

ANNUAL REPORT 2004

Focus on the Global South (FOCUS)

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From the Director

2004: A MEMORABLE YEAR

For Focus 2004 was memorable for a number of reasons.

It began with the organization engaged in one of the most ambitious projects of its nine-year history: serving as one of the hosts of the fourth World Social Forum in Mumbai. Would the WSF be successfully transplanted from Porto Alegre in Brazil to Indian soil? The answer to this question was never in doubt from the moment the India WSF Committee, a rainbow coalition of social movements, political parties, and individuals, committed itself to sponsoring the massive undertaking. With some 80,000 enthusiastic participants from South Asia and the rest of the world, the Mumbai WSF, held at the end of January 2004, was a resounding cry against communalism, war, and corporate-driven globalization and a call for alternative social practices and institutions. Focus is proud to have been part of the organizing of this historic event.

As in the previous year, the big challenge in 2004 was the end of the US' occupation of Iraq. Among the many activities Focus staff engaged in to help bring about this outcome, the Beirut Anti-War Assembly in September stood out. Our perspective in spearheading this event was that, with the Middle East serving as the strategic battleground over the next few years, it was essential to bring the global peace movement and civil society in that part of the world together in a common endeavour for peace. The success of the gathering, which drew over 300 participants, lay not only in the program of action adopted but also in its giving momentum to the consolidation of this important front in the struggle against empire and for peace.

There was no rest in struggle against corporate-driven globalization in 2004. After the historic collapse of the World Trade Organization ministerial meeting in Cancun in September 2003, the trade superpowers managed to get the organization back on its feet with the "Framework Agreement" that they pushed at the General Council meeting in July. Focus led in exposing the uniformly negative consequences of this agreement for development, especially its consolidating the Agreement on Agriculture as a mechanism for dumping subsidized commodities on third world economies, resulting in the massive dislocation of small farmers. We began to work in alliance with other organizations to create a global movement against the July Framework in the months leading up to the 6th Ministerial meeting of the WTO in December 2005.

2004 was a productive year in terms of Focus' published output. *Silent War*, a Focus dossier, brought together the results of the field work in Iraq of Focus associate Herbert Docena and other pieces documenting the US' economic colonization of Iraq. *Anti-Poverty or Anti-Poor?* was a critique of the United Nations Millennium Development Goals initiative that stemmed from a civil society conference organized by Focus and sponsored by the United Nations East Asia Pacific office (UNESCAP). *The Anti-Development State: the Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines* was a comprehensive analysis of the roots and dynamics of the longstanding economic stagnation of the Philippines.

We in Focus would like to thank all our partners, allies, supporters, and friends for making 2004 a very productive year.

Walden Bello
Executive Director

ALTERNATIVES PROGRAMME

Much of Focus' work in the Alternatives programme is in three broad areas: the World Social Forum processes, food sovereignty and land and agrarian reform (please see below for details). The Alternatives programme also attempts to link these activities with ideas and initiatives for alternatives in its Trade, Finance and Development, and Peace Building and Peoples' Security campaigns. An important dimension of this work is to move beyond the political and economic dimensions of building alternatives to encompass the social and cultural dimensions of the process.

Towards these ends in 2004, Focus participated in several local, national, regional and international meetings on alternatives to neo-liberalism, corporate globalization, free trade regimes and militarisation. For example, Focus participated in the "Peoples Dialogue on Regional Alternatives to Globalisation: SADC and Mercosur" that was held in Johannesburg, South Africa in September. The Peoples Dialogue was hosted by AIDC, South Africa, Ibase, Brasil and the Trans-National Institute, Netherlands. The meeting was attended by movements and organizations largely from Latin America and Africa, and discussions centred on the importance and limitations of the regional trade blocs, and strategies to address these blocs. Focus's presentations in the 'teach-ins' at the Spring Meetings of the World

Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) in April, highlighted the urgent need for structural and organisational alternatives to the current global financial, economic and governance regimes. In India, Focus is part of a loose coalition committed to broad based dialogue among secular and faith-based organizations on war and militarization, cultural intolerance, women's rights and the violation of civil and political rights.

For the most part, Focus achieved its programme objectives of linking and advancing thinking, practice and support for alternatives. The main outcomes and challenges are described in the sections below. Focus will likely revise its programme objectives after a planned comprehensive review later in 2005.

The World Social Forum Process

The Social Forum processes are extremely important to Focus' work on Alternatives. Since the first World Social Forum (WSF) in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in 2001 the Social Forum process has evolved tremendously and has broadened to the organization of regional, national and local fora by organizations, networks and movements committed to building spaces for alternatives to the current regimes that attempt to dominate the economy, finance, security, politics, culture and society. The diversification of the Social Forum

processes has catalysed the mobilization of local, national and regional groups and movements to come together in commonly shared and respected spaces, and work together to strengthen the global movement against corporate led globalization, neo-liberalism, militarism and war, racism, sexism and religious, ethnic and cultural intolerance, and to articulate alternatives to dominant trends in these areas. Participating in and strengthening these processes and spaces are critical to Focus' twin goals of "deconstruction and "reconstruction" because of their proven potential for building solidarity among diverse groups/movements towards common visions, enhancing learning about principles, strategies and actions in the search for alternatives to the current world order, and strengthening international campaigns in areas such as militarism, unfair trade and debt.

In 2004, Focus demonstrated its commitment to the Social Forum processes through its participation in the WSF 2004, as well as regional fora and related platforms. The WSF 2004 that was held in Mumbai, India, marked an important milestone in the Social Forum evolution since it was the first WSF that was held in a location other than Porto Alegre. Focus was deeply involved in the preparations for the WSF 2004 at the national, regional and international levels, especially in helping to shape the content, methodology and programme, and in mobilising the participation of diverse groups and movements in the final event. The WSF 2004 was significantly different from past fora in its organisational structure, methodology and particularly, in the central role of culture as an arena of inspiring and organising political action. During the WSF 2004, in collaboration with other networks and organisations, Focus organised many different events on trade/WTO, food sovereignty, globalisation and militarisation, land and agrarian

reform, post-war reconstruction, water privatisation, and alternatives to globalisation.

After the WSF 2004, as a member of the WSF International Council and of the Content and Methodology Commission, Focus was active in planning the WSF 2005 and taking forward the learning from the Mumbai Forum in 2004. Focus staff participated in WSF International Council and its Content and Methodology, Finance and Expansion Commissions meetings, as well as the European Social Forum (ESF) in London in October, where Focus staff spoke in sessions on labour, war, women and globalisation, trade and the Social Forum process itself.

In addition, Focus worked with South Korean coalitions to organise mobilisations and public education activities during the World Economic Forum in South Korea in June. There was also an Asian Social Movements Assembly which brought together mainly Southeast and East Asian movements and activists to discuss issues of corporate globalization and free trade. The Assembly produced a declaration and action plan for the region. The series of activities culminated into a massive demonstration outside the WEF meeting.

In India and elsewhere, Focus has remained deeply involved in the organisational structure and mobilisation processes that were established for the WSF 2004. An unanticipated and extremely welcome outcome of this structure and process has been the commitment among Indian groups who participated in the Mumbai Forum to continue working together on issues such as war and militarisation, trade, the right to food and livelihoods, and human dignity. Focus has been active in the coalitions and networks that emerged from the Mumbai Forum both in India as well as internationally (see country and campaign programme reports for details). Along

with Indian and South Asian groups and movements, Focus is now involved in planning for a South Asia Social Forum as well as an Asia continental forum tentatively scheduled for late 2005 and early 2006 respectively.

One Focus staff was invited to “guest edit” an issue of the journal “Development” on the World Social Forum and the movement of movements. This will be published in June 2005.

Focus’ involvement in the Social Forum processes has strengthened its linkages and collaborative relationships with a number of organisations and networks working on land and agrarian reform, water, post-war reconstruction, peace and peoples’ security, international financial institutions (IFIs), trade, finance and development. Focus has also learned a great deal from local, national and international struggles about how to organise broad-based platforms against neo-liberalism and war/militarisation, and about viable alternatives to these trends. Some of the major challenges that Focus will have to work on in the future are: a) how to deepen the Social Forum Process to even more localised levels; b) how to scale-up alternatives to the most workable and applicable levels, and c) how to support culturally and nationally based responses to the threats of corporate led globalisation and militarisation while at the same time not falling into narrow parochial, nationalist or revivalist traps. There are no simple solutions to these challenges. Focus will need to remain firm in its commitment to work in broad based and inclusive coalitions and platforms, and to resolve differences through dialogue and building bridges across divergent approaches and strategies.

Food Sovereignty

Focus’ work on food sovereignty started up in 2004 with a roundtable meeting that was organised at the WSF 2004 in

Mumbai. The roundtable was attended by representatives from farmers’ movements, land struggles, trade unions, workers’ organisations, water campaigns, and civil society organisations involved in agriculture, labour and natural resource rights. Speakers were from many different countries: India, Indonesia, Thailand, Philippines, Italy, Columbia and Brazil. The proceedings of these events have helped to shape Focus’ work on food sovereignty, water and agrarian reform. Some of the key conclusions of the roundtable were:

1. An alternative paradigm of food sovereignty cannot be developed and promoted without a broad alliance between various sectors of society, and more specifically between economically, socially and politically marginalized groups.
2. The national level is a central arena of action in building up these alliances. This allows local/community initiatives to make their way into the political process and foster the emergence of an alternative political agenda that can be advocated at the national level.
3. A central challenge in the search for viable alternatives is to build a “poor people’s economy.” This entails opposing an economic system dominated by transnational corporations (TNCs) and the capitalist elite, protecting and defending “small jobs” across the entire food and agriculture chain—from farmers’ cooperatives to street vendors and eventually to consumers. While elites all over the world believe in “globalization,” people’s movements are trying to reinvent the notion of “nation,” based on solidarity between diverse communities, production, distribution and consumption practices, etc.
4. An alternative paradigm has to be based on people’s concrete alternative practices and ideas.
5. Unite farmers and agricultural workers behind a broad-based and inclusive vision of land and agrarian reform that addresses

the priorities and demands of landless and marginal farmers, agricultural workers, workers (in the food processing industry as well as other sectors), and urban and rural poor.

6. Middlemen and TNCs are a major source of exploitation of farmers, workers and consumers. Alternative initiatives need to by-pass them and establish direct linkages between small-scale farmers, vendors, local food processors and consumers.

7. Jobs and workers' rights are important cross-cutting demands across all sectors in operationalising food sovereignty.

Throughout 2004, Focus was involved in national, regional and international meetings on land, farmers' and workers' rights. At the international level, Focus continued its active participation in the agri-trade network, a network of civil society organisations and movements committed to developing and promoting food sovereignty, and removing the power of the WTO trade regimes over the food and agriculture sectors. The agri-trade network prepared several position statements and press releases on the WTO negotiations in food and agriculture, the July Framework that came out of the WTO's General Council Meetings in July, and on the problems with world commodity prices.

These statements can be viewed at the agri-trade website:
www.peoplesfoodsovereignty.org/statements.

Also at the international level, Focus was involved in planning and organising the conference, Sustaining a Future for Agriculture, in Geneva in November. The conference was attended by almost 200 participants from movements and civil society organisations across the world and focussed on strategies to build a just and sustainable food system, while at the same time challenging the World Trade

Organisation (WTO). While the lead organiser of the conference was the U.S. based Institute for Trade and Agriculture Policy (IATP), the conference was put together by a steering committee comprised of a number of organisations working on agriculture and trade, such as La Via Campesina, Friends of the Earth, Oxfam International, the IUF, SEATINI, CIDSE and Consumers International, among others. Focus coordinated and facilitated working group sessions on Standards, Fair Trade and Market Access and The Market Myth and TNCs, as well as the Asia Pacific caucus and strategy and alliance-building sessions.

The conference proceedings can be viewed at the website: www.tradeobservatory.org/sustainingag.cfm.

In the Philippines, Focus organised a multi-sectoral round-table meeting with representatives from farmers', women's, workers', small producers', food processors' and manufacturers', and indigenous people's organisations, Muslim communities, business people, consumer groups, NGOs and local government on development, land and agrarian reform, and the state of hunger and poverty in Mindanao. The purpose of this meeting was to debate and confront the incidence, causes and impacts of hunger and poverty. The two-day meeting concluded that progressive, people oriented land reform and trade policies are critical to addressing the problems of hunger and poverty in the region. The Food Roundtable is part of a longer development roundtable process that Focus is coordinating in all its three country programmes. Key conclusions of the roundtable meeting were:

- Hunger was not a result of poor natural resources because Mindanao is endowed with rich natural resources and vast agricultural lands.
- Root causes of hunger and poverty lie in access to and ownership of resources

(land and water) and on access to economic opportunities.

- Trade liberalization has negatively affected the agriculture sector because of the influx of cheap imports from other countries.
- Lack of a comprehensive agrarian and agricultural policy in the region and country exacerbates the problem of hunger and poverty.

In India, Focus started to work on the tragedies of suicides by farmers in Karnataka State. Over the past three years, the incidence of farmers' suicides in the state has shown an alarming increase. It is now widely acknowledged in the state that there is a deepening and complex economic and social crisis in rural areas that has not been adequately addressed by any state government over the past ten years. While there is no discounting the importance of appropriate state-led responses to the deepening agricultural crisis in the state, there is an urgent need for alternatives to official programmes, which both critique, and complement official programmes as necessary. To highlight these issues, together with key farmer organizations, mass organizations, journalists and researchers, Focus organized a meeting to discuss and understand the complex economic and social causes of farmers' suicides through the voices of the farmers themselves, and to come up with policy directions that would address these causes in both, the short and long term. The meeting also aimed at seeking and supporting a process that help farmers' voices to be heard by society and policy makers. Practical activities were agreed on in the meeting and are currently being followed-up.

A significant challenge for Focus in its work on food sovereignty is how to bring together the main principles and elements of progressive alternatives practiced and promoted by diverse groups and constituencies (such as farmers, workers,

fishers, women, indigenous peoples, economists, etc.) into a cohesive paradigm that is useful for articulating progressive policy and governance frameworks that strengthen food sovereignty. This challenge will be addressed in through more practical research, study and dialogues with various constituencies.

Food sovereignty roundtables were also organised in the Philippines and Thailand. See country programme reports below for details.

Land and Agrarian Reform

Focus' work on land and agrarian reform has been primarily through the Land Research Action Network (LRAN). At the same, time, Focus has also collaborated with movements and organisations who are not LRAN members on activities related to land, natural resource and agrarian reform struggles. During the WSF 2004 in Mumbai, Focus co-organised and participated in seminars and workshops on land, agrarian reform and water rights. These events were well attended by WSF participants, especially those from farmers' and indigenous peoples' movements, groups working on natural resource rights and researchers. These events helped Focus to expand its links with actors working on similar issues in Asia and elsewhere.

Through the LRAN project, Focus continued to support the proposals of landless peasants, marginal farmers and indigenous peoples globally for progressive land and agrarian reform, and against the commercialisation of land led by international financial institutions (IFIs), especially the World Bank. This was done primarily through the dissemination of information, support for movements to meet with each other, and educational and advocacy oriented activities.

Focus was on the international organising

committee for the World Forum on Agrarian Reform (WFAR) that was held in Valencia, Spain from December 4-8, 2004. Focus was active in shaping the Forum programme, as well as in supporting the participation of movements and organisations from the Asian region in the Forum. The WFAR was attended by more than 200 representatives from La Via Campesina and other farmers' movements, indigenous peoples' groups, dalit groups and women's organisations, as well as NGOs, activists, academics and researchers. Focus staff were plenary speakers at the Forum and along with other members of the LRAN, conducted workshops on the World Bank's Market Assisted Land Reform, peoples' rights to land, water, and human rights violations perpetrated against peasants, women and children by State and non-state actors. Focus also played an important role in drafting the final sign-on statement to emerge from the WFAR.

In Asia, Focus supported the struggles of peasant movements by providing movements and organizations with updated, timely, grounded, and accurate analyses of IFI, trade and privatization policies so that they could plan and implement effective and strategic actions and interventions. Focus also helped to strengthen political linkages among agrarian reform movements and groups in India, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines, as well as assisted them to link with various regional and global movements engaged in similar struggles. Focus supported a regional meeting on land reform and natural resource rights that was organized by LRAN members from Thailand and Indonesia in South Korea in June, as part of the Asia Social Movements Meeting that was held as a counter summit to the World Economic Forum. The final report of the Asia Land Meeting (ALM) that was held in December 2003 in Thailand was completed and released in June, 2004. The ALM report provides a

good overview of the main issues and challenges faced by movements and groups struggling for progressive agrarian reform in Asia, and has served as important educational material for grassroots movements and support groups both within and outside Asia.

In the Philippines, LRAN worked with national and local farmers groups campaigning against the Farmland as Collateral Bill, a homegrown version of the World Bank's credit enhancement and extension programme to farmers. Focus started to do educational work with farmers and women's groups in Bulacan (Luzon region). Land and natural resources were central issues of discussion at the roundtable Focus organized in Mindanao on hunger and poverty (see Food Sovereignty section above) and one of the conclusions from discussions was that lack of a comprehensive agrarian and agricultural policy in the region and country exacerbates the problems of hunger and poverty. The roundtable was also an initial step to strengthen the links between trade policy and agrarian reform.

In Thailand, the LRAN project focused on strengthening Thailand's Land Reform Network at national and sub-national levels, and assisting it to make regional and international linkages. The Network is comprised of various farmers' groups, slum dwellers' networks, local NGOs and women's groups. In 2004, the Network concentrated on a national campaign for a genuine Land Reform Bill. A draft Bill has already been drawn up by a legal support team based on analyses of the problems and demands of the communities represented by the various networks. The People's Land Reform Bill helped to link movements and organizations in different areas in Thailand to work together on a common platform.

It likewise helped draw public attention towards issues of land administration and

the fact that there are alternatives to the Thai Government's single-minded approach to assets capitalization. The latter is aimed at the transformation of all land assets into fully transferable units through the privatization of land tenure. This reveals a simplistic understanding by the Thai Government of the nature of land tenure relationships at local levels in Thailand, and will have the effect of further dismantling community rights and controls over land both in the public and private spheres.

The Thailand Land Network members met once every three months in 2004 to discuss and analyze the land situation at local and national levels, and plan and monitor activities. In May and June, the Network organized a study trip for fifteen Network members to visit the MST (the landless peoples' movement) in Brazil. The trip proved extremely fruitful and from the experiences learned from the MST, the Network identified three main areas to focus on:

1. Strengthen links between peoples' networks all over the country to formulate a national people's movement with land reform as the core issue to link all issues;
2. Integrate more symbolic and cultural activities into the movement;
3. Formulate a training curriculum for activists in the movement;

Detailed activity reports of LRAN's work can be obtained upon request from Focus. Research papers and other materials can be viewed at the LRAN website:

www.landaction.org.

TRENDS AND ANALYSIS PROGRAMME

The trends and analysis programme supports the campaigns as well as looking ahead to research new issues, identify emerging areas of struggle and provide a sound basis for building future campaigns. To this end, the Trends and Analysis work in 2004 focused principally on agriculture: market access, agribusiness, and contract farming.

In March, a senior researcher joined the Trends and Analysis team, principally to work on regional integration of agribusiness and food processing. Several papers were published in the first half of the year, including articles investigating the link between commodity prices and market access and the political economy of avian flu in Thailand. Research on contract farming in Thailand commenced and the final report will be published in early 2005. There are plans to continue the research on contract farming and to engage with the IUF at the regional level to hold a seminar on contract farming. (See Thailand country programme report.)

The Thai, India and Philippines programmes provided ongoing political analysis of the political and economic situation in their respective countries, usually in response to ongoing debates. Much of this material is published through Focus on Trade, Focus on the Philippines and the India programme's electronic newsletter. In addition, shorter analytical pieces and op-eds were regularly published in the national and regional press.

Several years ago Focus commenced a major research project on "political Islam" taking Malaysia, Aceh and Mindanao as the three case studies. Editing of the final report has commenced, although it is still not clear what form the final document will take given the speed with which events are changing in the region, in particular in Aceh, Mindanao and Southern Thailand. We will consider whether there needs to be an update on some of the conclusion of the report.

Two years ago Focus also signalled its intention to commence a major project on China. This project has been slow to get off the ground partly because of staff constraints, however Focus has started to develop the project through discussions with various China experts and activists and in an article on China's foreign policy published in the *New Internationalist*. In addition, a new staff person will be appointed in 2005 whose priority work will be China. At this stage, the focus of the research will be "resistance and mobilizations against neo-liberalism".

One of the challenges of the Trends and Analysis programme is to establish a balance between the different rhythms of campaigning and research. Staff constraints were also an obstacle to achieving our ambitious objectives for this programme however we hope to overcome this in the coming years and this will be one of the key areas for assessment in the organization review planned for 2005.

FINANCE AND DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN

Focus' work on Finance and Development in 2004 was directed towards the international financial institutions (IFIs), national economic and financial policy reforms, privatisation and governance. While Focus was active in international fora and actions, the bulk of this work was at national and sub-national levels.

In January-February, 2004, Focus participated in a strategy meeting on International Financial Institutions in Penang, Malaysia. The meeting was attended by a number of national, regional and international groups and networks, and focussed on building collective strategies to counter the economic, social and environmental destruction that result from IFI led programmes. A follow up of this meeting was a series of public education seminars and workshops in Washington DC in April, when the World Bank and IMF held their Spring meetings. Focus staff actively participated in these seminars and emphasised the links between trade and finance, and the urgent need for developing and promoting alternatives to current economic and finance regimes and systems of governance.

In April, Focus staff participated in a conference organised by the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) in Geneva on Social Knowledge and Policy Making. At UNRISD's request, Focus staff prepared a

paper titled Integrating Knowledge, Politics and Policy for Social Change examining the political economy of knowledge creation, the limits of mainstream development discourse of international agencies, and ways in which these limits might be addressed through local knowledge and activism.

Focus continued to monitor and write about the World Bank's involvement in large infrastructure projects and multi-stakeholder processes (MSPs). In June-July, Focus staff collaborated with an independent researcher in preparing a paper on the World Bank's involvement in the Nam Theun 2 Hydroelectric project in the Lao PDR. The Nam Theun 2 is an extremely controversial project because of the long-term financial and economic risks associated with it and also because of the extensive negative environmental impacts that the project will result in. The paper examined the public consultation processes initiated by the World Bank on the project and analysed the criteria by which the World Bank justified its support for the project.

In September, Focus participated in a small international meeting on investment treaties and global governance organized by FERN and the Mott Foundation. The main issues addressed in the meeting were the emerging patterns of Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and the proliferation of

bilateral investment treaties (BITs). Discussions centered on how to address the imbalances of power in these treaties, the political space for public interest organizations, questioning the power and legitimacy of BITs, and TNCs-government dispute settlement processes. Participants agreed to make information on investment treaties more accessible to each other and to coordinate in developing analyses on them.

In November, Focus participated in and gave presentations on water politics, access to water and the role of IFIs at various forums in Bangkok, Thailand and Amsterdam, Netherlands. The forum in Bangkok was a gathering of economists, academics and activists from France, USA, India, Thailand, Japan and South Korea. The fora in the Netherlands included a conference on the “Global Sell-Out of Public Services” which was sponsored by the EU-NGO Network on GATS, and events on water issues at the Dutch Social Forum.

Focus was on the steering committee for the Asia Civil Society Forum, held in Bangkok on 22-24 November. Focus organised plenary sessions on trade and finance, as well as workshops on trade, the World Social Forum, communications and information technology and alternative financing for development.

Focus continued its work on the Asian Development Bank (ADB) independently as well as in collaboration with local-national groups and movements, and regional networks such as the NGO Forum on the ADB and the Asia Pacific Movement on Debt and Development (APMDD). Focus was active in reviewing and critiquing the ADB’s Public Communications Policy (PCP) and in collaboration with national and regional civil society organisations, registered strong protest towards the ADB consultation processes regarding the PCP.

In the PCP consultation that was organized in Bangalore, India, civil society groups presented the ADB with a statement that articulated their objections to the ADB’s consultation processes and then staged a walk-out from the meeting.

At national and regional levels, Focus continued its monitoring of specific ADB projects and programmes such as the Chashma Right Bank Irrigation Project in Pakistan, the Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Project in India, the Greater Mekong Sub-regional Economic Cooperation Programme (GMS) in mainland Southeast Asia and the Maynilad water privatization in the Philippines. Focus supported local/national groups protesting such projects to prepare position statements and informational materials for public distribution.

In India, Focus’ work on finance and development concentrated on linking India’s economic and financial policies and sectoral reforms with the policy conditions imposed by the World Bank, IMF and the ADB, and their impacts on farmers, workers, women, and rural and urban poor. In Karnataka and Maharashtra states, Focus organized broad-based coalitions of farmers’ and workers’ organizations, mass organizations, NGOs and researchers to analyse and debate state-level economic and financial reforms, and plan coordinated action to demand public scrutiny of these policy reforms, as well as accountability from governments for loans taken from the IFIs and the debt situation. At both national and state levels, Focus was involved in numerous educational activities such as workshops, seminars and preparing informational materials for activists and movements on IFIs, privatization and debt. Focus coordinated the civil society critique of the World Bank’s Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for India (see India country report for details of activities).

In the Philippines, Focus' work was directed towards water privatisation and water policy/governance issues. Bantay Tubig (Philippine Water Vigilance Network) continues to be Focus' main partner in its work on water. As part of its attempt to broaden its advocacy on water issues, Focus co-convened the Philippine Freshwater Network, a group committed to monitoring and launching actions not only on water utilities privatization, but also on general water access and governance issues. Focus organised various press conferences, media events and forums around the issue and recently, with water activists, Focus joined Action for Economic Reforms in filing before the courts a petition to intervene in the Maynilad Rehabilitation case and file related motions against Maynilad (see Philippines country report for details of activities).

Overall, Focus was not able to meet all its objectives in the Finance and Development programme. While Focus did a significant amount of research, monitoring and writing on IFIs, economic reforms, governance and alternatives, it was not able to do substantial work in the area of speculative and other capital flows in the Asia-Pacific region. Part of the reason for this is that Focus simply does not have enough staff to carry out such a range of activities (i.e., research, writing, public education and mobilisation) at the local/national, regional and international levels. Activities at local/national levels tend to demand a great deal of time and human resources, especially since they are often undertaken in coalitions where Focus has to play a leading role in the research, analytical and educational work. Many of these activities tend to be concentrated in tight time-lines leading up to state and national level legislative deadlines or deadlines for approval of IFI loans and project approvals. At the same time, local/national activities are extremely important since these are the arenas where Focus can ground its analytical work and work most

effectively towards policy change. Also Focus' commitment to local/national activities is increasingly appreciated by its local/national partners and has strengthened Focus' credibility among these partners, the press and media and policy makers. Focus will review its objectives, human resources and organisational capabilities in 2005 and reformulate its objectives accordingly.

TRADE CAMPAIGN

The year started with the victory of Cancun but, following the WTO General Council's adoption of the "July Framework", it became clear that the gains of the developing countries were short-lived, and that the work to challenge and change the unfair global trade rules remains a top priority.

2004 also witnessed the rise of bilateral and regional free trade agreements. The trade campaign therefore moved from building on the victory of Cancun to countering the efforts of the WTO to revive the Doha Development Agenda. It continued to campaign on the national, regional and international levels together with social movements, networks and coalitions aiming to build national campaigns and to make the road to Hong Kong as difficult as possible for the trading superpowers.

The collapse of the Ministerial in Cancun was a victory for social movements, peasants, trade unions, NGOs and all others. It prevented the WTO from launching the new issues and expanding its power.

But what were the implications of this collapse? Immediately after Cancun there were moves by the US and the EU to move into bilaterals and regional trade agreements. At the same time, Geneva-based analysts warned of an even more untransparent process unfolding in the WTO to counter the collapse and hasten the launching of new agreements. Clearly,

there was a need for a stock-taking and a re-evaluation of strategies.

January 2004 started with a reinvigorated trade campaign geared at building on the victory of Cancun and keeping a vigilant eye on the changing trade climate, including the development of developing country groupings such as the G20, the G33 and the G90.

Focus, together with the international coalition Our World is Not for Sale (OWINFS), social movements and other organizations organized numerous events at the World Social Forum in Mumbai, India to assess the post-Cancun situation and re-evaluate campaigns and strategies. One highlight was the debate on the G20, co-organised with the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, where civil society representatives debated the senior trade diplomats from Brazil and India. (Focus on Trade Number98 is a special issue on the G20.)

This was quickly followed up by national, regional and international level events dealing not only with the implications of the collapse, but with the sudden rise in bilateral free trade agreements as well.

On the regional level, Focus organized an East and Southeast Asia Trade Campaign Strategy Meeting in Bangkok in April to discuss to develop a common agenda and action plan against the WTO, bilateral and regional free trade agreements and war, which was seen as the other key issue jeopardizing peoples security. Participants

came from Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Korea, Japan, Malaysia, Hong Kong, Vietnam, Laos, Cambodia and East Timor.

This was followed immediately by the OWINFS network conference on “Alternatives to Free Trade” and an international strategy meeting. Focus was one of the key organizers and the local host. This was a highly successful event with over 100 participants from social movements to policy analysts to trade unions, spanning all regions of the world. The meeting produced several concrete plans for moving the campaigns forward and opened the international network to the vibrant and diverse movements and trade activists of the Asian region.

On all levels, strategies were formulated for the way forward not only for the next WTO Ministerial but also in response to bilateral and regional trade agreements. These events also took the first step in an ongoing process of building alternatives to the current world trading system.

This was reinforced at the Asia Social Movements Assembly in Korea in June when the assembly agreed that neo-liberal globalization and militarism go hand-in-hand and therefore identified the US occupation of Iraq and the WTO/FTAs as key sites of struggle, symbolizing the two faces of “armed globalization”.

In addition, Focus, together with many organizations, coalitions and social movements, mobilized and campaigned nationally and internationally to block the agricultural negotiations in Geneva in July. Focus staff in Geneva closely monitored developments and sent regular updates and vital information for national level campaigns. Immediately after the General Council released the July framework, Focus, in cooperation with other Geneva-based organizations held a press conference to present their analysis on the

text. Focus also released a comprehensive analysis of the July Framework with proposals on the next steps of the campaign. This has been translated into several languages.

On the national level, the different national campaigns Focus is involved in, worked on countering the WTO spin on the July Framework being beneficial to the developing countries. In the Philippines for example, the Stop the New Round Coalition issued a joint statement calling for the rejection of the July framework. In both the Philippines and Thailand, there was extensive media work through various interviews for TV, radio programs, journal, and newspaper articles.

In September, Focus reinforced its call to consolidate the anti-war and anti-globalization movements in the struggle against neo-liberal globalization by co-organizing the Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Assembly in Beirut, Lebanon. The Assembly brought in many anti-war movements and coalitions together with movements and coalitions that usually work mainly on trade issues such as the Hemispheric Social Alliance, MST, Via Campesina and others.

In the latter part of the year, the trade team came back together to review the year and revise its campaign plan. It also continued strengthening and expanding its links with social movements and organizations in the different regions. Lastly and most importantly, it continued to build on the national campaigns, in the Philippines for example, the Stop the New Round Coalition reaffirmed its commitment by drafting a new declaration of unity.

Detailed reports of the country-based trade campaigns are in the country programme reports below.

PEACE BUILDING AND PEOPLES' SECURITY CAMPAIGN

This year, Focus' peace and security program provided analysis and organized primarily around the following issues: the occupation and reconstruction of Iraq, the network of US military bases around the world, and the "war against terror" in Southeast Asia.

Taking off from the successful Jakarta Peace Conference held in May 2003, Focus became heavily involved in efforts to build better coordination and consensus within the global anti-war movement. This movement had previously asserted its breadth and strength, as shown during the historic February 15, 2003 demonstrations – the largest globally coordinated protests in history – and there was a continuing need to sustain its momentum.

In the World Social Forum in Mumbai January 2004, Focus helped organize the General Assembly of the Global Anti-War Movement, aside from other workshops and seminars on Iraq, US foreign military bases, and post-conflict reconstruction. As part of the Baghdad-based Iraq International Occupation Watch Center, Focus conducted on-the-ground research on the country's reconstruction and began

efforts to build links with Iraqi civil society. In March, Focus organized a high-profile international parliamentary and civil society mission to investigate the so-called transfer of sovereignty to Iraqis by the United States. It was cancelled at the last minute due to the outbreak of widespread uprisings all over the country.

Focus then took a leading role in organizing an international strategy meeting entitled, "Where Next for the Global Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Movements?" on September 17-19 in Beirut, Lebanon. Among other accomplishments, the meeting was a milestone in deepening links between the international anti-war and anti-globalization movements with the movements in the Middle East. The recognition of the Middle East as the strategic battleground for decades to come and the call to build stronger links with movements' struggles in the region were widely seen as important accomplishments.

In November, Focus participated in preparatory meetings to organize a World Peace Forum scheduled for June 2006 in Vancouver, Canada. In December, Focus

attended an international anti-war coordination meeting organized by European anti-war groups in Paris. Focus was also involved in preparing for the Anti-War Assembly at the coming World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January 2005. Other important conferences that Focus took as opportunities to offer its analysis of militarisation and globalization and to mobilize sections of the anti-war movement were the Asian Social Movements' Assembly in Seoul in June; the World Conference against Atomic and Hydrogen Bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki in August; the Asia-Europe People's Forum entitled "People's Actions for Human Security in Asia and Europe" held in Hanoi in September; the European Social Forum in London in October; the Japan Peace Committee's annual conference entitled "For international solidarity against U.S. military bases" in Sasebo, Japan in November; and the Dutch Social Forum in Amsterdam also in November.

Meanwhile, Focus continued to play a key role in helping an international network of anti-military bases campaigners get off the ground. Focus helped in maintaining the network's list-serve, setting up its website, putting together a map of bases, and preparing for an inaugural conference for the network. As the year drew to a close, Focus, along with other groups, began laying the ground for another gathering of anti-bases activists at the coming WSF in Brazil.

Regionally, Focus continued its participation in the Asian Peace Alliance (APA), an umbrella grouping of peace groups, NGOs, social movements, political parties, and individuals across most of Asia opposing the US-led "war against terror" and advancing the concept of "people's security" as an alternative to the prevailing discourse. This year, the APA moved to

build its capacity as a regional coalition capable of mounting effective international campaigns against wars and militarisation.

At the country-level, in the Philippines, Focus contributed to organizing and mobilizing the Iraq Solidarity Campaign, a coalition of organizations, parties, and movements calling for an end to the occupation and for the withdrawal of Filipino troops in Iraq. When a Filipino contract worker was abducted in Iraq, the coalition took to the fore, organizing mass actions, seminars, and press conferences that contributed to the domestic pressure which forced President Gloria Arroyo to eventually bring home the troops. The coalition also seized on the government's decision to withdraw the troops as an opportunity to fundamentally re-evaluate the country's foreign policy and its military alliance with the United States. The work of the coalition continues, with an educational campaign underway.

Focus continued to monitor the Philippine government's own "war against terror" against local groups, keeping a close eye on the United States' active military involvement in the country. Focus was involved in continuing discussions to form an international solidarity network for Mindanao and is collaborating with other local organizations responding to the conflict in the south.

In India, Focus was part of successfully organizing an Anti-War Assembly that brought together around 400 representatives from over 120 Indian progressive political parties, social movements, Muslim and other religious organizations, as well as women's, youth, student, and dalit organizations. The assembly was held in Hyderabad 17-19 December.

In Thailand, Focus monitored and reported on the outbreak of violence in the south. When over 80 protesters died in the hands of state authorities in October 2004, Focus initiated the drafting and circulation of a statement condemning the Thai governments' militarist response to the conflict. Focus explored plans for international civil society actions on the situation and continues to be in close touch with Thai and other regional organizations working on the conflict.

In terms of research and analysis, Focus staff published a stream of articles on the aims and tactics of the United States and its allies with regard to the war in Iraq and the larger "war against terror;" the role and strategy of the global anti-war and anti-globalization movements; attempts to transform Iraq's political system along neo-liberal lines; Iraq's new intellectual property rights law and accession to the World Trade Organization; US military bases and other forms of military presence; the "war against terror" in Southeast Asia; and other peace and security issues. Most of these articles were published in Focus on Trade, or in other magazines and journals including Z-Net, Seedlink, Asia Times, Southern Exposure, Foreign Policy in Focus, Global Policy, as well as numerous websites. All articles are available on the Focus website.

THAILAND PROGRAMME

Trade

In Thailand, Focus worked with the FTA (free trade agreement) Watch coalition with Thai NGOs, activists, and academics in research, monitoring, capacity-building, advocacy and mobilization activities on the issues of trade liberalization under bilateral free trade agreements negotiations which became the Thai government's top priority trade policies. The work on FTA has enabled Focus to enlarge its network into new groups of academics, farmers, parliamentarians and private businesses. FTA Watch is currently the most active group in Thailand in campaigning on international trade issues.

Under the slogan "Sovereignty is not for sale", FTA-watch launched its activities in February with an international seminar on experiences and impact of various FTAs, particularly those with the United States, and a book of collection of papers on issues of concern to the public and the more vulnerable sectors of society, including erosion of sovereign rights, drug patents protection, and agriculture trade liberalization. Half way through the year, the group decided to take up more direct action when the Thailand-Australia Free Trade Agreement (TAFTA) was unveiled by the Thai government as a *fait accompli*. The protest actions against TAFTA brought more allies, such as dairy and cattle farmers, people living with HIV/AIDS, workers, and students. The group continuously engaged in public debates

and the media on the merits of on-going FTA negotiations with Japan, the US, and New Zealand as well as monitoring the impact of the liberalization of trade in fruits and vegetables with China. Their work was documented in a second book published at the end of the year.

Apart from regular contribution in research, analyses and strategic planning as a member of FTA Watch, Focus' role was also to make linkages, through our regional and international networks, with groups working on the WTO and trade liberalization in other countries through visits, conferences and speaking engagements, particularly in the US and Australia.

As a result of public pressure, the Thai government decided to postpone most of the deadlines and slowed down the overall process. The government also set up a special unit to look into the impact of the agreements and report to the public. Although there is a long way to go to achieve a genuine public participation, it is evident that the campaign has led to some positive policy changes.

Finance and Development

In support of the state-enterprise workers' unions mobilization, Focus participated in various public fora and rallies opposing public utilities privatization. One specific task of Focus was to link the anti-

privatisation movement in Thailand to wider issues of trade liberalisation under the WTO and FTAs. A workshop on the topic of FTAs and privatization was organized for state enterprise workers. The state workers unions have an increasing interest in the economic globalisation issue. They have become one of the major movements, alongside farmers and people living with HIV, in rallying against free trade agreements. Throughout the major mobilizations in April and May, farmers joined many of the major rallies against privatization staged by the workers.

The anti-privatization campaign by state enterprise workers, backed by consumers groups and NGOs met with success when the scheme was put on hold by the government.

Focus is monitoring the various financing for development schemes that the Thai Government has embarked upon to develop the rural economy and to “eradicate poverty”. These include a one-million-baht revolving fund for every village, the assets-to-capital conversion scheme, the farmers’ debt moratorium, and the new small, medium and large capital infusion schemes.

Focus was invited by the CONGO Working Group on Asia to act as the facilitating organization for Trade and Finance, one of the four thematic clusters of discussions, in the Asian Civil Society Forum 2004, held in Bangkok, on 21-25 November. Focus staff members made presentations on the issues, as well as on the millennium development goals (MDGs) and facilitated group discussions on the WTO and WSF.

Peace Building and People’s Security

Together with the Globalization Working Group, Campaign on Popular Democracy, and Campaign for Media Reform, Focus co-organized a conference on “War and

Globalization: the occupation of Iraq and the conflict of interests” at Thammasat University.

Focus Thai staff joined various meetings and discussions on violence in Southern Thailand and supported the efforts of women’s groups to hold consultations with Muslim women whose family members had been killed by the military in order to determine what assistance was needed.

Alternatives

Focus joined dozens of NGOs, organic farmers and consumers organizations, academics, government agencies and institutes involving in agriculture and food production and regulation, in organizing the National Sustainable Agriculture Fair in November. Focus’ contribution centred around planning meetings and preparations for panel discussions on food crisis and alternatives and publishing a Thai language dossier entitled “Small Farmers in Crisis and Food Sovereignty” for distribution to the general public.

The presentations in the daily keynote speeches and panel discussions during the 4-day fair, however, did not go as far in defining the concept of food sovereignty as we had hoped. The general purpose of the fair was more to promote community-based sustainable agriculture practices as alternatives to commercial monoculture dictated by the market and increasingly controlled by large agri-businesses. The consensus at the end was that the only way for Thai society to survive the onslaught of capitalist globalization was to institutionalize these cultural and spiritual practices as part of national development agenda and at the same time to expand the networks and acquire more allies among the consumers at the local, national and international levels.

Together with Suksit Siam Publishing House, Focus co-organized the launch of

the translated version of the book “The Future of Money” by Bernard Lietaer with a panel discussion on the significance of the book’s contribution to our understanding of the current monetary system and of the need for alternatives. The book cited “Bia Kudchum”, the community currency system which Focus was involved with as one of the alternatives.

Trends and Analysis

As a result of an op-ed article on industrial farming being published in the Bangkok Post newspaper, Focus was invited by Charoen Pokphand (CP), the largest agribusiness company in Thailand that was mentioned in the article, to visit their chickens and pigs contract farmers in Nakhon Ratchasima. The farmer leaders and NGO workers, belonging to the Assembly of the Poor, the Alternative Agriculture Network, and Rural Reconstruction Alumni and Friends Association (RRAFA) joined the visit, and Focus decided to conduct research into CP’s contract farming practices in chickens, pigs and seeds production, which had been expanding rapidly in Thailand, in order to see how farmers have benefited and what lies ahead for small farmers. The group met several times to share the information, decide on the research framework and to divide the responsibilities. The research paper is being finalized and there are plans to organize a national-level seminar on contract farming to publicize the findings in 2005.

On Focus’ part, the field research on chicken and pigs farming was carried out in October and November with data gathering and interviews with 26 contract farming families in three provinces in Central and Northeastern Thailand.

PHILIPPINES PROGRAMME

Trade

The success of 2003's Stop the New Round! Campaign in the Philippines encouraged the broad coalition to continue working together in the campaign against corporate-led globalization in 2004. The early part of the year was devoted to the consolidation of the SNR! campaign report and the finalization and distribution of SNR! publications.

The second quarter saw a series of fora and education activities seen as preparatory to a new campaign. In April, the Philippine Peasant Institute and Focus on the Global South organized the Strategy Forum on the Survival of Philippine Agriculture in the Light of Liberalization" - a forum of agriculture stakeholders aimed at consolidating commodity-level advocacy agenda. The Kilusang Mangingisda (National Fisherfolk Movement) in its second General Assembly sponsored a forum on Fisheries Trade Liberalization.

Several members of SNR! participated in the East and Southeast Asia Trade Campaign Strategy Meeting in Bangkok, Thailand to consolidate the regional networking initiatives borne out of the Cancun Trade Campaign and to define initial plans for the upcoming 6th Ministerial Meeting of the WTO in Hong Kong in 2005. SNR! also participated in the Alternatives Conference and Meeting

of the Our World is Not for Sale (OWINFS) network.

The SNR! convened a Trade Forum on 21 June 2004 to discuss the possibility of a new coordinated campaign to address the challenges and threats arising from the multilateral, regional and bilateral trade and investment agreements. Former trade attaché and now Trade Undersecretary Edcel Custodio, and Atty. Marvic Leonen of the University of the Philippines College of Law were the main resource speakers. Various groups also presented their advocacy agenda for agriculture, fisheries and industry.

SNR members issued a joint statement in early August calling for the rejection of the July Framework even as Philippine negotiators expressed its support to the consensus reached at the General Council Meeting of the WTO in Geneva.

The second phase of SNR! was consolidated in the last quarter. SNR! Mindanao affirmed the continuation of the campaign in the southern regions during the Davao consultation on November 17-18. In December the SNR! agreed to draft the Declaration of Unity.

Finance and Development

In the Philippines, the Bantay Tubig Water Vigilance Network remains Focus' major partner in its water privatization and water policy work. In February and March, Focus co-organized a series of press conferences and media events exposing the bail out agreement between the Philippine government and Maynilad Water Services, Inc., one of the private water concessionaires. Central to the bailout is the nonpayment of concession fees amounting to more than \$120 million.

In March, Focus co-sponsored (with many groups organized by the Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) the National Fresh Water Conference: Building Perspectives and Alternatives. The conference was a venue for various groups working on different water issues to discuss and build a comprehensive framework on water as a resource. It also served as a platform in crafting a common/coordinated plan of action on a broad range of water concerns and in strengthening existing collective efforts and initiatives on water. There are now plans to transform the Conference Steering Committee into a broad network working on freshwater issues.

In November, Focus staff participated and gave presentations on the politics of water privatisation and the Metro Manila experience at various water fora in Bangkok, Thailand and Amsterdam, Netherlands.

With Bantay Tubig, FDC and other water activists, Focus joined Action for Economic Reforms (AER) in filing before the courts a petition to intervene in the Maynilad Rehabilitation case and file related motions against Maynilad in September. The case is expected to take some months, with the Rehabilitation Court given until May 2005 to resolve the case. This new arena of struggle poses challenges to Focus and other groups. Legal cases are costly and they can drag. The main learning here is that participation

in the legal arena should be complemented with the political struggle. While legal cases offer specific relief, many policy issues need to be discussed in the traditional policy milieu.

Peace Building and Peoples' Security

In the Philippines, Focus became heavily involved in efforts to reinvigorate the local anti-war movement. Focus was instrumental in the formation of the Iraq Solidarity Campaign, a broad multi-sectoral coalition of peace organizations, trade unions, women's and youth organizations, social movements, NGOs, political parties, Christian and Muslim organizations, and other groups. The coalition was formed as an umbrella group for Filipinos to mobilize against the US-led occupation of Iraq and to oppose the Philippine government's participation in this occupation.

Focus contributes to the coalition by providing analysis of the war, its geo-strategic significance, and its impact on the Philippines and on local struggles. Focus also helps by building links between Filipino and Iraqi civil society. The ISC has conducted numerous public forums, film showings, and other educational activities as well as press conferences and mass actions. The ISC also linked the war to broader Philippine foreign policy questions as well as the concerns of the hundreds of thousands of overseas Filipino workers in the Middle East.

Focus also worked to integrate the local anti-war campaign with the global anti-war movement. Focus supported the participation of several peace activists in various anti-war meetings around the world, enabling them to participate in discussions on the movements' priorities, political positions, and strategies, as well as giving them the opportunity to build direct links with other anti-war activists around the world.

Focus also continued to be in close discussions with other organizations working more directly on the conflict in the Southern Philippines, US military presence in the country, and other security issues.

Alternatives

Focus Philippines played resourcing and facilitating/moderating roles for various national, local and regional groups, among which are: Pambasang Katipunan ng mga Samahan sa Kanayunan (PKSK, Asian NGO Coalition for Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ANGOC), Asiadhrra, the Asian Farmers Association, THE Alyansa Agrikultura, the Intensive Philippine Studies Program of the UP College of Arts and Letters, Kilusang Mangingisda, Global Network, and the International Gender and Trade Network-Philippines.

Learning from 2003's success, Focus continues to place high premium on working with networks and coalitions. In the Philippines, groups that formed the Stop the New Round! Campaign have again come together in discussions of follow-up and broader campaigns. The Philippines Programme has also decided to use the roundtable process as its basic research and campaigning methodology. A Development Roundtable Series (DRTS) proposal was developed and consulted with key groups. The DRTS had its first workshop in August, and the proposal is now being revised and elaborated, with the initial core group agreeing that the revised proposal will be used to broaden participation in the roundtable process. Focus Philippines is committed to see these (the trade and roundtable) processes through, and initially take on the secretariat work on behalf of the larger networks.

In addition, Focus organized a multi-sectoral roundtable and consultation with farmers, women, workers, small producers,

NGOs, food processors and manufacturers, indigenous people, Moslem communities, business people, consumer group, and local government on the state of hunger and poverty in Mindanao. The purpose of this consultation was to debate and confront these questions. The two-day civil society meeting concluded on the importance of land reform and trade policies in solving the issue of hunger and poverty in the region.

Focus started to work with local and national agrarian reform groups campaigning against the Farmland as Collateral Bill, a homegrown version of the World Bank's credit enhancement and extension programme to farmers. We started conducting educational work with farmers and women's groups in Bulacan (Luzon region). The Philippines Programme also supported farmer leaders to attend the World Forum on Agrarian Reform, which was held from December 5-8, 2004 in Valencia, Spain.

Trends and Analysis

Focus on the Global South-Philippines Programme is line producing a documentary on the various EDSA phenomena. The documentary will tackle the different events and views that shaped the EDSA system, and how participants, analysts, and the public at large assess its legacy. Supervising the project is an independent group of producers that include among others UP President Dr. Francisco Nemenzo, UP College of Social Science and Philosophy Dean Dr. Cynthia Bautista, sociologist Dr. Randy David, political scientist Dr. Robin Broad, Dr. Walden Bello, and Joy Chavez.

The video documentary is an attempt to explain the phenomenon that is EDSA, symbolic of the many uprisings, hopes and failed ideals held by the people who have participated in them. It is conceived as a popular tool for political education, the aim

being to pose a challenge to Filipinos, especially the youth, to make hard decisions and take actions on the broad socio-political issues confronting the country. It will be in Filipino, subtitled as necessary, and will be shown in universities, churches and communities throughout the Philippines, possibly also through public television broadcast. We are also exploring the possibility of showing the film to international audiences.

The project is now on the last and most difficult stages of the interview. Left on the list are big name interviewees (e.g. former Philippine presidents), which interviews are more difficult to get. The project will hopefully be completed by the end of 2005, with the official release of the video-documentary timed for the 20th anniversary of the EDSA Revolution in February 2006.

What the program achieved

Its work with various groups, willingness to take on difficult tasks in behalf of coalitions and networks, and its contribution to issue analysis has earned for Focus Philippines the trust and confidence of a wide range of social movements and activists in the country. The success of 2003 and continued efforts in 2004 made it possible for Focus to play a consolidating role in campaigns and coalitions. Focus' main contribution is the linking of national, Philippine-specific concerns to what is happening regionally and globally, in the process enriching the policy analysis and political advocacy of local groups/networks/coalitions. That national trade advocacy should necessarily address the issue of what is being negotiated and discussed in the WTO had been given strong emphasis in the SNR! campaign. Through the Iraq Solidarity Campaign, Focus is also able to help bring the issue of the war closer to the public and link it to other issues like foreign military

intervention, the "war against terror," and the plight of Overseas Filipino Workers. Focus' linking role also extends to support it gives to international events by supporting the attendance of Filipino activists, which in turn provides exposure to local activists and gives them opportunity to develop their own linkages with activists elsewhere in the region and globally.

By working through networks and coalitions, Focus Philippines was also able to maximize its activities than would have been possible had they been left to the small Philippines office alone. While this sometimes results in added pressure on the Philippines office's limited financial and human resources, we believe that the situation has greatly improved since we first entered the Philippine advocacy and campaigning landscape in late 2001. Counterparting, a process of sharing responsibility and resources among coalition members even as the coalition is able to generate its own resources for coalition activities, is a practice strongly advanced by Focus.

Needless to say, the goodwill generated by Focus as a known regional/international policy and advocacy organization and its membership in respected international networks, juxtaposed with its successful initiatives in the Philippines, have made it possible for Focus to break through in important issues, like land reform.

Publications

- Herbert Docena, "Thailand's Bloody Monday," TODAY, November 11 and 13, 2004
- Herbert Docena, "On the Side of Empire?" TODAY, August 17, 2004
- Herbert Docena, "The real 'bad guys' in Iraq," TODAY, July 29, 2004
- Herbert Docena, "Support for illegal war exposes us to 'terrorism'," TODAY, July 17, 2004

Herbert Docena, "War now, pay later,"
TODAY, July 13, 2004

Herbert Docena, "Yesterday's Iraqis,
Today's Filipinos," TODAY, April 20,
2004

The Trade Conundrum: WTO, bilateral and
regional trade agreements, what's the
real deal and where are we headed? By
Joseph Purugganan published in two
parts in TODAY Newspaper (December
10 and December 13 2004)

Hunger in the Foodbasket By Jenina Joy
Chavez, Mary Ann Manahan, and
Joseph Purugganan published in the
Talk of the Town Section of the
Philippine Daily Inquirer. October 10,
2004

July 04: Herbert Docena, on the abduction
of Filipino worker in Iraq, National
Broadcasting Network

July 04. Joseph Purugganan, on the APEC
Meeting. ABS-CBN News Channel

Focus on the Philippines

A total of 45 issues of Focus on the
Philippines came out in 2004 covering
topics on Philippine and global politics,
economics, peace and security. The first
quarter featured some animated exchanges
on Philippine electoral politics as everyone
was gearing up for the May 2004 National
Elections. Wars and reconstruction gained
prominence towards the second quarter
with articles on the escalation of the war in
Iraq, the situation in Israel and the
economic and military occupation of Iraq
were featured in FOP. FOP also featured a
number of articles on Trade and the WTO,
on Hunger and Poverty and exchanges/
debates on the issues of agrarian reform
and agricultural development and the fiscal
crisis in the Philippines.

See Communications section for full
listing.

Television interviews

April 04: Herbert Docena, on the war in
Iraq, ABS-CBN News Channel

July 04: Herbert Docena, on the abduction
of Filipino worker in Iraq, ABS-CBN
News Channel

INDIA PROGRAMME

Overview

This year Focus on the Global South entered its 9th year and the India Programme its seventh with a transition not only in terms of personnel but also in its character and direction. Focus India had Shalmali Guttal and then Meena Menon as its new coordinators. The programme became more action and campaign oriented, more proactive and more open with views and analysis. Focus India is now working more actively with broad networks and coalitions and has formed new ones to enhance and support the collective work. Focus India provided analysis on and mobilized primarily in two programs: Finance and Development and Security and Peace Building.

Focus India was centrally involved in the WSF event in Mumbai in January 2004. Our participation in the WSF process in India helped us, as it did other Indian movements and networks, to build campaigns based on broader alliances and to expand our programmatic work. The WSF had various spin-offs in terms of events and campaigns in different parts of the country. Focus participated in many of them and in a few played a critical role.

In 2004, Focus India was able to consolidate and to make headway in the Security as well as the Trade Programs. In Peace Building & Peoples' Security, a process of gathering a broad alliance towards building a peace movement in the country started, culminating in the

Hyderabad Anti War Assembly in December 2005. In the Finance & Development Program, considerable headway was made in getting groups together who are working on ADB funded projects, and Focus started to work with other groups working on World Bank related issues. As part of this group, Focus India drafted a critique of the World Bank's Country Assistance Strategy. Working with the right to livelihood movement in Mumbai, Focus India also started the work of formulating demands, and building a campaign on the issue. The WSF was the main area that we have worked in Alternatives.

Highlights of 2004

- ❖ Jan-Feb: Focus India consolidated its gains as an organisation, of working in the WSF India, and acquired visibility and acceptance in political circles in the country.
- ❖ Focus India built up its trade work mainly around agriculture issues, the July Framework and the G20. The task of building alliances began with farmers movements, especially in the South of India.
- ❖ March: The process of building a broad alliance against the war in Iraq started and Focus facilitated an Anti war Assembly in Hyderabad in December. In this process a core reference group took shape, in Mumbai.

- ❖ Focus India started work with groups working on IFI related issues, especially in Karnataka, but also with a national process of critiquing the World Bank and ADB projects and policies.
- ❖ April: Focus India started an e-newsletter which goes out to major movements and civil society groups in the country. This has been well received.
- ❖ Focus India started working on issues related to Mumbai city and with some of Mumbai's social movements. It was felt that since the India office is in Mumbai it is necessary to build up a strong base of activity in the city, a strategy which has proved to be effective for Focus work in all programs.
- ❖ The process of registering Focus as a legal and independent entity in India started.

Trade

Focus India supported the establishment of the Agriculture Trade Initiative from the South (ATIS), which has set itself the task of exploring alternatives like GSTP and creating a group of eminent people from G20 countries to address the issue of trade in agriculture. It is also working as a pressure group in India on agriculture trade negotiations. The group includes Devinder Sharma (Forum for Biotechnology & Food Security), Jayati Ghosh and C P Chandrashekar (Economic Research Foundation), Amit Sengupta (Centre for Technology and Development) and SP Shukla (former Indian Ambassador to GATT, and convenor of the anti WTO front based in Delhi). ATIS organised a press conference on the July Framework Agreement on the same dates as the meeting was going on in Geneva. A resolution that came out of the meeting was useful for various groups to take a stand and understand the implications of the agreement. ATIS has helped us to network with farmers groups in the North of India. The group has also drafted a note on the GSTP in the context of possible alternatives to the WTO regime.

Networking was begun with farmers organisations with a view to addressing agriculture trade issues. The main allies at the moment are the KRRS in Karnataka and three other representatives from the National Federation of Farmers Organisations.

The cotton-growing belt of Vidarbha in Maharashtra has been witness to a number of farmer suicides in the past year. The growing indebtedness due to lack of remunerative prices for the crop compared to growing costs of inputs has been one of the main reasons for this tragedy. YUVA (Nagpur), Land-Water-Forest Movement of Maharashtra, Vidarbha Krishi Vikas Manch and Focus organised a one-day strategy exercise and a public meeting of farmers in September 2004. From the discussions, issues identified for work with small farmers and agricultural labour include a campaign to reinvoke quantitative restrictions on imports of agricultural produce and a campaign to dismantle the WTO's Agreement on Agriculture. Similar meetings are planned in the run-up to the Hong Kong Ministerial to pressurise the state and central government to protect the interests of farmers and farm labour.

In August 2004, the United Progressive Alliance (UPA) decided to revive the process of amending the Patents Act 1970 to meet India's TRIPS obligations. This has huge implications for people's access to health and livelihoods. Focus supported the Affordable Medicines and Treatment Campaign in organising a Peoples Convention on the Patents Bill in November 2004. This meeting was the first step in Maharashtra to hold the government accountable on its electoral promises and to ensure that the anti-people bill is defeated in Parliament.

In order to mobilise effectively for the Global Week of Action in April 2005 (GWA), Focus joined 35 other groups in Chennai in October 2004 to focus on the practicalities of actions in different parts of India. The idea from the meeting was to let local groups strengthen existing campaigns. Focus will play a central role in bringing together various groups for the activities planned in Mumbai.

A working paper on GATS in India was prepared which will form the basis of the campaign of services.

Focus India staff organised a workshop for trade unions in Mumbai in June 2004.

A commissioned study for the National Dalit Forum was completed, on the impact of neo-liberal globalisation on dalits.

Finance and Development

In collaboration with local citizens' groups in Karnataka State, Focus started monitoring the Asian Development Bank (ADB) financed Karnataka Urban Development and Coastal Environment Project (KUDCEM). Originally targeting 14 towns in the coastal belt of Karnataka, the project has been expanded to 20 towns in the northern part of the state. The KUDCEM project is racked with poor quality technical inputs and construction, corruption and inflated implementation costs. Project components were decided upon without due consultation with the general public and the project is marked with a serious lack of accountability on the part of the ADB as well as local project implementers. An earlier ADB financed project, the Karnataka Urban Infrastructure Project (KUIP) had more or less the same problems as the KUDCEM and many project components now lie in a state of incompleteness and disarray. Working with the Mangalore (Karnataka) based NGO Task Force on the ADB, Focus organized meetings that brought together

representatives from affected towns in the KUIP and KUDCEM projects. These meetings helped participants to share their respective experiences, understand the role of the ADB in influencing national and state level economic, financial and governance policies, and discuss strategies to hold the ADB accountable to citizens' groups. Focus played an informational role in these meetings, particularly in linking project experiences with ADB policies and ADB projects elsewhere in the region.

In June-July 2004 the ADB hurriedly called for sub-national consultations on its Draft Public Communication Policy (PCP). Focus was invited to the Southern India consultation and along with several other groups, prepared a statement to protest the flawed consultation process especially since project affected communities who were struggling with the adverse impacts of ADB projects were deliberately kept out of the consultation. After presenting the protest letter in the consultation, the groups staged a public walkout from the meeting. The walk-out and protest statement were reported by the local and regional press and helped to create greater interest among the public about the negative impacts of ADB financed projects in the state.

In July, Focus joined hands with the Narmada Bachao Andolan (Save the Narmada Campaign) and other groups in challenging the decision of the National Bank for Agriculture and Rural Development (NABARD) to finance the Upper Beda Dam project in the state of Madhya Pradesh. Representatives from the Narmada Campaign, Focus and other groups met with the Chairperson of NABARD to explain why NABARD should stop financing the project. As the Chairperson was unwilling to set up an independent commission to study the resettlement and rehabilitation processes in the project, the Campaign and support groups sent a protest letter to NABARD

(also copied to the media) on how NABARD would flout its own rules if it funded this project. The letter prompted several organizations across India to write to the NABARD Chairperson and demand that project financing be halted. This clearly had the desired effect and NABARD has yet to sanction funds to the project authorities.

As the World Bank released its India Country Assistance Strategy (CAS) for India 2005-2008, Focus, in collaboration with several organizations, networks and movements, met in New Delhi in August 2004 to analyse and respond to the document. The groups issued a position statement and a press release rejecting the CAS and its attempt to influence the Government of India's policies. Focus later helped to coordinate a more detailed critique of the CAS, which was endorsed by 23 organisations from across India.

In solidarity with struggles against World Bank and ADB led projects and policies across the country, various organisations in Karnataka, including Focus, prepared a statement in October 2004 titled, A Call to Action against Misdirected Development: Karnataka Forfeits its Fortunes in the Hands of International Financial Institutions. The statement demanded that the Government of Karnataka urgently review all loans from the IFIs and bilateral donors that carry anti-people conditionalities and undermine sovereignty in policy making. It also called upon the state to explore means of development financing development that do not compromise the public interest through harmful policy conditionalities and heavy debt burdens.

Focus was signatory to the South Asian Statement on the ADB's second draft PCP in November 2004. The statement pointed out the shortcomings of the second draft PCP as well as articulated the necessary elements of a Public Communication and

Information Disclosure Policy to ensure that the duties and responsibilities of the ADB are geared towards meaningful information disclosure and public accountability.

In December 2004, Focus participated in the National Convention on Development, Displacement and Rehabilitation in New Delhi. Led by the National Alliance of Peoples Movements (NAPM), over 500 people including those affected by developmental projects, social activists, support organisations, academics and researchers met to strategise on a people centered alternative to the prevalent model of development that causes displacement, deprivation, and destitution in the guise of the greater common good.

Also in December, Focus contributed to and signed an open letter prepared by a number of organizations and networks to World Bank President James Wolfensohn, on the Bank's new "country systems approach" in assessing environmental and social impacts of Bank supported projects in India. Given that the World Bank has declared support for high-risk projects in India, it is unacceptable that it weaken its safeguard policies under the pretext of responding to the wishes of its client (i.e., India) and encouraging country ownership.

Focus became closely involved in the formation of the Young Professionals Collective (YPC), an organization for the welfare of employees in Business Process Outsourcing (BPO) centres, which employ some 250,000 young people in India – with nearly 50,000 of them in Mumbai. The organisation will conduct welfare and research activities and aim to build a movement to involve call centre employees in social issues, and to work with the government, professional bodies and international agencies to develop guidelines for fair working conditions.

Focus is working with citizens groups in Mumbai that have taken up the issues of World Bank funded development of urban transportation and infrastructure projects in the Mumbai Metropolitan Region. Work has also started, towards a campaign against the development of Mumbai as a world mega-city, marginalizing and displacing many sections of the urban poor.

Focus has been working with a local youth movement the Rozgar Hakk Samiti for livelihood, in providing analysis and helping in the campaign on urban unemployment. Focus India participated in a conference on the Right to Livelihood in July and wrote the concept paper for the conference detailing alternatives and policy recommendations addressed to the government

Peace Building and Peoples' Security

Focus India initiated the process of mobilising and facilitating the building a broad national alliance against the war in Iraq. It was centrally involved in organising an Anti- War Assembly in Hyderabad on December 17-19 December. This was a big success in terms of getting a large section of Indian civil society and left political parties together on the issue. Groups and organisations as diverse as the National Alliance of Peoples movements and two Indian Communist Parties, a section of the Maoists, Muslim organisations, and all kinds of NGOs participated in the Assembly. The Assembly came out with a common and comprehensive resolution on war and militarism. The Assembly was attended/ addressed by representatives from different parts of the world, including Iraq, Palestine, Egypt Europe, USA, UK, Japan, South Africa, Philippines, etc.

The process of building the broadest possible alliances and participation for the assembly started in June-July 2004 and the

event was in December. In this process a strong core group was built up, consisting of people in Mumbai and Delhi. The group has continued to work together after the Assembly. The process was not easy given the deep differences in perspective that exist among the various political streams, between political parties, NGOs and social movements. However the alliance building has gone a long way on the road to build a broad movement for peace in the sub continent.

A core team in Mumbai includes CNDP, Jamaat e Islami, Pakistan India Front, Play for Peace, and Majlisa. It continues to work on peace and security related issues, including preparations for an all India assembly, a smaller event in Maharashtra and Mumbai. The group is also part of a local front against War and Terrorism in Mumbai composed of all the local anti war groups.

Focus India published a dossier on the issues of war and militarism for Indian organisations, for distribution during the Anti-War Assembly. It was very well received. Focus is also active in the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace, and was part of the Organising Committee to prepare for its annual conference in Jaipur in November 2004.

Three representatives of the Indian organisations were nominated and sent to the Beirut Anti War Assembly in order to network and consolidate the global links and perspectives of the Indian anti war movement process.

Along with the other Mumbai organisations/allies mentioned above, Focus India organised a well attended discussion on the North East situation, titled 'Manipur, the North East and the Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Act' in August 2004 in the Press Club in Mumbai.

One significant and new area of work is with the comparatively marginalized Muslim groups in India in general and Mumbai in particular. What started with the anti war mobilisation for the assembly has extended to other issues such as Muslim women's issues vis a vis the Muslim Personal Law.

Alternatives

The main emphasis in the Alternatives work is the WSF process and the Forum in Mumbai however work has also started on several separate campaigns.

Focus is working with a local movement in Mumbai on a Right to Work (livelihood) campaign. Focus India drafted a pamphlet for their campaign and continues to work with them. Help was also provided for them to network at the national level and to attend meetings of other groups who are conducting similar campaigns.

Focus India is also preparing for a conference on an alternative textile policy and livelihoods. However the conference has not yet materialised, not for want of possible partners, but for lack of human resources in Focus India to complete this task.

One of the spin offs of the WSF has been a 'Right to Food' campaign, although Focus has not been able to devote much time to this process because of overstretch in the India office.

Focus staff participated in a national conference on land in New Delhi, organised by the Ekta Parishad, and in the annual planning meeting of the Jameen Jungle Pani Lokadhikar Andolan (JJPLA) on land and agriculture. Finally, a project of mapping the different organisations that are working on alternatives has started.

General and Administration

❖ Focus India started a monthly e-newsletter called "Focus on India" which has been coming out regularly since March 2004. A database has been set up for the purpose and its distribution has been organised effectively.

❖ The process of giving Focus India an independent identity in India by registering the country program as a legal entity was started.

❖ A new research person was hired in the middle of the year mainly to work on finance and development, and trade.

❖ The India office hired a new staff to look after accounts, and separated the administration from finance related tasks. It is in the process of streamlining the administrative management of the organisation.

❖ Focus India's administration staff attended a course in Delhi in the first week of September on management and administration as part of upgrading the administration work.

❖ An intern from France came in to work in the India office for a period of nine months starting in September. She worked on the anti war dossier and also on the questionnaire for the Focus study on business process outsourcing in India.

COMMUNICATIONS

Media Training

Focus organised a one-day media training programme for all interested staff. This was held in Bangkok. The media training was an effort to build the capacity of Focus staff members for effective media communications. The one-day training was well received.

Website

The updated Focus website was launched in early May and now includes country specific websites for the Thailand, India and Philippines programmes. The website runs on an open source content managements system postnuke using other open source technologies such as PHP and MySQL as its backend. The Focus site is hosted on a Linux server.

Website statistics

From May to December 2004, the website had increasing number of hits and page requests. During this period www.focusweb.org received 2,382,359 individual page requests, and a total data transfer of 31.16 GB. The number of hits to the site is much higher. The Focus site is indexed by nearly 35 different search engines, the highest number of search engine requests come form Google, followed by Yahoo and MSN. An increasing number of sites have links to the Focus site. For the reporting period this number stood at 3387 sites, and 39471 people have bookmarked the Focus website. These figures have shown a rising trend.

Non Focus publications

Articles by Focus staff are published regularly in regional and national newspapers, for example the Bangkok Post, the Philippine Daily Inquirer, Business Week, Matichon (Thai language), Asia Times, as well as magazines such as The New Internationalist, Le Monde Diplomatique. In addition, Focus articles are frequently reprinted in on-line and hard copy publications, as well as translated into other languages.

Focus Publications

The Anti-development State: The Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines by Walden Bello, Marylou Malig and Herbert Docena. (2004,)
The book by Dr. Walden Bello and co authored by, Mary Lou Malig, Herbert Docena and Marissa de Guzman provides a convincing, if painful, explanation why the Philippines is mired in poverty at the beginning of the 21st century, and proposes a route out of the quagmire.

Behind the Scenes at the WTO: the Real World of International Trade Negotiations by Fatoumata Jawara and Aileen Kwa (2005, Zed Books, London)
This immensely important book on the politics of the WTO, takes the lid off how the WTO really works, and what really happened before, at, and after the Fourth WTO Ministerial Conference in Doha in 2001, on the basis of interviews with 33 Geneva-based delegates to the WTO and

10 Secretariat staff members. The updated edition includes lessons from the 5th ministerial in Cancun.

Dossiers

“Anti-poverty or anti-poor: The Millennium Development Goals and the eradication of extreme poverty and hunger”, February 2004.
“Silent War: the US’ economic occupation of Iraq”, December 2004

e-Bulletins

Eleven issues of Focus on Trade were published in 2004, numbers 96 to 106

Number 96, January 2004
GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY MEETS
AMIDST CRISIS OF EMPIRE
Walden Bello
POLITICS AT THE VENUE: THE WSF IN
MUMBAI
Vijay Prashad
THE RECONSTRUCTION’S BOTTOM-
LINE
Herbert Docena

Number 97, February 2004
DON’T WAIT FOR “ANOTHER WORLD”
Isabelle Delforge
THE WAR IS FAR FROM OVER
Mary Louise Malig
NO F-16s IN OUR GARDEN
Herbert Docena
WHAT I DID IN MUMBAI
Alec Bamford
A NEW LEFT EMERGING FROM THE
OLD?
Ji Giles Ungpakorn

Number 98, April 2004
THE POLITICS OF BIRD FLU IN
THAILAND
Chanida Chanyapate and Isabelle Delforge
AGRICULTURE NEGOTIATIONS: MORE
TROUBLE AHEAD FOR THE THIRD
WORLD
Aileen Kwa
THE G20: THEIR POWER IS NOT OURS
Nicola Bullard

THE G20: PASSING PHENOMENON OR
HERE TO STAY?

Clodoaldo Huguency Filho
“IF LULA DOES NOT CARRY OUT
AGRARIAN REFORM, IT WOULD BE
DEMORALIZING”
An interview with Joao Pedro Stedile by
Roldao Arruda
HUNGER IS A REFLECTION OF OUR
MISPLACED EMPHASIS ON GROWTH
FOR A SELECT FEW
Devinder Sharma

Number 99, April 2004
SPECIAL ISSUE ON WARS, LIES AND
VIDEOGAMES
FALLUJA AND THE FORGING OF THE
NEW IRAQ
Walden Bello
THE KILLING GAME
Gerard Greenfield

Number 100, June 2004
RONALD REAGAN: A VIEW FROM THE
GLOBAL SOUTH
By Walden Bello
G90 AND G20: “BAND TOGETHER!”
Aileen Kwa
RETURN OF THE WTO: THE BATTLE
OF CANCUN CONTINUES THIS JULY
Mary Lou Malig
AGRICULTURE TALKS: EMPTY
PROMISES TO THE SOUTH
Aileen Kwa
FREE MARKET FREE FALL:
DECLINING AGRICULTURAL
COMMODITY PRICES AND THE
“MARKET ACCESS” MYTH”
Gerard Greenfield
CHALLENGING THE MARKET ACCESS
AGENDA: A CASE STUDY OF RICE
FROM THAILAND
Jacques-chai Chomthongdi

Number 101, July 2004
THE OTHER RECONSTRUCTION: How
private contractors are transforming Iraq’s
society
Herbert Docena
WHAT TO EXPECT FROM US

“DEMOCRACY PROMOTION” IN IRAQ*

William I. Robinson
NICARAGUA’S AND LATIN
AMERICA’S “LESSONS” FOR IRAQ
Alejandro Bendaña
THE FINAL UN RESOLUTION on
IRAQ’S INTERIM GOVERNMENT
Phyllis Bennis
WAR: TRADE BY OTHER MEANS: How
the US is getting a free trade agreement
minus the negotiations
Marylou Malig
THE US’ STRATEGY OF DESPERATION
Walden Bello

Number 102, July 2004

FLAWED JULY FRAMEWORK MUST BE
REJECTED

“Development can no longer be pursued
within a WTO paradigm”

Focus on the Global South
WTO THREATENS RURAL POOR: THE
IMPACT OF THE PROPOSED
AGRICULTURE FRAMEWORK on
INDONESIA

Aileen Kwa
US AND EU PUT IN PLACE THE LEGAL
FRAMEWORK FOR MORE DUMPING:
COMMENTS on THE GENERAL
COUNCIL CHAIR’S DRAFT
FRAMEWORK FOR JULY

Aileen Kwa
BIG PHARMA: PART OF THE PROBLEM
OR PART OF THE SOLUTION
Walden Bello

Number 103, August 2004

G20 : LEADERS SUCCUMB TO DIVIDE-
AND-RULE TACTICS: THE STORY
BEHIND WASHINGTON’S
TRIUMPH IN GENEVA

Walden Bello and Aileen Kwa
OUTSIDE VIEW: FAULTY FRAME,
SAVAGE REALITY

Devinder Sharma
ACCEDING COUNTRIES AS PAWNS IN
A POWER PLAY: A CASE STUDY OF
THE PACIFIC ISLANDS

Jane Kelsey

Number 104, September 2004
THOSE LANDS PAVED NOW – ONE
YEAR AFTER LEE KYUNG HAE
Raj Patel
FARMERS’ SUICIDES IN KARNATAKA
STATE
Shalmali Guttal
THAILAND: FROM THE KITCHEN OF
THE WORLD TO FOOD SOVEREIGNTY
Isabelle Delforge
AGENT BLUE AND THE BUSINESS OF
KILLING RICE
Gerard Greenfield

Number 105 October 2004

HUNGER ON THE RISE IN THE
PHILIPPINES

Jenina Joy Chavez, Mary Ann Manahan
and Joseph Purugganan
THE WORLD BANK IN THE LAND OF
KIOSKS: COMMUNITY DRIVEN
DEVELOPMENT IN EAST TIMOR

Ben Moxham
“GOOD GOVERNANCE” AND THE
MDGS: CONTRADICTION OR
COMPLEMENTARY?

Alejandro Bendaña

Number 106, December 2004

PROGRESSIVES BOUNCE BACK AS
LIBERALS CONTINUE TO UNRAVEL IN
THE US

Walden Bello
BUSH’S VICTORY, FALLUJAH, AND
THE GLOBAL ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT
Walden Bello

MILKING THAILAND: THE THAI-
AUSTRALIA FREE TRADE
AGREEMENT

Ben Moxham
DEFENDING A VANISHING
MORATORIUM: GMOS AND THE WTO
Peter Rossman

IRAQ’S NEW PATENT LAW: A
DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST
FARMERS

GRAIN & Focus on the Global South

Focus on the Philippines:

Forty-five issues of Focus on the

Philippines: all the issues can be accessed at <http://www.focusweb.org/philippines/html/>

Number 1, The Second of February – by Renato Redentor Constantino (February 2, 2004)

Number 2, The Philippine Vegetable Industry : Almost Comatose by Carlos Aquino (Feb 13, 2004)

Number 3, Loretta Brunio: Filipino by Renato Redentor Constantino (Feb 16)

Number 4, History Lesions by Renato Redentor Constantino (feb 23)

Number 5, A Requiem for Edsa? By Walden Bello (Feb 25)

Number 6, Requiem for the Edsa State? (Part 2) by Walden Bello (Feb 26)

Number 7, “Hot Money”- two articles [1] Capital Control will Help RP Avoid Brazilian scenario by Walden Bello and [2] Revisiting capital controls by Cristina A. Morales (Feb 27)

Number 8, Reel or Real Politik? Two articles [1] The FPJ Bomb in a Populist Lamp by Joel Rocamorra; and [2] Poe and Arroyo: Tweedledum and Tweedledee by Carlito Anonuevo, Manuel Buencamino, Sylvia Estrada-Claudio, Fides Lim, Nepomuceno Malaluan, and Filemeno S. Sta. Ana III March 10)

Number 9, Between Anti-FPJ and Boycott (A re-joinder to the FPJ Debate by Joel Rocamora (March 12)

Number 10, Towards a Political Economy of Information by Roberto Verzola (March 15)

Number 11, Between Extrapolation and Hyperbole by Manuel Buencamino (March 24)

Number 12, Globalization and the Philippine Tuna Industry by Ernesto Ordoñez (March 26)

Number 13, The Battle of Frames by Manuel Buencamino (April 6)

Number 14, Fallujah and Forging of a New Iraq by Walden Bello (April 19)

Number 15, A whistleblower mightier than Israel by Renato Redentor Constantino (April 19)

Number 16, Yesterday’s Iraqis, Today’s Filipinos by Herbert Docena (May 04)

Number 17, Poverty of Memory by Renato Redentor Constantino (May 5)

Number 18, People find U.S. guilty for Iraq war and occupation- two articles [1] People find U.S. guilty for Iraq war and occupation by By John Catalinotto; and [2] A Century Of Small Wars Shows They Can Be Won by Max Boot (May 14)

Number 19, The twenty fourth of May by Renato Redentor Constantino (May 24)

Number 20, Filipinos on Ronald Reagan by Walden Bello (June 11)

Number 21: Why the WTO is unable to deliver trade benefits to small-scale fisheries by Bas Umali (June 17)

Number 22, The other reconstruction: How private contractors are transforming Iraq State and Civil Society by Herbert Docena (July 2)

Number 23, War: Trade by other means: How the US is getting a free trade agreement minus the negotiations by Marylou Malig (July 5)

Number 24, What is Wrong with the Philippines? A book review of the Anti-Development State by Iris Gonzales (July 9)

Number 25, Bush and GMA’s War is not the Filipinos’ War: It is the Philippines government that is holding Angelo dela Cruz hostage by Iraq Solidarity Campaign (July 12)

Number 26, War now, Pay Later by Herbert Docena (July 15)

Number 27, Meditations of a Single Day by Renato Redentor Constantino (July 16)

Number 28, The “terrorists” in Iraq Support for the illegal war-not pull-out-exposes us to ‘terrorism’ By Herbert Docena (July 19)

Number 29, Big Pharma: Part of the problem or part of the solution? By Walden Bello (July 20)

Number 30, Withdrawal from Iraq just the first step by Walden Bello (July 23)

Number 31: The ‘Bad Guys’ in Iraq by Herbert Docena (July 29)

Number 32, TUNGO SA MAK-

PILIPINONG PATAKARANG

PANLABAS by Prof. Roland Simbulan
(August 3)

Number 33, WTO Framework: A Road
Map to Catastrophe joint statement of SNR
members (August 9)

Number 34, G 20 Leaders Succumb to
Divide-and-Rule Tactics: by Walden Bello
and Aileen Kwa (August 11)

Number 35, On the Side of Empire? By
Herbert Docena (August 13)

Number 36, The UP School of Economics
Report: Overdue, Selective, Not Daring
Enough by Walden Bello, Lidy Nacpil, and
Anna Maria Nemenzo (August 30)

Number 37, Where Next for the Anti-War
and Anti-Globalization Movement by
Walden Bello (September 20)

Number 38, Contra Factum non esse
disputandum: Reply to the UP School on
the Fiscal Crisis by Walden Bello, Lidy
Nacpil, and Ana Maria Nemenzo October
1)

Number 39, The Micro Wars two articles
1] The Past as Prologue by Renato
Redentor Constantino; and [2] Monster at
the Door by Mike Davis October 4)

Number 40, With hunger on the rise, it's
time we revisited our food, agriculture and
trade policies By Jenina Joy Chavez, Mary
Ann Manahan, and Joseph Purugganan
(October 12)

Number 41, The Republican Right's
Challenge to the Global Anti-War
Movement by Walden Bello (November 8)

Number 42, Hunger and Poverty in
Mindanao: 2 Perspectives (Part 1) two
articles [1] Hunger stalks the country's
food basket by Billy de la Rosa; and [2]
Agribusiness an wipe out rural poverty by
Ibarra Malonzo (November 24)

Number 43, Hunger and Poverty in
Mindanao: 2 Perspectives (Part 2) two
articles [1] Corporate farming won't ease
hunger in Mindanao by Billy de la Rosa
and [2] Breaking Mindanao's gridlock on
agricultural development by Ibarra
Malonzo (December 2)

Number 44, The Trade Conundrum: WTO,

bilateral and regional trade agreements,
what's the real deal and where are we
headed? By Joseph Purugganan
(December 6)

Number 45, Water Politics: Access to
Water and the Role of IFIs, TNCs and
States by Mary Ann Manahan (December
16)

Other Publications

Research papers for market access seminar
held during the (also published in Focus on
Trade).

Several articles on the bird flu (Focus on
Trade, The Bangkok Post, and Le Monde
Diplomatique): "The politics of the bird
flu", "The flu that made agribusiness
stronger" and "Government and Business
connive over avian flu outbreak" ([http://
mondediplo.com/2004/07/05thailand](http://mondediplo.com/2004/07/05thailand))

The Struggle for Land: A summary of
discussions and Strategies at the Asia Land
Meeting, August 2004 [http://
www.focusweb.org/main/html/
Article538.html](http://www.focusweb.org/main/html/Article538.html)

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

Staff updates

Benny Kuruvilla joined Focus India office as a research associate for the Trade program in May. We also recruited account executive, Neelam Dhanawade, in June to strengthen India office admin team. Thailand program and trade team also got a new research associate, Sajin Prachason, in December. Aileen Kwa who was based in Geneva has taken one year's leave of absence starting from September 2004. Herbert Docena transferred back to Manila office in July. There were short-term contract researchers, Gerard Greenfield, for the Trends and Analysis program and Sumontra Chantarachoti for the Thailand Program.

Staff retreat

On March 1-2, we held a staff retreat in Bangkok. At the end of the meeting, we finalized the two year work plan, comprising lists of activities and priorities for the 2004 and 2005. We also finalised the draft budget for year 2004-2005. There was a discussion on our 6 issue programs and another discussion on country program about national contexts and to make sure that all activities fit our 6 programs.

There was a full staff retreat on October 27-29. It was a last retreat before Focus tenth year. The expectation from the meeting was to see where we are at Focus' evolution over the last ten years and where do we want to go.

Board updates

At the moment, Focus Board consisting of 13 members and three advisors. Gigi Francisco, DAWN Philippines, completed her second term in the year 2004.

There was a Board Meeting in May 3-4, 2004 at CUSRI, Chulalongkorn University Bangkok. It started with the discussion about current political situation, security situation in Southern Thailand and work plan. The discussion on programs and campaigns was also the main issue. Apart from the above, there was a discussion on future direction and Focus 10th year anniversary in 2005.

Board Members

Walden Bello
Executive Director, Focus on the Global South Bangkok, Thailand

Alejandro Bendaña
Centro de Estudios Internacionales
Managua City, Nicaragua

Boua Chanthou
Padek
Phnom Penh, Cambodia

Jayati Ghosh
Centre for Economic Studies & Planning
Jawaharlal Nehru University, India

Somchai Homlaor
Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development (Forum-Asia)
Bangkok, Thailand

Kamal Malhotra, Senior Advisor
United Nation Development Program
(UNDP)
New York, NY USA

Abdul Hameed Nayyar
Sustainable Development Policy Institute
Islamabad, Pakistan

Peter Rosset
Center for the Study of the Americas
(CENSA)
Berkeley, USA

Dita Sari
FNPBI
Jakarta, Indonesia

Suwattana Thadaniti
Director, CUSRI, Chulalongkorn
University
Bangkok, Thailand

Nguyen Van Thanh
Director of the Center for Development
Study and Outreach
Vietnam Peace and Development
Foundation, Vietnam

Surichai Wun'Gaeo (Chair)
Center for Social Development Studies
Chulalongkorn University, Thailand

Yoon Youngmo
Korea Labour & Society Institute (KLSI)
Seoul, Korea

Advisers

Victor P. Karunan
UNICEF Headquarter
New York, USA

Martin Khor
Director, Third World Network (TWN)
Penang, Malaysia

Amara Pongsapich
Chulalongkorn University
Bangkok, Thailand

Staff 2004

Aileen Kwa (to September)
Anoop Sukumaran
Ben Moxham
Benny Kuruvilla
Chanida Bamford (part time)
Gerard Greenfield (March-July)
Herbert Docena
Isabelle Delforge (part time)
Jacques-chai Chomthongdi
Joseph Purugganan
Joy Chavez
Julie Anne delos Reyes
Lou Torres
Mary Ann Manahan
Mary Lou Malig
Mayuree Ruechakiattikul
Meena Mennon
Neelam Dhanawade
Nicola Bullard
Praphai Jundee
Raghav Narsalay
Sajin Prachason
Shalmali Guttal
Sonila Shetty
Soontaree Nakaviroj
Sumontra Chantarachoti (July-October)
Varsha Berry (part time)
Walden Bello

Core Funders 2004

11.11.11 Belgium
ActionAid Asia Regional Office, Thailand
Christian Aid, UK
Community Aid Abroad (Oxfam
Australia), Australia
CORDAID, the Netherlands
Development and Peace, Canada
Ford Foundation, USA
HIVOS, the Netherlands
Inter Pares, Canada
NOVIB, The Netherlands
Oxfam America, USA
Oxfam GB, East Asia Regional
Management Centre, Thailand
Oxfam HK, Hong Kong
Oxfam Solidarity, Belgium
Rockefeller Brothers Fund (RBF), USA
Trocaire, Ireland
The United Methodist Church, USA

Mr. Boyd Reimer, Canada (individual funder)

The following organizations supported for the conferences and specific projects.

Anti War Assembly, Hyderabad
ActionAid Asia

Asia Social Movement Assembly, Seoul
Christian Aid

Beirut International Assembly
ActionAid Asia, Christian Aid and Novib

Iraq Peace Mission 2003/2004
Cooperate Center/ISS, Oxfam Solidarity
Belgium and TNI

LRAN Project
Food First/Ford Foundation

OWINFS Strategy meeting
Solidago, Oxfam GB and Oxfam HK

Regional Conference Bangalore
Oxfam Solidarity Belgium

World Social Forum Mumbai 2004
Christian Aid, Hivos and Novib

In addition, the following organizations supported for staff or delegates travel costs for their events.

Dag Hammarskjold Foundation, Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Forum Univesal de les Cultures, Lutheran World Federation, Oxfam America, Sydney Social Forum and Warwick University

SUMMARY OF ACTIVITIES

January

Focus was heavily involved in the preparations for the 2004 World Social Forum in Mumbai India, and also organised, in collaboration with other networks and organisations, many different events, including:

- ❖ Food Sovereignty Roundtable: “Building food sovereignty in a world without WTO: Workers, farmers, urban poor: do we have any common interests?”
- ❖ Militarization and Peace Conference
- ❖ Social Movements and Political Parties Panel
- ❖ Globalization, Global Governance and the Nation State Panel
- ❖ Globalization and its Alternatives
- ❖ The Instruments of Imperialism: War, Trade and Finance
- ❖ Resisting Imperialism: The Agrarian Crisis
- ❖ Displacement conference
- ❖ Water Privatization
- ❖ Reconstruction Seminar
- ❖ Land and Agrarian Reform Seminar
- ❖ Social Movements – Activists Assembly
- ❖ Land and alternative agriculture
- ❖ Anti-War General Assembly
- ❖ Conference on Iraq, Palestine and Afghanistan
- ❖ US Bases Conference
- ❖ Globalization and Militarization Workshop
- ❖ Youth Camp: Conference on War and Militarization
- ❖ Seminar on Nuclear Issues and Radiation Victims
- ❖ War Tribunal on Iraq Workshop
- ❖ Peace Education Workshop
- ❖ The G21: Passing Phenomenon or Here to Stay?

- ❖ Various OWINFS events

Following the WSF Focus participated in the Strategy Meeting on WB and IMF in Penang, Malaysia

February

Two day staff planning meeting

Organised and participated in the International conference on FTA at Chulalongkorn University and contributed a chapter and published a book on Thai-US FTA under the title “Sovereignty is not for sale”. The book had been sold out and the 2nd edition due to comes out in the second half of 2004.

Participated in many meetings, rallies, and conference on privatisation, organised mainly by workers unions.

Participated in two-day Development and Peace strategy discussion.

March

Forum on Iraq One Year after (March 19)

March 20 Global Day of Action vs. War

Mobilization at the US Embassy

Media training for all staff in Bangkok

EDSA Documentary (on-going) – video

documentary on the crisis of the “Edsa State”; interviews of key personalities and political analysts

Focus Philippines co-sponsored the Freshwater Conference: Building Perspectives and Alternatives.

Focus Philippines as member of Bantay Tubig organized a series of press conferences and media events exposing a scam/deal between the government and local water concessionaire of the West Zone, Maynilad Water Services, Inc.

Together with the Globalisation Working Group, Campaign for Popular Democracy, and Campaign for Media Reform organised a

conference on “War and Globalisation: the occupation of Iraq and the conflict of interest” at Thammasart University.

April

Workshop on Commodities co-organized with Philippine Peasant Institute
Co-organised East and Southeast Asia Trade Campaign Strategy Meeting, Bangkok
Co-organised OWINFS Alternatives Conference, Bangkok
Co-organised OWINFS Strategy Meeting, Bangkok
Participated in the GATS strategy meeting in Geneva.
Follow-up of the Asian Land Meeting report (to be printed in September)
The Iraqi Solidarity Campaign Philippines (ISCP) was founded in April as an alliance of political blocs and organizations) after the outbreak of widespread uprising in Iraq at the beginning of April. Focus is one of the campaign co-ordinators.
Press conference demanding the withdrawal of Pinoy troops in Iraq.
Participated in WSF International Council meeting.

May

Iraq Solidarity Campaign action against Iraq Business Forum in Manila
Mobilization at the US Embassy
Organised panel “10 Years of NAFTA: the Lesson for Thailand” at Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok
WTO workshop in Hanoi.
Participated in Thai Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs seminar on FTA at the parliament building.
Organised symposium on market access at WTO seminar in Geneva.

June

Stop the New Round! Forum on Trade Liberalization and Updates on the WTO at Balay Kalinaw, UP Diliman in preparation for the July 31 General Council in Geneva.
Presentation on the WTO at Kilusang Mangingisda (Fisherfolk Movement) General Assembly

SNR Trade Forum – with presentations on the WTO Negotiations (Trade Undersecretary Edcel Custodio), bilateral trade and investment agreements

Organised and participated in meeting of groups effected by Thailand’s various free trade agreements.

Thailand FTA Watch Group (of which Focus is an active member) submitted open letters to the Prime Minister, the house speaker, and the chairman of the Supreme Court, demanding the halt of the signing of Thailand-Australia Free Trade Agreement.

Rally against the Thai-US FTA negotiation.

This event was participated by diverse groups, namely, small-scale farmers’ network from different regions, dairy farmers, several state-own enterprise workers unions, people living with HIV/AIDs, NGOs, academics, and students.

Asia Social Movements Assembly, Korea

July

The ISC launched a series of protests, media events and film screenings demanding the government to pull out its troops in Iraq (in lieu of the Angelo dela Cruz kidnappings). Actions on Hostage Crisis ISC and its members hold series of public actions demanding the immediate pull-out of Philippine troops. A series of vigils and rallies were held between 09-12 July hoping to generate public support and force the hand of government to pull-out its troops.

Action together with FTA Watch in front of the Thai government house on TAFTA
Field trip with CP: CP invited Focus and other NGO and farmers/workers leaders to visit some of their contract farmers and factories in order to convince us about industrial farming. This started our research activities on contract farming in Thailand.

July 5-10: Various events, press conferences, and mass actions on the abduction of Filipino contract worker in Iraq, calling for the Philippine government to withdraw from the US-led coalition occupying Iraq.

July 10, with Suksit Siam Publishing house, organised the launch of the book that Focus translated and co-published “The Future of

Money” by Bernard Lietaer
 Field trip with CP: CP invited Focus and other NGO and farmers/workers leaders to visit some of their contract farmers and factories in order to convince us about industrial farming. This started our research activities on contract farming in Thailand.
 July 13: University of the Philippines College of Arts and Letters Intensive Philippine Studies Fall Program; made presentation before the Summer batch of University of California students under the Education Abroad Program on “The Underdevelopment of the Philippines”
 July 13, participated in a debate with Big Pharma at the request of Thai activists at the International AIDS Conference in Bangkok
 July 17, ANGOC Regional Meeting on the PRSP, Quezon City
 July 19-24, Via Campesina International Week of action against corporate globalization
 July 27, WTO General Council Meeting in Geneva which produced the July Framework. Focus actively campaigned to block these negotiations and afterward, spread the analysis of how this new Framework was detrimental to developing countries.
 July 20, 2004: Press conference with Action for Economic Reforms on the performance bond, featuring the lawyers who explained the (consumer, tax payer, public interest group) demand letter for the Metropolitan Waterworks and Sewerage System, to draw fully on the bond, to desist from pursuing rehabilitation at the RTC and to disclose key documents at Chicken Bacolod Inasal, Quezon City Circle.
 July 30-31, Focus Philippine staff workshop development and planning, Dumuklay, Batangas City

August

Briefing meeting on the WTO July framework for Senators and NGOs in Bangkok
 August 2-9, World Conference Against Atomic and Hydrogen Bomb, Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan

August 4, 2004: “Leaders’ Briefing on the Status of WTO Negotiations”, Training Room, Philippine Social Science Center Bldg., Commonwealth Ave., Diliman, Quezon City
 April 9, 2004: Press Conference on the “WTO July Framework Agreement: A Road Map to Catastrophe” at Conspiracy Café, Visayas Ave., Quezon City.
 August 12: PhilDRRA 30th Year Conference Panel on the MDGs, Tagaytay City, Philippines
 August 12: “Philippine Foreign Policy after Angelo dela Cruz,” a lecture-forum, Manila, Philippines
 August 16: Asian Farmers’ Association workshop on “Advocacy Strategies of Regional NGOs”, Manila
 August 20, 2004: A Sandinista’s Story: 25 Years after the Nicaraguan Revolution, Lessons for the Philippines: A lecture-forum with Dr. Alejandro Bendana (former Representative to the UN of the Sandinista Government of Nicaragua) UP Balay Kalinaw.
 August 23: University forum and film-showing on the war in Iraq, Manila, Philippines
 August 26, 2004: First meeting of the DRTS Core group, PhilDRRA Partnership Center, Loyola Heights. Quezon City. Discussion and clarification of the Development Roundtable Series, themes, issues and process.

September

Organised workshop with the Port Authority of Thailand on “FTA and Privatization” “What next?” seminar on economics, organized by the Dag Hammarskjold Foundation.
 September 1: “Former Indian Navy Chief and 2004 Magsaysay Awardee Speaks on Peace,” a lecture/forum, Manila, Philippines
 September 1, “This Admiral is no Hawk” Former Indian Navy Chief and 2004 Magsaysay Awardee Speaks on Peace, Demilitarization, and the “War against Terror”, UP Asian Center Conference Room, UP Diliman.
 September 2-3, ADI Workshop on Trade and Development, Phnom Penh, Cambodia; made presentations on global economic policy making

September 6-9, 2004: ASEM People's Forum V with the theme of "People's actions for human security in Asia and Europe" on in Hanoi, Vietnam.

September 11, "Remember 9-11: A Solidarity Concert," Manila, Philippines

September 17-19, 2004: Investment and Global Governance Meeting, Amsterdam. Meeting of researchers and activists on the web of bilateral investment treaties existing globally.

September 17-19, co-organized Beirut Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Assembly in Beirut, Lebanon bringing together anti-war and anti-globalization movements into one strategy meeting

September 17-19: "Where Next for the Global Anti-War and Anti-Globalization Movements?" an international strategy meeting, Beirut, Lebanon

September 20, 2004: Focus with a group of public interest organizations, consumers and homeowner association filed a motion for intervention, mainly to ask the Quezon City Regional Trial Court under Judge Reynaldo Daway to disapprove Maynilad's revised rehabilitation plan. The approval of the plan would pave way for higher water rates for Maynilad's customers in the west zone. The parties who filed the petition include Akbayan, Action for Economic Reforms, Alliance of Progressive Labor, Tala Estates Settlement Federation, CIBAC and Focus on the Global South.

October

Focus staff retreat

Regional briefing on FTA in Hat Yai and Ubol Rachatanee Thailand for NGOs, academics, religious groups and others.

October 5: University of the Philippines College of Arts and Letters Intensive Philippine Studies Fall Program; made presentation before the Fall batch of University of California students under the Education Abroad Program on "The Underdevelopment of the Philippines"

October 15-17: European Social Forum, London, United Kingdom

October 26: MAIDS Lecture on TNCs

November

November 2, 2004: Presentation on "Water Politics" Access to Water and the Role of IFIs, TNCs and States" at the "What Feasible Common Future", PEKEA Conference, DPU, Bangkok, Thailand

November 11: Iraq Solidarity Campaign general members' meeting.

November 11-13: AER Workshop on Trade Advocacy, Davao City, Philippines; made presentations on the breadth of NGO trade advocacy and the DRTS process.

November 17-18: Roundtable on Food, Trade and Agriculture and Consultation with farmers, fisherfolks, farm workers, trade unions, government officials, business leaders and activists on the state of hunger in the region in Davao City, Mindanao.

November 18: Pakisama Roundtable on the WTO and AFTA

November 18-19: Iraq Solidarity Campaign press conference and mass action on the US-led siege on Fallujah, Iraq.

November 23, 2004: Second meeting of the DRTS core group, Cravings, Katipunan Ave., Quezon City. Follow up on the status of the thematic concept papers and expansion of the core group.

November 23, 2004: Presentation on "Water Privatization Crumbles: Metro Manila Experience" at the "Global Sell-Out of Public Services" Conference Sponsored by the EU-NGO Network on GATS, Amsterdam, Netherlands. (Representing Focus and Bantay Tubig)

November 24-26: Participated in Development and Peace Asia Continental Meeting; presented paper on "Socio-Economic, Political and Cultural Trends in East and Southeast Asia in the Next Five Years"

November 27, 2004: Presentation on "Water Privatization Crumbles: Metro Manila Experience" at the Dutch Social Forum, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

November 17-18, SNR! Mindanao affirmed the continuation of the campaign in the southern regions during the Davao consultation

November 19-22: "For international solidarity against US military bases," Japan Peace

Committee Conference, Sasebo, Japan
November 26-28: World Peace Forum
Preparatory Meeting, Vancouver Canada
November 26-28: Dutch Social Forum

December

December 1: Consultation on phase 2 of SNR Trade Campaign - The consultation was attended by 26 individuals representing 16 organizations. Discussed during the meeting were the following: Updates on global situation provided by Walden Bello; sharing of local and national initiatives and the imperatives for the second phase of the campaign.

December 1-6: participated in anti-globalization, anti-imperialism conference in Caracas, Venezuela, also taking advantage of the opportunity to strengthen links and expand networks with Latin American social movements and activists working on trade and globalization 2-3: Meeting on a possible international solidarity movement for Mindanao Davao, Philippines

December 5-8, 2004: Staff attended and supported Filipino peasant leaders to attend the World Forum on Agrarian Reform, in Valencia, Spain.

December 8: Iraq Solidarity Campaign general members' meeting.

December 13: CIDSE Workshop on the WTO and Cambodia's Accession, Siem Reap, Cambodia

December 14: Action Aid Workshop on Economic Literacy and Budget Advocacy, Bangkok, Thailand; made presentations on fiscal policy with focus on the fiscal crisis in the Philippines

December 14: Presentation on Post-Cancun updates and proposals on campaign strategies for the HK ministerial meeting of the WTO. at the Kilusang Mangingisda (KM) National Leaders Meetings

December 18-19: International anti-war coordination meeting, Paris, France

December 17-19: Anti-War Assembly, Hyderabad, India SNR agreed to draft a new Declaration of Unity

FINANCIAL REPORT

Focus on the Global South** Comparison of Budget, Income and Expenditure As at December 31, 2004

(Amount in USD)

	(1) Budget	(2) Income	(3) Actual Expenses	(1)-(3) Variance Budget-Act. Expenses	(2)-(3) Variance Income-Act. Expenses
Alternatives Program	76,700.00	85,758.70	80,215.08	(3,515.08)	5,543.62
Global Trends & Analysis	49,700.00	47,950.11	41,232.28	8,467.72	6,717.83
Peace Building & Peoples Security Campaign	112,000.00	113,418.31	105,995.00	6,005.00	7,423.31
Trade Campaign	147,300.00	209,265.04	174,720.31	(27,420.31)	34,544.73
Finance & Development Campaign	73,700.00	69,174.04	64,393.89	9,306.11	4,780.15
Communications	86,300.00	76,909.19	73,033.39	13,266.61	3,875.80
Admin. & Organisation Development	117,300.00	108,151.54	104,049.23	13,250.77	4,102.30
ASF/WSF	59,200.00	61,011.69	57,603.41	1,596.59	3,408.28
Professional fee		3,939.22		0.00	3,939.22
Bank Interest income		2,751.09		0.00	2,751.09
Other income		5,915.74		0.00	5,915.74
Gain or Loss on Exchange		(11,656.12)		0.00	(11,656.12)
Total Revenues	722,200.00	772,588.55	701,242.59	20,957.41	71,345.96

Note

* 1 USD = 40.00 BHT, 0.86535 EURO (same rate as we used in Work Plan Yr 2004)

** Does not include India & Philippines funds direct through their countries.

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