

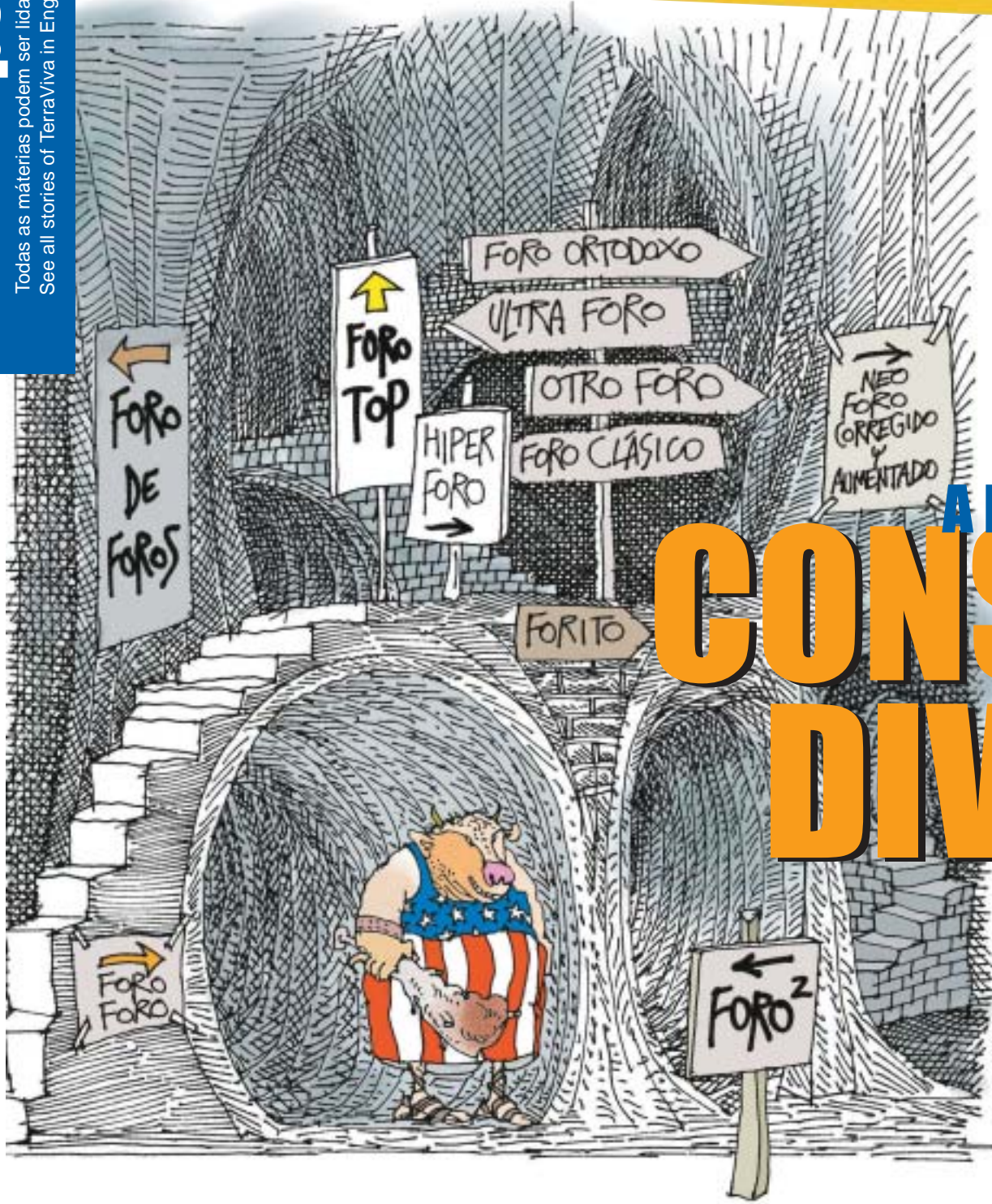
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# TERRAVIVA

THE INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER OF THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM V, PORTO ALEGRE, 26-31 JANUARY, 2005  
O JORNAL INDEPENDENTE DO FÓRUM SOCIAL MUNDIAL V, PORTO ALEGRE, 26-31 DE JANEIRO, 2005



There was an air of uncertainty about the future of de WSF as the curtains closed on Porto Alegre '05. It concerns this question: how much should the Forum change even as it tries to change the world?

## A DIVIDED CONSENSUS CONSENSO DIVIDIDO

Um ar de incerteza sobre o futuro do FSM surgiu no encerramento de Porto Alegre 2005. Trata-se do seguinte: o que e como deve mudar no Fórum enquanto tenta mudar o mundo?

Cristiano Sant'Anna

# FURACÃO Venezuelano

Hugo Chávez abriu seu peito aos camponeses do MST e logo se apropriou do Fórum



## Hugo Chávez, presidente da Venezuela

# “O FSM deve ter uma estratégia de poder”

Por Mario Dujisin

### O presidente da Venezuela, Hugo Chávez, lançou ontem ao FSM o desafio da ação política direta

Ainda antes do discurso de Chávez no Gigantinho, o Comitê Hemisférico do FSM anunciou que a próxima edição do evento já tem endereço. Acontecerá em Caracas, a própria capital do país governado pelo carismático líder venezuelano presente ao estádio. Ele não perdeu tempo nem entusiasmo: “Pois desde já nos colocamos às ordens e nos comprometemos com isso”, disse.

Sobre o evento, avançou uma proposta. “É o momento de dar um passo, e este 5º Fórum pode ser o início de uma nova etapa. Os próximos cinco anos devem vir acompanhados de uma agenda social mundial. Que a esta agenda, agreguemos uma estratégia de poder”, disse o dirigente.

“Se trata de poder e de contra-poder, de hegemonia e de contra-hegemonia, de ver qual projeto se impõe no mundo, se o projeto da des-



Fotos: Cristiano Sant'Anna

truição deste belo planeta, ou o projeto nosso, que é o projeto da vida, frente ao projeto da morte, e ver qual se impõe no final”, acrescentou.

Chávez iniciou sua visita a Brasil de uma maneira não usual: foi

diretamente do aeroporto de Porto Alegre para um assentamento ocupado por integrantes do Movimento Sem Terra, conhecido como Assentamento Lago do Junco, um terreno de 840 hectares que dá tra-

balho e sustento a 37 famílias de agricultores.

Ali, com uma chamativa camisa vermelha, tomou conta da cena, como de costume, distribuindo abraços e misturando-se aos camponeses,

vestindo suas roupas e colocando um chapéu, como quem quer ser apenas mais um, e mais nada: “Hugo, camponês e soldado”.

Mas ele sabe que não é assim tão simples. Sabe que desperta paixões, e as provoca. Encontrou um Gigantinho repleto, ávido de aplaudir seu discurso radical, escutar sua interminável oratória, as elipses de incoerência aparente que terminam com uma lógica que por vezes surpreende. No Lago do Junco, os camponeses o viram abrir a camisa, feliz, para mostrar um Che Guevara perto do coração.

Chávez conquista corações e arranca aplausos e lágrimas femininas, assim como também ódio, e a constante ironia de jornalistas e intelectuais, por causa de um estilo tão pouco presidencial que perturba.

“Se queremos acabar com a pobreza, demos o poder aos pobres. Mas que tipo de poder? O poder político, através da organização popular, e uma amostra dela é o povo da Venezuela”, acrescentou.

Em uma coletiva à imprensa, ao retornar do assentamento rural, denunciou os Estados Unidos por tentar isolar a Venezuela, utilizando o incidente diplomático recente entre o seu país e a Colômbia, por causa do seqüestro em Caracas de um alto dirigente da guerrilha colombiana, em dezembro último, por ordem de autoridades colombianas.

O seqüestro de Rodrigo Grande, responsável pelas relações exteriores das Forças Armadas Revolucionárias (Farc) “foi uma provocação fabricada em Washington”, disse Chávez.

Ele é o único mandatário estrangeiro a visitar o Fórum, que considera “o acontecimento político mais importante do mundo”, e o seu desempenho no Gigantinho o converteu instantaneamente em responsável pelo real fechamento deste fórum, frente a um estádio repleto.

À vontade frente à multidão, soube aproveitar a circunstância. Disse o que as pessoas queriam ouvir, que a resposta é direta e radical, que não se deve esperar elaborações intelectuais, que é preciso pensar em uma estratégia e no poder. Ele o sabe, ele o fez, ele o faz sempre. E eles o aplaudem, os intelectuais o subestimam, seus opositores se enfurecem, e o Fórum se derrama numa noite de festa e cerveja.

Depois virão sol, o calor abrasador, a marcha final e um “até a próxima”, cheio do vazio de cada janeiro, como acontece há cinco anos.

## Hugo Chávez, President of Venezuela

# “The WSF should have a strategy of power”

By Mario Dujisin

### Venezuelan President Hugo Chávez issued a challenge for direct political action yesterday at the WSF.

At his rally at the Gigantinho, it was confirmed by the WSF “Hemispheric Committee” that Venezuela will host the next Forum, which was greeted by roar of approval.

“It is time to take a step and this fifth WSF could be the beginning of a new phase, and the next five years should be accompanied by a world social agenda. To that agenda we must add a strategy of power,” said Chávez.

“It is a matter of power and counter-power, of hegemony and counter-hegemony, of seeing which proposal prevails in the world. Whether it is the project of destroying this beautiful planet, or our project, which is the project of life, against the project of death, and see which prevails in the end,” he said.

Chávez began his visit to Brazil in an unusual way: he went from the Porto Alegre airport directly to a settlement occupied by the supporters of the Movimento dos Sem Terra (MST -

Landless Workers Movement), a site known as the Assentamento Lago do Junco, an 840-hectare area that provides work for 37 rural families.

Wearing a red shirt, he stole the scene, as usual, losing himself in the embrace of the peasant farmers, dressing like them and wearing a farm hat, as if aiming to be just another one of them, nothing more: “Hugo, campesino and soldier!”

But he knows that nothing is that simple. He knows he fuels fervour — he seeks it out and provokes it. At Gigantinho he found a packed house eager to applaud his radical discourse, listen to his never-ending speech, the apparently incoherent sidetracks that surprisingly found a logical end. At Lago do Junco, the campesinos saw him happily unbutton his shirt to show off his t-shirt with the image of Che Guevara next to his heart.

Chávez conquers hearts and sparks applause, but he also awakens feelings of ill will, and ongoing ridicule by journalists and intellectuals for his style, so un-presidential that it is shocking.

And he proposes what has already been proposed: “They have told me that there is an idea to decentralise, and that in Caracas we should hold a World Social Forum event. We are at your disposal, and we are committed.”

“If we want to put an end to pov-



erty, we have to give power to the poor. But what kind of power? Political power, through popular organisation, and one example of this has been the Venezuelan people,” he said.

In a news briefing, on his return from Lago do Junco, he lashed out at the United States for attempting to isolate Caracas after the recent diplomatic row between Venezuela and Colombia over the December kidnapping of a Colombian guerrilla leader, which was ordered by authorities in Colombia.

The kidnapping of Rodrigo Granda, the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) head of foreign re-

lations, “was a provocation planned in Washington,” said Chávez.

The Venezuelan leader was the only foreign head of state to visit the Forum, which he described as “the world’s most important political event.” And with his rally in the Gigantinho, he was responsible for turning the packed stadium into the Forum’s closing ceremony.

Comfortable before huge crowds, Chávez took full advantage of the occasion. He said what people wanted to hear, speaking about the need for determined and radical responses. As usual, his audience applauded.

TerraViva is an independent publication of IPS-Inter Press Service news agency. The opinions expressed in TerraViva do not necessarily reflect the editorial views of IPS or the official position of any of its sponsors. IPS gratefully acknowledges the financial support received for this publication from Oxfam International and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung (FES).

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ActionAid International supported the participation of Richel Dursin, Zarina Geloo and Qurratul-Ain-Tahmina, journalists from Africa and Asia-Pacific in TerraViva

IPS-Inter Press Service is a global news agency that provides news features, analyses and commentaries on the events and processes affecting the development of peoples and nations, especially in the South. As an international not-for-profit association of journalists, IPS enjoys NGO consultative status (Category I) with the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.

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# A Divisive Consensus

By TerraViva Team

The 12-point Manifesto launched by 19 WSF intellectuals Saturday did not exactly revolutionize the tents and fields of the World Social Forum, but it certainly filled up the political talk yesterday. In the end, the word “consensus” used by its main proposer, Ignacio Ramonet, to define the document, seemed less than appropriate.

Among the unhappy “celebrities” was Brazilian International Committee member Cândido Grzybowski, who said he was invited to join in by Bernard Cassen, the editor of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, but refused to sign. He took this decision not because of disagreement with the contents of the document, but the method employed by its sponsors to launch it.

“The contents of this proposal is perfect, and I believe 80 percent of the Forum participants would agree with it,” Grzybowski told TerraViva.

“What kills this proposal is the method with which it was created and presented. It goes against the very spirit of the Forum. Here, all proposals are equally important and not only that of a group of intellectuals, even when they are very significant persons.”

“It was a political mistake,” declared Grzybowski, who believes the document will not even be discussed “because it did not follow the agreed method and it could even generate a rejection by the grassroots of the Forum.”

Professor Kamal Mitra Chenoy, former member of the Adhoc India Organising Committee, says he was not aware of the document but



Paulino Menezes

is not surprised either.

“As for this document I would consider it a declaration from inside the forum but not of the forum. Even if 3000 organisations sign it, it will not be a WSF declaration. To be that it has to come from the IC and it has to democratically resolve the first debate first,” he told TerraViva.

Flavio Lotti, of the Italian NGO Tavola della Pace, thinks in turn that “it is a legitimate initiative; we are a space which is totally open and the richness of this space makes itself apparent precisely in this kind of situation.”

“I personally share the document and also the spirit in which this document has been done. I think that it is not in the mind of the signatories to define a platform to be imposed to anyone. It is an effort to summarize some common initiatives which I believe unify a big chunk of this WSF,” Lotti said.

However, he also had some criticism to offer. “The document

“Este é o nosso manifesto”

Maria Lúcia, psicóloga, que encaminhou proposta desenvolvida na oficina *Que Indivíduo Queremos para Este Outro Mundo Possível?*

misses an important issue, that of peace and war, that is dominant nowadays in the international agenda, together with the economy and an important field of work for the world civil society.”

Unlike Grzybowski, the leader of Tavola della Pace thinks the

Manifesto must be discussed at the next IC meeting scheduled for the end of March, and that it is time for the Forum to face the “taboo” issue of becoming a global political force rather than just a space for debate.

Lotti recognizes that the move by the “Gorup of 19”, presented at a press conference Saturday, involves the risk of divisions within the Forum, given the heavy intellectual weight of the signatories, but trusts that the spirit of the WSF will prevail.

For IC member Elizabeth Robinson, of Amarc, a split is unlikely, because “no matter how hard they are trying to direct things, the Forum has a life of its own”. She does not hide her anger, however, both at the document, which “excludes the concept of the right to communication”, and at the group, overwhelmingly composed of “males of European descent”.

Steve Buckley, president of said he had not seen the document but “I would have expected it to be discussed in advance by an organization, not individuals.”

“A manifesto is impossible,” comments Jurgen Moritz of Mexico. “There are too many different opinions and all should be expressed.”

Jubilee South’s Lidy B. Nacpil was all for adopting a common message. “Adopting a common message is good,” she said, “and the inclusion on debt cancellation in the 12-point document shows that we have a strong message to the creditors.”

To Minoru Kitamura of the Japan Asia Africa Latin America Solidarity Committee, a consensus document could be acceptable, but

it should contain all ideas. “Diversity is at the heart of our forum,” he told TerraViva.

Currently, WSF still sees itself as facilitating “decentralized coordination and networking among organizations engaged in concrete action towards building another world, at any level from the local to the international, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society,” said Kitamura. “The World Social Forum is not a group nor an organization.”

EU Parliamentary Deputy Giulio Chiesa said, “The Forum is a global laboratory that should not be abandoned. But it should go beyond festivity and protests. It should have a structure for action. We cannot just say ‘another world is possible.’ We need projects and involve scientists in solutions.”

Mikael Ronkko of Finland, head of an NGO on “global democratisation,” upholds the current format, saying any strong structure would also make it less open. It is a view shared by Viriato Tamele, an author from Mozambique. “The forum points the way to a different and alternative approach,” he says.

“This statement itself is an example of the success of the open space that is the WSF. I cannot see any alternative as to how it can take positions and remain an open and democratic space, however,” says India Organising Committee member P. K. Das.

“The movement will obviously grow over time and may take a form which will vary from the concept at its inception. We can neither halt nor pre-fix the process which has to be evolving and dynamic.”

## Mural quer um Fórum mais efetivo

Por Sílvio Ferreira

Um dos argumentos mais utilizados pelos críticos do Fórum Social Mundial, de que há uma carência de ações concretas, gerou nesta quinta edição do evento a criação do Mural de Propostas.

O objetivo é reunir todas as sugestões apresentadas durante os cinco dias de discussões em Porto Alegre e registrá-las no Projeto Memória Viva do FSM/2005. “A idéia é que, uma vez definidas, essas sugestões possam ser consultadas por todos para que, ao longo do processo, sejam transformadas em ações efetivas”, explica um dos coordenadores do projeto, o francês Nicolas Haeringer, 24 anos.

Todos os participantes que representavam alguma entidade previamente cadastrada no Fórum puderam registrar suas propostas. Haeringer explica que, como é um documento específico desta edição, não foram aceitas sugestões feitas por organizações que não tiveram representantes no evento.

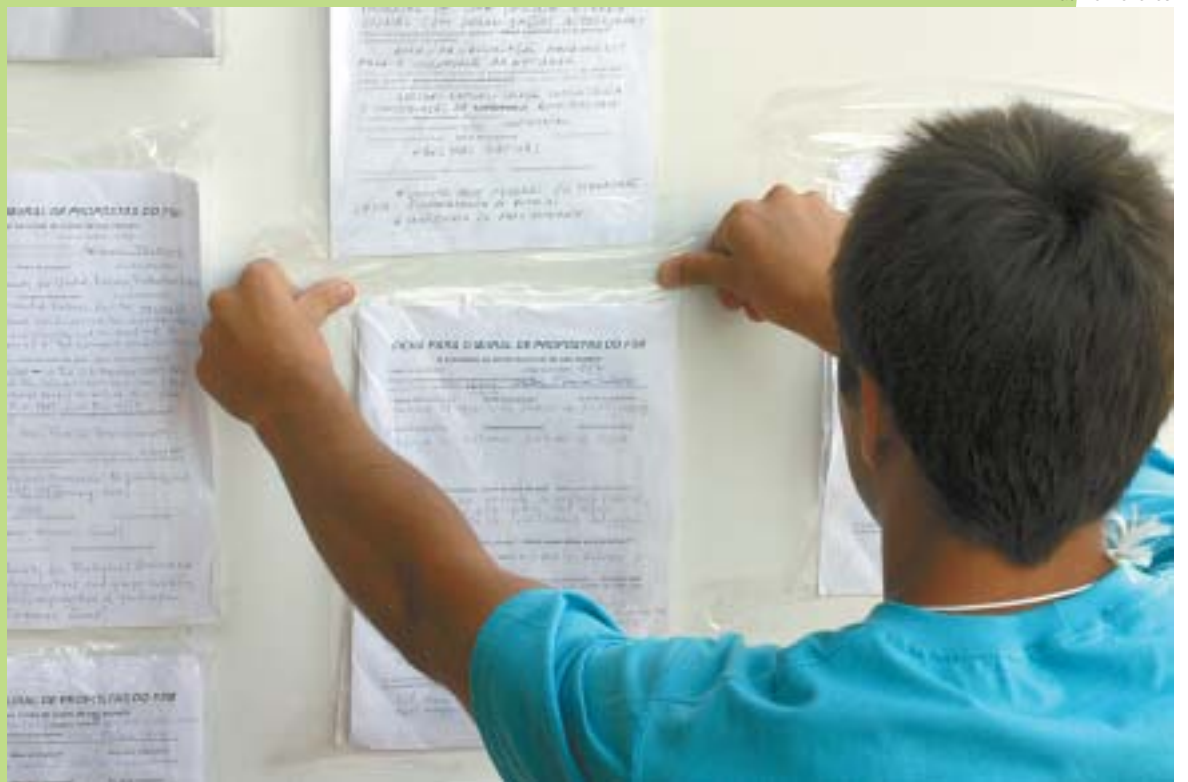
“Tampouco foram aceitas idéias formuladas antes ou depois do

Fórum, mas somente aquela realizada durante as atividades desenvolvidas em Porto Alegre”, assegura.

Os coordenadores do projeto ressaltam que a intenção do Mural é representar toda a diversidade de idéias resultante dos debates, convergentes e divergentes. “Essa diversidade de propostas fazem parte de um processo que deverá ser implementado ao longo do caminho”, conta Haeringer. “São avanços que servirão de base para que, a cada novo FSM, seja possível ir adiante”, completa.

A expectativa é de que aproximadamente 200 propostas sejam apresentadas até o final do evento, neste dia 31. Algumas delas já estão catalogadas, como por exemplo, a Carta de Direito à Cidade, cujo objetivo é o reconhecimento do direito à cidade como um direito coletivo, sugerida pelo Fórum Nacional de Reforma Urbana (FNUR).

Ou também a proposta, apresentada pela Associação de Vietnamitas Vítimas da Dioxina e pelo Comitê pela Paz no Vietnã, de uma campanha internacional pela justiça aos vietnamitas vitimados pela substân-



Paulino Menezes

Murais de Propostas ficaram disponíveis em todos os espaços do Fórum

cia tóxica, durante a guerra patrocinada pelos Estados Unidos naquele país, nos anos 60.

“Os relatórios de atividades esta-

rão acessíveis no website da memória do Fórum, para que a sociedade organizada possa começar a implementar as ações”, informa Haeringer.

## Opinião/OpEd

# Human Rights is Best Strategy to End Poverty

By Mary Robinson

*Mary Robinson is Executive Director of The Ethical Globalisation Initiative and Honorary President of Oxfam International. She is a former President of Ireland and former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights*

Will 2005 be a year of breakthrough which moves us closer to realizing the World Social Forum's conviction that another world is possible? Or will it be yet another year in which the divisions in our world continue to grow? The answer, of course, depends on the choices we make and the values we uphold.

The year ahead certainly provides key opportunities for leaders to make principled policy choices on some of our most pressing global challenges. From the G8 Summit to the WTO Ministerial meeting in Hong Kong, government leaders will make decisions on trade rules, on aid, and on the unsustainable debt of developing countries decisions that are critical to the futures of millions of the world's people.

As always, it is up to global civil society to help ensure that these decisions are fair and geared to help those most in need. Civil society organizations have a key role to play in ensuring that govern-

ments live up to the commitments they have already made.

Commitments that should be front and center during 2005 are those that governments made at the start of the 21st century. Five years after the largest gathering ever of heads of state and government solemnly vowed in the 2000 UN Millennium Declaration to spare no effort to free our fellow men, women and children from the abject and dehumanizing conditions of extreme poverty, it is clear that many countries in the world are falling desperately short of the progress needed to reach the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) by 2015.

To date, large parts of civil society have not been actively engaged in promoting the MDGs and in mobilizing to pressure their governments to take effective action. Some have expressed concern that the Millennium Goals sideline more pressing issues or ignore previous commitments such as the women's rights platform of the 1990s, including violence against women and reproductive rights. Another criticism is that the MDG process is top-down.

Civil society was not involved in formulating the MDGs, which are seen by some as an attempt at a one-size-fits-all approach.

While I recognize that these are legitimate concerns, we should not forget that the MDGs were placed within the context of commitments that governments reaffirmed in the Millennium Declaration to promote human rights, democracy and good governance. These commitments – to respect and fully uphold the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

- to strengthen the capacity of all countries to implement the practices of democracy and human rights;

- to implement the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW);

- to ensure respect and protection for the rights of migrant workers and their families;

- to work collectively for a more inclusive political process, allowing genuine participation by all citizens in all countries; and

- to ensure the freedom of the media and public access to information – are all vitally important to achieving the development goals and should be given greater prominence.

One initiative I am currently involved with – The Helsinki Process on Globalisation and Democracy – seeks to bring together stakeholders from the global North and South to shape an alternative vision for globalization

that can collectively influence governments and the wider public. An action plan will be launched at the Helsinki Conference which will take place in September 2005. I would encourage participants in The World Social Forum to engage with the Helsinki Process during 2005 and beyond.

Any reform agenda must include not only a huge increase on the part of the richest nations in development aid, but a commitment to greater global equity. The rules of the road for globalization, including the rules of international trade, investment and finance, must be fair and reflect the needs of the poorest countries. At the same time, developing countries must redouble their efforts to build more democratic forms of governance, combat corruption and ensure that development as-

istance is properly spent.

In our search for a more ethical globalization, the time has come to return to the values and principles reflected in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The universality of human rights, their focus on human dignity, and their concern for accountability, make them uniquely appropriate for reshaping development cooperation, fostering good governance, and combating discrimination, disease, and despair.

Over 50 years ago, the architects of the international system understood the importance of human rights – both civil and political rights, such as freedom of speech, fair trial, and an equal voice in society, and economic and social rights, such as the right to health, food, housing, and education – to achieving a just and peaceful world.

Another world is possible. 2005 should be the year in which the world comes together around the conviction that realizing human rights is our best strategy for ending poverty and ensuring a life of dignity for all.

**Any reform agenda must include not only a huge increase on the part of the richest nations in development aid, but a commitment to greater global equity**

*Esta coluna é parte da série sobre Globalização e Direitos Humanos, um esforço conjunto entre a Dignity International ([www.dignityinternational.org](http://www.dignityinternational.org)) e o Serviço de Colunistas da IPS.*

# Globalise Human Rights

By Louise Arbour

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights Committee.

The globalisation process continues at its rapid pace, bringing opportunities for a better life for many but also increasing risks of social exclusion and poverty for others.

At the same time, most aspects of our lives are affected for the better by the universal application of human rights, while the overwhelming consequences of the denial of human rights on our existence are negative.

The challenge before us today is to use the many opportunities globalisation offers to deliver human dignity for all.

The power of human rights lies not just in their expression of an aspiration but in their articulation of a legal framework which binds us all. Since the inception of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community has developed a body of norms and standards that has given effect to the fundamental principles contained in the Declaration.

Every State in the world today has voluntarily accepted binding human rights obligations by being party to one or more of the seven core human rights conventions. Giving primacy to this body of law helps us to place all human beings at the centre of often complex policy debates and laws that uphold dignity, equality, and justice.

In this age of rapid globalisation, decisions that directly affect people's lives are taken beyond national borders. Accordingly, it is crucial that we strengthen the capacity of states to defend human rights and the rule of law and to resist policies that will have negative consequences on human rights of their people.

The protection of human rights at the country level is critical if international standards, norms, and laws are to have practical effects on the ground. Only when national laws, institutions and procedures effectively work in this direction can the protection of human rights be ensured.

Ensuring respect for one particular set of rights is especially challenging. States have affirmed repeatedly the indivisibility of all human rights, yet economic, social and cultural rights have not always enjoyed the same level of legal protection as civil and political rights. The growing jurisprudence from national courts, as well as from regional human rights mechanisms, demonstrates that economic, social, and cultural rights do lend themselves to judicial remedies in cases of clear violation.

In this regard we must make possible the implementation of the rights enshrined by the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights subject to an indi-

vidual communications procedure.

Like civil and political rights, economic, social, and cultural rights may have cost implications. But detailed analysis and jurisprudence from different political, economic, and legal systems show that it is a myth that economic, social, and cultural rights are uniquely and consistently "expensive".

In fact, all human rights norms require rationality and equity in resource allocation, as well as determined efforts to make progress within existing resource constraints.

There is a growing recognition that human rights and human development share a common purpose: to enhance human capabilities and generate opportunities to live a life of dignity, equality, and well-being. Against this backdrop the right to development highlights how the process of policy formulation and the implementation of development programmes could benefit from human rights principles.

There is no question that States have the primary responsibility for their own economic and social de-

velopment, and the role of national policies and development strategies cannot be overemphasised. At the same time, the international community has the responsibility to create an international environment conducive to the realisation of this right. This is the principle behind the Secretary-General's recent report recommending that rich countries double their investments in poor countries to reach the Millennium Development Goal (MDG) of halving extreme poverty by 2015 and eliminating it by 2025.

I believe the adoption of a human rights-based approach to decision-making on trade, financial flows, information, communications, and migration increases the beneficial impact of international economic integration and minimises its harmful consequences. We need to explore further the specific links between finance, trade, and human rights, but it is clear that human rights ought to be primary and that there should be compatibility and compliance of international financial and trading rules with international human rights law.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaims that every individual and "every organ of society [shall] strive

-to promote respect for these rights and freedoms, [and]

-to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance".

As we address the links between human rights and economic and development issues we need to clarify the responsibilities of non-state economic actors.

Here, I have in mind, in particular, the important debate concerning the human rights role and responsibility of business entities — including transnational corporations.

Finally, a word on terrorism. We need to place a high priority on ensuring respect for human rights while we, as a global community, take firm steps to eradicate terrorism. We have all been horrified by the continuing, brutal acts of terrorism that have been committed in recent months and years around the world. Words can scarcely convey the repugnance we feel towards

such behaviour.

At the same time, we must confront these acts within the framework of existing rights and the rule of law. Deeply entrenched rights have been rolled back in the name of "the war on terrorism". This is neither principled nor effective.

Another year has just begun but we have the same resolve to continue in our efforts to build a better world — a world of human dignity for all.

Human rights are more than just good ideas or distant goals.

They provide a moral, ready and a rigorous framework to empower people from around the world to shape a new globalisation that benefits all.



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# We Must Not Rebuild Poverty

By James D. Wolfensohn

President of the World Bank

The World Social Forum devoted a great deal of attention this year to the tragedy of December 26 that has ravaged Asia and parts of Africa and took the lives of at least 155,000 people.

Civil society groups, already active in the affected countries before the tsunami struck, are playing an essential role in the aftermath. In so many ways, the international reaction to the tsunami disaster has reminded us all that the world truly has a generous heart.

The global community, already grappling with the almost overwhelming scale of the crisis, is now doubly challenged to respond to the generosity of the world's citizens, be it through civil society, governments, or the myriad individual acts of kindness we are seeing every day in the region.

The most important task of the moment, one in which civil society is playing a vital part, is to get the basic necessities to people affected by the disaster: food, water, sanitation, and medicine.

But as we move from relief to rebuilding, it is equally critical that we work to break the cycle of poverty and create a better, more hopeful future for the peoples of the region and not recreate the circumstances that made them vulnerable to the disaster.

From a long history of responding to crises and rebuilding after large-scale destruction, the World Bank has learned that it is the poorest who are most vulnerable to natural disasters.

They live precariously in flimsy shelters on flood plains, river banks, and coastal strips unprotected by sea walls. They are the people who live on the poverty line - the fishermen of Sri Lanka, Tamil Nadu and Somalia, eking out a living, the Acehnese farmer, the Thai women selling handicrafts to tourists.

The enormous force of this tragedy is one of many reminders that we are all linked together, by forces that are both visible and invisible: forces of nature, forces of poverty, of disease, terrorism, crime, drugs.

These forces remind us all of how tiny we are in the force of nature and how, at the same time, we are all indelibly connected. This means that we must also respond to this crisis in the context of the many things that link us together, and particularly our efforts to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and a better world for all.

We should remember the majority of the people killed were poor, impoverished and unable to defend themselves. We know from past experience that rebuilding efforts such as that which we face in the aftermath of the tsunami can only be effective in partnership with others.

We have reached out to the UN, who is leading the immediate relief, and will work closely with other international financial institutions — particularly the Asian Development Bank and the International Monetary Fund — as well as with international and local civil society groups, as we make the transition from relief to long-term recovery.

The reconstruction stage should begin quickly. This stage is not just a matter of financial resources and physical infrastructure, but it is also very much a matter of human beliefs and emotional pressures.

It is rebuilding the individual lives of real people and families and children — these are the issues that we must emphasize. In this context, the roles of the communities, civil society, and the private sector are very important as we work to respond together.

Engaging the people of poor communities in this way makes the development process real. And we, in the World Bank, certainly want to work this way, trying to help people rebuild not only physical assets but also their own confidence and hope for future.

We also believe very strongly that the use of our public resources should be transparent, effective, and show clear results. This would help not only in the case of this emergency response, but also support the governments concerned with the transparent and effective use of public resources in general.

A further important principle which should be observed not only by my institution but by others as well, is that the support being offered to meet these special needs be continuous, consistent, and additional to whatever we were or are doing already.

This point is critical. As the international community pulls together important meetings and countries and organizations continue to make pledges, there is an increasing concern that the overall level of assistance to help all these poor countries — including the tsunami-stricken nations — won't actually increase, it will just come from

existing money getting shifted around.

This is not the answer. We simply cannot take resources away from other essential development issues and put the same resources into one emergency after another.

As we help people rebuild in the wake of the disaster, let us rebuild in a way that will make the poor more secure and less vulnerable to future disasters. Let us rebuild in a way that alleviates future conflict and restores the hope for lasting peace.

This is well beyond restoring water and sanitation and roads — it is going to be about rebuilding communities and the lives of many people that were shocked and traumatized by the sheer devastation of the tragedy.

The scenes of people reaching out to help others in the wake of the disaster has been inspiring. International and local civil society groups are raising large sums of money and have sent volunteers, food and lifesaving supplies into communities, in many places where others cannot reach.

In Jakarta, there are reports of pedicab drivers donating their daily wages.

As these gestures of simple humanity have shown, we are united in our grief, united by this tragedy, and united in our concern for our fellow human beings in places many of us have never seen before.

The challenge for all of us, civil society, governments, and organizations such as the World Bank, is to remain united in the months and years ahead in helping poor communities struggling to recover and rebuild.

United in making people less vulnerable to disasters, united in restoring hope for a better future, and united in creating more security and peace for the poorest people in the region.

(\*) James D. Wolfensohn is .

This column is part of the series on Globalisation and Human Rights, a joint project of Dignity International and the IPS Columnist Service. [www.dignityinternational.org](http://www.dignityinternational.org)

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# Iraq: Elections Amidst War

By Adalberto Wodianer  
Marcondes

During yesterday's "free elections", convened by the authorities occupying Iraq, at least 25 people died in Baghdad in rocket attacks and suicide bombings.

Every day, soldiers and civilians are killed in the dozens of wars being fought on different continents. There are televised conflicts, like Iraq and Israel-Palestine, and there are lesser-known conflicts, like the civil war in Sri Lanka. A new shout emerged from one of the WSF tents, an invitation people to take to the streets around the world on March 19 to demand peace. "Twenty-four countries have already joined the protest. We can mobilise millions," says Chris Hinehan, a British activist with Stop the War.

The Porto Alegre meeting, with hundreds of activists representing peace organisations from around the world, enthusiastically applauded Iraqi sheik Jaward Klalesi, who said the WSF is



Paulino Menezes

Medea Benjamin, call to protest

where awareness of what is happening in his country comes closest to reality. He said armed resistance in Iraq has various faces, ideological and ethnic, and that they are fighting occupation by a

foreign power — and are going to win. His decision to come to Brazil just when elections are taking place in his country, he said, was to expand the points of communication in the fight for peace.

#### Reconstruction

One of the U.S. government's justifications for maintaining occupation forces in Iraq is that if they withdraw there will be civil war. To refute that logic, humani-

tarian organisations are promoting meetings with the resistance leaders, in locations outside of Iraq, to build peace without the U.S. government or military.

Medea Benjamin, a renowned U.S. activist associated with United for Peace and Justice, says these meetings are beginning to produce guarantees that the region could be rebuilt by the Iraqis themselves, without the need for U.S. tutelage.

Peace is an aspiration that exists even amongst U.S. soldiers, says Benjamin. Five thousand of them have disappeared, and are living in other countries because they refuse to fight, she says. "We are mobilising to ensure political exile for these people, who the army is treating like criminals." The peace activist says military recruiters seek out new soldiers in the poorest regions and cities of the United States, and even amongst illegal immigrants. "They promise residence visas and access to university for the young men and their families. These new soldiers march into death believing they are helping the people they love."



## CITIZENS HOLDING GOVERNMENTS TO ACCOUNT

**2005: No excuses! Governments should deliver their promises.**

**2005 is the year the world is called to unite and speak out against poverty.**

Promises made by world leaders must be kept, and there are no excuses.

Citizens, civil society organizations and social movements should put pressure on governments to honour the commitments they have made on trade justice, debt cancellation, the Millennium Development Goals and better aid.

**Be part of the Global Call to Action Against Poverty**

Wear the white band, the symbol of the movement, during key events in 2005 including:

- July 1st – Prior to the G8 meeting of world leaders in the UK
- September 10th – Prior to the UN Summit to review the Millennium Declaration in New York
- December – Prior to the WTO Ministerial in Hong Kong

We are the first generation that can put an end to poverty and we refuse to miss this opportunity.



[www.millenniumcampaign.org](http://www.millenniumcampaign.org)  
[www.whiteband.org](http://www.whiteband.org)



## Mikhail Gorbachev's Letter to Participants in the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre

Dear friends,



I am writing to you as one of the founders of the World Political Forum and a member of the generation of political leaders aware of its contribution to the unprecedented changes of recent decades and to the opportunities ushered in by the end of the Cold War and the accelerating pace of world history.

In working to put an end to the threat of global conflict and stop the absurdity of the arms race we were hoping that humankind would be wise enough to avoid new divisions and redirect its resources to the needs of development, to help eradicate poverty and disease and protect the environment.

I regard as very disturbing the present state of the world, with its deepening inequalities and the dramatic consequences of the current model of globalization, based on maximizing profit rather than on promoting the rights and dignity of the human person.

A different world, for which your Forum is calling, is possible and necessary. The World Political Forum, which I chair, endorsed your message by making the problem of fighting poverty in the world the theme of its recent General Assembly. I am presenting for your consideration the main conclusions of that conference, supported by many prominent political figures and international experts.

A different world is not a remote goal but a reality that is being created through our common efforts of which your Forum is an inalienable part. Let us work together to give back to the world a noble goal, and with it - a new hope, without which it could not meet the challenges of the new century.

Mikhail Gorbachev

# “POVERTY IN THE WORLD – A CHALLENGE TO GLOBALISATION”

## Report of the World Political Forum

### EXCERPT

(Stresa, October 22-23, 2004)

The participants in the General Assembly of World Political Forum gathered in Stresa on October 22-23, 2004 under the chairmanship of President Mikhail Gorbachev, consider that poverty in the modern world represents one of the most daring challenges to the current world politics.

[...] They were unanimous in concluding that the maintenance of this problem in its present dimension [...] constitute the gravest violation of the human rights of the millions. [...]

Having reached by now the dimension of a global problem, world poverty blocks the advance of modern civilization and is dangerously threatening international stability. For all these reasons it should be considered as the top priority subject on the agenda of modern politics.

In this Report the participants to the World Political Forum Assembly in Stresa formulated their diagnosis and proposals, and invite statesmen, political leaders and other decision makers, as well as charity funds, NGO's and other representatives and activists of the international civil society to consider them and undertake urgent measures.

I. Review of world poverty: an alarming picture

1. The global dimension of the problem is well known.

Today's poverty means the failed life of almost three billion men, women and children across the globe. It signifies: Extreme misery and hunger; Pollution and wars; Social exclusion and segregation; Migration flows.

2. Political consequences of poverty are obvious

Menace for international security

A world where millions endure extreme misery will never be fully secure, even for its most privileged inhabitants....

The world's new ghettos just like the devastated big city's suburbs and favelas, generate violence.

Threat for Democracy

Poverty that feeds the fires of political instability and violence hinders the transition of developing countries towards democratic systems of government.

Obstacle for the world's progress

Poverty has now become a barrier to human progress on a global scale... Political elites are forced to question whether globalisation can continue disregarding moral concerns.

3. Solutions for the poverty problem have been discussed and formulated.

Numerous proposals, pledges and eventual commitments have been formulated. [...]. Among them suggestions to introduce taxes on international financial flows, or armament sales, to establish a "global life tax" or launch a new "Marshall plan" in support of development.

Yet the sad fact was and is: little action ensued. Solemn commitments are quickly forgotten and shelved. [...]

Naturally the most urgent task is to fulfil the already taken engagements and confirm the credibility of the international community by assuring the realization of the Millennium Development Goals. [...]

Yet what is needed even more is to change the character and direction of the world's global development since it's the present model of globalisation that is largely responsible for the continuous reproduction and aggravation of the phenomenon of poverty.[...]

II. A world without poverty is possible

Poverty is not a fatality. A different more just and human world is possible. [...]

Our current model of development is unsustainable. Globalisation in its current form has failed to deliver development to the billion people at the lowest strata of the world economy. [...]

To a large extent this happened because in trying to find answers to the challenges of the new world, political leaders missed the opportunities created after the end of the cold war.

Poverty is a political problem

[...] Fighting poverty is a universal and ethical imperative. It must be addressed in a political manner based on an enlightened concept of global solidarity. This requires leadership.

It also requires dialogue, involvement and action at several levels in developing and developed countries – by international, regional, national, sub-national and community/district entities involving the multitude of actors – governments, NGOs, the private sector and international organizations, as well as the increased responsibility of civil society in the resolution of its problems

III. DEACTIVATE THE TICKING BOMB

[...] The participants to the assembly of the World Political Forum in Stresa formulated a number of priority actions. Among them:

Foreign debt relief

Radical reduction or total cancellation of the debt of the LDC should not be considered as act of magnanimity but as a kind of compensation for different forms of economic exploitation and discrimination that these countries had suffered from the developed world. [...]

Increase of Aid for Development

Engagements of the developed countries made in the framework of the UN decisions in 1970 and on the occasion of the Millennium Declaration in 2000 should be confirmed and fulfilled.

Fostering of direct foreign investments

Direct foreign investments should be encouraged as an efficient instrument to direct international financial flows towards Developing Countries and build larger and modern labour markets.

Reconversion of military expenses

The World Political Forum, supports the proposal to tax all commercial transactions related to armaments and the allocation of the collected tax and freed re-

sources to the fight against poverty. [...]

Taxation and exclusion from taxation in favor of development

The introduction of a "tax on Development" could be considered, for big companies which gained impressive economic profits from globalisation.

Creation of education and training centres for children and youth

The 'Akanksha' [...] method is a new inventive approach, initiated in India [...] directed at assuring elementary education of poor children. [...]

New world's architecture

The participants at the Stresa Assembly consider that "another globalisation" requires an effective multilateral architecture, with institutions and mechanisms apt to cope with the type and scope of the new challenges and problems. [...] It's high time for the states of the world to agree on a structure to adequately plan and forecast the world's development needs, give oversight and direction to the process of globalisation.

For these reasons, the WPF hopes that a profound debate on the United Nations reform will be undertaken. [...] This must be coupled with innovative and effective mechanisms such as the eventual creation of a Human or Economic Security Council or a "Sustainable Development World Council" operating from the ECOSOC.

\* \* \*

The participants to the Stresa Assembly consider imperative to find in the nearest time concrete solutions for the problem of poverty and pass from the stage of discussions and declarations to the practical actions. [...]

Time has come to conceive the real subject of world politics: humanity.

Poverty – a shame for the modern society, the plague for the world's politics – should be proclaimed as incompatible with the norms and possibilities of the world community in the new century and treated as illegal in order to be definitely eradicated.



Cristiano Sant'Anna



# Algo novo nos ares da América Latina

Por Felipe Seligman

Um sinal verde amarelo atravessa o mundo, levando imagens e sons do Fórum Social Mundial. Além dela, a Vive, televisão estatal venezuelana, também transmite ao seu país e, durante dez minutos diários, para o Brasil, o que se passa em Porto Alegre.

A novidade brasileira é a TV Brasil, que por uma união dos quatro meios de comunicação brasileiros ligados ao executivo, legislativo e

judiciário (Radiobrás, TV Senado e Câmara e TV Justiça), realiza seu projeto piloto em Porto Alegre.

A TV surgiu com a idéia do presidente do Brasil, Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva, e do presidente do Senado brasileiro, José Sarney, de criar uma televisão estatal que sirva de integração para os países do continente sul-americano. "Essa televisão não é um meio de fazer propaganda do Brasil para o mundo, mas tem a finalidade de ajudar os povos deste continente a se reconhecerem", con-

ta José Roberto Garcez, diretor de Comunicação da Radiobrás.

A transmissão acrescenta uma novidade importante ao ideal de construir meios de comunicação internacionais na América do Sul. É a primeira vez que uma televisão estatal leva para fora do país imagens do Fórum Social de Porto Alegre.

O canal transmite em português e espanhol, para toda a América Latina e algumas partes da América do Norte, Europa e África. "O fórum foi o local perfeito para o projeto ser

testado", explica Eugênio Bucci, presidente da Radiobrás. "Esse é um evento no qual estão presentes pessoas de todo o mundo e as interações entre elas são horizontais".

## Estúdio

Para ser possível o lançamento, montou-se um estúdio de comunicação em pleno Fórum, com 40 profissionais, incluindo mais de 20 jornalistas, para levar ao mundo, por mais de 12 horas ao dia, o que se passa em Porto Alegre. "A transmissão come-

ça pela manhã, quando as conferências são iniciadas, e só acaba com o término dos shows, na madrugada", explica Lia Rangel, coordenadora do projeto. Além disso, um jornal ao vivo, com duração de 30 minutos, veicula as principais notícias do dia. "Foi difícil montar a estrutura para a estréia do jornal, mas já começamos entrevistando Adolfo Pérez Esquivel - Prêmio Nobel da Paz, em 1980", comenta Ana Maria Rocha, chefe de redação da TV Brasil no FSM.

Porém, não é só o Brasil que pretende lançar um meio de comunicação internacional de integração da América do Sul. Hugo Chávez, presidente da Venezuela, já anunciou a criação da Telesur, que teria a mesma idéia da televisão brasileira, embora existam argumentos contrários. "Acredito que a idéia da Telesur seja mais arrojada. Penso que os brasileiros estejam um pouco receosos, esperando para saber até que ponto os venezuelanos irão empurrá-los nessa idéia", especula Iraê Sassi, colaborador ativo, como ele mesmo diz, da Telesur. Apesar disso, as duas futuras 'potências estatais' contêm as mesmas propostas, como integração e fortalecimento do América do Sul, visando um auto-reconhecimento e uma outra visão do continente.

## Contra hegemonia

Segundo Aram Aharenian, diretor-geral da Telesur, "sabemos o que se passa na Chechênia e não sabemos o que se passa aqui na América Latina, por isso a criação desta emissora é fundamental". Sua estréia está marcada para abril deste ano. Ainda para Aharenian, a Telesur não pretende ser mais que um canal na América do Sul, mas que seja capaz de romper com a hegemonia da comunicação existente. "Quanto mais canais existirem, melhor para a comunicação. O importante é democratizar a informação, ver a América Latina com olhos latino-americanos", acredita.

Enquanto a Telesur não sai do papel, a Vive acompanha o fórum a todo vapor. Com três horas diárias de transmissão, quatro salas de edição e quatro equipes de imprensa, a TV venezuelana tem como conteúdos principais as questões indígenas, a comunicação alternativa e, principalmente, o problema de terras para os camponeses.

Segundo o diretor de operação da Radiobrás, Roberto Gontijo, a TV Brasil ajuda os venezuelanos, tanto com infra-estrutura, como no fornecimento de imagens. "No dia 30, geramos a imagem do presidente Chávez, no Gigantinho, e as cedemos para a Vive".

Esta pode ser apenas a primeira vez que uma televisão brasileira e venezuelana estabelecem relação. "Com a Telesur faremos trocas dos mais diversos tipos. As duas emissoras serão complementares", projeta Eugênio Bucci.

O governo argentino também pensa em criar a sua televisão internacional, o que mostra a real preocupação dos países sul-americanos com essa questão. Segundo Aharenian, "a Argentina selará um acordo de integração do capital da Telesur".

Apesar de todas as especulações sobre o papel que estas televisões exerceriam, não parece haver discordância sobre a importância desta alternativa para a comunicação na América do Sul.

## Something New in the Latin American Air

By Felipe Seligman

A signal travels around the globe, carrying images and sounds of the World Social Forum. And a little closer to Porto Alegre, Venezuelan state television, Vive, broadcasts to its inhabitants, and for 10 minutes a day to Brazil, what 120,000 people are up to here.

The latest media addition to the WSF host country is TV Brasil, a coalition of four Brazilian communications media associated with the executive, legislative and judicial branches (Radiobrás, TV Senado e Câmara, and TV Justiça), which is launching its pilot project in Porto Alegre.

TV Brasil emerged from an idea of President Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva and Senate president José Sarney to create a state-run television network that helps the integration efforts of the nations of South America. "This is not a TV network to broadcast Brazilian propaganda to the world, but rather aims to help the poor peoples of this continent to get to know each other," says José Roberto Garcez, Radiobrás communications director.

The broadcast makes an important contribution towards the dream of building international media in South America. It is the first time that a state television network is taking images of the Porto Alegre WSF beyond Brazil's borders.

Programming is broadcast in Portuguese and Spanish across all of Latin America and parts of North America,



Cristiano Sant'Anna

José Roberto Garcez, diretor de Comunicação da Radiobrás

Europe and Africa. "The Forum was the perfect place to test the project," says Eugênio Bucci, president of Radiobrás. "This is an event with participants from all parts of the world, and interactions between them are horizontal," as opposed to hierarchical.

## A WSF Studio

To make this launch possible, a communications studio was set up in the middle of the Forum, staffed by 40 professionals, including 20 journalists, to bring to the world the events of Porto Alegre for more than 12 hours a day. "Broadcasts begin in the morning, when the conferences are getting under way, and only end when the shows do, late at night," said Lia Rangel, co-

ordinator of the project. In addition, a live 30-minute news programme keeps the viewing audience up on the top events of the day. Despite difficulties, the show had a strong start, interviewing Argentine Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, 1980 Nobel Peace laureate, said Ana Maria Rocha, production chief for TV Brasil at the WSF.

But not only Brazil aims to launch an international communications channel for South American integration. Venezuela's President Hugo Chávez has already announced Telesur, which reportedly has the same idea as Brazilian television, but there are some contrary arguments. "I think the idea of Telesur is bolder. I think the Brazilians are a little hesitant, waiting to see

how far the Venezuelans will push it," says Iraê Sassi, an active contributor, as he himself describes it, to Telesur. Nevertheless, the two future state-run media powers cite the same goals: integration and strengthening of South America, promoting self-recognition and a different image of the continent.

## Against hegemony

Says Aram Aharenian, Telesur director-general, "We know what is happening in Chechnya, but we don't know what is happening here in Latin America. That is why creating this network is essential." It is slated to premiere in April. Telesur doesn't intend to be more than a South American TV channel, adds Aharenian, but one that is capable of breaking the hegemony of existing broadcast media. "The more channels that exist, the better it is for communication. It is important to democratise information, to see Latin America through Latin American eyes."

While Telesur remains on the drawing board, Vive is moving full steam ahead at the WSF. With three hours of programming daily, four editing rooms and four press teams, the Venezuelan channel is highlighting indigenous issues and alternative media, but mostly the matter of land for rural workers.

According to Radiobrás director of operations Roberto Gontijo, TV Brasil is helping Venezuelans both with infrastructure and images. "On January 30 we recorded President Chávez at Gigantinho Stadium and we handed over the video to Vive."

# Njoki Njehu, African activist

**“I can never be tired of advocating for social and economic justice”**

Por Adalberto  
Wodianer Marcondes

Getting an interview with Njoki Njehu is an exercise in patience and perseverance. She is never where everyone thinks she is. And contrary to popular belief, she does not attend every IMF or World Bank bashing. When you finally catch up with her, you find yourself competing with others for her undivided attention.

A grassroots organiser, environmentalist and women’s advocate, Njehu is Executive Director of 50 Years is Enough a US based Network for Global Economic Justice. Soon she will be going back to her native Kenya to give back to her community the lessons accumulated during the 12 years she has lived in the United States.

“I am going to start Solidarity Africa, to fight for economic justice, globally, but from the epicenter of poverty, in my country Kenya.”

She feels privileged that she has been able to live and work in the United States for 12 years heading one of the most formidable networks in the world. That is about all she will say about herself. For such a public figure, Njehu is reticent about her personal life. She spouts economic policies and articulates neo-liberalism and the need for justice and equality. She says about herself:



Cristiano Sant'Anna

WSF: “A fantastic opportunity for Civil Society and others”

“I am just a miniscule cog in the wheel that cannot achieve anything by myself. There is no magic to me.”

Njehu is however passionate about the World Social Forum. “This is a fantastic opportunity for NGOs, civic society and others to network, build solidarity and speak with one voice, forcing the IMF and World bank to hear the cries of the people.”

Social mobilization is enabling people to grab control of their lives, Njehu says. She cites the considerable opposition to the war in Iraq. Although the war

went ahead, posterity will recall that people opposed it with one voice.

Whether she ever gets disappointed, or even feels like packing it in when it would appear that governments and international institutions ignore Third World governments and poor peoples’ voices, Njehu says: “I would be very disappointed if people gave up in fatigue.”

“I have been privileged to have an education, to be able to come to the Forum to meet IMF and World bank officials and engage them in discussions. I have no business feeling weary. I am not the one breaking rocks in the scorching

heat to send my children to school. I am not the one whose children are dying from preventable diseases. I can never be tired of advocating for social and economic justice. With my great privilege comes greater responsibility.”

She agrees that, yes, the poor will always be with us, but she says they do not need to be. “Poor people want justice and dignity. A society where they have the basics, water, education, health and shelter... a society without harassment. This will not make them necessarily rich, but it will enhance the quality of their lives.”

## Tsunami

# Focus on the environment, too!

By Richel Dursin

They came from Indonesia, Sri Lanka, Thailand and India – four of the 11 countries devastated by the Dec. 26 tsunami. Although the magnitude of the tsunami’s effect varied from country to country, all four nations found common ground at the WSF, appealing to their governments to focus not only on providing livelihoods to survivors, but on rehabilitation of the environment.

“Our government officials are illiterates. They do not have any idea how to rehabilitate the environment,” said Vincent Mandharan, secretary of the Indian-based National Campaign on Dalit Human Rights.

“Implementing sustainable development should also be considered by governments,” Longgena Ginting, executive director of the Friends of the Earth-Indonesia, said.

And Linus Jayatilake, president of the United Federation of Labour Alliance for the Protection of Natural Resources and Human Rights, noted: “In Sri Lanka, the government is only thinking of giving fish-

ing nets and fishing gear to fishermen badly affected by the tsunami and nothing on the environment.”

Speaking at several meetings on the earthquake-triggered tidal wave at the 5<sup>th</sup> World Social Forum, participants from the tsunami-struck countries urged governments to re-establish mangrove buffer zones, or what they called “greenbelts”, along affected or threatened coastal zones to prevent such disasters in the future.

“The severity of the tsunami disaster could have been averted had healthy mangrove forests, coral reefs, sea grass beds and peatland been conserved in a healthy state,” said Alberto Quarto, executive director of the US-based Mangrove Action Project.

According to Quarto, mangroves protect shorelines from devastating waves, floods, storm, and hurricane winds; serve as nursery areas for fish and invertebrates; and are used to build houses, boats and furniture.

“If there are no mangroves, then the sea will have no meaning. It is like having a tree without roots, for the mangroves are the roots of the sea,” said a Thai fisherman.

Participants from the tsunami-struck countries pointed out that mangrove destruction was caused mainly by unsustainable industrial development promoted by international lending institutions such as the World Bank, Asian Development Bank, United States Agency for International Development, and the Food and Agriculture Organization.

“These multilateral funding institutions continue to promote environmentally degrading industries such as shrimp farming, industrial tourism, charcoal production and urban expansion, all of which have had terrible and dangerous consequences for the coastal communities in Asia, Latin America and Africa,” Quarto said.

Quarto added that policies by the funding institutions were forced upon the coastal regions which were once protected against such natural disasters by mangrove forests, coral reefs, sea grass beds and forests.

“The loss of mangroves and coral reefs greatly contributed to the immense loss of life,” Ginting said.

An estimated 220,000 people, many of them women and children

**“The severity of the tsunami disaster could have been averted if mangrove forests were healthy”**

died in the tsunami disaster and the figure is still rising.

To prevent another disaster, governments should immediately concentrate on the restoration of the environment and actively involve the local communities in the process, according to Tarmizi, a participant from Aceh, Indonesia, the worst-hit country by the tsunami.

“It is important to involve the local people so that they would know how to protect their own area. In Aceh, everything is controlled by the military. The Acehnese don’t have a say in the rebuilding of their province,” said Tarmizi, co-ordinator of the Aceh People’s Forum who lost 24 family members in the disaster.



## Indígenas afianzan lucha por sus territorios

El Foro Social Mundial del 2005 ha facilitado a los pueblos y nacionalidades indígenas volverse a encontrar, para evaluar las acciones conjuntas desarrolladas luego de la II Cumbre Continental de los Pueblos y Nacionalidades Indígenas de Abya Yala, efectuada en Quito, en julio último, previo al Primer Foro Social de las Américas.

Uno de los puntos centrales retomados ahora en Porto Alegre, hace referencia a la lucha por el reconocimiento de los derechos de los pueblos indígenas a sus territorios, considerando que sin estos no habrá identidad, proyecto de vida, proyecto político y economía solidaria, desde los cuales proyectarse para cambiar a las sociedades en su conjunto.

Y para esto se fortalecerán en sus formas autónomas de organización política, de autogobiernos, aportando así a la construcción de estados plurinacionales, en los que se respete a todos los pueblos, con sus cosmovisiones, culturas, lenguas y territorios con toda su biodiversidad y recursos naturales, y en los que se fortalezcan los procesos de sociedades pluri e interculturales, porque así debe ser el nuevo mundo que sí es posible construir.

Con este criterio, los participantes en el Puxirum del FSM 2005, han recalcado que lo indio y lo no indio también es pueblo, y que más que indios “todos somos un pueblo vivo”, que lucha contra el imperio, los gobiernos y las transnacionales que invaden sus territorios y sus vidas. En el 2006, se volverán a encontrar primero en Venezuela, en el II Foro Social de las Américas; posteriormente, en Guatemala, en la III Cumbre Continental de Pueblos y Nacionalidades de Abya Yala.

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# Unidos por um mundo sem discriminação

Por Felipe Seligman e Annalena Oeffner

Paulino Menezes

No mais importante evento que discute soluções para os problemas sociais no mundo, as discriminações étnicas não poderiam ficar de fora. Representantes do movimento negro mundial, indígenas de toda a América e dalits, indianos pertencentes à casta mais baixa na pirâmide social daquele país, entre muitos outros, vieram a Porto Alegre para trazer seus problemas e discutir soluções. Tudo isso, com a esperança de que um outro mundo seja realmente possível.

No sábado, dia 29, o Fórum Mundial da Dignidade – atividade do FSM – reuniu dalits, representantes da comunidade quilombola de Conceição de Crioulas e de entidades camponesas, indígenas e negras da Colômbia. O evento tentou levar ao público os problemas de cada etnia, juntando-as e apontando que a real solução para a discriminação de raças é um combate unificado a todas elas.

Para Mukul Sharma, um dos 12 representantes dos dalits no V FSM, o resultado da conferência foi o melhor possível. “Estou muito feliz. Hoje foi provado que a idéia do Fórum Mundial da Dignidade foi aceita pela comunidade mundial”. Assim como Sharma, Ashok Bhart também se mostrou feliz. “Foi muito bom ver toda essa diversidade na conferência. Pessoas de todas as partes do mundo, homens e mulheres, pessoas jovens e mais velhas”, complementa. Ambos concordam que todas as etnias devem ter espaço. “A questão não deve ficar restrita aos dalits. Deve englobar todos os grupos marginalizados, afetados pela globalização. Nós estamos lutando por todos eles”, explica Bhart.

Existem 160 milhões de dalits na Índia e que sofrem discriminações em função do regime de castas. Desta forma, são subjugados desde o nascimento. Menos de 31% deles têm eletricidade em casa, cerca de dois



Dalits: etnia mais desprezada da Índia encontrou espaço nesta edição do FSM

terços da população é analfabeta e mais de 50% vivem abaixo da linha de pobreza. Para se ter uma idéia do preconceito a que este povo é submetido, o significado etimológico da palavra ‘dalit’ é ‘pisoteado’.

#### Solução comum

Quanto à integração entre os povos de diversas etnias, representantes de cada uma

delas concordam na importância dessa junção para resolver problemas comuns. “Todos somos irmãos e temos problemas em comum. Só queremos espaço para mostrar esses problemas”, explica Joenia Wapichana, representante indígena do estado brasileiro de Roraima. Já para o baiano Israel Evangelista, integrante da Coordenação Nacional de Entidades Negras (Conen) e do Ilê Axé Oxumaré

(que em português significa Casa, Energia Positiva e Orixá) está relação, além de ser importante, é necessária. “Podemos até ter, em alguns casos, problemas diferentes, mas todos nós somos excluídos da mesma forma. E é contra isso que viemos lutar”. E são nestas lutas que esses povos esperam encontrar a solução para um mundo mais justo e uma energia mais positiva.

## “It’s from the Forum, not of the Forum”

Kamal Mitra Chenoy, a Professor at the School of International Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University was a member of the Adhoc India Organising Committee, WSF. In the following interview with Qurrutul-Ain Tahmina, he reflects on the Manifesto of Porto Alegre and the WSF’s journey from Mumbai to Porto Alegre, and beyond.

#### What do you think of the Porto Alegre Manifesto signed by the Group of 19?

I am not aware of it. I’m not surprised, though. Debate has been going on within the International Committee for quite some time, as to whether the Forum should come up with a statement on issues or not. As for this document I would consider it a declaration from inside the forum but not of the forum. Even if 3000 organisations sign it, it will not be a WSF declaration. To be that it has to come from the IC and it has to democratically resolve the first debate first. If my organisation and I myself agree with the demands I may sign it. I however think they should have involved more people in the draft-

ing process. And if they wanted to generate debates, they should have contacted more people earlier and not go public with a draft at the end. What I think is that the IC should be expanded to include many more people and organisations to include people and organisations from Asia and Africa. At the moment, the majority of the IC members are from the Americas and Europe. Africa and Asia are underrepresented in the IC. I personally am for making positions on largely agreed issues and I feel that the debate has to be resolved soon through an evolving process.

#### What were the distinguishing aspects of the WSF in Mumbai last year?

In Mumbai, we made one significant break from the past. A large majority of events were what we call self-organised. The WSF itself organised very few events and even in that we tried to maximise participation from various tendencies and regions and minimise any official WSF presence. Secondly, we expanded the issues in WSF look-

ing at the particular problems of Asia and Africa. So we raised issues of racism, caste, gender, patriarchy, or militarism. There was a conscious effort not to restrict it to the economics, politics and culture of neo-liberal globalisation. In Mumbai, there were many poor people. After Mumbai, the WSF is conscious of bringing in a broader cross-section of people.

#### Would you say India changed the map of the WSF?

I would say it showed another path. We made it a process of much more openness and of accommodation, space-wise. The idea of having a sprawling campus and building temporary structures on it originated in Mumbai. The Brazilians have done it this time - it is now one campus with a few large auditoriums outside the WSF. All venues are reachable if you take a really long walk. And the extent and diversity of WSF becomes visible.

#### We hear India had some reservations

#### about the ‘100 percent self-organised’ idea?

We do support it. We began the trend. Potentially every group has a chance to voice its opinion. But there is this big IF concerning mobilising the marginalized people. In India, we had made distinct efforts, travelled extensively to ensure that they come and join. Without such steps, self-organising can become elitist. And in very big regions such as Africa mobilising the marginalized to self organise may not be possible. I would say WSF can organise some events and can thus ensure representative participation.

#### From Mumbai back to Porto Alegre... where does the WSF stand now?

An important step forward from Mumbai is having the Youth Camp within the campus. Also we did not have such a lively youth camp and they come from all over the world. Basically the real constituency of the WSF is the youth. They are the future. And if an alternative world is possible it is for them and they are the ones who are going to build it.

# “We Need the UN More Than Ever”

**It is possible to reform the UN... but it is a very long way to an egalitarian and transparent system**

Fotos Paulino Menezes

Por/by Ramesh Jaura

The role of international organisations and the relevance of the United Nations in particular, has been the subject of several discussions at the World Social Forum in which **Nafis Sadik**, a member of the UN High-Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change, also took part this week. The Panel's report 'A More Secure World: Our Shared Responsibility', was published last November'. Dr. Sadik served as Executive Director of the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) 1987 through 2000. She is now Special Envoy of the Secretary-General for HIV/Aids in Asia. She was interviewed by Ramesh Jaura.

**The United Nations was established 60 years ago to promote international peace and security, a task in which it has apparently failed. Do we still need the UN?**

We need the UN more than ever. If we did not have the UN, countries would be scrambling around to find some kind of an institution. I don't think it is fair to say that the United Nations has failed in its mission. If you look at it there has not been a real World War since the last one. (Unfortunately), successes in the peace and security area are not really reported. The UN has a secretariat and a secretary-general. But the secretary-general is not a super government and does not have the powers to make decisions that will result in peace. The UN does not have an army ... states are very reluctant to allow the UN to have that capability.

**What do you expect the report of the High-Level Panel to accomplish? To revitalise the UN or to initiate yet another debate that leads us nowhere?**

Certainly it will initiate another debate. But you will find that many of our proposals endorse and call for stronger action on many of the steps already agreed or under discussion, by the world community. For example, we noted some progress towards the Millennium Development Goals, but we also noted that progress is patchy and little

has been done to address the very important gender dimension. We noted in particular the shortage of international resources to help countries reach the Goals. We also note the apparent unwillingness of member states to respond to international security threats with domestic action, for example for richer countries to harmonise their aid, trade and agriculture policies. At the same time, the Panel recognised that the international system needs considerable reorganisation to respond to the realities of the 21st century.

**Is it possible to reform the UN to reflect the interests and aspirations of the peoples of the world?**

The Panel makes an excellent case for reform ...and recommends many practical steps towards a more flexible, responsive and effective world body. I think it is possible to reform the UN particularly in the development area. But it is a very long way to an egalitarian and transparent system because the permanent members will continue to wield power. The new permanent members will not have a veto power. The Club of Five will remain and within that there is no balance of power.

**Is HIV/Aids an issue for the governments and non-governmental organisations in Asia and the Pacific?**

I was appointed special envoy for HIV/Aids two years ago and I have been saying that we keep paying attention to Africa – and quite rightly, because 6,000 people die there every day of HIV/Aids – but that we will have a similar calamity in Asia if we didn't start working to get governments to have programmes now when prevalence is low. Though national HIV infection levels in Asia are low compared with Africa, even a small percentage of prevalence in Asia could mean millions and millions – and millions and millions more than in Africa. China and India, home to some 2.35 billion people, are experiencing several distinct epidemics, some already very serious.



Nafis Sadiq: Don't forget Asian AIDS crisis

## Mudando o mundo com a cultura

Por Inara Claro

Em 2003, instituições de diferentes países - Argentina, Brasil, Chile e Peru -, decidiram unir forças para buscar a transformação social a partir da arte e da cultura. Criou-se a Rede Latino-americana Cultural, que integra estas nações de uma forma “horizontal”. Ou seja, “não existem hierarquias, somente a vontade da transformação”, explica Cesare de Florio La Rocca, representante de Salvador, Brasil.

“Cada país trabalha de acordo com suas políticas sociais, que podem ser voltadas somente para crianças ou para crianças e adultos, como é o caso da Argentina”.

Ainda de acordo com Rocca, a primeira pergunta que o grupo se fez foi se a arte, de fato, transforma. “A resposta foi positiva, e a partir daí surgiu a certeza de que deveriam se unir, pois atuando em grupo é mais fácil de resolver ou prevenir problemas futuros”, diz.

O militante argentino Ricardo Talento, da ONG Circuito Cultural Barracas, concorda com esta posição e observa que o trabalho que desenvolve integra seres humanos dos quatro aos 85 anos. “Sim, porque um sempre tem algo para ensinar ao outro”, garante. Crianças e mulhe-

res, oriundas da classe média baixa, formam a maioria do público beneficiado pelo trabalho.

A mistura do teatro, dança, música e artes plásticas, entre outras manifestações culturais, é fundamental, diz Talento, “para que as pessoas sejam desalienadas do seu mundo de fantasia, estruturado na frente da televisão”.

Talento comenta que a classe média argen-

tina, por exemplo, muitas vezes prefere se fechar dentro de casa, com suas comodidades eletrônicas e sua televisão, a sair para a rua e encarar de frente a realidade dos últimos anos. “Para sacudir esta população, os programas culturais ajudam e muito”, assegura.

Já o baiano Cesare La Rocca, presidente da ONG Axé, trabalha com crianças “que ninguém

mais quer, conflitados com a polícia e com a própria família”. São crianças que, quando são abordadas, dizem que não têm nada a perder. “Portanto, são exatamente aquelas a serem acolhidas. “Trabalhamos com a Teoria do Desejo, que busca nos conceitos de Paulo Freire, Jean Piaget e Jean Lacrant os recursos psicológicos para ressocializá-los”, explica.

Diz La Rocca que mais de 85% das 1.547 crianças do programa terminam por construir uma vida própria. “Este número ainda não é aceitável. Precisamos chegar a 100%”, afirma. Para buscar este retorno ao convívio social, é necessário construir três grandes eixos: o retorno à escola, o retorno à família e o retorno à comunidade.

**Encontro no Chile**

Entre os dias 27 de abril e 07 de maio deste ano, a Rede vai se reunir no Chile, já tendo feito encontros na Argentina, no Peru e no Brasil. Os pontos comuns definidos durante o FSM - formas de ressocializar crianças e adultos -, serão discutidos na assembléia. “Mas o fundamental para a eficiência de qualquer um dos programas é a união das instituições não-governamentais com os governos e demais agentes”, acrescenta.



Rede Latino-americana Cultural: arte e solidariedade

## IMF and World Bank face the WSF

# Agree to Disagree

By Hilmi Toros

In a rare encounter, civil society met their nemesis, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB), at the WSF on Saturday. The exchanges were cordial enough. In the end, the two sides stated their positions and respectfully agreed to disagree.

But the fact that they met at this Forum of open debate is considered a success – though it is doubtful the more vocal voices of Civil Society could have made it to the elite, exclusive – and restricted – World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

As it turned out, the encounter – one of many taking place in tents sprawled along river-bank lawns – passed without much tension or excitement.

After one NGO representative from Eritrea recited a traditional protest chant against poverty in his language, Simonetta Nardin of the External Relations Department of the IMF, said it was important for his organisation to have a presence there.

“It is important to be here to listen, understand the criticism and bring it back,” he remarked.

“We want a dialogue,” added World Bank representative John Garrison.



Paulino Menezes

Patrice Barrat of the Bridge Initiative that united representatives of civil society with IMF and WB executives, said while the Social Forum wants a dialogue with the economic one in Davos, the World Economic Forum shows no interest.

And the dialogue in Porto Alegre also involved elements that neither

the IMF nor the World Bank could support.

Both institutions were held responsible for the “permanent structural tsunamis” against the poor on account of conditions both set in their vision of development that Oxfam International Ted Von Kees says tilts against the poor.

“I know them well,” Von Kees told

TerraViva. “They just cannot get away from their rigid belief that liberalisation and free trade is the answer to all ills.”

“Free trade is marvelous,” the two executives were told by Cecilia Lopez, crusading for the poor in Latin America. “The problem is that it doesn’t exist.”

The two camps differed publicly even on the reasons why India and China are doing well in development. “It is because they participate in free trade,” is the analysis of the World Bank representative, while Von Kees pointed out that both countries opened up after the success of strong national measures.

Facing the World Bank official, Candido Grybowski of Brazil, a member of the World Social Forum secretariat, said: “The Bank tells us we are doing fine. But, then, why do we have poverty?”

The World Bank was portrayed as evolving and showing increasing concern to issues such as the environment, but leaving human rights to the United Nations, according to Garrison.

He acknowledged “a different vision” of the Bank in development and its responsibility to the Governments.

Yet both the IMF and World Bank officials foresee a critical role for civil society in reassuring the government. “As we push governments to deliver on their promises,” Nardin says, “Civil society can also engage governments.”

But not the IMF or the World Bank. And Forum participants want exactly to do that.

## Millennium Development Goals

# The MDGs Are Flawed, Say Women

Amarc

The Millennium Development Goals ignore the basic principles of human rights and social justice, and even abandon the victories already won by women, according to organisations gathered yesterday aboard the women’s boat, anchored in the Guaíba.

Participating in the workshop were groups like the Latin American Committee for the Defence of Women’s Rights (CLADEM), Alter Vida, Social Watch, DEMUS, and Women’s Network (Red Mujer).

Elva Báez, of CLADEM, said that a major failing of the eight-point agenda, approved by 189 governments at the United Nations in 2000, is that it doesn’t demand the cancellation of the developing countries’ external debt to shift greater resources to social programmes and poverty reduction.

“Nor does it call for the reduction of military spending or denounce the armed conflicts that mostly affect women,” said Báez.

“They don’t include discrimination or violence against women, and they don’t take into account sexual and reproductive rights,” she added.

These deficiencies occurred because

the goals do not have a gender focus and because it is a minimalist agenda that ignores the achievements of the U.N. summits on women, in Beijing in 1995, and on population, in Cairo in 1994, said the CLADEM activist.

María Molina, of the Paraguayan group Alter Vida, said the MDGs are “neuter”, because they don’t identify the gender gaps, and they ignore the issue of distribution of wealth and the existence of profound social inequalities.

Ximena Machicao, member of REPEM, a women’s grassroots education network, said the goals are merely an agenda approved by the world’s governments, and fails to represent women, “which is why we must continue fighting for our own platforms.”

According to Marianne Mollman, of the women’s rights division of Human Rights Watch, the millennium goals are not universal because they do not affect the whole world, which is evident, she said, in that one of the goals is to reduce global poverty by half.

Although the MDGs call for reducing maternal mortality, they don’t incorporate other aspects of reproductive rights, such as abortion, which is related to the deaths of women during childbirth, she said.

## MDG: Help Needed from Civil Society

The Millennium Development Goals (MDG), adopted by 189 Heads of State and Government in their Summit in 2000, though “modest”, can only be fully realized if civil society applies pressure to governments, says a senior UN official.

Sail Shetty, Director of the UN’s Millennium Campaign, is at the right place at the right time. He quips that the gathering of some 4,000 civil society groups at the World Social Forum as “a marriage made in Heaven”, offering considerable opportunity for mobilisation.

MDG commits governments to work together and build a safer and more prosperous and equitable world for all by 2015. The mission is to launch an all-out attack on poverty specifically, hunger, gender inequality and environmental degradation, and ensure access to education, health care and clean water by 2015.



### Below a sampling of Shetty’s views:

#### On his message

To involve the civil society and, through its various organizations, the people. This is the forum to create citizen pressure on governments. People are tired of words and promises and want action and civil society’s role is critical in achieving goals. Basically, the message is “Join the Campaign” and take action in your country.

#### On how things are proceeding

We already have 40 national campaigns, including a most visible one in the United Kingdom (“Make Poverty History”) and a “One Campaign” in the United States (setting aside 1 percent of the federal Budget for aid). India has “Vaada Na Todo” (“Don’t Break the Promise”) campaign. In rich countries, the focus is on trade, aid and debt, while in the poor ones, emphasis falls on governance and accountability. While the goals are global, action needs to be national –hence the need for civil society groups.

#### On whether the goals will be achieved

Yes, but they can only be achieved if there is massive pressure from citizens. Many countries are achieving them including, in Africa, Uganda, Mozambique and Ghana and some have set even higher goals, like Vietnam. In Latin America, for instance, the goal in education is not primary, but secondary education. I expect millions of people will eventually join the campaign and be actively involved. The key is to hold governments unaccountable for their promises.

## “Um Plano Marshall para a África”

**Ex-primeiro ministro de seu país, o português Antonio Guterres, agora presidente da Internacional Socialista (IS), falou a TerraViva durante este V FSM. Ele defende um “Plano Marshall não paternalista” para a África e critica a política de “dois pesos e duas medidas, praticada pelas grandes potências”**



**Durante a presidência portuguesa da União Européia, em 2000, o senhor defendeu a necessidade urgente de realizar uma reunião de cúpula entre África e Europa. Passados quase cinco anos, nada aconteceu. Como presidente da IS, o senhor está insistindo nesta urgência?**

Sim, porque é imprescindível um “Plano Marshall” para a África, que não seja paternalista nem ditado pelas organizações internacionais e pelos países mais ricos. O importante é aproveitar a dinâmica integradora que está a surgir nesse continente, com a União Africana e com as experiências, infelizmente ainda não generalizadas, dos esforços pelos direitos humanos, pela democracia e pela boa governança. Lamentavelmente, ainda há países africanos numa situação terrível, de guerra civil, com estados quase falidos ou em situação em que a corrupção impera. Tudo isto funciona como um obstáculo ao desenvolvimento. Mas, há muitos países africanos que têm uma evolução extremamente positiva, caso de Moçambique, que precisa e merece uma mobilização significativa da comunidade internacional. A situação da África é tão dramática, que independentemente das injustiças da globalização, ela precisa ser integrada à economia global, para a qual hoje participa apenas com fornecimento de matérias-primas.

**Mas com o reduzido poder dos governos perante organizações como FMI, COM e Banco Mun-**

**dial, é possível que as boas intenções sejam frustradas, não?**

Sim, pois até países de maior nível econômico, têm muitas vezes que se sujeitar a um conjunto de regras uniformizadoras, que em grande parte se formaram na escola do pensamento único, ideologicamente dominante nos anos 70, 80 e inícios da década de 90. Temos uma dupla resposta. Por um lado, há o combate ideológico a esse pensamento e a necessidade de encontrar estratégias que, mesmo sendo rigorosas do ponto de vista financeiro, tenham em conta as necessidades de desenvolvimento econômico, coesão social e de sustentabilidade ambiental. E, por outro lado, também a política e a democracia têm que se globalizar. Isso passa por reformar as organizações internacionais e estabelecer um sistema multilateral de governança, que possa ser eficaz na humanização dessa mesma globalização, aumentando a margem de manobra dos próprios governos. Tudo isto tem a ver com os problemas do FMI, da OMC, do Banco Mundial, da necessidade de passarmos numa situação em que o financeiro vem sempre à frente do desenvolvimento social e ambiental – quando vem, embora todas estas questões estejam inter-relacionadas.

**Neste sentido, o FSM pode jogar um papel importante?**

Com certeza. A democracia moderna passa por uma política de comunicação entre a sociedade civil e a sociedade política, em nível lo-

cal, nacional e desejavelmente em nível global. Hoje, o FSM é uma parte muito importante neste diálogo, como espaço de opinião pública mundial. A única forma eficaz de combater as injustiças e as formas de pressão que existem no mundo, é através deste sistema de resistência assumida, mas pacífica e democrática, que valoriza a liberdade de expressão e os direitos humanos.

**Uma globalização de “rostro humano” é defendida hoje por socialistas históricos, como o português Mário Soares e o espanhol Raul Morodo. Eles consideram Tony Blair um defensor da sua versão mais liberal, assim como na América Latina uma parte da esquerda critica Ricardo Lagos, do Chile...**

Não creio que Tony Blair ou Ricardo Lagos sejam defensores de uma globalização neoliberal. Se olharmos para o programa dos britânicos para o Grupo dos Oito (G-8), vamos encontrar propostas relacionadas com o cancelamento da dívida. Se há algo de anti-liberal é essa proposta. Vamos encontrar também uma proposta de “um Plano Marshall” para a África, que nada tem a ver com uma perspectiva liberal, assim como vai encontrar a colocação, na agenda internacional, dos problemas climáticos, o que também é a negação de uma cega perspectiva neoliberal. O Chile do presidente Lagos tem tido um conjunto de políticas sociais extremamente interessantes e que,

mesmo no plano financeiro, mantém controle sobre a entrada de capitais de curto prazo. É um país que não segue a cartilha neoliberal e continua a aplicar um conjunto de medidas que considera indispensáveis para garantir a sua autonomia estratégica.

**Hoje, o húngaro-americano George Soros, um dos homens mais ricos do mundo, e o presidente conservador francês Jacques Chirac são duas figuras de primeira linha contra a hegemonia unilateral – mas muitos socialistas e social-democratas parecem aceitar bem esta situação, o que é inédito no mundo.**

Soros tem hoje um papel e propostas muito interessantes, através



**“É preciso encontrar estratégias não só econômicas, mas sociais e ambientais”**

da sua fundação, nomeadamente ao nível da transparência e combate à corrupção. Adotou uma posição frontal contra George W. Bush, dentro da sua perspectiva de uma sociedade aberta, de visão liberal, e portanto é hoje um interlocutor válido. Quanto ao Chirac, uma coisa é ter uma posição progressista e outra bem diferente é ter uma lógica contra a hegemonia dos Estados Unidos, que, neste caso, tem mais a ver com a posição tradicional da França do que com uma perspectiva ideológica – muito distante da visão aberta e progressista da IS.

**Como qualifica as discrepâncias - também em países governados por partidos da IS - no tratamento a ditaduras amigas e inimigas?**

Considero uma grande hipocrisia que muitos dirigentes, do chamado mundo ocidental, utilizem a democracia e os direitos humanos para servirem aos interesses estratégicos de seus países. Direitos humanos e democracia são questões essenciais que não podem ser vistas com dois pesos e duas medidas. Do mesmo modo que é repulsivo o regime da Coreia do Norte e preocupante o que se passa no Irã, pouco ou nada se fala – embora seja muito mais preocupante – sobre o que acontece na Birmânia, no Paquistão, na Arábia Saudita e em outras ditaduras daquela região. E, que pelo fato de serem amigas de certos países, são esquecidas nas listas das graves violações dos direitos humanos.

# O valor do trabalho

Com a mobilização de pessoas e comunidades, a articulação de parcerias e soluções e a disseminação de tecnologias sociais, a Fundação Banco do Brasil contribui para a promoção da cidadania e da inclusão social de milhares de pessoas Brasil a fora. Gente que vê a vida melhorar e as oportunidades surgirem participando de programas voltados para a Geração de Renda.

São ações que visam o desenvolvimento social e sustentável, a partir da inserção de pequenos produtores, associações e cooperativas em cadeias produtivas, aproveitando os recursos e as potencialidades de cada comunidade.

E juntos tecemos uma rede viva que trabalha pela transformação social e construção de um país de todos.

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## Os trabalhadores do FSM

# O fronte interno

Por Sílvio Ferreira

Sandro Furtado Padilha, 33 anos, é uma das pessoas mais festejadas no complexo de salas da Usina do Gasômetro, um dos pólos centrais do V Fórum Social Mundial de Porto Alegre. Na verdade, ninguém sabe o seu nome, sua idade, de onde vem e para onde vai. Mas quando ele entra no prédio os ânimos se renovam, o ambiente se transforma: incógnito em meio à multidão, Padilha é o encarregado de abastecer de água os cobrigados climatizadores, os aparelhos responsáveis por amenizar o calor escaldante que se abate sobre aqueles que circulam pelos prédios, barracas e tendas erguidas ao longo da orla do Guaíba.

Enquanto alguns fazem palestras, outros dão entrevistas e muitos apenas passeiam, Padilha faz parte do grupo de profissionais que trabalham para que a infra-estrutura do Fórum funcione a contento. Morador do município de Gravataí, na Região Metropolitana de Porto Alegre, Padilha nunca tinha visto tantas pessoas diferentes, tampouco tinha entrado em contato com tantas línguas estranhas. “É a primeira vez que eu venho no Fórum. Não sabia que era assim, tantas pessoas diferentes de países que eu nem conheço. Mas não sei bem o que está acontecendo”, admitiu o trabalhador.

### O que querem?

O vendedor ambulante Judas Tadeu Lucas da Silva, 51 anos, faz – quase – o mesmo que Padilha, do lado de fora da Usina. A diferença é que, ao invés de fornecer água para os climatizadores, Silva abastece de água os próprios participantes do Fórum. Na quarta-feira à tarde, pelo menos 40 caixas de água mineral e 50 de refrigerantes ele já contabilizava no seu orçamento. “Acho legal esse pessoal todo reunido aqui em Porto Alegre, mas não tenho idéia do que eles estão fazendo. Não sei se isso vai melhorar alguma coisa para nós”, avalia Silva.

Apesar da grande cobertura dos meios de comunicação sobre o evento, é ampla e irrestrita a falta de informação da grande maioria dos trabalhadores do Fórum sobre o que se discute e o que se busca com toda esta movimentação. Para o vendedor de picolés Alfredo Luís Guimarães, 29 anos, não há qualquer dúvida: “Esse pessoal vem pra cá só pra beber e fazer festa”, define.

**Alheios ao que ali se discute, o FSM é pouco mais que um evento curioso para os trabalhadores que garantem sua infra-estrutura. “Acho que essa gente só está aqui para beber e fazer festa”, arrisca um vendedor de picolés**



### Limpeza

Não é apenas o calor que assola os participantes do Fórum. Uma verdadeira enxurrada de prospectos é distribuída aos transeuntes, convidando-os para assistir palestras, oficinas, espetáculos, filmes, debates. A limpeza nas ruas da cidade está a cargo dos garis da prefeitura de Porto Alegre. Mas nas dependências da Usina do Gasômetro uma equipe de mais de dez faxineiras se encarrega de manter limpos os corredores, salas e escadas. Apesar do trabalho duro, Neiva Regina Gonçalves, 33 anos, se mostra satisfeita com a movimentação de pessoas no local. “O que eu mais acho estranho é a maneira diferente

deles se vestirem”, admite a faxineira. “Tem cada roupa estranha...”.

Odair Francisco da Silva Filho, 44 anos, apostou no público de fora do território nacional. Sua barraca montada nas proximidades da Usina está repleta de camisetas da seleção brasileira, bandeiras do Brasil e de clubes de futebol – inclusive de equipes estrangeiras. Satisfeito com o evento, Odair assegura que, de vez em quando, até um inglês e um espanhol ele arrisca falar. “É importante um evento como esse pela aproximação das culturas, pela troca de informações”, analisa. Entusiasmado, aproveitou a entrevista para filosofar: “Isto aqui é uma janela aberta para o mundo”.



A FAIR GLOBALIZATION  
**UMA GLOBALIZAÇÃO JUSTA**  
 UNA GLOBALIZACION JUSTA

Sindicatos, ONGs e sociedade civil organizada debatem as recomendações da Comissão Mundial sobre a Dimensão Social da Globalização, estabelecida pela Organização Internacional do Trabalho (OIT).

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