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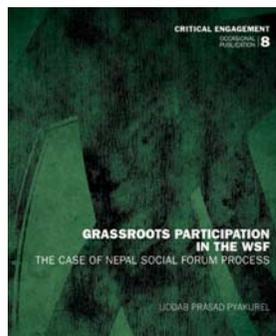
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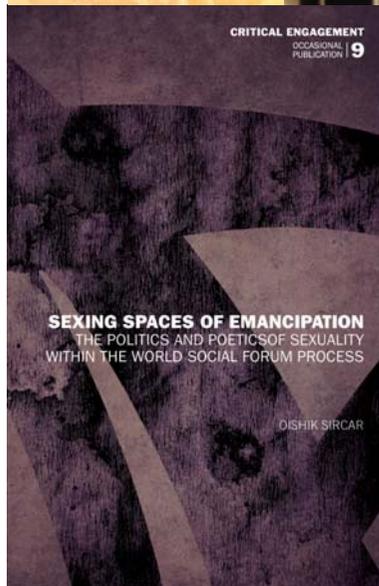
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Towards
the Intergalactica
Beyond Networking:
Building New
Autonomous Global
Relations of Production,
Reproduction and
Exchange

Kolya Abramsky

Jai Sen
Editor



SEXING SPACES OF EMANCIPATION
THE POLITICS AND POETICS OF SEXUALITY
WITHIN THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM PROCESS

OISHIK SIRCAR

INTERROGATING EMPIRES

political landscape of Tamil Nadu, with many dominant ideologies claiming descent from his theories. His most popular writing is *The Ramayana: A True Reading* (1959).

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Periyar,_Bharanasi

PGA or People's Global Action: A worldwide coordination of radical social movements, grassroots campaigns, and direct actions in resistance to capitalism and for social and environmental justice. PGA is part of the wider **alter-globalisation** movement. The initial inspiration for the formation of PGA came from a global meeting called in 1996 by the **Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN)**, which had started a grassroots

all stand, to avoid confusion with right-wing anti-globalisers and to strengthen the perspective on gender.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peoples'_Global_Action; adapted

Pokhran: A remote location in the Thar desert of Rajasthan, India, and test site for the Indian nuclear programme. The Atomic Energy Commission of India detonated its first underground nuclear weapon there on May 18, 1974. The Indian government, however, declared that it was not going to make nuclear weapons even though it had acquired the capacity to do so. It claimed that the Pokhran explosion was an effort to harness atomic energy for peaceful purposes and to make India self-reliant in

THE Are Other Worlds Possible? SERIES

IMAGINING
ALTERNATIVES

GRASSROOTS PARTICIPATION
IN THE WSF
THE CASE OF NEPAL SOCIAL FORUM PROCESS

LUCCAB PRASAD PAMUREL

Are Other Worlds Possible?

TALKING
NEW
POLITICS

EDITORS
JAI SEN
HAYDIR SAINI

World Social Forum
and Reactions
from the
Indian Left

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureaucracy> and <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bureaucracy>

Bureaucratic socialism: refers to the school of thought within socialism that advocates the building and then self-organisation of large, centralized, and, in time, powerful bureaucracies and control systems, which sometimes become coercive and corrupt. Many critics see these bureaucratic tendencies within socialism, where the product of the system becomes unaccountable to the people as being the antithesis of what socialism is meant to be.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism>; adapted

C

Campaign for a Safe University

An informal campaign run by students, teachers, and Karmacharis (workers) in the North Campus of the University of Delhi since 2002 to demand safety for women students, the curbing of heavy traffic movement inside the campus, and towards developing a more compact campus. The campaign grew out of complaints of sexual harassment by women students, and sought to put pressure on the university authorities who had not acted on them.

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism>

Capitalism, and capitalist in common usage, an economic system in which all or most of the means of production are privately owned and operated, and the movement of capital and the production, distribution, and pricing of commodities are determined mainly in a socialised free market, rather than by the

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism>

Chinese Revolution, also Chinese Cultural Revolution. The name given to Mao Zedong's attempt from 1965 to 1968 to reassert his beliefs, known domestically as **Maoism-Leninism-Mao** being thought, in the Peoples Republic of China.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_Revolution

PLURALITIES OF OPEN SPACE
A READING OF DALIT PARTICIPATION IN
WSF 2004

Jai Sen
Editor

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pluralities_of_Open_Space

Publications from OpenWord and other associated publishers

OCTOBER 2010

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Publications_from_OpenWord

Main Debates Around the WSF 2004 in Mumbai

Susana Barria with Nelson O. J.

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Main_Debates_Around_the_WSF_2004_in_Mumbai

CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT CACIM's Publications Programme 4

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_Engagement_CACIM's_Publications_Programme

WORLD SOCIAL FORUM CHALLENGING EMPIRES

Jai Sen, Peter Waterman, editors

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Social_Forum_Challenging_Empires

Opening Open Space Notes on the Grammar and Vocabulary of the Concept of Open Space

Jai Sen

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Opening_Open_Space

INTERROGATING EMPIRES

Jai Sen

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interrogating_Empires

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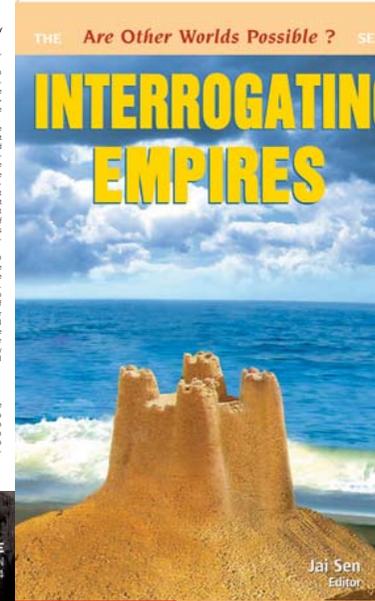
World Social Forum and Reactions from the Indian Left

Jai Sen

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Social_Forum_and_Reactions_from_the_Indian_Left

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http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_Engagement_CACIM's_Publications_Programme



Jai Sen
Editor

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interrogating_Empires

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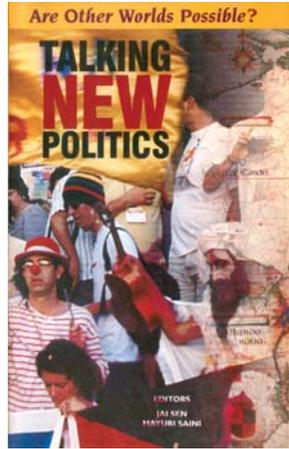
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_Engagement_CACIM's_Publications_Programme

CRITICAL ENGAGEMENT CACIM's Publications Programme 4

Jai Sen and Mayuri Saini, eds – **Talking New Politics**. Book 1 in the *Are Other Worlds Possible ?* series. New Delhi : Zubaan Books (January 2005)

In the run-up to the fourth World Social Forum held in Mumbai, India, in January 2004, civil activists and students organised a major series of seminars at Delhi University to discuss the Forum and its politics. The 'Open Space Seminar Series', as it came to be called, picked up on the idea of the Forum as a relatively free and open space, where all kinds of ideas could meet and be discussed.

This book, the first in a series of three that explore the new ideas generated by the discussions that took place, comprises of chapters based on the presentations made



by academics and activists during the seminars, as well as the discussions arising from the presentations. Can the World Social Forum help us to conceptualise and actualise a new politics ? Can this new politics be free from violence – of all kinds ?

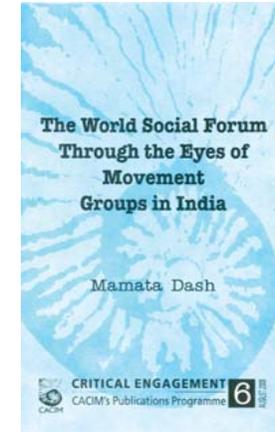
Can the experience and knowledge of great movements such as the movement for the environment, and the women's movements, contribute to the creation of a new politics ? How can such a politics be sustained ?

The essays in this book, written in an easy and accessible style, offer the reader different and complex ways of understanding the processes that have helped shape the World Social Forum and the new politics that seem to be emerging, and what all this represents, for life, society, and politics.

The other two volumes in this series, collectively titled *Are Other Worlds Possible ?*, are *Interrogating Empires* and *Imagining Alternatives*.

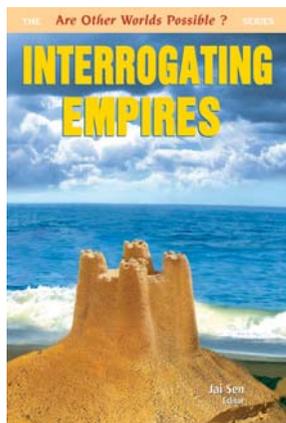
Mamata Dash – **The World Social Forum : Through the Eyes of Movement Groups in India**. Volume 6 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

This study looks at popular notions, beliefs, and practices related to the World Social Forum from the points of view of 'people's movement groups' in India. It is a discussion around their struggles, and the nature and extent of their engagement with, support for, and strength from the World Social Forum. It documents how these groups have viewed the WSF, their experiences in participating or not participating in it, whether and how it has helped in furthering their struggles on the ground, and their expectations from such a vast forum.



Based on discussions with the representatives and key individuals of seven major people's movement groups working with indigenous communities, Dalits, and landless masses – all communities fighting against global capital and imperialist forces and for larger socio-economic and politi-

cal space in the country – it tries to address several questions of key relevance to the World Social Forum as a world process : How do these people's movement understand the World Social Forum ? What significance does the World Social Forum hold for people and activists who face the threat of state repression ? To what extent has the World Social Forum, as an open space, or as a movement, or a process, helped in fostering these communities' struggle for larger socio-political and economic space ? What has a process, an event, and a movement like the World Social Forum meant for all the struggling masses ? How do groups who wage valiant battles to protect their socio-political identities find themselves in the space that the World Social Forum offers ?



Jai Sen, ed – **Interrogating Empires**, Book 2 in the *Are Other Worlds Possible ?* series. New Delhi : OpenWord and Daanish Books (2010)

As much as empires exist out there, reg-

ulating our lives, they also exist within our minds. Unless we comprehend these empires as being not only 'out there' but also as within us, and locate ourselves in relation to them, there is no way in which we can even begin to understand the world, let alone imagine the changes that are required towards making it a more open, just, peaceful, and joyful world.

This book is a close look at some of the empires that govern our lives and that we are constantly socialised to believe in and accept, by society, by family, by education, by the market and the media, and by the institutions we are all part of at one point or another in our lives : The empires of patriarchy, casteism, racism, nationalism, and religious communalism – and

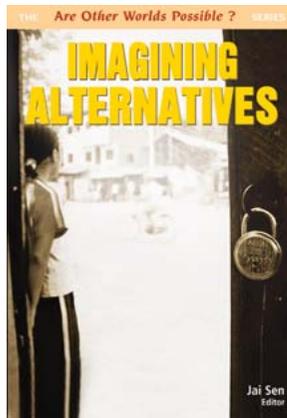
where each of these is quite aside from what is popularly referred to as 'globalisation', even as they interlock with it.

Organised as five 'open spaces' of conversation and debate, each one distilled from the content of seminars organised at the University of Delhi, the Open Space Seminar Series, the book attempts to itself be an open space that challenges readers to engage with themselves and with the worlds around us. The debates also explicitly and implicitly raise the question, and concept, of power – of realms of power, of how power is exercised, and of the nature of power – and therefore also questions of emancipation and of liberation. At the

same time, since these are among the major themes or areas of concern of the World Social Forum, the debates also equip us to

understand and take part in this important world institution in a far more informed way. This book is a companion volume

to *Talking New Politics* and *Imagining Alternatives*, Books 1 and 3 in the *Are Other Worlds Possible ?* series.



Jai Sen, ed – **Imagining Alternatives**, Book 3 in the *Are Other Worlds Possible ?* series. New Delhi : OpenWord and Daanish Books (2010)

The history of the twentieth century actually makes it clear that a wide range of ideas have proved to be 'pos-

sible'. Aside from socialism, fascism and Nazism have also been proved to be possible... Instead of just talking about possibilities, we need to talk about desirability, and necessity. ... Politics is not merely the art of the possible; it is the science of the desirable, and of necessity.

- Dipankar Bhattacharya, General Secretary, CPI(ML) Liberation, India

People in social and political movements – especially those involved with the World Social Forum – quite commonly say that “Another world is possible”; a world very different from the one we today know. But what do they mean by this ? What ‘other world/s’ ? Do such worlds only exist in some people’s imaginations ? And even if they are real, how do we get into these other worlds ? And anyway, are such other worlds necessarily more

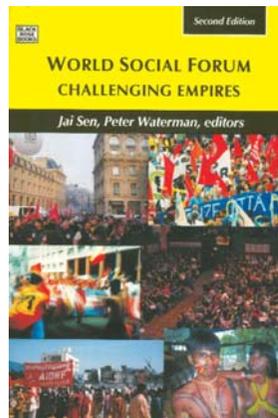
open and more just than the one we know ?

This book, the third in the *Are Other World Possible ?* book series and preferably read along with the other two (*Talking New Politics and Interrogating Empires*), critically explores three of the most important ‘other worlds’ that human beings have so far tried building : Socialism, Cyberspace, and the University.

The *Are Other Worlds Possible ?* books have come out of a series of seminars organised in late 2003 at the University of Delhi called the ‘Open Space Seminar Series’ that was conceptualised as preparation for the World Social Forum held in Mumbai, India, in January 2004.

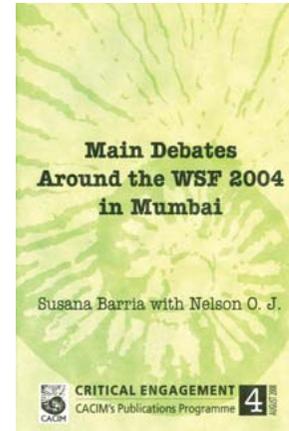
Jai Sen and Peter Waterman, eds – **World Social Forum : Challenging Empires**, updated second edition, Montréal : Black Rose Books (2009). <http://www.blackrosebooks.net/wsf.htm>

• Experimenting with a politics that can cope with uncertainty... This comprehensive volume provides a glimpse into the wide-ranging discussions, debates, and arguments that have gone into making the World Social Forum one of the more prominent platforms



of alternative ideas and practices in the present world. Building on the very well received First Edition (Viveka Foundation, New Delhi, 2004), this comprehensively revised Second Edition in 2008-9 was updated to include coverage of Social Forums that took place till the summer of 2007.

This stellar collection of essays will bring you into the middle of the debates about the most important locus of anti-systemic activity today, the World Social Forum. Indispensable reading –

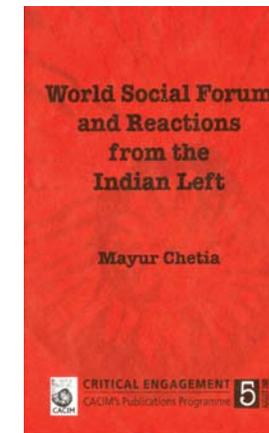


Susana Barria and O J Nelson – **Main Debates Around the WSF 2004 in Mumbai**. Volume 4 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM’s Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

Mayur Chetia – **World Social Forum and the Reaction from the Indian Left**. Volume 6 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM’s Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

In this paper, Mayur Chetia examines how the specific culture and configuration of the Indian organised left shaped the World Social Forum process in India. The advent of the World Social Forum produced an unprecedented upheaval within the progressive circles of India and the history of the World Social Forum’s relation to the Left in India has been a history of paradoxes and ironies. On the one hand the WSF brought hope, optimism, and energy to a large section of the progressive forces; on the other, it raised

In this paper, Susana Barria and O J Nelson discuss specific debates around the World Social Forum 2004 in Mumbai and try to extract reflections and lessons related to the World Social Forum process’s limitations and shortcomings. They look at the context in which the debates emerged, discussing the first steps of the World Social Forum in India and the process which led to the Asian Social Forum in Hyderabad, and their legacy to the World Social Forum 2004 and the various other events that took place at the end of January 2004 in Mumbai, and their contributions to the debates. Are the ideas of the World Social Forum at all adapted to the Indian context ? Was the World Social Forum India inclusive and what role did its structure play in this matter ?



doubts, anxiety, and confusion within another segment of the organised left of the Indian political society.

This paper examines different conceptions of the World Social

Forum – as an open space organisation, as an event, and as a process. It looks deeply into different positions within the organised left, the arguments provided for and against it, and the modes of participation by the left parties in this debate, and key controversies for the Left : The question of violence, a deterministic view of history, and the ‘funding of non-governmental organisations’ question as well as the relation of the organised left with ideologies associated with the World Social Forum, such as Post-Modernism, Revisionism, and Trotskyism. This paper seeks to unearth the ways left activists in India understood and acted upon the World Social Forum and its associate processes and looks for theoretical engagement on these issues.’

What was the quality of the participation to the World Social Forum 2004, and which are the difficulties related to this issue ? What are the outputs that were expected, that could have reasonably be expected, and tht have concretely been created ? Are the World Social Forum India events economically sustainable ? These different debates are discussed in terms of the perspective of the expectations and frustrations for key actors in these different processes, and on the ways that the fluid ideas of the World Social Forum were transformed into action, in order to open trails for further reflection on ‘the way forward for World Social Forum India’.

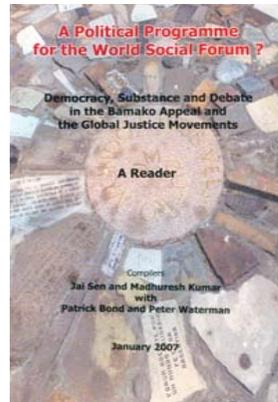
Immanuel Wallerstein, Fernand Braudel Center, Binghamton, New York, USA

A stupendous collection of essays, documents and statements, a critical self-consideration of the WSF process... an

absolutely unmissable book for anyone interested in the WSF – Milan Rai, anti-militarist activist and author, London, UK

Jai Sen and Madhuresh Kumar with Patrick Bond and Peter Waterman – **A Political Programme for the World Social Forum ? Democracy, Substance and Debate in the Bamako Appeal and the Global Justice Movements.** A Reader. CACIM, New Delhi and CCS, Durban (January 2007)

The immediate purpose of this Reader, published in January 2007, was to facilitate critical engagement with the content and the process of a document called 'The Bamako Appeal', at a workshop then being organised at the World Social Forum at Nairobi, Kenya, titled 'Revisiting the Bamako Appeal : Issues of Democracy and Substance in world movement', on January 21 2007. It did so by bringing together not only the intense and wide-ranging debate that had



taken place around the Appeal over the year after it was announced (on January 19 2006, at Bamako, Mali) but in order to locate the Bamako Appeal in history, also several key documents in history and some discussion around them. It is therefore also a unique reference document.

The historical documents that the

editors have chosen to feature in the Reader are the Communist Manifesto (1848), the Bandung Final Communiqué (1955), two key documents authored by the Zapatistas (1996 and 2006), and the Charter of Principles of the World Social Forum (2001). Also included are the so-called 'Porto Alegre Manifesto' that was announced at the end of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in January 2005, and two of the 'Calls' made by the Assembly of Social Movements that has come to be held and/or in relation to during the WSF (2002 and 2003); and the summary of another related major meeting in 2006. The editors had a Iso wanted to include the Havana Declaration from the Tricontinental Meeting held there in 1966, but were unable to find a soft copy of that in time for inclusion here.

Elizabeth Abraham – **Pluralities of Open Space : A Reading of Dalit Participation in WSF 2004.** Final paper as CACIM Forum Fellow 2008-9. Volume 7 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme (May 2010)

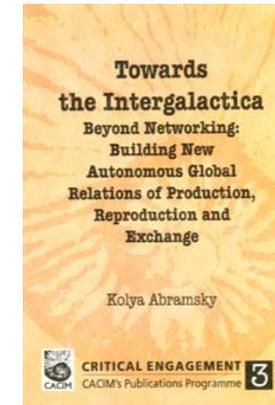
The concept of 'open space' adopted by the World Social Forum (WSF) made it more than just an 'anti- globalisation plat-

form'. It moved it in the direction of a more open new politics of diversity and pluralism. The idea that there cannot be a single counter narrative to the system of oppression, and the recognition of diversity and pluralism, were inevitable prerequisites for fostering the new politics. It was an acknowledgement of diverse forms of struggles and movements that were taking place in different parts of the world.

Kolya Abramsky – **Towards Intergalactica. Beyond Networking : Building New Relations of Production, Reproduction and Exchange.** Volume 3 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

In 1996 and 1997, Zapatista Intergalacticas took place in Mexico and the Spanish state. These large international gatherings aimed at weaving a global network of grassroots struggles. They had a profound effect on inspiring and galvanising a major new circulation of global struggles. And once again, in the summer of 2005 the Zapatistas issued their 6th Declaration of the Lacandona Jungle, calling for a Third Intergalactic Encuentro, "from below and to the left".

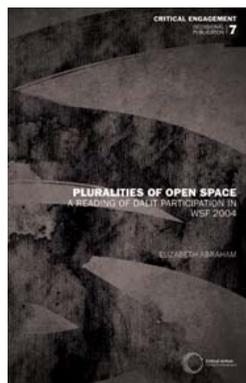
The call came at a moment in which two seemingly contradictory trends were taking shape within global networks of struggle. On the one hand, these networks, together with the War on Terror and food/energy/financial crises, have provoked a profound loss of legitimacy for established institutions of power. The World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and the World Trade



Organisation all find themselves in the midst of deep crises. And, so too the US state and its military apparatus also face a major crisis of legitimacy, both beyond and within the US itself. Yet, on the other hand, the global networks seem incapable of slowing and reversing the rapid lurch towards an authoritarian global politics based on fear, coercion, militarism, racism and religious fundamentalisms. Apparently, they are reaching the limits of their ability to move forward, and are finding it increasingly difficult to go beyond their unexpectedly successful assaults on major summits of many of global capitalism's key institutions (as well as large, but less successful, anti-war protests) in a way that deepens and expands the existing

networks in order to make them functional enough to be able to go beyond protest in order to create alternative social relations.

By taking the time to build a solid and meaningful global process, based on broad participation from different struggles around the world, the Zapatista Intergalactica may offer the possibility to collectively create a global space for struggles to address these three concerns. Who might participate in building the Intergalactica and on what basis ? And how might it come about and around which political contents ? There are many good reasons to believe that the 6th Declaration could have as important an inspirational and catalytic effect as the previous Intergalacticas did. The Zapatistas have set the ball rolling. However, the Intergalactica is not just the responsibility of the Zapatistas but of all those who identify with it throughout the world. Kolya Abramsky urges that we collectively respond to their invitation by creating a space for collectively moving beyond protest towards creating lasting alternative social relations of (re)production, exchange and livelihood.



The concept of open space has been much discussed in the debates and literature that evolved around the WSF. Most of the deliberations have centred on the linearity of the 'open space', whether the space was controlled top-down or bottom-up, the grammar and language of the concept, the liminality of the space, the indeterminacy of the process, etc.

The Mumbai 2004 WSF is celebrated for its radical shift from earlier Forums and for the celebration of diversities. The relevance of open space to silenced com-

munities is therefore an important domain for exploration. The monograph attempts to see the openness of 'open space'. Is the openness limited to the participation or representation of different groups? Or is it defined through the interaction and intercommunication of different possible worlds? Or is the Forum just a space for showcasing different groups and movements?

Immediately after WSF 2004, most of the writings marked the significant political presence of dalits through seminars, demonstrations, and cultural shows.

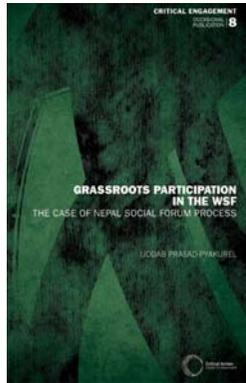
While dalit presence in the Indian socio-economic and cultural sphere is marginal, what was the significance of dalit interaction with the WSF's open space? This question is all the more relevant as the WSF took place in a space where deeply entangled upper caste and dalit histories confront each other. The present study is an exploration of the way the concept of open space was encountered by the dalit section of Indian society, and how the Forum responded to the voices of dalit movements in the country.

pate on an equal footing, and with equal access to influence and the shaping of alternatives.

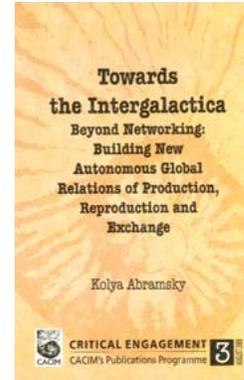
At the same time, observing the list of participants in various WSFs, the question of participation from grassroots groups in relation to those who are associated with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) has been frequently raised. The idea of the Forum as an 'open space' has also been widely debated. Such critiques seemed to acquire a solid basis when research disclosed that the largest groups amongst the participants of the WSF are not from the grassroots. Not only the critics but also some of the WSF activists have started wondering whether the WSF can be termed an 'open space' or not.

Even the Mumbai WSF, considered the most inclusive and participatory WSF till date in terms

Uddhab Prasad Pyakurel – **Grassroots Participation in WSF : The Case of the Nepal Social Forum Process.** Final Paper as CACIM Forum Fellow 2008-09. Volume 8 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme. (May 2010)



more inclusive of those who have most directly borne the brunt of imperialist and neoliberal forces. Though the WSF process is a young one, it has achieved great success within a short period. Credit can be given to its Charter of Principles which focuses on it being an 'open space'. That is why movement groups and individuals viewed it as a process of global democratic dialogue where, in principle, anyone can who adheres to the WSF's Charter of Principles can partici-



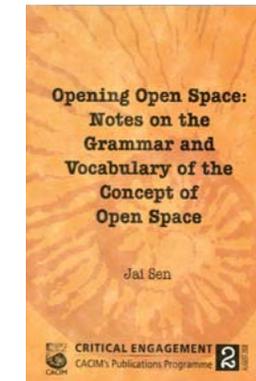
Kolya Abramsky – **The Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration.** Volume 1 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

Between summer 2005 and winter 2006, emancipatory global movements produced two far-reaching documents, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration. Unrecorded by the

world's mainstream media, these documents – both aimed to raise hope in bleak times – slowly and quietly began to circulate around the world. Both documents attempted to understand how local, national, regional and global structures and processes interact with one another. Both called for some degree of confrontation with the existing order of a capitalist world-system infatuated with militarism and violence. Both sought to provoke long-term questions and paths of action, aimed at the construction of viable and lasting alternatives to capitalism. Both dealt with the thorny but crucial question of how local struggles relate to wider global processes, how the particular relates to the universal. Finally, both documents aimed at a wide global audience, and aimed to circulate as far and wide as possible, linking those already in struggle with one another as well as inspiring new processes of resistance.

Jai Sen – **Opening open space : Notes on the grammar and vocabulary of the concept of open space.** (May 17 2007 version.) Volume 2 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme (August 2008)

Drawing both on the author's successive work in architecture, urban planning, socio-political movement, and the World Social Forum, and the work of several others, this paper attempts to critically engage with the increasingly widely used concept of open space (which is what the protagonists of the WSF like to describe it



as, as a mode of social and political organising). Arguing that open, space, horizontality, and networking are now emerging as general tendencies in the organi-

As such, both documents were significant contributions that emancipatory movements around the world have felt inspired by, and were deemed worthy of translating into a wide range of languages, debating, and acting upon the texts. Despite their broad similarities however, the Bamako Appeal and the Zapatista 6th Declaration were also substantially different. They were premised in different understandings of the social relations that shape our lives in today's capitalist world-system, and consequently offered substantially different insights and suggestions to those trying to find their way towards collectively imagining and constructing more humane worlds than the one in which we currently live. By critically comparing them, Kolya Abramsky makes a significant contribution to such debate.

sation of human social relations, and that the WSF is a major historical experiment in this idea, the paper seeks to open up the concept towards a more critical understanding of it – but also, since the idea of the WSF as an open space is under increasing criticism, with the aim of not seeing the baby thrown out with the bathwater. While doing so, this working draft of this paper also attempts to explore the vocabulary and grammar of a practice of open space, and to draw out some organising principles for this practice, for discussion.

of the characteristics of participation, is not free of the question of whether the dalits, adivasis, and vernacular groups attended the meeting with their own spontaneous will or whether they

were mobilised or even 'taken' by the NGOs just to make up the numbers in the Forum.

With this background, this study tries to engage with the very real

challenge of preserving the WSF's open space principle with its assumption of equal access on an equal footing for a democratic dialogue.

ders imperative the need to engage with the process and to continue to refine it. This is not because the WSF will completely transform the world but because it makes us realise that the foundations required for effecting transformation can be built through solidarity.

However, lest we end up romanticising the WSF as an artefact, it is necessary that we rigorously critique it and the ideas that it stands for. This critique is not to discredit the WSF, but to be able to work through its drawbacks and overcome its in-built biases.

There can be several indices for measuring the solidarity-quotient of the WSF and one such register is what can be called the 'lens of marginality'. This lens can be used to gauge how well the most marginalised find visibility and recognition within the WSF space. The 'lens of marginality' then recognises the cruel reality of in-built hierarchies within spaces of promised emancipation. One way of identifying this hierarchy – how and how much it exists within the WSF space – can be through the story of sexuality's articulation within this space, by understanding the context in which sexuality appeared on the WSF stage, especially because it finds no mention in its Charter of

Principles (2001 and 2004), or in later documents like the Manifesto of Porto Alegre (2005) and the Bamako Appeal (2006).

The story of sexuality within all spaces of solidarity building is fraught with opposition, laden with premonition, and yet empowered through its ability for subversion. The idea behind this monograph is to offer a critical reading of how sexuality inhabits 'spaces of emancipation' like the WSF. Although the WSF (and its Indian avatars) will be the sites of inquiry, the essay attempts to establish commonality in the trajectory that the articulation of sexuality tends to take within other emancipatory sites like UN conferences internationally and women's conferences in India. It offers a mapping of sexuality and sexual rights articulation across these diverse locations through space and time, to tease out the machinations of solidarity-politics in an era of liberal populism.

Janaki Srinivasan – **The WSF and the Debate on Alternative Development in India.** Final paper as CACIM Forum Fellow 2008-9. Volume 10 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme. (May 2010)

In 1975 the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation brought out *What Now : Another Development*, a report widely held as bringing into focus the questioning of mainstream conceptions of development and calling for alternative principles, strategies, and content of development. Not only did its concerns carry the imprint of debates regarding the inequities of the international system, given the context of the Cold War and decolonisation, it also gave voice to the then emerging concerns over ecological consequences, the need for structural transformation within societies, and the propriety of universalistic definitions of development.

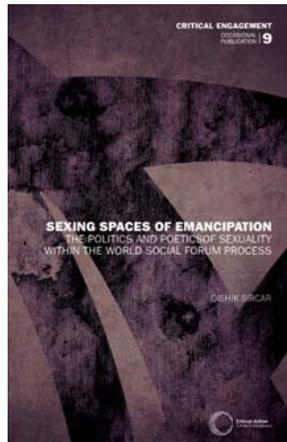
A quarter of a century later the first World Social Forum (WSF) meet was held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001, with the ringing slogan forever to be associated with it – 'Another World is Possible'. This slogan was meant to counter the orthodoxy – entrenched the world over since the collapse of the socialist bloc – that 'There is No Alternative' (TINA) to neoliberal globalisation. The WSF was envisioned as a "permanent process of seeking and building alternatives". Indeed, one of the precursors of the WSF was 'The World Forum for Alternatives', a meet organised by intellectuals in January 2000 par-



the debate in the Indian context as well as the WSF within this debate. It goes on to examine the deliberations over the WSF India process and outlines the main contours of conceptions of alternative development as articulated by a selected set of movements. Based on this, the paper engages with the key theoretical frameworks through which these ideas are conventionally processed and interrogates the efficacy of these frameworks.

allel to the annual World Economic Forum in Davos. The WSF itself is a product of the wave of mass anti-globalisation movements which emerged globally after the mid 1990s as a reaction to the multiple ill-effects of neoliberal globalisation. The search for alternatives followed from the need for resistance, and as an attempt to further deepen resistance. Hence, the projects of resistance and alternatives are linked, and this constitutes "the critical utopia" of the WSF. In this sense, the WSF is all about alternatives.

This monograph seeks to engage with one specific regional dynamic of this 'global' search for alternatives : The debate over alternative development in India. The period of the WSF process in India is a useful lens to examine the main contours of this debate, and the role played by the WSF is in itself a question worth exploring. This paper first examines the debate over development as it panned out in the post second world war world and then locates



Oishik Sircar – **Sexing Spaces of Emancipation : The Politics and Poetics of Sexuality Within The World Social Forum Process.** Final Paper as CACIM Forum Fellow 2008-2009. Volume 9 in *Critical Engagement* – CACIM's Occasional Publications Programme. (May 2010)

The World Social Forum (WSF), which began in 2001 in Porto Alegre in Brazil, is an initiative committed to resisting injustice not just by using the political language of rights but also through the aesthetic idioms of art, indigenous knowledge, and oral histories and cultures. The WSF process creates a global space for solidarity building and reflection not hitherto available to movements across the world. This ren-