October 2022 Volume 44 Issue 5 Journal of Latin
American Studies

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The success and failure of the World Social Forum in the past 20 years from the perspective of open space\*

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Abstract: Since its establishment, the World Social Forum has fought against neoliberal globalization with the attitude of "another globalization" and grown into an important force in changing globalization. It has also provided a vivid footnote to the concept of open space. In the process of opening up Under the concept of space, the World Social Forum takes changing (replacing) globalization as the theme, with left-wing democrats as the main force, with bottom-up resistance as the method, with the characteristics of pluralistic and inclusive political culture, and with modern communication technology as the means, it has become The benchmark of the global democratic movement. However, it is precisely because of its open space concept and practice that the World Social Forum has fallen into multiple tortures such as the dispute over the breadth of "openness", the structural differentiation of "space", and the confusion of "alternative" actions. ÿ Even so, in the face of global changes, the "another kind of globalization" and "another world" insisted by the World Social Forum still represent a broad consensus and new possibilities. Currently, globalization is blowing against the wind, and multiple crises are intertwined and superimposed. Populism is making waves. Reviewing the successes and failures of the World Social Forum over the past 20

years has its own meaning and value. Keywords: World Social Forum Open Space "Reforming Globalization" New Freedom

Socialist globalization and a community with a shared future for mankind

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Document identification code: A Article number: 1002 - 6649 (2022) 05 - 0090 - 16

<sup>&</sup>quot;This article is part of the Ministry of Education's major research project on philosophy and social sciences "Research on General Secretary Xi Jirping's Thoughts on Building a Community with a Shared Future for Mankind

The World Social Forum (WSF) was born in 2001. As an advocate and activist of "another kind of globalization", it has been seeking alternatives to neoliberal globalization and opposing various forms of hegemonism for 20 years. Years of continuous experiments have produced a world-renowned impact and provided a vivid footnote to the concept of "open space". Chico Whitaker, one of the founders of the World Social Forum, once pointed out that the World Social Forum is committed to The goal achieved is to create an open space without leaders, to form a horizontal linkage of cooperation rather than competition, and to create an atmosphere of solidarity in the fight against globalization. ÿ The World Social Forum's experiment with open spaces has never been has stopped, and the academic discussion on the open space of forums has never stopped. How has the World Social Forum shaped each other with the concept of open space in its 20 years of practice? What are the characteristics of the World Social Forum from the perspective of open space? What are its limitations? This article From the perspective of open space, we explore the answers to these questions, thereby clarifying the operational logic of the World Social Forum over the past 20 years, and refining the ideological heritage of the World Social Forum.

## A review of 20 years of the World Social Forum

The World Social Forum is a social movement that opposes neoliberal globalization. It is an annual global gathering composed of non-governmental organizations and civil society organizations. The Forum aims to create an autonomous space where participants can share, debate, and exchange ideas. As the forum continues to be held, the organizational characteristics of the open space of the World Social Forum have become increasingly apparent. The temporal and spatial background for the rise of the World Social Forum is globalization. In the 1990s, the negative consequences and negative impacts of the rapid expansion of globalization have become increasingly exposed. This gave rise to tit-for-tat anti-globalization movements. Especially since the Seattle protest march in 1999, street demonstration-style anti-globalization protests have spread to all continents. Anti-globalization activists have adopted a more direct and direct approach. It expresses dissatisfaction and opposition to neoliberal globalization in a radical way. However, this violent and irrational form of movement, especially the violent methods and words and deeds of resistance mixed with it, has not only been suppressed by the US and Western state machinery, but also been suppressed by the US and Western state machinery. Blockade, and this destructive but unestablished approach has little effect except to win media reports and public attention. People who are truly concerned about globalization have begun to pursue a more rational and constructive way of struggle. Therefore, international forums In this way, anti-globalization forces from all over the world are brought together to jointly expose the shortcomings of current globalization. The World Social Forum to explore alternatives to neoliberal globalization came into being and became another form of resistance to globalization that is different from the anti-globalization movement.

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"Changing globalization"ÿ, the World Social Forum was founded by the Brazilian Workers' Party. It aims to change globalization and oppose capitalism. It has adopted different forms of struggle and sought new directions and possibilities by discussing alternatives. Its loudest slogan is "Another world is possible"ÿÿ (1)

2001-2005: Brazil's start-up shows its prominence. The early

struggles of the World Social Forum were concentrated in Porto Alegre, Brazil, where the first three World Social Forums were held. This southern Brazilian city The port city took the lead in raising the banner of "changing globalization". Although the World Social Forum left for India in 2004, it returned to the base camp of Porto Alegre after a year. From January 25 to 30, 2001, the first World Social Forum The social forum attracted more than 10,000 anti-globalization people from 117 countries (regions) around the world. The participants had a heated discussion on opposing neoliberal globalization. The three major economic organizations criticized neoliberalism in promoting globalization. unfair and unreasonable behavior in the process. The first World Social Forum was a complete success. After the meeting, it was decided to establish the International Council of the World Social Forum. It discussed and formulated the "World Social Forum Charter of Principles" (World Social Forum Chart). er of Principles) ÿThe Second World Social Forum held on January 31, 2002 attracted 131 countries (regions), more than 5,000 organizations, and 15,000 representatives from around the world, 40% of whom were women representatives. This forum will be "another "This kind of globalization is possible" has been confirmed as the long-term theme of the forum. This is a powerful response to the "no alternative" (TINA) proposed by Western politicians but neoliberal globalization. The first session was held from January 23 to 28, 2003. The three sessions of the World Social Forum were attended by nearly 100,000 people from 156 countries (regions). Under the shadow of the Iraq War, the forum combined the "anti-imperialist and anti-war" issues with opposition to neoliberal globalization and called for the promotion of a A more reasonable world political and economic order. It is worth mentioning that this time the organizational management work is carried out by the International Council. The Council has no hierarchy, no leaders and coordinators. All decisions are made through joint discussions and initiatives, starting from a certain To a certain extent, this is the prototype of the open space

organizational form of the World Social Forum. On January 16, 2004, the World Social Forum was held in Mumbai, India.

This was the first time it was held outside Brazil, its birthplace. People from different countries and More than 100,000 people of different races, different nationalities, different religious beliefs and even different political ideas gathered together, forming a rolling wave of enthusiasm that the world could not ignore. The forum attributed the focus of opposition to globalization to the level of opposition to imperialism, a

«Chinese People University Journal »ÿ Issue 3, 2017, Page 102

ÿ "Alter globalization" (alter - globalization) is different from "anti-globalization" (anti - globalization), "de-globalization", "reverse globalization" The biggest difference of ÿ) is that it is dedicated to Change the unreasonable and unfair globalization and replace the neoliberal globalization with another kind of globalization in which capital dominates the people and the rich deprive the poor. See Guo Yuanzeng's "World Social Forum" that the world is paying attention to. «Latin American Studies», Issue 5, 2002, Page 39. As for the differences between the latter three, please see Li Dan «"Deglobalization": Manifestations, Causes and China's Countermeasures», in

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Combined with the opposition to the US invasion of Iraq, a new meaning was written on the banner of the World Social Forum. As the first attempt to move away from the origin of Brazil, Mumbai witnessed the World Social Forum's strategy of globalization from "anti" to "reform" Evolution. The forum moved to India, which also rapidly expanded its influence in Asia. In 2005, the World Social Forum returned to Porto Alegre, Brazil. The number of participants reached a record-breaking 150,000. The crowd chanted slogans and strongly demanded that the United States and Israel Immediately withdraw troops from Iraq and the Palestinian territories, and burned the portrait of US President Bush. After the forum, the "Porto Alegre Declaration" leading to "another world" was issued. In fair trade, environmental protection, global democracy, A united and powerful voice has been issued on issues such as the reform of international institutions, highlighting the characteristics of the World Social Forum that can break and build, and combine break and build.

(2) 2006-2010: Moving to Asia and Africa to expand influence In January

2006, the Sixth World Social Forum opened. This time there was no longer a central venue, but in Bamako, the capital of Mali, and Caracas, the capital of Venezuela. and Karachi, the capital of Pakistan, set up three branch venues, igniting the flames of opposition to capitalist globalization in Asia, Africa and Latin America at the same time. It can be said that since then, the World Social Forum has officially started the path of expansion in Asia, Africa and Latin America. The participation of the forum The number of people has increased exponentially, the scale of opening up has continued to expand, the organizational structure has become increasingly perfect, the forum topics have become more "down-to-earth", and the forum has continued to speak out for local issues in the process of traveling to many places. "Bama" published at the African Branch of the Sixth World Social Forum The Science and Technology Initiative has aroused people's attention to African issues. Under the baton of neoliberalism, those African "recipient countries" that accepted economic structural adjustment plans carried out economic reforms oriented toward marketization and privatization. However, the World Bank and international The "prescription" of the IMF did not solve the actual economic problems of African countries. On the contrary, the implementation of structural adjustment has brought new contradictions and difficulties to African countries. ÿ Increase in foreign debt, unemployment rate, widening gap between rich and poor, ecological environment Destruction and other negative consequences have pushed Africa into the ranks of "re-globalization". In January 2007, the seventh annual meeting of the World Social Forum was held in Nairobi, the capital of Kenya. This was the first time that the World Social Forum was held entirely in an African country. The Forum The theme is "People's Struggle, People's Choice". More than 66,000 people from more than 1,400 organizations from 110 countries (regions) held heated discussions on nearly 3,000 sub-topics at the Moi International Stadium in Nairobi. Participants called for the establishment of As an international organization that "promotes equitable development and respects cultural, natural and gender diversity" and "implements democratic management of globalization", some representatives put forward the clear slogan "Debt is poverty, debt is slavery, and refusal to repay debt is justice."ÿ In 2008 In January, the 8th World Social Forum arrived as scheduled together with the World Economic Forum, but this forum was celebrated with th

Sin Yunguo: «The negative impact of economic globalization on African countries from the perspective of structural adjustment», published in «Journal of Shanghai Normal University» (Philosophy and Social Social Forum Review»,

published in "Marxism Research", Issue 5, 2007, Page 108.

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Action), without a clear location, trying a new decentralized organizational experience through the global platform link designed by the International Council. During January 21-26, 2008, protests from 80 countries Participants organized more than 700 events and held them all over the world. In 2009, the World Social Forum was held in Belem, Brazil, with as many as 100,000 participants. The theme of the forum was "Building a Different World", which pointed directly at Capitalism has put forward slogans such as "Socialism is an alternative" and "Another world is necessary" in its criticism and reflection. 2010 is the 10th anniversary of the World Social Forum. The forum is titled "10 Years Later: Building a Different World" With the theme of "Challenges and Suggestions", a large-scale reflective event was held. Representatives of social movement organizations, left-wing political parties and trade unions from nearly 40 countries around the world discussed the current global socio-economic development issues. Participants summarized the World Social Forum Based on the experience and lessons learned since its establishment, it is believed that solving global problems requires broad public participation. Social movement organizations should strengthen ties with left-wing parties in various countries and take unified international actions. The forum is held in a decentralized manner, except for Porto Alegre. In addition, it has also been held in the northern Brazilian city of Salvador, Benin in Africa, Madrid and Barcelona in Spain. Each sub-forum has an independent organizational structure, which marks that the World Social Forum, a regional organization originally based mainly in Brazil, has become more A vast world stageÿ

(3) 2011-2015: Expanding issues globally. The 21st century has

and Latin America to the world. As it becomes increasingly globalized, it has attracted a large number of loyal people. participants, and has a mature organizational mechanism. In 2011, the World Social Forum was held in Dakar, Senegal, on the African continent.

This was the first time that the World Social Forum held an event in a country with a Muslim majority. The World Social Forum is committed to In order to promote global religious diversity, various Christian organizations and some religiously inclined groups are very active in the World Social Forum. This forum is a focus on religious organizations and their demands.

Response. From January 23 to 29, 2012, the World Social Forum returned to Porto Alegre. More than 40,000 social movement activists participated in this meeting to discuss solutions to the global economic crisis. These people included Spanish " He is a member of the "Angry" movement and the "Occupy Wall Street" movement in the United States. The forum focused on the theme of "Capitalist Crisis: Social and Environmental Justice" and conducted extensive discussions on the underlying causes of the international financial crisis. Participants all believed that the causes of the international financial crisis were The root cause lies in the capitalist system, and developing countries should strive to seek to establish a new development model. From March 26 to 30, 2013, the World Social Forum was held in Tunisia. This was the first time the forum came to the Arab world. Since the "Arab Crisis" was triggered in 2011 After the "Spring", Tunisia was called the most successful country in democratic transition by European and American media. However, during the forum, there were still workers going on hunger strikes for low wages and high unemployment.

The theme of this forum was "Global Square" ÿ Innovation builds a spatial model that meets personalized organizational requirements and ensures participation

entered its second decade, and the World Social Forum has also started its second decade. It has moved from Asia, Africa

Independence and self-organization ability of participants. At the Casablanca meeting in December 2013, the International Council of the Forum once again chose Tunisia as the venue for the 2015 World Social Forum. During the five-day event in 2015, participants from 120 countries About 70,000 representatives of more than 4,000 organizations gathered in Tunisia to discuss issues including climate justice, media freedom, energy security and other issues. The forum announced the official establishment of the "Global University" (Global University), with 200 founding members. Gathered Thinkers and actors from five continents and across generations. In response to the terrorist attack that occurred at the Bardo Museum near the Tunisian parliament building on the eve of the forum, thousands of Tunisians shouted "Non-violence" (Non à la violence!) in the closing march. ) slogan in protest. All this shows that the topics of the World Social Forum are becoming more and more diverse. It not only undertakes the mission of criticizing neoliberalism, opposing the polarization of rich and poor, and protesting unfair exploitation, but also covers religious issues, terrorism, racial discrimination, At the same time, the World Social Forum has become increasingly characterized by activism and cosmopolitanism. Participants believed that individual struggles are no longer a drop in the ocean, whether it is social justice or climate justice, whether it is civil rights or economics. Rights are part of individual and even collective struggles. When individuals speak for their local society, they also speak for the global community.

present: Internet interaction blooms with vitality. In 2016,

the 12th World Social Forum was held in Montreal, Canada. 350,000 participants from 125 countries (regions)

participated. This was the first time that the World Social Forum was held in a developed country. Immanuel Wallerstein, the
founder of world systems theory, and more than 20 The founders of universities around the world participated in demonstrations
at their own expense. Wojinstein gave a speech and pointed out that capitalism cannot continue. It is increasingly losing balance
and falling into division. One side is moving towards a world worse than capitalism, and the other side is moving towards a world
of relative equality. The former can be named the spirit of Davos, and the latter is the spirit of Porto Alegre. Standing at this
crossroads, the forum must make a collective historical choice. ÿ The forum has made its organizational vision clear as inclusive,
open, transparent, horizontal interaction, Self-management and independence. In its organizational structure, the newly
established Self-Management Committee has become an important part of promoting the innovation of the World Social Forum's
organizational methods. The Self-Management Committee consists of 10 to 30 people and can be composed of any organization,
network or citizen collective. ÿ Mainly responsible for promoting the World Social Forum to propose a specific activity plan
around the theme to activate open space. ÿ In 2018, the World Social Forum returned to Brazil. The process of economic
financialization has not stopped, the ecosystem continues to be imbalanced, the flow of refugees and immigrants is accelerating,
and human rights are seriously compromised. In the context of an era when regression, racism and xenophobia are rampant, the forum adopts the slogan "Resis

ÿ «On the first anniversary of Wallerstein's death, Chinese and foreign left-wing scholars and activists wrote letters to commemorate him» ÿ The Paper News Network ÿ ÿÿÿ: // ÿÿÿÿ ÿ ÿÿÿÿÿÿy / ÿÿÿÿÿÿ prom jsp?contidÿÿÿÿ00ÿ[2022-02-21]

It attracted nearly 80,000 participants from 120 countries (regions) and organized various activities such as workshops, parades, debates, and theatrical performances, demonstrating an organization of "horizontal interaction, self-management, and self-determination" ÿ Characteristics, becoming another annotation of open space. On January 23, 2021, the World Social Forum held a "Virtual March Day" under the cover of the epidemic, and reported real-time activities and visions around the world through a 24-hour global Internet live broadcast. May 2022 On September 1, the World Social Forum came to Mexico and held hundreds of offline and online simultaneous activities over a six-day period. The themes included traditional issues such as economic justice, environmental justice, democratic autonomy, and anti-racism. It also Extensive discussions were held on emerging issues such as digital sovereignty and technological empowerment. As of May 31, 2022, the forum's global event schedule has been scheduled to September 9. It can be seen from this that the World Social Forum has a wide influence, The huge appeal also highlights the infinite possibilities for the growth of open space under the support of high and new technologies in the post-epidemic era.

In the 20 years since its birth, the World Social Forum has continued its activities and has grown and transformed along the way. In terms of geography, the World Social Forum has expanded from Latin America to developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and then expanded its influence in northern countries. In terms of movement practice, The World Social Forum has evolved from a traditional single conference activity into a thematic sub-forum format with multiple breakthroughs, multi-point breakthroughs, and multi-dimensional interactions.

The depth, breadth, and validity of its interactions have made huge progress. In terms of theme content, ÿ The World Social Forum maintains a consistent opposition to the global expansion of large multinational corporations, Western dominance of international economic institutions, and elite manipulation of globalization. It also continuously adds new issues to its activities based on changes in time and space, injecting new vitality into its activities. And motivation, from the perspective of organizational form, the World Social Forum activities are colorful and constantly innovative, but its spontaneous autonomy, inclusive interaction, participatory democracy, and "transversal cosmopolitani" (Transversal cosmopolitani) The open space characteristics of ŷÿ) have never been lost, but have become increasingly Highlight

2. Achievements of the World Social Forum from the perspective of open space

The concept of open space was first clearly stated in the "Charter of Principles of the World Social Forum"ÿ. Article 9 of the "Charter of Principles" formally proposed the concept of "open space" and pointed out that the World Social Forum will always be an open space - open to diversity. culturally open, open to various organizations and movements participating in the forum, open to

Open space to diverse genders, races, cultures, generations and body functions, provided that the relevant content stipulated in the "Charter of Principles" is observed. The World Social Forum's expression of open space focuses on viewing it as a shared information and a response to the neoliberal global It is a transnational site for continuous struggle for globalization. Its main points are reflected in the following aspects. First, the open space theory emphasizes the principle of supporting civil society. Chico Whitaker emphasized that "civil society" refers to movements and organizations with clear social goals. ÿ Excluding governments, enterprises and political parties, autonomy can be fully demonstrated in open spaces. Secondly, the open space theory advocates the principle of selfmanagement activities. The World Social Forum encourages heterogeneous individuals and diverse groups to formulate their own agendas and Action plan, although the International Council carries out political management as an "international support agency", it is only involved in coordinating organizational work such as action time, event venues, financial management, etc. Finally, the open space theory is committed to adopting the organizational principle of horizontal networks. As an open The World Social Forum does not constitute a "power center" as a meeting place. Multiple political actors have an equal and free relationship in terms of organizational concepts. This is conducive to the absorption of self-organizers and the stimulation of diverse actors. ÿ Open space is the world 's The site where the Social Forum takes place is the stage for its activities, and it is also the characteristic that distinguishes it from other activities and movements that resist globalization and neoliberalism. At the same time, as an innovative idea, it is different from traditional politics and street politics, democratic attempts, open space has made world social theory a reality to a certain extent. The "fame" of the altar

(1) Creating the international issue of "reforming globalization".

Since the 1980s, neoliberalism has accelerated the globalization process. However, the widening gap between rich and poor, unfair North-South trade, asymmetric international relations, etc. All have profoundly exposed the fatal shortcomings of "new extractive capitalism". Neoliberal globalization is no longer sustainable. The times call for another kind of globalization. This is the basic background for the emergence of the World Social Forum. The World Social Forum was originally an annual event Conceived as an alternative to the World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland, the forum opposed a globalization that was based on neoliberalism, where national interests were manipulated by large multinational corporations and international financial institutions, and where profits were placed above people. "Reforming globalization" is the consistent mission and pursuit of the World Social Forum. In contrast to the globalization planned by political and business elites, its pursuit of "another world" is carried out in an open space and is based on Transnational activities based on open discussions and exchanges and arising from a variety of issues are a new form of global citizens' movements. The diversity of nationalities, races, cultures and social identities of the actors of the World Social Forum are considered to be essential to the conception and practice of democracy. important force. Even if the political orientations of the participants are different, the basis of their unity is their common opposition to the new liberalism.

The forum deepened the understanding of the historical characteristics of the era of globalization and the development trends of Latin America and the world, and provided useful inspiration and possible solutions for the creation of "another world".

(2) Building a global stage for the democratic movement.

As a transnational social practice, the World Social Forum is influenced by other transnational social movements occurring around the world. Its more than 20 years of movement practice has also profoundly influenced other global societies. activities.

The global democratic movement is the source of practical inspiration for the World Social Forum. It is also the source of the forum's vitality and the forum's own positioning. In the 1990s, neoliberal globalization brought about economic, political, technological, The negative effects in multiple dimensions such as culture and environment have spawned protest movements that have sprung up around the world. These movements include the global justice movement, the global environmental movement, the anti-globalization movement, the reform globalization movement and other protest movements. World Society The forum covers the demands of these movements to a certain extent, reflecting the bottom-up call for democracy, calling for the correction of the democratic deficit of elites over the people. "Democracy" is mentioned many times in the charter of the World Social Forum is an open forum for reflective democratic debate. Article 10 states that the World Social Forum opposes violence as a means of state social control and condemns all forms of it. The domination of one person and the oppression of another by one person. ÿ Since its establishment, the World Social Forum has advocated the principle of deliberative democracy, respecting the equality and representativeness of various organizations, and participating in a common political culture that promotes a pure deliberative space. ÿ These all reflect the world society The inherent democratic characteristics

of the forum. (3) Incubating the political field of citizen

autonomy. Since its inception, the World Social Forum has established an international council for management. By 2018, the council was composed of 120 organizations and social movements from all over the world. ÿ It has an executive office responsible for administrative affairs in Morocco. Although the global scale of the World Social Forum cannot avoid the problem of traditional organizational hierarchy, the establishment of standing committees and working groups also seems to have the characteristics of some traditional organizational mechanisms. However, as a Towards the vision of "another world", the Forum always adheres to the bottom-up code of conduct. The International Council established by the World Social Forum is responsible for management, but this is only

ÿ He Qin: «The forefront of leftist forces and civil movements in Latin America—the characteristics and significance of the São Paulo Forum and the World Social Forum» Published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 3, 2005, Page 51.

They exist as non-interventional "international support agencies", mainly to play the necessary coordination role. For example, the 2016 World Social Forum established a non-profit board of directors, standing committees and working groups. These three types of "working groups" organize and coordinate work. ÿ Recruit volunteers and allow these conscious change makers to voluntarily participate in activities, play a core supporting role, ensure the "bottom-up" operation direction of the forum, and prevent the erosion of the open space of the forum by the hierarchy.

(4) Cultivating a social soil of diversity and inclusiveness.

The document of the Second World Social Forum pointed out: "Diversity is our strength, and the expression of diversity is the basis of our unity." ÿ The World Social Forum claims that its political culture is an open one Space: "A place where people from a wide range of currents of thought and action can meet and interact without feeling obliged to agree with the organizers or with some or other idea or directive." "It Providing a rich perspective that sparks the imagination of people and organizations around the world: the concept of 'open space' is 'incubating' movements that challenge empires and celebrate diversity and diversity."ÿWorld Society The forum attracts a wide range of citizen groups from the bottom up, mobilizes various social networks, and works to solve different issues, such as social and economic injustice, war and human rights, North-South inequality, international trade barriers, women and minority rights, and landless farmers. dilemmas, global environmental issues, sustainable development issues, etc.

Heterogeneous citizen groups are mutually tolerant of each other's issues, and try to implement deliberative democracy in internal practice and achieve openness of issues in external interactions. Open space is considered to be unlimited. An undifferentiated space with no structure, no intermediary, no control, no center, no edge, and no tendency to exclude others is a fertile ground for nurturing a diverse and inclusive social culture.

(5) Demonstrating the huge potential of network operations.

Diversified discussions on global issues rely on the emergence of the global public sphere. The World Social Forum is a massive global democratic movement that provides support for countless individuals and individuals who are dissatisfied with neoliberal globalization.

Organizations provide a transnational social space for communication and exchange, and the creation of this open space is highly dependent on developed information and communication technology. The massive World Social Forum is an example of the large-scale application of the Internet, a civilian technology. It can Attracting widespread participation from citizens and grassroots organizations from different corners of the world relies on the instant delivery of free and freely available online information. Information and communication technology has allowed the

World Social Forum to continue to speak out on a global scale after the COVID-19 epidemic. The 2021 " "Virtual March Day" will be broadcast live on the global Internet for 24 hours to share the forum's struggle experience in the new situation with the world. Some scholars bluntly said that the World Social Forum is the product of networked organizations. It not only uses itself as a carrier to continuously incubate a variety of networked organizations, but also

Ü Liu Chengjun: «Left-wing Thought Trends in Latin America», published in «Latin American Studies», Issue 5, 2004, page 14.

ÿ Klaue Keirahaer, Jayson: «Exploration of Open Space: World Social Forum and Political Culture» ÿ Published by « International Society Science Journal» (Chinese version), Issue 4, 2005, Page 17, Page 14.

At the same time, it attempts to transform the organizational form from a vertical bureaucratic operating model to a networked operating model, ÿ To a certain extent, the World Social Forum, which skillfully uses information and communication technology, has made a huge contribution to the creation of a transnational public sohere and the expansion of political and democratic space. From this, we can also A dimpse of the huge development potential of online citizen organizations.

## The lack of open space in the Three World Social Forum

Over the past 20 years, the world political and economic situation has been changing rapidly, and the World Social Forum has also experienced ups and downs in its development process. As an organizational practice form that resists the traditional hierarchy and state-centered theory, the World Social Forum represents a unique way of social and political practice. ÿ It is not a political party with a political ideology, it is not a forum meeting to discuss academic issues, it is not even a pure social movement, but a diverse, open, inclusive and shared global space. It serves as a transnational field for discussing alternatives to globalization. Domain, the World Social Forum's pursuit of "another globalization" has not been smooth sailing. "Realizing utopia in a world without utopia"ÿ may be the biggest shortcoming of the World Social Forum. From the perspective of open space, the World Social Forum In its development, it faces multiple challenges such as the dispute over the breadth of "openness", the structural differentiation of "space", and the practical confusion of "replacement", which also makes its path to global protest a thorny road.

(1) "Openness": Debate over the breadth of the World Social Forum

Whether the World Social Forum fully follows the action concept of "opening to diversity" and to what extent it has "opened to diversity" have always been the focus of debate in academic circles. ÿ

"Opening to diversity" means tolerating diversity and accepting differences. The World Social Forum's tolerance of diversity
and differences is reflected in the following aspects. First, in terms of personnel composition, open spaces respect different countries
and ethnic groups. People of different origins, different genders, and different skin colors. The World Social Forum is a huge network
composed of organizations and individuals that brings together the human rights movement, the trade union movement, the anti-poverty
movement, the environmental movement, the anti-war movement, and the women's movement. Second In terms of principles and
program, the World Social Forum brings together multiple actions, defines itself as a decentralized, pluralistic, non-religious, nongovernmental and non-party space, operates in a non-partisan context, and explicitly prohibits political parties. Representatives
participated. Thirdly, in terms of theme content, various topics under the goals of "changing globalization" and "another kind of
globalization" are constantly changing, and there is persistence in change. In the 2021 online world society under the influence of the
epidemic Forum, issues such as economic justice and social distribution are still the focus of debate in the forum as they were 20 years ago. However, the world society

The issues discussed in the forum are never abstract and empty articles, but are diverse issues that combine the specific situation, local characteristics and the demands of the times. For example, when the United States invaded Iraq, anti-imperialism was added to the action plan, and after the global financial crisis, anti-imperialism was added to the action plan. In order to denounce financial giants and Wall Street, when the forum was held in Mali, African issues and debt issues became the central topics of the forum, which was always diverse and open.

However, the World Social Forum's "opening to diversity" is not perfect. The diversity and heterogeneity of actors have a certain tension with the establishment of sustainable solidarity and consensus, and may also cause a deadlock in further interactions. First, the plurality of subjects Sexuality means the difference between subjects. The principle of horizontal interaction cannot avoid coexisting with the power relationship in the organizational structure. The influence of different subjects is distributed hierarchically. Highly organized non-governmental organizations, highly educated scholars, High-end wealth holders are more likely to speak out and be listened to in meetings. Secondly, the complexity of the issues highlights the imbalance of topics. Even in open spaces, feminists, aborigines, LGBT (homosexuals, gays, lesbians, etc.) Bisexual and transgender people and other groups are still referred to as "subaltern counter publics" and are marginalized ideologically and politically. , funds and other reasons cannot For those who participate in the forum, gorgeous rhetoric such as equality, democracy, and justice is just a "pacifying consensus." Third, the openness of the subject and the complexity of the topics are intertwined. The result is that the forum may have little effect. Openness and diversity Sexuality is an important feature of the forum, but this has led to a large number of divisions and contradictions within the forum. On the one hand, openness and diversity are accompanied by disorder and dispersion; on the other hand, the resulting consensus dilemma also hinders effective decision-making. Generation. ÿ Michael Hardt (Michael Hardt) believes that the World Social Forum is "agnostic, disorderly and decentralized" ÿ. Some scholars also question "how an open, horizontal, consensus-based organization can ensure the participation of all participants" participation, while being able to implement effective decision-making?" ÿ Some people predict that this state of coexistence of many differences and differences will either soon be replaced by a higher level of unity, or eventually differentiate and disintegrate. ÿ The World Social Forum means "open, "Uncertain Space", what are its development potential and limits, and how can it be realized? How

ÿ Jeffrey Pleyer, Zhang Dachuan: "The Ideal Convergence Model—Social Forum", published in "International Journal of Social Sciences" (Chinese version), Issue 4, 2005, Page 40.

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Just a traditional market space? ÿ It has to be admitted that this is a question that is still difficult to answer. (2) "Space": Discussing the structure

of the World Social Forum Chico Whitaker compared open spaces to

urban spaces He clearly expressed the difference between space and movement, pointing out that a movement must gather people through a pyramid-like organizational structure to achieve certain goals. However, space is a carrier without a leader. He particularly emphasized openness. The nature of horizontal interaction in space. However, scholars have three different views on the operational structure of the World Social Forum that uses open space as an organizational representation.

One is the "horizontal structure" theory. This view attributes the cause of the horizontal structure to the hierarchical organization of anti-traditional politics and emphasizes the organizational logic of political change and paradigm change. Scholars have proposed "horizontalism" ÿ "utopian space" ÿ etc. to define the horizontal interactive and connected organizational structure characterized by "open space". The World Social Forum maintains its legitimacy through anti-hierarchical organizational logic and horizontal organizational design, believing that it wants to truly oppose "all forms of hegemony". It is necessary to resist and get rid of the original political organizational framework and stop the spread of power in hierarchical organizations. It can be said that this is a rethinking of the representative democracy and political order that became increasingly rigid, coercive, and formalistic at the end of the 20th century. ÿ

One is the "vertical structure" theory. There are not a majority of scholars who believe that the organizational structure of the World Social Forum is actually a vertical structure. However, such scholars pay attention to the vertical organizational connections hidden under the horizontal interaction of the forum. It is proposed that the World Social Forum, as a transnational, diversified and intertwined world movement, must inevitably have a vertical hierarchical organizational structure. However, compared with the top-down interactive form of "traditional politics", it is only It only pays more attention to the bottom-up interactive logic. On the other hand, scholars pay attention to the nature of the vertical connection between the global structural level and the individual subject level of the World Social Forum. They believe that the World Social Forum is to a large extent a global institution and The "transmission belt" between individuals ÿ Vertical logic has been unconsciously embedded in existing global governance mechanisms and agendas.

ÿ Klaue Keirahel, Jayson: «Exploration of Open Space: World Social Forum and Political Culture», published in «International Journal of Social Sciences» (Chinese

version), Issue 4, 2005, pp. 17-18. ÿ Chico Whitakerÿ "World Social Forum - Possible ÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿÿ ÿ 2018 ÿ pp 183 - 194 ÿ

Lesley J Woodÿ "Horizontalist Y Out of the Camps and the Bolivarian Revolution: A St ory of Blocked

One is the "network structure" theory. Some scholars believe that the organizational structure of the World Social Forum is a cyberspace structure. Cyberspace is generated or even born out of the bureaucratic organizational logic of traditional politics. It relies on diversity, multi-connectivity and Heterogeneity, to some extent due to the permeability of its boundaries, is constantly reorganized and may become an important organizational form of future political organizations. "Autonomous space" ÿ "Rhizomatic Global Social Forum" ÿ "Transnational public sphere" ÿ and other views describe the network characteristics of the World Social Forum to a certain extent. The contribution of the network structure to the creation of a global political and democratic space lies in the transformation from a vertical bureaucratic organization to a networked organization. In summary,

although it claims to be anti-hierarchical autonomous public sphere, but the World Social Forum is not impeccable. Different understandings of horizontal structure, vertical structure or network-like structure essentially reflect the paradox in the organizational practice of the World Social Forum. As a large-scale transnational organization Movement, due to the coordinated arrangements of funds, personnel, technology, etc., the World Social Forum will inevitably have traces of vertical deployment in the organizational coordination process, which makes it unable to completely get rid of the color of a hierarchical organization.

(3) "Alternative": The Confusion of Actions of the World Social Forum

First of all, the scattering of topics has led to the fragmentation of the movement. The World Social Forum has formed a mature organizational form of thematic sub-forums. Under the general framework of providing alternatives to globalization, Various voices have been raised to oppose neoliberalism, eradicate poverty, protest against unfair exploitation, protect women's rights, oppose racial discrimination, advocate environmental justice, fight against terrorism, war and imperialism, and fight for the rights of landless farmers. A wide range of topics have brought cooperation benefits Limitations and action constraints. Some people call the World Social Forum "uncontrolled diversity"ÿ. Conference-based dialogue and collaboration can help promote open criticism of neoliberalism, but the question is whether subsequent cooperation can be achieved.ÿFrom Judging from the practical results, the World Social Forum's more than 20 years of struggle seems unable to lead the international community to the equality, peace, democracy, justice and humanitarianism it expects.

Secondly, there are more issues discussed than actions taken. The World Social Forum's analysis of neoliberalism and the forces behind it

The denunciation of the hegemony of international financial capital represents the voice of the people and stands on the side of progress. However, the loose organizational form makes the forum more often just provides opinions on issues, and plays more of a deconstructive role than a constructive role in the issue. ÿ World Social Forum Therefore, it is nicknamed "Democratic Utopia" because it is based on the denial of the present rather than the definition of the future. It seems to pay more attention to the form of the movement than to the content of the movement. ÿ The World Social Forum helps to maximize the promotion of Unite and build consensus, but that may be all. It does not expect to

create an "agenda" for political power. Again, the struggle strategy oscillates between radical and moderate.

Compared with the rush of street politics, the World Social Forum embodies It has a more rational, speculative, and restrained side, but there have always been two tendencies within it, namely mild reforming globalism and radical antiglobalism. This oppositional yet conciliatory stance stems from the diverse actors' views on globalization issues. The dual strategies proposed are: one is to choose to negotiate with international institutions and try to change the world order by changing the existing system, which is a moderate practical strategy; the other is to systematically oppose all institutions that represent neoliberal globalization, leading to The World Social Forum is hesitant between these two strategies and is often swayed by them.

Finally, the movement's ideas are out of touch with the practice of governance. Since the 21st century, the "pendulum effect" of political forces in Latin America has been very obvious. Although a "pink wave" once formed, most left-wing political leaders violently criticized the new system during the election campaign. The liberal economic model, however, after taking power, was unable to carry out radical reforms to the free market model. For example, the Brazilian left-wing party, as an important force that gave birth to the World Social Forum, has been disappointing in its policy practices since coming to power. Lula said in 2002 After coming to power on behalf of the Brazilian Workers' Party, he did not fulfill his campaign promises. Instead, he continued to implement the conservative policies of the Cardoso administration. Critics believe that this abandonment of breaking with neoliberalism will only solidify the chronic diseases of extreme poverty and social injustice. For this reason ÿ Many people criticize the Labor Party government as a "left-wing government without a left-wing agenda" and criticize the Labor Party as a "left-wing party dreaming of right-wing dreams". Its economic and social policies are not aimed at eradicating inequality. ÿ

The World Social Forum's continued struggle to advocate "another world" and "another globalization" is commendable, but what is even more valuable is to find the reality that leads to "another world" and "another globalization" A path that can both deconstruct and construct, both deny and define, both suggest and build. This is a more constructive and ideal form of citizen movement, although such a requirement is difficult for a

Wang Shuang: "World Social Forum: Era Background, Development Process and Limitations", published in "Contemporary World Socialist Issues", 2015 ÿIssue No. 1, Page 125

ÿ Fang Xufei: "The Divide, Changes and Prospects of Left and Right Political Parties in Brazil", published in "Latin American Studies", Issue 5, 2020, Page 61.

It's a bit harsh for a grassroots forum.

## Four Conclusions

From the resounding "Another World is Possible" in 2001 to "What we want now and in the future is not a Davos world" in 2021, the World Social Forum's vision for changing the current globalization and pursuing "another world" It is the same as always. The participants of the World Social Forum insisted on building an open space to integrate diverse forces to jointly resist neoliberal globalization. Their ideas on "what is another world" and "how to lead to another world" are widely recognized. Action is profound and productive. Under the banner "Another World Is Possible", the World Social Forum provides a platform where activists can express their challenge to the pervasive hierarchical and undemocratic nature of economic globalization. ÿ Faced with the "democratic deficit" of neoliberal globalization, the performance of the World Social Forum has allowed the world to see "what democracy looks like". However, the World Social Forum cannot replace the global division of labor system, global governance system and exclusive value system dominated by Western countries. ÿ Little achievements have been made in "another globalization". In a word, the "Porto Alegre Consensus" cannot effectively deal with the neoliberal "Washington Consensus". How to reverse globalization after the financial crisis and the epidemic crisis How to save globalization from the declining trend of protectionism, populism, unilateralism, xenophobia, etc. cannot be solved by simple discussions, protests, and demonstrations. Only by gathering the common values of all mankind and leading the practice of reshaping globalization can See the results. The concept of a community with a shared future for mankind proposed by China is hailed as "the only future for mankind on this planet". Building a world of lasting peace, universal security, common prosperity, openness, inclusiveness, cleanness and beauty represents the greatest common denominator of the interests of all countries. ÿ Beyond the laws of the animal jungle of capitalism, winner-take-all logic, and zero-sum game thinking, it provides conceptual support and value guidance for interpreting what "another world" is. As a practical platform to promote the construction of a community with a shared future for mankind, the "One Belt, One Road" initiative Use connectivity to remove obstacles to poverty reduction, promote equal cooperation through consultation and joint construction, use innovative mechanisms to break hegemonic injustice, replace "winner globalization" with "win-win globalization", and provide solutions for promoting "how to lead to another world" At a time when globalization is facing strong headwinds, crises and challenges are coming one after another, and populism is on the rise, reviewing the successes and failures of the World Social Forum will help us clarify our future ideals and grasp current actions.

(Editor Gao Han)