

Dear all,

It stems from my master's thesis. It is the first one I am writing on this topic and I would really appreciate your comments on how to rework it... in the perspective of trying to submit it to a social movement journal.

Many thanks in advance for taking the time to have a look on it,

Hélène

Division of labor and power relationships within a transnational anti-debt network.



Introduction

In the past few decades, a rich literature has developed on transnational social movements and collective action (Siméant 2010). This field of research raises a range of questions concerning the very nature of this mobilization, the actors who take part in it, the claims they make as well as the impact they have on public policies. This paper is aimed at addressing some of these questions as well as fostering some new research questions, by closely analyzing a specific case of transnational contention: the Committee for the Abolition of the Third-World Debt (CADTM- *Comité pour l'annulation de la dette du Tiers-Monde*), a non-profit organization founded in Belgium in March 1990 whose main goal is to fight indebtedness in southern countries. The idea of working on the CADTM network arose during an internship I held at its headquarters in 2009. Something surprised me then: the quasi absence of the global South in the network's publications. Most of the articles as well as a large majority of the books were produced by the ten staff members of the CADTM-Belgium along with the drafting of the Annual Plan 2010 was also entirely decided and written by the Belgium activists. Drawing on a six-month long participatory observation as an intern at CADTM, this paper focuses on the division of labor within this transnational network in order to better understand the power relationships between its members, and especially between the North and the South.

In a historical context, the international struggle to cancel the debt of southern countries is fairly recent: it has existed for barely 20 years. It was not until the mid- 1980's that the theme of non-payment of external debt began to be debated by social movements together outside of national borders, spurred by Mexico unilaterally deciding to stop paying of its external debt. The international campaign against the debt, Jubilee 2000, launched at the turn of the new century helped raise global public awareness on the debt issue and played a major role in the development of anti-debt organizations. Mostly based on the Christian principle of a Jubilee Renewal, this campaign encompassed a range of different actors (religious groups, development agencies, NGOs) and resulted in the G8 agreeing on the enhanced HIPC (Heavy indebted poor countries) debt relief initiative. When some organizations in favor of "debt relief" were satisfied by the results of the campaign, others, who rallied around a total "debt cancellation", decided to continue the mobilization¹. The CADTM belongs to the latter group. Founded by committed intellectuals, close to the Revolutionary Communist League (Fourth International), its main goal is "the immediate and unconditional cancellation of the debt of the so-called *developing* countries" (Political Charter, preamble)². To achieve it, the CADTM is involved in producing and publicizing alternative knowledge on the causes and consequences of the debt as well as in educational and advocacy activities. It is also deeply involved with the alterglobalization movement and is

¹ On the Jubilee 2000 campaign, see: André BROOME, « When do NGOs Matter? Activist Organisations as a Source of Change in the International Debt Regime », *Global Society*, vol. 23, n° 1, January 2009, pp. 59-78; Noha SHAWKI, « Issue Frames and the Political Outcomes of Transnational Campaigns: A Comparison of the Jubilee 2000 Movement and the Currency Transaction Tax Campaign », *Global Society*, vol. 24, n° 2, April 2010, pp. 203-230; Joshua Busby, *Moral Movements and Foreign Policy*, Cambridge University Press, 2010.

² <http://www.cadtm.org/Political-Charter>

currently a member of the International Council of the World Social Forum³. Its international involvement is also embodied in the progressive constitution of a transnational CADTM network, during and after the Jubilee campaign. The CADTM has become an international umbrella organization of twenty-eight organizations worldwide, located in Europe, but also in Asia, South-America and Africa⁴. This coalition is very diverse (in terms of age, sex, and religion) and includes grassroots women's communities (CADD Benin- *Cercle d'auto-promotion pour un développement durable*) as well as peasants' organizations (India) and trade unions (Senegal).

Despite its heterogeneity, the CADTM presents itself as a polycentric and horizontal network. Nevertheless, it is not enough to fight against the idea of gravity to resist drowning in water (Marx). If in its charter the CADTM does not have any executive body, an international secretariat has been created and entirely entrusted to the CADTM Belgium with the administrative and financial management of certain activities. The very existence of this secretariat reflects and reinforces an asymmetrical relationship between northern and southern participants, and challenges the principle of horizontality promoted by the actors. A division of labor between the members of the international secretariat and the other members takes place. How can we account for this phenomenon?

This paper is divided into three parts. We will begin with a literature review which aims at locating our research within the broader field of transnational social movement studies. We then turn to our case study to discuss the division of labor that takes place between Northern and Southern members. If the organization's own discourse emphasizes a polycentric and horizontal network, huge resource inequalities, which have power relations embedded within them, deeply affect its practices. Finally, drawing on Foucault's analyses of power we will discuss the ongoing process of contestation and resistance within the network. This "negotiation" between northern and southern activists influences a regionalization process that may result in a new division of labor between southern members.

Thinking through the division of labor and power relationships within a transnational network

In the following section, I will discuss the two bodies of literature in which this paper is based: the literature on transnational social movement and the literature on networks. We will argue that if a rich literature has developed on transnational networks, few studies have addressed the following questions: 1/ the participation of southern activists in transnational contention, 2/ the power relationships within a network.

The field of transnational social movements and collective action is relatively new in political science and in sociology. It emerged in the 1990s, with the increasing integration of exchanges between two previously distinct traditions: the field of international relations and

³ The committee that oversees the World Social Forum (WSF) organization and determines its location.

⁴ See annexe

the field of social movements. This convergence occurred in scholarship marked by the simultaneous rediscovery of transnational politics and by the constructivist turn (Tarrow 2001). The transnationalist shift had been already undertaken in the early 1970s by Joseph Nye and Robert Keohane, with their book *Transnational Relations and World Politics*. Breaking with the realist paradigm, they invited us to pay more attention to the links and solidarities between non-governmental actors. Transnational activities were thus defined as “contacts, coalitions, and interaction across state boundaries that are not controlled by the central foreign policy organs of governments”. However, until the early 1990’s, most of the works following Nye and Keohane’s interest in transnational activities focused on transnational economic actors, in particular on the multinational corporations. As a result, contentious politics was kept out of the study of international relations (Tarrow 2001). Reciprocally, social movement studies remained long limited to a national framework. The turning point occurred with the end of the Cold War: the huge increase in the number and visibility of NGOs drove new attention toward transnational contention. After a first wave of works focusing on NGOs (Della Porta, Kriesi and Rucht 1999 ; Smith Chatfield and Pagnucco 1997) the social forums’ success increased scholars’ interest in the alter-globalization movement (Sommier, Agrokoliansky, 2005 ; Sommier, Agrokoliansky, Filleule, 2007; Della Porta and Tarrow, 2007; Pleyers 2011). However, despite a blossoming literature on transnational social movements, it can be argued that some important aspects of transnational contentious activities remained overlooked, notably the position of southern activists in international contention. An overwhelming majority of transnational studies have been undertaken in the North, or focused on northern activists (Agrikoliansky and Sommier 2005; della Porta and Tarrow 2005). Until now, very few scholars have addressed the question of the participation of the South in contentious politics (with some exceptions, such as Wood 2005; Rothman and Oliver 2002; Siméant, Pommerolle 2010). Our work on the CADTM network, based on a field research partially conducted in Benin and in Togo, aims to address some of the shortcomings induced by these choices.

By focusing on southern activists, I would like to reassess some characteristics generally attributed to what has become a real hallmark of the alter-globalization movement: the form of “networks”. Today, most associations involved in the global justice movement claim to belong to at least one of them. In activists’ testimonies, networks are perceived as more flexible, responsive and non-hierarchical, than classical organization. These supposed advantages fit closely with the self-image of the organizations involved in global justice movement and their presumed advantages over the state and market.

The label “network” has then been reinvested by scholars as an analytical tool to better understand transnational contention. As Keck and Sikkink point out, scholars came late in the day to this subject, and practice rather than theory drives their analysis. The formation of international networks leads some scholars to suggest that they were creating and/or reflecting emergence of a “global civil society” (Wapner 1996), a “world polity” (Boli and Thomas 1999). One of the main questions addressed was what is that binds actors together. In *Activists Beyond Borders*, Keck and Sikkink coined the concept of “transnational advocacy network” (TAN) defined as “those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bound together by shared values, a common discourse, and dense exchanges of information and services” (Keck and Sikkink 1998). In the same vein, Stone distinguishes between policy

communities, epistemic communities, and transnational advocacy networks. According to her, transnational advocacy networks “cohere around “principled beliefs” normative ideas that provide criteria to distinguish right from wrong-unlike epistemic communities, which form around “causal beliefs”-cause and effect relationships. As a consequence, transnational advocacy networks are more effective in valuing grassroots, traditional and non-scientific knowledge” (Stone 2005). Both Keck and Sikkink on the one hand, and Stone, on the other hand, are interested in the effectiveness of these networks in producing and disseminating knowledge. Stone follows the pragmatic approach of the organizational studies literature and argues that “a network amplifies and disseminates ideas [...] to an extent that could not be achieved by individuals or institutions alone. Moreover, a network mutually confers legitimacy and pools authority and legitimacy in a positive sum manner. In other words a network can often be greater than its constituent parts.” Likewise, Castells emphasises how, in an era of globalisation, the characteristics attributed to networks, such as flexibility and dynamism, facilitate the dissemination of information, particularly digital information (Castells 1996). In these approaches, a transnational network is considered as a cohesive and coherent whole, a unified actor in transnational contention, which can be compared to others TANs and whose collective actions repertoires can be analyzed.

This body of literature looking at action on a global level doesn’t allow us to seize all the complexity of transnational activist networks whose first characteristic is doubtless to encompass, under the same banner, a range of heterogeneous actors. Furthermore, in many aspects, these works adhere too closely to the words of the actors themselves. On the one hand, the view that networks are based on shared values is somewhat simplistic and has been contested (Hajer 1995). On the other hand, there is little attention to power relationships within a transnational network. For example, the question of how a network, as a distinctive form of association, manages these power imbalances remains little investigated. On this topic, the study of the People’s Global Action by Leslie Wood is a commendable exception. By examining the role of culture and power, she identifies the ways in which this coalition has succeeded in maintaining diverse and transnational ties between participants while coordinating large, confrontational actions.

Our aim in this paper is to shift the global focus of analysis and to have a look on the “inner world” of the network in order to answer more concretely the question of how a network works. To understand what a network is in concrete terms requires us to pay attention to what circulates within it in terms of financial or material resources, information, and people, as well as the distribution of resources within it (Parmar 2002). The CADTM, as a collection of many transnational networks, gathers a range of organizations that differ hugely in terms of material and financial resources, but also in terms of expertise. As we will see, a division of labor between the CADTM Belgium and southern organizations is gradually taking place. We will argue that this process must be understood by taking into account the unequal access to resources and the asymmetrical relationships of power between northern and southern partners. Following a Actor Network Theory (ANT) approach, we argue that the non-human material elements of networks, such as resources, which have power relations embedded within them, are actors of ‘actant nodes’ within the networks, as they have a significant effect on the whole network. Such an approach requires taking into account the social and material conditions of activism as well as the links between these constraints and

the activist's socialization processes. Nevertheless, admitting the important role of resources does not mean overlooking the individuals. Both, northern and southern members play a huge role in reshaping the power relationships between the members.

The concept of "extraversion" developed by Jean-François Bayart to analyze the relationships between Africa and the rest of the world appears to be a useful tool to examine transnational activism (Bayart 1999). Based on Foucault's analysis of power, this concept insists on the process that leads to the "creation and the capture of a rent generated by dependency and which functions as a matrix of inequality, political centralization and social struggle". This idea enables us to conceptualize *dependence* without adhering too closely to dependency theory and will allow us to pay attention to Southern activists' strategies.

This lens will allow us to consider not only hierarchies and conflicts, but also the ongoing process of resistance and contestation within networks, a perspective that appears to "be particularly important in an alterglobal space which tends to obscure them." (Siméant, Pommerolle 2010)

II The division of labor within the CADTM network

1. Discourses and legitimacy: a polycentric and horizontal network

This section will focus on the discourses of the actors involved in the network. We will show how the CADTM presents itself as a polycentric and horizontal coalition, in which the division of labor desired is thought in terms of complementarity rather than in terms of inequality.

The CADTM's technical charter⁵, updated during the WSF in Bélem in 2009, reveals a great deal about the aspirations of its members concerning the very nature of the network: an "international movement." This appellation is used, implicitly, in opposition to the one of NGO. Sociologically, the opposition between those two terms is debatable: indeed, one designates a status while the other designate a process through which actors engaged in sustained contentious interaction with powerholders, a process in which an NGO could take part (Siméant, 2010: 123). Nevertheless, these categorizations remain meaningful for the actors themselves. The choice to present itself as a social movement goes right to the heart of some critiques of the NGOs: lack of representativeness, institutionalization tendencies, and excessive professionalization. The image of social movements is built as a mirror image: they would be more independent from decision makers, and more representative of popular aspirations. Social movements would also differ from NGOs in their organizational structure. Point by point, the technical charter of the CADTM refers to the characteristics generally attributed to networks. First of all, the networks are a decentralized form of organization that leaves an important margin of flexibility for actors: the charter does not mean "having a definitive set of fixed rules which are applied in a rigid manner" (preamble), but rather "it establishes and determines the main internal rules and procedures which characterize the work

⁵ <http://www.cadtm.org/Technical-charter>

within the network and the dynamic of the CADTM International as a whole” (Article 3). Each organization is autonomous and has total freedom when establishing action programs, as long as it does not go against the Political charter (article 4). The network form of organization is also associated with the participative culture that claims for democratization process within associations, asks for more transparency and refuses bureaucratization and delegation. Finally, the charter includes the rejection of any kind of hierarchies: “The CADTM International network is a network which works in a horizontal manner: there is no structure which is at the head of the international network” (article 1).

This horizontality is desired by social movements in general, and the CADTM in particular, but it has a very specific dimension when we consider a transnational network gathering southern and northern organizations: it aims not only to distance itself from “traditional,” more centralized, activism, epitomized by trade unions or political parties in those activists’ eyes, but also to distance itself from some practices still observed today in many international organizations in which northern activists have clearly taken precedence over southern partners. The CADTM Belgium’s members try not to reproduce internally what they loudly criticize: “neocolonial” practices. The financing and thus patronizing role generally attributed to northern organization is clearly rejected. The charter stipulates that “Each member organization of the network is financially independent. A member organization cannot become a main donor of funds for another member organization” (Article 3).

The will to create a horizontal network does not mean that every partner must have exactly same role and a certain kind of division of labor is even encouraged by the North based on the idea of complementarity between northern and southern participants. The CADTM Belgium relies on its southern partners in two main aspects: getting information and sharing the targets of the protests.

As the CADTM Belgium is not a field organization, a partnership with southern organization appears to be the best way to get certain information and data concerning the debt which cannot be obtained by staying in Liège nor during the field missions carried out by staff members. Those missions are short, meet specific goals, and do not allow enough time to conduct research.

The CADTM Belgium also expects to adopt shared targets of the protests. The fear of being seen as “neocolonialist”, explains the uncomfortable position of the CADTM Belgium when it comes to take a stand on southern governments’ policies. Trying to preempt possible charges of “imperialism” or “neocolonialism”, the CADTM Belgium directs its criticism at the most industrialized countries and the IFIs. Generally, the only heads of African states the Belgium members dares criticize are either dictators or already dead (or both, the most common example being Mobutu). The CADTM Belgium thus counts on its southern partners to take a critical position vis-à-vis their own government. This sharing of the targets between the CADTM Belgium and its southern partners is clearly established in the Annual action plan 2010: “the lobbying at the continental level (Africa, Asia and South America) relies on southern members of the CADTM International. Our task in Belgium is to facilitate and publicize the claims.”(Annual action plan 2010: 120)

In the practice this division of labor does not work as desired:

1/ The northern participants have access to more data than the southern participants.

2/ The search for information and the aim of launching audits implies that southern members should have good relationships with their government. Based on my field research, my observations are that African activists seldom dare to confront their own leaders and prefer, as well as the CADTM Belgium, to attack the most industrialist countries, especially the former metropolises.

3/ Southern organizations do not adopt a critical position towards the IFI. In a context marked by resource scarcity, a link with the World Bank is often a valuable asset. The metaphor of international institutions as “coral reefs” used by Sidney Tarrow is particularly appropriate for the African context where “rather than being seen as the antipodes of transnational contention, international institutions offer resources, opportunities and incentives for the formation of actors in transnational politics” (Tarrow 2001). For example, in August 2007, the CADD attended the World Bank-Civil Society Strategic Policy Workshops. A few months before the World Bank provided micro-funding to many “civil society organizations” in Benin, including the CADD which perceived 2400 euros. In September 2010, the CADD was again invited by the World Bank to take part in a consultative meeting to discuss practices of conditionality.

Another kind of division of labor takes place between southern and northern members, embodied by the creation of an international secretariat, entirely entrusted to the CADTM Belgium. The very existence of this structure challenges, in an obvious way, the principle of horizontality promoted by its members.

2. The Iron law of oligarchy: an unavoidable law?

The global assembly is the only body that is allowed to tackle decisions concerning the future of the network. But for financial (costs of plane tickets and housing) and logistical (difficulty of obtaining visas) reasons, such assemblies takes place only every two years. The CADTM has thus decided to create an international secretariat, whose role is to ensure the coordination of activities during the time between two global assemblies. Its main activities are:

“Facilitating internal communication within the network, strengthening visibility of actions and analyses carried out by the network and of its member organisations, especially via the CADTM website and electronic bulletins. They help the network’s member organisations apply the decisions made by the global assembly, they coordinate the participation of the network’s member organisations during the international meeting. They promote collaboration with other international organisations with whom the network collaborates” (Political Charter, article 3)

The international secretariat is an efficient solution to answer the complexification of management tasks which result from the increased size of the network. Indeed, the CADTM,

like all organizations, is driven to ensure by the necessity its own survival. These organizational imperatives to acquire resources must also be taken into account while dealing with the non-profit world. Transnationalization itself as a complex phenomenon, induced by other logics than the emergence of a global civil society. In many ways, strategies that lead NGOs to transnationalization are not so different from those of corporations (Siméant). Taking into account the economic imperatives that drive NGOs towards internationalization and professionalization does not mean ignoring the values they carry inasmuch as resources are a prerequisite for the defense of these values.

Nevertheless, NGOs have to balance and prioritize multiple and diverse relationships, such as with donors and southern NGOs, but also different goals (short term/long term) and values (efficiency, democracy). If these goals and values are not necessarily contradictory, the pursuit of one goal could lead, at least temporarily, to the neglect of another one.

In this case, the very existence of the secretariat, although it is justified on the basis of efficiency, reflects and reinforces unequal power relationships between its members.

The international secretariat as the reflection of power inequalities:

Following the Actor Network Theory perspective, we argue that the non-human material elements of networks, such as resources, which have power relations embedded within them, are actors of “actant nodes” within the networks. We will here focus on two main resources: material and cultural resources.

Material resources: A study conducted during the 8th seminar in Cotonou among 13 CADTM organizations, revealed strong disparities between Southern and Northern members.

While the CADTM Belgium enjoys a 500 000 euros budget, the average budget among the African organization ranges from 1000 to 4000 euros a year. Four of them do not have any funding at all. While the CADTM Belgium employs 12 permanent staff members, the huge majority of southern organizations are composed only of volunteers. Some of them do not have a local and among the organizations which have one, only five benefit from an internet access.

Expertise: Like many organizations involved with the alterglobalization movement, the CADTM is strongly engaged in advocacy activities. As a result, expertise has become a core value within the network.

The growing importance of expertise has shaped the division of labor processes within the network, as exemplified by the 8th seminar of the CADTM International⁶.

This event was characterized by an overrepresentation of European members: almost half of the presentations were undertaken by Northern activists, although they only represent two delegations among the fifteen. This strong asymmetry is not only obvious in terms of numbers, but also in terms of the content and form of the debates: European members

⁶ The CADTM Charter is available in annex.

engaged in a scientific discourse, academic in form despite a political content, while Southern members illustrated ideas by a specific example, often taken from their own experiences. The international financial crisis was already the main issue debated during the first “CADTM-Europe Summer University,” organized in Belgium in July 2009. During this event, the crisis was already broken down into several components: financial, ecological, social and migratory crisis. The international crisis was also the subject of the most recent book published by Eric Toussaint and Damien Millet whose title “*La crise, quelles crises?*”⁷ aims to emphasize its plural dimension.

This example highlights the ambivalence of “counter expertise”; if its development is thought to be a way of resisting domination of “experts system” (Giddens 1990: 27), it also contributes to its reproduction within transnational networks and more generally within the alter-globalization movement of a gap that seems to separate “globe trotter committed intellectuals” from “grassroots activists” (Pleyers, 2008)

Nevertheless we have to be careful not to slip into caricature. On one hand, the study on material conditions also shows strong divergences between southern organizations and even in the South, some organizations are far from being resourceless. The CAD for example enjoys a 150 000 euros annual budget and gathers more than 20000 members. On the other hand, one should not jump too quickly to the conclusion that expertise is the preserve of Northern activists. A study conducted in the WSF in Nairobi shows that African activists engaged in the alter-globalization movement are often characterized by a high level of education and went through a political socialization that facilitates the understanding and formulation of grievances, and a taste for debate (Siméant, Pommerolle 2010). This is also the conclusion of Rémi Sulmont whose research focused on the African Social Forum: “Well educated, their capacity to develop an economic expertise procures them a true legitimacy to intervene in the global public space. Without any exceptions, interviewed participants have college degrees” (Sulmont, 2005). A sociological approach of the southern CADTM activists confirms partially these results. Camille Chalmers is a professor of economics at State University in Haiti. Solange Koné (Ivory Coast) has been an anti-debt activist for more than 10 years and in February 2006, she was invited by the Jean Jaurès Foundation, in Paris, as a speaker in an international seminar. Pierre Ngampou, from APASH, is a professor in philosophy in Brazzaville. Victor Nzuzi, 45 years old, is an activist since he entered university.

The secretariat international reinforces inequalities

We considerer than none of the tasks entrusted to the CADTM Belgium members could be seen as “purely technical”.

To administer a website surely necessitates good computers skills but it also means being the one having access to it, the one who choose what content will be included (articles, pictures, interviews) and what will not. The same could be said concerning the sending of the

⁷ Damien MILLET, Eric TOUSSAINT. 2009. *La crise : quelles crises ?*, Paris, Bruxelles, Aden - CADTM - Cetim.

newsletters or the editing of the review *Les Autres Voix de la Planète*⁸. Through these bias, the CADTM Belgium keeps the image of the association under its control.

This role of “garant” is particularly obvious when it comes to help other members respect the decisions of the global assembly.

As a consequence, the role of the CADTM Belgium is more ambiguous than its members would wish and could sometimes impede southern initiatives. Let us take two examples. In June 2009, M.K, from CADTM RDC, sent an article to the CADTM in Belgium, attacking the WFP. The case taken as an example was the distribution of food in Katanga. In addition to the low quality of the food, the author put into question the food distribution itself: according to him, the WFP would have been better off buying rice grown in the region than giving inhabitants flour and beans that didn’t fit the local tastes. Noting an increase in tuition, he added:

“At first, we can say that this program pushes the student to study, but the latter only seek to take profit from the meal given in the school cafeteria. In some school, students eat in the morning, before starting the class around 7 am; do you think that those students will be able to understand what they hear? Except to somnolence, followed by sleep, they have difficulties to remain focused, and a friend of mine told me that eating equates with sleeping.”

After review by the CADTM Belgium, the text was put online on the CADTM website. But this excerpt above was cut off.

The second example deals with the events that occurred in Guinea on September 28, 2009, when the junta military opened fire on civilians gathered in the national soccer stadium in Conakry, killing more than hundred civilians. Many emails were sent on the CADTM listserv expressing the general outcry. M Barry, president of the CAD in Mali, suggested

“We will take a common position at the CADTM Africa level, with the backing of our comrade Sékou Sylla. But, as Africans, we have to react to this situation. I suggest to the young people Achille, Samir, and Emilie that they send us a declaration to be amended by others. » (Aminata Barry, CAD Mali, CADTM Africa listserv 09.29.09)

Here is the reply from the CADTM Belgium

“I just wrote a release with the help of Claude [CADTM France] and Sékou [CERIDA Guinea]. The text is still being discussed. We will send it as soon as it will be finished.”

Few members reacted; some contributions were minimal: adding “Conakry” to Guinea, or “natural” to ressources. But it shows the impetus to get involved. Other contributions were more significant and few have been added in the final release. Nevertheless, this latter would remain signed by the CADTM Belgium and the CADTM France.

⁸ *Les Autres Voix de la Planète* (“The Others voices of the Planet”) is the name of the French language magazine published four times a year by the CADTM.

The declaration has been written by Claude and myself, and we consulted Sékou by phone, but he couldn't, unfortunately have an internet access to read peacefully the text proposed and agree on it (I read it to him by phone but this remain difficult). Due to the situation, we decided we had better to react quickly and sign the release CADTM Belgium and CADTM France. (Pauline Imbach, CADTM Belgique, email envoyé sur la liste Afrique, le 30.09.09)

This situation stems from two main reasons. First, the CADTM wanted to act quickly. Second, the CERIDA might have been in danger if the release was signed by the whole CADTM Africa. Those two examples underline a form of censorship exerted by the CADTM Belgium, both upstream and downstream.

The iron law of oligarchy, developed by Michels in his analysis of the German Social Democratic Party (SPD), seems to apply to the CADTM case. The existence of a professionalized elite reflects strong inequalities in terms of power relationships within the network. Nevertheless we don't want to limitate ourselves to this deterministic and somewhat pessimistic point of view.

3. Extraversion strategies and “double game”⁹ of activists

The concept of “extraversion” developed by Jean-François Bayart to think the relationships between Africa and the rest of the world appears to be a useful tool to think about transnational activism. Based on Foucault's analysis of power, this concept insists on the rational process that leads to the “creation and the capture of a rent generated by dependency and which functions as a matrix of inequality, political centralization and social struggle”. The concept of “extraversion” aims to understand *dependence* without adhering too closely to the dependency theory. Indeed subjection does not exclude the possibility of action on the part of the subjected.

Indeed, in the words of the militants I interviewed, transnationalisation is not expressed in terms of dependence, but appears, often as a way of *affranchissement*.

Affranchissement can first be understood in its literal sense. Gérald Akoume, the president of the CADTM Togo has always been a political opponent of the Eyadema regime. In 2005, he was imprisoned for the second time. Detained in a secret place for almost a month, he spent the following 14 months in jail without trial. The CADTM network supported him:

“I think that without the CADTM, I would not be alive today. I truly think so. This shows how I said that the CADTM is not only an organization in my eyes, it is also my family. It was the CADTM who alerted institutions worldwide. There was Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the European Commission. They contacted ambassadors and explained my situation. Furthermore they helped me financially by paying for my lawyers”.

⁹ Yves DEZALAY, Brian GARTH. 2002 *The Internalization of Palace Wars. Lawyers, Economists, and the Contest to Transform Latin American States*, Chicago, The University of Chicago Press.

Affrichissement from national or continental boundaries also explains why the funding from the CADTM Belgium is mainly allocated to pay for flights to international seminars and forums. A huge majority of southern CADTM activists had never left West-Africa or even their own country. Those trips to Europe, the United States, South America or Asia are thus really important to them. Emilie Atchaka, the president of the CADD, loved to tell me the story of her first trip to Amsterdam: the first time she took the plane, without her husband or children, the fear she felt, mixed with pride, the discovery of the city, her first snowball fight. During the meeting, she spoke in front of others activists from around the world, explained the situation of the women in Benin, the problems stemming from evaporated milk, and she was heard and applauded. To her, belonging to the CADTM meant also feeling connected to the rest of the world.

Through extraversion, southern activists expect also to gain access to training:

“If we are who we are today it is thanks to those associations, not thanks to school. We have been trained through activism, through activism with all it... with all what we can find in this word, the training of sacrifice, the training to be able to lead a meeting, leadership training, to lead all people you have around you when you are the main director, to be able to handle it [...] There is small training we first didn't realize we received, but then we saw that without this kind of organization we couldn't have them... Are they equal those who know and those who don't know? Never. They will never be equal. For now, we don't have much, but when there will be more, we will not forego.”
(Abderrahman, ATTAC Togo, 22 years old)

Despite their involvement in transnational networks, most of the southern (and northern) activists are committed to their localities, which ultimately shapes their approaches to international activities. As Tarrow reminds us, transnational activists are “rooted” in local conditions and concerns (Tarrow 2005). Most of the material, social, and cultural resources are mobilized through extraversion strategies, which are then reinvested in the national context, within which southern activists build their own trajectories

The fact that southern members are barely present in the publications of the CADTM network does not mean that Africa remains silent. The truth is that southern militants develop other paths to express themselves. By analyzing the emails exchanged on the listserv, we realize how important broadcast media is for them, particularly radio and TV.

For example, Victor Nzuzi, a Congolese member who took part in many radio shows on Top Congo and Sangomalamu stations, talked about the indebtedness of his country and the role of the IFIs or the Paris Club in the process. Luc Mukendi is invited every week to Radio Okapi to discuss political and economical issues linked to the debt. Emilie Atchaka remembers the times when she appeared on TV; she appeared even once in the News.

The last time I was in Benin, people the CADD celebrated International Women's Day. TV and radio station attended the events, but the print media had largely ignored the ceremony.

If these broadcasts don't reach Belgium and the CADTM website, it is mostly because they are not intended for it. The target audience is a local, sometimes national audience, as shown by the numbers of radio programs broadcasted in vernacular language. The press conference held by the CADD women's was held in Fon, the debt forum organized by ATTAC Togo was in Ewé.

While southern activists hold the position of "learners" within the transnational network, they intervene as "experts" within the national boundaries. The transnational militant arena is a space of "double game". An activist does not have the same position within his or her local organization and in front of donors, within his or her community and at social forum meetings.

Furthermore, Foucault's analysis of power invites us to regard the ordering of networks as a process rather than an outcome. This leads us to consider the ongoing processes of contestation and resistance within networks. Social structures such as networks are verbs, not nouns.

III Challenging the power relationships within the network: contention and resistance within the CADTM

1. The regionalization process: toward a polycentric network?

Both southern and northern participants, in their own ways, challenge the power relationships within the network. The principles and values expressed in the political and technical charters are neither a purely rhetorical statement nor simple naivety.

Belgium CADTM members are aware of the fact that the network operates on asymmetric power relations and act on it. The training of southern leaders is one of the main objectives of the organization. Since 2003 the CADTM organized every year an international meeting to "strengthen the network". This gathering is thought to be a "time to exchange experiences and analyses in order to improve self education and also to strengthen the ties between the members". These "self-teaching" workshops can have an essential role and help fight against the division of labor that currently exists in the network. The CADTM also helps southern members to publish articles by promoting partnerships between southern and northern members. Every year between four and five articles are produced this way; though this looks like a small number, it represents half of the articles produced by the south. This transfer of responsibility is accompanied by a progressive delegation of prerogatives officially entrusted to the International secretariat, especially organizational and coordination tasks. For the first time, in 2009, southern organizations, the CADD and ATTAC Togo, were responsible for the logistical organization of the meeting: buying the plane tickets, renting the conference room, and reserving a hotel and a restaurant. As explained in the annual action plan 2010: "the main challenge for the CADTM Belgium is the autonomy of southern network's members according to the charter's spirit. CADTM Belgium continues its efforts to withdraw gradually from the organization of the meetings and facilitate the financial

autonomy of southern members”. In the future, the CADTM members envision ceding the International secretariat to another organization: “At a future date that has yet to be determined, and in order to ensure a rotation, the international secretariat could be taken by another organization, chosen by the global network assembly”(CADTM Technical Charter, article 2). Such a rotation, as observed by Lipset in the case of the *International Typographic Union*, would help resist the iron law of oligarchy (LIPSET, TROW, COLEMAN 1953).

Southern members also challenge the power relationships within the network, with international gathering emerging as sites of struggle. During the 8th seminar in Cotonou, the main tensions focused on the Northern participation. Why do France and Belgium send seven delegates whereas the others only have one or two? This situation was costly for the African organizers (CADD and ATTAC Togo) who provided everyone with adequate food and shelter. Northern activists were also reproached for exerting too much influence on the network’s decision making. The high number of northern delegates provoked imbalances in terms of representation. Furthermore, the voice of northern members was considered as being too important in the discussions; a FNNDP- Ivory Coast activist asked Eric Toussaint to be the last to speak, in order to not prejudice the debate. Controversies that emerged during the international meetings must be considered “as a form of negotiation on the acceptable conditions regarding North South cooperation within alter-global movement”.

The actions of both southern and northern participants resulted in a decentralization of the structure. Since 2003 the CADTM decided to structure the network in regional workshops. The first one was organized in December 2003 in Mali, and led to the creation of a West African organization: ROAD. Thanks to the CADTM Belgium, this organization was accepted as a member of the International Council of the World Social Forum in 2005. Since 2007, strengthening the ties between West and Central Africa has been a priority: a regional program centered on West and Central Africa was put in place. Financially supported by a northern partner of the CADTM Belgium (not by the CADTM Belgium), this program enabled the convening of two seminars (in Kinshasa and Abidjan), of one forum in Togo, and the international meeting in Cotonou and Lomé in 2009. During that period, three regional listservs were created: one for West Africa, one for central Africa, and one for the whole continent. This regional integration process resulted in the foundation of a new structure: the CADTM Africa.

2. Extraversion and competitive logics within southern organizations

The CADTM Africa was created in October 2009, during the global network assembly in Cotonou. This structure can be understood as a network within the network. It gathers all the African organizations: West Africa, Central Africa and also for the first time North Africa. Several goals were put forward to support the creation of this structure: 1/ ensuring better coordination between African organizations, 2/ attracting new financial resources for the South and 3/ giving these African organizations a chance to become a member of the World Social Forum International Council. To ensure the maintenance of the CADTM Africa, a coordination committee was set in place. Its role is very similar to that of the international secretariat, although it remains confined to the continent. Five activists have been chosen to ensure the coordination of the CADTM Africa: three from West Africa, one from Central

Africa and one from North Africa, proportionally to the number of organizations located in those different areas.

If this decentralization process is a way of resisting the iron law of oligarchy by creating a polycentric network, many tensions surrounded the creation of the committee, especially when it came to decide which organization and who in these organizations would become members of it. During the meetings in Cotonou, many activists tried to undermine the credibility of other organizations considered as potential rivals and accusations circulated.

One of the main elements that emerged from my observation was a mutual distrust between North African and sub-Saharan African activists. For some Tunisians and Moroccans, “Africans don’t work enough”. The case taken as an example was the one of a Togolese activist invited to a WSF preparatory meeting who came to Morocco but didn’t attend many workshops. According to them, this Togolese took advantage of the grants offered by the network to travel across the country. Conversely, some sub-Saharan activists bear resentment toward North-African activists they accused of being too close to the North and to despise the sub-Saharan Africans. One of them explained to me that ATTAC Morocco attended the ATTAC International meeting in Poland without notifying the other ATTAC in Africa. Distrust is also common among sub-Saharan organizations. The activists’ multiple belonging casts doubts on the truthfulness of militant commitment. This activist is financed by the CADTM to go to the FSA but when he gets there he represents his own organization and not the CADTM. So how can the organization be sure he will not do it again in Dakar? Some were also accused of “violating the CADTM Political Charter”. For example, we heard that FNDP members would have welcomed Dominique Strauss Kahn, head of the IMF, all dressed up, without even condemning his politics:

“When Strauss Kahn was in Ivory Coast, they were all there. The tie, everything.” (Y.B., ATTAC Ivory Coast and CADD Benin, 03.10.2010)

Some activists were allegedly only present for material benefits:

“If at the end, there is a cocktail party, this is the cocktail party they are waiting for, whether we like it or not” (G. A, CADTM Togo, 02.18.2010)

As summarized by Solange, in wording that was approved by everyone “CADTM Africa is born in pain.”

While the majority of activists are aware of these competitive logics and tries to accept them, some others are refusing to enter the game. Gerald, the president of CADTM Togo, whose critical position toward those who seek Belgium approval is accentuated by a kind of bitterness.

“Me, I don’t need to do my one man show to... to show who I am”
“They play the lackeys” (02.18.2010)

As all attention is focused on Belgium, some southern activists are keen to avoid revealing their internal disagreements in front of the North. Victor, feeling the tension rising during the meeting, asked White people to leave the conference room, saying: “dirty laundry has to be kept inside”. Some of these critiques and accusations were expressed openly, others were introduced through the back door. But all the rumors were intended to reach the ears of the Belgium activists who still appear as the main decision makers. According to Gerald, president of the CADTM Togo, ATTAC Togo was imposed by Belgian members:

“Africans should have been left alone... to debate among themselves. We were between Africans in the group who prepared this stuff [the members of the coordination committee]. But the day after [...] we were all together and some people wanted to impose things, and things have been imposed”. (02.18.2010)

These quotations highlight the ambiguous role of the North within the network. Although facilitating a regionalization process aimed at empowering southern organizations, it paradoxically remains a major obstacle to inter-organization harmony. Indeed, extraversion not only impacts the causes defended by southern activists; by making international access a major resource, it also enhances competitive logics between the different actors.

Conclusion

A close analysis of a CADTM network reveals the necessity of looking behind the veil of “horizontality” in order to think through the power relationships between activists in the network. Even if this analysis remains a case study that doesn’t allow us to theorize power relationships within a network, we would like to highlight three main elements that emerged from this case:

1/ The differences in terms of resources (material, cultural, social) induce unequal relationships of power between the members in the network, especially between the North and the South. These power relationships translate into a division of labor between the CADTM Belgium and the southern organizations, which in turn could reinforce power imbalances. Such imbalances impede the horizontal partnership promoted by the actors.

2/ To shift the focus and analyze the network from a southern point of view enables us to think through power relationships without falling into pessimism. Southern activists are part of the process and know how to use their belonging in an international network to obtain resources which will be reinvested within their national borders. Indeed the fact that southern participants are underrepresented in the publications of the network doesn’t mean that they remain silent: many of them take part in TV or radio shows and intervene as experts in their own countries.

3/ Power relationships are not an outcome but an ongoing process. Both North and South are challenging these relationships. While controversies emerged during international meetings, the Belgium members delegate progressively more of the tasks entrusted to the international secretariat. If the secretariat is still in Belgian hands, a regionalization process is taking place and helps resist the iron law of oligarchy by creating a polycentric network. It also raises the question of the right scale(s) of analysis to observe a transnational network.

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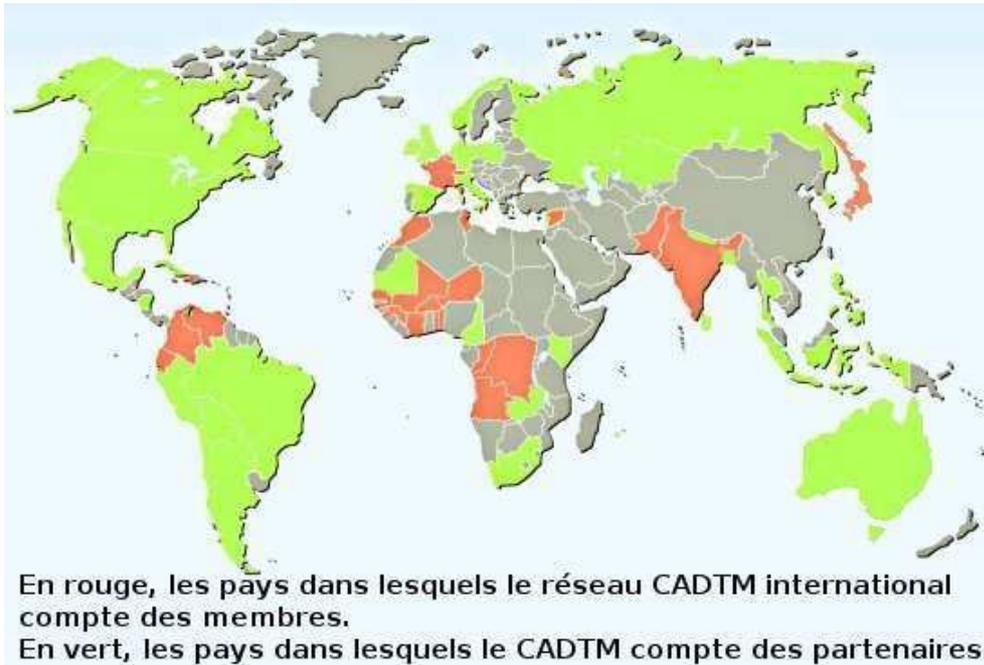
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**Annex 1: map
The CADTM International**



**In Red: members
InGreen: partners**

Annex 2: CADTM members

Europe	West Africa	Central Africa	North Africa and Middle East	South America And Caribbean	Asia
CADTM belgim	CADTM Senegal	NAD Kin	AGAS Syria	Venezuela	VAK India
CADTM France	FNDP Ivory Coast	CADTM Lumumbashi	CADTM-ATTAC Morocco	UNEB Colombia	CADTM Pakistan
CADTM Suizerland	CADD Benin	NAD Unikin	RAID-ATTAC Tunisia	CADTM Ecuador	ATTAC Japan
	CADTM Togo	CADTM APASH Congo	ATTAC Lebanon	PAPDA Haïti	
	ATTAC Burkina Faso	Solidaires Pointe Noire		ATTAC Argentina	
	CAD Mali	Liga Jubileu Angola RPC Mauritania			
	RNDD Niger CERIDA Guinea				

Annex 3

Political Charter of CADTM International

(Adopted in Belém in January 2009)

Preamble :

In 1989, the *Bastille Appeal* was launched in Paris. It invited popular movements throughout the world to unite in demanding the immediate and unconditional cancellation of the debt of the so-called *developing* countries. This crushing debt, along with the neo-liberal macro-economic reforms imposed on the South since the debt crisis of 1982, had led to the explosion of inequality, mass poverty, flagrant injustice and the destruction of the environment. It was in response to this appeal, and in order to fight against the overall degradation of living conditions of the majority of peoples, that the CADTM was founded in 1990. Nowadays, CADTM International is a network of some 30 active organizations in over 25 countries across four continents. Focusing on the debt and debt-related issues, the principal aim of its actions and the radical alternatives it proposes is to work towards a world based on sovereignty, solidarity and cooperation between peoples, respect for the environment, equality, social justice and peace.

Since the CADTM was founded, there have been significant changes in the international context, not least regarding the nature of indebtedness: domestic public debt has dramatically increased. From a global viewpoint, two major opposing trends can be seen to have developed internationally. On the one hand, the neo-liberal capitalist offensive, whose principal proponents are the G7, the IMF, the WB and the WTO, all of whom cater to the interests of multinationals and international financial capital, has become more widespread and entrenched. On the other hand, a counter-trend of powerful social movements against the neo-liberal offensive has been emerging since the end of the 1990s, especially in Latin America. The struggle of the international social movements has been strengthened, in the belief that "*other worlds are possible*". Presidents advocating a break with neo-liberalism have been elected; initiatives to audit debt and suspend repayments on external public debt have been taken; recovery of State control over strategic sectors and natural resources has been envisaged. At the same time, neo-liberal projects such as the ALCA or resistance to imperialism in Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan have failed. How power relations will evolve between these two opposing trends largely depends on how the peoples of the world will respond to the many facets of the international crisis – financial, social, political, environmental, cultural, as well as food, energy and climate.

Political Charter

1. Public debt (external and domestic) involves a massive transfer of wealth from the peoples of the South to the creditors, while the local dominant classes skim off their commission during the transfer. Both in the Northern and Southern hemispheres, debt is a mechanism used to transfer wealth created by workers and small producers to the benefit of capitalists. Debt is used by lenders as an instrument of political and economic domination which establishes a new form of colonialism. Despite their vast natural and human resources, the people of the South are being bled dry. In most countries of the South, the amount spent each year in repayment of public debt comes to more than that spent on education, health, rural

development and job creation all together. The debt relief initiatives of recent years have been a mere mockery, as the stringent conditions they come with do more harm than good to the countries which are supposed to be the "*beneficiaries*".

2. The CADTM's main objective is the immediate and unconditional cancellation of Third World debt and the abandonment of structural adjustment policies. In pursuit of this objective, here are some of the aims that CADTM International seeks to promote by its actions:

- ▶ To disseminate information, raise awareness, and help indebted peoples to get organized and take action.
- ▶ To set up debt audits, with citizen participation, as a preliminary to rejecting all odious and illegitimate debt.
- ▶ For governments to make unilateral and sovereign decisions and, having declared their public debt null and void, to cease to repay it.
- ▶ For these governments to break off agreements with the IMF and the World Bank.
- ▶ To establish a united front of countries who cease debt repayments.
- ▶ To gain recognition for the odious debt doctrine in international law.
- ▶ To urge refusal of any conditions that lenders seek to impose.
- ▶ For citizens of the countries of the South to recover assets formerly embezzled by corrupt leaders of the South, with the complicity of banks and governments.
- ▶ For the Northern powers to pay unconditional reparations to the countries of the South in the name of historic, social and ecological debt accumulated with regard to the countries of the South.
- ▶ For legal action to be taken against the international financial institutions.
- ▶ In cases where bankrupt private banks have been nationalized, for the total recovery of costs from the assets of the large shareholders and directors.
- ▶ For the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO to be replaced by democratic institutions which prioritize the fulfilment of fundamental human rights through development finance, credit and international trade.
- ▶ For the termination of all agreements (economic, political, military, etc.) which endanger the sovereignty of peoples and perpetuate the mechanism of dependence.

3. For the CADTM, cancellation of the debt is not an end in itself. It is an essential condition – albeit insufficient – for ensuring the fulfilment of human rights. Thus it is necessary to look beyond the cancellation of public debt for the means to achieve a form of social justice that is environmentally sound. Debt is part of a system that must be combated in its entirety. Together with debt cancellation, other radical alternatives must be brought into play. These include such measures as:

- ▶ eliminating hunger, poverty and inequality.
- ▶ ensuring equality between men and women in all spheres of life
- ▶ imposing a new financial discipline by re-instating strict regulation of the flow of capital and goods, taxing capital (global taxes, wealth taxes), lifting bank secrecy, and banning tax havens, speculation and usury.
- ▶ raising the level of public development aid (this aid to be given exclusively in the form of unconditional donations) to 1% of the Gross Domestic Product of the most industrialized countries, re-naming it the “reparations and solidarity contribution” and excluding from its calculation any amounts related to debt cancellation or not serving the interests of populations in the South.
- ▶ mobilizing resources that do not generate indebtedness.
- ▶ implementing alternatives that free men, women and children from all forms of oppression, whether social, patriarchal, neo-colonial, racial, caste-based, political, cultural, sexual or

religious.

- ▶ implementing an ambitious environmental policy aimed at re-stabilizing the climate.
- ▶ ensuring economic, political and food sovereignty for peoples.
- ▶ placing a ban on the patenting of living organisms.
- ▶ achieving demilitarization on a global scale.
- ▶ ensuring people's right to move and settle freely.
- ▶ affirming the superiority of human rights over commercial law, and obliging governments, international financial institutions and companies to respect the various international instruments in force, such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR, 1948), the Convention on the Political Rights of Women (1952), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR, 1966), the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR, 1966), the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW, 1981), the Declaration on the Right to Development (DRD, 1986), the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (1990), the Declaration on Human Rights Defenders (1998) and the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007).
- ▶ ensuring people's sovereignty over their lives and their future, which means placing natural resources in the public domain, together with the results of Research & Development, other common assets of humanity and strategic sectors of the economy.
- ▶ abandoning a capitalist system based on the quest for maximum private profit, growth and individual advantage, with a view to building a society in which social and environmental needs are at the heart of political choices.

4. To bring about such changes and to achieve social emancipation, CADTM International believes that it is for the people themselves to rise to the challenge. What they need is not to be freed, but to free themselves. Furthermore, experience has shown that privileged minorities cannot be counted on to take responsibility for people's well-being. As the Bastille Appeal declared in 1989: *"only the solidarity of peoples will bring economic imperialism to an end. This solidarity does not mean in any circumstance that one should support those regimes which worsen the poverty of their countries, which stifle the voices and rights of peoples"*. Reinforcing social movements is a priority for the CADTM. Taking an internationalist approach, it is helping to build a broad-based movement which is popular, aware, critical and mobilized. Firm in its belief that the world's struggles for emancipation must converge, CADTM International supports all organizations and coalitions which work towards equality, social justice, the conservation of nature, and peace.

Annex 4

Technical charter of CADTM International

(Adopted in Belém in January 2009)

1-Preamble

1. The CADTM network is an international movement which fights for the abolition of Third World Debt, for social emancipation, respectful of nature and freedom from all forms of oppression.
2. The member organisations of the network must promote the links of movements which have similar or complimentary objectives. Unity of action and respect for diversity are the essential principles of our work.
3. The CADTM International network, based on its accumulated experience, has developed a way of functioning which is unique. The adoption of the technical charter does not mean having a definitive set of fixed rules which are applied in a rigid manner, but rather it establishes and determines the main internal rules and procedures which characterise the work within the network and the dynamic of the CADTM International as a whole. This charter can be modified by the network global assembly by including this point on the agenda.
4. This technical charter is a tool to be used as a guide for, on the one hand, decision made and actions carried out by member organisations of the network or organisations who would like to join the network and, on the other hand, for those who would like to strengthen their ties with CADTM International.

II – Technical Charter

General Principles of the organisation

1. The CADTM International network is a network which works in a horizontal manner: there is no structure which is at the head of the international network. The global assembly is when the main directions/ guidelines of the network are established. A global network assembly should take place every two years. Following a global network assembly, it is decided how the next meeting will take place as well as the financing and set up for the next global assembly. The global assembly sets up working committees. The quorum required in order for the global meeting to take place is half plus one of the member organisations. Adhesions and exclusions are the responsibility of the global assembly.
2. The international secretariat, which up till now has been assumed by the CADTM Belgium, has the role of coordinator. Its main tasks involve facilitating internal communication within the network, strengthening visibility of actions and analyses carried out by the network and of its member organisations, especially via the CADTM website and electronic bulletins. They help the network's member organisations apply the decisions made by the global assembly, they coordinate the participation of the network's member organisations during the international meeting. They promote collaboration with other international organisations with

whom the network collaborates. In the future, the international secretariat of the network could be assumed by another member organisation of the network, so as to ensure a rotation of roles, which will be assigned in the global network assembly.

3. Each member organisation of the network is financially independent. A member organisation cannot become a main donor of funds for another member organisation. One off financial aid can sometimes be accepted, even encouraged. Each member organisation, if helped financially by another organisation, has the responsibility of finding the necessary financial resources in order to strengthen the capacity to function and finance activities on a national, regional and international level. Each member organisation, in coordination with the international secretariat, has the objective of gathering the financial resources in order to ensure their participation in global network meetings. The sources and financial resources should be in line with the spirit of the political charter of CADTM International.

4. Each organisation is autonomous and has total freedom when establishing action programmes, as long as it does not go against the Political charter. The preparation, organisation and realisation of specific actions of each organisation is carried out in an independent and democratic manner.

5. CADTM International focuses on the strengthening of regional work. The members of CADTM International are divided into 6 regional workshops : Central Africa, West Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean, Asia, Europe and the Middle East and North Africa (MENA). Each member organisation aims to strengthen and consolidate the regional workshop's independence and capacities for action so as to strengthen the global network as a whole. The global assembly has the power to create new regional workshops.

6. The four main stages in order to join the CADTM International network are the following :

1. Effective and continued collaboration with several member organisations of the international network.
2. Support for the candidacy of the member organisation of the workshop involved.
3. Regional Workshop meeting and approval by the workshop members;
4. Formal adhesion at the global network assembly.

7. Obligations and responsibilities

8. As a member of the CADTM International network, each organisation :

9. Agrees with the CADTM political charter and conforms activities with the general spirit of this charter in the analyses which are disseminated and with the action it undertakes.

10. Apply the principles of democracy and transparency in the decision making process, be it on a national or regional level.

11. To practice within the heart of the organisation, equality between women and men and to act within society so that this equality becomes a reality. The member organisations of the network consciously act within their organisation to put an end to all forms of oppression against women.

12. Sharing analyses and experiences with all the members of the network, especially so as to:

1. communicate in an appropriate way the activities of the past, present and future. This information will be sent, depending on the relevance, to the international secretariat, the regional workshop concerned, the thematic work committees or even to all the members of the network.;
2. make available to the entire network different works, analyses, publications and learning tools created;
3. actively participate in the enrichment of the CADTM website.

13. To carry out actions with the aim of strengthening the capacity and autonomy of the regional workshops, especially concerning :

1. promoting the improvement of inter-regional communication;
2. actively supporting the activities carried out by the member organization within the regional workshops;
3. encouraging the collective creation and production of analyses and works;
4. consolidating collaboration with regional partners concerned.

14. To carry out actions within the dynamic of the CADTM International network as a whole:

1. To commit to expanding knowledge on debt, the IFIs and all the problems addressed by CADTM (mainly through reading and using the material of the CADTM), to better disseminate the analyses carried out by the CADTM as much as possible, especially through training and civic education.
2. strengthening the analyses of issues which concern the CADTM from a local, regional or international perspective:
3. coordinating the regional workshop's dynamic with that of the international Network;
4. supporting initiatives taken by other members of the networks;
5. supporting initiatives taken by the debt movement in general.

15. The exclusion of a member of the international network is decided by the global assembly in cases of violation of the political charter, in cases of racist or sexist behaviour or any other attitude or action which goes against the spirit of this charter. The regional workshops are where possible exclusion is discussed and then it is proposed to the global assembly where the decision is made.