

# **FOCUS ON THE GLOBAL SOUTH**

## **WORK PLAN 2003-2005**

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# FOCUS & THE CONJUNCTURE

As it enters its eighth year of existence, Focus on the Global South must reflect in its program and organization its evolving priorities as it interacts with and operates in a changing world.

Focus was founded in 1995, the same year the World Trade Organization came into existence. At that time, the system of corporate-driven globalisation was at its apogee. Focus's program and structure reflected the priorities of a people's movement that was facing a steep uphill struggle as it grappled with the impact of globalisation on the daily lives and struggles of the poor and marginalized people in the South. Today, corporate-driven globalisation is suffering a deep crisis of legitimacy globally and is on the ideo-logical defensive, even as its poverty-creating, inequality-increasing, and ecologically destructive structure and dynamics continue to grind on.

Focus has also traveled considerably from its starting point. It is today widely considered a "key player" in the global movement for a different and better world. Its analyses of global developments are extensively consulted, as are its suggestions for structural change.

Focus' goals have not changed. They continue to be the dismantling of oppressive economic and political structures and institutions, the creation of liberating structures and institutions, demilitarization, and the promotion of peace-building instead of conflict. It is the programmatic and organizational expressions of these goals that need to be adapted to the changes in the global balance of forces.

## **The Paradigm: Deglobalisation**

It is in response to the growing clamor for alternatives to the current system of global governance that Focus has elaborated the strategy of deglobalisation as the guiding

paradigm for its programmatic work in the next three-year period.

Deglobalisation is not a synonym for withdrawing from the world economy. It means a process of restructuring the world economic and political system so that the latter builds the capacity of local and national economies instead of degrading it.

Deglobalisation means the transformation of a global economy from one integrated around the needs of transnational corporations to one integrated around the needs of peoples, nations, and communities.

We cannot talk about construction without deconstruction, reintegration without disintegration. Today there are many experiments in alternative economics, for example local currency systems, participatory budgeting such as that practised in Porto Alegre, or ecological communities like Gaviotas in Colombia. The reigning god, however, is a jealous one that will not take lightly challenges to its hegemony. Even the smallest experiment or alternative to the dominant model is stopped, weakened, or co-opted. Peaceful coexistence between different systems, a pro-corporate one and a pro-people one, is, unfortunately, not an option.

Thus the deglobalisation project must have two prongs, two logics that are in synergy: deconstruction and reconstruction or recreation.

## **Deconstruction**

*Deconstruction* refers to dismantling, paralysing, or drastically reducing the power of the current institutions of global governance. This task is necessary in order to provide space for alternatives. Specifically this targets the World Trade Organization, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, regional development banks such as the Asian Development Bank, transnational corporations, and finance capital. This strategic objective must, however, be pursued via campaigns around demands or goals that are adapted to existing political conditions

but which essentially lead to the same strategic goal. For instance, a campaign to ensure that no new round of negotiations emerges from the Fifth Ministerial of the World Trade Organization in Cancun in September 2003 would be a big blow that could reverse the liberalization process globally.

### **Reconstruction**

Hand in hand with the deconstruction campaign must unfold the reconstruction or re-creation process or the enterprise to set up an alternative system of national and global economic and political governance.

There is a crying need for alternative systems of national and global economic and political governance. The idea is floating around that thinking about an alternative system of local and national economic governance is a task that for the most part is still in a primeval state. In fact, many or most of the basic or broad principles for an alternative order have already been articulated, *and it is really a question of specifying these broad principles to concrete societies in ways that respect the diversity of societies.*

Work on alternatives has been a collective past and present effort, one to which many South and North initiatives have contributed. The key points of this collective effort might be synthesized as a double movement of “deglobalisation” of the national economy and the construction of a multi-layered, pluralist system of global economic and political governance.

The context for the discussion of deglobalisation is the increasing evidence not only of the poverty, inequality, exploitation, and economic stagnation that have accompanied the spread of globalized systems of production but also of their fragility and unsustainability. The International Forum on Globalisation (IFG) points out, for instance, that “the average plate of food eaten in western industrial food-importing nations is likely to have traveled 2,000 miles from source to plate. Each one of those miles contributes to the environmental and social

crises of our times. Shortening the distance between producer and consumer has to be one of the crucial reform goals of any transition away from industrial agriculture.” Or as one writer claims, so much industrial production has been out-sourced to a few areas like Taiwan that had the earthquake of 21 September, 1999 experienced by that island been “a few tenths of a point stronger, or centred a few miles closer to the vital Hsinchu industrial park, great swathes of the world economy could have been paralyzed for months.”

### **Deglobalized economies would be structured differently**

While the following paradigm is derived principally from the experience of societies in the South, it has relevance as well to the economies of the North.

Deglobalisation, as noted earlier, is not about withdrawing from the international economy. It is about reorienting economies from the emphasis on production for export to production for the local market;

- producing goods and services that respond to people’s needs rather than to the demands created by a corporate-driven consumer culture;
- producing with technologies that enhance rather than destroy the community, the environment, and life itself;
- drawing most of a country’s financial resources for development from within rather than becoming dependent on foreign investment and foreign financial markets;
- carrying out the long-postponed measures of income redistribution and land redistribution to create an internal market that would be the anchor of the economy and create the financial resources for investment;
- deemphasizing growth and maximizing equity in order to radically reduce environmental disequilibrium;
- adopting accounting systems that reflect real gains and losses or tradeoffs between environment and the economy, so as to promote environmentally compatible/sustainable/sound/stabilizing economic policies;

- acknowledging and reflecting in economic policies and frameworks--including accounting systems--the centrality of women's contributions in both production and reproduction of the economic and social systems;
- ending the urban-rural divide endemic to capitalist development by revalorizing agriculture, agricultural communities and agricultural economies;
- subjecting strategic economic decisions to democratic choice and not leaving them to the market;
- subjecting the private sector to effective legally sanctioned state regulation, and subjecting both the private sector and the state to popular, democratic control;
- creating a new production, exchange, and distribution complex that includes community cooperatives, private enterprises, and state enterprises, and excludes TNCs and where the operation of the market is subordinated to the common interest;
- enshrining the principle of subsidiarity in economic life by encouraging production of goods and services to take place at the community and national level if it can be done so at reasonable cost in order to preserve community;
- promoting economic arrangements that uphold human rights and the right to self-determination, and support rather than undermine cultural and political diversity.

This is, moreover, about an approach that consciously subordinates the logic of the market, the pursuit of cost efficiency to the values of ecological sustainability, security, equity, and social solidarity. This is, to use the language of the great social democratic scholar Karl Polanyi, about re-embedding the economy in society, rather than having society driven by the economy.

True, efficiency in the narrow terms of constant reduction of unit costs may well suffer, but what will be gained—perhaps the more appropriate term is “regained”—are the conditions for the development of community, greater and more democracy, sustainability, and equity. This will involve a transition from a market-driven economy that puts the

primacy on profitability--in the process creating severe class inequalities and sectoral imbalances such as the rural-urban divide--to a nature- and people-oriented economy that puts the emphasis on secure livelihoods, decent employment, and improved well-being based on social justice and dignity, gender equity, and ecological equilibrium.

All this adds up to a profound social, economic, and political transformation, where capitalism and the market are strictly regulated, individualist consumption patterns give way to more cooperative forms, corporations are dislodged from production, agriculture is revalorized, dignity is restored to labor, and an equilibrium is established between community and the environment.

Thus, deglobalisation is likely to be a process marked by severe conflict. To be realized, it must be hitched to political strategies that produce a break in the existing relations of economic and political power—that is, local forces and interests that benefit from the globalisation project must be effectively disempowered. The staying power of these elites is impressive, and this is largely a function of the support they have from the dominant global elites. Disempowering these globalized factions of the local elite should not, however, translate into support for those factions that exploit nationalist and anti-globalisation rhetoric for their opportunistic ends.

*Moreover, deglobalisation or the re-empowerment of the local and national can only succeed if it takes place within an alternative system of national and ultimately global economic governance—that is, deglobalisation at the global level.*

The emergence of such a system is, of course, dependent on greatly reducing the power of the western corporations that are the main drivers of globalisation and the political and military hegemony of the states—particularly the United States—that protects them. But even as we devise strategies to erode the power of the corporations and the dominant states, we need to envision and start laying the

groundwork for an alternative system of global economic governance.

What are the contours of such a world economic order? The answer to this is suggested by our critique of the Bretton Woods cum World Trade Organisation (WTO) system as a monolithic system of universal rules imposed by highly centralized institutions to further the interests of transnational corporations and finance capital. To try to supplant this with another centralized global system of rules and institutions, though these may be premised on different principles, is likely to reproduce the same Jurassic trap that ensnared organizations as different as IBM, the IMF, and the Soviet state, and this is the inability to tolerate and profit from diversity. Incidentally, the notion that there is a need for one central set of global rules and that the challenge is to replace the neo-liberal rules with social democratic ones is a remnant of a techno-optimist variant of Marxism that infuses both the Social Democratic and Leninist visions of the world, producing what Indian author Arundhati Roy, among others, calls the predilection for "gigantism."

Today's need is not another centralized global institution but the deconcentration and decentralization of institutional power and the creation of a pluralistic system of state and non-state institutions and organizations interacting with one another, guided by broad and flexible agreements and understandings, which receive their authority and legitimacy from below.

This is not something completely new. For it was under such a more pluralistic system of global economic governance, where hegemonic power was still far from institutionalized in a set of all-encompassing and powerful multilateral organizations and institutions that a number of Latin American and Asian countries were able to achieve a modicum of industrial development in the period from 1950 to 1970. It was under such a pluralistic system, under a General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) that was limited in its power, flexible, and less antagonistic to the special status of

developing countries, that the East and Southeast Asian countries were able to become newly industrializing countries through activist state trade and industrial policies that departed significantly from the free-market biases that were later enshrined in the WTO. They were, in many ways, simply replicating the use of trade policy for development by earlier successful industrializers like the US, Germany, and Japan. National controls on trade and development policies were even more marked in China and India, which also experienced significant economic growth during the same period.

Of course, economic relations among countries before the attempt to institutionalize one global free market system via the imposition of structural adjustment policies beginning in the early 1980's were not ideal, nor were the Third World economies that resulted ideal. Though some like Korea and Taiwan had some income and asset redistribution, they were not pro-people economic regimes. Moreover, the quid pro quo for their room for maneuver in economic policy was subservience to the Cold War military and political strategy of the hegemonic power, the United States.

The situation elucidated above, which prevailed prior to the founding of the World Trade Organization in 1995, underlines the fact that the alternative to an economic Pax Americana built around the World Bank-International Monetary Fund (IMF)-WTO system is not anarchy. The reality of international relations in a world marked by a multiplicity of international and regional institutions that check one another is a far cry from the propaganda image of a "nasty" and "brutish" world the partisans of the WTO evoked in order to stampede the developing country governments to ratify the WTO in 1994.

Of course, the threat of unilateral action by the powerful is ever present in a world without multilateral trading rules. But the strong engage in unilateralism even where there is a multilateral regime. And the worst kind of world for the marginalized is where

the hegemonic powers can cynically employ both unilateralism and multilateralism to achieve their ends, as the US does today.

US political and economic power, and to a lesser degree that of the European Union and other developed countries, are today strongly institutionalized in the WTO and the Bretton Woods institutions. Thus, what developing countries and inter-national civil society should aim at is not to reform the WTO and Bretton Woods institutions, but, through a combination of passive and active measures, to either decommission them or radically reduce their powers and turn them into just another set of actors coexisting with and being checked by other international organizations, agreements, and regional groupings. This strategy would include strengthening while reforming diverse actors and institutions as UNCTAD, multilateral environmental agreements, the International Labor Organization, and regional economic blocks.

Regional blocks in the South would be an important agent of deglobalisation. But regionalism will have to transcend its current manifestations in the European Union, Mercosur in Latin America and ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) in Southeast Asia. While there are differences among these existing regional associations, they have crucial similarities that must be avoided.

These bodies, for one, are driven by the dynamics of global competition. A progressive regional block must buffer its members from global competition. Moreover, it must provide the framework for devolving economic and political power to national economies and communities.

Within the current regional associations, trade continues to be disconnected from development, and its benefits are evaluated mainly in neo-classical economic terms of achieving efficiency by constantly reducing unit costs. In the “new regionalism,” trade expansion and neo-classical trade efficiency would be supplanted as the key rationale of economic Cupertino by the development, deepening, and strengthening of sustainable

and equitable economies and regional security. That is, trade would have to be reoriented from its present dynamics of locking communities and countries into a division of labour that straitjackets or diminishes their capabilities in the name of “comparative advantage” and “interdependence.” It must be transformed into a process that enhances the capacities of communities, that ensures that cleavages that develop owing to initial division-of-labour agreements do not congeal into permanent cleavages, and which has mechanisms, including income, capital, and technology-sharing arrangements that prevent exploitative arrangements from developing among trading communities.

Needless to say, the formation of such regional blocs must involve not only government and business but also peoples’ and citizens’ organizations. Indeed, the agenda of people-oriented sustainable development can only succeed if it is evolved democratically rather than imposed from above by regional elites, as was the case with the European Union, Mercosur, and ASEAN. Regional integration has increasingly become an essential condition for national development, but it can only be effective if it is carried out as a project of economic union from below.

Regionalization from below is a critical step in bringing about a different global system. But it must be supplemented with other measures. The distortions that hamper the development of the countries of the South have been developed historically through colonial exploitation, unequal trade, ecological destruction, and hegemonic rule. Thus rectifying North-South relations must take this dimension into account, which means going beyond such static solutions as “special and differential treatment” to incorporate such as measures as debt cancellation and reparations for past colonial and racist practices and ecological exploitation.

## **Deglobalisation & Security**

Deglobalisation cannot come about without a change in the current global political and military system, which ensures the reproduction of the current global economic power structure. The lynchpin of this system is US ideological, political and military power. Increasingly, Washington's ideological hegemony is being eroded, forcing Washington to resort principally to the threat or employment of coercive military power to protect the structures and dynamics of global capitalism. The US has no peer militarily, its might resting on its possession of weapons of mass destruction, weapons delivery and intelligence systems based on the latest developments in information and other technologies, a global network of bases for rapid power projection, and state-sponsored terrorism. Nonetheless, its increasing unilateralism is generating global opposition, and the challenge is to consolidate a climate of moral opinion, via existing international bodies, alliances, and mechanisms to isolate the United States, delegitimize its use of force, and eventually erode its will to resort to military means to impose its hegemony.

The US has tried to deflect attention from its power politics by asserting that terrorism is the principal problem of the world today. True, terrorism, or violence inflicted on civilians, must be strongly condemned. But the most dangerous and rampant form of terrorism is state-sponsored terrorism, the principal practitioners of which include the US and Israel. Moreover, much of the smaller-scale terrorism engaged in by non-state actors are efforts, however misguided they are, to rectify historical injustices perpetuated and institutionalized by the US and other great powers. While this does not justify these deeds, it nevertheless places them in perspective.

A positive context for deglobalisation cannot, however, come from simply defanging the United States. Ultimately, global denuclearization and demilitarization is a necessity, as is a sea change in people's perception of what constitutes real security -- that is, from a sense that it is rooted in the

possession of armies and weapons to a belief that it ultimately stems from justice, equality, shared prosperity, and mutual respect.

Multilateralism, as currently practised, is not the answer to the unilateralism of the United States, for multilateralism in world politics is much like multilateralism in the global economy: an alliance of the strong powers—mainly the United States and its European Union allies--to police and keep the weak in their place. True multilateralism would build on but go beyond the United Nations to create a framework that institutionalizes the resolution of conflicts by diplomacy among multiple actors operating as free and equal partners in an atmosphere free of great power blackmail and protection. The UN Security Council's "multilateralism" on the Iraq question exemplifies the kind of multilateralism-under-coercion that can be just as destabilizing and dangerous as outright unilateralism.

Building a new international order to guarantee peace, security, and justice will also necessitate going beyond multilateralism based on the nation-state. Today, there is no set of domestic institutions apart from the nation-state complex that can more effectively protect the interests of people and communities from external threats like the United States. However, the dangers stemming from nationalism have to be kept in mind. Nationalism can be positive and constructive. But nationalism is also the ideology of the extreme right, of many religious fundamentalist groups; it can take on regressive, militaristic, and chauvinist forms. Moreover, national security has often become a rationale for domestic repression. So while national governments in the South need to be supported in their protection of national sovereignty against external powers, peoples' and citizens' organizations must oppose them when they justify external expansion and domestic repression on the basis of national security and nationalist ideology.

## Deglobalisation & Cultural Diversity

Corporate-driven globalisation has been accompanied by the diffusion of a culture of consumption that is geared to continually expand global demand for commodities; a political culture of formal democracy that sings paeans to freedom and democracy while in practice promoting unfreedom and inequality and subverting the values of diversity, community, and social solidarity; and deeply rooted prejudices of the superiority of western values and the western cultural experience.

Deglobalisation must be accompanied by a revalorization of local and national cultures in an effort to reverse homogenization and institutionalize cultural diversity globally. This is not, however, a simple process, for there are retrograde elements to all cultures that must not be valorized. These include cultural chauvinism; caste, race, and gender discrimination; and religious fundamentalism. Not only are such attitudes and values destructive of human community in themselves but, in paradoxical combinations with some western beliefs and philosophies, their negative impact is sometimes magnified. In the contemporary Indian state, for instance, Hindu cultural chauvinism and religious fundamentalism has combined with neo-liberal economic policies propagated by western institutions to create the worst of all possible worlds for the masses of people: a political crisis and economic crisis exploited by religious demagogues. Another dangerous paradox is seen in the way Hindu fundamentalists, Muslim fundamentalists, Christian fundamentalists, and promoters of “Asian Values” ideology stridently support the American political scientist Samuel Huntington, and his thesis about the irreducible incompatibility of “civilizations” in order to advance their politics of hatred of ‘the Other.’

Struggle against retrograde cultural features must thus be an essential element of the valorization and revalorization of cultures and the promotion of that global cultural diversity that provides the most conducive

context for the deglobalisation project. So must the diffusion of values and practices that reflect the universal values of equity, democracy, gender equality, and ecological sustainability.

In creating this context, it is important to support self-determination by indigenous communities.

## The Challenge

In conclusion, many of the elements of a pluralist system of global economic and political governance already exist but, undoubtedly, others need to be established. Here the emphasis must be on the formation of international and regional economic, political, and cultural institutions that would be dedicated to creating and protecting the space for devolving the greater part of production, trade, economic, and political decision-making to the regional, national, and community level.

More space, more flexibility, more genuine international cooperation--these are among the key features of a deglobalized world—of a truly international economy and political order. It is in such a more fluid, less structured, multi-layered, more pluralistic world, with multiple checks and balances, that the nations and communities of the South—and the North--will be able to carve out the space to develop based on their values, their rhythms, and the strategies of their choice.

## FROM VISION TO ACTION

Translating of the paradigm of deconstruction and reconstruction into action will take place via six campaigns/programs:

Through the *trade campaign*, Focus will intervene in the key battleground of international trade, where it has been in action since its founding. Changing the rules of international trade has been a central goal of the transnational corporations in their drive to integrate production and markets in the service of profits. The first major prong of the Focus trade campaign will be the deconstructive enterprise of disempowering

or dismantling multilateral institutions that are spearheading the global liberalization of trade, foremost of which is the World Trade Organization (WTO). The second key prong of the campaign will be articulating and implementing alternative paradigms of international trade, where trade reinforces the integrity and deepens the sustainability of local economies instead of eroding them.

The ***finance and development campaign*** will concentrate on an area of great instability in the international economy: global capital flows. The deconstructive work of the campaign will have two targets. The first is finance capital, and here the aim is to check, control, and eventually reduce speculative capital flows that threaten developing economies with their lightning leaps from one market to another to take advantage of evanescent opportunities for quick and high profits. The second target are the international financial institutions that, in the name of economic reform or development, are restructuring developing economies in a draconian fashion for more effective capital penetration in the long term. These institutions include the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, and Asian Development Bank.

The campaign's work in the area of reconstruction will focus on exploring and supporting alternative mechanisms of financing development in the South that avoid the debt trap and surrender of sovereignty that are the inevitable products of existing private and public institutions and practices of international finance.

Like the trade and international financial institutions (IFI) campaigns, the ***peace-building and human-security campaign*** has two prongs. The deconstructive work of the campaign will be devoted to analyzing and mobilizing against wars and other threats to the peace and the security of peoples posed by the United States and other great powers. An important aspect of this enterprise will be elucidating the links among war, insecurity, and corporate-driven globalisation, and mobilizing to break these links. The other prong will focus on

envisioning and promoting truly democratic multilateral institutions that will resolve conflicts through people-based diplomacy, guided by a vision that links the achievement of peace and security to ending poverty and inequality and attaining economic justice.

The ***alternatives programme*** will coordinate the work on alternatives in trade, finance, development, and security being done in the three preceding programs and bring them together into a comprehensive program of alternatives guided by the central concept of "deglobalisation." The program will move beyond the political and economic dimensions of building alternatives to encompass the cultural dimensions of the process.

The ***trends and analysis programme*** will monitor and analyze developments or trends in global politics and the global economy, with the aim of discerning the threats they pose, and the opportunities they offer, to peoples' struggles for a better world. While the work of this program will not be tied to the needs of specific campaigns, the data and analyses produced will be important in guiding the direction and work of the campaigns.

Focus' analyses and campaigns would be limited in their reach without an effective communications strategy. The aim of the ***communications programme*** is to qualitatively upgrade the electronic and print output of the organization, while cultivating the mass media for more effective dissemination of Focus' views. The goal is to develop a communications program that is extensive in its reach, effective in its message, and varied in its audience. Finally, the administration and organisational development programme will be responsible for providing the essential administrative back-up, developing and implementing staff policies and improving management practices across the organisation.

## WAYS OF WORKING

The "micro macro linkages" approach has been an important characteristic of Focus' approach since the beginning. We have

attempted to link our analytical, research and political activities to the real experiences and demands of various organised sectors of society -- especially farmers, workers, women, indigenous peoples and the impoverished – with the aim of bringing complexity and depth to our work. This also grounds our work and gives it a degree of legitimacy since we are not proposing purely theoretical positions, but ones that can be politically backed by organised sectors of society. Perhaps one of the reasons for Focus' "success" is that our political analysis and the types of alternatives that we are attempting to articulate, resonate with people.

In the past three years, there has been an important shift in the orientation and composition of organised and active civil society, both nationally and internationally. The World Social Forum is the emblem of this new wave of mobilisation and radicalism and Focus, as an organisation, is deeply engaged in these new processes and formations. There are two important characteristics of this new and emerging international "movement of movements". First, it is composed of local and national organisations with strong internationalist perspectives and second, it is based on networks, alliances and linkages between organisations that have the capacity to mobilise people on the streets in support of demands. In this sense, there is a shift away from the classic NGO "lobby" style politics, to more direct action, representation and mobilisation. In addition, this new movement of movements adopts a radical political position which is, at minimum, unambiguously anti-neo-liberal with strong anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist tendencies. The defining characteristics of the movement are, however, its diversity, plurality and openness.

It is this emerging reality that we identify with, work with and support. In a way, it is an overtly political articulation of 'micro-macro linkages.'

Therefore, our ways of work need to reinforce and reflect our commitment to being part of this process of movement building and contribute to the opening, building and

strengthening of political spaces for people's organisations, such as peasants, workers, women and rights-based social movements engaged in struggles for land, housing, water, etc.

In addition, the overarching paradigm of "deglobalisation" linked with a strategy of deconstruction and reconstruction will be reflected in our work with social movements, communities, NGOs and other organised sectors of the society.

In practice, this means that we support communities and movements in their resistance to damaging economic policies and repressive political forces, and we support their initiatives to build economic and political alternatives. This support includes direct involvement in protests and demonstrations, but it also means providing information, assisting with analysis, developing joint campaigns, linking networks within and between regions, mobilising resources, and helping to build broader, stronger coalitions. Focus' particular contribution is to help groups understand the regional and international context of their situations, to follow regional and international trends, to see where the contradictions are evolving and identify where there are opportunities to intervene in a progressive way. In this sense, Focus does have a somewhat "leading" role because we commit the time and resources to do this work and to feed it back into real world struggles and concerns.

From time to time, though, there will be disconnects between Focus' assessment of priorities and those of local movements and organisations. We need to be careful about imposing agendas but, at the same, it is important to share our analysis given that we have the opportunity to see events and issues from a wider perspective.

We do not maintain a rigid divide between mobilising and analysing, and in each situation and in each country we evaluate carefully our role to ensure that we contribute to the strengthening of peoples' movements rather than undermining their autonomy.

Focus plays an important role in linking Asian networks and movements to other regional and international networks and movements. This is an essential part of building the visibility and power of the movements opposing neo-liberalism and imperialism and ensuring that democratic spaces, forums and processes at the international level are created by and filled by the people most marginalised and most deeply effected by neo-liberal globalisation.

### **The importance of the World Social Forum & the Asia Social Forum**

Since the first World Social Forum (WSF) in 2001, the WSF (and now the Asian Social Forum) has become one of the main vehicles for our work with social movements, peoples' organisations and progressive NGOs and for building regional and international processes and networks. Focus was very active in both the ASF and the WSF, in every aspect including organising, mobilising, participating and fund-raising as well as being a member of the WSF international council. In addition, Focus is one of several organisations (along with the World Women's March, ATTAC-France, MST and CUT-Brasil) promoting discussions on a proposal to build a world network of social movements. This network would exist both inside and outside the World Social Forum processes and would give us an additional tool for developing collective political analysis, articulating demands and engaging in common campaigns and actions.

## **HOW THIS WORK PLAN WAS DEVELOPED**

In mid-2002, the final year of the 2000-2002 work plan, Focus invited Dr. Chantana Banpasirichote (Chulalongkorn University), Ramesh Singh (Action Aid) and Dominique Van der Borgh (Oxfam Solidarity) to carry out an internal review. The report is Appendix 1.

The review report was the basis for discussions at a three-day staff retreat where we started the process of developing a 'new

paradigm' that would guide our work for the next three to five years and which would reflect the changing political and economic context in which we are working. Our assessment of the global conjuncture – as one of crisis and opportunity – and our general approach of 'deglobalisation' came together in what might be seen as the dialectic of deconstruction/reconstruction.

Concretely, this framework has been operationalised into four programme (Trends Analysis, Alternatives, Communications, and Administration and Organisational Development) and three campaign areas (Trade, International Financial Institutions, and Peace and Security). In part, this is simply a better way of describing what we already do, but it also addresses some of the weaknesses identified in the review regarding our work. For example, the 'elevation' of alternatives to a separate programme is an attempt to make a sustained effort to develop and systematise existing or future alternatives to neo-liberalism while the campaigns will give our work a clearer focus and direction.

We have also tried to address some of the organisational issues by restructuring our work into 'teams'. These teams are horizontal and inter-country and with overlapping members (that is, everyone is involved in at least two teams). The teams have primary responsibility for organising their work and the team coordinator is a member of the management team. While country programmes will continue, in reality, most of their activities fit into the programme and campaign areas. At the same time, there is still scope for new initiatives that are considered important by staff involved in specific country programmes.

This new structure and an expanded management team will facilitate better communication and clearer decision making processes across the organisation, while strengthening the links between country programmes and between country programmes and thematic areas.

## HOW THE WORK PLAN IS STRUCTURED

The work plan describes the objectives and main activities in each programme and campaign area. The priority activities for 2003 are highlighted. Each area is linked to the overarching framework, and both ongoing and new activities and projects contribute to the overall objectives of deconstruction and reconstruction. Many of the activities listed are part of our ongoing work, some projects and activities are being de-emphasized or stopped, while some new projects and activities are proposed. Country programmes have been integrated into the overall plan, but the following sections describe the distinct characteristics of the Thailand, India and Philippines programmes.

### India programme

Focus on the Global South has had a programme in India since 1996. The main issues the programme has grappled with over the past six years are trade and financial liberalisation, privatisation of land and natural resources, militarism, nuclearisation, and the changing configurations of State and society in response to deepening economic globalisation. All these issues also have regional dimensions, and where appropriate and possible, Focus has extended its research and analysis to other countries in South Asia.

From the start, the India programme has attempted to combine rigorous research on socio-economic issues with policy advocacy and public education. It has also worked with a wide range of partners, from peoples' movements and local organisations to national networks and university-based academics. Focus's relationships with social movements have deepened over the past years and we are becoming more directly engaged with peoples' struggles against neo-liberalism, destructive development, the devastation of the commons, State oppression, militarism, nuclearisation, and narrow religious revivalisms. Focus is part of a broad and diverse coalition of progressive actors in India and South Asia engaged in building peace, cultural and religious

tolerance, and alternatives to neo-liberal development.

In the coming three years, the India programme will reflect all the thematic areas in the Focus work-plan, and activities will include a combination of research, advocacy and mobilisation. However, it is likely that some thematic areas and issues will receive more attention than others at particular times. For example, given India's importance in the WTO, the campaign on the WTO ministerial meeting will take precedence over other activities in much of 2003. On the other hand, if war breaks out against Iraq or at the Pakistan-India border, given India's history of communal violence, the India programme will have to move rapidly and intensively into peace and security work. In the IFIs campaign, in 2003-2004, the India programme is likely to focus on the roles of the Asia Development Bank (ADB) and the World Bank in water and power privatisation, with activities focussed at sub-national levels.

In terms of partners, Focus will maintain strong working relationships with diverse actors, as discussed above. Importantly, though, Focus will make special efforts to strengthen alliances with local-national peoples' organisations and social movements, and support linkages between them and movements in other regions as part of its efforts to build an alternative polity against global capitalism.

### Thailand programme

In the next few years, it is expected that the present government packed with big business entrepreneurs will generate more conflicts in Thai society as a result of its aggressive market-oriented policies to boost the domestic economy where the majority of its interests lie. The main drive is on increasing both domestic and foreign investment, production and consumption to boost growth. Most Thais can see that such policies will only benefit a small business elite while the majority of the population will become more indebted under the pressure to consume, and fiercer competition will force out smaller local

businesses as already evident in the retail sector. More importantly, local communities that are struggling for community rights to manage their natural resources are most wary of the capitalist slogan of “turning assets into capital” recently announced by the Prime Minister.

In such a context, the Thailand programme will be concentrating our effort in the next three years on translating the Focus deconstruction and deglobalisation strategies into relevant advocacy positions through the process of micro-macro issues linking and to join forces with civil society groups to advocate on equitable and sustainable policy alternatives within the deglobalisation paradigm.

The main partner of the Thailand Program continues to be the NGO Co-ordinating Committee on Development, a coalition of over a hundred NGOs working with various communities and people’s organisations, such as the Assembly of the Poor and the Alternative Agriculture Network. Focus Thailand is advisor to the NGO-COD and a member of the NGO-COD working group on globalisation. The NGO-COD expects to be more active in lobbying the government and parliament on several pieces of legislation which will put into practice the concepts of people’s participation and community rights enshrined in the new constitution, including a more equitable land rights policy.

### **Philippines programme**

Focus has had a physical base in the Philippines since 1998, but it was not until November 2001 that a country programme was launched. There were many reasons for this, not least of which is the presence of an already vibrant NGO community and a range of diverse social movements. Focus thus had to think very carefully what its marginal contribution through a Philippines country programme would be. The decision to open a Philippine programme acknowledges clearer strengths and specific contributions that Focus can bring into a new country programme. It is also, more importantly,

recognition of the need for more diverse country programmes and mobilizations to enhance Focus’ regional and international work.

A specific objective of the Philippine programme is to link local advocates/activists with advocates/activists from outside the country, specifically from within the Asia region. This will contribute towards the development of regional strategies and campaigns on common concerns.

During its first year of operation, the Philippine programme was able to introduce itself to and ally itself with several national networks – the water campaign, the power reform campaign, fisheries and food security. Its entry point has been clear – it will not try to duplicate what national networks are already doing. Rather, it will bring in Focus’ regional and international analysis/advocacy and explore, together with the national networks, ways of making these analyses/advocacies relevant in the country context. More importantly, the aim is to integrate country analyses to enrich the regional/international advocacy.

In the next three years, the Philippine programme will have the following priorities: trade, specially the impact of various multilateral (regional or global) trade arrangements; common property resources, focusing on resource conflicts (involving land and water rights) and possible alternatives; peace and security, with emphasis on the Philippine Government’s uncritical stance on the ‘war against terror’ being waged by the United States; the general operations of the IFIs, and the impacts of, and alternatives to structural reforms implemented under various programmes funded by the IFIs (for e.g., power and water) .

In 2003, Focus Philippines will play a leading role in the Stop the New Round! Philippines Coalition, a broad coalition of diverse groups and individuals demanding a stop to the expansion of the WTO’s jurisdiction to new areas, including services, fisheries and the new issues; and demanding that the Philippine Government implement a clear and comprehensive trade and

development agenda that will protect Philippine producers and industries. Also in 2003, Focus will intensify its work on power sector privatization, to concentrate on exacting accountability from those responsible for the mess in the country's power sector.

With the exception of the Stop the New Round! coalition, Focus will not take a leading role (i.e., take on significant secretariat responsibilities), but a supportive role in the other coalitions and networks to which it also belongs. Focus Philippine programme will contribute human and financial resources, actively participate in policy research and analysis, and do the necessary media work.

Finally, the Philippine programme will undertake deeper studies on Philippine political economy to give fuller shape to its advocacy on Philippine issues, and to strengthen the Philippine-specific aspects of its analysis. For this, the staff will maximize their individual commitments in national groups, coalitions and networks to widen Focus' analysis, and to expand our sources of new views and ideas.

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# TRENDS & ANALYSIS

Trends monitoring and analysis reflects both the deconstruction and reconstruction aspects of our work. The work in this area is overarching, providing some overall perspectives and directions as well as helping to inform the content and strategy of our campaigns. However, many of the "clues" for future monitoring and analysis will come from the campaigns and alternatives teams and there will, of necessity, be a close and dynamic interaction between all the work areas.

The trends and analysis programme will take the lead in providing analyses of national, regional and international trends in the areas of trade, finance, international relations, security and geo-politics, development and environment, governance and democracy.

The team will monitor debates on neo-liberalism and capitalism, in particular as they are reflected in the main agencies of neo-liberalism and capitalism: the US treasury, the IMF, WTO, World Bank and ADB, groupings such as the G7 (UK, USA, France, Italy, Germany, Canada and Japan), the World Economic Forum and the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD); and the media.

In addition, the team will identify emerging trends and issues important for Focus' future work and undertake research and analysis on topics that have not been central to our work but which are nonetheless key. This will include, for example, closer monitoring of China, Central Asia, the Middle East and Latin America, employment and labour market trends, information technologies and the media.

The team will also follow closely the ideological, systemic and strategic debates that are central to understanding the present phase of radicalisation and struggle, most evident in the movement against neo-liberal globalisation and the World Social Forum

process. This is particularly important given that Focus is committed to being part of, and helping to build, national, regional and international coalitions and networks opposing neo-liberalism and building alternatives.

The work will be carried out through a combination of academic and participatory research, policy analysis, monitoring situations and trends, participating in debates on all these issues, interviewing protagonists, leaders, activists and those affected, and seeking commentaries and analyses from partner organisations and other progressive, South-based think-tanks.

## **Objectives**

- Analysing political, economic and social trends at the national, regional and international levels to support other Focus campaigns.
- Identifying new trends and issues for further work and campaigns.

## **Main issues & activities**

Following are the main issues and activities of the next three years.

- Country analyses within a political economy framework mapping US interests in various sectors and the influence of the IFIs and the WTO in national policy formulations. The proposed countries include India, the Philippines, Thailand, Brasil, Indonesia, South Africa, Nigeria, Kenya, the Lao PDR, Cambodia, Vietnam, East Timor, South Korea, Chile, and Mexico.
- The Peoples Republic of China (PRC) as a force in regional and international political economy: discussion paper.
- The political economy of the Israel-Palestine conflict: discussion paper
- Labour issues, in particular agricultural workers and non-formal and non-organised workers in the context of globalisation and with a view to understanding the state of

struggles, demands and new forms of organising

- Displacement and migration trends, especially as they relate to war, conflict, labour and development
- Regionalism: patterns of regional cooperation and identifying the evolving political framework for deglobalisation at the regional level
- Processes of democratisation in Southeast Asia, with special attention to Thailand, Indonesia, Burma/Myanmar and East Timor
- Building a network with like-minded activist-research organisations in Asia and other regions for collective analysis, research and strategic discussions.
- Monitoring developments in the global political economy, in particular those areas related to the 'deglobalisation' paradigm: overproduction, deflation, over-extension and the crisis of legitimacy of institutions and democracy
- Finalising research and disseminating findings of the "Political Islam" research project, including publications and conferences

### **Priorities for 2003**

- Analysis of the political economy of the Israel-Palestine conflict.
- Thailand, Philippines and India: national level country analyses to support national programmes.
- Monitoring democratisation in Southeast Asia, especially Thailand, Burma, Indonesia, and East Timor.
- Analysis on the rise and fall of the new Asian leaders: case studies of Prime Minister Thaksin in Thailand and Prime Minister Mahathir in Malaysia.
- Monitoring the "new wave" of the left in Latin America.
- Develop the over-extension/deflation/overproduction framework.
- Policy paper on the role of the PRC in regional and international political economy.
- Initiate discussions with like-minded activist research centres
- Bring together like-minded activist researchers from the South to sharpen and

deepen collective analyses and work on alternatives.

- Complete the study on political Islam in India and South East Asia and disseminate results.

### **Main partners**

Activist research organisations in Asia, Latin America, Africa, North America and Europe.

### **New budget items**

Full time researcher (six months) for China project  
Meeting of research network (October or November 2003)

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# ALTERNATIVES

The project on Alternatives will be that of reconstruction and recreation, whereby we work towards alternative systems of national, regional and global economic and political governance. Our deconstruction campaigns will free up space, resources energy for imagining political, economic and social alternatives, and it is important that we nurture this space to support genuine alternatives to current systems and not reformed versions of the same old structures, processes and practices.

A great deal of collective work on alternative economic and political systems is ongoing in both the geographic North and South. The key aspects of these collective efforts can be synthesised as parallel movements of "deglobalisation" of the national economy on one hand, and the construction of a pluralist system of global economic and political governance on the other hand.

Focus' paradigm of deglobalisation is often discussed in our meetings and writings: we are not advocating withdrawing from the international economy. We are advocating reorienting economies from the emphasis on production for export to production for the local market, and re-embedding the economy in society, rather than having society driven by the economy. We promote approaches that consciously subordinate the logic of the market and the pursuit of cost efficiency to the values of ecological sustainability, diversity, security, gender and social equity, justice and dignity, and social solidarity.

All this adds up to a profound social, economic, and political transformation, where capitalism and the market are strictly regulated, individualist consumption patterns give way to more cooperative forms, corporations are dislodged from production, agriculture is revalorised, dignity is restored to labor, and an equilibrium is established between community and the environment. This in turn requires that the forces that

benefit from and prop up the current globalisation project are effectively disempowered, and alternative systems of economic and political governance are nurtured and guided into place. So our project of alternatives does in fact entail "deglobalisation" at both the national, and global levels.

## **Objectives**

- Supporting the creation of conditions that foster the development of community, greater and genuine democracy, sustainability, and equity.
- Making visible existing and evolving alternatives to the current dominant development paradigm and to the institutions and systems of financial, economic and political governance.
- Linking the work of those engaged in developing and practicing alternative models of development, so that knowledge and capacities can cross-fertilise and be strengthened.
- Consolidating Focus' work on alternatives (that is, deglobalisation) and orient it towards a viable and accessible framework that can be used by a wide array of actors: activists, movements, governments, NGOs, etc.

## **Main Issues & Activities**

Following are the main issues and activities that will be covered over the next three years and specifically in 2003.

### **Democratisation—putting popular democracy into practice**

- Strengthening local and national accountability and responsibility of governments, public institutions and the private sector to the public;
- Democratising economic and financial policy formulation and decision-making processes: bringing crucial policies and decisions regarding trade, finance, agriculture, industry, entitlements and

protections, environment and natural resources into local and national democratic fora;

- Developing a people-centred (as opposed to market-centred) vision and framework for local, national, regional and international governance: strengthening regulatory regimes in favour of protecting the public interest; subjecting the market and corporate sector to legally enforceable social control and monitoring; protecting the commons; prioritising communities' rights over natural resources;
- Supporting political formations, spaces and structures to deepen work on alternatives to the current dominant development model;

### ***Activities in 2003***

- Public debates with governments regarding the WTO, bilateral and regional trade agreements (Thailand, Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks);
- Developing campaigns for national parliamentary/congressional oversight and control over negotiations with IFIs and at the WTO (Thailand, Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks);
- Developing a project of public audits of current economic and finance policies from the perspectives of specific sectors and population groups, e.g., women, indigenous peoples, subsistence producers, workers and the environment;
- Monitor the influence of the Bretton Woods Institutions, transnational corporations and G-8 countries (especially the US) on multilateral institutions and agreements;
- Research and advocacy on regulatory regimes that favour the interests of the public over those of corporations; working with allies and partners (national to international) on obligatory and legally enforceable frameworks for corporate accountability;

- Research and advocacy with partners/allies on governance systems that protect the commons and prioritise the rights of communities over natural resources (Thailand, Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks)

### **Protecting and upholding peoples' rights**

- Food sovereignty and security;
- Land rights and agrarian reform;
- Peoples' rights to resources and self-determination;
- Sustainable practices and systems of resource management, especially water;
- The right to secure and dignified work and livelihoods;
- Civil and political rights, and economic, social and cultural rights

### ***Activities in 2003***

- Research and advocacy on land rights, agrarian reform and common property resources; this would be linked to the work on food sovereignty and governance systems that protect communities' rights to resources (primarily focussed on India, Thailand, Indonesia and Philippines; some research would also be done on the Lao PDR, Cambodia and Vietnam); the research component would contribute to actual campaigns for progressive reforms in agriculture, environment and natural resource, and fisheries (specific to the Philippines); these activities would also seek to strengthen the links and collaborations among local-national-regional groups engaged in these issues.
- Research, monitoring and advocacy on peoples' rights to natural resources and self-determination; in particular, track the effects of infrastructure projects (such as dams, transportation and irrigation), land, forest and water management programmes, and sub-regional economic programmes;
- Implement collaborative research and analysis on alternative visions of food security in Sri Lanka in collaboration with MONLAR;

- Research, advocacy and campaigns on alternatives to current privatisation regimes, for example, reinvigorating the public sector, community rights to access, control, ownership, stewardship/ trusteeship of resources (Thailand, Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks).

### **Alternatives to current trading and financial systems and institutions**

- Alternatives to private property based regimes of access, control, ownership, stewardship/trusteeship of natural resources and assets; for e.g., “communitisation,” as opposed to nationalisation and privatisation;
- Community currency and alternative credit systems;
- Peoples’ alternatives to international financial institutions: moving away from debt-financed development;
- Macro level debates on alternatives to the dominant development paradigm and the institutions and systems that uphold it;
- Alternative livelihoods for retrenched workers and workers in the unorganised sector

### **Activities in 2003**

- "A World Without the WTO" What would the world look like without the WTO? How could we operationalise food sovereignty and food security outside the framework of the WTO? A project of research, advocacy and mobilisations to develop and establish the required policies, institutions and supports (Thailand, Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks);
- Research on community currency systems (three communities in Thailand).
- Peoples’ alternatives to current forms of development financing: this includes research and advocacy on moving away from debt-financed development, debt cancellation and reparations, and strengthening local economies through appropriate supports for locally oriented production, distribution, trade and finance complexes (Thailand,

Philippines and India; possibly in other countries through collaborations with national and regional networks).

- Building coalitions among various social movements and institutions on policy formulation and advocacy about deglobalisation, particularly on food sovereignty and alternatives to the privatisation of public services (Thailand).
- Work with State Railway Workers Union and other progressive state enterprise workers to formulate appropriate economic and institutional reform proposals (Thailand)
- Research on the national and southeast Asian regional rice trade and market structures to identify possible policy intervention that is suited to small farmers needs (Thailand)

### **Peoples’ Security**

- Security as if people and communities matter: economic, political, social and environmental security
- Monitoring social and economic policies in newly created states in India
- Strengthening peace movements and the links between peace building and deglobalisation

### **Activities in 2003**

- Monitoring the post-independence situation in East Timor and the “post-conflict” situations in Afghanistan and Central Asia
- Monitoring the effects of the cease-fires in Aceh (Indonesia) and Sri Lanka on the development of autonomous development policies in the two regions
- Monitoring the links between the resolution of the Naga conflict in Northeastern India and the exploitation of natural resources in the region
- Research on the relationships between land and natural resource struggles, and conflict/security situations in the above regions

### **Identity, Culture & Resistance**

- Resisting the hegemonisation of knowledge by the neo-liberal establishment

through education, media, entertainment and communication activities

### ***Activities in 2003***

- Organising seminars and debates in universities and colleges on alternatives to mainstream development; for example, strengthening public services, community based management of natural resources, open source software, etc.
- Working with creative artists such as writers, poets, dramatists, filmmakers and painters to popularise alternative conceptualisations about development
- Supporting local groups in community owned media initiatives, such as the community radio in Thailand
- Networking and building alliances with alternative media groups in the region
- Promoting local wisdom and knowledge by supporting the Thai local knowledge network

### **Supporting and strengthening peoples' movements as arenas for the articulation of resistance strategies and emergence of alternatives**

#### ***Activities in 2003***

- Building networks of social movements and developing an alternative polity
- Participation in and support for the Asia Social Forum and the World Social Forum, the World Social Movements Network
- Activities that help activists and social movements from across Asia to link on common issues and campaigns, and also to link their struggles to those in Latin America and Africa (linked to the work on Trends and Analysis)

### **Main partners**

Social and peoples' movements, including women, peasants, fishers, workers, youth, students and indigenous

Land Research Action Network (LRAN)

Movement on National Land and Agriculture Reform (MONLAR), Sri Lanka

North-South groups and networks working on alternatives

Ethical funds and socially responsible investment

Alternative trading and marketing systems

Progressive researchers and academics

Parliamentarians

Business sector, specially small and medium enterprises

Alternative media groups, such as Jinbonet, APC, JCA net, Indymedia

Local movements working on community media such as the Community Radio Federation of Thailand

Local Development Institute, Thai Research Fund, CUSO, Kud Chum and two communities still to be identified, in Thailand.

Thai NGO Land Working Group and the Northern Farmers Federation, Thailand  
Midnight University, the Centre for Social Development Studies, Health Systems

Research Institute, Community

Pharmacology, Foundation for Consumers,

Labour Studies Centre, Sustainable Energy

Network, People for Democracy Group and

NGO-COD, Thailand

Journalists

Musicians, painters, writers, poets and other creative arts persons.

# COMMUNICATIONS

Communications is possibly the most important aspect of our work: without an effective communications strategy, none of our work will be effective – whether it's campaigns, education and mobilisation, research and policy analysis, or engaging in public debates and influencing public opinion.

The first task of the communication team is to plan a simple and realistic communications strategy which helps both our internal and external communications, and which enhances and supports our programmes and campaigns.

As a starting point, we need to assess the effectiveness of our current communications strategy, our existing electronic and website publications, our hard copy publications, our relations with the media, and so on. We also need to decide what sort of new tools we need for our work, in particular to support campaigns and "movement building".

## **Key elements**

*Print and non-print media* are major determinants of public opinion and sites of the battle for legitimacy. Although the cards are stacked against us, given the corporate monopolisation of most of the world's media outlets, the space for critical comment and diverse viewpoints is expanding in most countries.

To prise open these spaces, it is vital that journalists see Focus as a credible, reliable and informed source of comment and information. To do this, we need to build contacts with print and non-print media in Asia and internationally; provide timely and well-written articles, op-eds, letters and comments to the media on key issues and campaigns; and regularly advise the media of campaigns, events, newsworthy visitors, etc.

The Focus *website* is our public face, the place where we display our ideas and activities and those of our partners and colleagues, and a tool for educating and

engaging would-be and actual activists. In the first year of the new plan, there will be a complete overhaul of the existing website to better reflect our work, to ensure more user-friendly access, and to engage people in campaigns and debates.

Our *printed materials* need to be produced more efficiently, better distributed and better advertised. Although websites have overtaken printed material in many areas, a significant number of people in the South do not have access to the internet and digital information sources. Therefore, it is important that we maintain a steady flow of high quality and useful printed materials. We will continue to put a major effort into translating materials to/from English, Spanish, Thai, Bahasa Indonesian, Indian languages and other Asian languages.

## **Main Objectives**

- Effective outreach
- Support campaigns
- Build networks
- Influence opinion
- Disseminate Focus analysis
- Create visibility for resistance and alternatives

## **Main Activities**

- Develop a comprehensive and targeted media strategy to support campaigns, using the 2003 campaign leading up to the 5<sup>th</sup> Ministerial as a "trial run" to develop and hone our capacities
- Redesign our website to reflect Focus new work plan and priorities and to maximise accessibility and interest, especially for activists and youth
- Publish a "best of" series, drawing from Focus on Trade and other Focus publications.
- Publish a compilation of all issues of Focus on Trade, starting with 2002
- Re-vamp and upgrade Focus on Trade, integrating Focus on Security to reflect our

deliberate efforts to link globalisation and militarisation

- Upgrade translation capabilities to increase non-English language materials and to translate non-English material into English
- Launch of an Indian monthly analytical e-bulletin
- Develop the India Programme web page
- Explore the use of other modes of communications

### **2003 priorities**

Overhaul the website to reflect the new work plan

Develop media plan for trade campaign

Media training for staff

Overhaul, update and streamline databases

Produce a "best of " Focus on Trade for 2002 (Spanish and English)

Annual Report, brochure

### **Main Partners**

Press

Media professionals

Media activists

Alternative media groups

Translators and writers

### **New budget items**

Professional for media strategy

Redesign and update website

Publications

Campaign materials, including video,

T-shirts, campaign kit, etc

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# TRADE CAMPAIGN

The Trade Campaign Team will lead Focus's work in the area of international trade. It will mount campaigns against the continuing efforts at trade liberalization promoted by neo-liberal institutions and governments.

In the next three years, the main target of our campaigns will be the World Trade Organization (WTO). Over the next year, the focus of the trade team will be to derail the Fifth Ministerial Meeting of the WTO. Focus will play a leading role in an international campaign with several dimensions: lobbying governments in Geneva; providing good and timely research and analysis; coordinating with national social movements, particularly in Asia; and helping organize mass demonstrations globally, including the demonstrations in Cancun in Sept. 2003.

While campaigning on the WTO is expected to be the main activity of the program by way of deconstruction, the team is also expected to engage in campaigns around other neo-liberal institutions and policies, such as the Free Trade of the Americas (FTAA), the ASEAN Free Trade Area (AFTA), and bilateral free trade agreements.

In coordination with the trends and analysis team, the trade team will track and analyze trends in international trade in order to provide a solid analytical and political base to its campaigns.

Working with the Alternatives Team, the Trade Team will work on alternative strategies for global trade along the lines of the deglobalisation paradigm. While mindful of the fact that the existing trade regime prevents significant implementation of alternative strategies, the team will work on practical strategies for beginning to transform some aspects or parts of the system. For instance, the team could push proposals to change existing regional trade organizations such as ASEAN towards a non neo-liberal direction, taking advantage of and

heightening contradictory ideological and political trends such as the conflict between free traders and protectionists.

## **Objectives**

- "Derailing the Cancun Ministerial:" this involves a maximum position of "Rolling back the WTO" and a minimum position of "No new issues"
- Develop and expand campaigns at the national and international levels aimed at rolling back the powers of the WTO.
- Bringing together diverse groups, individuals and political actors critical of the neo-liberal trading regime to work in coalitions to challenge the current multi-lateral trading regime, and to explore alternatives to this regime.
- Providing information and alternative analyses about the WTO and trade liberalisation to developing countries.
- Conceptualising and promoting alternatives to the multilateral trading regime enforced by the WTO.
- Researching and promoting alternative approaches to local, national and regional trade strategies, whereby trade becomes a component of equitable and ecologically sustainable development, rather than an instrument of political domination.

## **Main Issues & Activities**

### ***"Derailing the WTO" Cancun 2003***

The main focus of our trade work for the first year of this three-year plan is WTO ministerial meeting in Cancun in September 2003. The outline of the "derail" strategy is attached as *Appendix 1*.

The campaign activities will include research, policy analysis, media work, developing campaigns with national networks on key issues such as GATS and agriculture, raising public awareness on the impacts of trade liberalisation and about the WTO,

pressuring governments to make public their negotiating positions on key issues, using parliamentary and other forums to promote public awareness and debate on trade and WTO, exposing the lack of democracy and transparency in the WTO decision-making processes.

### **Activities**

- Intensify mobilisation of public opinion against the WTO and opposition to the Fifth Ministerial meeting through writing in newspapers and popular media, seminars, conferences and public events, and media appearances.
- Develop and disseminate popular materials on the importance of derailing the Fifth Ministerial Meeting; includes briefing notes, T-shirts, short films, etc.
- Translate derailment campaign materials into local languages in India, Thailand, Indonesia and the Philippines; disseminate these materials in other countries and regions for translation into local languages.
- Work with groups in Mexico and international coalitions such as Our World is Not for Sale, Agri-Trade Network, La Via Campesina, No Patents on Life, Jubilee South, etc. to develop common strategies derail the Fifth Ministerial Meeting.
- Develop relationships with selected trade delegations in Geneva and national policy officials in capitals to strengthen and advocate the derailment strategy.
- Use the April meetings of the World Bank-IMF and the May Annual meeting of the ADB to illustrate the coherence between IFIs and WTO policies and programmes in critical areas such as services, water and agriculture.
- Develop briefing materials for parliamentarians and government staff on the WTO.
- Organise workshops in India and South Asia to bring together peoples' movements, academics, activists and political entities to develop common positions and strategies on the WTO and the Cancun Ministerial meeting.

- Organise public debates in Thailand on Thailand's positions in WTO negotiations, particularly on the AoA, TRIPs, GATS and process issues; two debates would be before the Cancun Ministerial and one after the Ministerial
- Use national and sub-national (state-province level) parliamentary and legislative processes to the maximum extent possible to promote public and parliamentary debate on trade policy and WTO negotiations
- Research and disseminate information on the impacts and implications of WTO negotiations on national policies, legislation and different sectors of populations (Thailand, India, Philippines)
- Organise public mobilisations against the Fifth Ministerial, including through concerts, rallies, popular media, etc. (India, Thailand and the Philippines)

### **Beyond Cancun**

- Conduct workshops on trade liberalisation and the WTO in Cambodia, the Lao PDR, Vietnam, Southern China and East Timor.
- Monitor and analyse trade trends in mainland Southeast Asia (the Mekong region), particularly the roles of the PRC, Japan and the USA.
- Monitor developments in trade agreements among the ASEAN countries, the ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (AFTA) 2003, and the China-ASEAN free trade area.
- Monitor the proliferation of bilateral trade agreements among countries in Asia and the US, and their implications for the future direction of ASEAN.
- Link trade analyses and activities in Asia to similar activities regarding the Free Trade of the Americas (FTAA).
- Monitor the influence of the PRC in the WTO and other regional trade agreements (linked with the Trends and Analysis programme)
- Analysis on the impacts of WTO agreements and trade liberalisation at the country level, looking at common issues among India, Thailand and the Philip-pines, as well as linking with other countries and

regions, with the aim of illustrating the WTO's impacts across the region and the world.

- Study and illustrate the implications of US domestic policies in the WTO, for e.g., the US Farm Bill.
- Research and illustrate the links between the real life struggles of people, and WTO-IFI mandated policies, for example, landlessness and trade liberalisation, infrastructure, energy projects and displacement (such as the wastewater treatment project and the gas pipelines in Thailand), etc.
- Bring together diverse groups, individuals and political actors critical of the neo-liberal trading to work together in articulating alternatives to the current trading regime.
- Conduct workshops in the Southeast Asia region (particularly in Vietnam, the Lao PDR and Southern China) as possible on the WTO and the multilateral trading regime.

#### **Main partners**

Agri-trade network  
La Via Campesina  
Labour unions  
OWINFS network  
Mexico groups  
Country level partners / WTO coalitions  
Local chambers of commerce  
People's movements and organizations  
Stop the New Round! Philippines Coalition  
Globalisation Working Group, Thailand  
Peoples Movement Against the WTO, India  
Regional partners in Indonesia, Korea, Japan, Pakistan, Malaysia, etc

#### **New budget items for 2003**

Media officer  
Trade campaign co-ordinator  
Temporary Coordinator for the Philippines coalition (March-November, 2003).  
Country level budgets for WTO-Cancun coalition activities from March-December, 2003 (India, Thailand, Philippines).  
Film on WTO  
Campaign materials such as posters, T-shirts, etc  
Press conferences

Policy/ Media dialogues

Extensive travel of trade liaison person, and  
Focus trade team

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# PEACE-BUILDING & HUMAN SECURITY CAMPAIGN

As its name indicates, the main deconstructive task of this reconstituted security program will be to lead or participate in regional campaigns against US intervention in the Asian region, with the geographical focus being on Northeast Asia, Southeast Asia, and South Asia. The renaming of the team is intended to highlight the priority given to the struggle against US intervention in light of major US moves to project its power to Asia in line with its so-called “War against Terror.”

The presence of Focus offices and programs in the Philippines and India puts the team in an especially favorable position to monitor and campaign against US intervention in the Philippines—the so-called “Second Front against Terror”—and in South Asia, where Washington seeks to expand its influence and which it hopes to make a political and military base for its geo-strategic moves in Afghanistan, Iraq, and Central Asia.

The team will promote and work with regional or international coalitions against US intervention, including the newly formed Asian Peace Alliance (APA). However, not all of its work will take place within these coalitions. Conferences, educational programs, and the organizing of peace missions are among the activities that the team can undertake independently or in alliances with local groups. The successful mission to Basilan that Focus undertook along with local Philippine groups in March 2002 is a model of a Focus-led, high-impact activity.

Over the next year, the team may be directly involved not only in campaigns in East Asia and South Asia, but also in activities around Afghanistan, Iraq, and Central Asia.

In coordination with the trends and analysis programme, the peace and security campaign will research and analyze military

and security-related trends, both regional and global, to provide a good analytical and political grounding for its campaigns. An important dimension of this work will be clarifying the multi-dimensional linkages between corporate-driven globalisation and US military domination. A thorough discussion and critique of the “Asian Security Paper” prepared by Tom Reifer may serve as the starting point of this activity.

Working with the alternatives programme, the peace and security campaign will do analytical work on alternative systems of local, regional, and international security. An important element feeding into this will be the analytical work on linkages between military domination and corporate-driven globalisation. The team will also critically examine the “human security” and “people’s security” paradigms that have been put forward by different groups to arrive at a meaningful concept of alternative security that goes beyond a simple redefinition of what would constitute real security.

## **Objectives**

This campaign will be different from the Cancun Ministerial one since it will be less time bound. The ongoing anti-terrorist war being waged by the US after September 11th, the possibility of the US attacking Iraq and staying there for quite a while, the aftermath of the war on Afghanistan, the continued presence of American troops in Pakistan as also in the Philippines, security issues in the Indian sub continent- all these are factors which will have to be part of our campaign. The campaign will also have to take into

account the fact that the US is using the so-called threat of terrorism to promote its economic and political interests in Asia.

For instance, the US is trying, with some measure of success, to influence the Indian government by making common cause of the war against terror. In India and in many countries there has been a spate of 'anti-terrorist' legislations, which are extremely repressive laws and which can be used against peoples' movements with impunity.

We have to treat security issues as a critical aspect of the deglobalisation paradigm. We must also link up with the huge anti war mobilisations in the US Europe and the UK. We must build up public opinion against the US attempts to justify a strike against Iraq, and expose the US in turn as a terrorist state.

### **Main Issues & Activities**

Given the US' increased focus on Asia as part of its "war against terror," the most important task that needs to be under-taken by Focus is to develop and disseminate an analytical framework by which this current conjuncture may be properly situated and understood. Further discussions need to be conducted on whether the concept of "imperial over-extension" is the most appropriate paradigm to explain recent security trends. A review and assessment of Thomas Reifer's paper on the Asian security situation should be forthcoming.

Specifically, Focus must seek to point out the links between corporate-led globalisation and militarization, between institutions such as the WTO, the IMF, and the WB and security issues.

Guided by the paradigm that will eventually be adopted, the campaigns of the security program must revolve around the following key concerns and developments:

- The impending war by the US against Iraq
- US' continued involvement in post-Taliban Afghanistan
- Philippines as a cover for re-establishing US military presence in South East Asia
- Security arrangements in South Asia

- Escalating tensions between North Korea and the US, "nuclearisation" in North Korea and the rising opposition to the US military presence in South Korea
- Adoption across Asia of a range of anti-terrorist laws in connection with the US' "war against terror"
- The emerging broad and global anti-war movement, linked with the "anti-globalisation" movement
- The establishment of a generalized region-wide peace coalition in the form of the Asian Peace Alliance
- Links between US wars and trade interests
- Links between US militarism and economic interests
- Influence of US militarism and economic expansion on fundamentalisms in Asia

Given the urgency of developments, Focus must decide on how it must engage with the question of Iraq. In Afghanistan, especially since it is moving further and further away from the spotlight, Focus must bring to light the US' specific forms of intervention in that country. Granting the centrality of the Philippines and South Asia to security issues involving the US, Focus should take advantage of its presence in these said countries in planning its activities. South Korea should be considered a major front in the campaign, especially on the heels of major protests arising from the acquittal of two servicemen accused of running over two girls. It is also important to strengthen our relationships with global and regional anti-war movements. The Asian Peace Alliance must continue to be considered a focal point of the campaign and must continue to be supported especially since it is still at its infancy.

### **Priorities for 2003**

- Elaboration of the over-extension paradigm
- Monitoring the security situation in the Philippines
- Working with local campaigns opposing nuclearisation in India and Pakistan;

monitoring the US presence in the South Asia region.

- Develop and expand the campaign against nuclearisation in South Asia.
- Preparing report on the impact of anti-terrorist laws in Asia, and more generally on the "anti-globalisation" movement
- Working to build the Asia Peace Alliance, and especially campaigns on US bases in Japan and Korea and the US intended war on Iraq.
- Actively participate in the Asian and worldwide campaign against the US war in Iraq.
- Kashmir: monitoring how Kashmir is being used by the US, India and Pakistan to maintain a situation of permanent instability which is in the interests of all three countries, and building a better understanding of the Kashmir independence movement in this context.
- Start low-level, low intensity monitoring of the developments in Afghanistan. This includes monitoring the physical security situation—particularly as they affect women, food and economic security of ordinary people—especially in the rural areas, and the complex of external economic interests taking advantage of the country. The monitoring will be located in the India programme and includes making contacts and developing possible allies in Afghanistan, on the Pakistan-Afghanistan border, and when (if) the security conditions in Afghanistan ease up a bit, perhaps send a small delegation to Afghanistan. The main emphasis in 2003 would be to start building contacts and getting information.
- Study the US' continued involvement in post-Taliban Afghanistan
- Develop a campaign on fundamentalism and terrorism in India.
- Monitor the developments in Northeast India, particularly the Naga Peace process.

### **Main partners**

Asia Peace Alliance

Anti-nuclear campaigns in Pakistan and India

Anti-military base campaigns in Japan, Philippines

National and international peace coalitions

Polaris Institute, Canada

National University of Singapore

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# FINANCE & DEVELOPMENT CAMPAIGN

The campaign on the international financial institutions (IFIs) will be one of deconstruction, that is paralysing, shrinking and eventually dismantling the powers of regional and global institutions of economic governance such as the World Bank, the IMF, the ADB, export credit agencies, etc. As we have often discussed in the past, these institutions are going through a crisis of legitimacy, which have arisen from the real structural crises that their policies and operations have precipitated across the world. Some of the key points in Focus' critique of the IFIs are summed up in the following section from the Asia Social Movements (ASM) statement:

"The IFIs — particularly the World Bank, the International Monetary fund (IMF) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB)—serve as the multilateral policy arms of global capitalism. Through their Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP) and Poverty Reduction and Growth Framework (PRGF) programmes, the World Bank and the IMF continue to impose structural adjustment programmes on vulnerable borrowing countries. In the name of poverty reduction, the ADB has intensified privatisation programmes across the Asia-Pacific, especially in the areas of essential services and natural resources. Export Credit Agencies (ECAs) of rich Northern countries are entrenching new forms of indebtedness in the Asia-Pacific region by financing their respective corporations to purchase prime public assets in our countries.

"Twenty years of structural adjustment have not produced growth or reduced poverty, but instead, have enhanced the devastation of ordinary peoples' lives through increased alienation of the majority from public services, jobs and food security; deteriorating labour standards; the dismantling of public protections for the poor and vulnerable; and

the destruction of local agriculture and industries.

"The operations of the IFIs undermine national and local planning processes, and domestic potential for genuine sustainable development. They are antagonistic to the emergence of local, national and regional alternatives that would strengthen local economies and capabilities over externally imposed structures. Our governments are not blameless in this; it is with their collusion that the IFIs are able to transform the peoples and environments of our regions into vast feeding grounds for the world's multinational corporations."

Today, the IFIs stand exposed as weak links in the governance system of global capitalism. Long standing critiques by affected communities and the left of the interests and operations of the IFIs are increasingly vindicated by attacks on them from a number of quarters, including their own ranks. The time is ripe for us to deepen the crisis of legitimacy that the IFIs face through a combination of research, mobilisation, popular education and direct actions.

Our strategic objective of "deconstruction" viz. the IFIs can be pursued via campaigns that arise from and are specific to existing political conditions, but all of which essentially lead to the same strategic goals. For example, in India, we have the possibility of working with the NBA on specific campaigns against World Bank and ADB programmes, as well as a wider campaign on power sector reforms that would target ECAs, private corporations and bilateral donors in addition to the World Bank and the ADB. Across Asia, community groups are rallying around the privatisation of their lands, forests and water sources under the privatisation regimes pushed by the IMF, World Bank and the ADB. The PRSP has become a common framework in a number of

countries in Asia to propel neo-liberal reforms and civil society organisations, peasant movements and workers' groups are organising against them. At the same time, there are a number of international campaigns to dismantle the IFIs that Focus is already a part of, and where we can intensify our efforts to link with movements and groups in other regions.

### **Objectives**

- Investigating and exposing the links between trade and financial institutions at the national, regional and multilateral levels.
- Challenging the capture of national and sub-national political and policy spaces by IFIs through research, advocacy and popular campaigns.
- Linking Focus' work on IFIs with our work on alternative financial and trade paradigms.
- Analysing the economic and political role of IFIs in post-conflict reconstruction.
- Illustrating how the programmes and governance structures-systems of the IFIs obstruct genuine national democratisation and human rights, and to use these governance structures/systems as sites to deepen the crisis of legitimacy of the IFIs.
- Monitoring the regional and international political factors that define and shape the roles of the IFIs; of particular importance are the relationships between the US government, the WB and the IMF, and the "instrumentalisation" of the IFIs in the US led "war on terror."
- Building and strengthening wide-spread consensus on the urgent need to fundamentally restructure systems and institutions of regional and global economic governance, to curb the power of the IFIs, and to bring them under democratic, public control.

### **Main Issues & Activities**

- Following are the main issues and activities that will be covered over the next three years, and specifically in 2003.

### ***Campaign activities***

- Exposing the "policy coherence" between the IFIs and the WTO; use the WB-IMF meetings as mobilising grounds against the WTO.
- Expose the links between militarisation and economic interests, and the role of the IFIs in furthering the twin agendas of military and corporate control.
- Exposing the roles of the IFIs in furthering privatisation, particularly in the areas of water and power/energy.
- Monitoring and publicising the role of the IFIs in East Timor and other post-conflict countries.
- Illustrating the lack of public accountability among the IFIs and the WTO, and how their governance systems and structures undermine local and national democracy.
- Illustrating the failure of the ADB's inspection mechanism, with special focus on the Chashma Right Bank Project Inspection in Pakistan.
- Working with national, regional and international groups, coalitions and networks to develop coordinated campaigns against the IMF, World Bank, the ADB, other multilateral development banks (MDBs), export credit agencies (ECAs) and the WTO.

### ***Research, Analysis and Monitoring***

- How IFIs influence national policies to ensure "policy coherence" between their own frameworks and that of the WTO; for example, the privatization of services and GATS, commercialisation of agriculture and the agreement on agriculture, etc.
- The privatisation, deregulation and re-regulation regimes imposed by IFIs, and their coherence with donor/ODA policies and the expansion of transnational corporate interests.
- Macroeconomic policies mandated by the IFIs at the national and sub-national levels and their impacts on employment, food security and sovereignty, poverty and well being, health, education and the environment.

- The Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), Highly Indebted poor Countries (HIPC) initiative and other policy reforms that form the core of IFIs' loan and financing packages, and their impacts on national sovereignty and well being.
- The failure of governance mechanisms in the IFIs and impacts on local and national democracy.
- IFI programmes and activities and policies in post-conflict countries
- IFIs as arms of US policy: the explicit expansion of US unilateralism in the World Bank, the ADB, IMF and other regional MDBs; the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) and overlaps with IFIs; the instrumentalisation of the IFIs and the WTO since September 11, 2001.
- The links between IFI financing of projects such as oil and gas pipelines, dams and water infrastructure, and roads with the expansion of strategic military and economic interests of specific nations and groups.
- The impacts of IFI programmes and policies on human rights, and on specific populations groups, particularly women and indigenous peoples.
- Alternatives to the current systems and institutions of regional and global economic governance: democratisation of decision making, public accountability, transparency, etc.

### **Priorities for 2003**

#### ***Policy Coherence among the IFIs and the WTO***

- Monthly discussion forum on deconstruction of IFI neo-liberal policies for trade unionists, NGOs, students and the public in Thailand
- Workshops and seminars on IFIs, ECAs, project financing and trade for the public, NGOs, local activists, movements, parliamentarians and government officials; these would be conducted across Asia, in Focus country programmes as well where we are already linked with partners, such as Vietnam, Lao PDR, Cambodia, Southern China and East Timor

- Produce a booklet on GATS and service sector policies promoted by the IFIs at the national levels by March 2003 (India, Philippines, Thailand)
- Use the April meeting of the IMF/World Bank and the Annual Meeting of the ADB in May to highlight links among IFIs and the WTO, and mobilise against the next WTO ministerial meeting in Cancun

#### ***Privatisation, Energy/Power and Water***

- Research and illustrate the roles of various IFIs--the World Bank, IMF, regional multilateral development banks such as the ADB, ECAs, etc.--in promoting and enforcing privatisation, deregulation and re-regulation regimes
- Research and illustrate the roles of the IFIs in the privatisation of natural resources and the commodification of land, forests and water
- Work with national and local movements and groups to develop campaigns against the land, water and resource tenure policies promoted by the World Bank and the ADB
- Research and illustrate the various forms of project financing in water and energy projects; in particular, examine the roles of ECAs and their connections with multilateral institutions such as the World Bank and the ADB; analyse the implications of these relationships for local actions, community and peoples; rights, public accountability, and democratic oversight
- Produce a dossier on the role of the ADB in promoting and enforcing privatisation and market based policies in the areas of energy/power and water by May 2003
- Networking with State Enterprise Trade Unions on IFI policies, especially on power and water privatisation in Thailand
- Develop a popular campaign to expose the problems created by power sector liberalization in the Philippines and to exact accountability via an official investigation into IPP contracts and tracing the liability of contractors/sponsors, government agencies and IFIs
- Use the Annual General Meeting of the ADB in May 2003, to highlight the policy

coherence among the IFIs; mobilise the anti-IMF sentiment in Turkey to bring in wider debates and critiques of the IFI's economic and financial programmes in the Asia region.

- With local and national movements, develop national campaigns in India and the Philippines against the ADB and the World Bank, particularly in relation to state level structural reforms, and reforms in the water and power sectors;
- With peoples' movements, groups and networks in the region, develop and launch a region-wide campaign against IFIs and power sector reforms;

### ***PRSP, Debt and Policy Conditionalities***

- Follow up paper on PRSP issues in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam by June 2003; continue to monitor PRSP implementation and their impacts in Asia as well as other regions; track links between PRSP, IFIs financing and strategic interests of countries such as the USA and Britain
- Monitor the pressure tactics applied by World Bank, IMF and the USA in East Timor and Pakistan to accept policies in exchange for credits and finance;
- Monitor developments in debt restructuring mechanisms promoted by the WB, IMF and G-7 countries, especially HIPC; also monitor the debt conditions in developing countries created by new loans, conditions and development projects promoted by the IFIs (including ECAs)
- Continue to provide regular analyses of the inter-linkages among PRSP, debt restructuring mechanisms and export credit agencies
- Research and show the impacts of IFI programmes and policies on women, indigenous peoples and communities.

### ***Post Conflict Economies***

- East Timor – analyze the operations of the IFIs and bilateral donors in East Timor; in particular, monitor and expose the pressures by the World Bank on East Timor to accept a PRSP; participate in regional solidarity networks on East Timor such as APCET 5 (November 2003); provide and

facilitate alternative information and analyses of development issues to the East Timorese Government, Parliament and civil society

- Monitor the operations of the IFIs in the reconstruction of Afghanistan, plans for Burma and infrastructure development (especially in relation to energy and water) in Burma, Central Asia; and other regions in Asia.

### ***Governance***

- Thailand country review of policy and legislative changes on finance and investment and their impact since the financial crisis, including the 11 bills passed under IMF influence;
- Pakistan: work with the groups working on the inspection of the Chashma Right Bank Project to establish an independent, peoples' tribunal.
- Research and expose the failure of the ADB's inspection mechanism;
- Produce a Focus campaign dossier on problems with the IFIs' systems and structures of governance, such as ADB's inspection policy, the World Bank's information disclosure policy, etc.
- Research and illustrate how IFIs' programmes and governance systems undermine local and national democracy, and the realisation of human rights;
- With peoples' movements, groups and networks in the region, develop and launch a campaign against the governance systems of the IFIs, with particular focus on the lack of transparency and accountability, and impacts on human rights and national sovereignty;
- Highlighting the public opposition to IFI policies (for example, South Korea, Indonesia, Pakistan, Bolivia) to build public pressure to demand an end to IFI interference in national economic policy.

### ***Main Partners***

Brettonwoods Project  
Fifty Years is Enough  
NGO Forum on the ADB  
Jubilee South  
Mekong Watch, JACSES, Friends of the Earth, Japan

Philippines – Stop the New Round Coalition,  
Bantay Tubig Coalition, Kunin na ang  
Meralco Alliance

India – Peoples Movements against the WTO,  
AITUC, CITU, NBA, Coalition of Peoples  
Movement in Madhya Pradesh, Left groups  
in Kerala, Land-Water-Forest Movement  
(Jameen-Jungle-Paani-Lokadhikar Andolan)  
in Maharashtra

Thailand – Thai Labour Campaign, Centre  
for Labour Information Service and Training,  
The Social Agenda Working Group

East Timor -- NGOs, students groups and  
government

Indonesia – Institute for Global Justice,  
INFID, labour unions, debt campaign

Pakistan – SUNGI, SDPI, People's Rights  
Movement