

ANNUAL REPORT 2000-1

FROM THE DIRECTOR

Focus and Porto Alegre

For Focus on the Global South, 2001 was bracketed between two major events held at the end of January of 2001 and 2002: the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Porto Alegre is not your typical Third World city. Located in one of Brazil's more prosperous states, Rio Grande do Sul, and populated by people mainly of European stock, this city of 1.2 million people is First World when it comes to infrastructure and social services. In fact, it ranks near the very top in terms of the country's "quality of life" index.

Another world is possible

Yet, Porto Alegre, site of the World Social Forum (WSF) last year and again this year, has become the byword for the spirit of the burgeoning movement against corporate-driven globalization. Galvanized by the slogan "Another world is possible," some 60,000 people flocked to this coastal city from January 30 to February 5 2002. This figure was nearly five times the number of those who attended last year.

Fisherfolk from India, farmers from East Africa, trade unionists from Thailand, indigenous people from Central America were among those who made their way to Porto Alegre. Brazilians, of course, predominated in terms of numbers, but quite a number of Argentines crossed the River Plate to share their feelings about the tragedy in their country. There was also a sizeable contingent from the North, with Italy alone contributing over 2,000 delegates.

The Porto Alegre crowd was distinctly anti-elitist, but this did not prevent it from receiving with great warmth the personalities that have come to exemplify the diversity of the movement against corporate-driven globalization--among others, activist-thinker Noam Chomsky, Indian physicist-feminist Vandana Shiva, Nobel prizewinner and indigenous peoples' advocate Rigoberta Menchu, Canadian people's advocate Maude Barlow, and Egyptian intellectual Samir Amin.

In symbolic terms, while Seattle was the site of the first major victory of the struggle against corporate-driven globalization, Porto Alegre represents the transfer to the South of the center of gravity of what is now a surging global movement.

Counterpoint to Davos

The World Social Forum emerged as a counterpoint to the World Economic Forum (WEF), the annual gathering of the global corporate crowd in Davos, Switzerland. Proposed in mid-2000 by a coalition of Brazilian civil society organizations and the Workers Party (PT) that

controls both Porto Alegre and the state of Rio Grande do Sul, the idea triggered strong international support from organizations such as the French monthly *Le Monde Diplomatique* and ATTAC, an influential Europe-wide organization supporting a tax on global financial transactions, and received financial support from a number of progressive donors.

Driven by this energy, the first WSF was put together in a record time of eight months.

A televised trans-Atlantic debate between representatives of the first WSF and some luminaries attending the WEF was billed by the *Financial Times* as a collision between two planets, that of the global super-rich and that of the vast marginalized masses. The most memorable moment of that confrontation came when Hebe de Bonafini, a representative of the Argentine human rights organization *Madres de la Plaza de Mayo*, shouted at financier George Soros across the Atlantic divide: "Mr. Soros, you are a hypocrite. How many children's deaths are you responsible for?"

Since its first meeting, the stock of the WSF has risen while that of the WEF has fallen. Already put on the defensive as a gathering to "discuss how to maintain hegemony over the rest of us," as one of the debaters on the WSF side put it, the WEF was apparently told by the Swiss government after September 11 that it could no longer guarantee the security of its corporate participants. Sealing off Davos from demonstrators in 2001 had already necessitated the biggest Swiss security operation after World War II, and the authorities anticipated a security and logistical nightmare in the wake of the September 11 events. As a result, the WEF moved its 2002 sessions to New York, ostensibly as a gesture of post-Sept. 11 solidarity.

The centerpiece of this year's gathering in Porto Alegre were 26 plenary sessions over four days structured around four themes: "the production of wealth and social reproduction," "access to wealth and sustainable development," "civil society and the public arena," and "political power and ethics in the new society." Around this core unfolded scores of seminars, a people's tribunal on debt sponsored by Jubilee South, a convention of progressive parliamentarians, and about 500 workshops. Marches and demonstrations of workers and peasants also took place, led by the Brazilian mass organizations CUT (Central Union of Workers) and MST (the Movement of the Landless) that are among the key organizers of the WSF.

Though there was no televised debate with the WEF this time, competition with the Davos/New York affair was in the minds of the media and the participants. In fact, the thousands of people protesting the WEF events at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York saw

themselves as an extension of the Porto Alegre process. While discussion of alternatives to corporate-driven globalization was the centerpiece of Porto Alegre 2002, the theme of continuing resistance was prominent. Indeed, if Hebe de Bonafini's combative words provided the most memorable soundbyte from Porto Alegre 2001, this year the most striking line also struck the theme of struggle. This came from Naomi Klein, author of *No Logo*, who brought a packed plenary to its feet with her assertion that what was needed was "less civil society and more civil disobedience."

As it did at the first WSF, Focus made a major commitment to Porto Alegre II. Nicola Bullard and I made presentations at the plenaries, Nicola speaking on international financial architecture and I on alternative modes of global economic governance. Focus organized or co-organized two seminars, one on "Deglobalization" as an approach to restructuring the international economic system, the other, with 50 Years is Enough, on the IMF and World Bank. But perhaps the most important activity Focus organized was to bring together a delegation of over 50 activists from different parts to Asia in order to bolster the Asian presence and perspective at the WSF.

Tumultuous year

The anti-establishment forces gathered in Porto Alegre after a tumultuous year. Perhaps the apogee of the anti-globalization movement came during Group of Eight Meeting in Genoa in the third week of July, when some 300,000 people marched in the face of police tear-gas attacks. Aside from participating in the march, Focus representatives spoke at the parallel summit organized by the Genoa Social Forum.

Shortly after the Genoa clashes, in which one protester was killed by police, there was speculation in the world press that elite gatherings in non-authoritarian countries might no longer be possible in the future. And indeed, Canada's offer to hold the next G-8 meeting in a resort high up in the Canadian Rockies in the province of Alberta seemed to confirm that the global elite was on the run from the democracy of the streets.

Then came September 11, which stopped a surging movement in its tracks. The next big confrontation between the establishment and its opponents was supposed to take place in late September in Washington, DC, during the annual fall meetings of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. Unnerved by the prospect of a week of massive protest that was expected to draw some 50,000 people, the Bretton Woods twins took advantage of the September 11 shock to cancel their meeting. Without a target and sensitive to the sea change in the national mood in the US, organizers cancelled the protest and held a march for peace instead.

The establishment followed up on the unexpected opportunity to reverse the crisis of legitimacy that had been wracking it prior to September 11 by pressing the developing countries to approve a declaration launching a limited set of trade negotiations during the Fourth Ministerial of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in Doha, Qatar, in mid-November. Third World governments were told that unless they agreed to talks leading to greater liberalization, they would have to take responsibility for worsening a global recession that had been accelerated by the World Trade Center attack.

Taking no chances, the WTO secretariat and the Qatar monarchy worked to limit the number of legitimate NGOs attending the meeting to about sixty. This ensured that the massive demonstrations on the street that characterized Seattle, which had served as a context for the famous developing country revolt at the Sheraton Convention Center, were not present in Doha, and under these circumstances, developing country opposition collapsed at the last minute.

Focus was one of the handful of genuine NGOs re in Qatar and, along with the others, we worked to assist developing country delegations and organized protests against the WTO at the Sheraton Convention Center.

Focus also took a leading role speaking out against the US war in Afghanistan, and in article after article, we opposed as well the criminalization of dissent and the extension of the so-called war against terror to places like the Philippines and Iraq. Focus also assembled an International Peace Mission that went to Basilan, Philippines, to investigate the US military build-up there in March 2002.

Had the WSF meeting been held in late November or December 2002, the mood of people coming would have been different. The Bush administration would have been riding high after its devastating triumph in Afghanistan. However, in the weeks leading up to Porto Alegre, history, cunning as usual, dealt Washington two massive body blows: the Enron debacle and Argentina's economic collapse.

Enron has become the sordid symbol of the volatile mixture of deregulation and corruption that drove the US' "New Economy" in the 1990s and helped lead it to what is possibly the worst global recession since the 1930s.

Burdened with an unpayable \$140 foreign debt, its industry in chaos, and 2,000 of its citizens falling under the poverty line daily, Argentina serves as a cautionary tale of the disaster that awaits those countries that take seriously the neoliberal advice to liberalize and globalize their economies.

Reversal of fortune

When the WSF took place, these twin disasters had brought back with a vengeance the crisis of legitimacy that the global elite and its project of corporate-driven globalization had been experiencing prior to September 11. Porto Alegre provided the perfect site and the perfect moment for the counter-offensive on the part of the movements that believe that "another world is possible." For the thousands who attended and the millions more throughout the world who sent their solidarity with their delegates, Porto Alegre 2002 more than lived up to expectations.

Walden Bello

Finance

Focus' finance programme tracks the debates on finance and financial architecture at the national level in Thailand, regionally and internationally; providing policy analysis and research for activists; and working for alternatives to the present financial system.

In 2001 the principal concerns were the continuing debate on the international financial architecture, the policies and practices of the IMF and World Bank, the UN Financing for Development Conference (FFD) and specific campaigns such as debt and the Currency Transactions Tax (CTT). Locally, the work has aimed to raise debates among academics, activists and grassroots organisations on the relationship between finance and development and to work with local communities on alternatives, such as the Thai Community Currency System project.

In 2001 we participated in and tracked the FFD preparations, attending three prepcoms, in February, May and September. We contributed to working groups and prepared statements in collaboration with others and separately in the name of Focus. We also wrote articles after each prep com analysing the process as well as commenting on critiques prepared by other NGOs and the South Centre in Geneva. In Thailand, a seminar on the FFD conference was organised with Thailand's ambassador to the UN and co-chair of the FFD conference HE Asada Jayanama as a keynote speaker.

We prepared and translated materials into Thai on FFD and finance generally for local activists and grassroots organisations in Thailand, culminating in a three day seminar on Finance and Development held in Bangkok in early January 2002.

Focus participated in and prepared papers for a regional conference on capital controls and currency transactions taxes.

We also work closely with other research centres and campaigns, providing analysis and information about the situation in Asia and continued to monitor the post-Asian financial crisis reforms.

Focus was the lead organiser of the World Social Forum conference on Financial Capital Controls, held in Porto Alegre in January 2002.

Trade

The trade programme is active at many levels, from the local through to the international. This section of the report focuses principally on the Geneva-based and WTO focussed work however this is intrinsically linked to work at the national level, especially in Thailand and India, and at the regional level. Much of the WTO policy analysis is

done by Aileen Kwa, now permanently located in Geneva, however at all times we attempt to link the activities and priorities in Geneva with the national programmes, especially in Thailand, India and the three "economies in transition" - Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam who are yet to gain membership of the WTO. Please refer to the India, Thailand and SEATEs sections for more on our trade programme.

The year began with a burst of activity around GATS (Focus' first concrete involvement in this area). We attended the GATS strategy workshop that a group of NGOs organized in Geneva. Following this some work was done, in co-ordination with the South Centre, analyzing the GATS proposals that mostly developed countries had submitted on a myriad of services sectors. Many developing country delegates were worried by the large number of proposals and the aggressive interests by the developed country WTO members but were forced into a defensive position due to their relative weakness in research and negotiating capacity at the WTO.

In March, Focus monitored and publicised the non-transparent transition from Phase 1 to Phase 2 of the agricultural negotiations. Developing countries found that their issues were given low priority in the list of issues that were prioritized in Phase 2. What was more worrying was the non-transparency with which consultations took place. Delegations who had been very active in Phase 1 were deeply angered that Phase 2's programme "merged from nowhere" and was presented to them much on a "take it or leave it" basis. Symptomatically, the development box, which was strongly supported by a number of developing countries, did not feature (although after much more pushing by certain delegations, the development box did make it in the February 2002 session of the Committee on Agriculture Special Session).

Preparing for Doha

In May, the WTO moved into consultations for the Doha Ministerial. Focus monitored and reported on these negotiations. From the beginning, the main battles were over the Singapore issues - investment, competition, transparency in government procurement and trade facilitation. We tried to publicise the positions of many developing countries that were against an expanded WTO agenda and their experience of the negotiations.

Also at this time, Thailand came under intense pressure by the US for attempting make retroviral drugs more accessible to HIV patients. The Thai government was attempting to shorten the period where these retrovirals had exclusive marketing rights in the Thai market and allow for earlier dissemination of the generic version of these drugs. The US accused the Thai government of reneging on bilateral agreements between the two governments and even accused them of

non-compliance with the TRIPS agreement. We took part in the demonstration at the end of June in front of the US embassy in Bangkok where Thai NGOs paraded the banner 'Dying for Free Trade: US or Us?' and disseminated information on the situation, especially the type of threats which the US were resorting to.

July was a critical moment in the preparations for Doha. WTO director general Mike Moore had declared the end of July a time for stocktaking or 'reality check'. At this stocktaking, it was clear that developing countries were angered by the biased process of consultations so far and the lack of progress in areas of interest to them.

Two main issues were highlighted by developing countries:

- 1) No progress had been made on implementation issues and that any report to the contrary by the chair was overly optimistic and 'not factual'.
- 2) There was no growing consensus on the new round - as the Chair and DG's report seemed to suggest.

Malaysia stated in the General Council that "It is clear we are in a state of impasse. We characterise the situation as discouraging, discomfiting, demoralising and in some instances, even depressing."

Malaysia's views were shared by many developing country delegations, to the extent that Mike Moore was mentally preparing the public that the major event in Doha could be the entry of China as a WTO member. His public statements at the time reflected his pessimism that his dreamed-of 'new round' could be launched.

August was a quiet summer month in Geneva, although capitals were bustling with activity. Seeing the hopelessness of trying to get Geneva-based negotiators to show 'flexibility', Mike Moore, EU Trade Commissioner Pascal Lamy and USTR Robert Zoellick criss-crossed the world speaking to Ministers, laying down a combination of carrots and sticks to get Ministers to tell their Geneva-based negotiators to compromise. The sticks included the possibility of aid and trade preferences being put on the line.

On the morning of September 11, Mike Moore and Stuart Harbinson (Chair of the General Council) met with NGOs at an ICTSD-organised meeting where Moore expressed hope that delegations would "enter into a spirit of compromise" given the short time they had before Doha. From a development perspective, it did not look like the best starting point. Focus' representative in Geneva, Aileen Kwa, asked Moore "Why should developing countries enter into a compromise, when the results of the Uruguay Round were more negative than positive? Would it not be a leap of faith on their part? Should not the starting point be

what developing countries need for their development, and then what trade policies should be implemented to meet those needs?"

Moore, clearly angered by the question, said "how can you say that developing countries have not benefited from the Uruguay Round when some countries are exporting billions more in textiles and others in rice?" Aileen took the opportunity, since he raised the issue of Thailand and rice, to put to him the problems small farmers in Thailand were facing. Aileen explained how many farmers have been driven into debt, are losing their lands and becoming landless labourers. The entire model of industrial rice production is too expensive for the small farmers, and asked Moore "why should Thailand be exporting their rice when 25% of their population are undernourished and do not have enough rice for themselves?"

Moore's reply? "... for the same reason that Germany exports cars, but a certain percentage of the German population cannot afford to buy cars."

The impact of September 11

The week following 11 September was a sad one in terms of Bush's reaction and the declaration of war. It became clear as the weeks unfolded that US's strategy had a deep impact on negotiations in Geneva. As preparations for Doha continued, no one in WTO circles specifically raised the issue, yet it was "in the air". Key delegations leading the developing country battle toned down because they were being approached at the highest levels in capitals. There was a sense of hopelessness. The battle lines seemed to have shifted - and the battle seemed to be out of our hands. The main battle in trade was no longer being fought in Geneva. One WTO delegate described the effect of September 11 as having "shifted the tide". A subtle shift, but nevertheless the status quo had changed significantly. Another delegate characterized US' push for a new round as the strategy to fight terrorism as "descending into the lowest depths of trade diplomacy" he had ever witnessed.

One positive event that took place in September was the formation of the 'Friends of Development Box', spearheaded by Pakistan. This was the group of about 10-12 countries that had been signatories of the various Development Box papers that have been submitted in the agriculture negotiations since 2000. Focus provided some support to the group, especially in terms of encouraging the group to send a letter to the Chair of the General Council requesting that a Development Box be part of the Doha draft declaration that was being discussed at the time. We also helped the group send out a press release and, subsequently, provided them with some assistance organizing their Ministerial level meeting which they held in Doha, officially publicizing their formation.

Together with South Centre, Focus was also involved in September with helping a group of delegations in the WTO push for an Assessment of the GATS. This had been mandated in the GATS agreement, but has so not been implemented. We provided some technical support for the paper that a group of developing countries submitted in the Council of Trade on Services. This was significant in that it raised the profile of the issue. The group highlighted some problems developing countries had been experiencing as a result of liberalisation of services and demanded that an assessment should be commenced as soon as possible.

Finally, Focus, together with the Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP) organized a meeting in Geneva with NGOs working on agriculture. One of Focus' key objectives was to get governments in Geneva in discussion with NGOs. One positive outcome was for our NGO friends to have exposure to delegates who were extremely disappointed with the power politics being played out in Geneva, and who were prepared to talk about it. The other positive outcome was that even the issue of models of agricultural production was brought up and talked about in the meeting with government delegates. This was certainly an improvement from six years ago when we first started our work on agriculture and trade policy.

In Doha, Focus was represented by Walden Bello. Focus was at the forefront of a series of demonstrations by civil society organisations at the Sheraton Convention Centre, the ministerial site. Even though the African group, LDCs and the Like Minded Group of countries put up a good fight, countries were won over by the renewal of the ACP waiver. The outcome - ambiguous language on launching the four Singapore issues upon "explicit consensus" in the 5th Ministerial - was extremely disappointing.

Work post Doha again shifted to the GATS, with the Council of Trade in Services (CTS) meeting taking place in November. Again, another paper on Assessment was submitted by a group of developing countries in order to keep up the fight on that issue in the CTS. This time, some evidence from developing countries' experience in structural adjustment liberalisation in their services sectors were cited, to make the argument for the pressing need for immediate assessment and for that assessment to take into account experiences countries have already had during structural adjustment.

Throughout the year, Focus made efforts to link the Geneva based work with national campaigns and national activists. Meetings, for instance, were set up between the Thai agriculture NGO RRAFA (doing research at the local level on the impact of the Agreement on Agriculture) and the Ambassador of Thailand based in Geneva, as well

as the negotiator in charge of agriculture. In October, Focus also participated in a workshop organized by Oxfam Solidarity in Laos. We also presented developing countries' concerns at the WTO and the state of pre-Doha negotiations at a special conference of the European Parliament. Also in October, Focus provided the resource person on agriculture at a regional meeting organized by UNDP in Mongolia. This meeting of mainly governments from the Asian region was the launching pad for the UNDP trade programme in the region. Other significant meetings included a pre-Doha conference in Stockholm, which was very well attended by Swedish NGOs and media and the post Doha strategy seminar organised by the "Our World is Not for Sale" coalition in Brussels. Focus was on the organising group for this meeting.

Throughout the year, we have interacted extensively with the media on trade issues - providing interviews, comments, referring journalists to local and national activists and specialists, issuing press releases, organising press conferences and writing opinion pieces.

Publications

Focus on Trade is the monthly electronic newsletter which is the main vehicle for disseminating Focus' analysis and commentary on trade and financial issues. In most issues, there has been at least one article examining the debates on financial reform, especially as they relate to the World Bank and the Fund. The subscriptions list is presently more than 5,000. The newsletter is also translated into Spanish and this edition has a circulation of over 1,000. Many articles are also translated into French, Italian, and occasionally into Thai, Bahasa Indonesian and Vietnamese.

Several key policy papers were written by Aileen Kwa during the year, including "Agriculture In Developing Countries: Which Way Forward?" and "Exactly How Development-Centered is the EU's Trade Agenda?"

In addition, Focus also produces "Dossiers" linked to specific events and campaigns. In 2001, we produced four dossiers, two on the Asian Development Bank especially on their financing arrangements, one on the G8, and a special issue in Spanish for the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. In each of these, there were specific papers dealing with issues of financial liberalisation, financial architecture and development.

In 2001, Focus also produced a major paper for the German parliament on global governance and this tackled many of the key institutional and regulatory debates on finance. We also prepared a paper for the German Parliament on social standards and trade which attempted to establish the critical connection between globalisation of financial markets, the structures of production and workers.

Copies of all these reports and documents are posted on the Focus website <http://focusweb.org>.

CULTURAL RESPONSES TO GLOBALIZATION

The year 2001 was completely dedicated to advancing the fieldwork for the research project on Islamic revivalism and the politics of liberation and reform in Mindanao, Aceh and Malaysia.

The work on Mindanao was brought to a tentative conclusion in the first months of the year. After that, the focus of the research shifted on to Aceh, the second of the three areas included in the project, and it continued as such until the concluding months of the year.

Aceh, in many respects, presented even more obstacles to the realization of relevant and satisfactory fieldwork than Mindanao. The absence on the ground of a well-established network of partner organizations, or individuals familiar with the work of Focus, in contrast to Mindanao, proved to be a major hindrance to the organization of trips to Aceh. Jakarta, on the other hand, represented more accessible ground, mostly thanks to local partners such as INFID.

In addition to that, the security situation was also a constant source of concern and on different occasions field trips had to be postponed at the last moment because of mounting security problems. Besides, in general, movements outside the provincial capital of Banda Aceh were strongly discouraged. For instance, in the run-up to Indonesia's Independence Day, on August 17, at least 30 bombs or grenade blasts were heard around the main city in the restive province of Aceh.

Overall, the situation in Aceh was very worrisome, as there was enough evidence of continuous gross human rights violations and as the Indonesian government seemed increasingly determined to solve the problem by resorting to military force. The forced abdication of Abdurrahman Wahid and the consequent installation to the Indonesian presidency Megawati Sukarnoputri in July appeared to further confirm this tendency. Within the limits determined by the overall situation, Focus tried to extend its solidarity towards those local groups actively involved in human rights issues and in looking for a peaceful way to end the conflict. Some civil society representatives from Aceh, for example, joined the South East Asian delegation to the World Social Forum in Brazil, at the beginning of 2002, under the coordination of Focus.

As a result of the processes set in motion or escalated by the events that took place on 11 September 2001 in the US, particular attention was also given to the reactionary union between state-sponsored militarization and corporate-led globalization, and specifically to the way the US-led war against international terrorism "complemented" schemes

Islamic revivalism
and the politics of
liberation and
reform in
Mindanao, Aceh,
and Malaysia

of political repression conceived, among others, by the governments of the three countries included in the research.

In practical terms, those events had also a clear impact on the way fieldwork was conducted and, especially, on the attitude of potential respondents, belonging to Islamic groups or parties, towards inquiries by outsiders. For instance, as September 11 happened during the last of the three phases of the fieldwork, this situation of distrust towards outsiders was particularly evident in Malaysia, where especially members of the Islamic party PAS showed a high degree of reluctance in answering many of the questions asked. In a certain way that came as a disappointing surprise, mainly because the initial assumption had been that the fieldwork in that country was to be less problematic than that experienced in the two previous areas due to the absence of an armed struggle.

In general, however, the work on Malaysia got off the ground quite smoothly. ERA Consumer Malaysia was an important factor in the overall process of identifying and approaching potential key respondents for the research. During the concluding part of the year, the research work was conducted exclusively in Kuala Lumpur, in order, to prepare a solid basis for the understanding of the key processes and actors involved in the resurgence of political Islam in Malaysia. The effects and dynamics of these processes on the ground would be analyzed later, at the beginning of 2002, through field trips to the two Malaysian states under PAS control of Terengganu and Kelantan.

The work in South East Asia was meanwhile complemented and expanded by a similar study on Hindu fundamentalism organized by the India office, although the main focus in this case was on grassroots groups with progressive secular perspectives and the ways they could offer alternatives to neutralize the appeal of fundamentalist groups.

SECURITY AND CONFLICT

The aim of this project was to produce a comprehensive analysis of the security situation in the Asia-Pacific Region, with the end in view of providing an analytical base for programmatic action to demilitarize the region. The areas of research have been focused on Northeast Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia in the framework of ASEAN countries.

Mapping
the security
situation in
Asia-Pacific

A number of key points to be looked into were how economic factors in interaction with political and military factors can stabilize or destabilize security. The other concern of the analysis was the relationship of the security situation with natural resource and environmental factors and with ethnicity, culture, and gender. More importantly, since the US was the dominant power in Asia, certain aspects of its politics, particularly factional and bureaucratic debates and struggles within the US that were relevant to its security policy in Asia needed to be significantly examined as well. The analysis was intended to provide a basis for programmatic action; a key concern was not only to illuminate power structures but also to identify those social forces that are either actually or potentially counter-hegemonic. The study would recommend campaign priorities for Focus' security program for the next two or three years

In addition, in the aftermath of September 11 attack, the study was considerably subjected to respond more appropriately to the rapid developments on the political and military aspects of the "war against terrorism" such as the enforcement of anti-terrorism legislation across the regions which created a great impact on civil liberties.

On August 13-14, 2001, the International Conference on *"Korean Reconciliation and Reunification for Global Peace : The People's Agenda"* was held at Yonsei University, Seoul, South Korea.

Korean reunification
conference

Experts and representatives of academic institutions and civil society organisations from all over the world participated in the event, which was jointly sponsored by all the Korean coalitions supporting reconciliation and several non-Korean civil society organisations such as Transnational Institute (TNI), and Focus on the Global South. The Conference brought together around 100 representatives of Korean civil society with about 75 of their counterparts from Asia, Europe and North America.

In 15 separate sessions, the following key themes were dealt with in constructive and well-prepared discussions.

- The connections between Korean Reconciliation and global peace.
- The implications of Asian and international political, military and other developments for Korean reunification.
- The mobilisation of support for Korean Reconciliation, in particular in the EU and the US.
- The development of an agenda for cooperation between Korean and international organisations and peace movements on the subject.

The Seoul Declaration called on the Korean governments to further engage in diplomatic talks, opposed the idea to install a missile shield on the Peninsula, recognised that the process of reconciliation was in great danger of being derailed by the U.S. Foreign policy and welcomed the EU diplomatic initiatives of 2001, in support of Kim Dae Jung's Sunshine policy.

Asia Peace Alliance (APA)

In the aftermath of the September 11 attack and in response to the war against terrorism in Afghanistan, the Asian Peace Alliance was founded in Hong Kong last October to work for global peace and justice following the meeting entitled "Towards A Regional Civil Society Response: Exploring Joint Actions and Strategies". The Alliance includes individuals and national and regional organisations from South Asia and Southeast Asia including Hong Kong. The major themes of gathering were to analyze the unfolding situation of war and violence in Asia, and to discuss common strategies for concerted civil society. One of the key immediate aims was to stop the US-led military retaliation in Afghanistan as well as to rush delivery of humanitarian aid to there. The peace mission to Afghanistan has consequently been developed as a concrete plan of action.

To establishing its alliance as an expression of unity and solidarity of various peace movements in the region led to the forthcoming APA Assembly to be held in Manila, Philippines, August 29-September 1, 2002. The key subjects to be thoroughly discussed are the intensified militarism, militarization, and continuing US military presence in the region, the waging of US-led so-called war against terrorism and other related issues. The APA will not only symbolize but also help actualize Asian people's vision and aspiration for global peace and social justice.

In November 2001, the first initiative taken up by the APA was the Afghanistan peace mission focusing on the issues of governance and economic reconstruction as well as addressing the humanitarian impact of the war, and the refugee crisis. Propose mission members have been a combination of high profile delegates like Nobel Peace Prize Laureates, parliamentarians, peace activists, representatives from human rights groups, and so on.

Peace mission to Afghanistan

Following the fluid situation on the ground, the mission has several times been postponed in light of the security, political and logistical considerations. In the meantime, in association with the APA members based in Pakistan and India in particular, the investigations of groundwork in both countries have been successfully done to pave the way and making the mission possible. Finally, the reconnaissance trip was set up in early of May 2002 brought about the practical assessment how the mission should be effectively moved on. While the mission is considered "on hold" until after the transition period, one recommendation is to monitor the electoral process scheduled in June. In addition, the APA would like to focus attention on the "development" aspects of Afghanistan's "reconstruction" and in particular the role of the World Bank, ADB and the private sector. At the same time, the APA hopes to make connections with existing local and international groups and organizations with a view to future cooperation. In relation to the upcoming APA Assembly in Manila, efforts are being made to ensure that people from Afghanistan are able to attend and share their experiences and views.

■ STATE, MARKET AND CIVIL SOCIETY

There were many occasions in 2001 which enabled us to link different sectors of civil society, to explore the relations between civil society, the state and the market, and especially what this means in the context of alternatives to neo-liberal globalisation. Some key activities were:

The "Bangkok Roundtable" was attended by more than 60 trade unionists, social movements leaders, NGO activists and academics. It was a great success, so much so that there will be a second "roundtable" in 2002. The meeting agreed on a short common statement outlining some areas of joint concern and action and also pointing to some differences and future areas for debate and discussion. One of the extremely positive spin-offs of this event has been an increasing openness between trade unions and Focus, and we have been very happy to participate in several trade union activities in the past year, including the PSI regional congress in Seoul, the Otto Singer Foundation annual conference in Berlin and the South Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights (SIGTUR) conference, also in Seoul.

Roundtable with
trade unions, social
movements and
NGOs: building an
agenda for common
action.

World Social Forum

This has been referred to in several other sections of the report, however given both its significance and its innovative and (hopefully) permanent nature, we feel that it is useful to include a comprehensive report here.

The first World Social Forum took place in Porto Alegre Brasil from 25-30 January 2001. The WSF was the initiative of Brazilian workers, farmers, intellectuals, business, church, campaign and research organisations and was conceived as the "people's" counterweight to the World Economic Forum in Davos Switzerland.

Focus on the Global South was involved in the planning for the WSF almost from the start. At that time, we made a commitment to facilitate the participation of grassroots activists from the region and to involve our own staff in different aspects of the WSF.

Grassroots and NGO activists from Thailand, India, Indonesia and Cambodia joined the "Focus" delegation. In addition, there were five Focus staff and one full-time (volunteer) interpreter.

The participants represented many different issues and sectors: democracy and human rights, workers, tribal and indigenous groups, farmers and peasants, anti-dams and mining campaigns, and women.

We had requested slots for three workshops to ensure that the Asian activists had the opportunity to share their experiences during the WSF. These were:

- Land rights, natural resources and the development paradigm: the Asian experience: Indian and Thai grassroots activists from dam and mine effected communities, farmers and land rights movements, speak about their experiences and strategies.
- Privatisation: the experiences of water and power privatisation in India, Thailand and Indonesia: Grassroots activists from Asia describe their common experiences and local and national campaigns on privatisation of basic needs.
- Financing for whom? A critical look at the UN Financing for Development Conference. With former Mexican President Ernesto Zedillo heading up the UN's expert panel on financing for development, is there any hope for the people? Panellists from Asia and Latin America will raise critical questions about the UN's financing for development agenda.

The first two proceeded as planned and the third was cancelled due to clashes with other workshops. The attendance at the workshops was relatively limited, probably because there were more than 50 parallel workshops but also because we had no interpretation into Spanish or Portuguese.

The practical details of the World Social Forum were impressive: more than 10,000 participants, 400 workshops, 12 major plenary sessions with audiences between 1,000 and 2,000, hundreds of high-calibre guest speakers from around the world, and a parallel cultural programme.

During the WSF, Focus staff and an interpreter made great efforts to ensure that the non-English speaking participants were able to join the discussions and workshops, to meet informally with other groups and individuals. In short, we were committed to helping our colleagues get the most out of the experience. And that they did. It was really impressive how these activists, many of whom did not even speak English, were able to jump over the multiple language barriers and make contact with like-minded people, to learn and share, and to generally soak up the tremendous energy of the moment.

The World Social Forum was an overwhelming symbolic, educational and inspirational event, but there were also limitations, many of which are mentioned in the attached reports. Key issues of concern are lack of representation especially from Africa and Asia, lack of translation facilities, under-representation of women, black, youth and indigenous groups and interests, and the lack of clarity about the decision-making and purpose of the WSF.

The Focus team all took part in a de-briefing at the end of the WSF and each of the participants gave thoughtful and individual assessment of their experiences.

Supaporn Chuoapong, who organises women workers in the south of Thailand, remarked that she has never been out of Southeast Asia and was "impressed by what she had been able to do on her own" and found out many things that will be useful in her work with the women fishers and factory workers.

Erpan Faryadi, who works on agrarian reform in Indonesia, found language a great difficulty and felt that "symbolic" language is not deep enough to really understand how people organise themselves.

Koul Panha, a human rights activist from Cambodia, found the debate about alternatives -and especially the debates about land reform or land occupation - interesting.

Reflections on Porto Alegre

Suebsakun Kiduvkorn, an NGO activist working with farmers in Northern Thailand, concluded that "the state and capital are still enemies of the people". He highlighted his visit to the MST which gave him plenty of ideas and insights into land reform strategies.

Keshav Rao Jadhav, a veteran Indian activist and socialist called it "more a happening than a conference". He found the WSF too Latin American, but believed that in time it will grow into a genuinely international event.

Urmila Patidar, from the Narmada Bachao Andolan mentioned in particular that she was "happy that the WSF was at the same time as Davos." She believes that the WSF should be both national and international, and that it should be based on solidarity with the people. She emphasised that through the WSF we need to send a strong message to the "criminals in Davos."

Srisuwan Kuankachorn, an environmental campaigner from Thailand, found the WSF a "great inspiration" but found the crowd "lonely and isolated" because of language and because "we don't know each other." He sees a new socialism emerging which gives communities the space to search for their own alternatives.

Narango Pujari, a tribal woman from Orissa, said she was very happy to be in Porto Alegre, where she had discovered that land and forest rights are a common struggle around the world. Although language was an obstacle, she still found a way to visit families in a shantytown on the edge of Porto Alegre.

Muhammed Thamrin, a labour organiser from Indonesia, found the WSF "too Latin" and felt that he had missed a lot because of the language barrier. He also suggested that there should have been a statement of solidarity with the people protesting in Davos.

Somsak Kosaisook, a Thai labour activist, said we should "congratulate the organisers" because "in the big picture they have succeeded." He was inspired and believes that through the WSF we can build a bigger picture of the world's struggles. It has been good to learn, he said, and many of these issues we can take back to Thailand. He was "charmed" by the Brazilians and felt inspired that in a socialist democracy we can "learn from each other."

Pibhop Dhongchai, a democracy campaigner also from Thailand, felt that we are still searching for a way to "oppose capitalism" and that even the Porto Alegre Call for Mobilisation was only a statement of the part not the whole. He believes that we are "heading in the right direction" and that after the second and third time we will be able to articulate a path.

Jeff Powell, a post-grad student and volunteer interpreter found a huge number of alternatives on which to build. He commented that in the satellite debate between Davos and Porto Alegre "we" won because by being part of the debate Davos had legitimised Porto Alegre. He also found a strong North-South peoples alliance emerging.

Our assessment of the WSF was very positive. We believe that it offers an inspiring and real opportunity yet to build a new international movement grounded in the South and in social movements and peoples' struggles.

Assessment and the future of the WSF

Many of the participants considered that the WSF needs to be regionalised and nationalised to ensure that it becomes truly international and is able to connect with peoples struggles and peoples movements all over the world. Several suggested that in time it would be great to have a WSF in Asia, and others suggested that national and local WSFs could take place at the same time as the "main event" or that regional WSFs should alternate with the Porto Alegre WSF. Those who commented felt that Porto Alegre was an ideal "symbolic" home because of their genuine and successful attempts to build peoples' democracy.

Focus will join the planning meeting in Sao Paulo in June where we hope to share many of these suggestions, reactions and proposals. At Focus, we would like to see the WSF become more international, more open, but at the same time to integrate a more decisive "political" dimension so that it is more than a fiesta, but really becomes a forum and process for moving forward with the peoples agenda to create "another world."

In the region, the emphasis on activities in 2001 was on both, horizontal linkages across different national level experiences, and also, on vertical linkages between national, regional and global levels. Highlights of 2001 activities are described below, by issue and country or sub-region.

Trade and finance

In Cambodia, Focus staff worked closely with Cambodian NGOs and the NGO Forum on Cambodia to develop civil society responses to Cambodia's Second Socio- Economic Development Plan (SEDP II) and the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP). The SEDP II was developed with technical and financial assistance from the Asian Development Bank (ADB), while the PRSP is a World Bank and IMF requirement. Although both documents commit the Cambodian Government to specific targets and timelines, neither was developed with meaningful participation at sectoral, local and national levels. Focus staff also worked with Cambodian organisations to develop a longer-term strategy of engagement with future SEDP and PRSP related processes. These documents are available on the NGO Forum for Cambodia website.

In Vietnam, discussions intensified with the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development (MARD) on starting a series of seminars on discussing and analysing the impacts of various WTO agreements on the agriculture sector in Vietnam. A short, workshop cum planning meeting was held in September, and the first major seminar will be held in Hanoi, in January 2002.

In the Lao PDR, the second major workshop on the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and impacts on agriculture was held in December. This workshop was part of the larger initiative with the Department of Foreign Trade (Ministry of Commerce) for Dept. of Trade staff to develop their own analysis on the possible impacts of the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA) on the Lao PDR. The aims of the workshop were to analyse the experiences of other Asian countries regarding the WTO and agriculture, and to discuss the results of the Ministerial Meeting in Doha. Resource persons came from Bangladesh, Thailand, the Philippines, and the Lao Ministry of Agriculture.

Focus maintained close contact with key allies and partners in government and NGOs in the Lao PDR and Vietnam. Focus staff organised short seminars on issues such as privatisation, liberalisation and development, and continued to provide analytical materials for translation into local languages.

Across the three countries, Focus' research intensified on the process of how the World Bank-IMF mandated PRSPs were being developed. Focus staff conducted interviews with government officials, NGO and international agency staff, and independent observers about the content and consultation processes of the PRSPs. Focus staff also reviewed the relevant national policy documents from the three countries and those of the World Bank and the IMF. A first draft of Focus' analysis based on this data gathering was written and circulated for comments. The paper, *Structural Adjustment in the Name of the Poor: the PRSP Experience in the Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam*, was eventually finalised and released in January 2002.

Focus also participated in a South-South inquiry of the PRSP experience with partners in Latin America and Africa. The document, *The World Bank and the PRSP: Flawed Thinking and Failed Experiences* offers an analysis of how structural adjustment continues to be imposed by the World bank and IMF on low-income, developing countries through the PRSPs.

A relatively new dimension to our regional work emerged in October, when we were asked by government officials and NGO staff in East Timor to provide information and analysis on the PRSP initiative, debt and development. Focus staff visited East Timor and made presentations to the National Council of Advisors and East Timorese NGOs. We also sent them a variety of papers, some authored by Focus staff and some by other analysts. Based on national interests and priorities in East Timor and our own capacity, we will explore the possibility of a more programmatic relationship with organisations in East Timor in the coming year.

Our research on the ADB continued with the same intensity in 2001 as in 2000. Focus played a quite high profile role in the ADB's Annual General Meeting (AGM) in Hawaii in May. Focus Executive Director and staff participated in seminars organised by the Kahea Alliance (a Hawaiian alliance of indigenous peoples movements), ADB Watch (a coalition of local organisations monitoring the ADB) and by the NGO Forum on the ADB. Focus staff also presented research findings in special hearings with ADB Executive Directors on the controversial Samut Prakarn Wastewater Treatment Plant.

Focus also played an active role in facilitating the participation of local community activists and representatives from across Asia in the AGM in Hawaii. Along with other international organisations such as the International Rivers Network and the Bank Information Centre, Focus organised sessions of testimonials from communities negatively affected by ADB projects and programmes.

Asian Development Bank (ADB)

**India-Pakistan:
Toward a South Asia peace movement**



Joint India-Pakistan delegation in Kathmandu, Nepal



India's former chief of naval staff, Admiral Ramdas calls for a South Asian nuclear weapons free zone

**'All over the world nuclear establish-
ment contaminate the enviro**

East Asian Institute of the Institute for Energy and Environmental Research (IEER), one of the best known experts on the subject of the growing number of nuclear establishments around the world, and its far-reaching consequences on people and the environment of the Earth.



...the world's nuclear establishments are a major threat to the environment and human health. The IEER has been warning for years about the dangers of nuclear power, and its report 'All over the world nuclear establishments contaminate the environment' is a stark warning to the world.

**Five S Asian states urged to
sign treaty to help end arms
race in India, Pakistan**

...the world's nuclear establishments are a major threat to the environment and human health. The IEER has been warning for years about the dangers of nuclear power, and its report 'All over the world nuclear establishments contaminate the environment' is a stark warning to the world.

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**কম্বোয়া প্রতিনিধিদের সংবাদ সম্মেলনে
ক্ষণ এশিয়াকে পরমাণু
শক্তি হিসেবে গড়ে তুলি**

কম্বোয়া সভায়
পরমাণবিক
শক্তি তুলি।
এ দুই দেশ
জনৈতিক ও
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কম্বোয়া সভায়
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শক্তি তুলি।
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জনৈতিক ও
নৈতিক

FEBRUARY

2001



FOCUS on the
Global South

Dr. Wolfgang Sachs speaks on "development paradigms in the new millenium" at a seminar organised by Focus and the Heinrich Boll Foundation in Thailand.

ศูนย์ศึกษาการพัฒนาสังคม คณะรัฐศาสตร์

ร่วมกับ

โครงการศึกษาและปฏิบัติการงานพัฒนา (FOCUS)

ศูนย์เศรษฐศาสตร์นิเวศ คณะเศรษฐศาสตร์

ขอเชิญท่านร่วมรายการบรรยายพิเศษและประชุมโต๊ะกลม
เรื่อง

"กระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาในสหัสวรรษใหม่"

Development Paradigms in the New Millenium

ในวันที่ 6 กุมภาพันธ์ 2544

ห้องประชุม 209 คณะเศรษฐศาสตร์ จุฬาลงกรณ์มหา

การบรรยายเรื่อง "กระบวนทัศน์การพัฒนาในศตวรรษ

โดย Dr. Wolfgang Sachs

พักรับประทานอาหารว่าง

การอภิปรายโต๊ะกลม

- ศ. เสน่ห์ จามริก*



Participants from Asia to the WSF, visit an MST
(Brazilian Landless Movement) farm near Porto Alegre



Children playing at the MST farm.

Protests in Chiang Mai during a WTO regional meeting on trade and the environment

NGOs Coordinating Committee on Development have the pleasure to invite

A panel discussion and press conference
"WTO to agraristivist Asian Governments"

การเสวนาและแถลงข่าว
"สนับสนุนสิทธิเกษตรกรกับการประชุม WTO"
เพื่อกดดันประเทศเอเชียให้เปิด

Panelists will include
Jakkrut Kuanpoth, Sakthothai Thammathirat
Walden Bello, Focus on the C
Srisuwan Kuankachorn, Project on I
A representative from the Asian

ผู้ร่วมเสวนา และแถลงข่าว
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วอลเดน เบลโล โครงการศึกษาละตินอเมริกา
ศรีสุวรรณ คุณากร โครงการฟื้นฟูชนบท
รวมทั้ง ผู้แทนจากสมาคม

local & regional

Protests at Chiang Mai WTO forum

By [Name]

CHANG MAI, Thailand (AP) — More than 100 farmers and students dumped sacks of potatoes, garlic, onions and soybeans in front of the World Trade Organization meeting here yesterday, in protest at killing small farmers.

Protesters said they demonstrated this fall in response to a report of WTO's role in opening up markets for agricultural products.

Protesters, students gathered here to demonstrate against the WTO as the World Trade Organization's annual meeting was held here.

Protesters said they demonstrated this fall in response to a report of WTO's role in opening up markets for agricultural products.

Protesters said they demonstrated this fall in response to a report of WTO's role in opening up markets for agricultural products.



A protesting farmer dumps onions and potatoes on a Chiang Mai protest.

Law and Development. The group believes the WTO will push small farmers out of business and result in greater unemployment and poverty in developing countries.

The WTO's role in opening up markets for agricultural products.

Rustic protests t

No turning back on talks, says Ampon

Surinder Marikar
Chiang Mai

Protesters dumped potatoes, garlic, onions and soybeans in the lobby of a hotel where a World Trade Organization seminar was being held yesterday.

About 200 northern farmers and students rallied against the meeting, accusing the WTO of trying to please rich countries while ignoring developing nations.

The Federation of Northern Farmers, comprising nine farmer groups, demanded that agriculture be dropped from trade talks. The food security of individual countries should be independent of global trade agreements.

Farmers and students brandishing banners telling the WTO to "go to hell" converged on the hotel.

They accused organizers of having kept the meeting secret from the public, denounced them for trying to convince

Asian countries to leave of global trade talks, an open letter to WTO and meet representatives.

They blamed low crop of government support, claiming there was global free of other farm products.

In their letter, they told the WTO of causing the national corporations countries.

They said WTO is biased in favour of rich countries. Those rich countries have the power to support their agriculture.

They said WTO is biased in favour of rich countries. Those rich countries have the power to support their agriculture.

Farmers and students protest the WTO threat to Small-Scale Farmers and to the environment, Chiang Mai, Thailand.



Anti-nuclear seminar organised by
Focus and YUVA in Mumbai, India



**NUCLEAR
SECURITY**

Book published by Focus and Youth Union
for Voluntary Action (YUVA)

- ◆ Facts about Nuclear Weapons from the Arms Race
- ◆ Impact of Nuclear Weapons in War on Human, Fauna and Environment
- ◆ Bombing of Nagasaki and Hiroshima and a Case Study of a Chemical and Explosive

PUBLISHED BY
FOCUS ON THE GLOBAL SOUTH - TVU
Mumbai, India

फोकस आणि युवा संस्थेच्या वतीने

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Press report on a anti-nuclear seminar
organised by Focus and YUVA in a Marathi Daily

MAY

2001

FOCUS on the Global South

Annual meeting of the ADB in Honolulu



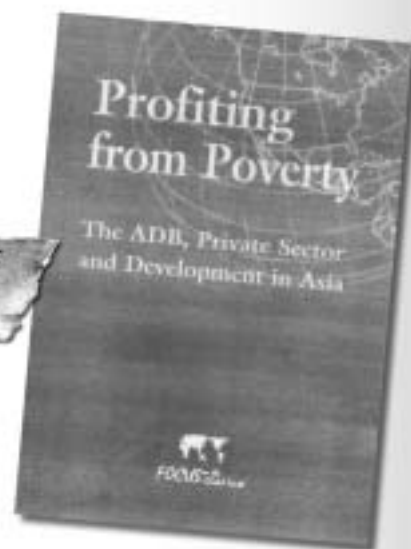
TUESDAY ★ EDITION
Honolulu Star-1

ADB protest criticizes police, too



Honolulu Weekly on the ADB Protests

Focus publishes a special dossier for the ADB meeting in Honolulu



Mass demonstrations against the ADB in Honolulu, Hawaii



Focus annual staff retreat



-The Focus Team

Standing (left to right) Aileen, Joy with Bianca, Marco, Minar, Chris, Ninfa, Tom, Raghav, Nicola, Lou, Walden, Praphai, Soontaree, Ranees
 Sitting (L-R) Anoop, Shalmali, Varsha, Jacques-chai, Nok, Marissa, Jim and Chanida

NGOs join residents from the Klong Dan community
at the site of the ADB financed
Samut Prakarn Wastewater Treatment Project, in Thailand.



Focus backs Narmada movement protests
at state financing of big dams

THE TIMES OF INDIA

MONDAY, JUNE 4, 2001 5

NBA opposes Maheshwar dam funding

By A Staff Reporter

MUMBAI: Activists of the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA) staged protests on Thursday outside the offices of several financial institutions for funding the controversial Maheshwar dam project in Madhya Pradesh.

The NBA along with Green Peace and Purna India village shut Industrial Development Bank of India (IDBI), Industrial Finance Corporation of India (IFCI), Life Insurance Corporation of India (LIC), General Insurance Corporation of India (GIC), State Bank of India (SBI), Union Bank of India (UBI), Dena Bank, and Bank of India are investing money in the Rs 2,254 crore Ma-

heshwar hydro power project "that threatens to be as disastrous as the Earm project at Dibbul".

According to NBA spokesperson Alok Agarwal, "When even foreign investors like Opcon, have backed out of the project on finding it socio-economically unstable, why are Indian financial institutions bent on jeopardising the public's money?"

The NBA claims that the project, if carried out, would result in the power tariff rising as high as Rs 10 per unit. The M.P. government which is financially weak could afford the high tariff. Besides, the dam will displace 61 villages in the region without any assurance of rehabilitation.

This news item is about the 'dharna' (protest rallies) that were coordinated by Narmada Bachao Andolan and the India Programme before the gates of the major financial institutions on the issue of lending money to the Maheshwar Hydro Power Project in Madhya Pradesh. More than 2000 protesters from the Mandla region of Madhya Pradesh and activists supporting the cause from various parts of Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh had divided themselves into six groups to protest peacefully at the gates of six financial institutions on May 11, 2001.

News & Analysis

Democratic deficit, WTO farm talks and India's silence

VIEWPOINT

SRINIVAS RAMAN

It is one of the most striking features of the Indian political scene that while the government is engaged in a series of negotiations with the WTO on farm trade liberalisation, it has remained silent on the issue. This is a democratic deficit, a failure to engage the public in a debate on a matter of such importance. The government has a duty to inform the people of the issues at stake and to seek their views. It has a duty to explain the reasons for its decisions and to justify its actions. It has a duty to listen to the people and to respond to their concerns. It has a duty to be transparent and accountable. It has a duty to be inclusive and participatory. It has a duty to be honest and ethical. It has a duty to be fair and just. It has a duty to be responsible and accountable. It has a duty to be transparent and accountable. It has a duty to be inclusive and participatory. It has a duty to be honest and ethical. It has a duty to be fair and just. It has a duty to be responsible and accountable.

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This is one of the series of articles that are being written by the India Programme on WTO issues with emphasis on the role being played by India during discussions on various issues at the WTO. Besides, articles have also focused on structural problems with the WTO and also on unravelling the politics behind positions being taken by the Indian government.

Press reports of popular protests against the
financing of the Maheshwar dam in India, organised by
the Narmada Bachao Andolan (save the Narmada River movement)

"Voi G8, noi 6 miliardi"

The Flat Earth Society Comes to Genoa
Shahani Gensl, July 31, 2001

It is possible that the G-8 summit in Genoa will be remembered by many, more for the violence on the streets than for the duplicity of the G-8 leadership, or for the substantive challenge mounted by the largely peaceful anti-globalization movement. Since July 19, the international press has carried numerous commentaries on the street demonstrations and protests gone awry in Genoa. Most of them have been quick to denounce the tactics of the alleged "Black Bloc" and highlight perceived "spills" in the anti-globalization movement. But few of these commentaries have directed serious attention to why more than a 100,000 people gathered in Genoa to protest the G-8 Summit, or why there is such a large and diverse anti-globalization movement to begin with. And almost none have questioned the role and tactics of the G-8's security forces in creating an enemy that they see them justly attacking.

One of the more objectionable commentaries was by Pared Zakaria in the International Herald Tribune on July 24, 2001. Mr. Zakaria (who is Editor of Newswatch International) champions the technological revolution as the only "realistic solution" for the "desperate condition of poor countries" and argues against an imagined (by him) "anti-inclusionism" among the G-8 promoters in Genoa. This is nothing new. As a member of the anti-globalization movement I have been accused of being "anti-trade," "anti-development," and "anti-technology" several times over. What makes Mr. Zakaria's commentary particularly shocking are remarks by Mr. Mark Malloch Brown, the UNDP Administrator, from which Mr. Zakaria seems to draw considerable strength for his own arguments.

Using the UNDP's latest Human Development Report as his information source, Mr. Zakaria states the virtues of DDT and genetically modified (GM) foods, and argues that it is wrong to pressure poor countries to stop using dangerous chemicals or products that are already prohibited in developed countries because concerns about their side effects. He then quotes Mr. Mark Malloch Brown: "It's unfortunate that the protesters have an anti-technology bias," and further, "For one person somewhere has died by eating genetically modified food." Mr. Brown seems to have missed some of the key points in the GM food debate, but we can set that aside for now. The article goes worse as Mr. Brown then goes on to point the way for the anti-G-8 protesters:

"The Protesters should reflect on the fact that Columbus, one of the greatest explorers of the Americas, who showed that arduous, unimaginable benefits. Or else they can, society, opposed to modern economics, itself."

By protesting against the G-8 Summit in Genoa, symbol of Genoa and the legacy of Christopher Columbus was a merchant clerk from Genoa who was sent to the Americas to finance an expedition to Asia in search of gold and spices. In return for the booty, the monarchy promised him 10 percent of all profits, going to him over new-found lands and the life. Admittedly, the Ocean Sea. Columbus never made it to Asia, but his legacy led to the colonization of the Americas, and the destruction of native food populations, non-systems and social systems. Spain and Europe certainly reaped unimaginable benefits. But for the native peoples of the Americas and Latin America, Columbus brought epidemics, instability and centuries of exploitation in the name of progress and enlightenment. His courage for those

G8 BLOODSHED



FIRST MARTYR

The Genoa mobilisation was the biggest show of force yet mounted, drawing over 250,000 people from all over the world

INTERNATIONAL
Herald Tribune
THIS DAY ONLINE

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The Anti-Globalization Spoilers Are Going Global

Flora Lewis
Friday, July 6, 2001

PARIS The "anti-globalization" circuit is becoming global. Governments which used to consider important international summit meetings events to welcome dignity for the attention and prestige they brought now worry about how to avoid the tumult. Meetings in Seattle, Washington, Denver, Prague, Hong Kong, Goteborg, Sweden and (this month) Genoa attract mobs of demonstrators and groups of deviants out to disrupt international organization of the world economy. They can't, in functional fact, but they have already registered an astounding success in terms of making states reluctant to host scheduled meetings. They are meeting forces, like the white who moved from Portugal to Spain to Nicaragua and further in the 1970s to shake an revolution and push their determination to change the world. But now they are much more numerous, more violent and less focused. They want to change the agenda and the mode of operation of international economic cooperation, but they agree as for only on anti-corporate globalization. They have nothing to propose.

Sylvia Gilly of the University of Toronto, a former Canadian sheeps for Group of Seven summit meetings, has launched a study to identify how they are organized, how they interact and who the core groups are. She has found "mobilization networks," which carefully plan their targets and move their attacks from one place to another.

There are activist centers in the United States, France, Britain and Germany and in two developing countries, a group called Third World Network in Malaysia and another called Focus on the Global South in the Philippines.

Money comes from widespread subscriptions as well as from a few rich individuals. The World Wildlife Fund, for example, has been listed the resources of the World Trade Organization, according to the WTO director, Alex Moos. Greenpeace is an important contributor.

Environmentalists, anti-capitalists, labor groups, "service users" (the new name for nationalists opposed to removing barriers to movement of people and goods) and assorted representatives of interests which deem themselves injured by the sheer expansion of world trade and business join in the demonstrations without trying to work out common positions. For some participants it is an exhilarating adventure, a revolt with the world stage of defiance to attempt to maintain order. To most governments it is a disarming of challenge, very easily in terms of great numbers of police to deploy and sometimes damage done. (The center of the Swedish city of Goteborg was staged last month.) They don't want to repress freedom of speech and of assembly, they would rather try dialogue, but the activists don't want to talk to them.

The anti-mob to make it as difficult as they can for big international conferences to be held at all, and in that sense they are effective. They do make it harder for people to meet.

Of course, the internet offers an alternative for much of the exchange that would take place, but exactly at the deconcentrating, denaturing pace that is hard against globalization.

Furthermore, if officials really tried to substitute virtual conferences for meetings, the activists could disrupt them with computer tricks.

It creates a dilemma that will have to be dealt with by a combination of patience, research and better information vital to clarify the sources and methods of when legitimate and exposed when irrational.

Even as informal international organization is used to deal with the same problems, a simple fact that goods still have to be produced and the wastes disposed.

There is a need for better and more compassionate performance of what move on to advance a positive agenda. That they are not just gloating at disruption.

In the meantime, it's a shame that so much money and energy has to be used to prevent the damage they can cause. They isolate leaders from the public by their security threats, instead of bringing them closer to common concerns, but they achieve nothing useful.

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Voi G8
noi 6
miliardi

a cura di
Valeria Chiantera



Quel che è stato deciso
nel vertice ufficiale di Genova

Isopoli: Vittorio Agostini, Bruno Bozzi,
Neri Bruni, Nicola Bubbico, Luigi Cusi,
Jack Lusk, Bob Rait, Claudio Jaramilla, Paolo Marini,
Enrico Molteni, Antonio Orsini, Claudio Sola

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The IHT names Focus as an
"anti-globalization spoiler"

Korean reconciliation and reunification for global peace: the people's agenda, Seoul, South Korea



Supporting peace and reunification in the Korean Peninsula



ANGOC/CSCs Statement in the Asian Regional Consultation
on the World Food Summit - Five Years Later
Prince Palace Hotel, Bangkok, Thailand
28-29 August 2001

End Hunger! Fight for the Right to Live!

We, the representatives of more than 60 NGOs/Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) from 14 Asian countries are outraged that despite the abundance of food to feed the world, more than 800 million, with two-thirds found in Asia, still go hungry everyday.

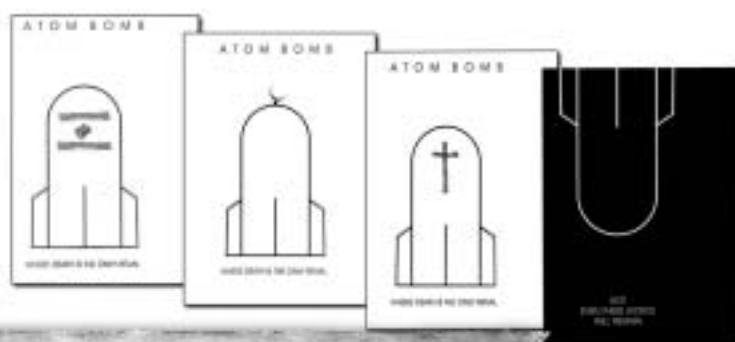
The programs and practices aimed at reducing hunger and malnutrition by the World Bank, international financial groups and inter-governmental agencies have failed miserably and instead aggravated food insecurity.

The crucial promise of the 1996 World Food Summit to halve poverty and hunger by the year 2015 has been declared impossible to achieve by the same institutions that adopted it. Albeit a laudable one, this "laudable" promise is still insufficient and unrealistic in the "other half" i.e., the rest of the millions who go hungry everyday. According to FAO, only 6 million undernourished people were made healthier in the 1990s — far below the 20 million annual average necessary to meet the target of the 1996 World Food Summit.

Food has been declared a basic human right by many international agreements such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Preamble of the UN Constitution, the International Covenant of Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, among others. Yet, the right to food is

Civil society representatives at the Asia regional consultation on the World Food Summit make a harsh assessment of international efforts to reduce hunger and malnutrition

...they should be given the benefit of the doubt...
...they have the primary right to benefit from the...
...they have the right to be heard and informed...



Poster linking sectarianism and the nuclear threat



Focus participates in training workshops
to oppose nuclear war

Citizens mobilise for peace in South Asia



More than 300 representatives of social movements, including farmers, indigenous, workers and urban communities joined a 3-day meeting in Mexico co-organised by CUT Brasil, MST, Visa Campesina, ATTAC France and Focus

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Counter-Capitalism

Who's who in anti-globalisation

By James Harding

Published: September 18, 2001 15:46GMT | Last Updated: October 12, 2001 11:00GMT

Attac

Association pour une Taxation des Transactions financières pour pour D. Citizens was born in Paris out of the French journal, Le Monde Diplomatique. The group has spread across Europe opening branches as far north as Finland. Its central campaign has been for the introduction of the Tobin tax, a proposed foreign exchange transactions tax to go to alleviating poverty worldwide. website = www.attac.org

50 Years is Enough Network

Coalition of environmentalists, development economists, missionaries and others seeking a fundamental reform of the Bretton Woods institutions: The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. website = www.50years.org

Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment

Headquartered in Portland, Oregon, ASJE is the original "Teamsters of the 21st century", a group of labour and environmental organisations seeking to trade liberalisation and the spread of corporate-led globalisation. website = www.asje.org

American Friends Service Committee

Quaker social justice and peace organisation, which teaches people about economics and campaigns on Mexico-US border issues. website = www.afsc.org

Corporate Europe Observatory

CEO, is a European-based research and campaign group targeting the democracy, equity, social justice and the environment posed by the economic and political power of corporations and their lobby groups. It keeps a close eye on groups such as the European Roundtable and the Trans-Atlantic Business Dialogue. website = www.ceoatl.eu-geo

Corporate Watch

San Francisco-based group which monitors the excesses and failures of companies. It has been one of the leading critics of the UN's Global Compact, multinationals as well as the sweatshop operations of companies such as Nike. (There is also a smaller Corporate Watch in Oxford, England, which is a generally like-minded.) website = www.corporatewatch.org

Council of Canadians

Organisation rooted in Canadian political issues which has become an advocate of alternatives to corporate-led free trade. It has brought together alternative agents for the WTO.

www.criticism.org

Development GAP

One of the closest followers of operations at the World Bank Group and critic of structural adjustment policies. website = www.gap.org

Focus on the Global South

Bangkok-based group which researches international finance and globalisation issues and campaigns against further liberalisation. website = www.focusweb.org

Friends of the Earth

One of the largest international environmental groups, which deals with biodiversity, global warming and other environmental issues related to globalisation. website = www.foe.org

Global Exchange

Human rights and environmental group dedicated to building people-to-people links between the First and Third World. Its members were instrumental in the creation of the Direct Action Network, which coordinated the shutdown of the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999. It campaigns for sustainable development and against the World Bank, the IMF and the WTO. It also runs "reality tours", bringing mostly American groups to see real lives in countries from Iraq to Cuba. website = www.globalexchange.org

Institute for Policy Studies

Washington-based think-tank which offers progressive analysis of international financial institutions, the defence establishment and global trade rules. website = www.ips-dc.org

Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility

Association of religious institutional investors based in New York. website = www.iccr.org

International Forum on Globalization

The San Francisco-based group backed by Foundation for Deep Ecology which pulls in scholar-activists and campaigners from around 40 countries worldwide to build up the critique of corporate-led globalisation. website = www.ifg.org

International Rivers Network

Campaign group which fights to halt the construction of damaging river developments and hydro-electric projects. It has been one of the most persistent campaigners against the Three Gorges dam in China. website = www.inr.org

Jobs with Justice

US labour-backed group which seeks to build coalitions of workers, community organisations and religious groups to campaign on local, national and international issues. Its central focus is labour's right to organise. website = www.jwj.org

Jubilee 2000

International movement to cancel the debts of the world's poorest countries. Jubilee Plus, which has carried on the work of Jubilee beyond the millennium. websites = www.2000jubilee.org
www.jubilee2000plus.org
www.dnsfordebts.org

Multinational Monitor

Monthly magazine which seeks to run exposes on global corporations. It is run by the people from Essential Action, which is an offshoot of Ralph Nader's work. Washington DC. website = www.essential.org/monitor/index.html

Project Underground

Focus joins the Financial Times's
"Who's who in anti-globalisation"



Focus joined millions of people throughout the world
who came out in opposition to
both terrorism and the US war on Afghanistan

AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: A TESTING TIME FOR THE ANTI-GLOBALISATION MOVEMENT

A short statement from Focus on the Global South

On Tuesday 11 September, the Financial Times ran a belated and informed full-page story about the anti-globalisation movement. At last, we thought, this is the breakthrough. The media is getting the message that it's not all about demonstrations and violence, there are serious people with serious issues to be discussed.

On the same day, the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon were attacked by terrorists, with such tragic and horrific consequences that all else has been swept aside. This unprecedented attack brought to the United States the violence and death that is all too familiar in other parts of the world.

Although the violence and deadly destruction of the attack has overshadowed the potent symbolism of targeting the financial and military heart of the world's sole superpower, the message could not be clearer.

The US has responded to this message in two ways. It has chosen to break the cycle of violence by reflecting on what is behind this extraordinary "hijacking" of a CIA base to demonstrate the unintended consequences of American policies - and realize that the days of empire are over.

Or it has swung the security and military machine, declare war on terrorism and Islam and divide the world into good and evil, threatening danger to civilisation, despite being involved in countless international atrocities at this time of need.

Sadly for us all, the US has shown its almost fanatical preference for the second course of action.

And here is a terrible irony. By physically attacking what the anti-globalisation movement has been symbolically attacking - the combined power of finance and the hidden power of the military - the terrorists have triggered a wave of patriotism and repressive policies that will have horrendous implications for the growing international movement against neo-liberal and corporate globalisation. Our response must be clear.

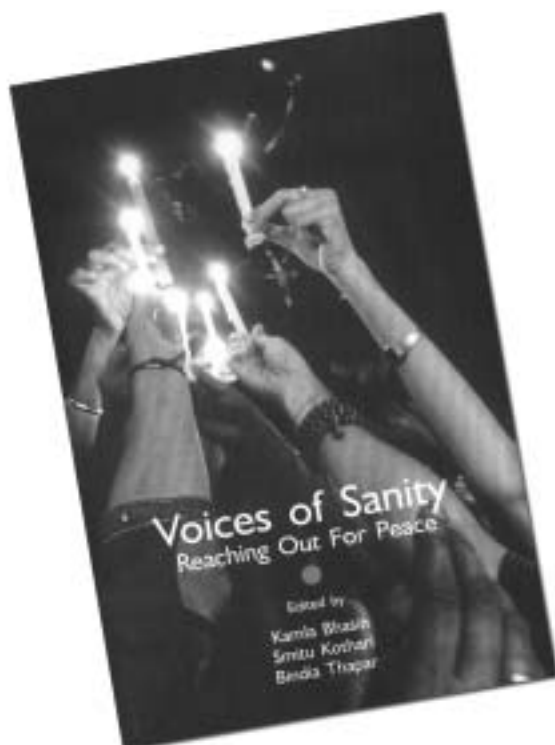
In its statement on all of us who feel part of a global movement for justice and peace to demand that the US break the cycle of violence.

We must link our existing and common demands on neo-liberal globalisation to an agenda that includes a vision where respect, militarisation and imperialism and globalising peace, cultural and religious freedom and self-determination. This will be extremely difficult in a climate where all forms of dissent will be subject to much greater scrutiny and repression, and in a climate of heightened xenophobia and militarisation. The very form the establishment will be if you do not rise up, you're against us.

Our immediate challenge is to overcome the deep fears and prejudices unleashed by the terrorist attacks, a task made even more difficult because these fears and prejudices have been carefully laid down by years of anti-immigrant, anti-left propaganda. This phenomenon is not confined to the US. In India, the attack has reignited Hindu-Muslim tensions and is obscuring the fact of rampant terrorism in being used to justify repression of the political opposition.

But in the long term, our work can only be strengthened by building a movement that includes all who struggle against authoritarianism, for peace and freedom, and against corruption and neo-colonialism.

Focus on the Global South
11 September 2001
Beijing



OCTOBER

2001



FOCUS on the
Global South



Focus debates the Bank in Oslo...



the unions in Berlin...



and Greenpeace interviews
Aileen Kwa



Our world is not for sale.

STOP corporate globalization.



"Our world is not for sale" launches the GATS attack



Bernard Lietaer (left) author of "The Future of Money"
speaks at a seminar organised
by Focus and the Thai Community Currency Working Group

Focus challenging the role of free trade in a Thai daily

การค้าเสรีกับบทบาทที่จะต้องทบทวน

ข่าวพิเศษ

ท่ามกลางกระแสการเรียกร้องให้ประเทศไทยหันมาให้ความสำคัญกับบทบาทที่ต้องทบทวนในการค้าเสรี... (text continues with details of the article's context and content)

ในขณะนี้ประเทศไทยกำลังเผชิญกับสถานการณ์การค้าเสรี... (text continues with details of the article's content)

การค้าเสรีกับบทบาทที่ต้องทบทวน... (text continues with details of the article's content)

ด้านโลกาภิวัตน์-สื่อทั่วโลก



ด้านโลกาภิวัตน์-สื่อทั่วโลก

ผู้จัดการรายวัน - เครือข่ายเอ็นจีโอทั่วโลกต่อต้าน... (text continues with details of the article's content)

ขององค์การการค้าโลก (WTO) ที่เมืองดoha ประเทศกาตาร์... (text continues with details of the article's content)

Raising public awareness on the significance of the WTO negotiations through local media



Protest in front of CNN's Hong Kong office during the World Economic Forum in Hong Kong against CNN's partisan reporting about September 11 attack

NOVEMBER

2001

FOCUS on the
Global South

Trade negotiations in Doha grab the spotlight



Medha Patkar, NBA



Noi Prasittiporn, AOP and
Aziz Choudry, GATT Watchdog

Focus led the one week
module on globalisation
for the Action Aid
Leadership Development
Programme



People Campaign against WTO

November 9, 2001 Bangkok, Thailand

The people network on Globalisation has the pleasure to invite you to

The all-day rally against WTO

Several grassroots groups including farmers, women workers, HIV positive people are planning to hold an all-day rally under a general theme "WTO out of our life".

The general purpose will be to inform the public of their positions on the Agreement on Agriculture (WTO out of Agriculture) and TRIPS (No patent on life & rice and on drugs) which was delivered to the Prime Minister on October 22. A more specific objective is to raise awareness about the US and its interests concerning intellectual property rights and agriculture trade.

The marchers will stop in front of the US Embassy to protest the US position on TRIPS and the recent two-way of Thai jasmine rice. The marchers will then congregate in a public park nearby (Lumpini Park) where there will be a panel discussion on who benefits from the WTO mixed with concerts and cultural events provide local knowledge and way of life.

Organising against the WTO
ministerial meeting in Doha

PROFESSIONAL Khalid Ebrahim

Chairman of the International Trade Union

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Global Day of Action against the WTO,
in Thailand and around the world



FOCUS ON THE GLOBAL SOUTH

Focus on the Global South
and the Philippines

developing the capacity of expert authors of news and international reports in the South and those working on their behalf to better engage and understand the impact of the globalisation process, on their daily life and struggle. Also, to help strengthen the capacity of such groups to have a greater role in national, regional and global issues through a more systematic and strategic use of international community practices.

Support critical and progressive analysis of regional and global socio-economic trends and promote democratic, people-oriented, anti-imperialist and anti-neoliberalism alternatives that advance the interests of the poor and the globalised communities around the world, but especially in the Asia Pacific Region.

Intensify and strategically using these approaches together. This is to enable the articulation and developing greater roles for the poor and the globalised communities around the world, but especially in the Asia Pacific Region.

THE PHILIPPINE PROGRAMME

The Focus Philippines
and the Philippines

to provide news, analysis, commentary and critical analysis of the Philippine situation. It also provides a platform for the Philippine people to have a greater role in national, regional and global issues through a more systematic and strategic use of international community practices.

The Focus Philippines
and the Philippines

Publications

The Focus on the Philippines also provides a platform for the Philippine people to have a greater role in national, regional and global issues through a more systematic and strategic use of international community practices.

A book on the Philippine political economy, a project of the Focus Philippines, was published in 2001. It is available for free download.

THE FOCUS MANILA STAFF



Wacziarg Bongo
Author, scholar and journalist, the Executive Director of Focus on the Global South, has been working in various capacities for 11 years and has written over 200 articles, including articles on the Philippines and the Philippines. He is a member of the Philippine Journalists Association and the Philippine Press Photo Association.



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Lourdes Tabor
A graduate of Bachelor of Science in Journalism, she is a member of the Philippine Journalists Association and the Philippine Press Photo Association. She is also a member of the Philippine Journalists Association and the Philippine Press Photo Association.



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The Focus Philippines Office opens in Manila



Popular education materials in Thai

DECEMBER

2001



FOCUS *on the*
Global South



As in 2000, a special Focus dossier on the ADB was launched in Hawaii. Titled, Profiting from Poverty: the ADB, Private Sector and Development in Asia, the dossier contains articles by various authors on the ADB's attempts to build privatisation and private sector development into national development strategies in the region. Focus also brought out special issues of Focus on Trade before and after the AGM to provide comprehensive coverage of key AGM issues..

In February, Focus joined the Institute for Food and Development Policy (Food First), USA, the Social Network for Justice and Human Rights, Brasil, and the National Land Committee, South Africa, in an international research project to monitor the market oriented land and agrarian reform programmes that are being promoted by the World Bank. Focus is coordinating the Asian portion of the project, and is working closely with land networks and movements in India, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines. The information and analysis emerging from this project is also being shared in the Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam, where privatisation of property rights has been worked into the policy matrices of new loans from the World Bank and the ADB.

Focus staff also participated in a number of international events on agriculture, trade, food security, debt, structural adjustment, development and globalisation, where they brought the national and regional dimensions of their work to global debates. These included the Least Developed Countries (LDC) Summit in Brussels, the Genoa Social Forum at the time of the G-8 summit in Genoa, the Civil Society Caucus meeting for the World Food Summit in Bangkok, the SAPRI meeting in Washington DC, and the Preparatory Meetings in New York for the Financing for Development Summit scheduled for 2002. Focus facilitated the establishment of, and participation of Asian activists in international civil society networks on the WTO and agriculture.

Land and agrarian reform

Other international linkages

INDIA

During 2001, the India Programme focused on analysing neoliberal policies and their impacts in India, challenging mainstream thinking on nuclearisation and security, and generating alternative thinking on issues of land reforms at the national and sub-national level. Focus India attempts to approach these issues in ways that themselves are tools of mobilization and empowerment for socially and economically marginalized sections and to build the capacities of the constituencies opposing neoliberal processes.

Impacts of neo-liberal policies

Through the research and capacity building, Focus attempts to reveal the crisis of legitimacy of international financial and trade institutions.

The highlight of this process has been the way in which state, local and national movements have been able to use the research. For example, while conducting the joint research with the Centre for Environmental Concerns on Andhra Pradesh's World Bank supported structural adjustment programme, the power sector employees unions, farmers organisations and other constituencies were providing inputs to the research and using the information to challenge the State machinery, the WB and other donor agencies implementing the policies on the ground.

Similarly, while analyzing the impact of economic reforms on the socially and marginalized communities in Maharashtra with the help of Samajik Nyay Prathisthan (SNP) [Social Justice Foundation], the survey of 2000 households was conducted by political activists of the SNP following training with the help of the India programme staff.

This opportunity of conducting a survey did help the SNP activists to convey a message to socially and economically marginalised people that it is important for them to critically understand the issue of social and economic marginalisation in a changing political context wherein they not only have to confront the State but an increasingly complex relationship between the State, international institutions and the elite.

Anti nuclear activities

The Focus India programme and YUVA (Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action) organised jointly a discussion on exposing the myths of nuclear security in Mumbai during April 2001. It was attended by 100 local community workers who then organized a series of events during the year to expose a wider audience to the impact of nuclearisation on livelihoods and development. Furthermore, the India Programme with the help of Anubhav Shiksha Kendra, a youth network, organized a series of training workshops in Nagpur and Mumbai to build capacities and awareness amongst youth on developmental issues associated with nuclearisation. The workshops successfully culminated in a Youth Convention in Mumbai during August.

Contributing further to this issue, the India programme also developed a draft concept paper on "Human Security - A Comprehensive Approach" and developed popular reading material that was disseminated to various organizations, schools and other institutions.

Alternative thinking on land reforms

In India, Focus has been associated with National Alliance of Peoples' Movements (NAPM), Jameen-Jungle-Paani Andolan (Land-Forest-Water Movement) and other movements who have been working on various aspects of land reform. Working with these groups, we found

it necessary to construct a political framework for analyzing the debate on land reforms in the context of the unfolding neoliberal agenda. It was on this basis that the India programme joined the Land Reform Action Network (LRAN) project in which Focus is involved internationally with Food First, Via Campesina and other land reform organisations (See SEATES section).

By the end of 2001, the India Programme had started preparing a "scoping" paper that would lay out the framework of political analysis, identifying issues relevant to the debate on land reforms in India and identifying organizations and networks to work with.

Socioeconomic issues

In the process of building capacities, the India Programme has joined the debates with trade unions, movements, groupings, academia and the media on issues such as liberalization, privatization, poverty, export oriented growth model, food security, agriculture etc.

Importantly, these interactions are taking place in many different ways: through seminars, preparations for the World Social Forum, workshops, and training programmes organized and addressed by staff of India Programme. These have helped us understand the views of social formations on how they wish to relate to political processes challenging the international institutions against whom they are fighting. For example, in the workshop organised by the India Programme on 'WTO and Food Security' in January 2001, it was clear that some mass movements do not want to interact with the WTO because their assessment is that interacting with this opaque institution merely legitimises its existence. Furthermore, discussions at this workshop provided critical inputs to the document that the India Programme put out during a parliamentary debate on food security situation in India, highlighting the negative impacts on food security of the 'export led agricultural growth model' being pushed by the Government and the WTO.

Active participation in mobilizations organised by various mass movements on the issue of fighting for the rights of communities displaced by dams, power projects, industrial projects, have provided a fresh perspective to the staff with respect to critically analysing the 'public interest' dimensions of these so-called developmental projects.

The active role played by the five-member Indian contingent at the World Social Forum of 2001 has also been a very important exercise towards building capacities of participants and the programme. The team consisted of Ms. Narango Pujari, associated with the movement that has been fighting for the rights of indigenous communities in the mining belts of Orissa, Ms. Urmila Patidar of the Narmada Bachao

Building capacities

Andolan, Mr. Lalit Babar of Samajik Nyay Prathisthan, Mr. Keshavrao Jadhav of the Telangana Movement (Independence movement for getting a state of Telangana which is currently a region of Andhra Pradesh) and Minar Pimple of the India Programme. (see State, Market and Civil Society section for more details.)

Security

A Joint Indo-Pak delegation comprising of (Retd.) Admiral Ramdas, Zia Mian, A.H.Nayyar, and Sandeep Pandey visited Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Nepal in the months of January and February. The objective of this Mission was to enlist support for a campaign against the nuclearisation of South Asia Besides this Mission, (Retd.) Admiral Ramdas, Advisor to the India Programme led a delegation of retired Defence Service Officers from India in February to Pakistan. This was a first of its kind visit from Indian side. During this visit, (Retd.) Admiral Ramdas had an opportunity to meet with General Pervez Musharraf. This meeting had its own impact in the development of the Indo-Pak Summit that took place at Agra in July 2001.

Outreach

The India Programme has launched a Focus-IP e-group, which has a membership of 170 Indian and South Asian individuals/groups including some leading parliamentarians from India. The group members exchange information relevant to developmental issues in the region. Articles written by Focus staff on issues such as decision making in the WTO and how these relate to India's own democratic processes, have been published in major national newspapers such as the 'The Hindu Business Line', 'The Financial Express' and the 'The Economic Times'. The staff also write for local dailies such as 'Tarun Bharat' and 'Loksatta' on the developmental policies of the State.

THAILAND

The Focus Program in Thailand has as an overall aim to work closely with Thai NGOs, people's organizations as well as the progressive sector of the academia and civil service to influence national development policies and practices and at the same time to strengthen local alternative economic initiatives and local communities' position to articulate their policy choices.

The program made a significant step forward this year with an establishment of a permanent working group on globalization under the umbrella of the NGO Coordinating Committee on Development (NGO-COD) in June 2001. The dozen or so NGOs and people's organizations, which in the past few years had been working in partnership with Focus occasionally on specific activities, particularly in seminars and workshops on the WTO and globalization, decided to formulate a working group to tackle globalization issues in a more

systematic manner. The overall theme of the working group activities was globalization and its impact and implications on the poor. With a view of raising public awareness on the significance of the Fourth Ministerial Conference of the WTO in Doha, it was decided that the topic for this year would be the impact of the Agreement on Agriculture on small farmers and Thailand's position relating to this at the WTO.

Throughout the rest of the year, the working group, of which Focus is an active member, planned and carried out research, information sharing, capacity-building workshops, meetings with government representatives and a national-level public forum.

The Ministry of Commerce's claim stated in their briefing documents that trade liberalization under the Agreement on Agriculture has benefited the country in the forms of increased export of rice and poultry "with no apparent negative outcome" was identified as the urgent research agenda of the working group.

The working group found to our amazement that the prices of soybean and maize imported from the US were about half of those produced locally in Thailand, although the imported product was no doubt genetically-modified. Consequently, there was an import surge of soybean to meet the demand of the cooking oil and animal feed industries while soybean farmers suffered tremendous loss. Another independent study by the Thai Chamber of Commerce University pointed out that apart from these two products, Thailand's competitiveness in cotton, livestock and dairy products was also low. At the same time, another research on the country's annual rice export and trade records for the last 10 years provided evidence of the Ministry's creative use of selective information to put the AoA in a more positive light than reality.

Armed with such information, the working group organized a roundtable discussion on Thailand's stance and input in the WTO Conference in which 3 members of the government negotiating team were invited to share their views with representatives of NGOs, people's organizations and the academics. The working group joined up with the Drug Study Group and the HIV-AIDS Network to voice concerns over the imbalanced benefits of the agriculture and intellectual property rights agreements which favour big businesses to the detriment of small farmers and the poor. In response to the negotiators' assurance that Special and Differential Treatment was on the Thailand team's agenda in order to cushion the impact, two farmers representatives declared that they would rather see the WTO ushered out of agriculture altogether.

In the meantime, Focus' human and material resources were utilized in full to assist the working group to host seminars on globalization in the Northeastern and Southern regions, establish a Thai language website, write and translate articles for local newspapers and the NGO newsletter, and publish and distribute three popular education booklets on globalization, WTO-AoA, and TRIPs.

On the occasion of the opening of the 4th WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha, a full day rally was staged in Bangkok in solidarity with civil society groups across the world who uphold people's basic rights to food and medicine and opposed unfair trade rules imposed by the WTO. The 1,200 participants at the rally represent the farmers, workers, students, HIV positive people and members of civil society groups who were direct beneficiaries of all the information dissemination and capacity-building activities of the Globalization Working Group and their allies throughout the year.

To wrap up the year and plan for the future, the working group held a workshop in December. Briefings on the results and implications of the Doha Ministerial and the IMF-WB meeting in Ottawa were provided by Walden and Aileen from Focus. The working group discussed a draft outline of a three-year plan and agreed upon a capacity-building workshop on finance and development as the first activity next year.

The Social Agenda Working Group is a key link between Focus and our "host" organisation Chulalongkorn University Social Research Institute (CUSRI).

Social Agenda Working Group

February

Organized seminar "A New Development Paradigm in the New Millennium" by Wolfgang Sachs, attended by 80 people. The Social Development Study Centre and Focus on the Global South also coordinated the presentation. Sachs' article "Development: The Rise and Decline of an Ideal" was translated into Thai by CUSRI.

March

Organized a round-table discussion on "Thai Civil Society and Financing for Development" led by Mr Asada Jayanama, Thailand's Ambassador to the UN, attended by NGOs and academic groups. Focus on the Global South also prepared a paper for the discussion "At What Price Development?"

May

Co-produced with Thai Development Support Committee country report on Thailand entitled "The crisis still looms large" for inclusion in the Social Watch Report 2001;

April - July

Organized four brainstorming forums on "How to Get Rid of Structural Poverty " covering the following topics:

1. "Rural Economy" attended by 150 people;
2. "Cultural Capital" attended by 70 people;
3. "Decentralization" attended by 30 people; and
4. "Obstructive Legal Measures" attended by 30 people.

The forums were organized by the Midnight University while Thai Development Support Committee and the Social Agenda's secretary helped with the coordination.

Transcripts of documents presented to the four forums were also produced and sent to about 200 network members, including academics, policy-makers, media people, NGO workers, political parties, politicians, and senators.

August

Launched a public campaign on "Shrimp Farms in Rice Fields: Look Beyond Export Figures" in cooperation with the Sustainable Agriculture Foundation (Thailand) to point out the importance of Thailand's long-term development. Contents of the campaign were documented and disseminated to libraries of universities and colleges throughout the country.

Cooperated with NGOs working on natural resources and the environment in presenting an open letter to the chairperson of the National Environment Board opposing to a policy that permits black tiger shrimp farming in fresh-water areas.

September

Co-produced the 2002 Social Development Calendar with the Social Development Study Centre

October

Supported the Coalition for Women's Progress in organizing a public forum on "Women's Voice on Government's Immediate Policies" and supported NGOs and academic groups in organizing a discussion forum with government officers on agriculture and patents on drugs and life forms.

November

Participated in an annual conference of Chulalongkorn University's Political Economy Centre on "1997: Thailand's Turning Point" by presenting a paper on "A New Paradigm on Social Development".

Supported the Arom Pongpagnan Foundation and the Thai Durable Trade Union in their participatory research on "An Alternative Way Out After Being Laid-off: The Case of Thai Durable Women Workers".

December

Produced a Thailand social development report for the Social Watch Report 2002 on "Thailand and Structural Poverty"

PHILIPPINES

Since 1998, Focus has established a physical base in Manila, mainly to serve as station for Filipino staff working on regional and global programmes. During the 2001 staff retreat, it was decided that a Philippine Programme be started to maximize the resources and time of Manila-based staff. The months immediately following the staff retreat were spent setting up a full office, introducing and announcing the expanded work of Focus in the Philippines, and more networking with Filipino groups and government agencies. The Philippine Programme was formally launched on November 5, 2001, marked with a forum and the launch of the Philippine edition of Walden's book, *The Future in the Balance: Essays on Globalization and Resistance*.

The Philippine Programme is starting small, integrating mostly pre-existing projects. The programme takes over the Philippine leg of the Land Reform Project as a key component of the programme. It also incorporates a commissioned study for the Stockholm Environmental Institute for a Philippine Report on Rio+10. The book project (on political economy and political ecology) with the University of the Philippines' Department of Sociology is also coordinated as part of the Philippine Programme. These projects are envisioned to give stronger basis and network for the tackling of more Philippine-specific issues in the coming year.

The Philippine Programme staff is composed of Joy Chavez, Marissa de Guzman (Land Reform), Marylou Malig, Lou Torres (Admin and Finance), and Eugene Gambol (intern from October 15 to December 15, 2001).

COMMUNICATIONS AND PUBLICATIONS

Website

The Focus on the Global South Web site has been evolving to become more interactive, informative and user friendly in the past year. The site experienced a sustained increase in the number of visitors, averaging 35,000 hits a month. It has been able to attract a large number of hits from countries of the south. This has been especially gratifying since much of the material produced by focus caters to issues related to the global South. The focus website was at the forefront in presenting alternative news and analysis during the ADB meeting in Honolulu. We also carried news and analysis from the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre as well as other conferences and actions in which Focus played a role.

Focus' aim in bridging the 'digital divide' and countering the English bias of the internet was started by the launching of the Thai section of the Focus website in July. The Thai web page aims to provide information and analysis to Thai movements and NGOs on all the issues Focus deals with. The response to the Thai web page has been very enthusiastic. Focus aims to provide similar services in other languages in the near future.

Dossiers

This was the new 'product line' started in 2000. The Focus Dossiers are a compilation of related, analytical pieces focusing on specific issues. The Dossiers are usually produced to coincide with a major international conference related to the issue. In 2001, the dossiers produced included

- Porto Alegre 2001: This is dossier entirely in Spanish, produced specifically for the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre.
- Profiting from Poverty: This dossier focuses on the ADB and development in Asia. It was produced for the ADB annual meeting in Honolulu.
- Genoa 2001: focussed on the crisis of globalisation, produced for the G-8 meeting in Genoa.

All the dossiers are available at our website. www.focusweb.org.

Books

In 2001, Focus along with Food First produced, *The Future in the Balance: essays on globalisation and resistance*, by Walden Bello. The book has since been very well received.

Bulletins

Focus on the Global South produces three e-mail bulletins.

Focus on Trade has had phenomenal success in its ability to reach out to an extremely large audience. The articles in Focus on Trade have always created immense interest from readers all over the globe. The bulletin is already being translated in Spanish and will soon be translated in Bahasa Indonesia. Specific articles have been translated into at least seven other languages. In December 2001, the direct membership to the list stood at above 5000. This however, does not reflect the true outreach of the bulletin as it is carried on several other listserves, websites and reproduced in print. Additionally, Focus on Trade is also posted on the Focus website in both the HTML format and PDF format. In December 2001, the focus website had received around 2500 downloads of Focus on Trade in the PDF format.

Publications

In 2001, there were nineteen issues of Focus on Trade. The complete archives can be accessed at http://www.focusweb.org/publications/FOTarchives_index.htm

Focus on Security has more a more targeted audience. It has produced some singularly outstanding analytical pieces on the security situation in Asia and the changing global security situation.

Focus on the Philippines as the name suggests is a bulletin that deals with issues related to the Philippines. The bulletin has a very wide outreach in the Philippines and among those with an interest in issues of the region. The bulletin is produced by Focus Philippines office.

All the bulletins are available on the Focus website.

ADMINISTRATION

Board meetings

There was a full board meeting in March 2-4, 2001 here in Bangkok and it was the first time for our new board members, Alejandro Bendana and Peter Rosset, to attend the Board meeting. But the other two new board, Binny Buchori and Nguyen Van Thanh, could not make it due to internal country situation and the sudden health problems.

Staff retreat

There were two staff retreats in 2001: the full retreat was held in late June and early July in Karnchanaburi and the "mini retreat" was held in Bangkok in December in Bangkok.

Staff

Thailand

Chris Adams finished his term with Focus as a visiting researcher for Micro-Macro Issues Linking program in July and return to Community Aid Abroad (Oxfam Australia). The regional mapping for security and conflict program was implemented by Thomas Reifer who had joined Focus from June till December. Focus is a part of the Social Agenda Working Group so we hired Supaphan Palangsak as a part time coordinator working closely with Thai program.

India

Manpreet Sethi started her work with Focus in September as a Research Associate. Her main tasks are for Security program and Land Reform Project. Welcome back Sonila S. Shetty. She used to work for Focus India last year and rejoined in July as an Administrative Secretary.

Philippines

Marissa de Guzman moved to a new position in August as a Research Associate in the Agrarian Reform Program. Marylou Malig took on Marissa's former post research assistant for Walden Bello. Marylou was also involved in the research and writing for the forthcoming book

on development in the Philippines. The office runs smoothly since February when Lou Torres joined as Administrative and Finance Officer.

CORE FUNDERS 2001

We would like to thank the following organizations for their continuing support for Focus' programme.

11.11.11 (NCOS), the Philippines/Belgium
Christian Aid, UK
Community Aid Abroad (Oxfam Australia), Australia
CORDAID, the Netherlands
Development and Peace, Canada
Department for International Development (DFID), Thailand/UK
Ford Foundation, USA
HIVOS, the Netherlands
Inter Pares, Canada
NOVIB, The Netherlands
Oxfam America, Cambodia/USA
Oxfam GB, Thailand/UK
Oxfam HK, Hong Kong
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF), USA
Solidago Foundation, USA
The United Methodist Church, USA
Trocaire, Republic of Ireland
Mr. Boyd Reimer, Canada (individual donor)

We would also like to thank the following organizations for supporting the conferences and specific projects.

Asian Development Bank
- Action Aid Asia, Community Aid Abroad (CAA),
Oxfam Solidarity (Oxfam Belgium in Laos) and Terre des Hommes
Asia Peace Alliance
- Oxfam HK
Korean Unification Conference
- Oxfam Solidarity (Oxfam Belgium in Laos) and Toda Institute
Land Reform Project
- Food First/Ford Foundation
Tobin Tax Study
- Bread for All
World Social Forum
- Action Aid Asia, Novib, Oxfam GB and Oxfam Solidarity

■ ADVISERS AND BOARD MEMBERS 2001

Advisers

Victor Karunan, Senior Expert/Project Coordinator, UNICEF
Regional Office for East Asia and the Pacific
Martin Khor, Director, Third World Network (TWN)

Board Members

Alejandro Bendana, Centro de Estudios Internacionales, Nicaragua
Amara Pongsapich, Director, CUSRI, Thailand
Binny Buchori, Executive Secretary, International NGO Forum
on Indonesian Development, Indonesia
Gothom Arya (Chair), Thailand
Josefa Francisco, Southeast Asia Regional Coordinator, DAWN, Philippines
Kamal Malhotra, Senior Advisor, Bureau of Policy Development,
UNDP, USA
Lee Mi Kyung, Member of National Assembly, Republic of Korea
Leonor Briones, National College of Public Administration and
Governance, Philippines
Muto Ichiyo, People's Plan Study Group, Japan
Nguyen Van Thanh, President of Vietnam-Italy Friendship
Association, Vietnam
Peter Rosset, Institute for Food and Development Policy, USA
Rajagopal P.V., Secretary, CESC Training Centre, India
Walden Bello, Focus, Thailand/Philippines

Executive Director

Walden Bello

Thailand

Anoop Sukumaran, Research Associate: Information & Communication
Chanida Chanyapate Bamford, Senior Associate: Thailand Programme
(part time)

Chirawatana Charoonpatarapong, Research Associate: Security & Conflict

Jacques-chai Chomthongdi, Research Associate: Thailand Programme

Mayuree Ruechakiattikul, Office Assistant

Nicola Bullard, Deputy Director

Praphai Jundee, Finance Manager

Ranee Hassarungsee, Program Assistant: Thailand Programme (part time)

Shalmali Guttal, Coordinator: Micro-Macro Issues Linking Programme

Soontaree Nakaviroj, Office Manager/Administrator

Volunteer/Contract staff

Chris Adams, Research Associate

Nadia Hadad, Intern (INFID)

Supaphan Palangsak, Coordinator Social Agenda Working Group

Thomas Reifer, Research Associate

India

Manpreet Sethi, Research Associate: Land Reform Action Network (LRAN)

Minar Pimple, Coordinator India Programme

Raghav Narsalay, Research Associate: Trade and Finance

Sonila S. Shetty, Office and Finance Manager

Vasha R. Berry, Research Associate: Security and Conflict

Philippines

Eugene Gambol (intern from October 15 to December 15, 2001)

Jenina Joy Chavez-Malaluan, Coordinator : Philippines Programme

Lou Torres, Office and Finance Manager

Marissa de Guzman, Research Associate: Land Reform Network

Marylou Malig, Research Assistant to Walden Bello

Singapore & Geneva

Aileen Kwa, Research Associate: Trade

Marco G. Mezzera, Research Associate: Culture and Globalisation

Financial Report Period January-December `2001**

Comparison of Revenue, Expenses and Budget

	<i>Amount in USD.</i>				
	Budget*	Exp.Actual	Var.fr.Budget	Revenue	Rev.over Exp.
General Management & Administration	84,393.00	81,246.14	3,146.86	81,931.92	685.78
National & Regional Micro-Macro Programme	91,744.00	104,899.10	-13,155.10	104,621.76	277.34
- India					
National & Regional Micro-Macro Programme	80,529.00	46,349.26	34,179.74	102,431.29	56,082.03
- SEATES					
National & Regional Micro-Macro Programme	85,586.00	74,021.29	11,564.71	74,919.23	897.94
- Thailand					
National & Regional Micro-Macro Programme	85,993.00	75,015.69	10,977.31	75,794.21	778.52
-Regional /Global					
Economic & Financial Liberalization	127,287.00	123,467.53	3,819.47	128,509.71	5,042.18
Security & Conflict	45,030.00	59,079.22	-14,049.22	51,129.35	7,949.87
State, Markets & Civil Society	29,782.00	25,677.38	4,104.62	26,643.86	966.48
Culture & Globalization	64,656.00	41,501.86	23,154.14	42,241.12	739.26
Publications and Resources Center	84,300.00	50,568.58	33,731.42	51,737.18	1,168.60
Sub Total	779,300.00	681,826.05	97,473.95	739,959.63	58,133.58
<i>Conference related expenses : Labour conference</i>	<i>40,000.00</i>	<i>2,807.83</i>	<i>37,192.17</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>-2,807.83</i>
<i>Conference related expenses :Finance&Development</i>	<i>60,000.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>60,000.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>
<i>Security workshop(North&South Korean conf.)</i>	<i>80,000.00</i>	<i>51,146.79</i>	<i>28,853.21</i>	<i>10,985.39</i>	<i>-40,161.40</i>
<i>Security workshop(Beyond War&Retribution Hong Kong conf.)</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>6,446.56</i>	<i>-6,446.56</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>-6,446.56</i>
<i>Conference related expenses:Culture&Globalization</i>	<i>40,000.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>40,000.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>	<i>0.00</i>
Professional Fee				4,125.71	4,125.71
Interest income				8,534.42	8,534.42
Other income				8,532.03	8,532.03
Gain or Loss on Exchange				5,079.80	5,079.80
Revenue over Expenses 2001				777,216.98	34,989.75
Opening Balance Jan.1,2001 ***					181,237.35
Total	999,300.00	742,227.23	257,072.77	777,216.98	216,227.10

* Exchange rate 1 USD. = 40.00 Bht.

** Did not include India & Philippines funds direct through their country.

***Items carryforward from last year .We booked our accounting in Bht.currency and for Yr.2001 exchange rate was 1 USD.=40.00 Bht. That make figure in USD.was changed.

Glossary

Exp.Actual	= Actual Expenditure
Var.fr.Budget	= Variance from Budget
Rev.over Exp.	= Revenue over Expenditure



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