



# Alter-globalization 2.0

Newsletter of the Intercoll Network  
September 2016

## What is Intercoll?

Intercoll is an open space for the development of social and citizen movements. It is run by individuals linked to those movements, and by anyone who is involved in social struggles and mobilizations. Intercoll aims to contribute to the gradual emergence of a new "international collective intellectual" from the reflection of movements and networks of research and public education related to them. Intercoll aims to create an international and multicultural space. This newsletter is designed as a tool to facilitate communication between movements, to let us know what strategies and responses are being built to face the global crisis.

The **Collective**: <http://intercoll.net/?lang=en>

## The state of the social movements: where are we going?

Hedili Aberrahman (Tunisia), Moema Miranda (Brazil), Gina Vargas (Peru), Gustave Massiah (France), Chico Whitaker (Brazil), Hamouda Soubhi (Morocco), Kamal Lahbib (Morocco), Pierre Beaudet (Quebec)<sup>1</sup>

You all know that the neoliberal system increasingly dominates our world, our brains and our hearts. Citizen participation is taken hostage by a representative democracy that closes the door on any meaningful change and promotes conservative and xenophobic ideas. All of this leads to further inequality, wars and the destruction of the planet. Our resistance is strong and takes place on many fronts (in the streets, through our pressures on the political actors, in the parliaments, etc). However, it has failed to weaken this domination. When we succeed in electing people who are on our side, they either do not understand or are unable to change the economic models, the modes of living and production, or the relationship with nature. They rapidly slip into the logic and into the arms of the dominant system, based on individualism, consumerism, so-called economic growth, etc. What is to be done? Perhaps, we can start with these questions:

- What is to be done in terms of strategies, as citizens and as social movements (the only actors that can really change things) to make this 'other world' possible?
- What is the role of the WSF process? How can the WSF play a constructive role?

(Please send your texts to Pierre Beaudet: [pbeaudet@uottawa.ca](mailto:pbeaudet@uottawa.ca))

## Strategies to reboot the emancipation project<sup>2</sup>

Gustave Massiah

The need for resistance is urgent. But resistance is not enough. Long term perspectives are necessary. They imply rupture, and first of all rupture with an unacceptable world. A wake-up call is needed and a project is vital, a social project, a project of emancipation. An emancipation movement targets freedom from one or more oppressions - social, democratic, political, and ecological - with the aim of abolishing the logic of

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<sup>1</sup> Members of the International Council of the WSF.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts from a text originally published in Le Monde diplomatique in Brazil. The full text is on the Intercoll website: <http://intercoll.net/?lang=en>

domination. An emancipation project is the result of the maturation of ideas and a long process of development which evokes new values.

An alternative social project is the result of several different imperatives, dialectically linked. Here are four of them: a program of measures which define alternative politics; a social dynamic carried by social movements and citizens who make up the social base and who determine alliances; long-term commitment to an ideological battle and immediate commitment to the founding values of a new cultural hegemony; and reflection on the historical lessons of alternative projects. This program builds on new concepts (the common good, the 'buen vivir', prosperity without growth, climate justice, the radical democratization of democracy)

## The struggle continues... in Iraq

Within the difficult situation that Iraq is going through (the war against Daesh, the terrorist organization, and its impact on millions of Iraqi IDPs, the damage that have been done to our cities), and due to the continuous political crises, generated by the sectarian quotas, the on-going bad security situation, and the lack of adequate services and social justice, we need to unify the efforts of civil society, and set the energy of youth free, to rebuild peace and stability in our beloved country. Last year and this year the Iraqi Social Forum (ISF) has concentrated on organizing different activities to spread the values of co-existence, peace, and nonviolence, and also to support the nonviolent protest movement to establish social justice and maintain human rights. We aim to facilitate non-centralized interaction and networking among organizations, associations and movements, locally and internationally. With you, we hope to build ideas and suggestions to implement concrete steps to build another Iraq, as a part of another world is possible! Organizations, activists, and all concerned of different dynamics of the ISF, are preparing for the 3rd session. The theme of this session is "Rights and Peace", to be held in Bagdad on September 22-24. For further information: <https://www.facebook.com/iraqisocialforum>. Or write to [icssi.project@gmail.com](mailto:icssi.project@gmail.com)

## After Montreal: Debates and Issues

### **Limited but good** (Francine Mestrum)<sup>1</sup>

Limited, because once again, it was not really a 'global' forum, but a regional one, with participants from Canada and the USA. This certainly is linked to the fact that this was the very first WSF taking place in the North, with high costs for traveling and housing for those who had to come from the South, but also to the refusal of the Canadian government to issue visas to more than 200 applicants from Africa and Asia. However much we must condemn this, it was perfectly predictable and had been one of the main reasons why the International Council was not keen on having this Forum in the North.

But the Forum was good. The officially communicated number of 35.000 participants is certainly exaggerated. 15,000 would be nearer to the truth, but all workshops were well attended. Major topics were climate change, extractivism and free trade, the commons, free media, agriculture and sustainability and peace. As usual, social justice was kind of missing, unless one accepts 'basic income' as an alternative. The conferences in the evening were a real success, with famous speakers such as Garcia Linera from Bolivia, Boaventura de Sousa Santos from Portugal and Naomi Klein from Canada. Convergence assemblies were held every day, though the final act of the 'agora of alternatives' was seriously hindered by the rain...I heard no voices of discontent. My own workshops also went very well. In the assessment we discussed with the organizers in the International Council meeting, lots of numbers were given such as the high numbers of voluntary interpreters and assistants, the 125 countries that were represented, the 80 'extended' activities, the more than 500 artists in the cultural events.

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<sup>1</sup> Member of Centre tricontinental of Belgium.

# World Social Forum in Montreal: holding the fort

By Pierre Beaudet



A Numsa picket outside the Brazilian embassy against the "constitutional coup" which ousted President Dilma Rousseff. The uphill battles of the popular movements in South America were a key focus of the Forum, as South American activists analysed the limitations of the "pink wave". Many of them now believe that the progressive governments such as those set up by Lula (Brazil) and Chavez (Venezuela) did not challenge the fundamental structures of capitalist power.

**T**HE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM (WSF) is the largest global gathering of civil society that seeks solutions to today's problems. It is a place for social movements to come together and freely express alternatives, exchange experiences, witness artistic events, get inspiration and concrete commitments, and develop networking strategies for action to promote international solidarity, social and environmental justice, participatory democracy, and the recognition of the equal dignity of all.

WSF 2016 was a historic event in that it was the first time it had taken place in a Northern hemisphere country. The Forum was held in Montreal from August 9 to 14 with about 25 000 people attending. "Participants" (those who came to the more than 1,000 workshop sessions) were about 10,000, which is the usual

number in previous fora. But "visitors" and "curious" people, who came to look or participate in the cultural events, were much fewer than those attending in Tunisia or Brazil previously.

The Canadian government, which tries to sell itself to the world as a liberal government, refused visas to 400 activists from around the world who had applied. "Many activists from Latin America, Africa and Asia received a negative response to their visa requests based on unacceptable, exclusionary and discriminatory arguments," organisers said in a statement. Activists from the Democratic Republic of Congo, Morocco, Iran, Haiti, Nigeria and Nepal were most affected. Others included those from Benin, Brazil, Burkina Faso, Ecuador, Ghana, Mali, Togo and Palestine.

Despite this interference of the Canadian state, the Forum was useful and indeed opens paths for its continuation.

## The politics of the moment

THE FIRST WORLD SOCIAL Forum was held in Porto Alegre in Brazil in 2001. The Porto Alegre government at the time was led by the Workers Party (PT). It had introduced an innovative form of democracy which encouraged popular participation through local assemblies, rather than just the election of representatives. It was a time of optimism and growth of leftist movements, especially in Latin America.

Today, as has been widely observed, popular movements are facing uphill battles in many countries.

- In South America, the "pink wave" which made popular and political struggles converge in the last 15 years has subsided. In Brazil, it is called a "constitutional coup" as President Dilma Rousseff was removed by illegitimate parliamentary and judicial measures.
- In Africa, old elites maintain their rule despite uprisings such as in Burkina Faso.
- The Arab "spring" has now become the Arab "winter", under repressive and criminal regimes.
- Various city-wide uprisings in Istanbul, Bangkok, and Hong-Kong have not been able to dent the determination of the elites.
- In North America, mass movements like "Occupy" in the United States and the Carrés Rouges (red squares) in Québec have been unable to challenge the reactionary political parties.
- In Europe, right-wing and ultra-right wing factions are on the rise, while progressive advances (in Greece and Spain) are constrained by opaque international neoliberal institutions. The time is, with nuances and specific features, very tough.



The Palestinians' presence in the forum was very important through huge assemblies discussing how to intensify the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign.

## Visible and invisible walls

PART OF THE REACTIONARY transformation is to strengthen control over population movements, including refugee flows. Thousands are dying in the Mediterranean and along the Mexico-USA border, while tens of thousands are routinely arrested, beaten and put into detention camps. The "lucky" ones end up in the back alleys of capitalism to perform the triple D jobs (dirty, dangerous and dull).

To accompany this deadly regime, imperialist states have put in place a formidable system using real and virtual barriers and walls. In Canada, this is done through a labyrinth of bureaucratic rules designed to prevent poor and third world people from getting a visa, which explains why so many hundreds from the global south were excluded from the forum.

## Resisting

THIS WAS THE CONTEXT OF THE FORUM, which has been since its inception a sort of mirror of the popular movements and struggles. The Forum is no more than a reflection of the hard battles of today, including in the field of culture and ideology. Many organisations, conscious of the current moment, emphasised discussing the struggle for transformation. This meant looking critically at what was done in the recent past.

- A large delegation of South American activists analysed the limitations of the "pink wave". Many of them now believe that the progressive governments such as those set up by Lula (Brazil) and Chavez (Venezuela) did not challenge the fundamental structures of capitalist power. They did not propose a rupture with the dominant financial institutions and even less so with the

big transnationals plundering natural resources.

- From the Arab and African comrades also came a critical view of the different "springs" that for a while created hope, but then turned sour, as the left was unable to win the "battle of ideas" against right-wing sectors linked to political Islam.
- In North America and Europe, movements are more and more conscious of the obstacles which come from the failure to successfully link social and political struggles. Unless the broad left is able to build wide alliances around transformative projects that can attract a critical mass, struggles are dispersed. On all these fronts, the task to reconstruct is huge.

## The issue of power

MANY DISCUSSIONS IN MONTREAL HAD to do with power: should "we" (the broad left) try to take it? Should we remain at a distance? What to do in the short term, considering the rise of an ultra-right? To be frank, the opinions have remained diverse, although there is a general "trend" emerging. The left must come out of its narrow circle, as it has done in the past years in Spain and Bolivia, amongst other places. "Out of the circle" means a new politics of alliances, focusing on urgent issues, which implies toning down the socialist rhetoric of the past (considering that "socialism" as a concept still has to be rehabilitated after the collapse of the Soviet Union). It also means concentrating on the "weak links" of the system, which are often local or regional. This means emphasizing political projects at the local (or municipal) levels. It means finally opening to new social groups and identities, different from the

previous "core" of industrial working class struggles. These are still important, but less so in the context of progressive identities expressed by urban youth and women, national minorities, immigrants, etc. The broad "we" of the past is even broader now, and this must be integrated in the politics of social and political movements.

## The next stages

THE FORUM ENDED UP WITH AN "AU revoir" (until we meet again) because the process will continue over the next months and years. In the short term, the feeling is to concentrate on local and thematic fora, such as what is planned for 2017 in Morocco, Brazil, Argentina, Spain and Senegal. The Forum on the other hand faces important logistical and financial problems. It has to create new structures, since the South American progressive governments are not there as they were to back it up. The Forum also needs to reboot its communication capacities and create world-wide webs of social media focusing on transformation!

The Palestinians (whose presence in the forum was very important through huge assemblies discussing how to intensify the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) campaign) have a word that should be appropriated by all of us, like other words that are now part of our repertoire (such as Intifada, Pachamama, etc.). The word is SUMUD. It does not translate too easily into English. The nearest translation would be "stand tall, resist, stay determined and patient". ■

**Pierre Beaudet** is the editor of the *Nouveaux Cahiers du socialisme*, a left-wing journal based in Quebec, and a member of the International Council of the World Social Forum.

*Originally published in Amandla, the magazine put out by the Alternative Information Development Center in Cape Town.*

### **Change is needed** (No-Vox Network)<sup>1</sup>

We denounce the refusal of visas by the Canadian government to guests and participants from outside Canada, in particular from Africa and South America, as well as the unacceptable inaction of the Forum's organizing committee in staging any kind of protest (for example, we could have suspended the Forum's activities for the demonstration planned during a lunch hour to denounce these refusals). We denounce the treatment suffered by panellists and participants of the conference organized by "Boycott/Disinvestment/Sanctions" (BDS). We demand:

- A firm relocation of the World Social Forum to provide easier financial accessibility in order to guarantee participation by movements of struggle with limited means from among the world's poor populations.
- A commitment to a fundamental revision of the organisation of Forums.
  - Space out World Social Forums to take place every 3-4 years and reduce the number of workshops in each one;
  - Plan the organisation of Regional Forums between World Forums to facilitate the development of continental convergence and solidarity, among other things;
  - Abandon the imposition of quasi-academic frameworks and the so-called major axes which do not facilitate horizontal exchange and which marginalise the movements struggling for social, economic, democratic and cultural rights;
  - Review the relevance of thematic Forums which are increasingly an occasion for closed-shop participation of experts and professionals who would be better advised to contribute to the exchange of experience and analysis with grass-roots movements;
  - Review the organisational strategy to facilitate horizontal exchange between the different fronts of struggle.

We don't want to get into the rationale of arguments such as: (1) the WSF, being a "space and process", could not make a political statement (sic), or (2) never before in the past 15 years had anything like that been done, or yet (3) it would be a precedent to other such motions (!). But it is very frustrating that we can agree on content, but not on form and that in the end nothing gets approved. However, we insist on getting all the support we can against the coup in process in Brazil. The consequences of omission could be devastating for our region and for progressive forces all over the world.

### **The debates of the International Council** (Francine Mestrum)

The meeting of the International Council after the Forum saw major clashes over certain issues. It started with a petition of a Palestinian group to have the IC adhere to a demand to support the BDS (Boycott, Disinvest, Sanction) initiative against Israel. Their petition was worded in terms of 'demand the IC to support'. The petition asked the IC to change its rules. It was a very difficult discussion that took almost two hours and was useless. We knew from the beginning the demand could not be answered positively. It was a rather negative start for the IC. Later, there was another discussion to respond to a demand for a condemnation of the Canadian government for not issuing visas to the Asian and African participants of the Forum. There was a text prepared by Boaventura de Sousa Santos and we all agreed on the text but we could not adopt it as the IC. So nothing was decided and the debate was not closed. Finally, there was a third meeting to discuss a text of Brazilian social movements proposing the condemnation of the coup against President Dilma in Brazil. Most of the Brazilian organizations were in favor of accepting this proposal, but Chico Whitaker protested, not against the content of the text, but about the procedure. The result was the same as the day before: no text adopted.

#### **The motion on Brazil that was not adopted**

We, member organizations of the IC-WSF, International Council of the World Social Forum, present at the WSF 2016 Montréal and undersigned, denounce the institutional, parliamentary coup d'etat in process in Brazil. This coup is backed and promoted by conservative and antidemocratic forces and transnational capital that aims to assault the country's natural and energy resources and to illegitimately impose neoliberal policies against the social, political and cultural rights of the Brazilian people. We also

<sup>1</sup> For info on the Network : <http://www.no-vox.org/?lang=en>

emphasize the role of the manipulation of media oligopolies in attacking democracy in Latin America. We, therefore, call upon international civil society to pressure their respective country authorities not to recognize illegitimate governments in the region. We also urge social movements and organizations of global civil society to articulate, to express their solidarity and to stand together to prevent setbacks and strengthen the mobilization and struggle for another possible world.

Proposed by **CUT-Brasil, ABONG, FIDM, IPF, Ciranda, Red de Mujeres Afrolatinoamericanas, Caribeñas y de la Diáspora, CLACSO**

**For the purpose of preserving a trace of hope** (Maher Hanin and Kacem Afaya<sup>1</sup>)

Without lamenting and brooding over the total cut off from the former authoritarian and dominant regime as well as the old way of ruling, we are truly in a period of gestation where individuals and key actors are searching for a way to acclimatize to the new changing situation and to confront the new challenges. In this new context, social groups which were formerly excluded, voiceless, and dominated are mobilizing to express an active citizenship to defend the right to drinking water, health, employment and public services and are calling for a new political governance that puts an end to authoritarianism, nepotism and corruption.

Our revolution cannot be accomplished without providing the different social groups that were mobilized against domination, alienation, and exclusion with possibilities to converge around a base of common values and a new grammar of emancipatory policy. Moving away from isolation, immediacy, and spontaneous to solidarity and towards the convergence of struggles, we will push towards a policy of people, a policy that grants subordinate groups opportunities for political participation. As Gramsci said: Allowing the excluded subordinate groups to move from being subordinates in themselves to subordinates for themselves. It will give to movements an entirely political sense and will help change the balance of forces in favor of the ruled over the ruler.

In summary, holding the Forum here in the "North", in spite of all the flaws, has been a success and a winning bet. We will maintain the momentum that our gathering offered to us by being willing to initiate a revitalization of our methods, reports and relationships in today's world so that we have greater capacity to catalyze, revitalize, and restore confidence in the movements as forces capable of changing the world by starting from the local level and moving towards the global one.

**The peasants are already building a new world** (Delegates of Via Campesina at the WSF)

At a time of deepening crises in the world, including massive suffering of migrants fleeing war, increasing poverty and hunger, extreme weather events, corporate-driven land and resource grabs, the expansion and consolidation of big agribusiness and monocultures of feed and fuel plantations across the planet, we declare our firm commitment to the life-or-death struggle for food sovereignty, a people's agrarian reform, seed and biodiversity sovereignty, the democratization of the food system and the strong defense of human rights. Food sovereignty is the right of farmers and eaters to control their own food production, processing and distribution with culturally appropriate foods and equitable compensation and dignity for food providers.

We assert that small-scale farming, fishing, herding, hunting and gathering are essential in the struggle to bring relief to climate change and continue feeding humanity. We seek access to land for all, especially youth with the drive to feed their communities. We seek an end to the invasion of GMO seeds into our territories and we demand the right of farmers to continue to produce, save and share their own seeds. We say "No" to corporate agriculture and "Yes" to the people of the land and to the peasant way. LVC also publicly criticizes the Canadian Government because many leaders of important social movements were unable to attend the WSF as many hundreds of visas were denied, including the visas of two of the peasant leaders in our delegation.

We also express our solidarity with all the movements currently fighting against violence, dispossession, exclusion and the attacks against the democratic rights of people. We specially express our solidarity with

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<sup>1</sup> Members of the Tunisian Forum for Economic and Social Rights and Tunisian General Labor Union (UGTT)

the struggle of the Palestinian people against the oppression, and exploitation at the hands of Zionist Settler Colonialism, the struggle of our compañeras and compañeros of the Landless Movement of Brazil against the recent State Coup, the First Nations' courageous struggle against the threats to the integrity of their land posed by tar-sand exploitation, pipelines and other destructive actions by capital, and the fight against the increasing violence against black people, and therefore we fully support the Black Lives Matter Movement.

### **From resistance to alternatives** (Meena R Menon<sup>1</sup>)

When the World Social Forum was conceived and other mobilisations shook the neo liberal system, the focus was on global popular resistance, on what we do not want. The World Social Forum appeared on the global scene with a slogan of hope, of the need for a vision “Another World is possible”. 15 years later, the global situation has changed. Global civil society, the anti-globalisation, anti- capitalist movements and political parties have found a voice in many parts of the world. The time has come to unbundle the vision of another world. It is time to move seamlessly, from dreams to the drawing board. The WSF is a forum where these critical issues can be addressed by involving an immense pool of experiences and knowledge from all over the world: firstly, by facilitating the discourse not just on strategies of resistance, but also on comprehensive, ground level alternatives and solutions. This is why the WSF is still relevant today,

### **At a crossroads** (Francine Mestrum)

The WSF can remain but should become more than a festival of separate and separated social movements. It needs to get organized and give itself the – horizontal - structures that are needed for democratic and accountable decision-making. This is a task for its International Council, which should promote the convergence of participating movements. Secondly, common objectives should be defined. This can be a minimum agenda in order to bring movements together. Paradoxically, more than in the recent past, movements are now working at the local level and experimenting with real alternatives. This is wonderful, but it will not bring about real change if these alternatives are not politicized and brought to a higher – global – level. This should not prevent all movements from going on and working on their own agendas, with their own objectives and strategies. But they also should be able to open up to others and look for the commonalities that can be jointly explored at the global level. The WSF is the ideal place to try and do it. Thirdly, primary and secondary, short term and long term objectives should be defined that will also allow for strategies to be decided on. Finally, the WSF could try and put together a small think tank in order to analyze the global situation and its changes, as well as to explore and promote the convergence of movements. In that way I think it could be possible to turn the WSF from a passive into an active political actor, to really prepare for the future, to build a movement, with respect for the diversity that characterizes us but should not paralyze us, with a voice in the world. A real counter-Davos, a progressive social movement with answers to the economic forces that are destroying the planet. The WSF can and should re-become a common exercise of all participants.

### **Looking forward** (Gustave Massiah)

The International Council, despite and beyond its debates in Montreal, has decided to launch 5 working groups that will properly prepare the next meeting in Porto Alegre in January 2017. They are to focus on:

- Re-mandating and rebooting the **secretariat**. This working group must come up with a clear plan to re-organize the secretariat, design a work plan, negotiate resources and select priorities, resources and responsibilities.
- Updating the **Guide of principles** for the organization of the Forum, taking into account the demands and expectations of participating groups, revisiting the Charter to make sure it corresponds to the common will, and making sure that the Forum and the IC understand the boundaries of their role, as facilitators and stimulators, not as self-proclaimed leaders and not as passive receptacles. In the short term, this working group will advise the IC on how to handle the demands on Palestine and the Brazilian situation.
- Launching a process to involve directly in the WSF **popular movements** engaged in struggle. These movements must be overwhelmingly present and hold the focus of the Forum on current struggles. This could lead to the strengthening of the current ‘Assemblies of movements’, by emphasising struggles, strategies and popular alliances.

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<sup>1</sup> Activist from India and member of the International Council of the WSF.

- Elaborating a nuanced international **analysis** focussing on the present reactionary offensive and the popular responses to it. This document should not be a binding document, but would help steer the political discussion within the IC and the Forum
- Constructing a new **communication strategy** using social media, a newsletter, and documents, to build the capacities of the Forum to facilitate discussions, to inform on current and past events, to build proper archiving and to link up with parallel and friendly initiatives. This task will be chaired by our friends from the Forum of Free Media.

## Food For thought

### Prosperity Without Growth

Giorgos Kallis<sup>1</sup>

Degrowth is a call to decolonize the social imaginary from the ideology of a one-way future consisting only of growth. It is a hypothesis that we can achieve prosperity without economic growth. Degrowth challenges capitalism that knows no limits. Here are some degrowth concrete proposals:

- Citizen debt audit. The debt of those that have considerable income and assets should not be pardoned. Once the debt is reduced, caps on carbon and resources will guarantee that this will not be used as an opportunity for more growth and consumption.
- Work-sharing. Reduce the working week to 32 hours and develop programmes that support organisations that want to facilitate job-sharing. This should be orchestrated such that the loss of salary from working less only affects the 10% highest income bracket.
- Basic income. Establish a minimum income for all, paid without any requirement or stipulation.
- Green tax reform. Implement an accounting system to transform the tax system, from one based principally on work to one based on the use of energy and resources.
- Stop subsidizing activities that are highly polluting, moving the liberated public funds towards clean production. Reduce to zero public investment and subsidy for private transport infrastructure, military technology, fossil fuels and mining projects. Use the funds saved to invest in the improvement of public rural and urban space.
- Support with subsidies, tax exemptions and legislation the alternative, solidarity society, , and the not-for-profit co-operative economic sector (alternative food networks, cooperatives for basic health care, shared housing, credit, teaching, and artists and other workers).
- Optimise the use of buildings. Stop the construction of new houses, rehabilitating the existing housing stock and facilitating the full occupation of houses. Establish very restrictive criteria for allowing advertising in public spaces
- Establish environmental limits. Establish absolute and diminishing caps on the total of CO2 that countries can emit and the total quality of material resources that they use.
- Abolish the use of GDP as an indicator of economic progress.

We understand the difficulties of confronting, suddenly, an entrenched common sense. But we do expect radical left parties to take steps in the right direction, and to pursue good policies, such as the ones we propose, independent of their effect on growth. The draft economic policy of Podemos omits any reference to GDP. It proposes to reduce working hours to 35, it sets a minimum guaranteed income for the unemployed, it calls for a forgiveness of part of household and public debt, and it promotes a shift of investments towards caring, education and the green economy, posing the satisfaction of basic needs through “ecologically sustainable consumption” as its primary objective.

Further information: <http://degrowth.ca>

<sup>1</sup> Kallis is an economist and an environmentalist from Greece.