# aternatives Internatival

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PHOTO : JOSÉE LAMBERT

# Iraq: Ending the Occupation

It is in response to a widening anti-war consensus that the Bush administration is hyping its plans to withdraw some troops from Iraq. Similarly, international pressure on "Coalition" governments is leading to increased downsizing and withdrawals of troop contingents; the "Coalition of the Coerced" is rapidly becoming the "Coalition of the Collapsing."

### BY PHYLLIS BENNIS (WASHINGTON) \*

### **Bush' New Tactic**

Bush has made clear he intends to withdraw significant numbers of troops from Iraq. But his broad strategic goals (control of oil, expansion of U.S. military power in the region, creation of a reliable pro-U.S. regime in the heart of the Arab world) have not changed. U.S. plans include leaving behind a permanent deployment of 40,000 or 50,000 or more. They would likely move out of their current most visible occupation roles in the cities, retreat to the permanent bases, insure oil access and control, and back up the U.S.friendly government. The effect will do nothing to quell the resistance, but will insure that Iraqi troops and police take even more of the brunt of the casualties.

### What are our priorities?

Ending occupation means complete withdrawal of ALL troops and the closure of all U.S. military bases in Iraq. Ending occupation means ending the economic control by the United States, the World Bank, and the IMF which recently imposed a privatization-driven massive hike in gasoline prices. Ending occupation should include negotiating a political solution. Recent reports indicate the U.S. is already negotiating with some sectors of the Iraqi resistance. The stated U.S. goal is to divide the Iraqi sectors of the resistance from the largely non-Iraqi extremist forces linked to al Qaeda who attack Iraqi civilians, but are

able to operate within the supportive environment created by the much broader anti-occupation Iraqi nationalist resistance. It is likely that legitimate anti-occupation Iraqi resistance would indeed be eager to isolate those terrorist forces once the U.S. occupation is ended. The resistance forces' are insisting that the U.S. occupation be quickly ended. We should support negotiations with the resistance - and support the demand that ending the occupation be first on the agenda.

Bennis writes for the Institute for Policy Studies based in Washington

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## New Offensive against Palestinians



PHOTO: JOSÉE LAMBERT

UN Palestinian Territories Palestinian territories Historical Partition Plan of since the Construction before the Occupation 1947 **Palestine** of the Wall 22 % 12 % 100 % The occupation of Palestine since 1948

SOURCE: PALESTINIAN ACADEMIC SOCIETY FOR THE STUDY OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BY GILBERT ACHCAR (PARIS)

### The irresistible rise of Ariel Sharon

Ariel Sharon's strategy after his takeover in 2001 was to carry though unilaterally his own hard-line version of the Zionist interpretation of a "settlement" with the Palestinians. For this, he needed to minimize US pressure and to demonstrate that there is no Palestinian National Authority (PNA) with which Israel could "do business." Therefore, he has emphasized the weakness of the Palestinian leadership by fanning the expansion of the Islamic fundamentalist movement, knowing that the latter was anathema to the Western states. Thus every time there was a truce negotiated by the PNA, Sharon's government would resort to assassination to provoke the Islamic organizations into retaliation by the means they specialized in: suicide attacks. This had the double advantage of stressing the PNA inability to control the Palestinian population, and enhancing Sharon's own popularity in Israel.

### What next for the United States?

The electoral victory of Hamas last January was a resounding slap in the face of the Bush administration. As the latest illustration of the sorcerer's apprenticeship that U.S. policy in the Middle East has displayed, it is the final nail in the coffin of its neocon-inspired, demagogic and deceitful rhetoric about bringing "democracy" to the Middle East. In order to rescue its Middle East policy, the Bush administration will consider various possibilities. One might be a major shift in the policies of Hamas bought by and mediated by the Saudis. Another possibility might be unleashing all-out repression against the Palestinians and establishing a military-police dictatorship. The catastrophic management of U.S. policy in the Middle East by the Bush administration, on top of decades of U.S. imperial policies in this part of the world, has not yet born all its bitter fruit.

Achcar is Lebanese and has written The Clash of Barbarisms, Saqi Books (London).

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# **Dispossessing Africa's Wealth**



PHOTO: FRANÇOIS L'ÉCUYER

RURAL POVERTY OVERWHELMING AFRICA

Exactly how much wealth does Africa lose every year? Third World repayments of \$340 billion each year flow northwards to service a \$2.2 trillion debt, more than five times the G8's development aid budget. In addition Africa's citizens experience depletion of assets like forests and mineral resources, and suffer the impact of pollution as a result of mining.

### BY PATRICK BOND (JOHANNESBURG) \*

In Washington, perhaps the most highly regarded of African elites is South African finance minister Trevor Manuel, who until recently served as chair of the World Bank/IMF Development Committee. Having failed for four years to get even partial democratisation of the Bretton Woods Institutions onto the committee's agenda, Manuel gloried in the return of attention to Africa: "Right now, the macroeconomic conditions in Africa have never been better. You have growth across the continent at 4.7%". These statements are true only if we take misleadingly narrow economic statistics seriously. Fortunately we don't

need to because even the Bank is occasionally compelled to confess how Africa is drained of 'genuine savings' through depletion of minerals and forests, and other eco-social factors which ostrich-like economists invariably ignore.

### **After Hong Kong**

None of the trade reforms proposed for the Hong Kong WTO meeting in December will alter the basic calculus of long-term decline for their (non-oil) primary commodity prices. Christian Aid recently estimated the damage done to African countries by trade liberalisation at \$272 billion since 1980. In the meantime, Third World repayments of \$340 billion each year flow northwards to service the \$2.2 trillion debt. This is more than five times the G8's development aid budget. Martinez-Alier and Jyoti Parikh of the UN International Panel on Climate Change argue that based upon the Third World's role as a carbon sink, an estimated annual subsidy of \$75 billion flows South to North. Africans are most exploited because non-industrialised economies have not begun to utilise more than a small fraction of what should be due under any fair framework of global resource allocation such as carbon emissions.

### **Oil Money Blood Money**

Dating to the mid-1990s, foreign direct investment has flowed mainly into oil rigs in the West African Gulf of Guinea and Angola's offshore Cabinda field. Meanwhile, corrupt host regimes waged war against their people. In addition, as Amnesty International pointed out, the Bank was meant to finance the multi-billion dollar Chad-Cameroon pipeline to add human rights sensitivity, but deepening repression is the actual result. Other Africans suffering oil depletion under dictatorial or militarised conditions include citizens of the Republic of the Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Nigeria and Sudan. Adding to oil, other assets like timber resources, forest resources, protected areas, cropland and pastureland are depleted. The Bank calculates that Gabon's citizens lost \$2,241 each in 2000, followed by people in the Republic of the Congo (-\$727), Nigeria (-\$210), Cameroon (-\$152), Mauritania (-\$147) and Cote d'Ivoire (-\$100).

\* Bond is based at the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal Centre for Civil Society. (pbond@mail.ngo.za)

# From Suharto to Iraq: **Nothing has changed**

When will journalists cease to be establishment managers and confront the critical part they play in the violence of rapacious governments? An anniversary provides an opportunity. Forty years ago, Major General Suharto began a seizure of power in Indonesia by unleashing a wave of killings that the CIA described as "the worst mass murders of the second half of the 20th century".

BY JOHN PILGER (LONDON) \*

### A "forgotten" massacre

Much of this episode was never reported and remains secret. None of the reports of recent terror attacks against tourists in Bali mentioned the fact that near





the major hotels were the mass graves of some of an estimated 80,000 people killed by mobs orchestrated by Suharto and backed by the US and British governments. Indeed, the collaboration of Western governments and business laid the pattern for subsequent Anglo-American violence across the world: such as Augusto Pinochet's bloody coup in Chile in 1973; the arming of the shah of Iran and the creation of his secret police; and the backing of Saddam Hussein in Iraq, including propaganda by the British Foreign Office, which sought to discredit press reports that Hussein had used nerve gas against the Kurdish village of Halabja.

### Propaganda War

In 1965, in Indonesia, the US embassy furnished General Suharto with roughly 5000 names. These were people for assassination, and a senior US diplomat checked off the names as they were killed or captured. Most were members of the Indonesian Communist Party (PKI). However, it was in the field of propaganda that the British shone. British intelligence officers outlined how the British press could be manipulated. "Treatment will need to be subtle", all activities should be strictly unattributable". To achieve this, the Foreign Office opened a branch of its Information Research Department (IRD) in Singapore. The IRD was a topsecret Cold War propaganda unit headed by Norman Reddaway, one of Her Majesty's most experienced liars. Reddaway manipulated the "embedded" press so expertly that he boasted that the fake story he had promoted — that a communist takeover was imminent in Indonesia - "went all over the world and back again". Prevented from entering Indonesia, Roland Challis, the BBC's South-East Asia correspondent, was unaware. "My British sources knew what the American plan was. It was only later that we learned that the American embassy was supplying names. There was a deal. In establishing the Suharto regime, the involvement of the IMF and the World Bank was part of it. Suharto would bring them back." The bloodbath was ignored by the Western media. The headline news was that "communism" had been overthrown in Indonesia, which, Time reported, "is the west's best news in Asia". With Suharto's connivance, the natural riches of his country were carved up.

### The Legacy

When Suharto was overthrown in 1998, it was estimated that he had up to US\$10 billion in foreign banks, or more than 10% of Indonesia's foreign debt. With British-supplied Hawk jets, Suharto's army went on to crush a quarter of the population of East Timor. Using the same guns, the same army is now attempting to crush the life out of the resistance movement in West Papua and protect the Freeport Company, which is mining a mountain of copper in the province. Some 100,000 Papuans, 18% of the population, have been killed. What continues to happen in Indonesia is a mirror image of the attack on Iraq. Both countries have riches coveted by the West; both had dictators installed by the West to facilitate the passage of their resources; and in both countries, Anglo-American actions have been disguised by propaganda willingly provided by journalists prepared to draw the necessary distinctions between Saddam's regime ("monstrous") and Suharto's ("moderate" and "stable"). Since the invasion of Iraq, principled journalists working in the pro-war media say that they "lie awake at night" and want to speak out and resume being real journalists. I suggest now is the time.

\* Pilger is a journalist and writer based in London. His webpage can be found at www.johnpilger.com

### The Bamako **Appeal**

The Bamako Appeal wants to construct an internationalism of the peoples of the South and the North and an alternative to militarized and neo-liberal globalization and to the hegemony of the United States. Here are some extracts of this Appeal.

BY THE THIRD WORD FORUM (DAKAR) \*

### A world founded on solidarity

Our epoch is dominated by the imposition of competition among workers, nations and peoples. On the other hand the principle of solidarity has fulfilled in history the functions otherwise more constructive for the efficient organization of intellectual and material production.

### Citizenship and equality of sexes

The affirmation of the absolute equality of sexes is an integral part of authentic democracy. One of the conditions of this democracy is the eradication of all forms of the patriarchy, either admitted or hidden.

### A universal civilization

We want to construct a universal civilization, which looks at the future without useless nostalgia. In this construction, the citizen's political diversity and that of the cultural and political differences of nations and peoples become the means of giving to individuals a reinforced capability of creative application.

### Socialization through democracy

The world we want conceives socialization as the principle product of democratization. In this framework, which the market has its place, but not the entire place, the economy and finance should be put at the service of a societal program and not be submitted to the initiatives of dominant capital that favors the private interests of a tiny minority.

### **Democracy and social progress**

To affirm the objective of an authentic democracy demands giving to social progress its determining place in the management of all aspects of social, political, economic and cultural life. The diversity of nations and of peoples produced by history demands the affirmation of their autonomy. The objective of building equality goes through the diversity of means to put it in effect.

### Internationalism and anti-imperialism

Fifty years after Bandung, the Bamako Appeal expresses also the requirement of a Bandung of the peoples of the South, victims of the spread of really existing capitalism, of the rebuilding of a front of the South able to hold in check imperialism of the dominant economic powers and the U.S. military hegemony. The anti-imperialist front does not oppose the peoples of the South to those of the North. On the contrary, it constitutes the basis of a global internationalism associating them all together in the building of a common civilization in its diversity.

\* The Third Word Forum is a progressive thinktank working with researchers in Africa and Asia mostly. For the full text of the Appeal: http:// mrzine.monthlyreview.org/bamako.html

### Bolivia Moving to the Left

The election of Bolivia's new president is a powerful symbol of the growing resistance throughout Latin America to U.S.-led economic programs. The White House should take seriously the message the Bolivian people have sent. President Evo Morales doesn't exactly fit the mold of what most Americans expect in a political leader.

#### BY NADIA MARTINEZ

### From the Poor and the Indigenous

Morales is a former coca farmer and the country's first indigenous president. He does not own a tie. After his landslide victory in last month's elections, he visited other world leaders sporting a fuzzy sweater and making fiery statements against President Bush. Morales' win marks a historic turning point for Bolivia, where more than 60% of Bolivians are indigenous. Not coincidentally, more than two-thirds of the population lives in poverty and nearly half in extreme poverty--meaning they subsist on less than \$1 per day, according to the World Bank. Although the country's indigenous and poor are the overwhelming majority, they traditionally have been excluded from political and economic power. As president, Morales has vowed to change all that.

### **Washington Not Happy!**

The most contentious issue in Washington is Morales' vocal opposition to U.S. coca croperadication programs. Coca cultivation plays a crucial role among indigenous peoples, since it is a traditional medicinal plant. It is often the only means of subsistence. But Washington wants to impose economic policies of unregulated free trade and private foreign investment that have caused more harm than good to Bolivia's economy, Morales successfully argued. His view resonates not only with Bolivians but also with people throughout Latin America. Populist-rooted governments now rule Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Uruguay and Venezuela. Meanwhile, Bush administration officials continue pushing for the same economic programs that have failed in the past. These harmful policies have restricted social spending and increased the role of private industry, which has resulted in stagnating economies and widening inequalities between rich and poor.

\* Martinez directs the Americas program of Sustainable Energy and Economy Network at the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington.

### Venezuela's Land Reform



LA VEGA SHANTYTOWN, CARACAS

The Venezuelan governm ent under President Hugo Chavez is trying to pursue an ambitious land and agrarian reform program.

### BY GREGORY WILPERT \*

### From Constitution to Enabling Laws

According to Article 307 of the 1999 constitution, "Farmers are entitled to own land". In 2001, land reform laws were approved stating that the State can expropriate land over a certain size and if it is idle. Landowners are somehow protected if they are able to establish that they are effectively cultivating.

#### **Land Redistribution**

Any Venezuelan citizen who is head of a family household may apply for a parcel of land. Once the land has been productively cultivated for three years, the applicant may acquire full ownership title to it. By the end of 2004 a total of 2 million hectares of state-owned land had been distributed, benefiting one million Venezuelans. While all of the land that had been redistributed was state-owned land until 2004, in 2005 the Chavez government turned its attention to privately held land. If the plan is fulfilled, this would thus represent the government's first major challenge to Venezuela's landed elite since the passage of the land reform law in 2001.

### **Protracted Battle**

One of the roots for this controversy is that land ownership in Venezuela is a murky affair. Historically, large land owners often expanded their territory far beyond its original boundaries. The descriptions in old land titles are very vague about demarcating the territory. A main task now for the Chavez government is to develop a coherent and accurate register of land titles. In many cases already, landless peasants have challenged the ownership of large land owners on their own. For example, a large group of peasants decided to occupy the El Charcote estate which belongs to a big British cattle ranching company. The ranch owners say that the occupation has cost them losses of beef production equal to one third of their preoccupation output claim ownership documentation going back to 1850. Already over 130 peasants have been killed in the past four years over land disputes.

\* Wilpert is based in Caracas and writes for Venezuelanalysis.com

### CARACAS



## Which way for India?

British colonization transformed India into a dependent agricultural capitalist country. To this end, the British established forms of private ownership of agricultural land that denied the majority of the peasantry access to it transforming them into poor landless. The price of this lopsided approach is the poverty-stricken conditions in which the vast majority of Indian people live today.

BY SAMIR AMIN (DAKAR) \*

### Independence did not resolve the land question

After independence, a pro capitalist ideology succeeded in India in imposing the mistaken ideas that private ownership of land was essential and that the demand for agrarian reform was outdated. The World Bank put the green revolution and so-called market-supported agrarian reform in place. It ended up in the reinforcement of social inequality and the increased submission of agricultural producers to capital. Even large parts of the Left capitulated to these ideas. However, the decline was accompanied by renewed social struggles, such as the Naxalite offensive which in spite of tactical errors of judgment did reawaken revolutionary awareness among the peasantry.

### Indian elite tilting towards the US

In India, the hegemonic bloc accounts for a fifth of the population. But at the present time, this bloc is collapsing under the effect of the end of the upward mobility of the middle classes threatened with impoverishment. Faced with the US plan for overall control of the planet, the Indian elite is continuing to give priority to its conflict with China perceived as a military adversary and a financial rival in the markets of globalized capitalism. They even believe they may be able to use a possible rapprochement with the United States in order to become its major ally in Asia.





### **Alternatives**

Progressive forces in India are faced with several challenges. The have to find a radical solution to the peasant problem based on the recognition of the right of access to land for all peasants which means the abolition of the caste system. They need to create a united workers' front that integrates segments of the stabilized working classes with those that are not. This challenge is common to all those of the periphery of the system which are characterized by

the enormously destructive effects of new poverty (massive unemployment, a lack of job security, and the excrescence of wretched conditions in the informal sector). They have to fight to maintain the unity of the Indian subcontinent while establishing local democratic self-government. And finally, they have to derail the United States' plan for military control of the planet.

• Samir Amin is the President of the Third World Forum based in Dakar

### **Help That Hinders**

Because of globalisation the distance between decision-makers and those who endure the effects of those decisions has never been so great. Gatherings such as the World Social Forum allow local activist movements to reduce that distance and get to know their counterparts from wealthier countries. When the first private dam was built, at Maheshawar, links between the Narmada Bachao Andolan and organizations in Germany, Switzerland and he United States were made. Without solid local resistance and international support to allow the local voice to be heard globally, investors would not have withdrawn from the project.

BY ARUNDHATI ROY (DELHI)

### **Questions over the Role of NGOs**

There are NGOs doing valuable work; there are also fake NGOs set up to siphon off grant money. But it's important to consider the NGO phenomenon in a broader context. In India the funded NGO boom began in the late 1980s. As the state abdicated its traditional role in rural development, energy, transport and public health, NGOs moved in to work in these areas. Most wealthy NGOs are patronised by, The World Bank, western governments and multinational corporations. They are part of a political formation that oversees the neoliberal project and demands the slash in government spending. NGOs give the impression that they are filling a vacuum created by a retreating state. Their real contribution is that they defuse political anger. NGOs turn people into victims and blunt political resistance. They have become the arbitrators, the interpreters, the facilitators.

### **Missionaries**

In the long run NGOs are accountable to their funders, not to the people they work among. They are what botanists would call an indicator species. The greater the devastation caused by neoliberalism, the greater the outbreak of NGOs. Nothing illustrates this more poignantly than the phenomenon of the US preparing to invade a country while simultaneously readying NGOs to clean up the resultant devastation. NGOs have to present themselves in a shallow framework, more or less shorn of a political or historical context. They unwittingly reinforce racist stereotypes and reaffirm the achievements and the compassion of western civilisation. They're the secular missionaries of the modern world. NGOs plays the same role in alternative politics as the speculative capital that flows in and out of the economies of poor countries. It begins to dictate the agenda. It depoliticises resistance. It interferes with local peoples' movements that have traditionally been self-reliant.

\* Roy is a writer based in India. Extracts from a text was published originally by Le Monde diplomatique.

# Alter Inter in the WSF

The future of he world Social Forum is a subject of discussions engaging all organizers. Everyone is conscious of the fact that the dynamics of the WSF that started in Porto Alegre are changing. Mumbai 2004 proved that the WSF is a global phenomenon in the truest sense. Soon it was decided to take it to Africa and Nairobi, Kenya was chosen to be the venue for year 2007. At the same time, in order to maintain the momentum, it was decided that the 2006 WSF would be polycentric in the cities of Caracas, Bamako and Karachi. Alter-Inter is involved in this ambitious and at times overwhelming process. Our members are present this year in all the three centres.

#### KARACHI

Hit recently by a massive earthquake, Pakistan is also very unstable within a region known by some as the arc of storms, from South and Central Asia to the Middle East and North Africa. It is here that Bush is waging his « war without an end ». There are important challenges being faced by the social and popular movements. On the one hand there is the struggle against the US imperialism and obscurantist forces, which form the other side of the same coin. On the other hand we have to build movement for democracy in difficult conditions. Alter-Inter will bring this dynamic in limelight through a seminar on different forms of resistance movements within the « arc of storms » along with their friends from the Pakistan Fisherfolk Forum (PFF). It will also participate in awareness building on struggles waged by the fishing communities the world over.



**WSF IN CARACAS** 

#### Caracas

Everyone knows that at present Venezuela is a laboratory where alternative forms of people's power is experimented. The progressive government of Hugo Chavez is working towards changing the society which has been dominated by a tiny elite since ever. Similar Left wind is blowing in other regions in the same hemisphere in Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay and Mexico. Alter-Inter was very much present in Caracas with its involvement in many events especially in a discussion around renewal of progressive thought in the 21st century.

### Bamako

In sub-Saharan Africa, as misery and war feed each other, imperialism moves in to re-colonize the continent. Despite such grave conditions, popular movements are organizing and moving ahead as can be seen in formidable resistances in Niger, South Africa, Ethiopia, Kenya, Congo and elsewhere. Before Nairobi 2007, the WSF this year took place in the big urban capi-

tal of Mali, which is experiencing a democratic process originating from the grass root which is seeking allies in the region and the entire continent. Alter-Inter participated in various debates around the question of immigration, peasants and working class struggles.

### Construction of a grand « network of networks »

The WSF 2006 marks a big step forward for social movements at the same time raising several questions: till what extent are the social movements geared and equipped to represent the entire society and not just the organized blocks of their operations? In what way can the social couple with the political (i.e. The political parties) in order to have greater impact and effect on people's lives? How realistically can global resistance be articulated in a growing polarized world?

All are invited to participate in the debate!

# Why Alternatives International?

With the continuing assault of neoliberal capitalism and the disappearance of the great competitor, the Soviet Union, a new imperial system is being constructed through new wars. The transformation of the UN, an institution that tends to endorse more and more decisions taken by the USA, the renewed control of financial institutions, etc. On the other hand, the global citizenship movement is consolidating. The world Social Forum, at first only a gathering, is becoming an articulated global process of networking, and into the creation of a new culture of values in social movements. Till now the movement has not translated into a unique project or a unique political thought. But it is shaping common principles and lines of convergence, which are indispensable for its growth, maturity and efficiency. Our struggle and resistance is acting like a cement of a large alliance against a system based on sexism, racism and

violence. In order to meet these challenges we decided to join hands in our struggles to form « Alternatives International » by bringing together organizations from several countries in order to take up common programs.

### We are working to be

- A network of social movements which are playing an important role in struggles to make social and political transformation
- A network, which promotes international solidarity through actions for democracy, social justice, sustainable development, against imperialism, militarism and racism.

So far, eight organizations are members of Alternatives International.

### **Alternatives-International and the**

# PAKUSTAN FISHERFOLK FORUM

### Welcome you in Karachi

25/03/06

INTERNATIONAL FISHER FOLK FORUM — This "World Fisheries Day" will be held in Ibrahim Hyderi fishing port. It will be a one-day event or "Mela" during which fishermen from all regions of Pakistan and their guests from Asia, Africa, Europe and America will exchange points of view on global fisheries policy and highlight main issues affecting them in various regions.







26/03/06

### **CHALLENGES TO REGIONAL PEACE**

— The case of fishermen detention

A seminar for Information and exchange of ideas on the problem of fishermen being constantly detained in Indian and Pakistani jails: Testimonies.

SEMINAR: FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS AND CIVIC PROBLEMS OF THE FISHING COMMUNITY

27/03/06

### **INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

— Developing disaster mitigation strategies within South Asian coastal communities One day event during which experts from Asian countries will meet and discuss issues and exchange points of view related to disaster management

28/03/06

### **IMPACT OF MEGA-PROJECTS ON ENVIRONMENT**

A seminar for information and discussion.

**FISHERFOLK RALLY IN KARACHI** 

# http://alternatives-international.net