela from Peru ... In fact, I think the participation of all the people in the Forum is quite ephemeral ... I think that the absence of convocation ... I came here to find people that thought the same as me, to strengthen what I believed in, and to form certain networks to continue, but I have not achieved it. So, this has discouraged me. I believe that the people should look for a way to articulate ... young ones as well as adults ... I think that the committee has to facilitate; ... so that there is an encounter; not so many commissions, but a way of dialogue ... that they have networks that can help to ... I do think that it is not [only a question of] listening; ... but we have to discuss, to be more articulate, because if we don't the situation weakens ... [The Forum] doesn't have enough energy ... I feel that it is very important and that I have learned so many things, but what for? What for? I don't know. I do think that it is very important to foment a dialogue, a situation...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 46 (Teivo) at 02:04:43h: For it to be more ... the situation as Gabi requested, will we hear the colleague ... from Japan, right?

Portuguese Speaker 3 at 02:04:53h: ... I'll speak in Portuguese, but I'm from Japan. Two problems. First, Brazil for example is very far away from Japan; so people in grassroots movements from Japan can't come. Who can come then? Second, there's a huge problem of translation. ... [not clear]

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 47 at 02:07:41h: The colleague asked for some time now, compañera

Portuguese Speaker 4 (Fabiana) at 02:07:51h: I'm Fabiana, from Porto Alegre, from the Youth Camp Organising Committee. I'd like to draw people's attention to the design of the Forum this year: the differences between this Forum and the last one, this Youth Camp and the last one. I think this has contributed a lot to the mediatisation of the Forum, and we should ask how much we profit, and how much we lose because of that. What does it mean for the Forum to have the Youth Camp here? What is our political gain? I used to joke with my companheiros that this new design would be great for 'Zero Hora' [largest Porto Alegre newspaper]; and today, that was the picture in their

front cover. We should question ourselves: is this what we are? I think we're a lot more than a bird's eye view. For the money that is spent, the energy that's wasted, and the little... [interruption] Something else that has scared me a lot – and now the Youth Camp OC is in the Brazilian Organising Committee, in the International Council – is the importance given to 'diversity' after the Forum in India. This goes hand in hand with the mediatisation. 'The more diversity' [the better]. But what diversity is this? What do we gain from this? What I want to say is that we must start thinking again about a concise Forum, a space for debate, as the *companheiro* said, I think it's too...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 48 at 02:09:56h: I'm Mateo from the northwest of the United States, and, OK, we are thinking about the future, right? Thinking of the urgency, what is our main urgency? For our movement to grow, and to protect our neighbourhoods. The urgency is not to make a false consensus here for the world, as an answer to the ones in control. I believe that the urgency is to give voice to those that don't have one, to strengthen what we are building. And, well, it is necessary to take the time with the world forums and to leave space for local issues, for regional issues, for thematic forums, so that the process grows more democratic; and, well, how can the Forum be then? How can the Forum strengthen our movement in this approach? How can it strengthen our dream? How can it facilitate our convergence points that we can find in other places and then, eventually at world level? And, then, at the same time, we have to think about the spaces we are building ... What are those spaces and the democratic consensus? ... At the same time, we are thinking about the power within the Forum...

[applause]

Portuguese Speaker 6 at 02:11:56h: Thank you. I'm going to raise the ethnic diversity here, I'm Polish. I'll address the issues of power and representativity, as they are directly linked. As professor ... said yesterday, So I think the Forum itself produces power, the problem is how to distribute it. ...

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 49 (Teivo) at 02:14:03h: Now it will be just about seven o'clock, but as I said we will continue a little bit longer with the debate especially because we will have an intervention now that I find interesting, very interesting. But before that I want to thank those who maybe have to leave because it is seven o'clock and have other commitments, like Emmanuel and Beatriz already have [applause]. But as a substitution another gentleman has come who will help us to respond a little to the question of how the organs that govern the World Social Forum were chosen, and the International Council that governs ... He has been very involved in that and so I do believe that he can give us some hints; we will tell him that here we have talked, we have criticized a little a certain lack of democracy, and all that ... and one question was, how the International Council or the Brazilian Organizing Committee were selected. And then Chico Whitaker who has been very involved in the process from the beginning and I suggest that we give him at least three minutes to say something on that issue because I believe that he can complete the answer.

Chico at 02:15:31h: I'll use my first half minute to apologise. ... I'd like first of all to apologise for not having been here before, I intended to arrive at four, but I was attending the preparations for the closing ceremony tomorrow. Do you know about it? You don't know? I'll tell you. The closing event will be tomorrow morning at 8.30, in the stage behind the Gasometro. When the idea of the Forum occurred – 'let's make it' – it was a proposal to which we had to reply 'either we do it, or we don't'. So the people who accepted this challenge invited a few other people – not just the people, but the organisations they belonged to; but mainly the people who could work to make this happen. So we started working, and it was mostly a matter of getting it off the ground, because we had very little time: the idea first appeared in January, February, in March the first meeting took place, in July we opened discussions with the Rio Grande do Sul State government, the local government, to know whether they accepted working on it, they wouldn't intervene. This was in July. So this proposal was then taken to a world assembly of social movements, of these movements who'd been very active in mobilisations of the late 1990s, and once it was accepted we had from August to January to organise everything. Thus, the group that had accepted this task started working on it together, and other organisations eventually joined by helping with all the tasks that were necessary. The International Council: the International Council was born out of a decision taken after the first Forum here, when we said, 'this can't be restricted to Brazil, we need to make it global, we need to have forums in other places', and we need to connect at a world scale much more than we had until then. For that, we said 'it'd be good if we had the systematic support of international organisations'. This Organising Committee, and other organisations that were close to it, drafted a list of all the organisations that had attended the first Forum which could join something like a council, we still didn't quite know what; so this Council resulted from a sort of election of people and organisations. In all the first list we drafted, there were around seventy organisations, and they all met in June 2001. This Council started functioning from then. After that there was a whole discussion on how to bring in new members, with what criteria, and this was a discussion that took the Council itself almost two years to arrive at some conclusions. This was concluded in 2004, when another group of organisations joined the Council. We are now still debating the criteria. Zero minutes. I apologise, but i have another commitment now, and I'll have to leave you. Thank you very much.

Spanish Speaker 50 at 02:20:35h: Come on, compañera.

Spanish Speaker 51 at 02:20:37h: The comrades that brought me here are waiting for me; I have to go back to Patagonia and I cannot leave without telling the organizers what has happened here in the Forum in the last few days because there was an exact reproduction of what is subjugation, oppression and discrimination. I came to this Forum with the intention of being able to participate in different discussions fundamentally related to the issues of the indigenous people; to present the problem of ... corporations in Patagonia, Argentina. Besides the surprise of the Forum being financed by corporations against which we usually fight, I was also censored in the space of the indigenous. I asked the coordinators of the space for indigenous, who had designated it. Then I realized that not all organizations are invited; it is impossible for those organizations that are in the real fight, for those who are not ideologists of the revolution but their practitioners, to be in these spaces. ... We've tried to summon

everybody to be able to organize, but we could not, and do you know why? Because we have to prevent the Santander group, which keeps all the territories, so that they stop messing around with us and they make some cleaning for us; we cannot participate in the meetings because many times we don't have enough money to come to Brazil. We don't even have enough resources to travel around our own communities, and to arm the fight like we want to. So, I arrived here thinking it was going to be a pluralistic space in which we could speak, but then we realized that the indigenous space was invaded by Chavistas (pro-Chavez) ... and many 'istas' were going around; but we, the ones who put our body, we do not have a right to vote, we don't have a voice. We cannot speak because we weren't included in the programme. Maybe we could have five minutes ... but we have different perspectives of time. Which new world are we talking about, if we cannot have a respectful, retrospective look of the other world; if it was possible, if it lived, if it was useful to us, and that they destroyed without consulting us. Now we want to be part of these consultations, of this new and possible world, but following our own parameters; it is a shame, compañeros; it is shameful how Mapuche, as an earth warrior, to have to be in front of compañeros who are supposed to want to build the new world together and they didn't give us the opportunity to speak because we could not be in Brasilia. I hope that these things will be modified. I'm leaving extremely disappointed. I do not know if I will be able to return because at this time, while I am here denouncing this situation, in my community thousands of kilometres away from the federal capital, my family, my four children, are surrounded by the police because we live in a terrorist state – by the rule of democracy ... Mr Kirchner's democracy. He is a very close friend of the president and we live in a terrorist state ... The Santander Group murders our rivers and evicts us, and I am here trying to present the issue and in fact it has been impossible. Finally, I would like to tell you something: I conclude now; only two more points ... colleagues ... two perspectives: no to capitalism, and the perspective of socialism, where the indigenous perspective has been included; the issue underlies in the indigenous towns perspective, compañeros, and in those experiencing the conflicts because of the forestation companies, mining companies and oil companies, that perspective ... we have the answer. They say that we want a pie that is equally distributed. Capitalism says we want the pie, and that the pie should be distributed according to the capacity. The indigenous people, we want to come here to say to all of you that we don't want the pie, we want to knead the pie with our hands, with Indo-America's ingredients; and we were not present to be able to share this. That is what I wanted to say, thank you.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 52 (Teivo) at 2:24:58: I do not know if the Organizing Committee wants to comment something about the spaces' issue ... Let's listen ... OK, then ... a comment, an answer ...

Spanish Speaker 53 at 2:25:40: Can I? I only want to try to explain from another perspective, which is not better, neither worse, it is simply my point of view ... We'll convert in Quito ... as Quito was the first town of the God summit. ... It's absolutely special to try to do something about the question of the [indigenous] towns ... with greater strength coming from themselves. In the World Social Forums that we previously had here in Porto Alegre, the indigenous towns seemed to be very dispersed,

they were not organized, some of the NGOs were not even there; I worked for an NGO, ... the indigenous towns ... what we did when we were in Quito was talking to the people that organized the summit of the indigenous towns of Quito and we told them: what do you think? How can we help, radicalize and deepen the nation's indigenous towns participation to the interior of this Forum's process, not only to be there ... Then we began a discussion with the people of Coica[?], of Collar[?], which are the political representations of the town ... But it's not enough, we have to deepen the participation, but I would argue that we have made the effort ... It's very important for ... a self-managed presence, starting from those who represented us as organizations of indigenous towns of the America. Of course, nobody has got a unitary representation, there are many forms ... we have to radicalize and deepen, but at least, for the first time, we had a space within the World Social Forum that has been chosen by the coordinators of this space ... they built a programme for the discussion with us ... and we have built the programme. I would say that there is much more to be done, much to be done to deepen, we are very far from what would be better, but we have to recognize that we have had a political effort ... a political and cultural, logistical effort to have in the World Social Forum those towns from the indigenous nations. In my opinion, it is a shame that you are disappointed because we try to do our possible best ... here I invite you very fraternally to discuss, to a dialogue and to try to deepen this process which is just at the beginning; there is a ... on the wall which I love 'what is freedom for if I cannot travel?' We travelled, we travelled ... I tell you with all fraternity again that I invite you to continue this dialogue, to deepen this debate and to see how we can include more ... the indigenous towns not only ... but in all the process of ... the World Social Forum.

[applause]

English Speaker 9 at 02:29:31h: What about the companies involved?

Spanish Speaker 54 (Teivo) at 2:29:34: Here comes a suggestion to use this space to talk about the companies, the money, the finances and the conditionings. If I understood properly, there is a question from here and another one from there, first this, than that. How is the energy level, if we continue for a while – but we are starting to conclude, right? [We want to know about the companies]; then we do have to talk more about the companies or not? [Yes], I don't know if the colleague's question has something to do with or is about another topic; let's talk about the companies first and then we will discuss another issue. ... OK, somebody still wants to emphasize something or do people believe they made the question, they've asked the questions, and they do have the answers as well. Then, I understood that there is an answer to the organizing committee or the International Council about which is the role of the international companies and their financing of the World Social Forum and what type of conditioning this can cause; someone mentioned Santander, right? Petrobras, what else? Ford, what else? Bayer. Petrobras, Santander, Ford, Bayer, any other company to be included? ... OK, we can deconstruct the frontier between private companies and public entities. OK, I don't know if it will be Moema again who will answer the question, or maybe Fatima is still here... because the Brazilian Organizing Committee is not.

Spanish Speaker 55 at 2:32:47: First, I totally agree with the concern about the financing question, it is a problem that we should try to deepen in the discussion and that we should cover in a better way. First, we don't have answers, and personally I do not have answers for everything. First of all, the private companies do not finance the Forum at all. Santander doesn't finance the Forum at all, Monsanto doesn't finance the Forum at all. We don't have any private company that puts its money into the World Social Forum. Second, the Ford Foundation, the Ford Foundation, yes the Ford Foundation doesn't finance this World Social Forum, it doesn't finance it. The ideologists have ... requesting support from the Ford Foundation ... But, yes the Ford Foundation finances the process. That is important to say it. The Ford Foundation finances many of the movements ... many movements have projects financed by the Ford Foundation, and that is it. Third, the Bank of Brazil, and what else? Petrobras. Yes, they are the Brazilian government's companies ... they are state companies, and these companies of the government were there since the beginning of the World Social Forum, from the first World Social Forum the government, the federal governments, the state and municipal governments, they all put money ... This is public money of the Brazilian people, it is not Lula's government money, it is not the government's money. It is the product of the hard work, very hard work of the Brazilian population. This is money ... with the sweat and the effort of the Brazilians, men and women. Being a public resource, we have to ... and in my opinion, ... we have to use the public resources to the service of those ... The World Social Forum, in my opinion, is a process of transformation of the reality; and therefore, it is a public space for the construction of a new order. The government's money is not money taken from a company; if we treat it in that way, we leave others to do ... and that the government leaves the public money for ... a family, that will denounce change in another place, there is going to be public money for the agrarian reform. Public money has to be argued 'hand in hand' to make popular steps to support the transformation process. Public money is ours; in my opinion, it should be under our control.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 56 (Teivo) at 2:36:17: Are we all satisfied? Does anybody want to comment on that? OK, compañero.

Spanish Speaker 57 at 2:36:37: I'm talking about climate change, which is fucking us all. We [live] in an oil culture; They are attacking cultures ... taking their water ... the water from the people, OK. ... The public companies are under the control of the people, or not? They are not under the control of the people. Petrobras; I don't control Petrobras, you don't control Petrobras; do we control Petrobras or the other oil companies? OPEC ... it is the most murderous company in the world; that is to say, the most murderous industry in this world; and, this guy is talking about another world that is possible out of this shit. Who are you trying to fool? They are using us, and they are using this dream to clean their faces. Next year BP perhaps is going to put money in ... BP, or billion petroleum. All these companies are using us because they use all of us; because they are parasites. ... We need an anti-oil movement; let's see how long Petrobras will last in the public hands. What we should not do is to wash their faces ... Petrobras is going to take out some little pamphlets with Che Guevara on it and we will all go to buy gasoline from Petrobras or the Bank of Brazil. And when Petrobras will be

going to mess around with the people of Bolivia, or to put another company ... these people are working for the market, the market is not ... for ten cents, neither now or in the future; ... above that they are not defending us, that is to say, they are using you as they use us ... To defend them here, we are defending the companies ...

Spanish Speaker 58 (Teivo) at 2:38:39: Here compañero, here Mina of the Indian Organising Committee asked a question about ... which kind of money would then be acceptable?

Spanish Speaker 59 at 2:38:50: Yes, what type of financing would be accepted by the doctor?

Spanish Speaker 60 (male) at 2:39:00: Me? In my deplorable opinion, the infrastructure here is superfluous, half of the infrastructure here is superfluous. That is to say, we can have other meetings, even smaller than this, right? So, it would not be necessary to take money from here and there, have all this ... paper, garbage, plastics ... I do not know, [but we don't need all this] money.

[applause]

Portuguese Speaker 8 at 2:39:39: There was a working group on sustainability in the Forum organisation, where this use of Petrobras money was questioned. And the whole working group was in fact against it. This a stance I think all of us Brazilians such have, a mediatic stance as well, against a company that is having a negative impact, acting like a multinational, in another country. In Ecuador there's a huge struggle against what Petrobras is doing there, and we as Brazilians should be against it. I think the Organising Committee's stance should have been of refusing these resources, because within this process [of organising the Forum] we have a lot of power. The question is not what money we use or we don't use, but how we can use the media impact of the Forum process [to denounce these things].

Spanish Speaker 61 (Teivo) at 2:41:01: Now, in the list I see there is ... We are lucky that ... has responded several times, so, we can give the word to another colleague again.

English Speaker 10 (Steffen) at 2:41:16: I think there can't be any question about this ... I mean we need money; we need some sort of money. But again the question is who makes these decisions? When? What kind of companies ... are involved? I mean, I think any local government is more democratic than the current International Council. We need to take control of these decisions because it is just absolutely vital. Only after the decisions are made, we are kind of consulted. But, obviously, this consulting process is some sort of arbitrary information process – after things have happened. We need the consultation process before; we need democratic structures on how these decisions are made.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 62 (male) at 2:42:26: A simple question and only a few seconds, no more ... Would it be possible that someone from the commission ... did a report which

states more or less how much money was used and what comes from which companies ... That's the questions, right? So, that we can think about this ... Where does the money come from? But where is the interest of these companies to invest money in here? This is to say, if a company works on a profit logic, why [are they interested]? The question that I want to leave for your contemplation is, why are they profiting from what is lacking here?

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 63 (Teivo) at 2:43:16: About that? About the financing from companies? Yes, but that is another issue.

Spanish Speaker 64 (female) at 2:43:39: OK, it is never pleasant to talk about money, for everybody there are many ... The problem has arisen because of including people of other countries, like Asia, and other groups. You are talking of how ... and I believe that the fact that the Forum does not ... this becomes treacherous in relation to the participatory [principle]. I believe that the Forum should be inspired ... in the same way that it was done here, but I believe that in the money discussion ... that it should apply to ... participatory what are the real basic necessities ... to participate in expenses ... and to consult with all the people of the Forum in order to know how the money will be managed.

[applause]

Spanish Speaker 65 (Teivo) at 2:44:30: Perfect, one question then. I do not know if it can be observed little by little ... the colleague from Argentina, the one who asked questions about the financing question, let's see ...

[recording stops]

**the translators,
transcribers
and editors**

Jose Caballero is a Doctoral Candidate in the Department of Politics and International Studies at the University of Warwick. Jose has worked as a Researcher at the International Institute for Corporate Governance (Yale University) and the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER, USA). He has also worked as a consultant for the Private Sector Advisory Department at the World Bank, the International Investment Corporation (World Bank), the Inter-American Development Bank, and as Adjunct Professor in the Department of Business Administration at the Rafael Landivar University (Guatemala). Jose holds an MA (Social Science: Government) from Harvard University and a BS (Summa Cum Laude) in International Business Administration from Newbury College (Brookline, MA, USA).

E-mail: J.Caballero@warwick.ac.uk

Claudia M. Fabbri is a PhD candidate in the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Warwick, Coventry. Her research interests include: Argentine-Brazilian nuclear cooperation, regional integration in South America, and constructivism in international relations.

E-mail: C.M.Fabbri@warwick.ac.uk

Beatrice Ruffini, born in Italy in 1974, studied English and Spanish and lived one year in Spain during her studies. Then, in 1998 she came to London where she studied photography and photojournalism and where she is still living at present.

E-mail: bearuffini@hotmail.com

Rodrigo Nunes is a PhD candidate in philosophy at Goldsmiths College, University of London. He was a member of the Porto Alegre IYC OC in the culture and communication working groups, one of the organisers of the Caracol Intergalactika, and was also involved in organising the ESF 2004 in London, particularly in the autonomous spaces.
E-mail: rgnunes@riseup.net

Steffen Böhm is editor-in-chief of *ephemera*.
E-mail: sgbohm@essex.ac.uk