



Justice Rising

Grassroots Solutions to Corporate Rule

World Citizenry Takes On Corporate Global Rule

What neoliberal theorists call shrinking the state looks more like shrinking democracy.

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The superclass effectively employs a global political strategy in the only way possible, influencing the influencers.

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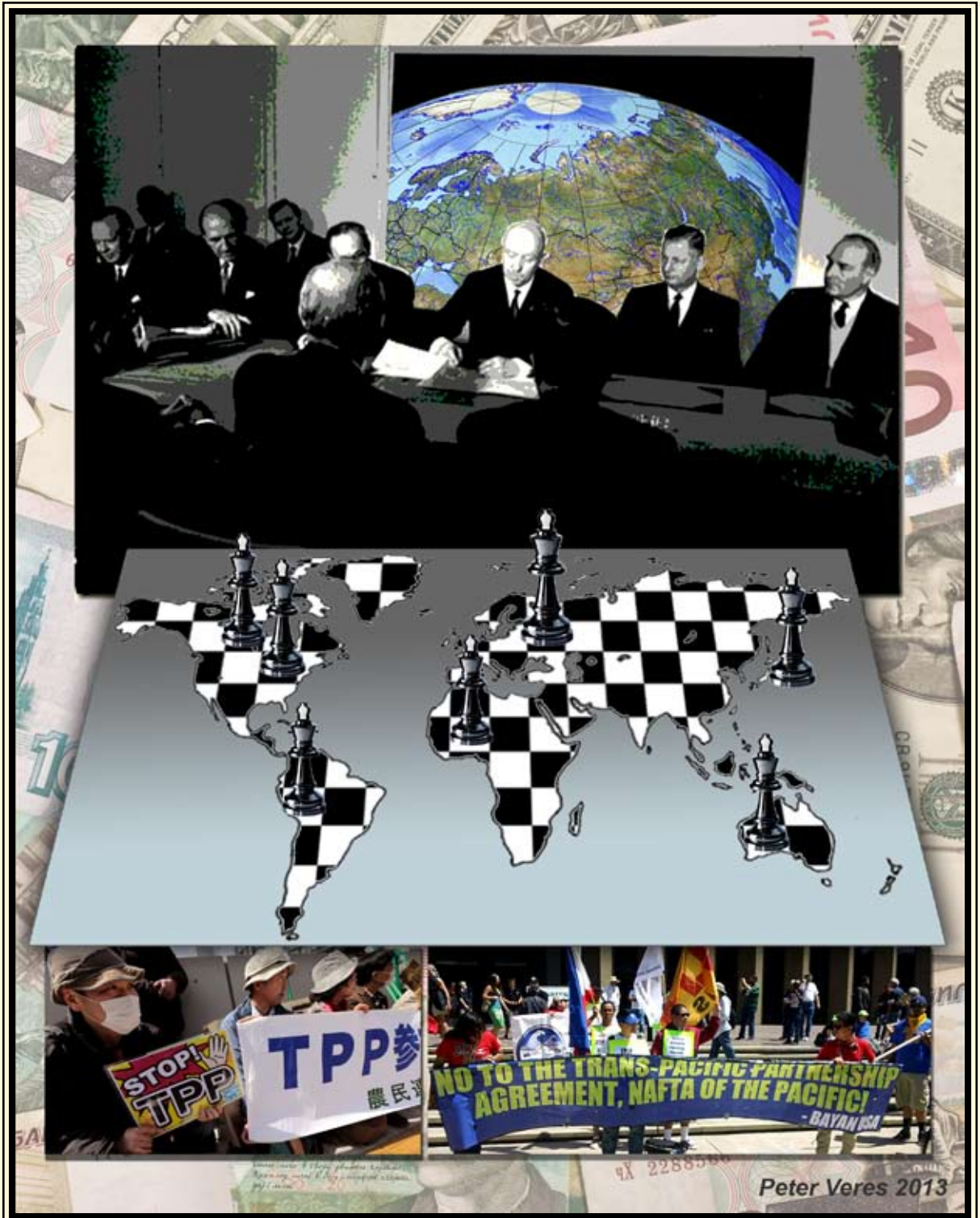
People have now come together across four continents to fight the Trans-Pacific Partnership.

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Participatory democracy is the first step towards achieving substantial economic redistribution, cultural recognition, ecological renewability and political representation.

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Democracy



Peter Veres 2013

"The issue is not the issues; the issue is the system." — Ronnie Dugger



Alliance for Democracy (AfD). Since 1996, AfD has focused on liberating our cultural, economic and political systems from domination by trans-national corporations and the wealthy 1%. Working with our members and chapters and in alliance with like-minded groups, AfD is building a strong national peoples' movement to end corporate rule and develop positive alternatives.

AfD's Four Major Campaigns



Corporate Globalization/Positive Alternatives. Presently, we are focusing on stopping the Trans-Pacific Partnership Trade Agreement (TPP) that would extend corporate/financial rule to many of the countries bordering on the Pacific and further trample local democracy. Building local resistance through TPP-Free Zones is key, as well as opposition to "fast tracking" TPP approval by Congress.



Public Banking. We must also end the stranglehold that Wall Street has on small businesses, our homes, and our communities. Public banks create public money for the public good. AfD is supporting local and state campaigns to create public banks.



Community Rights Not Corporate Rights/Local Food Ordinances. To promote community rights, not corporate rights, AfD is supporting the local movement of resistance to the federal/state regulatory system which serves the interests of corporate agriculture and harms local farmers. This resistance includes local laws to protect local farmers.



Defending Water for Life. Water is a fundamental right for people and nature not to be commodified or privatized for corporate profit. AfD supports local community resistance, including rights-based law, and opposes infrastructure for the bulk export of water

AfD Provides Resources for Active and Concerned Citizens

AfD's Media Programs Go National. Populist Dialogues, the Portland Chapter's cable TV program, and Corporations & Democracy, the Mendocino Chapter's radio program, feature lively interviews on critical issues you won't hear on corporate-owned TV and radio. They are available at www.PopulistDialogues.org and <http://afdradio.org>



AfD Website. To keep current with these campaigns, to bring AfD's media programs to your community, and to find organizing resources, make the Alliance website — www.thealliancefordemocracy.org — one of your favorites.



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World Citizenry Takes on Global Corporate Rule

by Jim Tarbell

Destruction of earth's climate system, depletion of the world's finite resources, and money power's domination of the world's economic and political systems have created a storm of crises that our parochial, policy-making nation states are unable to resolve. We are left without an effective mechanism to establish enforceable global policies that will look out for the common good of all humans and nature. Many civil society institutions, UN agencies, and nongovernmental organizations recognize the problem but are unable to establish an effective rulemaking institution to implement solutions.

Corporations and their allied militaries have stepped in to fill the void. They have the financing and long-term social and political relations to move beyond the parochial concerns of nation states and mold the future of the world to their own advantage.

Corporate executives and big-money investors have constructed this opaque system of global governance based on money, markets and materialism with militaries as the disciplinarians. This corporate elite do not want a legitimate democratic global government because that entity would stop the exploitative activities of transnational corporate power, which is vital to their profits.

The corporate system of global governance uses "free" trade agreements to lay out the rules and appoint supranational tribunals to nullify national and local laws and regulations according to the needs of corporate managers and investors. Since the 1993 signing of the North American "Free" Trade Agreement (NAFTA), corporations have promoted "free" trade agreements to facilitate their access to valuable natural resources, cheap labor and to open markets in countries across the planet.

A multitude of concerned citizens around the world quickly realized that "free" trade rules were decimating domestic laws protecting the environment, our health and safety, as well as laws protecting our local resources and local economy. These citizens understand that corporate global governance is leading to planetary disaster by depleting the earth's natural resources, destroying the environment, and turning the mass of the world's population into worker bees for a vast corporate-fostered consumer-economy that concentrates most of the wealth in the hands of corporate owners and executives.

This mobilization of concerned people became a world citizens' movement that is exploring solutions and establishing alternative economic and political models of democratic decision mak-

ing across the planet. These include the World Social Forum, the intercontinental social solidarity economy, and the development of alternative political relationships like those evolving in the largely Indigenous nations of Latin America.

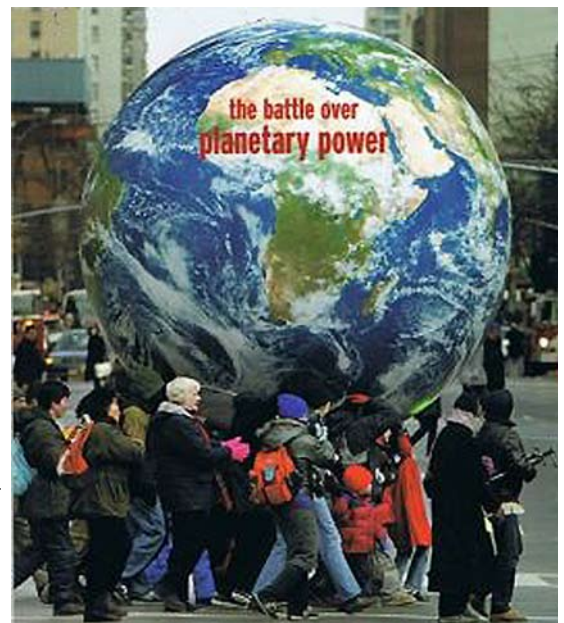
This *Justice Rising* focuses on this opaque system of corporate global governance as well as the broad civil society response to this power grab by the global corporate empire. We look in detail at the secretly negotiated Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), while preparing for the upcoming Trans-Atlantic "Free" Trade Agreement (TAFTA). Both agreements are at the center of the corporate strategy to get past the roadblocks stopping WTO negotiations.

In 2008, candidate Obama called NAFTA a "bad trade deal," and promised to overhaul or opt-out of NAFTA and other "free" trade agreements that: fail to protect "the environment, food safety, or health of its citizens; give greater rights to foreign investors than to US investors; and require the privatization of our vital public services." However, as Sierra Club Executive Director Michael Brune points out, in the end the TPP "will probably replicate the same flawed model of NAFTA, throwing workers and whole communities under the bus and letting foreign corporations take the wheel."

The TPP closely reflects the goals of APEC (Asian Pacific Economic Cooperation) which was established to expand "free" trade across the Pacific. Victor Mung, Honorary Chair of the International Chamber of Commerce points out that the TPP was created by "a subset of APEC members" and then goes on to postulate that the great advantage of the TPP is that it could lead to the revitalization of the World Trade Organization, which has been stymied since protesters shut it down in 1999.

Keep up the fight to confront corporate global rule. Join the movement to create a new global economic and political society that ensures the world's common good. Let's keep going by stopping the TPP.

Join the movement to create new global economic and political structures to ensure that the world's common good is not signed away in agreements by transnational capitalist elites.



graphic: Cover of *Global Governance: The Battle Over Planetary Power*

World Citizenry: The Multitude

by Jim Tarbell

World Citizenry is an old concept. Two centuries ago, American revolutionary Thomas Paine declared, "The world is my country, all mankind are my brethren and to do good is my religion." In the 1930s, the World Federalists came together to promote international peace and stability. That movement led to the creation of the United Nations (UN), the longest standing public effort to create a global government. But the functionality of that institution is bogged down in its domination by the five permanent Security Council members, the parochial interests of nation states, and the growing influence of corporate power in its deliberations. As a result, the UN can not agree on enforceable solutions to global crises and fails to look after the common good.

In the 1960s, after astronauts sent back photos of earth floating in space, people saw that we share a small, finite planet and are all global citizens. At the same time, *Business International* advised their corporate customers that "the nation-state is becoming obsolete," and the authors of the book *Global Reach* questioned if "the rise of corporate world managers offers a new golden age or a new form of imperial domination?"

By the 1990s, when global corporate designs became clear with the newly signed North American "Free" Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the World Trade Organization (WTO), global citizenry rose in rebellion. In Chiapas, Mexico, the *Zapatistas*, an Indigenous army, rebelled the day that NAFTA took effect. In 1999, over 50,000 people flooded the streets of Seattle to shut down the WTO. This new energy flew around the world wherever corporations and allied politicians gathered to plot the future of the planet in the interests of the transnational corporate elite. From Quebec to Genoa, people from all levels of society went out on the streets to protect their right to self-government and local control.



photo: iacenter.org



Then, as the US prepared for war on Iraq in a quest for oil and open markets, a diverse, planetary movement rose up in a coordinated orgasm of protest energy. Demonstrations in over 600 cities and 60 countries brought up to 30 million people onto the streets. Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri named this new mass of human energy the "multitude," in a book by the same name, and pointed out that the multitude was "the living alternative that grows within Empire" bursting forth from globalization's "creation of new circuits of cooperation and collaboration that stretch across continents...that provides the possibility, that while remaining different, we discover the commonality that enables us to communicate and act together."

This mass of human determination is a critical part of the metamorphosis between our nation-state system and a future that looks out for the planetary common good. David Korten's *The Great Turning* and Paul Hawken's *Blessed Unrest* also describe this manifestation of human involvement where millions of global citizens rise up from their multiple points of view to confront corporate empire.

This phenomenon can be seen in the Occupy Movement and the Arab Spring. In Latin America it has taken shape in the Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America (ALBA) that in 2010 brought together the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The political power of the Indigenous movements in Bolivia created a constitution that gives local communities rights to forest resources and local government management of all their natural resources. It also guarantees the human right to water as well as other basic necessities.

In Ecuador a similar movement enacted a new "constitution of guaranteed well-being" from the Quechua tradition. It protects the local food system and economy, as well as social, cultural and economic rights and the rights of nature,

Corporate global governance wipes out such social contracts in which communities have control over local resources and society. It is only by global citizens demanding constitutional guarantees to basic rights of self-governance, secure housing, essential needs and the well being of all humans and nature that an abundant future for all will be realized.

This multitude is a critical part of the metamorphosis between our nation state system and a future that will truly look out for the common good.

Neoliberalism

A Corporate Power Grab

by George Monbiot

By the late 1980s, when it became clear that man-made climate change endangered the living planet and its people, the world was in the grip of an extreme political doctrine known as neoliberalism, whose tenets forbid the kind of state intervention required to confront a whole series of crises.

Neoliberalism, also known as market fundamentalism or laissez-faire economics, purports to liberate the market from political interference. The state, it asserts, should do little but defend the realm, protect private property and remove barriers to business. What neoliberal theorists call shrinking the state looks more like shrinking democracy: reducing the means by which citizens can restrain the power of the elite. What they call "the market" looks more like the interests of corporations and the ultra-rich. Neoliberalism appears to be little more than a justification for plutocracy.

The doctrine was first applied in Chile in 1973, as former students of the University of Chicago, schooled in Milton Friedman's extreme prescriptions and funded by the CIA, worked alongside General Pinochet to impose a program that would have been impossible in a democratic state. The result was an economic catastrophe, but one in which the rich — who took over Chile's privatized industries and unprotected natural resources — prospered exceedingly.

The creed was taken up by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. It was forced upon the poor world by the IMF and the World Bank. By 1988, when James Hansen presented to the US Senate the first detailed attempt to model future temperature rises, neoliberalism was being implanted everywhere.

As we saw in 2007 and 2008 — when neoliberal governments bailed out the banks — there could scarcely be a worse set of circumstances than neoliberalism for addressing a crisis of any kind. Until it has no choice, the neoliberal state will not intervene, however acute the crisis or grave the consequences. Neoliberalism protects the interests of the elite against all comers.

Preventing climate breakdown means confronting the oil, gas and coal industries, forcing them to abandon four-fifths or more of fossil fuel reserves. It means cancelling the prospecting and development of new reserves.

But the state cannot act. Captured by interests that democracy is supposed to restrain, it can



graphic: Maguire

only sit on the road, ears pricked and whiskers twitching, as the truck thunders towards it. Confrontation is forbidden, action is a mortal sin. You may, perhaps, disperse some money for new energy; you may not legislate against the old.

The legacy of carbon emissions is long enough to smash anything resembling human civilization into splinters. Complex societies have sometimes survived the rise and fall of empires, plagues, wars and famines. They won't survive six degrees of climate change. In return for 150 years of explosive consumption, much of which does nothing to advance human welfare, we are atomising the natural world and the human systems that depend on it.

Neoliberalism is not the root of the problem: it is the ideology used to justify a global grab of power, public assets and natural resources by an unrestrained elite. But the problem cannot be addressed until the doctrine is challenged by effective political alternatives.

In other words, the struggle against climate change — and all the crises which now beset both human beings and the natural world — cannot be won without a wider political fight: a democratic mobilisation against plutocracy.

We must start to articulate a new politics: one that sees intervention as legitimate, that contains a higher purpose than corporate emancipation disguised as market freedom, that puts the survival of people and the living world above the survival of a few favored industries. In other words, a politics that belongs to us, not just the super-rich.

This article is an excerpt from Climate Change and the Unrestrained Elite, 12/10/12, at [Monbiot.com](http://monbiot.com)

George Monbiot is an environmental campaigner, a regular columnist for the Guardian newspaper and the author of several best-selling books.

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Global Corporate Empire

The Institutions of Corporate Global Governance

by Jim Tarbell

They have effectively created one giant global military looking out for the interests of the global corporate empire.

For centuries, the big trading companies controlled much of the world, but it was always in service of the nation-state. After the fall of the Soviet Union, however, corporate executives, their lawyers and think tanks prepared to move beyond the nation state to global rule. Using the power of money, the ideological veil of the market, the alluring ethos of materialism and the threat of military violence, a blossoming global corporate class created a hidden system of corporate global governance

Building this system required corporate executives to disembark from their nation-state moorings and see the whole earth as their dominion. The beginning of this process took place in 1919 when “350 leaders in the commerce of America, Great Britain, France, Italy and Belgium” came together to form The International Chamber of Commerce (ICC) as a parallel to the League of Nations. The League would handle global political rule setting and the ICC would handle the planetary economic rule making. The official ICC history points out that, “There was no world system of rules to govern trade, investment, finance or commercial relations. That the private sector should start filling the gap without waiting for governments was ground-breaking.” The tragedy is that economics is political and democracy is left out of the equation.

By the 1970s, corporate CEO's were plotting the end of the nation state and the rise of global corporate power. As IBM World Trading Corporation CEO Jacques Maisonrouge declared, “the world's leading corporate managers now see the nation state...as the chief obstacle to planetary development.”

Since that time, corporations created their own global ruling class through interlocking transnational corporate directors who also participate in corporate global policy-making groups. They have moved transnational corporate allegiances away from their nation state roots to a global perspective that promotes neoliberal,

global policies that benefit transnational corporations and their investors most.

They have built on associations like the Bilderberg Group of international financiers, industrialists and allied politicians who first came together after World War II to promote “Atlanticism,” the collaborative corporate network that reaches

across the North Atlantic and continues to be the heart of corporate global governance today.

In 1972, Bilderberger David Rockefeller started

The Trilateral Commission, extending the global corporate network to Asia. At about the same time, European corporate consultants began bringing global business, political and allied political and military leaders together annually for World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland.

Researchers have documented that the new global corporate ruling class is growing geometrically and continuing to expand its tentacles beyond its North Atlantic roots. China joined the Trilateral Commission in 2009, and the Russian oil giant Lukoil is a strategic partner of the World Economic forum.

David Rothkopf, CEO and Editor-at-Large of *Foreign Policy Magazine*, who regularly attends World Economic Forum meetings, says, “In the absence of global political institutions, the best path for influencing global outcomes is building networks of individuals and organizations that have influence...it is part of the reason why the gathering of these elites is so important...the superclass effectively employs a global political strategy in the only way possible, influencing the influencers.”

An alarming part of the World Economic Forum is that military leaders, who have come to see their job as protecting this empire of money, markets and materialism, are part of the mix. They have effectively created one giant global military looking out for the interests of the global corporate empire. Much like corporate executives who spend a lifetime developing personal relationships through interlocking directorates and global policy making institutions, modern military leaders have established life-long relationships with other military leaders around the world.

Both the American military and NATO are at the heart of this phenomenon and have effectively established a global military force that Derek S. Reveron, Professor of National Security Affairs at the US Naval War College, says extends to protecting all of the values that are at the heart of the neoliberal economic ideology and the military/industrial complex. Reveron points out that the US military provides “military presence, training and equipment to nearly every country in the world.” He then makes it clear that the new mission of the military is to protect and support “the capitalist system, market economies, and the US trade agenda.”



graphic: John McNaughton



photo: tckctck.org

Global Corporate Empire

Corporate Rule by "Free" Trade Agreement

by Nancy Price

Over centuries, profits from traded commodities such as tin, copper, gold, salt, spices, tea, coffee, sugar, rum, textiles, and tragically, opium and slaves, made traders and investors rich, while filling the treasuries of city-states, colonial regimes, and empires that paid armies and police to put down resistance. Today's corporate-driven "free" trade agreements are the newest chapter in this long history of pillage of other peoples' land and resources and disregard for human life. Corporations have always been engaged in setting trade policy, but the so-called "free" trade agreements give them unprecedented power to rule.

Corporate Rule, Phase One. From 1947 to the mid-1980s, international trade was regulated by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) to increase trade in manufactured goods, and to lift quotas and lower tariffs to stimulate import and export for economic development and maintain trade balance among countries. Trade disputes were settled through negotiation and a transparent legal process.

Corporate Rule, Phase Two. From the mid-1980s on, drastic changes to this system were codified in the North American "Free" Trade Agreement (NAFTA 1994) between the US, Canada and Mexico. The US then attempted to get these new rules included when GATT was expanded into the World Trade Organization (WTO 1995), but was only partially successful, so turned its attention to bilateral and multi-lateral agreements. NAFTA became the new "model" with radical rules to create a new global system of corporate rule. These radical rules:

- Expand beyond trade in goods to services, including financial services such as banking;
- Promote privatization and deregulation of key public services, including drinking water/sanitation, education, and health care;
- Include rules on government purchasing, intellectual property, labor standards, and the environment;
- Create new rules for agricultural goods beyond basic commodities;
- Expand market access for foreign corporations to give them the benefits of local rules for products and services;
- Expect governments to "harmonize" their laws and regulations relating to the environment, food safety, purchasing, health and labor to the lowest common denominator and to allow challenges to democratically instituted and court supported laws;
- Establish investor-to-state rules (see sidebar)

These extreme rules are replicated in other US trade agreements such as the Central America CAFTA (2005), Peru (2007), Panama (2011), South Korea (2012), and Colombia (2012), allowing corporations to pick the most advantageous venue to bring their endless trade challenges.

Corporate Rule, Phase Three. The Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPP) was put together with 550 corporate executives, lawyers and lobbyists who make up 90% of the US advisors, while our political leaders, even Congress, and concerned citizens are shut out. The TPP drastically expands the NAFTA model by adding:

- More provisions that corporations can use to claim their investor rights to future profits have been harmed;
- A mandate for "Regulatory Coherence" requiring that each country create a domestic bureaucratic structure to conform all their agencies' regulations to a corporate-friendly, regulatory framework;
- A "docking" provision so other countries can join after the original 12 now negotiating the TPP have signed. Though currently limited to the Pacific Rim, in theory any country could join.

Global Corporate Rule. The basic provisions in these "free trade" agreements provide the framework that pushes down all laws and regulations to the lowest common denominator, but it is the investor rights provision that is the enforcement mechanism. Corporations and their investors are in the driver's seat.

Nancy Price is the Co-chair of the Alliance for Democracy and Western Coordinator of AfD's Defending Water for Life Campaign.



photo: popularresistance.org

Today's corporate-driven "free" trade agreements are the newest chapter in this long history of pillage of other peoples' land and resources and disregard for human life.

Investor-to-State Rules

Why is this so important? The investor-to-state provision puts corporations and their investors on an equal footing with our government by allowing foreign investors to sue the United States government directly in a special court for compensation over laws and regulations which they claim will take away their right to expected future profits. Environmental, labor, and health laws can all be challenged. Trade attorneys argue and decide the cases. States, cities, towns do not have standing to participate, no matter how they might be impacted. These trade court decisions cannot be appealed in our courts, not even in the US Supreme Court. This is trade autocracy, not democracy.

Investor-to-state rules have been included in almost all bilateral and multilateral US trade agreements ever since NAFTA. But significantly, the United States was unable to get the investor-to-state provision into the WTO agreement. This is where the TPP comes in because all of the TPP Pacific Rim countries are already in the WTO. The US wants the investor-to-state rule included in the TPP so that US corporations can sue signatory countries to protect their corporate "right" to expected future profits.

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**JUSTICE RISING is a publication of the
Alliance for Democracy**

**AfD's mission is to end the domination of
our politics, our economy, the environment,
and our culture by large corporations.
The Alliance seeks to establish true
economic and political democracy and to
create a just society with a sustainable,
equitable economy.**

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Cover artist **Peter Veres** is a San Francisco-based *maestro* of tile, monsters and mythical creatures, and has been making political cartoons since the 1960s. You can see his mosaic work at www.mosaicmercantile.com

He notes that the top cover image is from the signing of the NATO treaty in 1949. The two bottom photos are from demonstrations against the TPP in Japan and San Diego, CA.

The cover was inspired by the third stanza of Dylan Thomas' poem *The Hand That Signed the Paper*, written when he was 19.

The hand that signed the treaty bred a fever,
And famine grew, and locusts came;
Great is the hand that holds dominion over
Man by a scribbled name.

Justice Rising

When we in the Alliance say, "The issue is not the issue; the issue is the system," we challenge ourselves to focus on the underpinnings of corporate globalization. What are the impediments to establishing true democracy of, for and by the people? Is it possible to build a global system from the bottom up?

In this issue, we have focused on some of these big picture issues and on how trade agreements have become the de facto system of corporate global governance.

The essence of this issue is that money is power and the owners of capital use that power to achieve their own political and economic ends and security by setting global policies that trample on local and national values, sovereignty and laws.

But the Alliance is about more than analysis. We are about action and so we are mobilizing to stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), a super-NAFTA agreement for countries bordering the Pacific Ocean. While part of this mobilization follows the well-worn path to Congress, the Alliance has also initiated a movement of local resistance – creating TPP-Free Zones right where we live.

So yes, we urge you to lobby your Congressional delegation in opposition to "fast track" trade authorization, a rubber stamp for a corporate-negotiated deal. And yes, if despite our opposition, Congress adopts fast track, we urge you to lobby Congress in opposition to the TPP being approved.

But more fundamentally, it is essential to build local resistance to the TPP and not depend on Congress to do the right thing. (See page ten for more on this campaign and for model legislation.) Breaking news is that this resistance is beginning to take hold.

We first called for TPP-Free Zones at the anti-TPP rally on the steps of the Wisconsin state capitol in mid-August and called on Madison to become the first TPP-Free Zone in the country. By mid-October, Dane County where Madison is located, had passed a TPP-Free Zone resolution almost unanimously, using much of AfD's language. The Madison City Council then voted unanimously for a strong anti-TPP resolution. These go far beyond pleading with Congress to do the right thing. It sends a message of resistance straight to the Capitol.

The Berkeley, CA City Council is expected to vote on a TPP-Free Zone resolution as early as December. If the TPP still goes through, these resolutions need to be turned into laws.

The next *Justice Rising* will focus on the AfD campaign to create public banks that sends a message of resistance to Wall Street, while promoting a banking system



Corporate Globalization — Positive Alternatives

AfD's Corporate Globalization — Positive Alternatives Campaign seeks to create an economic and political system based on human, civil, labor and earth rights, rather than one based on neoliberal market fundamentalism and corporate rights. The present focus of this campaign is to:

- Prevent the further advance of corporate globalization by opposing the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) with Pacific Rim countries and the Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (TAFTA) with European countries;
- Create a "We Will Not Obey" movement against the TPP by spearheading passage of TPP-Free Zone

laws in municipalities and counties;

- Oppose Congressional Fast Track Authority, which would prevent Congress from modifying the TPP, which was negotiated in secret with 550 global corporate advisors, not with Congress;
- Create and publicize alternative political and economic models such as the Common Agreement on Investment and Society (CAIS) and Community Federalism;
- Protect local farmers from corporate-driven agricultural regulations by promoting Local Food Ordinances;
- Work to establish the Rights of Nature as part of local, state, national and international policy.

Democratizing World Trade & Investment

by Dave Lewit

Like the British empire before it, the global corporate empire is all about exploitation of the Earth's resources for the benefit of transnational elites — wealthy industrialists, bankers, politicians, generals, administrators — with trickle-down to useful citizens. That exploitation requires a working system based either on widely shared values and norms, or on controls — police, military, legal, and informational.

A system was set up rationally by our Founding Fathers: a republic based on the mechanistic sciences and individualistic morality of 18th Century Europe. Among these was the budding science of economics viewed through the lens of high-energy, mechanistic, mass-production and shipping of goods with more emphasis on gentlemen's investment than on the concerns of craftsmen, homemakers, farmers, and laborers.

Democracy — the meaningful voice of all the people — was left out of the economic discussion. Throughout American history ordinary people have had to struggle for what the maverick Thomas Paine had preached during and after the Revolution — the right to basic income, progressive taxation, elimination of the death penalty, ending of slavery, universal right to vote, and so on. Today the democratic challenge is to transform the Empire by slowing and redirecting its murderous expansion, which is mindless of the irreversible ecological damage it is causing as well as its drain of resources and civil rights, which we need for social reconstruction.

In 1996, the Boston-Cambridge Alliance for Democracy (BCA), together with the North Bridge AfD chapter, began thinking about this social reconstruction with a large public forum on the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which neoliberal trade and treasury ministers of the capitalist powers secretly proposed as an “economic constitution of the world.” NAFTA, which resulted in the loss of American small and medium-sized manufacturing firms and hundreds of thousands of jobs, while strengthening giant corporations and banks and weakening government, served as a model for the MAI. NAFTA and similar “free” trade agreements promote the deregulation and privatization of industries like pharmaceuticals, food, telecommunications, and finance.

AfD's forum on the MAI, with arguments by AfD's Ronnie Dugger, Public Citizen's Lori Wallach, and many others including a Treasury

Department negotiator and Congress member John Tierney, helped put MAI on a path for defection and disintegration within two years.

Next BCA brought together 14 citizens from diverse walks of life to produce a democratic alternative to MAI — A Common

Agreement on Investment and Society (CAIS). Now being updated, it will hopefully serve as a model for many groups around the world to completely reverse the efforts of neoliberals in Western governments to corporatize the world through “free” trade agreements.

CAIS, with its 25 articles and over 100 provisions, adds “society” to international economics. It creates and integrates five new world institutions: primarily a network of Local System Organizations; as well as a democratic World Economic Parliament; a technical and financial agency; a decentralized University of Enterprise; an economic and environmental Court; and a revived (formerly UN), strengthened Center on Transnational Corporations to ensure corporate subordination to social needs. CAIS is not take-it-or-leave-it, but a stimulus for scores of local forums to energize the development of a truly democratic, participatory and adaptive world economic system.

Dave Lewit is a social psychologist, visionary and editor of BCA Dispatch.

A Common Agreement on Investment and Society

Preamble

WE, AS REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD, in order to ensure the integrity of the earth and all its inhabitants, to foster the creative and cooperative capabilities of all people, to protect and encourage local economies, to sharpen the productive and adaptive functions and accountability of business organizations as well as public and civic organizations in democratic society, to balance local and international development and trade, to promote fair trade and investment practices, and to ensure that all people share fairly in the fruits of human labor and natural bounty as well as in necessary economic and political effort, do establish this common agreement on investment for all countries.

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Read the full CAIS document at www.thealliancefordemocracy.org/bigdocs/CAIS2_6.1.html#24

Trading Nature for Profit

Devastation Will Ripple Across the Planet Earth

by Nancy Price

People of the Pacific Rim, their communities and the ecosystems, on which all life depends, are at the mercy of big energy and agriculture corporations, which are among the thousands of global corporations advising the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) process. The Investor-to-State Rules of the TPP will allow foreign corporations to by-pass a country's domestic court system and go directly to a secret international tribunal to challenge our environmental laws as a "regulatory taking" that lowers "expected future profits."

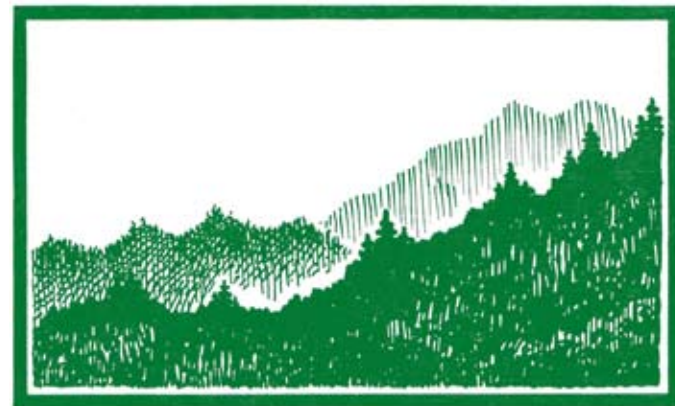
Each country has hundreds or thousands of foreign corporations doing business in its territory that can challenge their domestic environmental laws. In the US there are 14,107 corporations from TPP member countries, any of which could sue the US over domestic laws that violate TPP rules. And, there are anywhere between 200 and 16,000 US corporations that could sue the other TPP countries they are working in.

Most alarming for nature and climate is the number of cases already brought by carbon-intensive industries under existing trade agreements like NAFTA. According to The International Center for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), 43 of 137 pending "investor-rights" cases are related to oil, gas or mining; one year ago there were only 32, and ten years ago only three such cases. How can we begin to stem climate change, when corporations are given this kind of power by trade agreements?

From the few leaked chapters of the TPP, we know negative impacts on nature and climate will accelerate. Of greatest concern is a new provision introduced in the TPP and not found in other trade agreements. This is the "Regulatory Coherence" chapter which would require TPP countries to each create a domestic bureaucratic structure that conforms all their agencies and departments to standards of "good regulatory practices," defined and written by and for corporations. You can be sure that protecting the environment and lowering greenhouse gases will be left out of these standards.

If the TPP is enacted, we can expect:

- Expanded off-shore manufacturing to access low-cost sweatshop labor in countries that use cheap dirty-fuels and have no or lax



IT'S ALL IN HOW

enforcement of environmental laws. The result will be more toxic pollution of air, land, water and ecosystems and an increased carbon footprint for the shirts and electronics we buy;

- Prohibition of "Buy American" or "Buy Local" laws that reduce carbon-emissions and stimulate local economies and promote sustainable, low-energy, organic food production;
- Increased corporate investor-rights challenges of pro-environment rules requiring a specific recycled content and prohibition of "right to know" labels showing which products have the least environmental and climate impact;
- A requirement that governments only enact "scientifically justifiable" food safety regulations. This would challenge the use of the Precautionary Principle in restricting the use of toxic pesticides, herbicides, food additives, and genetically-modified organisms;
- A variety of provisions likely to encourage increased "rip and ship" export of raw materials throughout the Pacific Rim — including from the US — meaning more logging, mining, and oil and gas drilling; more carbon emissions and toxic pollution;
- Less support for clean renewable energy sources;
- Limitations on local zoning and land-use laws that protect environmentally sensitive areas, encourage sustainable development, stop sprawl, and keep out big-box stores and toxic industries.

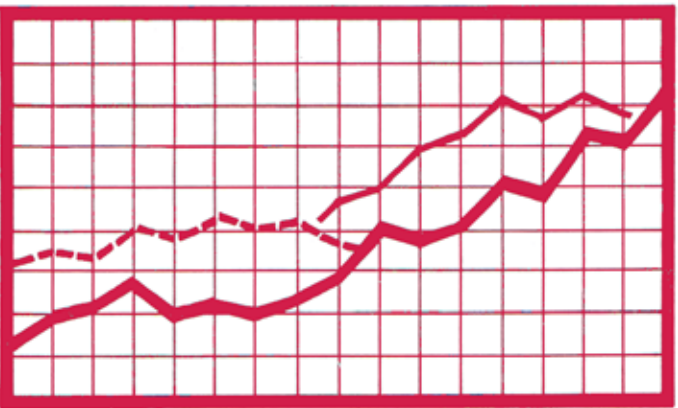
This being the case, shockingly, the "Interim Review" of the secret TPP Environmental Chapter concludes: "the increased trade that is estimated to result from the TPP is not likely to result in significant adverse impacts in the United States."

"Nature's limits are non-negotiable." The answer to jobs and lasting sustainability is not more corporate rights, but rejection

of discredited neoliberal market fundamentalism. We must embrace real system change founded on human, civil, labor and earth rights to achieve social, economic and environmental justice for all people and the earth, while reducing greenhouse gas emissions to avert catastrophic climate change.

For more information see Nick Buxton and Cormac Cullinan, "Could granting rights to nature change the climate debate?" *Transnational Institute*, December, 2010 at <http://tni.org/article/could-granting-rights-nature-change-climate-debate>

photo: Sierra Club



graphic: John Chamberlain

YOU LOOK AT IT...

TPP Promotes Financial Speculation

Prepare for Another Meltdown

by Ruth Caplan

Stop and ask yourself: What have we learned from the 2008 financial meltdown? Isn't it that unregulated financial markets spell disaster? Isn't that what the Dodd-Frank law is supposed to be about? Yet today financial speculation using derivatives is growing like Topsy with the sum of all derivatives in the global economy representing \$700 TRILLION in underlying (nominal) value. Despite this, the U.S. government continues to be the driver for preventing effective regulation of the financial sector, using trade agreements like the TPP to promote their "free" trade agenda.

Congressional Representatives Barney Frank and Sander Levin, raised this very question in a letter to Treasury Secretary Geithner, dated May 23, 2012. They quoted the IMF staff as saying that most trade agreements allow for some controls on capital inflows and outflows to prevent or mitigate financial crises, but, with the exception

of NAFTA, these are not permitted in trade agreements to which the United States is a party.

The letter asks for an official statement from the Obama Administration that controls on capital flows would not be subject to investor-to-state claims. To the best of our knowledge, no such statement has been forthcoming from the administration. And we don't expect one because this is exactly what the Administration is intent on driving into the TPP.

In an OpEd published in the *International Herald Tribune*, June 2, 2013, Lori Wallach and Ben Beachy with Public Citizen go further, saying the TPP:

would also be a boon for Wall Street and its campaign to water down regulations put in place after the 2008 financial crisis. Among other things, it would practically forbid bans on risky financial products, including the toxic derivatives that helped cause the crisis in the first place.

The U.S. government's financial deregulatory fervor goes even further back and in fact contributed to the 2008 meltdown. In 1999, under President Clinton's economic team, Congress voted to repeal the Depression era Glass-Steagall Act. This law prevented depository banks from continuing to engage in speculation as investment houses, which had contributed to the 1929 crash. It turns out that the repeal of Glass-Steagall was directly linked to trade commitments the US made on financial services as part of the WTO General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). The Alliance had a major campaign opposing GATS and we never heard about this. The US honored its commitment by repealing Glass-Steagall in 1999 as part of the Financial Modernization Act.

There are many reasons to oppose the TPP. The need to act proactively to prevent the next looming financial crisis is on the top of the list.

Ruth Caplan was the first AfD Co-chair with Ronnie Dugger and spearheaded AfD's campaign against the Multilateral Agreement on Investment.

Economists to TPP No More Financial Crises

Dear Trade Ministers,

We, the undersigned economists, write to you regarding the capital transfers provisions in the proposed Trans-Pacific Partnership Agreement (TPPA). We are concerned that if recent US treaties are used as the model for the TPPA, the agreement will unduly limit the authority of participating parties to prevent and mitigate financial crises....

The US government's rigid opposition to capital controls does not reflect the global norm. According to an IMF report, "Most BITs [bilateral investment treaties] and FTAs ["free" trade agreements] either provide temporary safeguards on capital inflows and outflows to prevent or mitigate financial crises, or defer that matter to the host country's legislation. However, BITs and FTAs to which the United States is a party (with the exception of NAFTA) do not permit restrictions on either capital inflows or outflows."

While capital controls and other capital management techniques are no panacea for financial instability, there is an emerging consensus that they are an important part of the macro-economic toolkit. Indeed, all G-20 leaders endorsed the following statement at the 2011 Cannes Summit:

"Capital flow management measures may constitute part of a broader approach to protect economies from shocks. In circumstances of high and volatile capital flows, capital flow management measures can complement and be employed alongside, rather than substitute for, appropriate monetary, exchange rate, foreign reserve management and prudential policies."...

Thus, we recommend that the TPPA permit governments to deploy capital controls without being subject to investor lawsuits, as part of a broader menu of policy options to prevent and mitigate financial crises.

This letter from the Global Development and Environment Institute, Tufts University, was signed by over one hundred economists from the Pacific Rim.



graphic upenn.law

“We Will Not Obey”

Creating a TPP-Free Zone

We in the Alliance know that most members of Congress are bought lock, stock and barrel by the corporations and by Wall Street. So, while we must demand that they represent “we, the people,” we must not end our advocacy at their doorstep. We must begin our resistance to a world ruled of, for and by the corporations right to our doorstep, right to where we live. We must assert our right to self-governance, to a nation of, for and by the people.

**We must assert
our right to
self-governance, to
a nation of, for and
by the people.**

“How can we do this?” you ask. Already, as reported in earlier issues of *Justice Rising* (see Vol 5 #4, page 7), many communities across the country have passed rights-based laws, establishing their right to self-governance, asserting their right to a clean and safe environment, establishing the rights of nature to thrive as ecosystems, and denying corporations the right to use the US Constitution to challenge these fundamental rights.

Now it is time to assert our right to a local economy free of rules secretly negotiated, without our consent, by transnational corporations for their own benefit. It is time to say we will not abide by decisions reached by secret trade tribunals which will impact our health and safety when we do not even have a right to be represented.



It is time to pass local laws to create TPP-Free Zones.

It is time to build a democratic movement of resistance. It is time to start right where we live, in our own community. It is time to say to our unelected US trade representative and the corporations which are sitting at the negotiating table: “If you, our unelected negotiators, create this corporate-driven monstrosity and then go to Congress for a rubber stamp, WE WILL NOT OBEY.”

It is time to make our municipalities TPP-FREE ZONES, following in the footsteps of the successful resistance to an earlier trade agreement, the Multilateral Agreement on Investment, when US and Canadian towns and cities declared themselves to be MAI-Free Zones, which helped defeat the MAI in 1998.

We must organize to defeat the TPP and if it is not defeated, then we can do no other than say “We will not obey.”

TPP-Free Zone: Model Legislation

Whereas, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) is being negotiated between the US and 11 or more Pacific Rim countries by the US Trade Representative in secret without any consultation with our local government either directly or through the National League of Cities or the US Conference of Mayors or the National Association of Counties; and

Whereas, the text is being drafted with transnational corporations which will benefit greatly from its rules;

Whereas, the TPP text has not been made available to the public or even to our local officials;

Whereas, the TPP would have direct, potentially undesirable consequences for our municipality, its people, its local businesses, and its ecological systems on which all life depends;

Whereas, the Investment Chapter of the TPP, which was leaked in 2012, would allow foreign corporations to sue the US and its states over any law or regulation violating TPP rules which could take away their “right” to future profits and therefore potentially rob our municipality of needed protections for our people, local businesses and environment;

Whereas, TPP financial rules would prevent regulation of risky financial products such as “interest rate swaps” thereby threatening the financial stability of our government and more broadly the stability of our overall economy;

Whereas, US, state and local food safety rules could be challenged by foreign corporations as “illegal trade barriers” if higher than standards in other TPP countries thus threatening the health of our residents;

Whereas, the TPP would provide large pharmaceutical firms with new rights and powers to increase medicine prices and limit access to cheaper generic drugs which would impact our residents;

Whereas, the US would agree to waive “Buy American” or “Buy Local” requirements aimed at enhancing our economy and creating jobs;

Whereas, we would have no right or ability to represent our interests before the foreign tribunals which would have the authority to hear cases brought by corporations under the TPP; and

Whereas, such rulings might require taxpayer compensation which could impact the financial health of our municipality and its residents;

Therefore the City/Town Council of _____ hereby declares as a matter of law that _____ is a TPP-Free Zone where we will not recognize the secretly negotiated rules laid down without our consent nor any decisions by any secret tribunals which would in any way diminish our ability to act in the best interest of our residents and our local businesses and to protect our ecological systems on which all life is based.

Further, we will convey our ordinance to our Congressional delegation, to President Obama and to US Trade Representative Michael Froman, with our demand that all text be made public and that all further negotiations cease.

And finally, if despite the harm to our community and our nation, Congress approves the TPP, we will take all necessary measures to ensure that this ordinance is enforced.

For some pointers in getting a TPP-Free Zone law passed, go to <http://www.tppfreezones.org>

Transnational Opposition to the Trans-Pacific Partnership

by Arthur Stamoulis

In recent decades, an international movement of movements has defeated the Multilateral Agreement on Investments, the Millennial Round of the World Trade Organization, the Free Trade Area of the Americas and numerous other corporate-power grabs disguised as trade agreements. While public protest in Brunei, Singapore and Vietnam remains difficult, people have now come together across four continents to fight the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP). As of this writing, here are a few examples:

Australia: Led by the Australian Fair Trade and Investment Network (AFTINET), anti-TPP activists have staged demonstrations throughout the country, including outside of US consulates. Activists have forced “investor-state” into the political debate, and as such, the current Australian government has said flatly that Australia will not submit to investor-state dispute resolution in the TPP — a major point of contention in the negotiations.

Canada: When Canada and Mexico first joined the TPP negotiations in December 2012, activists from the Council of Canadians, organized labor in British Columbia and elsewhere joined activists from Washington and Oregon for a “Cross-Border Rally and Organizing Summit against NAFTA Expansion.” They’ve since held demonstrations and educational events in Vancouver, Montreal, Toronto and elsewhere. Canada is also home to OpenMedia.ca, which organized the transnational “Fair Deal Coalition” to focus attention on threats to Internet freedom posed by the TPP.

Chile: In May 2013, Chile’s former lead TPP negotiator took to the media to proclaim that unless Chile and other developing countries find a way to stand up to richer countries, the TPP “will become a threat for our countries: it will restrict our development options in health and education, in biological and cultural diversity, and in the design of public policies and the transformation of our economies.” Other former and current Chilean officials have since questioned what Chile could possibly stand to achieve by remaining in the TPP.

Japan: While Japan did not formally join the TPP negotiations until this summer, a farmer-and consumer-led Japanese opposition movement has been active for years. From a petition signed by approximately 10% of the population to multiple street protests numbering in the thousands, the TPP is a major political issue in Japan — with multiple books about the TPP making the Japanese best-seller list.

Malaysia:

Fourteen people were arrested on phony drug charges (and eventually released after urine tests) during the TPP round in Malaysia this July. That didn’t stop approximately 1,000 people from attending a “listening session” held by the government — the vast majority voicing strong opposition to the pact. A former Malaysian Prime Minister has since come out against the TPP, and parts of the current government have demanded that the negotiating timetable be slowed to allow for review of TPP proposals.

Mexico: When Mexico first joined the TPP, volunteers with the Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (REMALC) helped to draft the “North American Unity Statement Opposing NAFTA Expansion through the Trans-Pacific Partnership” and dozens of Mexican organizations have since signed it.

New Zealand: Kiwi activists attempted to deliver a petition signed by more than 600,000 people globally during the negotiating round in Auckland — and then lit it on fire when no one would receive it. The “It’s Our Future” coalition has staged protests, issued press releases, sponsored cartoon contests and more to keep the TPP in the news there for years.

Peru: Protests were staged at both TPP negotiation rounds in Lima, most recently under the banner “Our Rights Are Not Negotiable.” The TPP’s potential impact on access to medicine has been a major focus of the Peruvian opposition.

United States: Led by Citizens Trade Campaign, there have been cross-sector protests at each of the five major TPP negotiating rounds in the United States. After considerable organizing, a majority of the US Congress has now spoken out against one problematic aspect or another of the TPP, from the lack of transparency to threats to food safety to human rights abuses to currency manipulation. US-based activists are now focused on preventing new Fast Track legislation, a Nixon-era policy-making procedure that would allow the TPP to circumvent ordinary Congressional review, amendment and debate procedures.

Arthur Stamoulis is Executive Director of Citizens Trade Campaign (www.citizenstrade.org), which first published leaked text of several TPP chapters.

Kiwi activists attempted to deliver a petition signed by more than 600,000 people globally during the negotiating round in Auckland and then lit it on fire when no one would receive it.

Groups — Global Citizenry Takes on



The Alliance for Democracy has long coordinated action to oppose the corporate trade agenda. They were a critical part of the success to stop the Multilateral Agreement on Investments. They had a big presence shutting down the World Trade Organization in Seattle and participated in the final death throes of the Free Trade Area of America in Miami in 2003. Now they are working to stop the Trans-Pacific Partnership by advocating for communities to become TPP-Free Zones. Check out the kit to help you have your town pass the TPP-Free Zone model legislation and get information about the TPP at www.tppfreezones.org

Transnational Institute is the premier think tank working to create a just and sustainable world in the face of corporate global governance. They carry out informed analysis on critical global issues, build alliances with social movements and develop proposals for a more sustainable, just and democratic world. They confront the dogma of trade liberalization, expose the democratic dangers posed by the concentration of corporate power, and engage with democratic innovations and experiments aimed at dealing with systemic crises. TNI believes that socially just and environmentally sustainable alternatives to the current model of corporate-led globalization will need to emerge at a regional level. See their website at www.tni.org for more information.



Citizens Trade Campaign is a broad and diverse national coalition of environmental, labor, consumer, family farm, religious, and other civil society groups that initially came together to oppose the North American “Free” Trade Agreement in 1992. CTC is a leading advocacy organizations fighting for trade policy that serves the interests of a majority of the world’s people, instead of the self-serving agenda of multinational corporations. See their TPP information and Organizer’s Toolkit at www.citizenstrade.org and www.exposethetpp.org

Stop Corporate Impunity is building a global campaign to dismantle corporate power and end transnational corporate impunity. A network of organizations, movements, campaigns and affected communities built the campaign process with the Permanent People’s Tribunal (PPT) and the Bi-regional Europe-Latin America and the Caribbean Enlazando Alternativas Network. As of June 2012, over 100 organizations and movements from around the world have signed on to the campaign. See their website at www.stopcorporateimpunity.org



The World Social Forum grew out of the protests against the World Trade Organization in Seattle in 1999 and functions as the global gathering point for efforts to stop corporate, neoliberal globalization. Their annual meetings are always held in the Global South, since the environmental and social impacts of corporate globalization are most severe there. There are regular regional gatherings in both North America and Europe, where the motto is “Another world is not only possible, Another world is necessary.”

The Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (RIPESS) is the coming together of the global effort to create a viable alternative to the transnational corporate system that rules our world today. Made up of co-ops, worker-owned, democratically controlled businesses and non-profits, it is one of the fastest growing production models in the world. As RIPESS Operations Manager Daniel Tygel says, we are the termites eating away the house of capitalism. For information about their gathering in Manila see www.ripest.org/



The Bolivarian Alliance for the Peoples of Our America - Peoples’ Trade Treaty (ALBA-TCP) is an integration platform for the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean. It puts emphasis on solidarity, complementarity, justice and cooperation, which has the historical and fundamental purpose to unite the capacities and strengths of the countries comprising it, to produce structural transformations and system relations necessary to achieve the integral development required for the continuity of their existence as sovereign and just nations. Additionally, it is a political, economic, and social alliance in defense of the independence, self-determination and the identity of the peoples comprising it. Bringing together a diversity of populations within their countries, they present a viable alternative model to the neoliberal system running our world today. See their website at www.alba-tcp.org/

Corporate Global Rule — Books

by Jim Tarbell

Jeff Faux's *The Global Class War: How America's Bipartisan Elite Lost Our Future - and What It Will Take to Win It Back* is a convincing argument of why the global corporate

neoliberal strategy is not good for America and not good for the World. It looks in depth at the issues around the North American Free Trade Agreement as well as the conversion of the International Monetary Fund into an institution designed to bail out international investors when their loans go sour.

As Faux says, "the lack of a global government is being filled by the transnational bureaucrat working in networks aimed at supervising the global market in a way that maximizes corporate investor freedom." He clearly calls out the international elites who are positioning themselves to oversee our global future.

William K. Carroll's *The Making of a Transnational Capitalist Class: Corporate Power in the 21st Century* looks at the formation of the global elite from interlocking directorates to their participation in neoliberal corporate policy-making groups including the World Economic Forum and the International Chamber of Commerce. He meticulously lays out the formation of a transnational ruling class that has forsaken the interests of their home countries and taken up the cause of establishing global corporate governance.

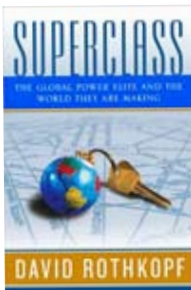
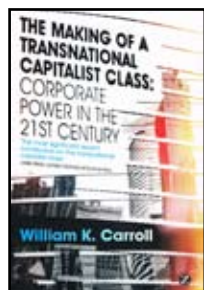
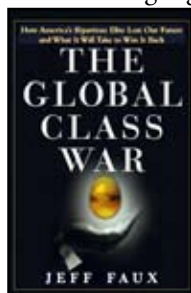
David Rothkopf, past corporate CEO and managing director of Kissinger Associates, and frequent attendee of the World Economic Forum, provides a dissident voice from inside in his book, *Superclass: The Global Power Elite and the World They are Making*. He takes the reader inside the world of the global elite and points out that, "Of all the powers the superclass possesses, one of the most important is the ability to set agendas for the rest of us... they can set priorities, guide critical asset allocation decisions and determine who among their subordinates will have the most influence...and thereby set the agenda for the companies and governments they control and influence the agenda setting of others." Beyond that, he also points out that the global militaries are a big part of the

Superclass and have an agenda friendly to corporate rule.

Another insider, Derek S. Reveron, professor of National Security affairs at the US Naval War College, blithely outlines the development of this globalized military coming together to support the objectives of the neoliberal strategy for corporate dominance in his book *Exporting Security*. He points out that militaries around the world talk the same language and frame the world in a similar light, making it easy for them to establish life-long relationships of trust. These relationships have helped in partnering with almost every nation in the world to ensure security for foreign investments, access to natural resources, global trade and economic development. They hold conferences and train military leaders, as well as police and other law enforcement units in operations from oil platform security to non-lethal crowd control.

One of the major forums for groups around the world to face up to this neoliberal global leviathan is the World Social Forum (WSF). William Fisher and Thomas Ponniah give a great flavor of the WSF in their book *Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum*, which presents a detailed account of the second World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in January 2002. It includes the whole array of the global civil society that came together to present actions and ideas for creating a world not dominated by corporate money and ideology.

One of the big participants in the World Social Forum has been the International Social Solidarity Economy that brings together a new democratic economic vision to replace the hierarchical neoliberal economy prevalent today. *Social Solidarity Economy: A Response to International Challenges* is the first in a series of books put together by the International Forum of Social Solidarity Entrepreneurs. It is a collection of articles outlining how the Social Solidarity Economy can alleviate the crisis brought on by neoliberal corporate globalization policies and lead to a new world that is empowering, democratic, and committed to social and environmental justice.



World Social Forum (WSF)

Another World is Necessary

by Thomas Ponniah



There are a number of ways to tell the story of the origin of the WSF. The most immediately obvious one goes like this: in 2000 three long-time Brazilian and French activists, specifically Oded Grajew, Chico Whitaker and Bernard Cassen, came together in the wake of the massive 1999 anti-WTO protests in Seattle to propose the creation of an event that would pull social movements from around the world together to debate alternatives to neoliberal globalization. Grajew suggested that they name the event the “World Social Forum” in order to set up a contrast with the neoliberal “World Economic Forum.” They agreed that the Forum would always be held in the Global South and that it would be characterized by an open-space methodology which gave no political or epistemological privilege to any one movement.

The first Forum attracted 10,000 participants, the second 50,000 and after that the Forum has regularly hosted 100,000 participants. The first three Forums were held in Porto Alegre, Brazil — home of a world famous participatory budgeting process. Since then the Forum has been held in India, Pakistan, Mali, Venezuela, Kenya, Dakar, Tunisia and occasionally back to Brazil.

What does the World Social Forum propose? In *Another World is Possible: popular alternatives to globalization at the World Social Forum* (Zed Books 2003), William F. Fisher and I looked at the various proposals and manifestos, put forward by social movements from around the planet that had gathered at the second World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2002 in order to discern what linked this diverse cast. Our conclusion was that the universal in the particulars was the call for a radical democratization of all sectors of society. That thesis continues to be true in our post-Soviet world, and the collapse of the Soviet Union remains, even more than 9/11 or the financial crisis, the ghost that continues to haunt our generation.

Contemporary mass mobilizations around the planet are all critical of neoliberalism and thus the solution that they all agree on is the need for more

public participation and representation in decision-making.

From a traditional leftist angle, these movements are primarily reformist but from another they are not: they recognize that both the state and the market are potentially authoritarian and the only way to democratize them is to increase public consultation in all major social decisions.

Participatory democracy is the first step towards achieving substantial economic redistribution, cultural recognition, ecological renewability and political representation. The call for genuine democratization — which began years before the 2008 financial crisis — is what unifies and inspires social movements participating at the World Social Forum as well as recent ones participating in Tahrir Square, Zucotti Park, and Taksim Square.

The WSF has aided the struggle against neoliberalism in numerous ways but it has enacted at least two obvious accomplishments. First, the largest protest event in human history, the February 15, 2003 protest against the US led war on Iraq, was initially organized by social movements at the 2003 World Social Forum. Second, the WSF has regularly helped build solidarity for the new Latin American left that has emerged over the past 15 years. Leaders like Hugo Chávez, Rafael Correa and Evo Morales regularly visited the Forum or spoke at events on the outskirts of the WSF, thereby building awareness of their social-political alternatives to neoliberalism.

There are as many meanings of the Forum as there are participants, however, from the point of view of freedom, the Forum exemplifies history's most significant political truth — that even in the most dire circumstances, movements and leaders always emerge, to struggle on behalf of what the anti-colonial writer Frantz Fanon once called “the wretched of the earth.”

Because of the WSF, activists across the globe have been inspired to renew their commitment to the struggle against destitution and disparity. When the history of progress is written at the end of the 21st century — because it will hopefully close more optimistically than the past one — writers and organizers will look back to the World Social Forum as having been a key vehicle, and oracle, for the building of a more egalitarian, diverse and ecological global civilization.

Thomas Ponniah, Ph.D. is an affiliate of the David Rockefeller Center for Latin American Studies, Harvard University.



photo: attac.org

Economic Justice Rising

The Intercontinental Social Solidarity Economy

by Emily Kawano, and Nancy Neamtan

The 2008 economic meltdown was widely hailed as a golden opportunity to push for a new model of economic development — one that puts people and planet front and center. Today, however, the loudest voices in the room seem to be the likes of the Tea Party and people wonder if the window of opportunity has closed.

The answer is no. The window is still open. The faith in the neoliberal model, and in capitalism in general, has been irrevocably shaken. In the rarefied air of the [Academy of Management's annual meeting](#) in August 2013, the theme was "Capitalism in Question," and on the agenda was discussion of worker cooperatives, economic planning, community-directed economic development, and inter-firm cooperation. On the street, the convulsions of protest in support of labor in Wisconsin, teachers in Chicago, and the 99% by Occupy, are mirrored on a [global scale](#) in Brazil, Turkey, Europe, and the Arab Spring.

In this crucible of the ongoing crisis of capitalism, the solidarity economy continues to grow stronger, because it offers people and their communities a way to survive and thrive, as well as an alternative vision of "another world." The Solidarity Economy (SE) offers a strategy of economic development that is grounded in principles of solidarity, equity in all dimensions, participatory democracy, sustainability, and pluralism—it is not a one size fits all model. SE pulls together practices that align with these principles in all spheres of the economy — production, e.g., worker cooperatives and self provisioning; distribution and exchange, e.g., local currencies and CSAs; consumption, e.g., food co-ops and community land trusts; finance, e.g., credit unions and peer lending; and governance participatory budgeting and community-led planning — in order to build a new economy for people and the planet.

As a global movement, the solidarity economy is continuing to grow and gain traction. The Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of the Social Solidarity Economy ([RIPESS](#)) connects all of the continental networks, which are in turn comprised of regional and national solidarity economy networks. This fall, RIPESS held its [5th International Meeting of Social Solidarity Economy](#) in Manila, Philippines (see sidebar). RIPESS is working on a Global Social Solidarity Economy Mapping Project which will draw on national and regional SE mapping platforms to make SE visible throughout the world. RIPESS also supports and contributes to international SE portals and forums,

for example [RELIESS](#) (policy) and [Socioeco](#) (all things SE) and a [LinkedIn SSE discussion group](#).

International organizations are starting to integrate SE into their agendas. SE has long been active in regional and World Social Forums, including the [2013 World Social Forum of Solidarity Economy](#) held in Brazil. The International Labour Organization organizes an annual Social Solidarity Economy Academy; the UN Research Institute for Social Development recently held a [conference in Geneva on the social solidarity economy](#). The International Labour Organization organizes an annual Social Solidarity Economy Academy; the UN Research Institute for Social Development recently held a conference in Geneva on the social solidarity economy; and SE has been represented in regional consultations on the UN's post-2015 Sustainable Development agenda in Asia, Latin America Europe and North America.

There is a growing number of countries that have embraced SE: such as Brazil, France, and Luxemburg, which have ministries of Solidarity Economy; Bolivia and Ecuador have enshrined SE in their constitutions; and Spain, France, Ecuador, Mali and Quebec have approved or are pushing for framing legislation to support the social and solidarity economy. At the local level, there are countless initiatives and collaborations.

The challenge and the mission of the solidarity economy is to help these disparate pieces of the solidarity economy recognize each other as part of the same project and join together to achieve an economic metamorphosis. We are on that journey and our numbers are growing day by day.

Emily Kawano is Director of the Center for Popular Economics and of the US Solidarity Network. Nancy Neamtan is Director of the Quebec-based Chantier de l'économie sociale, and past Coordinator of RIPESS.



The solidarity economy continues to grow stronger, because it offers people and their communities a way to survive and thrive, as well as an alternative vision of "another world."

Fifth International Meeting Social Solidarity Economy October 15-18, 2013 Manila, Philippines

The 5th International Meeting of the Social Solidarity Economy drew 400 people from 35 different countries to share, debate and strategize about how to strengthen the social solidarity economy (SSE). As always, the rich mix of people and experiences made for an inspiring and energizing conference. The fact that it took place in Asia was a testament to the remarkable growth and maturation of the SSE in that continent. The meeting produced a number of concrete outcomes: we advanced our common understanding of the vision and definition of the SSE (including our differences); we developed strategies and got commitments for strengthening communication, SSE networks and local practices; we developed a draft proposal to feed into the UN process of creating the next round of sustainable development goals; and we agreed to include a stronger focus on gender in future events. All in all a great stride forward for the SSE.

Rights of Nature As a Global System

by Ruth Caplan

Trade agreements, going back to the 1944 Bretton Woods meeting of Allied Nations, assume that the earth's resources are all tradable commodities, which are most efficiently traded in a global economic system with no controls on capital flows. These trade agreements place the rights of corporations to exploit nature for profit above all other rights.

This article explores a radical departure: creating a global system based on the rights of nature. We will begin by exploring two underlying approaches.

Unknown to the Bretton Woods delegates, but well known to Indigenous peoples across the globe, is the concept that nature has inherent rights not based on human law. This world view was brought to the international stage in Cochabamba, Bolivia at the 2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth. The many and varied voices of Indigenous participants from the Andes region rang out in a packed room where the wording of the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth was debated and adopted. Their voices came from a deep spiritual place connecting them to *Pachamama*, Mother Earth.

A separate thread can be traced back to a 1972 law journal article by Christopher Stone, "Should Trees Have Standing?" reviewed before publication by Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas. The Supreme Court was scheduled to decide the landmark case, *Sierra Club v. Morton*, where the Sierra Club challenged the US Forest Service's permission for Disney Enterprises to build a large recreational park in the Mineral King wilderness of California. But first, the court had to decide whether the Sierra Club had standing to sue in the case. Stone later wrote, "If the courts could be persuaded to think about the park itself as a jural person—the way corporations are 'persons'," the case could be heard rather than thrown out of court.

Justice Douglas, having read Stone's article, opened his dissent saying, "The critical question of 'standing' would be simplified and also put neatly in focus if we...allowed environmental issues to be litigated...in the name of the inanimate object about to be despoiled, defaced or invaded." If Douglas had been in the majority, nature would have standing today.

Then from South Africa came the voice of attorney Cormac Cullinan deeply influenced by

the writings of Thomas Berry. Writing in *Wild Law, A Manifesto for Earth Justice* published in 2002, Cullinan says: "The task ahead of us is

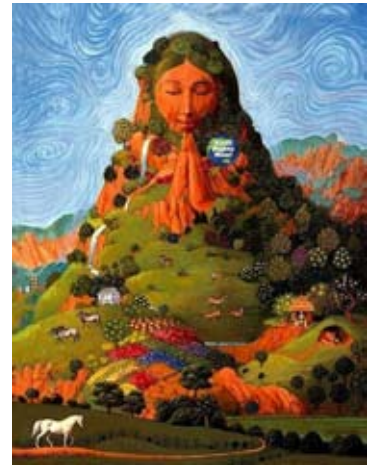
not about developing and expanding human jurisprudence so that it can serve as a jurisprudence for all members of the Community. This would amount to humans trying to philosophize and regulate for all members of the Community: in short, a kind of 'neo-colonialism'. Instead what we need to do is to appreciate that human jurisprudence and governance is a part of a larger system of Earth self-governance and develop a better appreciation of the need to limit its scope and to respect other governance systems."

His writing initiated a fruitful dialogue with Thomas Linzey of the US-based Community Environmental Legal Defense Fund (CELDF), which helped farmers in central Pennsylvania create rights-based local laws to keep corporate hog farms from invading their communities.

The Alliance's Defending Water for Life campaign brought this legal approach to Barnstead NH, which, in 2006, passed the first rights-based law in the country to protect water from corporate predation. The same year Tamaqua Borough in eastern Pennsylvania passed a sewage sludge ordinance which became the first law in the US to recognize the "Inalienable Right of Natural Communities and Ecosystems to Exist and Flourish." Barnstead was soon to follow. Ecuador and Bolivia have adopted the language in their new Constitutions.

In the US, the rights of nature is grounded in the fundamental right to local self-governance and nature is circumscribed as "persons" in order to fit within the structure of US law. At the same time, the rights of nature is disconnected from the ownership of property, a very radical step.

If we open our ears and hearts to Indigenous voices here in the US and around the world so that we truly understand our place within nature, someday we may embrace the rights of *Pachamama*, Mother Earth, above and beyond the constraints of our current structure of law. And someday, someday, this could become the basis of the global world order instead of trade agreements like the TPP.



graphic: Pagan Cosmology

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Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth

2010 World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth, Cochabamba, Bolivia

Preamble

We, the peoples and nations of Earth:

- Considering that we are all part of Mother Earth, an indivisible, living community of interrelated and interdependent beings with a common destiny;
- Gratefully acknowledging that Mother Earth is the source of life, nourishment and learning and provides everything we need to live well;
- Recognizing that the capitalist system and all forms of depredation, exploitation, abuse and contamination have caused great destruction, degradation and disruption of Mother Earth, putting life as we know it today at risk through phenomena such as climate change;
- Convinced that in an interdependent living community it is not possible to recognize the rights of only human beings without causing an imbalance within Mother Earth;
- Affirming that to guarantee human rights it is necessary to recognize and defend the rights of Mother Earth and all beings in her and that there are existing cultures, practices and laws that do so;
- Conscious of the urgency of taking decisive, collective action to transform structures and systems that cause climate change and other threats to Mother Earth;

We are all part of Mother Earth, an indivisible, living community of interrelated and interdependent beings with a common destiny.

Proclaim this Universal Declaration of the Rights of Mother Earth, and call on the General Assembly of the United Nation to adopt it, as a common standard of achievement for all peoples and all nations of the world, and to the end that every individual and institution takes responsibility for promoting through teaching, education, and consciousness raising, respect for the rights recognized in this Declaration and ensure through prompt and progressive measures and mechanisms, national and international, their universal and effective recognition and observance among all peoples and States in the world.

Full declaration is at <http://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/>



graphic: PWCC



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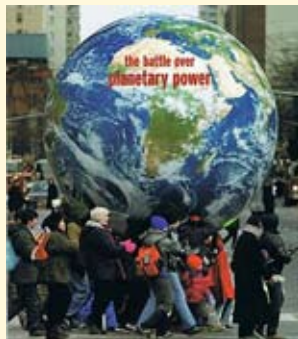
Why You Should Care

Self-Serving Global Elites Make the Rules

A cabal of transnational corporate executives, international financiers, and its government puppets is setting global rules that serve their own ends rather than the common good. Through interlocking directorates on transnational corporate boards and intertwined corporate global policy-making bodies, like the International Chamber of Commerce and the World Economic Forum, the global monied elite are intent on taking control of our future and to continue exploiting the world's resources for short-term corporate profit.

TPP and TAFTA Imperil our Future

Trade agreements are a major tool for this global elite. The Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP) has been secretly negotiated between thousands of Pacific Rim corporations and a dozen Pacific Rim countries. Their intension is to push the TPP through Congress using "fast track" without public debate or congressional amendment. The Trans-Atlantic Free Trade Agreement (TAFTA) between the US and the 28 member states of the European Union is intended to further limit governments from acting to protect people and nature by setting what could become global standards.



Trade Courts Enforce Corporate Power Grab

Starting with NAFTA and continuing with CAFTA and innumerable bilateral and multilateral agreements, the corporate elite enforce their "right" to protect future profits in secret trade courts where we, the people, have no right to be represented, not even by our elected local, state and federal officials.

Capitalist Military Dominates the Planet

Secret negotiations and special courts are not enough for this global elite. Corporate neoliberal globalization is also promoted and protected by a globalized military force to open new markets and gain access to natural resources. Overseen by US military and NATO officers, militaries around the world are trained to call peaceful non-violent protesters "terrorists" and to put down peaceful resistance to the global corporate agenda.

What You Can Do

Join the Anti-Globalization Movement

AfD is part of a growing global movement of diverse communities opposed to the global corporate empire. From the defeat of the MAI and the crippling of the WTO after Seattle in 1999 to stopping the FTAA, citizen activists have shown real muscle in taking on this empire and in putting out our vision of a safe and sane future for our planet based on mutual cooperation, not aggression.

Create a TPP-Free Zone

Bring your community together to pass a law declaring itself to be a TPP-Free Zone. Tell the US Trade Representative and the corporations sitting at the TPP negotiating table: "If you, our unelected negotiators, create this corporate-driven monstrosity and then go to Congress for a rubber stamp, WE WILL NOT OBEY." It is time to assert our right of local self-governance and make our communities TPP-Free Zones.

Help Stop Fast Track

Corporate elite in the US push to "fast track" all trade agreements through Congress so there is no debate on the content of these agreements. AfD opposes this effort to ramrod trade agreements through Congress. Call your Congressional delegation and demand that they vote against Fast Track authority for the TPP or TAFTA.

Be the Change

Work in your community to create positive alternatives to corporate globalization. Join the solidarity economy. Help get local food ordinances passed to protect local farmers selling food to their neighbors. Promote the right to local self-governance and deny corporations constitutional rights in your community. Move your money to local banks and credit unions.