ANOTHER FUTURE IS POSSIBLE

Texts drafted on the basis of the findings of the Thematic Groups of the Thematic Social Forum

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Presentation | 5

Introduction

1. The green economy, a debate on paradigms, and Rio+20 | 7

Part I

Ethical, philosophical, and cultural foundations

2. Subjectivity, domination, and emancipation | 9
3. Ethical foundations for a new civilization | 10
4. The education we want and the complexity of the present | 11
5. Scientific knowledge must be deprivatized and reorganized | 12
6. Asserting the ancestral knowledge of indigenous populations and the peoples | 14

Part II

Production, distribution, and consumption: wealth, the Commons, and transition economy

7. The crisis in capitalism is a civilization crisis | 15
8. The Green Economy is an attempt to launch a new phase in capitalist expansion | 16
9. Extractivism and energy: two dimensions of the green-economy plan | 17
10. Promoting sustainable, social, and solidarity agriculture and fishing | 19
11. Climate jobs, now! | 21
12. For a responsible, fair, and sustainable consumption | 23
13. Transition initiatives toward a new fair, sustainable, and solidarity economy | 25
14. The Commons: another economic, social, and cultural logic | 26

Part III

Rights and power: peoples, territories, and defending Mother Earth

15. Defending rights that are at risk | 28
16. The rights of Mother Earth pave the way toward a new civilization | 29
17. Fighting climate change now | 30
18. Recovering the right to water and to its fair and sustainable use | 32
19. Health is a right and cannot be a source of profit | 32
20. Building sustainable cities | 33
21. Migrants should be citizens of the twenty-first century | 35
22. Civil-society organizations and networks | 36
23. For a fair and democratic world governance and architecture of power | 37

presentation

We are calling this compilation "Another Future Is Possible" in opposition to the document proposed by the UN negotiators for the Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20), "The Future We Want," the foundations of which we disagree with.

It entrenches many of the documents drawn up on the basis of the work accomplished by more than twenty Thematic Groups at the "Thematic Social Forum, Capitalist Crisis, Social and Environmental Justice," which was called to prepare the Rio+20 Peoples' Summit and was held in Porto Alegre in January of this year.

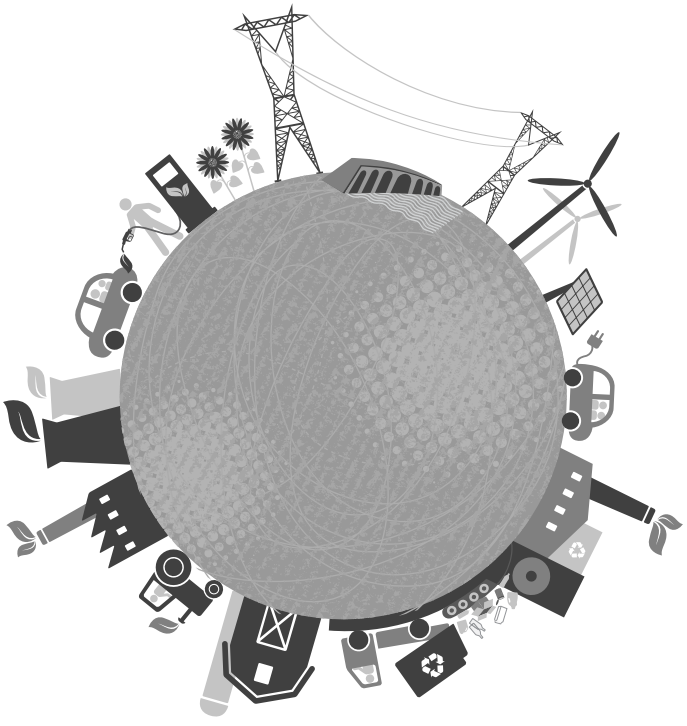
Aiming to collect the many different experiences and contributions of the different groups fighting for another social model, built on social and environmental justice, the Thematic Groups held discussions with thousands of activists on mobilizing themes related to the agenda of sustainability and social and environmental justice, through which connections could be made and thinking could be deepened to build alternative paradigms.

At meetings held after October 2011, the Groups sought to set up a process that would help to strengthen the participation of civil society at the Rio+20 Peoples' Summit: prior to the Thematic Social Forum, each thematic group had the time it needed to complete its work, fostering discussions and collective phrasing, which could also lay the groundwork for future processes. This work was bolstered at the Forum itself and, in a few cases, was taken further after that.

The compilation of documents assembled here includes some of the texts drawn up through the openly available Internet-based Dialogues Platform (http://dialogos2012.org/). The process for their production included three face-to-face moments. The first, in October 2011, was called to prepare and design the process for the Thematic Social Forum at Porto Alegre. The second, in January 2012 also in Porto Alegre, was a meeting of the work groups at the Forum itself to conclude the documents and summaries of most of the work groups. At this meeting, the facilitators elected by each thematic group began to work on a preliminary systematization that could be more widely publicized. The last of these moments, in May 2012, was a meeting in Rio de Janeiro of the team of the Thematic Group facilitators. Its purpose was to consolidate key themes and the document as a whole on the basis of all the contributions.

The facilitators' seminar prepared four summary texts, which are included in this document but are also being circulated separately. As many of those involved in the group facilitation task had also participated in the Cochabamba Peoples' Summit, part of the texts drawn up on that occasion were also included here, as well as a text on climate jobs drafter in Johannesburg at a preliminary meeting for the Rio+20 Peoples' Summit.

We consider this document — written by many hands but for which the final responsibility belongs exclusively to the team of facilitators of the Forum's thematic groups — as a contribution to the debate at the Peoples' Summit and for all interested persons. It is a photograph of the present moment, the very beginning of a long process of thinking, formulating and organizing for all those fighting to build a new paradigm of social, economic, and political organization based on real experiences and on our dreams of another possible world. The document thus fully develops an ongoing dialectic between initiatives and immediate proposals to be debated within the established frameworks and to define transition horizons that will overcome the current dominant logic and point to another civilization.



Introduction

1. The green economy, a debate on paradigms, and Rio+20

In keeping with the official documents, the Rio+20 summit of Governments has been called to provide a response to the multiple problems humankind is currently facing, starting with the severe environmental crisis, generalized poverty, and the global economic crisis. Except instead of exploring the structural causes of these crises, i.e. the dominant capitalist and productivist civilization model, they claim that these multiple crises can be "solved" by resorting to the same market rationales and the same scientific/technological and production patterns that have led us straight into the current situation. Obviously, more of the same can only make these crises deeper.

This summit should have been called to face the deep existing imbalances between human beings and nature, brought about by the capitalist system and productivism, dogmatic belief in the possibility of limitless growth, and anthropocentrism, which has made the human being lord and master of the entire planet. To face these multiple crises it is indispensable, among others, to take critical stock of what has happened in the past twenty years, since the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. Instead, they have decided to "look ahead" by supplementing and renovating an exhausted and misleading "sustainable development" with a new political-conceptual scheme they call "the green economy." This deceptive concept seeks to take advantage of the fact that "green" is usually identified with a more ecological economy: the idea is to divert attention from the real agenda hidden behind this concept.

What is really being sought in this green corporative economy is to deepen the commodification, privatization, and financialization of nature and its functions. It is the reaffirmation of full control of the entire biosphere by the economy. With such an apparently innocuous term like "green economy," they are expecting to submit the vital cycles of nature to the rules of the market and the dominance of technology.

Taking the logic of neoliberalism to its extremes, they argue that the fundamental reason for our finding ourselves in the current environmental crisis is that a large proportion of the goods of the planet have no owner, hence no one to care for them. The solution to that would be to set a price for every one of nature's goods, processes and so-called "services." Once everything has a price tag, new bonds could be issued and negotiated in the international financial marketplace. To push this "green economy," markets are being developed for carbon and environmental services, in particular through the REDD (Reduced Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation) schemes, which are set to be enlarged to include all of biodiversity, agriculture, and water. This leads to the destruction of indigenous and rural-community lifestyles and is de facto expropriation of their territories, even when they are left with formal property deeds.

This is a new private confinement of the Commons, of the functions of nature, meant to be appropriated the way capitalism, from the start, appropriated human labor for its accumulation and expansion process.

All of this is intended to place the future of the planet in the hands of banks and other financial operators, in the hands of those, precisely, primarily responsible for the deep financial crisis that has put millions more on the dole, has evicted millions of families from their homes, has stolen the savings and pensions of workers all over the world, and has deepened the obscene inequalities characterizing neoliberal globalization.

With the same scientific technological pattern of dominance, submission, and exploitation of nature that has overtaken the planet's capacity to regenerate, they intend to affirm and introduce high-risk technologies such as nanotechnology, synthetic biology, geoengineering, and nuclear energy, which are intensifying these appropriation processes. These are even presented as "technological solutions" to the ecological limitations of the planet, intended to create an "artificial nature," and also as the solution to the many disasters we are facing. This would make it unnecessary to change their root causes.

Aware that this tale is becoming difficult to believe, the new "green economy" euphemism requires other qualifications; we are now being offered "inclusive green economy," "doubly green," and other glass beads of the same kind.

The states of the emerging economies and other states of the South, instead of making social justice by redistributing wealth, building a less predatory relationship with nature, and confronting capitalist accumulation and outrageous luxury, think they can find a solution in so-called "green growth," which feeds into the myth of endless development and growth.

These negotiations clearly show, once again, how the United Nations system and the entire Rio+20 process are being increasingly controlled by corporations and transnational banks, which will be the main beneficiaries of this "green economy."

The idea of establishing a new structure to manage this green corporative economy globally is simply inadmissible. Setting up this new "institutional framework" is one of the main goals of the United Nations Conference. The plan is for the UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme), which has been the main promoter of the commodification of nature through its Green Economy Initiative, to become a new United Nations agency responsible for "global environmental governance."

All this has made it impossible to work on ad hoc tinkering or reforms for this project. The document proposed by the UN for Rio+20 is to be rejected to its very foundations. The dramatic crises currently afflicting humankind and the planet require responses of a very different quality than those offered by the governments and the UN system. They require an alternative civilization paradigm. We are presenting the following contributions so that this paradigm can be formulated and the policy that will fight for a transition platform in the direction of Another Possible Future can be articulated.

Part I.

ethical, philosophical, and cultural foundations

2. Subjectivity, domination, and emancipation

The Rio+20 Conference constitutes a unique opportunity for us to build a common understanding of the many different and deep transformations being undergone by our societies and to debate on the lines of force and the proposals pointing to the necessary task of "reinventing the world" by setting an unprecedented, real, and urgent transition in motion toward a fair and sustainable world. The peoples and the world community are demanding a new paradigm of social, economic, and political organization that will be able to make social justice progress, and to provide humankind with continuity in its destiny, and life and the planet with sustainability.

Social struggles and major political disputes are the only way to solutions to societal dilemmas. Notwithstanding, although this view has guided almost all of history's progressive mobilizations, it is insufficient. Capitalism is much more than a mode of production, it is a social and political rationale that runs through the entire social body; it is a totalizing form of civilization with an enormous reproduction capacity. The current socioeconomic system is thus not only built around institutions and power centers, it is also internalized by a good part of populations as domination, ideology, or "voluntary slavery."

Through the centuries, emancipation, liberation, and the elimination of all forms of exploitation and oppression have been the goals pursued with ever growing vigor by progressive, socialist, and left-wing movements. Taking up these goals again today, however, requires a lot more than reviving the ideals of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" or getting rid of exploitation of labor by capital. It requires questioning the very foundations on which modernity, capitalism, and European domination of the world were built; it requires a revolution of minds that will shake up the intellectual infrastructure shared not only by the capitalist élite but also by a good part of the movements that have so far attempted to combat it. It requires questioning anthropocentrism, which considers that the Earth is entirely at the disposal of human beings. The human species has been the only species to have been overcoming ecological limitations based on its knowledge and expanding—exponentially—its population; this process cannot, however, continue, and humankind must assume a new ethical responsibility and care for the planet, as much for future generations and for all of life on the planet.

To be able to do so, we have to change our very selves in the process: institutions are reproduced in individuals, and they are the ones allowing these structures to work. It is impossible to undertake the transition required by humankind and the planet by maintaining consumerism as the ideal of happiness and a way of life based on exclusion, competition, selfishness, productivism, industrialism, and the

destruction of the flows that are vital for life on the planet. “Educators” need also to be educated, and the training for this lies in their practical activity, in real, massive, and exemplary struggles.

Many of the dimensions of what can and should be a new form of subjectivity have been taking shape in these anti-systemic struggles, and these should be broken down into themes if we expect to offer a credible alternative. They should be debated and systematized as values, forms of knowledge, world visions, and counter-hegemonic culture.

3. Foundations for a new civilization

Pondering the foundations of a new civilization and the arduous process of disarmament and the social reconstruction of culture, of the economy, and of power that this implies has become an ethical imperative for humankind. Life, in all its forms, has the fundamental right to exist, as do the complex ecological systems that make up the planet Earth.

This is why we need to disarticulate the known patterns of thinking for action that have become part of common sense and are, for this reason, pillars of the capitalist industrial, productivist, consumerist, and non-inclusive civilization organized by society. We need to rearrange the philosophical and ethical cornerstones of human civilization to make the sustainability of all—no generation excluded—and of all of life the rule, not the exception.

A core element of this lies in the fact that human civilization must forsake anthropocentrism as a philosophy, ethics, and religion; it must radically change its vision and its interaction with nature, and make the ethics of Integrity of Life and of the Planet its priority. This entails disabling the current accumulation of material wealth and the myth of development and unfettered growth. This should all be replaced by the vital ethical question: How can we relinquish the values and the lifestyle based on “having more” and give way to “being more”, happier, more aware of the responsibilities of generating the integrity of the natural foundation, sharing with everyone and with the future generations?

It is impossible to consider sustainability without the principle and the ethical value of care, cohabitation, and sharing. And yet, what has been pursued is the colonial undertaking to conquer peoples and their territories, the occupation of the atmosphere by carbon emissions, and the creation of transgenic seeds with the resulting destruction of existing biodiversity. Preserving life and biodiversity is synonymous with caring and, at the same time, with setting the conditions for cohabitation and sharing. We need to save care as a principle of deprivatization of the family and of the male domination within it, and at the same time, to build the principle of care as a central element of power and of the new economy. This latter must be conceived as a symbiosis of human life and nature, and the importance of territories as a form of organization and sharing according to its potential in a local-to-global perspective. Sustainable economy is only possible if it is based on care, and on use that neither destroys nor generates waste but renews and regenerates in order to extend the durability of material goods.

The care priority draws attention to the currently rising awareness of the imperative of equity and of the threat posed by social exclusion, poverty, and the different forms of inequality and social injustice in this context of a civilization crisis. Never has humankind been as unequal as in the current context of extreme exclusion and unbearable extreme poverty; never has the truth of fighting for justice and equality been so evident. To overcome this situation it is fundamental to confront environmental destruction and the injustice it contains. Both are intimately connected and radically requalify the social struggles of our times. These are the two sides of the political relationship of equality to which human rights

refer, just as the Commons do. To enjoy rights, it is also necessary to be responsible for everyone else's rights. This is a shared relationship, and as such, one of joint responsibility, which is founded on the recognition of the ecological and social interdependence of life and of the planet. This question is essential for integration, as the growing awareness of human rights and responsibilities, within societies as well as in relationship to the biosphere, puts the spotlight on the fundamental question of the interdependence between the local and territorial scale and the global one.

New civilization—which we can call "biocivilization"—needs to be sustained in addition by an ethics of peace, democracy, and cultural diversity. A vibrant culture is a diverse culture, not the homogeneity imposed currently by a crushing globalization. As individualities are generated through culture, humankind is strengthened and cultural diversity flourishes, which is a condition for the existence of humankind in its interaction with nature. Diversified culture enhances the potential of the people who constitute it and makes it possible to fortify the sustainability of life and of the planet. Imperialism, nationalism, war, and internalized violence are what maintain capitalism and the industrial, productivist, and consumerist civilization that thrives on conquest, exploitation, inequality, and social exclusion on the global scale, as well as on the intensive use of natural resources. Peace is an indispensable strategic ethical and political condition for sustainability, enabling all forms of life.

Every action, every end is based on ethics. The essential condition of peace and democracy are the force of change toward the civilization we want. Democracy is guided by the ethical principles and values of freedom, equality, diversity, solidarity, and participation, all at the same time. The democratic method can change everything stated above as the foundations for civilization into a possible Utopia that will promote the emergence of a new architecture of power, from local to global. potencia el surgimiento de una nueva arquitectura de poder, desde lo local a lo mundial.

4. The education we want and the complexity of the present

The global crisis is also an education crisis—understood as lifelong education—a crisis in its content and its meaning, given that it has gradually stopped being considered as a human right and has been converted into the primary means to satisfy the needs of markets demanding manpower for production and consumption. Not only has education given up on training people who can think about the major global political, environmental, economic, and social issues, it has also been stripped of its deep political content and, in particular, of its potential to produce citizens who can think in terms of a different economic and social order, in which it would be possible to overcome the complexity of the deep crises we are experiencing.

It has become essential to rethink the purposes and practices of education in the context of the dispute over meaning, characterized by the subordination of most public policies to the paradigm of human needs on the one hand, up against the emergence this social movement, of alternative paradigms seeking to restore education as a right, and as an ethical and political project in educational practice. It is therefore urgent to save the concept of education as a human right in its formal and informal dimensions, to open it to include the democratization of societies, such that they are made of critically minded citizens able to connect with movements demanding change in the social order, aiming for greater social and environmental justice, intending to understand and discuss solutions to problems at the global scale.

Developing critical "subjectivity" has become a central aspect in building a citizens' pedagogics in the current situation. The idea is to reestablish a feeling of emancipation in empowerment processes, understood as the development of community resources to practice politics, generate knowledge, strengthen and promote the knowledge and teachings produced in democratic struggles, which require inclusive leadership, participatory organizations, alliances with democratic civil-society organizations, and permanent and necessary "radical and pragmatic " weighting (unprecedented and possible, Paulo Freire would say) in how agreements, consensuses and associativity are reached among the diversity of actors participating in politics.

All of this implies a political and cognitive inflection, a paradigm

change in how education is understood, an opening to new points of view on social ends, such as good-living (*buen-vivir*), the Commons, and the ethics of care, among others. A large forum for discussion and socialization on all this should be opened at Rio+20 and beyond Rio, and these ends should be based on education designed for change and for personal and social transformation.

These new paradigms and points of view should not only be maps to guide us in the new contexts, they should also be the content for the ends we are seeking as a citizens' movement that can involve the different actors of the education process—educations workers, students, parents, family, and more broadly all citizens needing and fighting for a deep change in education—to generate a radical turn in society toward more social and environmental justice. All of this is consistent with the liberating idea of popular education, which is fed by many different experiences in education for another citizenship.

The paradigm change in education—as a condition for moving toward sustainable societies, with social and environmental justice, where the economy would be a means for this end and not an end in itself—must suppose a change in the technical and economics-oriented focuses of current education policies. The right to "lifelong" learning needs to be claimed, and this is not meant to be a claim for continuous education designed to meet the needs of markets and the requirements of old and new industries.

The education we want starts with building many types of education—formal and informal—in order to develop human capacities, including cognitive, empowerment, and social-participation capacities, capacities for cohabiting with others in diversity and difference, for caring and planning for one's own life, for coexisting among human beings in harmony with the environment.

A pertinent, relevant, transformational, critical education needs to have as its highest end to promote human dignity, and social and environmental justice. Education, as a human right promoting all other rights, must include: girls and boys, the young and adults as legal subjects. It should also promote: interculturality, equality, gender equity, the nexus between citizenship and democracy, care and a harmonious interaction with nature, the eradication of all forms of discrimination, justice, and building a culture of peace and non-violent conflict resolution.

The education we want requires strategically promoting an education that will contribute to the social redistribution of knowledge and power (taking gender, race-ethnicity, age, and sexual orientation into account), that will strengthen the sense of autonomy, solidarity, and diversity expressed in the new social movements. The idea is to promote critical and transformational education that will respect human rights and the rights of the entire community of life to which human beings belong, that will specifically promote the right to citizens' participation in decision-making forums.

5. Scientific knowledge must be deprivatized and reorganized

Humankind has been experiencing one of the most important stages in technical and scientific innovation in its history and this is having strong impacts on the Earth; not only are we entering a new geological period—the "Anthropocene"—in which humankind is responsible for the essential changes in the surface of the planet, within this period we are also entering a phase of "Great Acceleration." While some are speaking of an "information" or "knowledge" "age" or "economy," unprecedented devastation is taking place, of indigenous, small farmers' and peoples' knowledge on territories, soil, climate, ecosystems, biodiversity, sustainable agriculture, and community skills and practices, and this devastation is so great that we can safely say that our generation will be the first in the history of humankind that has lost more knowledge than it has gained. Understanding this problem and responding to it is currently a key challenge for social change.

Modern science has developed by seeking to obtain both a comprehensive and verifiable understanding of reality, and control over the forces of nature. The idea has been to discover the laws of nature to make forecasting, manipulation, and control possible, as well as to reduce the role of unpredictability in life. It has also been to put human beings in a position of command over the now established ontological nature-versus-culture duality. This symbiosis of knowledge and control, a feature of European expansion throughout the world, has generated the wealth of modernity but also the disasters and destruction wrought in the name of the ideology of progress and belief in the unlimited growth

of productive forces as the road to human emancipation. Modern science has also disqualified other forms of knowledge and wisdom, has been instrumentalized, appropriated, and increasingly modeled by profit seeking, and has managed to place itself at the very core of contemporary economics as a source of profit and growth.

Scientists (and science) necessarily have to set values to guide their activity and think about how these values will affect their cognitive processes. Will scientists be the ones who will take their research strategies out of context and present science as axiologically neutral and let it be simply guided by the market ethos as the core of capitalist techno-science? Or will they be the ones to warn us, so that the regeneration capacities of nature are not concealed and well-being can be extended to everyone, everywhere? Will they continue to claim they can submit the forces of nature to their will, as with nuclear weapons and climate engineering? Or will they bring humankind to understand that it needs to restrain its potential power over nature and instead protect the fragile cycles of the planet and the complex dynamics of ecosystems against the threat of humankind itself? Is science to remain a model of Eurocentric knowledge based on the premise of the need to know in order to transform and submit, an indelibly anthropocentric and patriarchic model of knowledge, both contrary to democracy and technocratic because it is based on the separation between those who know and those who do not know? Or does science carry cognitive values that are useful for understanding the Earth and its dynamics, values that are potentially emancipatory and important for establishing a sustainable society?

These are not epistemological and ethical questions, they are social, political, and cultural ones that determine how science works in our civilization, how it is appropriated by social actors, and how it should be reorganized on radically new foundations in a fair and lasting world, coexisting and interacting with other forms of knowledge that today have been degraded. This requires opening a wide debate—within the scientific community as well as within social movements and civil-society organizations—that should be geared to providing humankind with a new way of owning the many different existing forms of knowledge. This debate should rapidly produce concrete projections and examples of feasible, alternative research projects, which, in interaction with other forms of knowledge, will support this new necessary sense of scientific research.

This has become more urgent than ever. Although Rio 92 put into the global debate the precautionary principle and the need to assess technologies, the existing systems to monitor and assess technologies have since been progressively dismantled. It was not long before the World Trade Organization (WTO) was formed along with its Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) and other similar ones, which introduced property rights and patents on forms of life on a large scale. Moreover, in Rio 92 itself and for the first time in history, the Convention on Biological Diversity considered biodiversity as a "resource." Science and knowledge have thus been commodified, and the fruit of public science has been systematically patented by global corporations. The countries and industries that have been causing climate change are now announcing that the global thermostat needs to be controlled with technological solutions, by manipulating the climate with geoengineering and extending control over new parts of nature with the so-called "green economy." In this scenario, the scientific and technological community has an essential role to play in raising public awareness (and is itself supported by possible alternative civilization projects).

We must reject intellectual property rights over forms of life and affirm that scientific knowledge, like traditional knowledge, is part of the Commons, freely accessible to each and every one. The precautionary principle must be reaffirmed to support science in its debate with industrial monopolies; we must also identify and reject its mistaken interpretations and extend its applications. Rio+20 provides an opportunity to build a participatory mechanism for prior assessment of technologies that will include their social, environmental, economic, and cultural dimensions. This mechanism should serve to monitor and debate implications and alternatives in science and technology. Social organizations must be an integral part of the monitoring and assessment of new technologies independently from governments. Given the very high risks it carries and its potential to destabilize the planet's systems, we also call on Rio+20 to establish a ban on climate engineering similar to the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty.

6. Asserting the ancestral knowledge of indigenous populations and the peoples

The shelters of life are the indigenous peoples' forests and territories, which are effective barriers against extractivist predation. The genetic resources of these territories and ancestral knowledge are part of the collective natural and intellectual heritage of many populations that has been preserved over the centuries and passed down through the generations. This is why it is indispensable to change legislation and public policy to guarantee the demarcation of indigenous peoples' territories and their collective deed to their territories as peoples, and also to support—without marginalizing them—"Full Life" strategies, different from those designed to commodify nature. Whatever the case, we need to broaden our understanding of traditional knowledge and not only cover that of indigenous peoples and small-scale farmers, but also value that of women, craftspeople, artists, and all those who have developed skills and capacities throughout the centuries.

The system has to be changed to avoid climate change. There are increasing contradictions in global and national forest policies, in which "sustainable" declarations are aggravating the deterioration wreaked by the mining, energy, agricultural, and infrastructure industries, and those based on biopiracy and theft of ancestral knowledge. Ancestral knowledge must not be marketed, misused, or authorized for patent claims. It belongs to the culture of indigenous peoples. States and international agencies (through the Convention on Biological Diversity) must adopt legal regulations for its protection. It is therefore necessary to consolidate the Right to Prior Consultation and to Free, Binding, Previous and Informed Consent for access to the genetic resources of indigenous territories and of the traditional knowledge associated with them.

Part II.

production, distribution, and consumption: wealth, the commons, and transition economy

7. The crisis in capitalism is a civilization crisis

The economic and financial globalization of the past thirty years has submitted societies to the dynamics of generalized competition, of private property, and of maximum economic profit Asserting the superiority of the market to govern societies and nature is leading to submitting the states to the "laws" of the market, which is in turn leading to an acceleration of the ecological crisis and to a democratic crisis. This neoliberal phase of globalization is currently in deep crisis.

The crisis consists in a breakdown of the promises of capitalism at the global scale. The trend consisting in turning nature, work, and all human activity into marketable goods is destroying the reproduction capacities of societies and of life itself.

The social crisis is a key element in the global crisis: the explosion of social inequalities, the collapse of social-protection systems, the strangulation of wages, and the deterioration of income generated by family farming are feeding into a generalized economy of indebtedness—which is necessary to sustain capitalistic growth. All this eventually generated the subprime crises, and then the crisis in public finances. In fact, emerging from the crisis cannot be reasonably be envisaged under the terms of limitless growth, which is what was done after 1945, when the Western powers were ruling over the world and capturing for their own benefit a significant share of the wealth produced by humankind.

The ecological crisis should have exposed the need to step out of the dominant modes of production and consumption. Instead, it has reinforced the techno-scientific paradigm and the belief in technical solutions; it has accelerated the process intended to privatize nature's Commons: water, land, energy, air, and the living being.

Neoliberal policies, by extending the productivist model to the entire planet, have increased and stepped up the pressure on resources to an unimaginable degree. They have also generated new balances of power among the different countries. Although the traditional dependence of the countries of the South on those of the North is still current in many areas, this too is obviously and indisputably changing: economic and financial dependence on emerging countries, greater dependence on raw materials that are tending to become depleted, etc. Economic globalization has revealed the limits of global capitalist expansion. This shows that the current crisis is much more than an economic crisis: it is a crisis of the domination by the economy over all of social and political life.

This crisis confirms that capitalism is not just a way of organizing the economy. It is a form of civilization, or rather of de-civilization, which entails ways of daily living, representations, and above all, a relation of domination over nature and labor. We need to break out of the capitalist "civilization" model, and this has become extremely urgent.

8. The Green Economy is an attempt to launch a new phase in capitalist expansion

In the 1980s, when capitalism was facing a crisis in profitability, it launched an offensive against the workers and the peoples: to increase its profits, it expanded markets and reduced costs by liberalizing trade and finances, flexibilizing labor, and privatizing the public sector.

Now facing an even more complex and deeper crisis, capitalism is initiating a new attack by combining the old austerity measures—such as those being applied in Europe—with an offensive to generate new sources of profit based on the Green Economy. Capitalism has always been clearly based on the exploitation of labor and of nature, but in this new phase it is seeking to recover its profit and growth rates by putting a price on the essential capacities of nature to sustain life.

The 1992 Rio Summit sought to institutionalize important sustainability-related principles for international cooperation such as the "polluter pays" principle, that of "common but differentiated responsibilities," and the "precautionary principle." It happens that the Summit also institutionalized the concept of a "sustainable development" based on "sustainable growth." In 1992, the Rio Conventions recognized for the first time ever the rights of indigenous communities and their contributions to the conservation of biodiversity. In the same documents, however, the industrialized countries and corporations were guaranteed protection of the intellectual property rights over goods and genetic resources that they had acquired through centuries of colonial domination.

The Green Economy is an attempt to extend the reach of financial capitalism and to integrate all that remains in nature into the market. To do so, the Green Economy attributes a "value" or a "price" to biomass, biodiversity, and the functions of the ecosystems—such as carbon storage, crop pollination, and water filtration—with the intention of integrating these "services" as negotiable units in the financial market.

The Green Economy is thus treating nature as capital—"natural capital." The Green Economy considers that it is essential to give plants, animals, and ecosystems a price in order to commodify biodiversity, water filtration, the protection of coral reefs, and climate balance. For the Green Economy, it is necessary to identify the specific functions of ecosystems and biodiversity in order to evaluate their current situation, set a monetary value on them, and translate the cost of their conservation into economic terms so as to develop a market for each specific environmental service. For the Green Economy ideologists, market-based instruments would be tools to overcome "the economic invisibility of nature."

The main targets of the Green Economy are developing countries, which still have the greatest biodiversity. The official UN "zero draft" acknowledges that a new round of "structural adjustments" would be needed: "developing countries are facing great challenges in eradicating poverty and sustaining growth, and a transition to a green economy will require structural adjustments which may involve additional costs to their economies . . ."

The Green Economy postulates are false. The environmental and climate crisis is not a simple market deficiency. The solution is not to put a price on nature and turn it into a form of capital. It is wrong to state that we only value that which has a price and an owner, and generates profits. Capitalist market mechanisms have shown that they are incapable of contributing to a fair distribution of wealth. The greatest challenge to poverty eradication is not to always grow, but to succeed in distributing fairly the wealth that is possible within the limits of the Earth System. In a

world in which 50% of the population is attributed no more than 1% of the wealth of the planet, and in which the 3 richest persons in the world have the same income as the 600 million poorest combined, it will be possible neither to eradicate poverty not to reestablish harmony with nature.

The Green Economy is a cynical and opportunistic manipulation of the ecological and social crisis. Instead of dealing with the true causes of inequalities and injustices, capital is using the "green" discourse to launch a new cycle of expansion. Corporations and the financial sector need governments to institutionalize the new rules of the Green Economy to insure themselves against the risks and set up an institutional framework to integrate parts of nature into the financial gearbox.

9. Extractivism and Energy: Two dimensions of the Green Economy Project

Expansion of the so-called extractive industries is one of the most characteristic features of the current neoliberal globalization that social and environmental movements have been challenging and resisting against for the past several years. *The energy sector is also fuelling the dangers of the speculative and financial system* affecting all forms and life on the planet. Together, the extractive and energy industries have become strong supporters of the new "green economy" agenda being promoted at Rio+20 through their outcome document, "The Future We Want."

The extractivist production model focuses on the exploitation and appropriation of natural resources and their sale on the international market without any significant processing, if any at all. Although this activity traditionally covered only mining and oil production, it now includes fishing, logging, agribusiness, and international luxury tourism. Extractive industry is based on the "accumulation through the exploitation" of tangible and intangible goods once of common and public use that remained unexploited or geared to the local reproduction of life or wealth. This allows us to understand the close association between the current commodification of the Commons and natural goods and the privatization of common social goods—rights, services, and public enterprises—that reached their peak in the 1990s.

Extractivism- and energy-related environmental "accidents" and tragedies have been increasing as the sovereignty of nations and peoples has been gradually handed over to transnational corporations. Indigenous communities have been losing their land and sovereignty; democratic rights have been weakened and reduced; policy-making have been privatized to benefit the interests of transnational companies and dominant national and regional sectors; international commitments are being violated, as are national laws, all for the benefit of the extractive and energy industries. In addition, Latin American countries have given transnational companies control over concessions, the equivalent of millions of hectares for 60 or even 90 years, with the support of governments from all political and ideological markers.

Today, the extractivist industry is rapidly expanding its exploitation of the planet's remaining natural resources. As conventional sources of minerals become depleted, for example, the mega-mining industry is turning to unconventional forms of resource development that make heavy use of fossil fuels. As a result, extractivist industries are launching a direct assault on the last frontiers of nature and the Commons by extracting minerals from hard-to-reach deposits deeply embedded within or below sedimentary rock basins or the ocean floor.

In doing so, they are not only making much more extensive use of carbon-emitting fossil fuels (such as coal and natural gas), they are also causing enormous damage to the ecosystem in the process. The same is

true of other extractivist industries such as oil and natural gas, agribusiness, forestry, fishing, and tourism.

In the name of a "greener economy," the extractivist industry has therefore essentially reinforced the colonial model of resource development. To begin countering these trends, immediate actions must be taken such as:

- Rethinking the prevailing models of resource extraction and dependence on polluting fossil-fuel sources and other environmentally unsustainable practices;
- Requiring "free, prior and informed consent" of indigenous peoples for any extractivist project on their lands;
- Ensuring that the poorest sectors of society and the affected communities will benefit from the revenues generated by extractivist industries.

Moreover, a nexus has formed between the extractivist and energy industries, which is heavily financed by both private and public sources of capital. Investment firms and banks, along with the fossil-fuel industry, are eager to invest in and profit from mega-mining projects and other forms of extractivism in the commodities and futures markets, while national governments and international financial institutions like the World Bank provide public subsidies annually to both industries (e.g. USD 409 billion to the fossil-fuel industry alone every year).

The world we live in today has in fact become increasingly dependent on burning fossil fuels as the main source of energy. The way this source of power is produced, distributed, and used is causing global environmental damage, social disruption, and health hazards. The burning of fossil fuels today is responsible for more than 40% of the greenhouse-gas emissions on the planet, thereby causing global warming and climate chaos. Meanwhile, more than 1.4 billion people throughout the world lack access to basic energy services, which relegates them to a perpetual state of underdevelopment.

As the source of power in any society, the energy we produce and use is all-pervasive in our daily lives. It is the power we use to transport people and products, run or operate our industries and businesses, and heat or cool our homes and workplaces. In short, energy is the life-blood of our economies. For these reasons, the energy we produce and use can also determine the extent to which the "development" of our economies is fair and sustainable or unfair and unsustainable. Today, however, instead of heeding the urgent signs of an impending climate crisis, the global élites are continuing to pursue a fossil-fuel energy course for the future, now in the name of promoting "green growth."

The time has certainly come (and may well be overdue) to make a fundamental shift in the dominant energy paradigm and system that empowers our economies. As societies and communities, we must substantially reduce our reliance on dirty, non-renewable sources of energy such as coal, oil, and gas, and develop alternative, clean, and renewable sources of energy such as wind, solar, small-scale hydro and geothermal. In this age of climate change, a fundamental transition in our sources of energy is becoming increasingly imperative for the survival of both the planet and humankind.

Any real and lasting solution requires a fundamental shift in the prevailing energy paradigm and system. To begin, short-term energy strategies should include:

- Calling on all industrialized economies to develop a national plan of action with clear targets to reduce their dependence on dirty fossil fuels substantially by 2030;
- Developing comprehensive national strategies now for transitioning to clean renewable energy sources via government intervention with community participation and control;
- And removing all government subsidies to the mining and energy industries and reinvesting this capital into making the transition to clean renewable energy developments.

In making this energy transition, the primary obligation lies with the industrialized countries, which are still the most dependent on fossil fuels. Here, the principle of "common but differentiated responsibilities" between developed and developing countries, adopted by the Rio Earth Summit 20 years ago, must be fairly and rigorously applied. To be sustainable, therefore, this energy transition must also be equitable. The global South must have access to the capital and technology necessary for making the transition from dependence on fossil fuels to the development of viable renewable energy sources. If sustainable development is to be achieved, then the 1.4 billion people who lack basic energy services now must be empowered through this energy transition.

Ultimately, however, what is needed is a bold new social vision and set of strategies for transformation. If this energy transition is to be fair and sustainable in the long run, then deep structural changes will be needed in the prevailing capitalist model of development. We have to *rethink* fundamentally the viability of an economic system based on limitless economic growth and profit maximization.

We need to *rethink* our models of production and consumption, the appropriate role and responsibility of the state and markets. We need to work on reducing the global consumption of energy in a differentiated way depending on the country and the social class. We need to eliminate large-scale production of agrofuels, the exploitation of shale gas, and the privatization of biomass, all of these intended to produce more and more energy. We need to *rethink* the extent to which energy should be part of the Commons and what must be done to ensure increasing democratic control over

its production, distribution, and use. We must devise a way out of the current economic system and development model. Otherwise, sooner or later, we will go back to same easy solutions of destroying the means of survival of all forms of life including Mother Earth.

10. Promoting sustainable, social, and solidarity agriculture and fishing

Industrial farming has become generalized in the world as the agricultural model to follow from the perspective of market-oriented production, without succeeding in meeting the food requirements of human beings and the need for the planet to be balanced. Millions of persons suffer from hunger—the great majority of whom are small-scale farmers and rural workers—while a handful of agro-industrial corporations accumulate billions of dollars in profits and nearly 500 million persons suffer from obesity. .

Industrial farming is a major cause of climate change—it is responsible for 50% of green-house-gas emissions; as it expands its agricultural frontiers it produces forced migrations; it destroys dreams, cultural knowledge, and biodiversity. Today this model is at a complex crossroads, where the ethical, technological, energy, sanitary, economic, and financial crises, as well as the crisis in the architecture of world power all meet. The shift to a more sustainable farming model means making each of the systems that make it up more sustainable and viable. The technical or sector-based proposals that have been offered as solutions so far have worsened the problem; on the other hand, ecological agriculture, which has proven to be an option that significantly avoids the deterioration of nature, has so far not been considered, or worse, has been destroyed by the hegemonic model.

Facing this reality, social movements and popular organizations are promoting a set of proposals articulated around the construction of food sovereignty, designed as a comprehensive form of agricultural production that defends small-scale and indigenous farming to provide food, dignity, identity, and gender equality. These proposals also aim to nurture processes for the reconstitution of life territories and include demands for agrarian and fishing reforms that will once again give a key role to family farmers, fishing communities, their cultures, and ways of life. These proposals are articulated around three points: 1) family-farmer and fishing knowledge, goods, and culture; 2) trading rights and regulations from the local to the global; and 3) joint participation and social oversight of the production system.

Cultures sustained by family farming and fishing are, first and foremost, shared knowledge gathered with the passing of the ages, which is part of the legacy of peoples and of humankind. These cultures, which combine worldviews, values, and technical and all sorts of knowledge have been deteriorated and debased by the agro-industrial system, which is geared to overproduction and has among its consequences the global uniformization of food, and a high nutritional and environmental impact. In this context, the idea is to recover and value local farming and ways of life, as well as ancestral systems of knowledge for the production of food. Small-farmers' movements have clearly identified this challenge of spreading information and communication on their cultures widely.

States here have a critical role in guaranteeing the collective nature of the knowledge of family-farming and fishing communities, hence the right to collective decision-making regarding the access to and use of this knowledge. Formal research carried out with public support

is part of this public good. Valuing the knowledge implies promoting and consolidating comprehensive education, formal and informal, at every level, associating spiritual, material, and social dimensions, to sustain the many transformations related to food sovereignty. This education has to be built on a multicultural basis and with total participation of the communities within each territory. Native plants are also part of the heritage of the peoples and constitute a fundamental basis for food sovereignty. They have always circulated freely in the hands of peoples, been cared for, and made to multiply by native caretakers. Any attempt to patent and impose intellectual property rights on Life and these immaterial and material goods runs against their very nature and must be prohibited.

Neither sustainable farming nor food sovereignty can exist without the dignity and identity of producers, without the statement of the primacy of their rights as well as of those of Mother Earth, and the assurance of the fair circulation of goods and resources. It is not only necessary to change the system of industrial food production geared toward the world market and to making profit; more deeply, the idea is to change the view that considers the Earth as a resource to be exploited with the exclusive goal of addressing disproportionate desires for growth. All living beings and Mother Earth have rights and must be allowed to access and enjoy water. This necessarily implies recognizing the peoples' right to manage and regulate the use of water with respect and in solidarity within the framework of international conventions and customary laws; it also implies complete prohibition of marketing water. Recognizing these rights is a condition for biodiversity to be placed above the mechanisms of privatization, intellectual property rights, and any other international trade agreement.

Similarly, the implementation of new policies and standards for the protection of small-scale production of food and its international trade also constitutes a basic foundation. Both the practice of selling products below production costs (dumping) and industrialized countries' unfair business practices that distort food prices must be condemned. It is indispensable to place tariff barriers equivalent to any subsidy incorporated into export products and allow the free circulation of local production. It is therefore necessary to reject, condemn, and prohibit any political, military, or business strategy that attacks the peoples' food sovereignty and makes them more vulnerable to climate change.

Social oversight and joint participation in the production systems is another key for disputing power in the food system that has been captured by economic groups. Innumerable technologies and technological processes have placed the survival of ecosystems at risk, and have been promoted only to increase the production and profit to be distributed among a small number of companies. These technologies and processes are accelerating climate change through the use of biofuels, genetically modified organisms, nanotechnology, and climate engineering. Against this background, social oversight of technology is needed not only to oppose the expansion of this type of technology, but also to adapt production systems to local production contexts. This implies promoting and securing funding for participatory and public policies and mechanisms of social oversight that can combine research and investment to eliminate farming inputs based on petrochemicals, improve the organic content of soil, strengthen local markets and urban agriculture, protect water sources, and support family farming.

11. Climate jobs, now!

We are facing a global environmental crisis and a global economic crisis. We need solutions to both, and we need them now. In some countries, environmental organizations and trade unions have already joined to campaign for climate jobs on the political agenda.

These campaigns have two starting points. First, the fact that people want to work, but there is a deep global crisis in the capitalist economy and even if "recovery" occurs in a large part of the world, mass unemployment will last for many years. Some countries seem to be having better luck. Secondly, we have to stop climate change from advancing. To do so, we need to stabilize greenhouse-gas emissions within the next twenty years.

The most important cause of climate change is greenhouse-gas emissions, of carbon dioxide (CO_2) in particular. CO_2 gets into the air from burning coal, oil, and gas. The world over, coal, oil, and gas are burned for three main reasons: to supply electricity to industries and homes; to supply heat for industrial processes and for domestic use; and for transportation, cars in particular.

Reducing these emissions will involve important changes. We will underscore three of these, which, together, will solve more than half the problems. We need to increase wind and solar energy production at the global scale in order to supply energy from renewable sources. We can then use this energy for industry, heating homes, and to run buses and trains. We need to make more people use public transportation instead of individual cars. And we need to convert housing and public buildings all over the world so they will use less energy, and be warmer in the winter and cooler in the summer.

All the technology to do this is already available. The problem for getting change action concretely is political, not technological. Governments all over the world claim that nothing can be done in this area because it would "cost too much." The "cost," however, just means jobs. Campaigns to create climate jobs are fighting for the creation, worldwide, of 120 million new jobs. This is not an arbitrary number. It really reflects the number of jobs needed to stabilize CO_2 in the atmosphere within twenty years. In Brazil, this would mean creating 3 million jobs, 5 million in the United States, and 40 million climate jobs in India.

We mean "climate jobs," not "green jobs." Climate jobs can drastically reduce the greenhouse gases we are generating and releasing into the air, and thus slow down climate change. "Green jobs" can mean anything: jobs in the water industry, in national parks, in pollution control, etc. These are worthwhile jobs but will not stop climate change. We are talking about millions of new jobs, not the jobs people are already doing. We do not want jobs with a "climate" label or with the "sustainable" in the job title.

We want these jobs now. We do not want governments to promise to "create" jobs by 2030 by making encouraging noises to industry. If you want to make jobs, give work now and pay for it. We want governments to start hiring people immediately. If they are aiming for a million jobs, we want these people employed within a year, with stable contracts. A worker could start out insulating houses from the cold, then be retrained to install wind turbines, and, ten years later, be retrained as a bus driver.

We must protect people who could lose their jobs. The change to a low-carbon economy can generate many new jobs. Some workers, however, will lose their jobs in the most polluting industries, like car manufacturing and mining. If we do not protect these people, different groups of workers will be set against each other. Government jobs are

the only way to protect these workers. If the government employs these new "climate workers," it can guarantee retraining and new jobs at the same wages to anyone who loses his or her high-carbon job in the industrial sector. This means that campaigns for climate jobs require the institution of a national climate service, government-funded and –managed. Every country does something of the sort for other purposes. We want the same for climate.

In the main capitalist countries, climate jobs must be created where they will best perform for cutting emissions. Most of the emissions in these countries come from industry, transportation, and energy for buildings, which means most of the new jobs will be in manufacturing, transportation, and construction. For instance in: construction and maintenance of wind turbines; construction and maintenance of solar power; construction and operation of electricity grids; insulation of homes and buildings; installation of solar systems on house and building roofs; training workers in new working skills. And there will be hundreds of other sorts of jobs.

In many poorer countries there are different possibilities for using the sun and the wind. These can produce far more renewable energy than the world will need, and reduce production that pollutes and the huge current wastes. Modern cables can carry this electricity across entire continents, over distances of thousands of miles. There are obvious dangers that could come from multinational corporations, which have already shown the exploitation, corruption, and wars they are capable of for oil. But this energy can also raise hope for the poor countries in different parts of the world.

Collective public transportation, even when private and profit-seeking, produces more-or-less the same percentage of emissions whatever the country. Heating and energy use in the houses and buildings of the poor countries produces a share of emissions because the housing there is not appropriate. To reduce industrial emissions and electricity use, housing will also have to be better and energy-efficient.

There are a few countries that produce practically no emissions. They would still have to generate climate jobs to create industries, smart electricity grids, appropriate transportation and housing, with low carbon-emission rates. This is quite possible, but only if the rich countries also shift to a low-carbon economy and reduce their energy demand.

Besides, as climate changes progress, many countries will need workers to build dams against floods and tropical storms. Governments will also have to help farmers and breeders affected by drought; this means not only supplying food aid but also work to support farming and breeding. We also want industrial jobs and the generation of renewable energy in the rural areas most affected by climate change.

These are ambitious plans: one hundred million new jobs. This has to be done to slow down the worst effects of climate change and would not be necessary if we had full employment all over the world. The work that has to be done offers an opportunity to have dignified employment and to make the economy grow in such a way that the planet is protected.

If we fail to stop climate change, there is no telling of the scale of the tragedy we will have to deal with. Hundreds of millions will die, but no one knows how many hundreds. Just as important is what people will have to do to subsist in dramatic times, as well as the long-term effects of how human beings will be treated in hopeless circumstances. The alternative is to give jobs to hundreds of millions of people, for these people to care for one another and for all the living species and for us to finally begin to eradicate poverty.

12. For a responsible, fair, and sustainable consumption

The model of constant growth based on stimulating consumption uses planned obsolescence and the supply of incompatible non-repairable technologies and products that are desired by many consumers thanks to marketing artifice. This model is directly responsible for the increase in the consumption of natural resources and for the generation of waste.

Backed by government practices that prioritize market interests that are ecologically and socially unsustainable instead of the public interest, this model remains dominant by reproducing and strengthening itself by means of advertising and the media. With extreme ability, these instruments promote lifestyles in which the power of consumption is ever more directly associated with the idea of happiness. In practice, this process favors the deregulation of the markets and grants unlimited powers to companies that operate exclusively in their own interest, but have an impact on the lives of the citizens of the whole world.

Discussion about new ways of production, consumption, and life, in general, is crucial. Governments should commit themselves by means of public policies that stimulate and multiply fairer and more sustainable ways of production, distribution, consumption, and post-consumption. For companies to significantly change their ways of production and management, we need an economic democracy that will change relations of power within the companies themselves, favoring self-management and social oversight. It is not enough to incorporate procedures and marketing strategies to categorize production as "green."

Companies need to be made to take responsibility for the socioeconomic impact of their chains of production. This requires the redefinition of power structures with the objective of achieving that those areas under the responsibility of CSR policies receive due attention and action within the life of the company itself. Mechanisms must urgently be created that will commit companies to increase the quality of their products and services, including goals set for reducing consumer demands and softening the impact of their activities. This implies complying with the right to information, the principle of precaution, and compensation for personal or collective damage proportional to the produced impact.

It is indispensable to discuss a fair transition agenda for production systems to uphold workers' and consumers' rights. This agenda is not completely negative; it should be viewed as an opportunity to obtain solutions and build other business models.

Companies stimulate products that are designed to break down. Without a reasonable life span, without the economic feasibility of repair, and with social and environmental impacts, these products become obsolete at a speed incompatible in a world of limited resources. We want products and services of quality, merchandise that upholds the principle of precaution, that can be repaired, that is longer-lasting and has less packaging, products and services that incorporate in their prices the investments made to minimize the social and environmental impact of their production. Production incentives should, primarily, be aimed at meeting the most basic needs of the population and eliminating the perverse subsidies that stimulate unsustainable production and consumption.

Consumers need information and education on the socio-environmental impact of their choices. Inversely, misleading advertising and greenwashing is one of the biggest current traps. These practices should be prohibited through the regulation of advertising. The media should emphasize content related to social and environmental justice, which will only be achieved with information systems and multi-disciplinary education

based on citizens' participation. In the field of product information, it is essential to regulate labeling so that it becomes an instrument of promotion for individual awareness and choice, with positive collective consequences. Formal education is fundamental for the promotion of citizenship; however, lowering consumer vulnerability also includes strategies of a similar nature. Campaigns and processes of comprehensive information are strong allies of environmental education and sustainable consumption. New technologies cannot only be focused on the perfection of products and services or on the efficient use of resources by companies, they should rather ensure a quality of life for everyone.

Solutions do exist. They only have to be made more visible and accessible. An alternative future is based on a cooperation system and on building shared solutions, many of which have been in existence for years. Self-managed, cooperative economies and marketing, and ecological, family farming are true examples of the principle of transformation of the current parameters of production and consumption. There are innumerable local groups, for example, women's production cooperatives responsible for community resources, groups for responsible consumption, marketing cooperatives, mobility, media and free culture collectives, creative economy, community-based tourism, communities that share and trade cooperatively. Such alternatives offer a new development that will overcome the logic of competition and scarcity. Nevertheless, for these solutions to be applied at a higher level and interconnect, government support and incentives are necessary to increase resilience against the social inequalities worsened by climatic change. Besides reaffirming their international commitments, national governments must protect the Commons, regulate and correct market failures, and support mechanisms designed to reinforce local participation and action in solving global problems.

Healthy and accessible food is everyone's right, but the world food system serves the interests of the few. Four corporations dominate the global marketing of seeds and grains. There is sufficient production of food for nobody to suffer from hunger, but governments have to cut off incentives to agribusiness based on the intensive use of agro-chemicals and extensive monoculture, and instead guarantee food security and fair distribution and consumption. Coordinated measures need to be adopted and clear incentives set up for local production based on socially and environmentally sustainable parameters; there is need of proper labeling, regulation of advertising for food and drink that are health risks; healthy food needs to be served in schools and the distribution of local products should be prioritized, thus strengthening family and ecological farming and recognizing the role of women in care and production, and their influence in consumption-related decisions.

Waste is a resource. Governments, companies, and consumers share the responsibility of designing an efficient model based on the rational and sustainable use of resources. This implies their immediate action to extend the responsible management of resources but also to alter the logic of unnecessary production. This requires continuous action in consumer information and education, tax incentives and technical support for the use of reused and recycled raw materials, and also designing products that promote reuse and low-impact disposal, above and beyond the generalization of selective collection and recycling services, which should include enormous contingents of currently marginalized workers.

It is known that the transportation sector is one of those most responsible for the emission of greenhouse gases, causing climate change. Instead of providing incentives for an industrial model that dates back to the first decades of the twentieth century, in which the automobile industry was the foundation and the paradigm of national development and growth, governments should promote policies and investments that place the priority on public transportation and alternative means of transportation such as bicycles. It is essential to stop subsidies to fossil fuel. This transition also needs incentives for less-polluting vehicles with more efficient fuel consumption. The current urban parameters do not only consume natural resources extravagantly, they drain a large share of investments and undermine the populations' quality of life. Cities need to be eco-friendlier, more compact and democratic, and non-violent.

13. Transition initiatives toward a new fair, sustainable, and solidarity economy

The goal to be reached consists in getting the world out of its subordination to global finance and to give societies back control over credit, currency, and finance. Currency has been confiscated by the economic and financial powers. Currency is in fact a social institution, a Commons that needs to be deprivatized. It is a tool that will allow societies and communities to decide what to produce, for whom to produce, how to produce, and what not to produce.

Regulating the financial markets

Our proposals deal with regulating the financial markets, prohibiting speculative practices, and exercising control over finances. But they will only make sense if the scope of financial activity is reduced and regulated, especially where the financialization of agricultural products and food are concerned, as well as of the natural Commons essential to life (water, biodiversity, air, energy, and land), the social Commons (health and education), and the knowledge Commons. We also need to put an end to shareholder dictatorship and financial oligarchies, and to move toward economic democracy. Inequality needs to be substantially reduced in the world and within the different countries, failing which the possibility of democratic practices will be compromised. A democratic world is only possible with a much more equal economy.

Proposals:

- Socialize financial institutions and banks: separate investment banks from lending banks; prohibit derivatives; recognize and support social and complementary currency, and have solidarity finance deployed by local and regional authorities and under social-solidarity economy;
- Prohibit tax havens and persecute all forms of corruption and financial piracy;
- Integrate the international financial institutions into the United Nations system and subordinate these institutions to social, ecological, and political rights as defined within this framework;
- Carry out a citizens' audit of the global debt;
- Increase public funds; tax financial transactions; make differentiated state contributions to public funds mandatory, have these managed within the United Nations framework in order to put an end to the financialization of natural resources (soil, forests, water, and biodiversity), and commence the ecological and social transition;
- Regulate agricultural and food markets and prohibit derivatives;
- Define rules to get the Commons out of domination by finance;
- Set up an international court to judge ecological and social crimes, and non-compliance with these rules.

Beyond a growth-based economy

Global economic growth, including green growth, is the problem, not the solution: although it can lead in the short run and at the microeconomic level to reducing monetary poverty, it generates unbearable global inequalities, uses up non-renewable resources and engenders wars to control them, locks work and nature into a productivist system, and denies the rights of peoples, in particular those of indigenous peoples submitted to extractivist policies. The societies we want are those of good living, of temperance, and of the collective and democratic definition of their needs and limits.

Proposals:

- Apply the principle of a minimum income and a maximum income;
- Give priority to the development of collective consumption in order to improve, in particular, the living conditions of the most precarious populations and to guarantee ecological sustainability: transportation, housing, education, health, energy, and culture;
- These goods and services will be guaranteed by the states as well as by grassroots communities within the framework of social and solidarity economy;
- Define new rights to guarantee access to fundamental goods; these rights can be guaranteed by making these goods free or practically free up to a certain amount, then through progressive rates depending on consumption.

Reversing capitalist globalization in favor of international cooperation

The globalization imposed by the capitalist market destroys the diversity of societies and their capacity to build themselves autonomously. As a consequence, international cooperation has regressed dramatically and left behind it the temptation to withdraw into nationalism or identitarianism.

Proposals:

In order to recover the political capacity to choose paths for the transition into international solidarity and its construction, the following is necessary:

- Recognition of food sovereignty: peoples and communities must once again be able to manage for themselves what they grow, and decide on how they will grow it and on their nutritional choices;
- Recognition of energy sovereignty: implementation of temperate energy systems and fight against energy insecurity; recognition of the right to quality, non-polluting energy services as a fundamental and inalienable human right; a publicly managed, relocated, and decentralized energy system, as well as energy options decided democratically; promotion of renewable energy and implementation of simple and appropriate technology instead of moving toward climate engineering and the artificialization of the Earth;
- Relocation of activities according to the subsidiarity principle: priority to everything that can be produced locally or regionally;
- Promotion of local and regional trade and bringing free-trade agreements into question; promotion of fair and equitable trade;
- Social management of land; the right to access land for farmers; the right to access land for women;
- Protection of traditional knowledge and promotion of simple and appropriate technology.

14. The Commons: another economic, social, and cultural logic

Capitalism is a social and political logic that cuts through the entire social body. Its logic not only structures institutions and concentrates power, it is internalized. It runs through the bodies of the greater part of populations. It runs through our bodies. It colonizes our minds. It occupies our land. Emancipating ourselves from such colonization and doing away with all forms of domination is the goal of progressive movements. This requires calling into question the foundations of modernity. It requires a revolution in mindset that will shake up the intellectual infrastructure currently in place. This is why also have to change ourselves, as the institutions and the market logic are reproduced in individuals, and they are the ones who keep these structures running.

Today, in neoliberal capitalism, the financial markets are encroaching upon all spheres of life. The green economy is merely evidence that money needs to develop new markets to sustain its growth. Food, the dimensions of nature essential for life (water, biodiversity, air, and land), common social services (health, education, and culture), and our shared knowledge are all monetized and changed into commodities. That, precisely, is the problem. For this reason, serious alternatives can

be advanced only if the realm of market activities and the financial sector is limited and if we can achieve an intellectual transformation. The social practices we need require that we rethink relations between human beings and Mother Earth. Respecting the rights of nature is fundamental to the logic of the Commons, which in turn strengthens the rights of nature.

"Common goods" are not goods. They are not "things" separate from us. They are not simply water, the forest, or ideas. They are social practices of *commoning*, of acting together, based on principles of sharing, caring, and producing in common. To ensure this, all those who participate in a "Commons" have the right to an equal voice in making decisions on the provisions and rules governing its management.

Examples of the rich variety of such experiences and innovations include: systems for community management of forests, canals, fisheries and land; the numerous processes of commoning in the digital world such as initiatives for free culture or free and open software; non-commercial initiatives for access to housing in cities; strategies for cooperative consumption associated with social currencies; and many others. All of these commons are clearly forms of management that differ from market-based ones and from those organized by top-down structures. Together they offer a kaleidoscope rich in self-organization and self-determination. All are neglected and marginalized in conventional political and economic analyses. All are based on the idea that no one can have a satisfactory life if not integrated into social relations, and that one's full personal unfolding depends on the unfolding of others and vice versa. The borders between the particular interest and the collective interest are blurred in a Commons.

Like capitalism, commoning is more than a mode of production and regulation. And it is not something of the past: it is in good health, it is vital in local communities and in global digital communities. The challenge is now to extend the idea of the Commons to society as a whole. Doing so will enable us to overcome the limitations of simple dualisms, which never answer to or reflect the complexities of life: public or private, government or business, nature or culture, object/body or subject, man or woman. There are always other important aspects of reality beyond these dualisms.

When we speak of the Commons we speak not only of how to meet basic needs together, but also of how to (re)produce modern life in common. It is encouraging that the new technologies for generating clean energy and information and communication technologies allow us to pursue new experiences of commoning. They provide us with the tools for producing collaboratively, on a peer-to-peer basis, what we need: electricity, free and open software, designs, drugs, and much more. At the same time, community radio stations, the advent of "copyleft," and the digital experiences of self-organization exemplify a paradigm in which what is produced by all is intended to be used and accessed by all. These tools and forms of collaboration have the potential to transform relations of power and of production and the distribution of wealth. It is up to us to tap into this potential!

Doing so requires adopting a critical approach to the ubiquitous presence of private property, since there are many, quite varied forms of property in the Commons. When we speak of the Commons we are not talking about a "no-man's land," but rather about spaces and resources controlled by the users themselves. Accordingly, this requires calling into question the effectiveness of intellectual property rights as embodied in both copyrights and patents. Over time, the fruits of public science have been patented. Yet the scientific community pays for its research with our tax money, and access to it remains restricted. Society should reaffirm that scientific knowledge is part of the Commons, is part of our common heritage, and should be accessible to each and every person. Science that was produced or financed with public money must remain in the public domain!

Science in the service of the common good is, certainly, a different kind of science. It not only enquires into how to solve problems (technological or scientific) or how to control things, but also into how to live in harmony with nature, with each other with and ourselves. At the same time, ancestral knowledge, part of the intellectual heritage of humankind, must not be marginalized. This knowledge concerns how to "live fully" and "live well," which reflect very different goals and logic than those entailed in the commodification of nature. Social organizations, particularly those of traditional peoples and small farmer communities, have to be an integral part of the monitoring of territories, systems of governance, and the use of (new) technologies, independent of governments.

The Commons are the future, not the past. And the future is not a place to which we are headed; it is a place we are creating. We do not find paths to the future, we make them. And the activity of making them transforms both those who engage in the process, and our common destiny.

Part III.

rights and power: peoples, territories and defending mother earth

15. Defending rights at risk

The Rio+20 Conference takes place in a period in which the current development model is in the midst of many different serious crises. This event could turn into a forum to make progress in ensuring human rights. Nonetheless, there is the risk of a setback in the UNCSD outcome document.

We believe that the idea of a "green economy to eradicate poverty" is a deeper stage of the same development model that, besides not dealing with the issue of social inequality and not guaranteeing social and environmental rights, intends to market fundamental changes in nature.

We denounce a setback with regard to the achievements of Rio 92, the so-called Rio principles—such as the Principle of Common but Differentiated Responsibilities, the Precautionary Principle, the Polluter Pays Principle—which are not sufficiently underscored in the document.

While in the UN there is no guarantee for mechanisms to oversee the commitments made and the hard-won rights stated in different conventions and conferences, corporations are constantly gaining more territory and privileges within the organization's agencies and programs. This is threatening multilateralism and endangering the ability to ensure the universality and gratuity of rights.

We cannot accept a setback in Rio+20 regarding rights that have already been consolidated in international conventions, treaties, and resolutions, such as: the rights of indigenous peoples, the right to water, labor rights, women's rights, the right to sexual and reproductive health, the right to education, the right to food sovereignty, and migrants' rights, especially in a context of urgency regarding climate change.

It is not possible to recognize only human rights without factoring in the risk of provoking an imbalance in Mother Earth. We cannot continue speaking generically of human rights as if they were a set of completely compatible entitlements and their extension/broadening/defense necessarily means progress toward human emancipation. A permanent expansive logic of human rights is not compatible with the rights of Mother Earth (if it were effectively a window on another civilization model and not just a buzzword) and it is absolutely necessary to rethink, radically, the entire tradition of human rights, which beyond its liberal core, is deeply anthropocentric. We are also expecting Rio+20 to provide a vision of the future that encompasses the social model we want, and we believe that recognizing the rights of Mother Earth is a necessary step to implement a paradigm change in the direction of a new model for a fair and sustainable society.

16. The rights of Mother Earth pave the way toward a new civilization

Over the centuries, our civilization model has gradually distanced itself from the remarkable balance of nature capable of protecting and regenerating life on the planet.

The world has irreversibly become a community of singular destiny, interdependent and interrelated, while our way of living in it, propelled by the positivist structure of modern science and capitalist expansion, has intensified the subjugation and destruction of human beings and nature. This model has imposed a logic of competition and unlimited growth, which has separated humans from nature according to a logic of domination over it. It has taken us to dizzying heights today, its most tangible examples being climate change, irreversible environmental damage and the disappearance of between 20% and 30% of the species. The carbon footprints of the wealthiest countries are 5 times greater than they can endure, presenting us with an unprecedented dilemma: continue down the path of production, depredation and death, or embark on the path to a new model of sustainable civilization, respectful of life and reconciled to nature.

The urgent, yet feasible and necessary, task of searching for a new civilization path at the dawn of the twenty-first century is that of building a system capable of transitioning from a patriarchal order that enslaves nature and is founded on a reductionist and separatist vision of the relationships between nature and human beings to a system capable of reestablishing complex and harmonious relationships between the two, integrating them into the extensive cycle of Mother Earth.

The first step of this task is profoundly philosophical: we need to change our vision of humanity in order to situate human activities within the broadest context of Life and Mother Earth. As human beings, we are only a part of this interdependent matrix that gives us a source of life. It integrates us and opens the horizons of a common planetary destiny to us in an indivisible relationship, complementary and spiritual with other living beings. Each being, each ecosystem, each natural community, specie and other natural entity, is defined by relationships as an integral part of Mother Earth. These relationships are simultaneously the source of life, food and teaching and they provide us with everything that we need to live well, fairly and balanced.

The second step to advancing the new civilization model resides in establishing new ethical bases and principles capable of guiding the insertion of human activities within the system of Mother Earth. The proceedings emerging from the Peoples' World Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth organized in Bolivia in April 2010 formulated seven ethical guidelines:

- Harmony and balance between everything and with everything;
- Complementarity, solidarity and equity;
- Collective wellbeing and satisfaction of basic needs all in harmony with Mother Earth;
- Respect for the rights of Mother Earth and all human beings;
- Recognition of human beings for what they are and not for what they have;
- Elimination of all forms of colonialism, imperialism and interventionism;
- Peace among peoples and with Mother Earth.

These principles state that goods and services are required to meet the needs of the population but presume that the means of production of these goods — which include financial and technological measures, adaptation, capacity building, patterns of production and

consumption — cannot be of unlimited destructive development at the cost of other peoples.

A rupture is at the heart of these principles through the acceptance of Mother Earth and living beings as the subjects of rights in concrete and immediate form. They maintain that a balance with nature can only exist if there is equity between human beings. As a result, in an interdependent system, it is not possible to recognize rights only for human beings without causing an imbalance in the planet. Moreover, to guarantee the rights of humans it is necessary to recognize and defend the rights of Mother Earth and all the beings of which she consists. The rights of one being must be limited by the rights of others and conflicts between rights must be dealt with in a way that maintains the integrity, equilibrium and health of Mother Earth. Just as human beings have rights, so too all other beings on Mother Earth have rights specific to their existential and evolutionary condition in the communities in which they exist: the right to life and to exist, to be respected, to regeneration and biocapacity, the continuation of cycles and vital processes, to maintain their identity and integrity and integrity as different beings, self-regulated and interrelated.

Each being has the right to carry out its role on Mother Earth for is harmonic functioning, benefitting from fundamental rights such as water; clean air; complete health; to be free of contamination, pollution and toxic and radioactive waste; to not be genetically altered and structurally modified, threatening its integrity; to a full and prompt restoration of the damage caused by human activities.

Recognizing these new ethical guidelines underlying the rights of Mother Earth also carries with it the recognition of a collection of new visions and responsibilities, running from the most individual and subjective to international institutions and regulatory norms. As human beings we are all agents for living in harmony with Mother Nature and participating in the civilization transformation that this implies. Therefore, it is necessary to empower ourselves, promote and participate in the learning, analysis, interpretation and communication concerning how to live in balance with Mother Nature. To this end, we call on building a world movement of Peoples for Mother Earth that will be based on the principles of complementarity and respect for the diversity of the origins of its members, in the process becoming a democratic space for coordinating action on a global level.

The responsibility for the new economic and regulatory systems is critical. These must be capable of strengthening the rights and respect of all beings comprising Mother Earth, whatever their own cultures, traditions and customs may be. Therefore, dealing with the measure and articulation of human wellbeing in economic systems means dealing inseparably with the wellbeing of Mother Earth, now and for future generations. It is for this reason that we propose the re-appreciation of the knowledge, wisdom and ancestral practices of indigenous peoples, affirmed in the experience of a wellbeing rooted in the concept of "Living Well," to the peoples of the world. Likewise, the economies must establish precautionary and restrictive measures to prevent human activity from leading to the extinction of the species, the destruction of the environment or the change of ecological cycles. As a corollary, they must guarantee that the damage caused by human violations of the inherent rights of Mother Earth will be rectified and make those responsible pay the consequences in order to restore the integrity and health of Mother Earth.

All these principles aim to guide the emergence of a new regulatory order of international life by creating rules and laws within the sphere of the States, of all public and private institutions, including the General Assembly of the United Nations.

17. Fighting climate change now

We need to remember that the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, produced very important agreements. One of these was the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), which established the basic principles for Governments to act upon in facing climate change, including "common but differentiated responsibilities."

The third UNFCCC Conference of the Parties held in 1997 inspired the Governments to adopt the so-called "Kyoto Protocol," which among others, sought to reduce greenhouse-gas emissions (from the 1990 levels by at least 5% on average between 2008 and 2012) through commitments from the countries in Appendix 1. Nonetheless, although many industrialized countries fulfilled their commitments, others did not.

In 2007, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), in its fourth report, expressed the urgency of reducing emissions drastically before 2015 in order to prevent the temperature from rising by more than 2° C, because the rise in temperature would endanger life on the planet and the development of future generations.

Millions of people rallied around the Conference of the Parties to

demand that Governments reach an ambitious, fair, and binding agreement that would allow industrialized and emerging countries to act and face climate change. No such agreements were produced, thus weakening the negotiations process.

In April 2010, the World Conference of the Peoples on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth was held and produced important proposals to face the causes of climate change. These were submitted to the United Nations and still constitute an instrument to be taken into account in the struggle of our peoples as they face the problem of global climate change.

Today, we view with great concern the result of the latest Conference of the Parties, COP17-Durban, 2011, as the Durban Declaration seeks to extend the time frames for reaching an agreement in emissions-reduction commitments. The interests of the industrialized and emerging countries have also proven predominant, as these countries are still emitting carbon dioxide from different sources of pollution, and deteriorating indispensable resources and the ecological conditions for the survival of future generations.

Twenty years after the Earth Summit, and after the approval of the Framework Convention on Climate Change then of the Kyoto Protocol, the first period of which is set to end in December 2012, there has been no progress in reaching their goals because the economic model based on maximizing profit and on overproduction and overconsumption remains in effect and is deteriorating the natural resources.

Against this background, we make the following proposals:

- Governments will have to make decisions and take concrete action to: a) prevent the temperature of the Planet to rise more than 1.5° C and set domestic reduction goals in industrialized countries at no less than 25-40% under the 1990 levels by 2020, taking the IPCC recommendations into account; b) fulfill the successive commitments they have made since Rio 92 to financing and technological backing; and c) establish mechanisms that will make those who have generated environmental liabilities assume responsibility for the restoration of ecosystems, including sanctions for non-compliance.
- The precautionary principle will also have to be applied, which requires taking measures to prevent any possible environmental damage. These principles must be applied to all forms of economic activity.
- The entire debate and process in preparation for Rio+20 must be guided by the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities, fairness, and the distribution of wealth.
- The search for a new economic-development model will have to factor in the protection of vulnerable ecosystems such as the Amazon and others. It should also include new sustainable – consumption and – production patterns.
- “Clear sustainable-development goals” will have to be set, similar to the UN Millennium Goals to reduce poverty, in order to measure progress or setbacks.
- The knowledge and wisdom of indigenous peoples will have to be revaluated as a contribution and a tool for the conservation and protection of Mother Earth.
- Institution of the Green Climate Fund will have to be finalized and subscribed to in the framework of the United Nations in order to channel public, foreseeable, and significant funds from the industrialized countries to the countries and communities affected by climate change.
- A global tax on carbon emissions will have to be required, mainly from the industrialized and emerging countries, to increase the Green Climate Fund.
- A tax will have to be implemented on financial transactions on small shares, foreign currency, derivatives, and other financial assets, to finance the fight against climate change.
- An energy transition will have to be required based entirely on renewable sources, reducing energy dependence on oil in the medium and long term, in order to reduce greenhouse gases, mainly CO2.
- The registration of CO2-emission rights will have to be promoted for the aviation, land-transportation, and shipping industries for their future control.
- Dirty energy—such as oil, natural gas, carbon, and biofuels—will have to stop being subsidized by 2020.
- An international audit will have to be conducted on Governments' responses to Climate Change and the reduction of greenhouse-gas emissions.
- An International Criminal Court for the Environment will have to be instituted to penalize countries responsible for environmental disasters such as oil spills.

18. Recovering the right to water, and to its fair and sustainable use

In the past years, the social and ecological crisis has worsened. One of its aspects is the lack of drinking water in terms of sufficient quantity and quality, according to the criteria of the UN resolution on the right to water and sanitation. The international community is far from having reached its Rio 92 goals in terms of universal access to water. Beyond that, the social scarcity of water is increasing the depth of economic, social, and cultural inequalities as a consequence of the current economic system. The alternative of privatizing drinking water and sanitation services, which was presented in the 1990s as a solution to accelerate access to water, turned out to be inadequate for addressing an issue that demanded public investment and management in the public interest, with social and democratic oversight.

We remind that water is one of the Commons essential for life, and is at the root of peoples' cultural and ethical systems. This aspect is the basis for promoting a culture of water that will underscore the ethical values, cultural aspects, and world view of traditional and native peoples. We also express our concern regarding the existing and potential conflicts between people caused by controlling water to the detriment of the poor.

We also highlight the increasing levels of pollution of seas and oceans from the contamination of rivers and the uncontrolled dumping of garbage and sewage. In this sense, we also reject the processes of desalinization of sea water that do not respect precautionary principles and that are environmentally unsustainable. And we demand that knowledge on water be expanded through independent information networks and citizen education, within national and international civil societies, through articulated campaigns.

In this context:

- We reaffirm our fight for the right to water and against its privatization or undue appropriation to the detriment of its free circulation for the peoples, together with the fight for a healthy and sustainable environment.
- We defend the adoption of comprehensive public policies at the local, national, regional, and international levels, necessary to guarantee fair access and distribution, based on an ethics of preservation of the resource, of its rational use, and of social equity.
- Social oversight of water as Commons, in the broad sense, entails a corollary of such policies.
- We denounce the desalinization processes of sea water, which do not respect the precautionary principle with regard to non-sustainable environmental technologies.

19. Health is a right and cannot be a source of profit

In many countries, health systems are being attacked by privatization an increasing commodification, exacerbating inequalities within each country, affecting the most vulnerable populations. Around the world, the constant search for productivity gains, exacerbated by the crisis in the financial markets and in health and drug multinationals, has served as a pretext to further destroy public health systems. Beyond having led to deteriorating health at work (the ILO indicates 160 million

new cases of occupational diseases each year in the world), this has caused an unprecedented systemic health crisis on all the continents.

We can make progress on the concept of a universal health system guaranteeing access and quality of health based on three principles:

- The construction of international trade unions and social movements with "health without borders" in their unions or social movements. An alternative system of social welfare without borders, a system without boundaries based on the existence of indivisible economic, social, civil, and political rights.
- The search for a system based on the democracy of health that promotes oversight and independent research, and the determination of populations' needs by the people and health workers with joint responsibility of the state.
- The promotion of a true policy of risk prevention in occupational health, in line with statutory and healthy work conditions for health professionals, and training to ensure professional training that will guarantee the quality of care and treatment.

20. Building sustainable cities

In the world urbanization is growing fast. Today more than half of the world population lives in a city, and in Latin America this is true for 80% of the population. This demographic transformation is deeply changing how the world is being governed. Cities have become the basic units of territorial and social management.

The challenge at Rio+20 is in defining the processes critical for their implementation, given that multilateral mechanisms are not working. The IMF, the Word Bank, and the WTO are not up to the challenge of this responsibility. Even the UN, the indispensable support for changes, has been mad very fragile.

The helplessness of international governance in the financial crisis has reinforced this understanding. The problems are on the scale of the planet, but their management is fragmented among the 193 governments of the existing countries. This is the governance we have, so the major policies will have to be translated into national projects. This way, Rio+20, more than just reaffirming or updating global commitments, will have to define the way for governments to present their differentiated responses to the challenges.

National policies, on their side, will have to stem from the cities. When we think about "what to do" and "how to do it," cities come up as playing a special role. Basically, it is at this level that populations can participate more and in an organized way in the solution to their problems and in the building of quality of life, depending on the concrete challenges they are facing. The challenges can be worldwide, policies need to be national, but the achievements should ultimately change the environmental balances and the quality of life in places where populations can organize according to their goals.

The conventional tripod of an economically viable, socially fair, and environmentally sustainable society clearly requires a democratic and participatory dimension in policy making. Building one's destiny socially is a de facto right. Cities, with their rural environment, constitute the perfect place for the democratic decision-making process. They are the level at which people face common challenges, can meet with one another, and make sure that national programs are efficient. They can organize connections between public initiatives, companies, trade unions, and civil-society organizations.

The appropriation of policies by the populations involved constitutes the main factor of their success, given that the changes the planet needs require being rooted in people's specific living conditions. For this, new instruments for social participation and oversight need to be associated with the challenges that we have to process the necessary

changes in the current development paradigm.

In each city, we find situations of critical poverty, and the corresponding social programs need to identify each family and its place of residence, and analyze different situations to design the needed measures. Basic sanitation policies for the final destination of solid waste, soil recovery, the democratization of the access to social policies, the articulation of the city with its green belt, sustainable construction, tree planting, safety, local communication, mobility, environmental education, sports, and so many others inevitably require comprehensive local policies. People wish to live better. Mobilizing communities' need of a better life is essential for sustainability policies to have deep and solid foundations. Rural depopulation needs to be reduced, and the growth of cities needs to be limited, by working with greater-dispersion models rather than highly centralized ones.

We live in a connected world, where almost all cities are connected through the Internet, or will be by the end of this decade. This means that managing sustainability is no longer limited to top-down authority pyramids. Networked cities are learning from each other, there are inter-city consortiums, water-basin committees, city halls with similar vocations with similar or complementary vocations are networking and organizing within countries and internationally. With current connectivity, there is no longer any discussion on whether a city is more or less viable, since economic viability depends directly on the articulations that are forged. The municipality of local powers on the planet is not a problem, but an opportunity to generate a worldwide collaborative process of articulated territories.

Cities constitute the basic unit for social management, and the most important link in political articulation. In many countries, prefects/heads of government are organizing into networks, federations, and regional, national, and international entities. They constitute a critical interlocutor for defining policies. The effective participation of cities at the Rio+20 Conference, through its forms of representation — governmental and non-governmental — is essential for the challenges arising locally to be dealt with in the final decisions.

For this, the UN and the national governments must: promote a decentralized and direct policy to finance local authorities for sustainability projects; make progress in the implementation of participatory governance systems, with effective tools of transparency, oversight, and participatory democratic deliberations; strengthen the representation of local authorities in the multilateral decision-making system as a whole; strengthen the organization of a system that will facilitate scientific and technological sharing focused on cities learning from one another, in building sustainability policies; guide the revitalization of national and regional training frameworks in integrated and sustainable local development; adopt (and support their implementation worldwide) local systems of social, environmental, political, economic, and cultural indicators to measure the quality of life in cities; and make information available through open platforms that promote and support local and communication information systems—an informed citizenry is essential for building a sustainable development process and, consequently, all actors must commit.

In the same direction, governments must: strategically manage the occupation of the territory for the sustainable use of natural resources and ensuring quality of life for all human beings; recognize different ways of life in the territory and create policies to value this diversity; act strongly to adapt to climate change by targeting the reduction of vulnerability and damage in the generation of positive impacts, giving priority to measures that have immediate joint benefits in public health; and promote policies for the right to a sustainable and democratic city, change in regard to sector-based policies for housing rights policies go toward policies of rights to the city ("build neighborhoods and cities, not just houses"), associated with the elimination of poverty, the promotion of social inclusion, the reduction of inequalities, promoting health through physical practices and sports activities, and encouragement of innovation (technological, managerial, and participatory governance in cities).

However, governments should, above all, be committed to building sustainable and democratic cities by:

- Inducing the formulation of urban-development policies that have the right to the city, sustainability, and democracy as core values;
- Encouraging comprehensive city systems, at the national, regional, and city scales;
- Implementing a system of technical social, environmental, economic, political, and cultural indicators to measure the quality of life, ensuring the transparency of public information, and providing social oversight of public policies;
- Establishing ongoing systems for consultation of the population and perception indicators, so that feelings and priorities of populations and communities are properly considered in the development of public policies and budget allocations;
- Instituting legislation that sets Projected Goals for each management, based on indicators and linked to the Guiding Projects in all municipalities;
- Creating and implementing policies for different types of cities, and special forms of occupation of the territory;

- Encouraging the installation of participatory governance structures to revitalize metropolitan and urban centers;
- Ensuring broad access to education, sports, and culture for children and young people, promoting vocational training, personal development, and the ability to reflect on the values that guide life in society with the preservation and restoration of nature;
- Promoting the integration and coordination of policies on housing, sanitation, mobility, adaptation to climate change, protection of springs, promoting development and human welfare;
- Articulating the access to basic sanitation in actions to overcome the housing deficit and health promotion;
- Implementing national policies of urban-land regularization and the urbanization of pockets of poverty and other forms of occupations;
- Improving mechanisms for funding, grants, and institutional assets to meet deficits and ensure inclusion and access to healthy cities;
- Creating policies of access to drinking water and protection of water sources, incorporating human health, water quality, and sustainable use as core values in the production of the water supply;
- Expanding the treatment, disposal, and reuse of industrial and inert waste, focusing especially on cities with accelerated growth and expansion, and waste from construction work;
- Implementing structured programs of selective collection and recycling, aiming at the development of the production chain with the inclusion of assessors and cooperatives;
- Guiding and structuring growth and mobility in cities, targeting systems that are suitable for different sizes and types of cities in the territory;
- Encouraging bicycle riding as a means of transportation and set up the conditions for its safe use (bicycle lanes, etc.);
- Decentralizing *energy management and promoting the establishment of guidelines and local legislation that encourage the use of renewable energy and progressive energy-efficiency gains*;
- Developing policies for the replacement of the energy matrix based on oil, encouraging the adoption of cleaner fuel, prioritizing public transportation in the road system of cities, and setting limits on emissions of pollutants according to the World Health Organization;
- Giving ample visibility to urban sustainability practices already implemented in many different areas in many cities around the world, promoting the socialization of experiences, technologies, and processes for all cities on the planet;
- Promoting education for citizenship, committing public and private schools to public policies and programs on democracy;
- Making viable public policies in defense of urban wildlife.

21. Migrants should be citizens of the twenty-first century

Migrants, the majority of whom are women, bear the right of everyone to live, transit, reside and work with dignity on the planet. We must, therefore, urgently affirm that migration is consubstantial to the human being and that walls are not sustainable.

Neoliberal capitalism imposes migration the policies of including some and of excluding many. This reveals a more and more acute conflict, of which migrants are the most evident indicator. This conflict is found between the appearance of the state based on the interest in nationality, on one hand, and the search for a new sovereignty of planetary scope in order to establish a minimal and inalienable respect of the Human Rights of everyone, on the other. Migrants are an indicator of this conflict and of the necessity of change for humanity in times of growing relationships of peoples and societies; they are the objective evidence for the need for redesigning the treatment of migration as a part of redesigning world governance, which implies tackling the task of overcoming the institutional residue of the modern nation-state and redesigning the criteria of identity, belonging, and citizenship.

This necessity becomes even more urgent given the massive migratory compulsion, an expression of historical, structural phenomena, and is manipulated by the corruption of public institutions and the "black industry" of migration, which, according to various evaluations moves between 15,000 and 30,000 million dollars annually (the second largest generator of illegal money in the world). This is the huge business of the

disappearance of human beings, the victims of which are estimated to be two million people each year, through the compulsive disappearance of migrants in search of a country of destination as the only possibility of survival or of improvement of life.

The conversion of borders into spaces of encounter and the humanization of migratory flows and interchanges is the only viable alternative when faced with these growing threats to safety and living together. This conversion of the borders can only have sense for the redesign of governance if it has as a future, programmatic objective the gradual construction of large geographic cultural areas of free circulation, residence and work, that is to say, of spaces of regional integration in large unit blocks of countries.

Regardless of discrimination suffered daily, migrants exercise an amplified citizenship in their countries of origin and of destination are also a prototype of a "regional citizen," as an emergent reality and normative objective in many of the geographic and cultural spaces which have been established in recent years. They continue to be members of their societies of origin, although simultaneously they are, in fact, members of their society of residence. This has to do with identity and belonging that do not stop being one in order to then become the other, but rather that are added, collected and enlarged. This concrete enlarging of citizenship into a double belonging constitutes the potential, viable basis of an even larger, regional and world citizenship.

The fundamental operative criterion is to gradually homologate and to homogenize the norms and to establish an institutionality common to those countries of the integrated space, starting with the diversity and community of existing instruments, which make regional citizenship effective, by reproducing this model in all the dimensions of citizenship that become necessary (education and professional training, validation of degrees, political and labor rights, etc.).

Although the rights to work of migrants are asserted in regional spaces, violations of these rights occur on a daily level, and weaken the entirety of the democratic system and generate exclusion and resentment which bring about worsened social stability. Therefore, migrants and their families should be allowed to exercise, in conditions and opportunities of full equality with the local receptor population, all rights, economic, social, of health, education, housing, social security and recreation etc., without discrimination.

In order to turn migration into a living cultural wealth, we must strengthen our pluri- and inter-cultural abilities and overcome racism, and xenophobia as expressions of backwardness of human conscientiousness. In everyday life, migratory flows are outlining a new world for everybody, and changing the way of thinking about and living culture, and heading towards a growing, human pluri-identity. Therefore, it must be explicitly and unmistakably stated of all levels and segments of society that all forms of racism and cultural intolerance are forms of human degradation. Therefore, the principle of "unity in diversity" should be accepted as the main pillar around which particular identities remain intact when encountering other and different ones.

22. Civil-society organizations and networks

The new actors that have emerged in recent years include the civil society organizations and networks that play a major role in the world. These new actors have made a real impact on a global level thanks to their capacity to respond to the multiple economic, social and environmental problems of communities and organizations in various parts of the world. They form networks and forums at the national and international level, incorporating the specific demands of groups into broad agendas rooted in universal values such as human rights, equality and diversity, democracy, and the Commons.

In this context, in addition to specific themes such as women's rights, children and teenagers' rights, native people's rights, AIDS prevention, anti-racism, fair trade and agro-ecology, NGO groups and platforms play a hugely important political role, confirming their legitimacy as the promoters of social transformations in the quest for social and environmental justice.

These organizations are increasingly adopting a position in defense of social, economic, political and environmental rights, demanding that states and multi-lateral agencies produce public policies that fully guarantee these rights. In addition to leading innovative projects in social, political and economic domains, civil society organizations are increasingly linking together within global citizens 'movements fighting for democracy and social and environmental justice.

Civil society organizations and networks therefore defend:

- Freedom of association and expression;
- The right to access public and private resources using legitimate means within a reliable legal framework;
- Social participation in the elaboration, execution, monitoring and assessment of public policies, including countries' foreign policies and multi-lateral agencies' policies;
- The increase in financing for the promotion of democracy, social and environmental justice and international cooperation, including new mechanisms for taxing financial transactions and large fortunes;
- An end to restrictive bailouts and conditions attached to international cooperation policies.

23. For a fair and democratic world governance and architecture of power

It has become evident that we have reached a historical stage in which a deep change of the system of governance is urgent. This is not only about an institutional change, setting up a Council or other institution for sustainable development. *We need to change the paradigm,* not to continue with obsolete visions that claim they can respond to the new challenges by setting up institutions in the framework of a governance model that has already been overcome by history.

Today like yesterday, it is imperative to reaffirm that the self-determination and the sovereignty of peoples, and the absence of discrimination among peoples constitute the founding pillars of international relations. Any reform of the United Nations system must be guided to protect them, reinforce them, and demand their justiciability. In order to guarantee these principles, world peace and security are essential conditions.

The new principles must go beyond national borders and make states, companies, and also citizens responsible, each according to their possibilities, in their individual and collective responsibilities to the general interest, that of the planet and of its inhabitants. These principles imply new requirements regarding the legitimacy of collective action, citizenship exercised in respect of human rights, and the resolution of tensions between the local, the national, and the global.

Building new governance is not only an institutional or theoretical question confined to the political or sociological spheres. All governance proposals and plans depend on the action and mobilization of a huge majority of people, actors, movements and populations. This is a critical issue. Architecture for a citizen, solidarity-based and fair governance must be rooted in solid ethical and philosophical foundations. It must also both support and enable a new economy centered on social and environmental justice. This is a complex whole that is articulated between ethical foundations, the economy, and politics, where each dimension depends on the other and is mutually reinforcing. What is needed is to work together to devise responses to today's challenges, rooted in the contexts relevant to each person and each population. This involves recognizing the different forms of knowledge that exist in all continents, among all peoples, without trying to impose one of them as the unquestionable reference. The key conditions for a new governance must be formulated within a critical and democratic approach.

It is necessary to overcome the historical limits of the structure of dominant power. it is evident that the governance of relations among states as regulated by the United Nations system after World War II, and in the later decolonization period, is no longer valid. The state as the regulator and organizer of society, a role that reaches beyond its boundaries, is subject to attacks by the de facto transnational economic

and political powers that seek to reduce it. However, people continue to see the state and protection of the state as a tool for regulating these powers and guaranteeing citizen rights.

A state that respects its citizens' rights is a requirement of democratic institutionality. We need to rethink the notion of the nation-state within a given territory. Today, the direct link between state and nation in many states no longer reflects the ethnic and cultural diversity of the people living there. The notion of the pluri-national state is increasingly being used, a notion that has even been included in the constitutions of some countries. It is clear that flows such as migratory, trade and internet flows ignore states' territorial limits, and we need to explore the idea of deterritorializing the state's role, a difficult task given the historical weight of borders.

Today's state has an ambivalent role. It is necessary for regulating governance primarily at the national level—although even there it is moving away from the role of local democracy—and at the global level it is not the best means of meeting global challenges. States are also institutions in conflict and need to be guided towards democratic and efficient governance. Furthermore, looking at the medium and long term, the form of state that once played an important role in, for example, the decolonialization process, is being diminished. It is therefore vital to explore how to transform it.

The urgent task is to manage to change the participation and representation systems. Representation systems do not correspond to the demand for active participation. The priority must be on promoting participation by implementing transparent information systems and open consultation mechanisms to ensure efficient decision-making. But we need to take this process even further. It is important to radicalize democracy, both in terms of state institutions and society as a whole. The state and representation systems will thus gradually be transformed by devising new political institutions.

This denotes an historical challenge, since we are experiencing a crisis of legitimacy towards elites. The current crisis of democracy is primarily rooted in a questioning of elites and how they have developed historically. Protests in various countries leveled at the political party system are above all an expression of this questioning of elites. But above and beyond these questions, we need to invent new systems for organizing political systems, with citizens as the main actors working to take democracy to a new level and to ensure that leaders are legitimate and institutions are transparent and efficient. This process goes far deeper than political engineering alone: it has to do with the ethical foundations capable of supporting the new lifestyles, within society and civilizations that support life and the sustainability of the planet, that are needed at the outset of the third millennium.

It is worth at this point highlighting a fundamental pillar of the new architecture of world power: localizing and territorializing the economy and power as much as possible, since citizenship can only be fully achieved in a citizen-based territory. This is based on the interdependency of the local and global levels, wherein the principle of subsidiary is fundamental. For example, let us consider the climate question. It is clear that this is a worldwide question that requires world governance. However, such governance cannot work without citizens making real compromises in their local territories. The same could be said of the urgency to regulate the financial and monetary system. The territory is thus an element specific to the relationship between society and nature, between citizens and the world.

The new political architecture is being built simultaneously on two main levels: locally, and globally, a level that not only corresponds to the inter-state context but also, and especially, to new transnational and global spaces. The local dimension is where people's daily lives are played out, and the global dimension is where policies affecting these daily lives are increasingly decided. We therefore also need to propose and introduce changes to governance at both the local and global level. There is a dialectical relationship between these two key dimensions of governance.

There is also an intermediary dimension that lies between the local and global levels: the regional level. This space has gradually been taking shape, and continental organizations play an important role in governance architecture. These regional bodies usually create regulatory systems that meet the interests of major states and corporations; however, they also constitute spaces in conflict. Among the innovations that need to be implemented, it is vital to support the emergence of this regional level, the intermediary between states and the global level. It is therefore important to look to regional spaces to act as agents for strengthening the links between territories, organizations and social actors seeking to bolster their capacity to counter the power wielded by states and transnational corporations.

The process for building a new architecture clearly needs to focus on bottom-up mechanisms. Existing regional groupings, such as Mercosur, Asean, the European Union, the African Union, Unasur and so on, mainly created by inter-state agreements, should not be seen to provide the definitive model for regulating regional trade and political agreements. Social forums and citizen assemblies, for example, provide a means of linking territories to local levels within countries, and to regional, sub-continental and even multi-regional or multi-continental levels. Nevertheless, the linking up of territories, civil societies, communities and people on a global scale remains a distant prospect, one that reaches far beyond the goals achieved over recent decades by citizen initiatives in various regions of the world. Plenty of tasks still need doing to reinforce the social construction of territories and democratize them.

The major organizations that currently seek to regulate world governance are divided into two main groups of actors: geopolitical groups: G8, G20, OECD and BRICS attribute authority to themselves and are the most powerful actors, although they do not all adopt the same policies for tackling current crises; and the UN and inter-governmental conferences.

These geopolitical groups, mainly the G8, supported by the IMF and NATO depending on the context, delegitimize the UN's role and impose their policies at the global level. Nevertheless, the deep-reaching and recurrent nature of the crises points to these actors' incapacity to deal with them. This is why spaces and opportunities to build a new architecture for world governance remain important, provided that citizens and peoples, their organizations, movements and networks prove capable of questioning them and putting them to good use. This is certainly one of the most testing challenges in today's world.

Representation must be democratized by giving forums to delegates elected from the different territories and regions and from the different networks and articulations of indigenous peoples, workers, fishermen, women, young people, local and territorial authorities, consumers, migrants, inhabitants, and other democratically organized social actors on a global scale.

The proposals for the democratization of the United Nations agencies related to sustainability issues will inescapably have to be defined and implemented in the issues related to international peace and security. A democratic rebalancing of the balance of power in the Security Council and its opening to new actors, not only to states that will remain marginal, but in addition to social actors and organizations from the different territories and regions, as well as to networks and organizations at a global scale.

The process for building a new governance must go hand in hand with a process leading to a demilitarized society. Militarism is specific to the patriarchal system and should not govern relations between states and their populations. However, in the face of escalating current crises and during periods of cultural change, wars and oppression are causing irreparable damage to life and the planet. It is therefore important, within the process of transition towards demilitarized societies, to implement mechanisms for reforming the armed and security forces of the people who are the first victims of conflicts.

The exigencies of a radicalization of democracy require deeper changes than reforms of the institutional UN systems. Inventing the new political systems able to express democratically all the energies of the peoples and of each citizen in the twenty-first century has become a historical task.

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