

World social forum 2015 in tunis Elements for an assessment report

Followed by an interview for Al Ahram

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April 17th, 2015

The situation in Tunisia (p. 2)

The situation in the Maghreb-Mashrek region (p. 3)

The global situation and the evolution of movements (p. 4)

Activities at the 2015 WSF (p. 5)

Evolution of the World Social Fora (p. 6)

Table 1: number of organizations and activities per country (p. 9)

Table 2: number of activities and spatial organization (p. 12)

Table 3: the 28 convergence assemblies (p. 14)

The 2015 World Social Forum took place from March 24th to 28th in Tunis. This text will introduce a few elements of reporting to feed our thinking and debate.

This has been a very interesting forum. Given the situation in Tunisia, the situation in the Maghreb-Mashrek area, the global situation and the weather forecast, all things considered, it has been a very good forum. Despite a series of hardships, the Forum has taken place in a generally open and constructive atmosphere. It has been an exceptional space for meeting, discussing and building convergences for a great number of diverse social and citizens' movements and associations involved in social, ecological and political change. It has also highlighted, on the one hand, the persistent relevance of the WSF process and, on the other hand, the challenges that the fora face and the imperative necessity to tackle those challenges in a context of global change.

The WSF has proven its relevance and usefulness. From March 24th to 28th, participation was huge. 4 398 organizations from 119 countries participated, offering 1 079 activities (see the appendix for tables). The total number of registered participants was 48 600 people (discounting 1 300 journalists and 1 000 in staff).

The weather has been absolutely dreadful. The opening march took place in a terrible storm. In spite of this, eleven to twelve thousands people participated in it. The first days were doused with storms and rain, a very unusual weather for the season in Tunisia. The last two days, strong wind flew some tents away. Because of that, the relaxed, inviting atmosphere of the WSF 2013, which had been extended into open-air areas, could not be repeated. In spite of that and of subsequent organization hardships, a friendly atmosphere prevailed throughout the Forum.

We must thank the Tunisian social and citizens' movements, who carried through and organized the World Social Forum. They have shown an attuned sense of politics which enabled them to face a complex, constantly evolving situation. They made it possible for

Tunisian society to express its wonderful hospitality. We must also thank and congratulate the Tunisian Steering Committee, supported by the Monitoring Committee of the Maghreb Social Forum. Their leadership helped mobilize all our energies and ensure for the better, and in spite of great hardships, the meeting of social movements from around the globe. They made it possible, by gathering almost 4 400 organizations from 199 countries, turning this into a successful democratic moments, one of the most important on the global scale.

The situation in Tunisia

The situation in Tunisia has heavily impacted the WSF. The Bardo attack on March 18th, 2015, six days before the WSF started, led to question the very existence of the Forum. A couple of hours later, an avalanche of emails confirmed that civil society organizations from around the globe had decided to maintain their participation, all stating its relevance “today more than ever, in solidarity with the Tunisian people”. Very few people cancelled their trip. The Tunisian people was very touched by this expression of solidarity, as was shown throughout the week. The consequences were huge in terms of organization and security concerns. But all participants faced it with great understanding and empathy.

Emotions following the attack were strong in all of Tunisian society. The opening march ended at the Bardo Museum. After some sharp discussions, the Tunisian Steering Committee and the associations of the International Council – who gathered before the opening – adopted the following motto for the 2015 WSF opening march: “People of the world, united for freedom, equality, social justice and peace. In solidarity with the Tunisian people and with all victims of terrorism and all forms of oppression”.

The political situation in Tunisia also greatly impacted the WSF. The decision to host the 2013 WSF in Tunis had been made in a climate of enthusiasm after the 2011 events in Tunisia which were perceived as revolutionary. These events had been followed by a series of movements across the world (Arab insurrection, Indignados, Occupy, Chilean students, Taksim square...). The social and citizens' movements from Tunisia and the Maghreb region, when they had organized the 2013 WSF, had invited the world's movements to come debate about it in the very location of this upheaval.

In 2015, the situation is no longer the same. We are no longer in the excitement of revolutionary change. However, Tunisia certainly remains very interesting on the global stage. Tunisian civil society, particularly the branches that had organized the 2013 WSF, has become directly involved to avoid the downward spiral that most of the region's countries have witnessed, and to initiate a peaceful transition. Of course, participating in a Forum that is opening an era of revolutionary disruption is not quite the same as having a Forum in an era corseted by conservative, or even neoliberal, political agendas. The participants have shown great maturity, not fooling themselves regarding immediately possible expectations, and trying to redefine resistance and alternatives in our era. The 2013 revolutionary thrill has now been replaced by a more solemn, palpable atmosphere and the will to tackle the new issues at stake with matching involvement.

In Tunisia, participation to the Forum was very high. The presence of youth was a key factor: there were many Tunisian youth, and also many young people from other regions of the world. The grassroots movements of Tunisia were very present: Redayef mine, textile and building industry workers, families of the disappeared at sea, qualified unemployed people, etc. They were invited by the Tunisian organizers to participate in preparing the Forum and were able to meet each other there. In addition, the Forum was very inclusive: no single cultural branch of Tunisian society was excluded from it.

The situation in the Maghreb-Mashrek region

The regional situation weighed heavily on the Forum. The hopes triggered by the people's movements of what has been called the "Arab revolutions" were a key feature of the 2013 WSF. The 2015 edition was at risk of being that of disillusionment. But that is not what occurred, with a few exceptions.

Two statements have often been made. First, a strong rejection of the idea there had not been popular movements, or that the latter had been manipulated and were better described as a plot. Second, a strong belief that understanding this movement, this wave of popular mobilizations cannot be achieved in just a few months. The oldest of those movements, namely the Tunisian one, is less than four years old. Any revolutionary rupture is followed, in the short term, by counter-revolutionary and restoration waves. The importance of a particular revolutionary rupture can only be assessed in the long term. Only in the years to come will we be able to correctly understand the meaning of this movement. It has already played a role in the feeling of belonging to a shared geocultural region, beyond the differences between Maghreb and Mashrek.

The regional situation can be qualified as characterized by general destabilization. External interventions have been key (United States, France, Saudi Arabia, Qatar); new disturbing forces are extremely offensive (Al Qaida, ISIS, and elsewhere in Africa movements such as Boko Haram...).

Conflicts in the region were among the topics discussed at the WSF. Three conflicts were under particular focus. Palestine, first of all, was very much in the limelight with 136 Palestinian associations, support organizations such as the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) Campaign and the Russell Tribunal on Palestine. The closing march was also dedicated to this struggle. Tensions were also very sharp regarding Syria, between the democratic opposition and those in favor of the Syrian regime.

But it is with some Algerian associations that tensions reached a climax. Over 700 Algerian organizations registered in the last month, after February 23rd. Increasingly aware of the major issues at stake at the WSF, the Algerian government sent, through some of these associations, over a thousand delegates to champion shale gas exploration and intervene in all the debates regarding the Maghreb region and specifically the Sahara. The Moroccan government, at the WSF in Dakar, had tried to prevent any debate on the Sahara. The Moroccan associations involved in the Maghreb Social Forum were able to foresee confrontations and to prevent them from disturbing the WSF. In the past three years, they have held a public debate with Sahrawi organizations, to make the Maghreb Social Forum a privileged space for discussion amongst civil societies in the Maghreb region. Violent interventions have prevented discussions between Sahrawi, Moroccan and Algerian associations. Here we must acknowledge the dignity and courage of over a hundred Algerian civil society organizations that have participated in the WSF from the start, and interposed themselves.

The 2015 WSF has been the greatest democratic space for the Maghreb-Mashrek region. As for the Maghreb, 2 568 organizations have gathered, including 1 142 from Tunisia, 828 from Algeria (of which several hundreds were pro-government), 512 from Morocco, 66 from Mauritania, 20 from Libya and 6 from the Sahara. As for Mashrek, 524 organizations have come, including 136 from Palestine, 133 from Egypt, 47 from Iraq, 41 from Iran, 32 from

Lebanon, 29 from Yemen, 24 from Jordan, 16 from Turkey, 7 from Syria, 7 from Sudan, 4 from Bahrain, 2 from Oman, 2 from Saudi Arabia, 1 from Kuwait and 1 from Qatar.

The situation in this region was also discussed in terms of its relationship to the rest of the world. In particular, with the Mediterranean and the relationships between this region and Europe, as was discussed in many activities on migration and trade agreements, as well as in debates on raw materials and extractivism.

The global situation and the evolution of movements

The global situation also affects the Forum. There are of course tremendous differences between the first fora, in the early 2000s, and the current fora.

In 1999, with Seattle, movements emerged on the global stage. This immediately followed an era of intense demonstrations against international institutions (IMF, World Bank, WTO). The Social Fora contested the dominant world order such as it manifests itself in Davos – the alliance between, on the one hand, banks and multinational corporations and, on the other, the states and international institutions. Since Seattle, the convergence of movements, by playing on the contradictions between states, has questioned the institutionalization of neoliberal globalization, of which the WTO was at the time one of the most advanced examples. In some regions, particularly in Latin America, some political enterprises were inspired by these movements. The heads of state of five countries – Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay – came to Belém to meet the WSF movements. The core debate of the World Social Fora is sustained by the rise of social and citizens' movements. Starting off with a rejection of neoliberalism, it then opens the discussion on how to go beyond capitalism.

The 2008 financial crisis confirmed the alter-globalization hypotheses, but also made it necessary to update them. The immediate proposals discussed in the Social Fora establish themselves as possible outcomes after the 2008 crisis. For instance: suppressing tax and judicial havens; taxing financial transactions; separating deposit and merchant banking; socializing the financial sector; prohibit derivatives financial markets; redistributing income; ensuring universal social protection; etc. Such proposals are not *per se* revolutionary. Today, they are reclaimed by establishment economists, and even by some governments. However, these declarations are not followed by immediate effects, because they require a rupture with the neoliberal dogma and the financial market dictatorship. Those forces are still dominant and will not accept, without fighting, to give up their massive privileges. One of the paradoxical consequences is that the proposals from the WSF have become mainstream and lost their radical edge.

Since 2011, the peoples have shown their exasperation through massive, if not insurrectional, movements. The peoples' upheavals are based on the same premises in understanding the structural crisis officially acknowledged since 2008. The new social movements have their own dynamics. Ties with older alter-globalization movements do exist, but they are diffuse. Moreover, none of those two groups is homogenous, and none has some form of representation which would allow to formalize discussions. These mobilizations are not organized from within the alter-globalization movement, although many relationships have existed from the start. This cycle of struggles signs a new phase in the alter-globalization movement, rejuvenating and renewing it, forcing it to transform itself.

From 2013 on, the situation seems to have made a U-turn. Dominant politics of austerity and structural adjustment are being reasserted. Neoliberal arrogance is back on track.

Destabilization, wars, violent repression and the instrumentalization of terrorism are now rule in all regions. Reactionary ideologies and extreme-right populist parties are increasingly active. They take on specific shapes, such as libertarian neoconservatives in the United States, extreme-right parties in Europe, jihadist extremism, oil monarchies and dictatorships... The 2015 WSF was affected by this situation, but has focused more on how to resist it. The social and citizens' movements have emphasized that the necessity to resist does not cancel out the importance of building up alternatives. The system's contradictions are immense and they contribute to this backlash; all possibilities remain open. The movements are aware of the urgent need to define strategic directions.

Activities at the 2015 WSF

After the regrouping and agglutination process, there were 1 079 activities offered by 4 398 registered organizations. About 20% of them could not take place because of withdrawals, cancellation or poor localization of the meeting rooms.

The themes discussed in the workshops reflected all the mobilizations and ideas that characterize the alter-globalization movement. According to most people, the debates were of high quality. They benefitted from earlier theme-driven fora and meetings of the international networks that have, in the past few years, taken the discussion to a deeper level and organized mobilizations.

Space at the 2015 World Social Forum has been organized into six distinct areas. The second table in the appendix shows the distribution of 1 079 activities into six areas in Tunis. The activities that took place outside Tunis should also be added. Those six areas were linked to themes such as:

- citizenship (citizens' mobilization, democratic transition, alternative forms of political organization, future of the Fora...) – 153 activities;
- economy and alternatives (finance, multinational companies, debt, corruption, social and economic alternatives, social economy) – 136 activities;
- equality (fight against discriminations, gender equality, women, minority and indigenous peoples' rights...) – 263 activities;
- our planet (environment, ecological issues, climate change, natural resources, extractivism...) – 166 activities;
- beyond the border (territories, colonialism, war and conflicts, freedom of movement, migration...) – 104 activities;
- social justice (economic, social and cultural rights, social protection, health, education, work, trade unions, social movements...) – 195 activities.

The WSF are both a space for radicalism and for radicalization. The idea is both to inform and to go in-depth. Debates at the WSF are coined in a contradiction that arises from having two different kinds of audiences: one that is well-informed and one that is discovering it all. This enhances the difficulty and importance of translation. The other difficulty lies in the combination of searching for immediate, emergency proposals, and necessarily formulating alternative directions. The immediate proposals have been detailed earlier in this text. The alternative direction, that of moving beyond capitalism, is concerned with the access to rights for all, and with equal rights, from local to global. Each society, and the world itself, can be organized in a different manner instead of following the dominant logic of subordination to the global capital market. Social movements call for a rupture, that of a social, ecological and democratic transition. They put forth new concepts, new ways of producing and consuming. This rupture is already taking place today through their struggles, because creativity is born out of

resistance and concrete practices of emancipation which, at local and global level prefigure alternatives.

The greatest difficulty in the Fora lies in translation – both absolutely necessary and very complicated. The Babels network had announced that it would not coordinate interpretation, even though many Babels members participated as individuals. The Steering Committee has mobilized a great number of Tunisian volunteers, mostly language teachers, who showed extreme goodwill, although they were not always very comfortable in simultaneous interpretation. The material was produced, just like in 2013, by the Nomad cooperative, who was actively involved. But all rooms were not supposed to be equipped, and bad weather made the organization very complicated at the beginning.

In addition to self-governed activities, a large number of activities found a space at the WSF 2015. The World Forum of Free Media started two days before the WSF and continued throughout the Forum. The World Forum on Science and Democracy took place during the Forum and started with a tribute to Vinod Raina. An international meeting on climate, in order to prepare the December 2015 COP21 mobilizations, started one day before the Forum. On the same day, there was another meeting on international trade agreements. The World Parliamentary Forum also took place within the Forum. “Controversy tables”, parallel to the Forum, have given a space for movement leaders, institutions' representatives and political leaders to discuss with each other. On the morning of the first day, before the opening march, the Forum was given a kick-off start with the Women's Assembly and the Youth Assembly. As was the case in 2013, the Women's Assembly gathered several thousands of women. After a very lively start, altercations on the Sahrawi issue disturbed the Assembly, which had to be interrupted.

Convergence assemblies focusing on mobilizations and action concluded the WSF. There were 28 of them, in which 232 different organizations participated (each participating, on average, in two assemblies). The list of assemblies, in their order of registration, can be found in the appendix.

The following link provides access to the table of the convergence assemblies, set up by the Extension Commission, with links to the declarations and videos of the various assemblies. This table is updated through the feedback from the assemblies' moderators.
<http://registration.fsm2015.org/assembly>

Many other declarations and decisions were made at the 2015 WSF. They include, for instance, among many others: the five resolutions adopted by the World Parliamentary Forum (forumparlementairemondial@gmail.com); the adoption of the World Charter of Free Media (<http://www.fmml.net/spip.php?article139>); the “Tunis Call for a People's Internet” (<http://www.alainet.org/en/articulo/168669>); the Declaration of the Social Movements Assembly ([comex15 asc social movements assembly](http://comex15.asc.socialmovementsassembly.org)); the declaration of Via Campesina on migration and rural workers (<http://viacampesina.org/en/index.php/main-issues-mainmenu-27/migrations-and-rural-workers-mainmenu-41/1774-la-via-campesina-declaration-on-migration-and-rural-workers>)...

Evolution of the World Social Fora

The issue of the evolution of the World Social Fora was very pervasive, both implicitly and explicitly. It was at stake in several WSF activities and also at the International Council meeting

immediately following the WSF, taking place on March 29th and 30th, in Tunis, at the UGTT (Tunisian labor union) headquarters.

Those discussions can be summarized in four issues: the World Social Fora process; the International Council and the organization of the WSF; the next World Social Forum; the relevance and meaningfulness of the World Social Fora.

The WSF process

The WSF process includes all the events that bear a reference to the World Social Fora and to the WSF Charter of principles. This process is not coordinated nor headed by any body, it is self-governed.

To better assess the process, a working group created by Pierre George at the IC meeting in Dhaka in 2011 has listed 72 events between the 2013 and 2015 Fora, from March 2013 to March 2015. Those events may define themselves as Social Fora (1st category) or choose to be associated with the process (2nd, 3rd and 4th categories). This list is not comprehensive; the organizers have not always communicated about their events. This list does not generally include local social fora.

From late March 2013 to December 2013, 30 events have been listed:

<http://openfsm.net/projects/wsf2012-support/wsf2013-calendar>

From January 1st, 2014 to March 30th, 2015, 42 events have been listed:

<http://openfsm.net/projects/wsf2012-support/wsf2013-calendar>

The 2015-2016 list is open:

<http://openfsm.net/projects/wsf2012-support/wsf2015-calendar> .

Feedback and announcements can be made by sending a message to: calendar.fsmwsf@riseup.net

The process of social fora is making progress. A new political culture pervades initiatives and mobilizations well beyond the process. The diversity of movements and their convergence, self-governed activities, searching for forms of authority which do not rely on hierarchy, have all become shared references.

The proliferation of fora associated to the process has significantly increased the quality of debates. Such fora conduct in-depth discussion about strategic directions, namely rights equality and mobilizations against the logic of capitalism. They bear and anticipate a new generation of rights (the “rights of nature”, freedom of movement, food sovereignty, universal social protection...). They put forth policy proposals. They enable exchanges on practices of concrete emancipation, and can be spaces for experimenting new practices. The issue at stake here is to start building a new world from now on, building on the alternatives and the necessary ruptures to get there.

The International Council

The International Council (IC) has discussed the organization of the WSF. The reshaping of the IC depends on how the process evolves. The debate on the IC reconstruction will be carried through concurrently with the debate on the current state of the WSF process, along with the debate on the movements' current situation and strategy. The IC has designated a group to temporarily assume the IC secretariat for a transitory period.

Reshaping starts off with a more precise definition of the IC. The IC could be an open Assembly of the social and citizens' movements that are willing to be active participants in organizing

and developing the WSF process. Opening up the IC would entail targeting the movements that have participated in the Steering Committee of the WSF and of the fora and events linked to the process. An additional proposal made by Raffaella was to also include the associations that organized the convergence assemblies, or even the assemblies themselves, which would open up the discussion on their permanence and functioning mode.

The IC relaunched the working group Memodoc, memory and documentation, that regroups all the efforts and projects to archive, document, systematize and accumulate data, starting with the Brazilian proposal to digitize WSF documentation since the very start. This group will take into account other archive initiatives such as the proposal made by some local social fora, collected by the Ivry local social forum (<http://wsf-contactiva.esy.es/>).

It was suggested that the next International Council meeting be hosted in Brazil, probably in Salvador de Bahia. It was also decided to explore the possibility of hosting an International Council meeting in Athens.

The next WSF

The International Council started off with the motion that had been adopted at the Casablanca IC meeting in December 2013: *"We begin a new process of cooperation and solidarity between the South and the North and, between the old and new generations of social actors. This process will be built through a common and integrated work between the preparatory processes of different WSF events."*

- In 2015 we decided to hold the next WSF in Tunisia in March.

- In 2016 we received positively and accepted the commitment of the Collective from Quebec to work for the organization of a WSF event in August in Montreal. We will continue discussions with Asian movements around the possibility, in accordance with their situation and their will, to join this process (including the possibility of a WSF2016 formula with a bi-centered location, one in Quebec and one in Asia)."

The 2016 Montréal WSF Collective reiterated its proposal, which was subjected to a long discussion. The IC was positively impressed by the collective's continuity and dynamism. It heard several Canadian associations and trade unions that back this proposal. The discussion revolved around two aspects: organizing the Forum in the North for the first time, and the issue of visas. Regarding the first issue, the point was made that although North/South representation remains important, it has evolved (in terms of how societies are structured, there is a North in the South and a South in the North; the geopolitical context is changing with the emergence of new powers). A new period is emerging in the alliance of Northern and Southern movements. The collective emphasized their intention of trying to associate more closely the new movements to the preparation of the WSF. Linking the event to the Red square movement and to "Occupy Montréal" could open perspectives. The issue of visas is the most serious and preoccupying. Some participants in the discussion, as well as the Québec collective, suggested to organize an international campaign on visas and freedom of movement.

The relevance and meaningfulness of World Social Fora

Over the course of fifteen years, the WSF has changed; how can we assess this evolution? It has exposed how contradictory and threatening the dominant system is. But the latter has become stronger and offensive again. Neoliberalism, in spite of its crisis, has become increasingly harmful. Capitalistic globalization has worsened social injustice, disseminated war

and violence, endangered the planet and weakened democratic freedoms. The WSF was not sufficient to impose its agenda of going beyond capitalism and has not prevented neoliberalism from attempting to make a strong come-back.

To assess the relevance of the WSF and its possible evolutions, we must go back to what makes it necessary in the first place. Does the WSF serve to strengthen social and citizens' movements in their mobilizations and strategies? More specifically, how to articulate local initiatives, national strategies and action on a global scale? The issue at stake here is to contribute to frame the movements' action in a global strategy, on the same scale as the challenges of capitalistic globalization. The big Fora and their extension are privileged moments to achieve this goal.

Each WSF relaunches the debate on the situation of the World Social Fora and their relevance. The 2015 WSF did not escape this tradition. The international debate is already very intense. Two participants' quotes shape the discussion. That of Mimoun Rahmani: "The abuses of the World Social Forum. Towards the end of the process?", which pointed the difficulties in reaching a radical edge in line with the organization of the Forum and the evolution of the global situation (<http://cadtm.org/The-abuses-of-the-World-Social>). That of Tord Björk highlights the importance of convergences and of the international networks involved in the 2015 WSF (<http://openfsm.net/projects/convergences/convergences-input1>). In another communication, "228 links on WSF 2015", Tord identifies to this day (April 16th, 2015) several hundred links about the 2015 WSF alone, showing the vitality of discussions and contributions (<http://openfsm.net/projects/ukraine-crisis-and-solutions/world-social-forum-in-tunis-2015>).

During the Tunis WSF, discussions were initiated on the proposal of a world meeting in 2016 concerning the movements' new anti-system strategies in relation to the new context. This proposal had been made by IC members at the WSF International Council meeting in Hammamet, Tunisia, in November 2014. This proposal was discussed at one of the 2015 WSF activities (http://registration.fsm2015.org/view_activity/1440). An initial meeting could take place in Athens, in 2016. This reflection will impact the WSF itself as a space for meeting, discussing and drafting proposals for action.

The debate on the situation faced by the WSF process reverberates the debate on the world situation, on the movements' situation and on their strategy. The World Social Forum remains a privileged moment for movements to converge. It is a space for meeting on the global scale. The main goal is to define a global strategy for movements, a world strategy in line with the new period. The WSF can contribute to this. Global challenges are tremendous. We are currently not strong enough yet to face them. The WSF is only one of the tools in the movements' struggle, but it is one of the few available on the global scale.

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM 2015

Participants: 48600 people; plus 1300 journalists
4398 organizations from 119 countries

Country	Organizations	Activities	Region
Senegal	36	36	Sub-Saharan Africa
Congo, Democratic	33	9	Sub-Saharan Africa
Cameroon	30	9	Sub-Saharan Africa
South Africa	24	26	Sub-Saharan Africa

Country	Organizations	Activities	Region
Nigeria	23	5	Sub-Saharan Africa
Togo	19	5	Sub-Saharan Africa
Kenya	17	4	Sub-Saharan Africa
Côte d'Ivoire	15	5	Sub-Saharan Africa
Benin	12	4	Sub-Saharan Africa
Guinea	12	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Niger	11	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Ghana	9	2	Sub-Saharan Africa
Burundi	9	2	Sub-Saharan Africa
Chad	9	5	Sub-Saharan Africa
Zimbabwe	8	10	Sub-Saharan Africa
Central African Rep	8	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Mali	7	7	Sub-Saharan Africa
Uganda	7	2	Sub-Saharan Africa
Gambia	7	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Mozambique	5	4	Sub-Saharan Africa
Zambia	4	2	Sub-Saharan Africa
Burkina Faso	4	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Mauritius	4	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Gabon	3	5	Sub-Saharan Africa
Congo, Republic	3	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Somalia	3	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Sierra Leone	3	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Tanzania	2	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Ethiopia	2	2	Sub-Saharan Africa
Liberia	2	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Rwanda	1	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Madagascar	1	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Cape Verde	1	1	Sub-Saharan Africa
Angola	1	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Botswana	1	0	Sub-Saharan Africa
Sub-Saharan Africa (35)	349	206	
Canada	45	58	North America
United States	37	42	North America
North America (2)	18	10	
Brazil	160	129	Latin America
Argentina	14	5	Latin America
Haïti	9	3	Latin America
Mexico	9	7	Latin America
Colombia	7	0	Latin America
Uruguay	5	0	Latin America
Bolivia	5	2	Latin America
Ecuador	4	1	Latin America
Peru	4	0	Latin America
Cuba	2	1	Latin America

Country	Organizations	Activities	Region
Guatemala	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Latin America
Paraguay	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	Latin America
Nicaragua	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Latin America
Costa Rica	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Latin America
Latin America (14)	134	93	
India	<u>42</u>	<u>28</u>	Asia
Iran	<u>41</u>	<u>47</u>	Asia
Nepal	<u>17</u>	<u>2</u>	Asia
Bangladesh	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>	Asia
Philippines	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	Asia
Pakistan	<u>10</u>	<u>2</u>	Asia
Chile	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	Asia
Taiwan	<u>5</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Japan	<u>4</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Indonesia	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Afghanistan	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Asia
Sri Lanka	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Viet Nam	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Thailand	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Asia
China	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Asia
Cambodia	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Malaysia	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Asia
British Indian Ocean	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Asia
Asia (18)	167	105	
France	<u>241</u>	<u>287</u>	Europe
Italy	<u>75</u>	<u>80</u>	Europe
Belgium	<u>59</u>	<u>117</u>	Europe
Spain	<u>32</u>	<u>15</u>	Europe
Germany	<u>32</u>	<u>36</u>	Europe
United Kingdom	<u>28</u>	<u>16</u>	Europe
Switzerland	<u>28</u>	<u>14</u>	Europe
Netherlands	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	Europe
Norway	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	Europe
Sweden	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	Europe
Portugal	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	Europe
Finland	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	Europe
Austria	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Europe
Greece	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	Europe
Denmark	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	Europe
Russian Federation	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	Europe
Romania	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	Europe
Bosnia Herzegovina	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Czech Republic	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Belarus	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Kyrgyzstan	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe

Country	Organizations	Activities	Region
Poland	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Montenegro	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Iceland	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	Europe
Ireland	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Europe
Luxembourg	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Europe
Europe (26)	561	601	
Tunisia	<u>1142</u>	<u>730</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Algeria	<u>828</u>	<u>170</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Morocco	<u>512</u>	<u>206</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Palestine	<u>136</u>	<u>106</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Egypt	<u>133</u>	<u>89</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Mauritania	<u>66</u>	<u>13</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Iraq	<u>47</u>	<u>16</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Lebanon	<u>32</u>	<u>34</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Yemen	<u>29</u>	<u>18</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Jordan	<u>24</u>	<u>7</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Libya	<u>20</u>	<u>2</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Turkey	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Sudan	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Syria	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Western Sahara	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Israel	<u>6</u>	<u>0</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Bahrain	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Oman	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Djibouti	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Saudi Arabia	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Kuwait	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Qatar	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Maghreb-Machrek
Maghreb-Mahrek (22)	3020	1432	
Australia	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	Pacific
Samoa	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	Pacific
TOTAL	4398	2544	

Source: FTDES, Alaa Talbi, Executive Director, and Nils Loret

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM 2015

ORGANIZATION OF AREAS NATURE OF ACTIVITIES AND NUMBER OF ACTIVITIES PER AREA

Area

Activity

Description		
The crossroads of Citizenship	Activities linked to citizens' mobilization, democratic transition processes, alternative forms of political organization, future of the WSF process...	153
The square of economy and alternatives	Activities on the actions of the financial sector and of multinational corporations, debt contestation, the fight against corruption, but also alternatives to the dominant economic system, such as social economy...	136
The neighborhood of equality, dignity and rights	Activities on the fight against discriminations, gender equality, women, minority and indigenous peoples' rights...	263
The planet neighborhood	Activities linked to environmental and ecological issues, climate change, exploration of natural resources...	166
Beyond borders crossroads	Activities on territories, colonialism, war and conflicts, freedom of movement, migration...	104
The square of social justice	Activities on the promotion of economic and social rights, social protection, health, education, informal work, trade unions struggles, new social movements...	195
Outside of Tunis		62

Total: 1079 activities after the regrouping and agglutination process

Source: FTDES, Alaa Talbi, Executive Director, and Nils Loret

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM 2015

CONVERGENCE ASSEMBLIES

28 assemblies – 232 organizations

<http://registration.fsm2015.org/assembly>

15b- Social movements assembly

[comex15 asc social movements assembly](#)

1- Universal social protection: towards a global campaign?

[comex15 asc universal social protection](#)

2- Post-2015 agenda: What development, for whom and why?

[comex15 asc agenda post2015](#)

3- For an African Citizens' University

[comex15 asc african citizen university](#)

4- Convergence assembly for a charter of economic and social rights of the unemployed

[comex15 asc charte droits chomeurs](#)

5- In the citadel's shadow – the impact of EU migration policies on third countries

[comex15 asc impact ue migration policy](#)

6- We need tax justice to end inequality

[comex15 asc justice fiscale](#)

7- Agroecology – life ethics to preserve mother earth and food sovereignty

[comex15 asc agroecology](#)

8- Resisting and building alternatives to free trade and corporate power: people and the planet before profits

[comex15 asc alternatives libre echange corporate power](#)

9- World assembly of inhabitants

[comex15 asc habitants](#)

10- The future of the WSF process

[comex15 asc futur processus fsm](#)

11- Dialogue for liberation / emancipation between religions, cultures and civilizations

[comex15 asc dialogue emancipation religions cultures](#)

12- Global convergence on land and water struggles

[comex15 asc land and water struggles](#)

13- Proposals for the freedom of movement and settlement

[comex15 asc freedom circulation installation](#)

14- Finally addressing people's economic and social needs!

[comex15 asc adress economic social needs of people](#)

15- The Post-Forum for the Tunisian women's dynamics at the WSF?

[comex15 asc apres forum dynamique femmes tunisiennes](#)

16- Commons and self-management : towards building international networks

[comex15 asc networks for commons and alternatives](#)

17- How to drive (back) finance?

[comex15 asc controle finance](#)

18- Disability and Sustainable Development Goals in the post-2015 agenda

[comex15 asc handicap et odd](#)

19- The Greek wind: time is now, to break together the trap of debt and austerity

[comex15 asc greek wind on debt and austerity](#)

20- Convergence assembly of Maghrebian social movements

[comex15 asc mouvements sociaux maghrebins](#)

21- Palestine is a compass for peoples to reach dignity, justice and humanity

[comex15 asc palestine compass for people](#)

22- Convergence Assembly on climate

[comex15 asc climate convergence](#)

23- Solidarité avec la Révolution Syrienne

[comex15 asc syria revolution solidarity](#)

24- Assembly for peace – strategies of civil society

[comex15 asc civil society strategies for peace](#)

25- Convergence assembly for the right to communication

[comex15 asc right to communication](#)

26- Gender and participatory budgeting

[comex15 asc budget participatif oriente genre](#)

27- Convergence assembly on union's rights

[comex15 asc droits syndicaux](#)

see also: <http://openfsm.net/projects/convergences> (overview of convergence assemblies 2009-2015)

Source: Extension Committee, Pierre George

And
An interview with El Ahram

The questions :

1) Do you think the concepts of these two terms " The Social Movements" and " The Anti Capitalist Globalization" have been changed or developed from Porto Alegre 2001 to Tunisia 2015?

These two terms were in fact define at the moment of Seattle, before Porto Alegre. Social movements start from a the definition of unions, peasants movements and was extended to citizen movements (women, youth, human rights, indigenous people, ...).

The movement was define as an anticapitalist movement before Seattle during the mobilizations against World Bank, IMF, WTO, G7 from 85 to 99. After Seattle, the movement define it self as alterglobalist. It was, for many of us, always an anticapitalism, it was the necessity to add to the resistance to capitalism the need to define alternatives to show the possibility to go beyond capitalism.

2) As one of its members, let us have a look on the W.S.F International Council (IC).. First what about its formulation, representations and the founders & new comers (the ideological trends, regions , organizations and generations) ? Second what about its functions concerning a decentralized wide frame like W.S.F? Third what about the problems and obstacles of working within this formula?

The IC is composed by networks and organizations, international, regional or national organizations that were at the call for the first WSF in Porto Alegre in 2001. It was in fact the associations active in Seattle. Some of them, about 20% left the IC, and new ones arrive after 2001. To day, there is approximately 140 members of the IC, 50% are really active. The new comers are mostly organizations that participate to activities link with the process. They came from the regions were events were organized. At the beginning, mostly Brazilians and latin-americans and also from southern Europe (Italy, France, Spain). Than it extended to India in 1984 and then to Pakistan and Bangladesh. Than in Africa (Kenya, Mali, Senegal). Than in the Maghreb and Machrek region (Marocco, Tunisia, Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon and also

Egypt. Ideologically it is more or less the same with a mix of radical left and civil society organizations.

The IC is not the direction or the coordination of the process. Its only formal decision is to define the location of the next WSF event. Then, the organization of the event is under the responsibility of the local and regional organizing committee. The IC takes into account the proposal of national and regional movements to choose the location. The IC works on the basis of the consensus; that means that the discussion continues until nobody makes a veto for the decision. The IC examines if the Charter of principles is respected.

The IC can make proposals for the movements. It organized five commissions : methodology of the events and the process, strategy, extension (new members), communication, finance.

The discussion is opened on the evolution of the IC linked with the evolution of the process.

3) AS a lot of people observed in Tunisia ", There were an important presence of N G O s (specially big ones coming from the north) . And also there were a lot of causes and titles not directly connected with reaching alternatives against the wild capitalist globalization .. So do you think that the W. S. F has lost its main direction and its concentration on capitalism?

I don't think the WSF has lost its main direction and its concentration on capitalism. The question is that of the evolution of the situation and of the capitalism and the difference between the movements on the appreciation of this evolution. The debate is on the debate on the strategies of movements facing the world situation.

The question of the NGO's is a real question. There are some big NGOs that have their strategies, and some of them are more reformist. But, I don't think they really control anything in the process. We have to consider that there is a continuity between social movements, citizen movements and NGOs. And the political debate divides the whole ; for example, you have reformists and radicals including in the social movements. For example between the trade unions. And, at the same time, if you take the question of link with governments, it concerns all the movements. There is a question

that also concern the three categories (social, citizen, ngo), it is the question of professionalization and of expertise. On this point, NGO plays a more important and discussed role.

The real question is : are we able, without losing radicality, to enlarge and to open to all civil society actors.

5) To what extent has the W. S. F succeeded in reaching new social alternative programs not only criticizing the capitalism?.

The WSF are both a space for radicalism and for radicalization. The other difficulty lies in the combination of searching for immediate, emergency proposals, and necessarily formulating alternative directions.

The 2008 financial crisis confirmed the alter-globalization hypotheses, but also made it necessary to update them. The immediate proposals discussed in the Social Fora establish themselves as possible outcomes after the 2008 crisis. For instance: suppressing tax and judicial havens; taxing financial transactions; separating deposit and merchant banking; socializing the financial sector; prohibit derivatives financial markets; redistributing income; ensuring universal social protection; etc. Such proposals are not *per se* revolutionary. Today, they are reclaimed by establishment economists, and even by some governments. However, these declarations are not followed by immediate effects, because they require a rupture with the neoliberal dogma and the financial market dictatorship. Those forces are still dominant and will not accept, without fighting, to give up their massive privileges. One of the paradoxical consequences is that the proposals from the WSF have become mainstream and lost their radical edge.

The alternative direction, that of moving beyond capitalism, is concerned with the access to rights for all, and with equal rights, from local to global. Each society, and the world itself, can be organized in a different manner instead of following the dominant logic of subordination to the global capital market. Social movements call for a rupture, that of a social, ecological and democratic transition. They put forth new concepts, new ways of producing and consuming. This rupture is already taking place today through their struggles, because creativity is born out of resistance and concrete practices of emancipation which, at local and global level prefigure alternatives.

6) What is the new results on the theoretical (ideas) and practical (tools of working and communications among movements and organizations) fields

the W. S .F gained in Tunisia 2015?. And also how do you evaluate the participants and participation comparing to the previous forums?

Given the situation in Tunisia, the situation in the Maghreb-Mashrek area, the global situation and the weather forecast, all things considered, it has been a very good forum. Despite a series of hardships, the Forum has taken place in a generally open and constructive atmosphere. It has been an exceptional space for meeting, discussing and building convergences for a great number of diverse social and citizens' movements and associations involved in social, ecological and political change. It has also highlighted, on the one hand, the persistent relevance of the WSF process and, on the other hand, the challenges that the fora face and the imperative necessity to tackle those challenges in a context of global change.

The WSF has proven its relevance and usefulness. From March 24th to 28th, participation was huge. 4 398 organizations from 119 countries participated, offering 1 079 activities (see the appendix for tables). The total number of registered participants was 48 600 people (discounting 1 300 journalists and 1 000 in staff).

The participation is on the same scale than the WSF of 2013 ; a little less. The number of participants in a WSF depend of the population of the country. In Brazil or India it approximate 100000. In Tunisia, a country of 11 million people, it is like in Senegal, approximately 50000 participants. In each WSF event, 60 to 70% of participants came from the country, 20 to 30 % come from the region (Maghreb), and 10 to 30% from the rest of the world

7) In general and from your point of view what are the successes and the failures the W. S .F has from 2001 ?

The success is the creation of a space of convergence for social and citizen movements. A convergence that allow to discuss the strategy of movements from the international point of view. Capitalism is global, and movements have to define a global approach, even if their actions are local and national. The success is also the building of a new political culture. A culture based on diversity, horizontality, non hierarchical authority. A new link between power and politics.

The idea that it is possible to build the world on the basis of access for rights to all and on rights equality. A new way to insure human emancipation taking into account the present contradictions : social justice and equality ; against discriminations and corruption ; against geopolitical domination ; ecological urgency ; democracy exigency.

The failure is that the WSF process was not able to gain against capitalism. The neoliberalism is in crisis but is always dominant in the capitalist globalization. And to face its crisis it create destabilization and wars, attacking directly popular classes and social movements. Crisis is deepening and challenges are increasing.

8) There are some remarks saying the W. S. F became leaning to be liberal and reformist concerning the weight of the big N G O ,s and the civil society organizations?

See question 3

9) How do you see the effects and impacts of the rise of the new left to power in Latin America then Southern Europe on the anti capitalist Globalization and the W. S. F ?

In some regions, particularly in Latin America, some political enterprises were inspired by the movements that launch WSF. The heads of state of five countries – Brazil, Venezuela, Ecuador, Bolivia and Paraguay – came to Belém to meet the WSF movements. The core debate of the World Social Fora is sustained by the rise of social and citizens' movements. Starting off with a rejection of neoliberalism, it then opens the discussion on how to go beyond capitalism.

The 2008 financial crisis confirmed the alter-globalization hypotheses, but also made it necessary to update them. Since 2011, the peoples have shown their exasperation through massive, if not insurrectional, movements. The peoples' upheavals are based on the same premises in understanding the structural crisis officially acknowledged since 2008. The new social movements have their own dynamics. Ties with older alter-globalization movements do exist, but they are diffuse. Moreover, none of those two groups is homogenous, and none has some form of representation which would allow to formalize discussions. These mobilizations are not organized from within the alter-globalization movement, although many relationships have existed from the start. This cycle of struggles signs a new phase in the alter-globalization movement, rejuvenating and renewing it, forcing it to transform itself.

From 2013 on, the situation seems to have made a U-turn. Dominant politics of austerity and structural adjustment are being reasserted. Neoliberal arrogance is back on track. Destabilization, wars, violent repression and the instrumentalization of terrorism are now rule in all regions. Reactionary ideologies and extreme-right populist parties are increasingly active. They take on specific shapes, such as libertarian neoconservatives in the United States, extreme-right parties in Europe, jihadist extremism, oil monarchies and dictatorships... The 2015 WSF was affected by this situation, but has focused more on how to resist it. The social and citizens' movements have emphasized that the necessity to resist does not cancel out the importance of building up alternatives. The system's contradictions are immense and they contribute to this backlash; all possibilities remain open. The movements are aware of the urgent need to define strategic directions.

The situation in Southern Europe give some hopes. New political organizations like Syriza in Greece and Podemos in Spain introduce the need to prolong movements with political issues. It is also the case in India with the AAP party prolonging the anticorruption movement.

10)The W. S. F Twice in Tunisia 2013 AND 2015 .. On your point of view what is the meaning? .. And what are the effects on the the Arabic anti globalization movements?. Do you think these events have pushed the social movements in this region ahead?

The political situation in Tunisia also greatly impacted the WSF. The decision to host the 2013 WSF in Tunis had been made in a climate of enthusiasm after the 2011 events in Tunisia which were perceived as revolutionary. These events had been followed by a series of movements across the world (Arab insurrection, Indignados, Occupy, Chilean students, Taksim square...). The social and citizens' movements from Tunisia and the Maghreb region, when they had organized the 2013 WSF, had invited the world's movements to come debate about it in the very location of this upheaval.

In 2015, the situation is no longer the same. We are no longer in the excitement of revolutionary change. However, Tunisia certainly remains very interesting on the global stage. Tunisian civil society, particularly the branches that had organized the 2013 WSF, has become directly involved to avoid the downward spiral that most of the region's countries have witnessed, and to initiate a peaceful transition. Of course, participating in a Forum that is opening an era of revolutionary disruption is not quite the same as having a Forum in an era corseted by conservative, or even neoliberal, political

agendas. The participants have shown great maturity, not fooling themselves regarding immediately possible expectations, and trying to redefine resistance and alternatives in our era. The 2013 revolutionary thrill has now been replaced by a more solemn, palpable atmosphere and the will to tackle the new issues at stake with matching involvement.

11) How do you see the position of the new generation of the Arabic Revolutions concerning the ant capitalism globalization movement?

12) Do you think that these revolutions have been failed?

I will join the two questions

The regional situation weighed heavily on the Forum. The hopes triggered by the people's movements of what has been called the "Arab revolutions" were a key feature of the 2013 WSF. The 2015 edition was at risk of being that of disillusionment. But that is not what occurred, with a few exceptions.

Two statements have often been made. First, a strong rejection of the idea there had not been popular movements, or that the latter had been manipulated and were better described as a plot. Second, a strong belief that understanding this movement, this wave of popular mobilizations cannot be achieved in just a few months. The oldest of those movements, namely the Tunisian one, is less than four years old. Any revolutionary rupture is followed, in the short term, by counter-revolutionary and restoration waves. The importance of a particular revolutionary rupture can only be assessed in the long term. Only in the years to come will we be able to correctly understand the meaning of this movement. It has already played a role in the feeling of belonging to a shared geocultural region, beyond the differences between Maghreb and Mashrek.

The regional situation can be qualified as characterized by general destabilization. External interventions have been key (United States, France, Saudi Arabia, Qatar); new disturbing forces are extremely offensive (Al Qaida, ISIS, and elsewhere in Africa movements such as Boko Haram...).

13) How do you evaluate the position of the Palestine cause in the anti capitalism globalization movement now and in the W. S. F IN Tunisia 2015 ?.
Are there a kind of decline concerning the last events in the Middle East?

Palestine, first of all, was very much in the limelight with 136 Palestinian associations, support organizations such as the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) Campaign and the Russell Tribunal on Palestine. The closing march was also dedicated to this struggle.

The situation in the Region is a great challenge for Palestinian people. There is a risk of marginalizing the palestinian liberation movement.

14) Concerning the declaration of Bardo about the Terrorism and the new liberalism (the initiative of the Maghrebi movements) , Have you any remarks ? . Do you think it will be adopted by the whole anti globalization movement?

15) To what extend do you see the responsibility of the new liberalism politics on the rise of terrorism?

I join the two questions

Emotions following the attack were strong in all of Tunisian society. The opening march ended at the Bardo Museum. After some sharp discussions, the Tunisian Steering Committee and the associations of the International Council – who gathered before the opening – adopted the following motto for the 2015 WSF opening march: “*People of the world, united for freedom, equality, social justice and peace. In solidarity with the Tunisian people and with all victims of terrorism and all forms of oppression*”.

So the proposal to take as motto, peoples unite against terrorism was not adopted. The movements present at the discussion insist to take into account all form of terrorism, and all the responsibility of dominant countries and policies in the rise of terrorist situation.

16) What are the new ideas to push the Anti capitalist globalization movement and the W. S. F ahead?. Are there different trends about that?

17) How can you determine the position and the effects of the anti capitalist globalization movement within the nowadays international relations and the new international order after the end of the cold war?

I join the two questions

Over the course of fifteen years, the WSF has changed; how can we assess this evolution? It has exposed how contradictory and threatening the dominant system is. But the latter has become stronger and offensive again. Neoliberalism, in spite of its crisis, has become increasingly harmful. Capitalistic globalization has worsened social injustice, disseminated war and violence, endangered the planet and weakened democratic freedoms. The WSF was not sufficient to impose its agenda of going beyond capitalism and has not prevented neoliberalism from attempting to make a strong come-back.

To assess the relevance of the WSF and its possible evolutions, we must go back to what makes it necessary in the first place. Does the WSF serve to strengthen social and citizens' movements in their mobilizations and strategies? More specifically, how to articulate local initiatives, national strategies and action on a global scale? The issue at stake here is to contribute to frame the movements' action in a global strategy, on the same scale as the challenges of capitalistic globalization. The big Fora and their extension are privileged moments to achieve this goal.

During the Tunis WSF, discussions were initiated on the proposal of a world meeting in 2016 concerning the movements' new anti-system strategies in relation to the new context. This proposal had been made by IC members at the WSF International Council meeting in Hammamet, Tunisia, in November 2014. This proposal was discussed at one of the 2015 WSF activities. An initial meeting could take place in Athens, in 2016. This reflection will impact the WSF itself as a space for meeting, discussing and drafting proposals for action.

18) You wrote before about the United Nations and the need to democratize the international system and relations, So do you think the anti capitalist

globalization movement has managed to push in this direction ?. How and Why?

It is still a very important proposal. Unhappily, it is not the main trend. Because the Transnational corporations and banks reinforce their pressure on UN and international institutions. We have to remember that the motto in Seattle was : International right cannot be subordinate to business rights. We had some success in this battle. But the financial capital change its strategy in the years that follow, because they were defeated when they tried to use WTO as the main institutional tool for capitalist globalization. They decide to manage directly by finance markets controlling governments and international institutions. It is one of the main question of the future years. This direct management is one of the reason of the crisis of 2008. And it leads some member of establishment to ask for a public regulation, a neokeynesian issue, named the green new deal. But they have no access to real power. We must remember that the new deal was adopted in 1933 but was not really put in place before 1945, after the second world war. So there is many possible issues, including an internal reform of capitalism, or an alternative to capitalism that had to be invented by social and citizen movements.

19) The forum of the parliament men in Tunisia 2015 reached an agreement on campaigns to cancel the third world injustice debts.. How will it work?

The cancel of the debt is one of the first proposal of the WSF from the beginning. There is not one WSF that have not work on this question. There is a new step with the discussion on the debt of Greece in front of the troika (IMF, European central bank, European commission). The proposal of the Greek parliament to create an audit commission on debt, and to charge Eric Toussaint to lead it, as the Equatorian government did it a few years before, legitimate one of the recommendation that was elaborate in the WSF process. The idea that a government can choose to get out of neoliberalism is in progress. Even if it is not a revolutionary government as it had be shown

by Argentinian government. So that the social movement mobilization can succeed.

20) Till the Quebec forum in Canada you have already an agenda (like activities concerning the Paris Climate summit on December 2015.. etc) , But how you can put scenarios for the future of The Anti capitalist globalization movement?

This question is linked to the questions 16 and 17

The debate on the situation faced by the WSF process reverberates the debate on the world situation, on the movements' situation and on their strategy. The World Social Forum remains a privileged moment for movements to converge. It is a space for meeting on the global scale. The main goal is to define a global strategy for movements, a world strategy in line with the new period. The WSF can contribute to this. Global challenges are tremendous. We are currently not strong enough yet to face them. The WSF is only one of the tools in the movements' struggle, but it is one of the few available on the global scale.