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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

‘The job of the responsible social scientist is first to uncover the forces of wealth, power and control, then to write about them clearly, without jargon... and finally...to take an advocacy position in favour of the disadvantaged, the underdogs, the victims of injustice.’

Susan George, President of TNI Board

THE TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE is an international network of activist researchers committed to addressing global problems. This it does from the perspective of the interests of the Global South, paying particular attention to power structures that favour the rich over the poor, the powerful over the marginalised.

Our values include a commitment to non-violence and doing no harm, universal human rights, democratic organisation and

representation, socially equitable distribution of wealth, and environmentally sustainable modes of production and consumption.

TNI's vision is of a democratic, equitable, peaceful and environmentally sustainable world.

Our mission is to provide empowering information and advocacy support to progressive transnational movements concerned with poverty and marginalisation,

social injustice, environmental degradation, militarism and conflict, and other global problems.

We provide high calibre information and analysis, convene seminars and conferences, facilitate transnational exchanges and network-building, and support the public outreach and advocacy efforts of the movements we work with.

For a short history of TNI, see www.tni.org/page/history



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- 05 MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR
- 07 MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF TNI BOARD
- 08 THE TNI WAY: HIGHLIGHTS OF 2010
- 10 PUBLIC SERVICES
- 16 ALTERNATIVE REGIONALISMS
- 22 AGRARIAN JUSTICE
- 26 DRUG LAW REFORM
- 30 DRUGS AND CONFLICT
- 34 SECURITY AND CONFLICT

APPENDICES

- 38 TNI FELLOWSHIP IN 2010
- 41 TNI IN THE MEDIA
- 42 TNI IN 2010
- 43 FINANCE
- 44 THANKS
- 46 PUBLICATIONS

TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE PROGRAMME STRUCTURE

DRUGS AND DEMOCRACY

DRUG LAW REFORM

- INTERNATIONAL
- LATIN AMERICA
- SOUTH-EAST ASIA

DRUGS AND CONFLICT

- INTERNATIONAL
- BURMA
- AFGHANISTAN

SECURITY AND CONFLICT

ETHNIC CONFLICT IN BURMA

GANGS AND GOVERNANCE

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY ANALYSIS

GLOBAL ECONOMY AND ECOLOGY

TRADE AND INVESTMENT

CORPORATE ACCOUNTABILITY

ALTERNATIVE REGIONALISM

AGRARIAN JUSTICE

- LAND GRABBING
- AGROFUELS

PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM

WATER JUSTICE

MUNICIPAL SERVICES PROJECT

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

In 2010, the financial crisis continued to unfold, with Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain going into free fall. Governments in Europe – either bent on seeing the neo-liberal project to its bitter end or in thrall to the power of financial capital – slashed public budgets, fomenting a new wave of public outrage at having to bear the costs of the financial sector's footloose irresponsibility. Potentially landmark cases in the US against Goldman Sachs and Merrill Lynch for their roles in the crisis came to naught. In response, TNI's Susan George published *Whose Crisis, Whose Future?* which urges people to assert democratic control over the economy and push it in a fairer, greener direction.

Through its programmes, TNI continued to expose how the mechanisms of neo-liberal globalisation work in favour of the richer nations at the expense of the poor. This included a focus on the European Union's trade and investment negotiating stances vis-à-vis Southern countries and regions, and the extent to which national constitutional and legal systems have been compromised to enshrine primary rights for transnational corporations to extract profit regardless of the public interest. We also focused on agrofuels and the wider phenomenon of 'land grabbing', publishing the English translation of a critical book on agrofuels, completing a study on the subject for the CREPE project co-ordinated by

Open University in the UK, and producing influential papers on land grabbing. New engagement of civil society organisations with FAO's Committee on Food Security provided a useful platform to successfully challenge World Bank attempts to neutralise controversy through its Responsible Investment in Agriculture Principles.

At the same time, TNI has been central to transnational social movement efforts to develop viable alternative proposals. In 2010, we co-hosted two important bi-regional conferences, in which an impressive 3,508 delegates, representing 570 organisations from across Europe, Asia and Latin America, participated. One outcome was an effort to

FIONA DOVE
Executive Director TNI



FIONA DOVE has been TNI Executive Director since 1995. She holds degrees in Industrial Sociology (University of KwaZulu Natal) and Development Studies (Institute for Social Studies, The Hague). Raised in South Africa, Fiona was active in the anti-apartheid movement from the late '70s and worked for the Congress of South African Trade Unions for almost a decade from the mid-80s.

develop an alternative trade and investment mandate for Europe. A draft is now being discussed and refined through the networks. Some of the initial ideas were also tested in policy dialogues organised with the European Commission.

Meanwhile, TNI documents the plethora of progressive experimentation that provides evidence that another way is possible. In 2010, we continued as the coordinating hub for the Reclaim Public Water network. It seeks to empower public water utilities to ensure universal access to safe, clean and affordable drinking water. The Indian affiliates have made great strides in persuading state and national government officials of the merits of the model the network advocates. Prospects for up-scaling local efforts and having principles included in policy frameworks are looking very positive. We also proudly published the 14th edition of the Reclaiming Public Water book, an evolving collection of inspiring case studies from around the world. TNI undertook research on the role of workers and trade unions in the water sector. Meanwhile new work on the electricity sector is to be published as part of a bigger Municipal Services Project anchored by universities in South Africa and Canada. A complementary study of participatory democracy in Latin America and Europe was also completed this year, under the auspices of PARLOCAL, a collaborative project in which TNI was a partner.

The other major front of TNI's work is drugs and conflict, in which we successfully employ a sophisticated combination of grounded research, policy engagement and media outreach. In 2010, efforts to influence national and international drugs policy debates continued to make strides. The spotlight was on the need for national and international drugs law reform.

At national level, we focused on over-populated prisons and disproportional sentencing. In Latin America, TNI undertook research on incarceration for petty drugs offences, complemented by powerful on-line video interviews with prisoners. Global concern about the gruesome situation in Mexico, and the campaign for a better approach to the drugs issue spearheaded by three former Latin American Presidents, attracted huge media attention in the Americas for our work. TNI is engaged with a number of Latin American governments on legal reforms. A block concerned to win a new consensus at the UN to give national governments the policy space they require. We have been actively supporting the Bolivian government's effort to have the coca leaf removed from the UN's list of scheduled substances. A number of governments have been persuaded not to object to Bolivia's proposal.

Meanwhile, in Asia the second informal regional drugs policy dialogue was co-hosted by the Thai government and attended by stakeholders from Burma and China. One key outcome was an invitation from the Thai government

to assist with its penal reform efforts. Meanwhile, TNI organised two meetings in China on drugs policy in the region, including investment in mono-cultural rubber plantations in Burma. This is ostensibly to replace opium poppy production but effectively creating new problems.

Burma has been a long-standing focus of TNI work. In 2010, Aung San Suu Kyi's house arrest was finally lifted and elections were held. TNI played a significant role in ensuring that ethnic minority voices were heard in the political debate both internally and internationally, and in challenging the wisdom of sanctions at this moment.

Financially, TNI had a difficult year without the institutional grant we had been receiving from the Ministry of Development Cooperation since 2003. We also experienced difficulty in raising funds for two of our programmes. Despite our best efforts, we closed the year's books logging a deficit. Reluctantly, we had to end the employment contracts of four colleagues, while another two resigned in the course of the year, with only one being replaced.

In a bid to secure a new five-year grant from the Ministry from 2011, TNI initiated an alliance with five Netherlands-based organisations. The Fair, Green & Global Alliance is led by Both Ends and also includes the Dutch chapter of Friends of the Earth International (Milieudefensie), the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA), the Foundation for Research on Multinationals (SOMO) and the Clean

Clothes Campaign. We secured a grant for a joint global programme starting in 2011, which will cover work on trade and investment, the international financial sector, corporate accountability and alternatives in practice. We also secured most of the co-funding required for this work in 2011, as well as the budget necessary for our Drugs and Burma programmes.

Our priority now is to secure the additional co-funding required up to the end of 2015. The NGO funding environment is changing rapidly as European governments cut back on grants, while the limited individual philanthropy available in TNI's kind of public policy work has been hard hit by the financial crisis. New strategies will be required in the coming years to attract funding without compromising the autonomy or integrity of the Institute.

We sincerely thank all our current donors. Many of you have valued our work for many years and we trust will continue to do so for many more. You recognise that TNI is a rarity in successfully combining critique and proposition, bridging academia, activism and policy dialogue, and working from grassroots to UN levels in finding feasible solutions to pressing issues of global public concern. Please encourage others in your network to support us too.

Yours,
Fiona Dove, Director



MESSAGE FROM THE BOARD PRESIDENT

For anyone concerned with the state of the world, 2010 can hardly be described as a banner year. Following the failure of the Copenhagen climate negotiations at the end of 2009, the ones in Cancun also came to nothing. The mega-financial corporations and banks, thanks to generous taxpayer bailouts, picked up the pieces and returned to business as usual, largely unregulated. Governments of the richest and most developed countries, lumbered with the debts taken over from the banks, decided their people should sacrifice even more to pay them back. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, having earlier hit a richly deserved all-time low, bounced back to renewed prominence and influence. The G-8 and the G-20, momentarily frightened of global collapse, decided the situation wasn't as dire as previously supposed and that it was urgent to do nothing of consequence. Increasing awareness of dwindling natural resources, including food-producing land, promoted corporate and national

power plays to grab what was left while the grabbing was good.

Despite all the failed policies maintained, the promises broken, the destruction pursued, the staff, fellows and supporters of TNI are not discouraged. Yes, our work is difficult, faced as it is with tougher economic circumstances, environmental neglect and multiple threats to peace. It would be foolish to deny that most powerful public and private institutions remain adamantly opposed to our proposals which, if implemented, would threaten their immediate interests.

Nonetheless, we see many signs of hope. In 2010 TNI's partnership with other NGOs in the Fair and Green Global Alliance became stronger and will make us more effective. Clearly we wouldn't exist without the confidence and generosity of our funders. We try to pay our immense debt to them by making TNI an institute that is well managed, cost effective and provides value for money; they, in turn, have recognised this in more and more explicit ways.

Our funders, like others in our constituency, also appreciate the crucial importance of ideas. They recognise that TNI has proven consistently correct in its analyses of the root causes and ruinous consequences of policies which have plunged the world into chronic crisis.

One must accept that an institute seeking to be a precursor, voicing ideas before others, choosing the least tackled subjects and making bold, often unwelcome proposals is destined to remain ahead of its time. This also implies that we will probably always attract fewer resources than we need – to better communicate our ideas, pay young people who can't work for nothing as older fellows do, lessen the heavy burdens on the shoulders of senior staff and so on. Such hardships go with the progressive territory, as does the patience to accept that the change we seek will be necessarily slower in coming than we would like.

But we also encounter more interesting people, work for

worthier causes and, we believe, live more satisfying lives than our adversaries. And frankly, we also have more fun.

I couldn't be prouder to be the Board President of TNI.

SUSAN GEORGE
Board President



DR SUSAN GEORGE is author of fourteen widely translated books on North-South issues, including most recently *Whose Crisis, Whose Future?* (Albin Michel, France; Icaria/Intermon, Spain; Polity, UK forthcoming 2010)

Expose, propose, practice

TNI seeks to expose the failures of many current policies and strategies, propose viable alternatives, and support efforts to put them into practice. In 2010, TNI and its fellows continued to provide well-researched information and work closely with transnational networks to help shape agendas, inform advocacy and build a critical mass in favour of alternatives. Below are some of the highlights of TNI's work throughout the year.

Exposing harms

The repressive international drugs regime has a considerable impact on the livelihoods and rights of producers and users. With the UN conventions governing the regime reaching significant milestones in the coming years, TNI has started research on scenarios for reform for presentation during the March 2011 session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs.

► In December TNI and WOLA published research on repressive drugs laws and overcrowding in prisons in eight Latin American countries. The study shows how harsh drugs laws impact the most vulnerable sectors of society. For more on international drugs law reform, see page 27.

► In Burma and Laos, TNI's research team have been studying the effects of China's opium-substitution programmes. The strict implementation of opium bans without the provision of alternative livelihoods has destroyed the incomes of former poppy-growing communities, driving them into chronic poverty. TNI's policy briefing 'Alternative Development or Business as Usual?' concludes that the Chinese investments in rubber plantations are creating new forms of conflict, which has wide implications for regional stability. For more on drugs and conflict, see page 31.

Proposing alternatives

TNI believes that criticism is not enough; it is crucial to offer feasible alternatives. This report describes how TNI is supporting efforts around the world to devise and implement democratic, inclusive forms of public service provision and humane policies on drugs, trade and investment, and land-use.

► Through its involvement in the Reclaiming Public Water (RPW) network, TNI is advocating public-public partnerships as an alternative to the failed privatisation programmes of recent decades. In Asia, Latin America and Europe, there are examples of municipalities regaining control of water and other public services. Through its membership of the International Steering Committee of the Global Water Operators' Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA), the RPW network is working to ensure that the GWOPA remains fully focused on not-for-profit cooperation between public utilities. For more on reclaiming public services, see page 11.

Putting alternatives into practice

TNI helps turn alternative ideas into action by facilitating exchanges of information and experiences among activists. By bringing together movements and activists from around the world through conferences, seminars and workshops, TNI helps to build and empower movements for change.

► In 2010, TNI played an active role in two major bi-regional summits, the Fourth Enlazando Alternativas People's Summit (Latin America) and the eighth Asia-Europe People's Forum. The summits brought together representatives of governments, civil society organisations, trade unions and political parties. For more on alternative regional integration, see page 17.

► Together with partner IPC, TNI co-organised a well-attended side event at the 36th Session of the FAO World Committee on Food Security (CFS) in Rome in October. The event, entitled 'Competing Views and Strategies on Global Land Grabbing' drew some 200 attendees of the main CFS meeting. The discussion centred on the key drivers of land grabs, mechanisms of dispossession and the adverse incorporation of the poor into the emerging agri-food-feed-fuel complex. For more on land grabbing, see page 23.

► TNI works with the Reclaiming Public Water (RPW) network to achieve water justice. In February, the RPW network organised its global assembly in Brussels, which was attended by some 80 campaigners from 30 countries. At the assembly, the CMG (TNI's >

► European Union trade and investment policies aim to secure a favourable position for European transnational corporations (TNCs) on global markets. TNI and its partners are working to expose the harmful impact of these policies, especially on the poor. At the final session of the Permanent People's Tribunal in Madrid in May, which TNI co-hosted, 41 TNCs were found to have been involved in violations of fundamental human rights in 12 Latin American and Caribbean countries. For more on EU trade and investment policy, see page 19.

► Agrofuels have been promoted as beneficial for the environment, energy security and rural development in the Global South and have been given high priority in EU energy policy. A report published in July presented the findings of a TNI/CREPE comparative study on agrofuels in Brazil, Mozambique and Germany. The study concluded that the assumptions of agrofuels' beneficial effects are largely unfounded, and that corporate-led agrofuel production feeds industrial expansion and squeezes out small producers. For more on agrofuels, see page 24.

► TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme works with bi-regional networks to advance alternative forms of regional cooperation, especially to counteract the EU's 'Global Europe' policy. Working with trade activists and campaigners in the S2B Working Group on Alternatives, TNI helped produce a draft paper proposing an alternative mandate for trade and investment policy in Europe. For more on alternative regional integration, see page 17.

► In many Southeast Asian countries, drugs laws are harsh and penalties disproportionately high. Since 2009, however, TNI and the IDPC have been working closely with the Thai Office of Narcotics Control Board (ONCB) on proposals to reform the country's drugs policies. This work continued in 2010, with TNI facilitating the participation of ONCB in regional meetings on drugs law reform. For more on drugs law reform in Southeast Asia, see page 28.

partner in Tamil Nadu, India) launched a Centre of Excellence for Change Management (CEC) to promote public-public partnerships (PUPs) in water management. The CMG's work has inspired groups cooperating in the RPW network around the world. For more on the RPW network, see page 11.

► Advocacy is an integral part of TNI's efforts to build social movements for change and give them a voice. This work includes lobby tours, meetings with policy-makers and parliamentarians, and media outreach. In 2010, TNI organised informal dialogues that brought together community representatives, activists and public officials in an environment in which they could speak freely. These dialogues have proved particularly valuable in the highly charged arena of drugs policy. For more on drugs-related dialogues, see page 28.

► In 2010, after several years of advocacy work by TNI and CEO, the European Union launched its new Water Facility for African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. The facility makes funding available for public-public partnerships in the water sector. As a result of outreach work by TNI, PSIRU and other partners, water operators from Africa and elsewhere submitted more than 200 concept notes for PUP projects to the European Commission before the October deadline. For more on the EU Water Facility, see page 12.

► TNI's successful Debating Europe series continued in 2010. The 70 attendees at the debate on the impact of the Lisbon Treaty on the EU's trade and investment policy included 20 members of the European Council trade committee. For more on the Debating Europe series, see page 19.

‘In certain areas of expertise the best qualified experts are to be found in the public sector. This is certainly the case concerning water provision and resource management where public water operators provide over 90 per cent of water and sanitation services globally. Public-public partnerships are potentially a very cost-effective approach to promoting the relevant “good governance” principles in the ACP water sector, with potentially long-term and sustainable impacts on institutional and organisational change.’

EC discussion paper on the
ACP-EU Water Facility



PROMOTING WATER JUSTICE

The global push for water privatisation in recent decades has failed to deliver the promised services and pushed prices beyond the reach of the poorest. With 90% of water and sanitation provision still in public hands, TNI's Water Justice project believes it is critical to refocus the global water debate on how to improve and expand public water delivery around the world.

TNI's work to achieve water justice is embedded in the Reclaiming Public Water (RPW) network, the international multi-stakeholder network it has built up with the Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO). The RPW network currently has 211 members in 40 countries, including civil society activists, trade unionists, academics, and public water utility managers. TNI acts as the hub of the RPW network, facilitating and coordinating its activities.

In February, the RPW network organised its global assembly during which it reviewed its progress and identified strategies for the coming years. Some 80 campaigners from 30 countries attended the meeting in Brussels.

REVERSING PRIVATISATION

Anne Le Strat, director of Eau de Paris, presented the first positive results of re-municipalisation of water delivery in the French capital as of 1 January 2010 after decades of privatisation. Paris is only one example of successful efforts to reverse privatisation in recent years around the world. Despite pressure from the international financial institutions, several governments in Latin America are promoting new progressive models of public water supply. In the North, aid donors are scaling down their pro-privatisation discourse and are slowly starting to embrace alternatives such as public-public partnerships (PUPs). In his presentation, however, David Hall, Director of

the Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU), warned that privatisation is not yet off the political agenda.

For more on the RPW global seminar, see www.waterjustice.org/?mi=1&res_id=268

TNI's Public Services programme seeks innovative ways to ensure that citizens have universal access to water, energy, health and other public services. While state-run facilities are often inefficient, commercialisation and privatisation have pushed up prices and caused many people, especially the poor, to lose access to basic services.

RECLAIMING PUBLIC WATER: THE BOOK

This book, first published in 2005, has provided an important common space for collective learning and consolidation of the RPW network. It has been published since in 14 languages, with over 30,000 copies sold, and downloaded countless times from the Internet, where it is publicly available. In each edition, additional chapters are added by organisations directly engaged in public water reform in the relevant region, creating an organic catalogue of public utility reform experiences and a basis for expanding the RPW network.

In 2010, with the help of French partner organisations RITIMO and France Libertés, the book was published in French. It included many new chapters, including one on water re-municipalisation in Paris. The book was launched at the World Social Forum in Senegal in February 2011, where significant efforts were made to reach out to relevant organisations in Francophone Africa. See www.partagedeseaux.info/rubrique18.html (French)

'The best way to fight against water privatisation is creating alternatives, really good water utilities that are public, efficient and transparent, and that have social control and social participation.'

Marcela Olivera, coordinator of the Platform for Public-Community Partnerships in the Americas, Cochabamba

PLATFORM FOR PUBLIC-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIPS

In Latin America, the Platform for Public-Community Partnerships, established in 2009 by TNI's partner Red Vida, launched its website and opened its main office in Cochabamba, Bolivia. The platform, which involves public water operators, community water systems and public authorities, also opened a second office in Uruguay, hosted by the trade union FOSSE. The platform facilitates and supports agreements for public and community cooperation based on the human right to water and water as a common good. It is now implementing PuP projects in Peru, Bolivia and Uruguay. See the Platform for Public-Community Partnerships website at www.plataformaaguayvida.org (Spanish)

GLOBAL WATER OPERATORS' PARTNERSHIPS ALLIANCE

The Global Water Operators' Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA) was founded in 2009. At the founding meeting the RPW network was made a member of the Alliance's International Steering Committee (ISC).

The Water Operator Partnerships (WOPs) within GWOPA contain both private and public operators. Faced with the threat of private partners entering into commercial arrangements when not-for-profits WOPs end, the RPW's main concerns in 2010 were to ensure that the GWOPA mechanism remains fully focused on not-for-profit cooperation between public utilities, and that Southern public water managers are given a lead role in the governance of the

mechanism through membership of the steering committee. These objectives came a step closer at the third meeting of the ISC in Stockholm in September with the establishment of an Integrity Sub-Committee. The RPW network and its allies had drawn up the terms of reference for the sub-committee, including proposals for a complaints procedure. Anyone witnessing a violation of the non-for-profit principle in WOP projects would be able to file a complaint to the Integrity Sub-Committee. The strongest sanction for violation of the non-profit-principle would be expulsion from GWOPA. The complaint mechanism could be a powerful tool for local NGOs, communities, user associations and trade unions to ensure that WOP projects are designed and implemented according to GWOPA's guiding principles.

The complaints mechanism will be officially proposed at the GWOPA general assembly and ISC meeting in Cape Town in March 2011. In advance of the meeting the RPW has been informing civil society groups about the mechanism and how to use it.

SUPPORTING RE-MUNICIPALISATION IN JAKARTA

The RPW network and its allies have been supporting efforts in Jakarta, Indonesia, to reverse privatisation of the city's water services. Since privatisation in 1998, the two global water operators running the services have failed to meet contractual promises on all fronts, including quality, access rate, investment and reducing non-revenue water. TNI's long-standing partner, the Amrta In-

stitute for Water Literacy, has been a persistent critic of the operators' weak performance and has been advocating re-municipalisation for many years. TNI has helped Amrta increase its research and communication capacity. In 2010, despite the massive political power of the private operators, the re-municipalisation campaign took a significant step forward. Tension between the private operator Palyja and the Jakarta Water Union SPPDAM resulted in a protest rally in December, at which 500 union members took action in front of Palyja's water installation in Central Jakarta. They demanded better working conditions and that the city's water services be returned to the workers and Jakarta's citizens. The protest was supported by Amrta, the KRUHA national coalition on the right to water, PSI International and the RPW network. Effective media work led to wide coverage in major newspapers in Jakarta. Immediately afterwards, Amrta launched a campaign entitled '13 years of water privatisation in Jakarta'.

EU WATER FACILITY SUPPORTS PUBLIC-PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS

In 2010, after several years of persistent advocacy work by TNI and its partner CEO, the European Union launched its new Water Facility for African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) countries. For the first time, after many years in which the EU primarily promoted greater private sector involvement, the facility makes funding available for public-public partnerships in the water sector. Although the amount available (40 million euros) is limited, the policy change has important wider repercussions.

The new Water Facility was a good opportunity for African water operators to submit applications for funding. With the help of the Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU) and other European groups from the RPW network, the African Water Network undertook outreach work to inform AWN members and other water operators in several countries. PSIRU produced a guide to explain the Water Facility and provide advice on funding applications, as well as an online PUP 'matchmaking' database. More than 200 concept notes for PUP projects were submitted to the European Commission before the October deadline.

OPEN LETTER WELCOMING EU WATER FACILITY

On 22 March (World Water Day), TNI sent an open letter – signed by 30 civil society organisations and trade unions – to EU Development Commissioner Andris Piebalgs, welcoming the new Water Facility and urging that support be extended to non-ACP countries.

In May, the Commissioner responded by saying that, unfortunately, 'at this point, a similar instrument is not envisaged for other regions', though he added that the call for proposals 'will surely demonstrate the interest to further explore opportunities to apply a similar approach in other regions'.

See www.tni.org/article/open-letter-eu-development-commissioner-andris-piebalgs

ALTERNATIVES TO PRIVATISATION: THE MUNICIPAL SERVICES PROJECT

Since mid-2009, TNI has been actively involved in the Municipal Services Project (MSP), a transnational research

initiative made up of academic units, labour unions, non-governmental organisations and social movements from around the globe. The project, funded by the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), is coordinated by Prof. David McDonald (Queen's University, Canada) and Prof. Greg Ruiters (Rhodes University, South Africa) and led by a Steering Committee composed of researchers and civil society activists based in Asia, the Americas, Africa and Europe.

The MSP's overall research objective is to critically analyse alternatives to commercialisation, privatisation and corporatisation in the primary health, water and electricity sectors. The research plans advocate for more equitable, accessible and sustainable forms of service delivery, and the findings have been taken up by policy makers, organised labour and community activists as tools in their campaigns. The current phase of the project (2009-2013) also promotes engagement with local and national governments, multilateral agencies, international financial institutions and globally operating NGOs.

The MSP has developed new and rigorous research methodologies and conceptual frameworks of assessment and evaluation, which are regionally and sectorally relevant but allow for inter-regional and inter-sectoral comparison and linkages. Throughout 2009 and 2010, MSP researchers have completed an ambitious 'mapping' of existing alternatives in the primary health, water and

electricity sectors. The results will be published in English and Spanish in the second half of 2011.

The book *Alternatives to Privatisation: Public Options for Essential Services in the Global South* includes two chapters written by TNI Fellows: Daniel Chavez on 'Alternatives in the electricity sector in Latin America' and Hilary Wainwright on 'The role of labour in alternatives to privatisation'.

PROMOTING PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE (PARLOCAL)

In 2010, TNI joined an international research and capacity development project on participatory democracy, funded by the European Commission and coordinated by the provincial governments of Malaga (Spain) and Paysandú (Uruguay), in partnership the National Federation of Municipal Authorities of the Dominican Republic (FEDOMU).

The two-year project is structured around two components. The first is a comparative analysis of the conditions for emergence and development, institutional profiles and impacts of participatory budgeting in Latin America and Europe. The results will lead to the production of a toolkit and a book, to which TNI has already contributed a chapter. The second component, capacity development, is based on a combination of e-learning activities and a series of short courses and internships for municipal staff and local officials from Latin America and Spain.

PUBLIC SERVICES AND WATER JUSTICE: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- The RPW Network became a member of the GWOPA Integrity Sub-Committee
- The EU-ACP Water Facility attracted great interest from public water operators to engage in PuPs
- The Reclaim Public Water network grew from 170 to 211 members in 40 countries
- The 14th language edition (French) of the Reclaim Public Water book was published



CENTRE OF EXCELLENCE FOR CHANGE MANAGEMENT

TNI has been working with the Change Management Group (CMG), set up by engineers from the Tamil Nadu Water Development Authority, since 2005. The Indian state has been at the forefront of democratising public services, first attracting interest from other states, and then from the national government. The CMG's work has inspired groups cooperating in the RPW network around the world.

At this year's RPW global assembly in Brussels, the CMG launched the Centre of Excellence for Change Management (CEC) to promote public-public partnerships (PUPs) in water management and to respond to food security and climate change challenges in Tamil Nadu. By the end of 2010, the CEC was able to scale up the initiative to national level, resulting in the launch of Water Organisations Partnerships in January 2011, with the support of state and national ministries.





'The [TNI debate] was refreshingly provocative and radical... Europe may be peering over the edge of an abyss but at least there are some thinkers and policy-makers searching for ways to drag us back.'

David Gow, Guardian European
Business Editor



SEEKING REGIONAL ALTERNATIVES

In 2010, TNI continued to support efforts to achieve people-centred regional integration and a regulatory regime for transnational corporations based on socially and environmentally just principles. Much of this work was carried out through bi-regional networks and international alliances and coalitions, especially the Seattle to Brussels (S2B) and Enlazando Alternativas networks, the Asia-Europe People's Forum and Our World is not for Sale (OWINFS).

THE EUROPE-LATIN AMERICA PEOPLE'S SUMMIT: LINKING ALTERNATIVES IN THE SHADOW OF CRISIS

In May, 3,000 representatives of over 250 social movements and civil society organisations from 45 countries convened in Madrid for the Fourth Enlazando Alternativas People's Summit. In preparation for the event, the network prepared a series of brochures, information materials and public events. There was also a dedicated page on the Enlazando Alternativas website and a series of video spots to encourage participation. TNI helped coordinate these preparations in Europe.

The entire proceedings of the five-day summit were live-

streamed through the Enlazando Alternativas website, and all sessions were recorded in the Enlazando TV blog. As at previous summits, 40 alternative and community radio stations from Europe and Latin America came together in a 'Forum of Radios' to broadcast common coverage of the summit over the airwaves and online.

Although the summit had a broad agenda, the EU's free trade agreements were one of three prominent themes, together with transnational corporations and regional integration. Other topics addressed during the 100 self-organised workshops included energy and climate change, gender, immigration, media, human rights, and food

sovereignty. The activities were co-organised by 169 organisations, networks, trade unions and political parties, 30 from the Americas, 31 from Europe, 103 from Spain and five were international. See www.tni.org/category/tags/enlazando-alternativas and www.enlazandoalternativas.org/spip.php?rubrique52 (mostly in Spanish)

The EU and European corporations have been the main proponents of a plethora of free trade and investment agreements through the 'Global Europe' strategy. TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme plays a critical bridging role between social organisations in the South and North, challenging these agreements and putting forward regional-based, people-centred alternatives.

IV AMERICAS SOCIAL FORUM: A HISTORIC OPPORTUNITY

TNI participated in a number of workshops at the IV Americas Social Forum in Asunción, Paraguay, in August. Around 15,000 people attended the summit, which focused on the achievements and challenges of processes of change, imperial militarisation and domination, food sovereignty, and plurinationality. The final declaration stated that 'social movements are faced with an historic opportunity to develop emancipation initiatives on an international scale.'

See www.forosocialamericas.org/iv-americas-social-forum?lang=en

'I ask EU and Asian leaders when they make decisions, especially on trade, that they properly consider small household farmers because we have seen that small-scale farmers have suffered considerably from Free Trade Agreements between China and ASEAN countries. It is important for governments to listen to farmers and not just big agribusiness.'

Chang Tianle, Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, speaking at the AEPF

ASIA-EUROPE PEOPLE'S FORUM: CHALLENGING CORPORATE POWER

The eighth Asia-Europe People's Forum, 'Challenging Corporate Power: Building states of citizens for citizens', took place in Brussels in October. The biannual meetings are held in parallel to the official Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) summits. A total of 508 participants attended during the four-day programme, about half of whom were women. They represented some 320 organisations from 41 countries.

The programme comprised two plenary sessions, four workshops and six policy dialogues with EU institutions. 'Open spaces' were also provided to discuss issues outside the corporate power theme, such as Burma or the 'War on Terror' in South Asia. There was also a policy debate in the European Parliament with European and Asian MPs on the impact of the free trade agreements between Europe and Asian countries/regions.

The meeting closed with a 'Dialogue with ASEM' at which Belgian Prime Minister Yves Leterme became the first head of state or government to directly address the Forum. Mr Leterme answered questions from four AEPF delegates (2 Asians, 2 Europeans) rather than deliver a formal speech, which many participants highly appreciated.

The Forum aimed to enhance the active participation of Asian and European civil society organisations in AEPF and their engagement with the official ASEM process. It achieved this goal in several respects, establishing closer working relations with trade unions, new linkages between Asian and European MPs and strengthening cross-regional networks. The ITUC co-hosted the AEPF for the first time. See www.aepf.info/

CHALLENGING GLOBAL EUROPE

In 2010 TNI and its partners stepped up their campaign to challenge the European Union's efforts to conclude free trade and investment agreements with developing countries. Campaigners see this as an instrument to assure European transnational corporations (TNCs) of a favourable position on global markets.

The Lisbon Treaty, which came into force in December 2009, realigned competences on EU trade and investment policies, unleashing a debate between the European Commission, the Council and the European

Parliament. The increased powers of the European Parliament in particular offer an opportunity to shift the focus of that debate towards the need for fundamental change in the EU's investment policy. The Parliament now has shared powers with the Council in adopting measures and regulations related to trade and investment, and the power to ratify any trade agreement negotiated by the Commission. TNI and its partners are taking advantage of the close contacts established with many members of the European Parliament in recent years to shape the debate.

In July, S2B sent a civil society statement on 'Reclaiming public interest in Europe's international investment policy' to MEPs, the Commission and member states. The statement, signed by 40 organisations, presented a comprehensive critique of the EU's investment policy and outlined proposals for an alternative investment framework. It was drawn up in response to the publication of the EU Communication 'Towards a comprehensive European international investment policy' and a draft regulation

READER ON POST-LISBON EU INVESTMENT POLICY

In July, on behalf of the S2B Investment Working Group, TNI published a reader on 'EU Investment Agreements in the Lisbon Treaty Era'. The 52-page report presents in clear and plain language a critique of the EU's investment regime and offers a number of alternatives.

The reader was very well received by campaigners from the South. One thousand copies of the English version were printed and distributed at major events and to MEPs and other policy makers. Four hundred copies of the Spanish version were distributed at the Americas Social Forum in Paraguay.

See www.tni.org/report/reclaiming-public-interest-europes-international-investment-policy (English) www.tni.org/es/report/por-una-politica-europea-de-inversiones-al-servicio-del-interes-publico (Spanish).

establishing transitional arrangements for bilateral investment agreements between member states and third countries.

DEBATING EUROPE SERIES

On 12 May, 70 people, including 20 members of the Council trade committee, took part in a debate on 'The Lisbon Treaty and new EC competence over investment: Time to rethink European investment policies'. On the same day the Seattle to Brussels Investment Working Group organised a roundtable in the European parliament with MEPs and representatives of civil society on 'The Future of EU International Investment Policy and the Role of the European Parliament'.

For more on TNI's Debating Europe Series, see www.tni.org/category/tags/debating-europe-series

RESISTING EU FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS IN LATIN AMERICA

The European Union started negotiations for a trade and investment agreement with the Andean region in 2006. The original aim was to conclude a single agreement with the entire region but, after persistent objections from Bolivia and Ecuador, the EU decided to push ahead with bilateral agreements with Colombia and Peru. At the EU summit in Madrid in May, the Spanish EU Presidency announced that the agreements had been concluded, but they still have to be endorsed by the governments of Colombia and Peru, the European Commission, the European Parliament and the EU member states. Throughout the FTA negotiations there has been widespread

resistance from civil society movements in both Europe and the South. The negotiations with Colombia in particular sparked unprecedented opposition from European trade unions and attracted attention in the European parliament and the national parliaments of some EU member states, due to the appalling human rights record and extra-judicial killings of trade unionists in Colombia. The recently elected Santos government is keen to steer a new course, but concerns remain about human rights violations in the country.

In October, TNI co-hosted a strategy meeting of around 50 European organisations in Brussels to coordinate the campaign activities, consolidate the plans and give the participants a chance to get to know each other better.

As part of the efforts to understand what is at stake on the FTAs with Colombia and Peru, TNI and the Center for Research and Documentation Chile-Latin America (FDCL) published the report 'The Second Conquest: The EU Free Trade Agreement with Colombia and Peru'. See www.tni.org/report/second-conquest-eu-free-trade-agreement-colombia-and-peru

Although priority has been given to the EU-Colombia FTA, TNI and its partners are bearing in mind other FTAs in the pipeline with, for example, ASEAN member states, Korea, India and Central America.

TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE TRADE MANDATE FOR THE EU

Together with trade activists and campaigners from different countries in the S2B Working Group on Alternatives, TNI has helped develop an alternative vision for trade and investment policy in Europe. The result is a draft paper entitled 'Towards an Alternative Trade Mandate for the EU – A call for discussion'. See www.s2bnetwork.org/fileadmin/dateien/downloads/ATM_EN.pdf (8 pages, 1.6MB)

FINAL SESSION OF PERMANENT PEOPLE'S TRIBUNAL PAVES WAY FOR FUTURE WORK

One of the main events at the Enlazando Alternativas summit in Madrid in May was the Third Session of the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT), co-hosted by TNI. The session, entitled 'The European Union and transnational corporations in Latin America: policies, instruments and actors complicit in the violations of peoples' rights', was the final meeting in the series of PPTs. It went a step further than the previous sessions in Vienna and Lima, which had confirmed the systematic nature of the violations and abuses committed by European TNCs in Latin America and the Caribbean. The Madrid session focused on establishing the complicity of European institutions, policies and actors in creating the architecture of impunity in which TNCs are permitted to operate. The Final Verdict of the session condemned the complicity of the

ALTERNATIVE REGIONALISMS: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- ITUC was formally represented at the AEPF for the first time
- The Belgian Prime Minister was the first head of state to directly address an AEPF
- Chinese, Burmese and Indian NGOs were successfully drawn into the AEPF process
- New links were established between Asian and European members of parliament
- European Commissioners agreed to publicly debate CSO representatives on the impact of trade and investment policy on development priorities in the South
- The EU-Colombia FTA campaign has been taken up by 50 organisations across Europe
- Alternative trade and investment mandates has been developed for discussion across the EU
- Permanent People's Tribunal verdict on the complicity of the EU in establishing the architecture of impunity in which TNCs are permitted to operate.

The panel of judges at the Permanent People's Tribunal concluded that the 41 TNCs involved in the 26 cases submitted had all been involved in violations of fundamental human rights in 12 Latin American and Caribbean countries

EU in violations of rights through its active adoption of policies that make it difficult to hold TNCs responsible for their actions before national or international law.

To pave the way for future work on EU complicity in TNC's activities in the region, an action plan was developed for 2010-2012. The plan proposed four lines of action: dissemination and follow-up of the PPT ruling on complicity, support for specific campaigns against TNCs, further conceptual mapping of

complicity, and continuing the search for alternatives.

See www.enlazandoalternativas.org/IMG/pdf/Dossier_ttp_english.pdf (35 pages, 449KB)

ADVOCATING RIGHTS FOR MIGRANT WORKERS

TNI actively participated in 2010 in the activities of the Transnational Migrant Platform and the Europe Working Group for the People's Global Action on Migration, Development and Human Rights (PGA), which included co-organising three seminars in preparation for the PGA 2010

held in Mexico in November. The seminars, which engaged a wide range of CSOs and trade unions, were held in London (hosted by the Trade Union Congress), in Brussels together with Migrant Forum Asia, and in Amsterdam where a Declaration was finalised. A continuing focus of work has also been participation, together with RESPECT Network Europe, in the Global Campaign for a strong rights-based ILO Convention on Domestic Work. This Convention is of particular significance to the thousands of migrant domestic workers throughout Europe.



Image: Cecilia Olivet

3,000 people representing 250 organisations from 45 countries participated in the TNI co-organised Europe-Latin America People's Summit in Madrid in May.

'The Indian Government, together with about 1000 multinational companies, signed a memorandum of understanding saying that a huge piece of land was now their property, and that the tribal, indigenous people who had been living on the land for generations no longer had any right to it. The land, the river and the forest provides our culture, our identity, our livelihoods and subsistence. It is our heritage. How can we sell this land, our soil? How can we sell the river that flows or the air that we breathe?'

Dayamamani Barla, full time activist, investigating and protesting land grabbing and oppression of indigenous communities in India



ADVANCING AGRARIAN RIGHTS

In recent years, transnational corporations and some national governments have initiated a large-scale worldwide enclosure of agricultural lands, mostly in the Global South, causing livelihood disruption, displacement and dispossession. In this context TNI has identified and forged alliances with transnational agrarian movements and groups that struggle against this injustice.

LAND GRABBING OR AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENT?

What rural dwellers in the Global South experience as land grabbing, tends to be seen in the Global North as 'agricultural investment'. The World Bank has been at the forefront of a drive to legitimate these investments, convening a conference in Washington DC in April to win support for a code of conduct based on Responsible Agricultural Investment (RAI) principles. Many key civil society groups rejected the proposal for a code of conduct, however, objecting to the top-down process by which it was formulated and arguing that it was more likely to legitimate than prevent land grabbing. Instead, these groups stood behind the FAO's Voluntary

Guidelines for Responsible Land Investment, which had been under development since the International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in 2009 and had proved a much more inclusive process.

Both proposals were on the table at the 36th Session of the FAO World Committee on Food Security (CFS) in Rome in October 2010. Civil society organisations had been deeply involved in the reform of the CFS in 2009 and the Rome session in 2010 was an opportunity to exert their influence.

Prior to the Rome session, TNI's team produced a number of influential papers on the subject,

which elicited a request from IFAD to submit an article of their own for dissemination through TNI's newsletter. TNI also attended the CFS proceedings as a UN ECOSOC Observer.

COMPETING VIEWS AND STRATEGIES

The organisations campaigning against the RAI principles were keen to ensure that the Voluntary Guidelines would lay the basis for an alternative framework for addressing global land grabbing. To support this effort, TNI and the IPC co-organised a well-attended side event at the CFS, entitled 'Competing Views and Strategies on Global Land Grabbing'. The event was attended by some 200 attendees of the main CFS meeting including representatives of key govern-

TNI has re-energised its long-standing work on agrarian justice in the context of the food and energy crises that directly led to the current phenomenon of global land grabbing. Now, for the first time in human history, more people live and work in urban spaces, but poverty remains a rural phenomenon. In 2010, 70% of the world's 1 billion hungry people live and work in places where food is produced: the countryside.

AGRARIAN JUSTICE: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- Two substantive studies on the negative impacts of agrofuel production published
- Ground-breaking papers on land grabbing published and widely cited
- IFAD approaches TNI about engaging its constituency on the debates on codes of conduct for land grabbing
- European Union is critical of the World Bank 'Responsible Investment Principles' process at the 36th meeting of the Committee for Food Security at the FAO
- TNI Fellow Jun Borras invited to join the High Level Panel of Experts on food security to the CFS

ments, agencies and international development NGOs. The high-level panel included scholars studying the trend in Africa, Asia and Latin America. The discussion centred on the key drivers of land grabs, mechanisms of dispossession and the adverse incorporation of the poor into the emerging agri-food-feed-fuel complex.

During the CFS debate on the RAI Principles and the Voluntary Guidelines, there was a discernible shift in the position of the EU in favour of the Guidelines. As a result the CFS backed the Guidelines and recommended that the RAI process find ways to be more inclusive. A bemused government delegate later commented that it was the most interesting CFS he had ever attended thanks to the presence of civil society participants who kept government delegates on their toes. See www.tni.org/article/tni-sponsored-land-grabbing-side-event-fao-food-security-world-committee-session-rome-2010

FROM THREAT TO OPPORTUNITY? PROBLEMS WITH THE IDEA OF A 'CODE OF CONDUCT' FOR LAND GRABBING

TNI researcher Jennifer Franco and Fellow Jun Borras produced a number of influential papers on the subject of land grabbing in 2010, most notably an article written at the request of Yale University and published in the *Yale Human Rights and Development Law Journal*. The authors also presented it at a conference in New Haven in 2010.

The paper looks in detail at the story line being promoted by the World Bank that new land deals present an opportunity for rural development. The authors challenge the idea of

a code of conduct for agricultural investment and call for a human rights-based response to global land grabbing.

See www.tni.org/paper/threat-opportunity-problems-code-conduct-land-grabbing; www.tni.org/paper/towards-broader-view-politics-global-land-grabbing; www.tni.org/report/political-dynamics-land-grabbing-southeast-asia-understanding-europes-role

CLAIMS OF BENEFICIAL EFFECTS OF AGROFUELS OVERSTATED

In 2010, through its work with the Co-operative Research on Environmental Problems in Europe (CREPE) project, TNI undertook a comparative study on agrofuels in Brazil, Mozambique and Germany. The EU's policy on agrofuels is based on the assumption that their more widespread production and use will have beneficial impacts on the environment, energy security and rural development, especially in the South. The study interrogated these assumptions, placing the controversy on agrofuels in its wider context and examining the political forces and agendas that have made them a high priority in EU policy.

In July, TNI and its CREPE partners published the report, which concluded that the assumptions underlying the EU policy on agrofuels were largely unfounded. Promoting agrofuels was found to lower greenhouse gas emissions far less than claimed, feed industrial expansion by supplementing rather than replacing fossil fuels, and squeeze out small producers as agribusinesses moved in. In Brazil

in particular, agrofuel cultivation was found to concentrate land and degrade working conditions.

With the agrofuel boom likely to continue, the researchers emphasised the importance of maintaining a critical perspective and bringing sustainability and other issues to public attention. Critical research can continue to highlight the harmful effects of agrofuel promotion and to question the fundamentals of development models that corporate-led agrofuel production serves. This will help strengthen efforts to hold policies accountable, find intervention points for policy change and propose alternative development paths.

See www.tni.org/paper/assumptions-european-union-biofuels-policy-frictions-experiences-germany-brazil-and-mozambique and www.tni.org/report/agrofuel-crops

JOURNAL OF PEASANT STUDIES, VOLUME 37 ISSUE 4 2010

Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Change

In October, a *Journal of Peasant Studies* published a special issue on Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Change. The articles were based on a workshop on the same theme held in October 2009 in Halifax, Canada, sponsored by the *Journal* and Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS). It includes an article by Jennifer Franco, Les Levidow, Lucia Goldfarb and other TNI associates based on the TNI agrofuels study. The issue, edited by TNI Fellow Jun Borras, became one of the most downloaded issues of the *Journal*.

See www.informaworld.com/smpp/title-db=all-content=g927244768



AGROFUEL

"Agrofuels" by the Filipino activist painter Boy Dominguez, water-colour on 20' x 30' illustration board, 2010. This image first appeared as cover of the Journal of Peasant Studies, vol. 37, no. 4, October 2010, special issue on the 'The Politics of Biofuels, Land and Agrarian Change' guest edited by Philip McMichael and Ian Scoones; www.informaworld.com/jps"

'The enforcement of severe laws for drug offences has not only been ineffective in curbing the production, trafficking, and consumption of illicit substances, but has generated enormous negative consequences, including overwhelming caseloads in the courts, overcrowding in the prisons, and the suffering of tens of thousands of persons behind bars for small-scale drug offenses or simple possession. The weight of the drug laws has been felt with greater force among the most disadvantaged and vulnerable sectors of society.'

From the report 'Systems Overload: Drug Laws and Prisons in Latin America'



DRUGS LAW REFORM

Current drug laws have not only failed to curb expanding drugs markets, but have led to human rights violations, crises in the judicial and penitentiary systems, the consolidation of organised crime and the marginalisation of drugs users.

In 2010, TNI continued to support efforts to advance drugs law reform around the world by facilitating the exchange of good practices and lessons learned. The programme aims to advance the decriminalisation of drugs possession for personal use, proportionality of sentences, harm reduction, effective law enforcement practices, prison reform, and drugs laws based on human rights principles. It also worked with like-minded partners to bring the UN bodies specialised in drugs issues (UNODC, CND and INCB) more in line with the wider goals of the UN system as a whole.

CREATING THE CONDITIONS FOR REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

TNI's Drug Law Reform project in Latin America is run jointly with the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). The project works closely with regional partner organisations and governments to create favourable conditions for reform. This is a complex process which often encounters serious political obstacles. To help overcome these obstacles, TNI and WOLA organise informal policy dialogues that offer experts, organisations and officials the space to 'think outside the box', share their experiences and explore alternatives. The dialogues give

people who might otherwise never have the opportunity to meet a chance to exchange information and discuss strategies in a facilitative environment. In 2010 meetings took place on several occasions with officials from the governments of Argentina, Brazil, Ecuador, Uruguay and Bolivia, all of which have been making serious efforts to reform their national drugs policies. In May WOLA, TNI and the George Washington University organised a conference in Washington DC under the title 'The Art of the Possible: Advancing Drug Policy Reforms in Latin America' featuring key drugs policy officials and experts from those five countries.

TNI's Drugs and Democracy programme seeks to replace conventional repressive drug policies with policies based on harm reduction, effective alternative development programmes and full respect for human rights. The programme has gained a reputation worldwide as a leader in drug policy research and a critical watchdog on UN drug control institutions and policies, and is advocating for a revision of the international drug control conventions.

'When they sentenced me, and it's the same for every woman they sentence, they not only sentence the person who committed the crime, they also sentence their family, they also sentence their children. [...] What can they do? Go and steal... my daughter would become a prostitute, my son would become a drugs addict, deal drugs, sell drugs.'

Analia Silva, sentenced to eight years' imprisonment in Ecuador for selling small quantities of drugs.

DRUG LAW REFORM WEBSITE LAUNCHED

In July, TNI and WOLA launched a new website on drugs law reform. The site, in English and in Spanish, offers country information on current drugs laws and trends, accessible through an interactive map on the front page. It also has a regular weblog and a 'latest news' section that is updated almost daily. A twitter account is maintained to refer people to the site when there are new publications, releases, weblogs, etc. TNI mailing lists are used to alert people on new TNI/WOLA publications. The site offers substantial background information on issues like decriminalisation, proportionality of sentences, harm reduction, reclassification of substances, human rights, regulation, and the controversy around the classification of the coca leaf.

The site launch attracted considerable media attention, being covered by the EFE news agency and featuring on the front page of *Semana* magazine in Colombia. The site received an enormous boost when Colombian Latin Rock Star Juanes, with a following of millions, tweeted TNI's Human Face videos and linked them to his own site.

The drugs law reform website has also been used by BBC News as a reference for information on the drugs law and prison situation in Latin America. By December, 11,504 unique visitors had accessed the site, with 15,613 visits and 40,064 page views.

See www.druglawreform.info

SYSTEMS OVERLOAD: DRUG LAWS AND PRISONS IN LATIN AMERICA

Research plays a major role in exposing the injustices of current drugs laws and seeking alternatives. In December TNI and WOLA published a report on a research project on the link between repressive drugs laws and overcrowding in prisons in eight Latin American countries. The study presents a statistical and analytical explanation of how harsh drugs laws impact most on the poorest and vulnerable sectors of society. The researchers conducted interviews with prisoners incarcerated on drugs charges, highlighting the human stories behind the statistics and testifying to the human rights violations that often accompany arrest and detention on drugs charges. Some initial study results were presented at a panel on drugs law reform at the 2nd Latin American Conference on Drug Policy in Rio de Janeiro in August.

As a result of a joint effort by TNI, WOLA and local partner Intercambios in advance of the launch in Buenos Aires in December, the report received wide media coverage across Latin America, generating more than 200 newspaper articles.

See report: www.tni.org/report/systems-overload-drug-laws-and-prisons-latin-america

See interviews with prisoners (*The Human Face*): www.druglawreform.info/en/publications/the-human-face/item/905-drugs-and-prisons-in-brazil

DIALOGUE TO ADVANCE DRUG POLICY REFORM IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

In April 2010, 35 experts and policy-makers convened for the second Southeast Asia Informal Drug Policy Dialogue in Bangkok, organised by TNI and the German development organisation GTZ, to exchange

views and provide a platform to discuss strategies on alternative drugs policies in the region. The attendees included government officials from Thailand, ex-government officials from India and Burma, regional representatives of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime, and a wide range of international and local NGOs working in Burma, Laos, Thailand, China and India.

The dialogue focused on five themes that are key to drugs policies in Southeast Asia: the joint ASEAN-China ACCORD programme, sustainable reduction of opium poppy cultivation, crop substitution and particularly the massive scale-up of rubber plantations, opportunities for legislative reform, and the need for harm reduction and effective drugs treatment. Following the discussions, participants made suggestions and recommendations to improve the regional response and to guide the work of TNI and GTZ in the region.

The feedback from the participants was very positive, with many seeing the dialogue as providing a unique environment for an open debate in the region and requesting that the series be continued. To enhance the impact of the dialogue, they suggested linking it to other relevant platforms and disseminating the results more widely.

ENGAGING WITH THE THAI GOVERNMENT

In many Southeast Asian countries, drugs laws are harsh and penalties disproportionately high. These repressive policies

affect the most vulnerable at both ends of the drugs trade: opium farmers and drugs users. Engaging directly with governments in the region to encourage them to review their drugs laws is challenging. Since 2009, however, TNI and the International Drug Policy Consortium have been working closely with the Thai Office of Narcotics Control Board (ONCB) on proposals to reform the country's drugs policies. The efforts focus on possibilities to start decriminalising use and the possession of drugs for personal use. In 2010, the TNI Drug Law Reform project further aimed to increase the sustainability of the work with the Thai government, as well as encouraging the engagement of civil society.

TNI also commissioned research into the production, trade and use of kratom in Thailand. Kratom, a mild psychoactive substance harvested from a tree native to Southeast Asia, has been used in the region for centuries as a herbal remedy. Although kratom is not scheduled under the UN Conventions, it is an illegal substance in Thailand, Burma and Malaysia. The main aim of the research is to collect data on the cultivation, use and policing of kratom to consider decriminalising kratom and present policy alternatives.

In November, TNI and IDPC organised a civil society consultation on drugs law reform in Burma and Thailand. The meeting, held in Bangkok, was attended by representatives of drugs users self-help groups

and local and international NGOs working on drugs-related issues in the two countries. Representatives from the ONCB were invited for one session to give local organisations a rare opportunity to discuss drugs law reform in Thailand directly with representatives of the government. Immediately following the consultation, two meetings were organised in Kunming, China, with the help of Health Poverty Action. The first focused on the use of amphetamine-type stimulants (ATS) and harm reduction, bringing together academics, users and people working in the drugs field from Thailand, Burma and China. The second meeting addressed the issue of the Chinese agricultural concessions in Burma and Laos intended to support opium substitution (see page 32 of this report).

REFORMING INTERNATIONAL DRUGS CONVENTIONS

TNI has a well-earned reputation as a watchdog on the United Nations drug control policies. The international drugs regime dates back more than a century and is embedded in three conventions. Two conventions are soon to reach significant milestones. In 2011 it will be fifty years since the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs was signed, while 2012 marks the centenary of The Hague Opium Convention. In October 2010, TNI started conducting research on scenarios for reform of the conventions. A paper is being prepared on the 1961 Convention, to be released at the March 2011 session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs. Some of the initial

research was used for a paper TNI was asked to contribute in support of the Global Commission on Drugs and Democracy, the global follow-up to the Latin American initiative by ex-presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, César Gaviria of Colombia and Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico. The paper is entitled 'The Development of International Drug Control: Lessons learned and strategic challenges for the future'.

UNSCHEDULING THE COCA LEAF

TNI continued to support the Bolivian government's proposals to amend the 1961 Single Convention. Bolivia wants to delete the reference in the treaty that forces to end the traditional practice of coca chewing. As the deadline for objections to the amendment, the end of January 2011, approached, attempts were stepped up to get it rejected. In Europe, the EU Horizontal Drug Group attempted to achieve a common EU position to reject the amendment. This attempt was unsuccessful, partially due to advocacy by TNI. Some EU countries have, however, objected unilaterally. The US has taken the initiative to form a group called 'Friends of the Convention', which aims to object to the Bolivian proposal, allegedly not because of the content of the proposed amendment but because any change would harm the 'integrity of the UN drugs control system'. The controversy on the coca amendment has made the conflict between an outdated drugs control treaty and respect for indigenous rights an issue of policy debate in the international arena.

DRUG LAW REFORM: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- Publication of TNI research on prisons generates over 200 media articles about the need for drug law reform across the Americas
- TNI serves as an advisor to the Thai government on national drug law reform
- Two seminars are held with NGOs and officials in China to discuss drug-related policies
- TNI serves as an advisor to the Global Commission on Drugs & Democracy established by three former Presidents of Brazil, Colombia and Mexico
- The Bolivian government's bid to have the coca leaf removed from the UN's list of scheduled substances finds support in Europe and Latin America

'The poorest of the poor, including many (ex-) poppy farmers, benefit least from these investments. They are losing access to land and forest, being forcibly relocated to the lowlands, left with few viable options for survival.'

From 'Alternative Development or Business as Usual?', TNI policy briefing on China's Opium Substitution Policy in Burma and Laos



DRUGS AND CONFLICT

Drugs production is closely related to local and regional conflicts around the world. The victims in these situations are invariably the poorest of the poor, often small-scale farmers who are under great pressure to stop cultivating opium poppy and coca bush but who have not been offered alternative livelihoods.

TNI and its partners work in conflict areas like the Golden Triangle in Southeast Asia and in several countries in Latin America to mitigate the impact of repressive drugs policies aimed at prohibiting drugs use and production and to seek alternatives based on harm reduction principles.

HARM REDUCTION FOR GROWERS

In a follow-up to the first worldwide farmers' summit on drugs-linked crops in Barcelona in January 2009, TNI facilitated the participation of representatives of opium growing communities in northern Burma and from coca growing areas in Colombia in the 21st International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA) conference in Liverpool, UK in April. They

spoke about how current supply control measures feed conflicts and what harm reduction strategies could be applied to mitigate that impact. It was the first time that representatives from communities involved in the cultivation of opium poppy and coca leaves were able to speak and share their concerns and recommendations at a harm reduction conference.

The session stressed that producer nations have been subjected to intense crop eradication and law enforcement initiatives for many decades, ostensibly to protect consumer nations from 'drugs' and 'addiction'. Traditional growers and peasant farmers have been branded as criminals and have borne the brunt

of the war on drugs, while their indigenous and cultural traditions have been trampled.

SUPPORTING PRODUCERS AND USERS IN SOUTHEAST ASIA

TNI's activities in Southeast Asia in 2010 were part of its longer-term project to strengthen research capacity in the region and encourage debate on humane and effective responses to the opium economy, changing consumption patterns and the high HIV prevalence rates among drugs users. The project promotes the human rights of (ex-)poppy farmers and drugs users in the region and advocates scaling up international aid to help find alternative livelihoods and improve services to drugs users.



Image: Tom Kramer

TNI holds a multi-stakeholder workshop in China on opium substitution projects in Burma

DRUGS AND CONFLICT: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- A multi-stakeholder dialogue between China and Burma has been established to discuss opium substitution policies
- Awareness has been raised among Chinese and Burmese officials of the wider implications of opium substitution policies
- Concrete drugs policy alternatives have been distributed among Chinese and Burmese officials

THE IMPACT ON THE POOR OF DRUGS CONTROL POLICIES IN THE GOLDEN TRIANGLE

In 2010, TNI continued to work with local organisations, international agencies and governments in South-east Asia to mitigate the impact of drugs control policies on producers and users in the region. The focus of this work is in the Golden Triangle, roughly the area that spans northern Burma, Thailand and Laos, from where a significant part of the opium (and its derivative, heroin) on the market in China originates. The Chinese authorities see this as a security threat and have launched opium substitution programmes in northern Burma and Laos. Chinese companies are encouraged to invest in large rubber plantations and other crops such as sugarcane, tea and corn. The decline in opium production in the region has destroyed the incomes of former poppy-growing communities without offering them adequate alternatives for survival, driving them into chronic poverty. Recent increases in opium cultivation in Burma raise serious questions about the sustainability of the decline.

In November, TNI organised a two-day informal workshop in Kunming on Chinese agribusiness in northern Burma. The workshop built on an earlier TNI-sponsored workshop in Kunming in January on China's role in rubber expansion in Burma and Laos under the opium substitution programme. It was attended by Chinese and Burmese businessmen, ceasefire group development authorities, academics and NGO representatives, and resulted in a frank discussion on many topics not addressed before by such a diverse audience.

ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT OR BUSINESS AS USUAL?

TNI Drugs Policy Briefing on China's Opium Substitution Policies in Burma and Laos

This briefing examines concerns about the long-term economic benefits and costs of rubber development in poor upland villages. The benefits are largely enjoyed by wealthier farmers who are better able to take advantage of agricultural concessions. Without access to capital and land, upland farmers have few alternatives but to work as wage labourers, and are often forced to accede to government relocation programmes.

The briefing concludes that China's opium substitution programme in Burma and Laos is driven by the procurement of favourable agricultural concessions for Chinese companies. These large-scale foreign investments are creating new forms of conflict, and the land dispossession involved has wide implications for border stability. The briefing recommends that opium substitution investments be carried out in a more sustainable, transparent, accountable and equitable way, respecting traditional land rights and local customs.

Yunnan University, with whom TNI is developing several projects on China-Burma relations, has translated this briefing into Chinese and distributed it to a number of Chinese government departments.

See briefing: www.tni.org/briefing/alternative-development-or-business-usual

SEEKING ALTERNATIVES TO THE 'WAR ON DRUGS' IN LATIN AMERICA

The drugs trade is closely linked to conflict in several Latin American countries, notably Colombia and Mexico. In both countries TNI has been involved directly or through their local partners,

trying to stimulate debate about alternatives to the militarised approach. In February the first Mexican drugs policy conference was organised by the Colectivo por una Política Integral Hacia las Drogas (CUPIHD), co-sponsored by TNI. TNI's work focuses on moving beyond the conventional 'war on drugs' approach, which is destroying livelihoods and fuelling conflicts, and towards seeking viable long-term alternatives.

THE 'MIRACLE OF SAN MARTÍN' AND SYMPTOMS OF 'ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT' IN PERU

This drugs policy briefing, written by associate researcher Hugo Cabieses, examines the Peruvian government's claims that its 'Miracle of San Martín' model is the best way to achieve drugs supply reduction. The model has four complementary components: enforced or 'voluntary' eradication of coca cultivation; securing governability and security in the zones in which the strategy is applied; coordinating the activities of the state, private entities and international cooperation; and promoting sustainable economic activities.

The briefing argues that the model is ecologically sustainable, and does not offer a path to alternative development. It recommends a strategy of integral harm reduction based on comprehensive sustainable human development, an efficient system of credit and price subsidies, and an internal market strategy that does not make crop eradication a precondition for development. See www.tni.org/briefing/miracle-san-martin-and-symptoms-alternative-development-peru



Image: Martin Jelsma

COLOMBIA: A SUCCESSFUL CASE FOR THE WAR ON DRUGS?

In this article, first published in Spanish in the Colombian edition of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, TNI Associate Fellow Dr Ricardo Vargas looks critically at the reality behind claims of journalists, academics and government officials in Colombia, the United States and elsewhere that the country has been successful in its 'war on drugs.' The article also questions whether the Colombian drugs strategy should be adopted in Mexico, where there has been a substantial increase in violence and human right offences associated with both the illegal drugs trafficking and the repressive response from the State

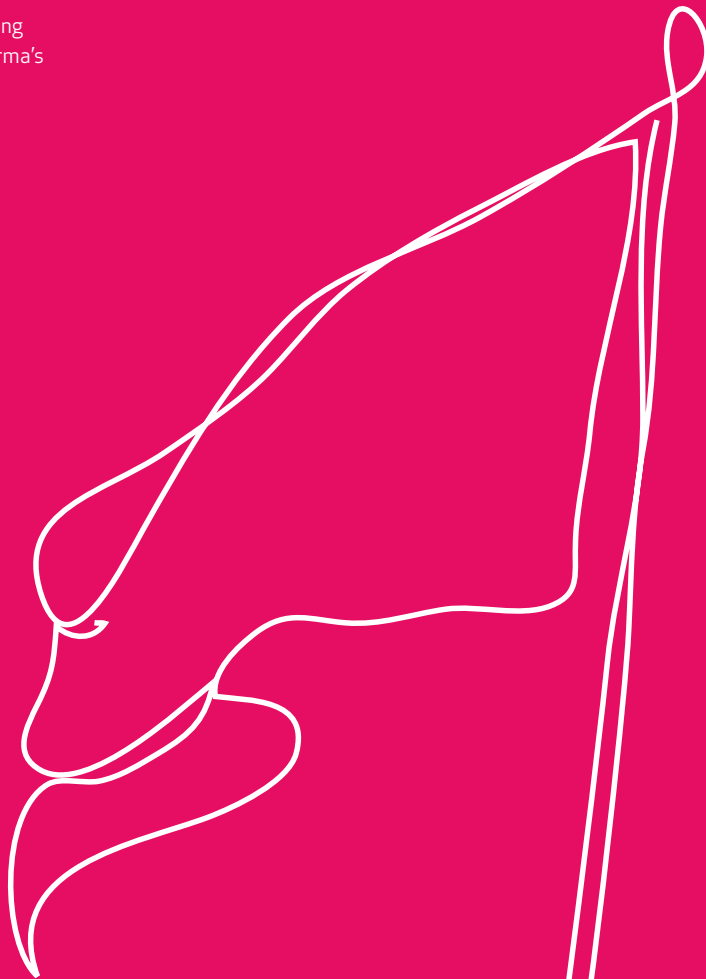
After debunking the statistics that are used to back up the 'success story' claims – an argument that Vargas also elaborated on in a TNI drugs policy briefing earlier in the year – the article describes the array of vested interests in Colombia that benefit from the US-led war on drugs. Faced with a complex alliance of large drugs trafficking networks, rural landowners and the wealthy elite, and violent 'emerging bands' linked to paramilitary groups, the Santos government – which is seemingly sympathetic to a less repressive strategy on drugs – is faced with a difficult task.

Vargas concludes that, with the situation in Colombia by no means resolved, it is a disservice to offer it as a solution to other countries, like Mexico, facing a surge in drugs-trade related crime and conflict.

See www.tni.org/article/colombia-successful-case-war-drugs and www.tni.org/briefing/statistics-bazaar

'The international community should support the range of actors in Burma in their efforts to promote political change, including political parties that participated in the elections and ceasefire groups. It should also develop policies that support efforts aimed at preventing a new phase in the 60-year insurgency, and that promote peace and equitable development.'

From TNI policy briefing 'A Changing Ethnic Landscape: Analysis of Burma's 2010 Polls'



ENHANCING HUMAN SECURITY

People around the world face threats to their physical safety as a result of conflict and social tensions. In 2010, TNI's researchers, fellows and partners continued to work to enhance human security by addressing these threats at international, regional, national and community levels.

BURMA AT THE CROSSROADS

2010 was a defining year for Burma (Myanmar). The ruling State Peace and Development Council (SPDC) organised the country's first general elections in 20 years. With ethnic conflict defining Burma's political landscape for decades, the burning question was whether the elections would herald a new era of democracy or the next chapter in the one-party rule of the SPDC.

In February, TNI and BCN organised a strategic seminar in Bangkok on 'Ethnic Crises in Burma: Opportunities for Change'. The informal seminar was the first of a series of meetings to provide space for strategic thinking on the ethnic conflict in Burma and to formulate alternative policy options. It was attended by representatives of ethnic groups and international experts. The meeting resulted in agreement to organise advocacy missions to Europe in June and the US in July.

In June, three ethnic nationality delegates from Burma visited Oslo, London, Copenhagen, Amsterdam, the Hague and Berlin, meeting government officials, parliamentarians, NGOs, journalists and Burma campaign organisations. The July mission, which brought two ethnic delegates from Burma to the US, was organised together with the Center for Conflict and Peace Studies in Cambodia and hosted by the UN Quaker Office in New York, the American Friends Service Committee and Refugees International in Washington.



TNI facilitated a mission to Europe and the US for delegates from three ethnic minority groups in advance of elections in Burma

GIVING ETHNIC GROUPS A VOICE

TNI works with the Burma Centrum Nederland to stimulate strategic thinking on the ethnic conflict in Burma and give a voice to ethnic groups who have until now been ignored and isolated in the international debate on the country. To respond to the challenges of the future, TNI and BCN believe it is crucial to formulate practical policy options that national and international actors can support.

Throughout 2010, TNI/BCN published a series of policy briefings on Burma policy. The briefings monitored the election process and placed it in the

SECURITY AND CONFLICT: ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2010

- Minority ethnic voices from within the country that were ignored in the past are being heard in international debates on Burma
- The concerns of minority ethnic groups have been raised among all actors in Burma
- The four reports produced have contributed to a more common understanding of the issues across the political spectrum in Burma

context of ongoing issues that are crucial to Burma's future, including the ethnic conflict, humanitarian aid, political and economic dynamics in the region, and dilemmas surrounding engagement with the military regime.

ELECTIONS FLAWED BUT SIGNIFICANT

A policy briefing published in December concluded that the elections, held the previous month, had not been free and fair, and that the vote count had been manipulated even more than had been feared. Although this severely limited opposition representation in the national and regional parliaments and damaged the credibility of the new government, the briefing emphasised the significance of the elections as part of a longer-term process to achieve the multi-ethnic, multi-party democratic state defined in Burma's 2008 constitution. It remains to be seen, however, whether they will be considered a step forward in political reform or become the basis for new grievances. The briefing calls on the new government to move the process forward by opening political space in the country, releasing political prisoners, protecting basic freedoms and seeking lasting solutions to the ethnic conflicts.

TNI and BCN are urging the UN and the international community not to isolate Burma and to support actors in the country who are working to promote political change, including political parties that participated in the elections and ceasefire groups.

The challenge for the new Burmese government in 2011 is to introduce a new political system in the country in which ethnic peace and multi-party democracy can take root. As the first policy briefing of 2011 on the elections concludes: 'The stakes could not be higher. The decisions made by Burma's leaders in the coming year could well decide the country's future for a generation.' See the new TNI-BCN Burma project website at www.tni.org/work-area/burma-project

URBAN POOR FORCED TO 'MIGRATE INTO ILLEGALITY'

Many communities in insecure and informal urban settlements around the world are facing serious challenges to human security in the absence of the rule of law, state security protection and governance. This is particularly true in developing countries where few resources are available for a secure environment and where insecurity of tenure and precarious economic opportunities are widespread. As a consequence, around half of the world's people live in fragile informal spheres without access to legal protection forcing them to 'migrate into illegality' to survive.

This was the main message of a paper published in March, entitled 'The Impact of Militia Actions on Public Security Policies in Rio de Janeiro', which explored the recent upsurge of extreme urban violence in Rio de Janeiro. Researchers Paulo Jorge Ribeiro and Rosane Oliveira discovered that the militias – well-organised vigilante groups

of rogue, dismissed or retired police officers, firemen and prison guards – that have been hitting the headlines are only the most recent manifestation of a problem of urban insecurity that has much deeper historical roots. The scenario they describe in Rio portrays problems with urban security that spread far beyond Brazil's self-proclaimed 'wonderful city'.

The main fear for today's slum-dwellers is violence and crime, often related to drugs-trafficking and exacerbated by their social marginalisation. With the state unable to guarantee law and order, markets of violence 'govern' the resulting power vacuum. Security becomes a private commodity and those supplying it can operate with impunity. Parallel power systems and a complex and reciprocal network of protection and clientelism emerge, which are very difficult to eradicate once they are established.

The militias justify their own violence on the pretext of combating drugs gangs. Yet their ultimate goal is profit, by levying security taxes on inhabitants, business and services. This causes violent disputes among competing militias, adding another dimension to the violence already prevalent between and among drugs gangs and the police.

See www.tni.org/briefing/impact-militia-actions-public-security-policies-rio-de-janeiro



Image: Tom Kramer

PROVIDING EXPERT ANALYSIS AROUND THE WORLD

TNI's fellowship continued to provide expert analysis on security and conflict issues around the world. Around 10 articles in English and four in Spanish were produced and disseminated every month to over 7,000 subscribers to TNI News. Many were published or quoted in leading printed and online media outlets including *The Asia Times*, *The Guardian*, *Al Jazeera* and many others. Here is just a small selection:

Phyllis Bennis spent much of 2010 helping to build and providing resources for the rising movement in the U.S. challenging the war in Afghanistan and published *Ending the War in Afghanistan: A Primer* (Olive Branch Press, January 2010).

Jochen Hippler spoke at conferences on the Pakistan Taliban and co-edited the *State of Peace Yearbook 2010* (May 2010).

Mariano Aguirre has been promoting work and establishing networks on conflicts around the world, including Afghanistan, Haiti, Israel-Palestine and Sudan.

Achin Vanaik was actively involved in the tenth anniversary of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace in December. CNDP is currently involved in solidarity work with the struggle of residents in Jaitapur (Maharashtra, India) against government plans to build six untested French Areva reactors in the area.

Kamil Mahdi has been working on a soon-to-be-released book, *Oil and Oil Policy in Iraq, Past and Present* (Pluto Press), which examines the history of a century of conflict over Iraq's oil.



Image: Tom Kramer

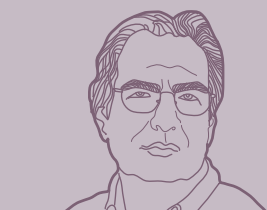
TNI Fellowship 2010

In 2010, there were 20 members of TNI's prestigious international fellowship programme. A number of the fellows are directors or senior associates of other research and advocacy institutes while others are academics or independent scholars. All are directly involved with social justice movements in their own countries and are committed to an internationalist perspective.

Fellows participate in the shaping of the overall programme of the institute, help connect TNI to networks in their own countries and regions, develop joint projects between TNI and their own institutes, offer media outlets to TNI, promote the institute and each other, assist with fundraising and represent the Institute internationally. They meet annually in Amsterdam.

TNI fellows may be nominated through any existing fellow or staff member. Fellowships are renewable depending on contributions to TNI over the past three years and ongoing relevance to the programme.

CURRENT FELLOWS



MARIANO AGUIRRE

Managing Director of the Norwegian Peace Building Centre, Oslo, Norway as of 2009. Undertook research and established networks on Afghanistan, Haiti, Israel-Palestine and Sudan.



DR. MARCOS ARRUDA

Coordinator of Políticas Alternativas Para O Cone Sul (PACS), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Co-authored a publication outlining demands for economic and social transformation by Brazilian social movements, People's Project for Brazil that was publicised during national elections.



PROFESSOR WALDEN BELLO

Elected as a Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines in 2010 for the Akbayan Party. He remains a senior analyst with Focus on the Global South.



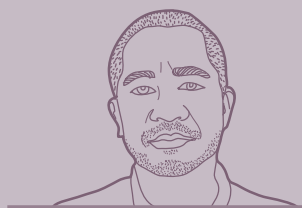
PHYLLIS BENNIS

Director of the New Internationalism project and Research Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, DC, USA. Published Ending the US War in Afghanistan: A Primer and continued providing resources and analysis for anti-war movements.



PRAFUL BIDWAI

Independent journalist, New Delhi, India. Published An India That Can Say Yes: A Climate-Responsible Development Agenda for Copenhagen and Beyond and wrote frequent columns on Indian politics, development, the nuclear industry and corporate power.



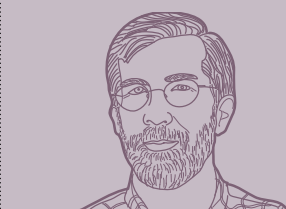
DR. SATURNINO 'JUN' BORRÁS JR.

Canada Research Chair in International Development Studies at Saint Mary's University, Canada and editor of Journal of Peasant Studies. Established two key networks - the Land Deal Politics Initiative (LDPI) and Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), and wrote a number of important papers on the phenomenon of land grabbing



BRID BRENNAN

Coordinator Trade, Investment and Development Programme, TNI.



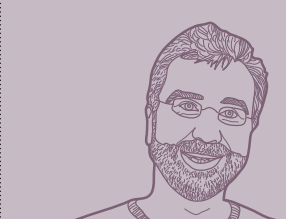
JOHN CAVANAGH

Director of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, DC, USA. Helped establish a "New Economy Working Group" to put forward proposals to transform our economies based on three principles: ecological balance, equitable distribution and living democracy.



DR. DANIEL CHAVEZ

Co-ordinator, New Politics and Public Services Programmes, TNI. Appointed Senior Lecturer at the International Institute of Social Studies and led research on alternatives to electricity privatisation across Latin America for TNI within the Municipal Services Project, a collaborative project of Rhodes and Queens Universities in South Africa and Canada respectively.



DR. JOCHEN HIPPLER

Researcher at the University of Duisburg, Peace and Development Institute. Co-published the influential, State of Peace Yearbook 2010 along with four other peace institutes in Germany.

**MARTIN JELSMA**

Co-ordinator, Drugs & Democracy Programme, TNI, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.

**DR. KAMIL MAHDI**

Honorary Visiting Fellow at the Middle East Centre of the London School of Economics. Worked on a new book, Oil and Oil Policy in Iraq, Past and Present.

**MYRIAM VANDER STICHELE**

Senior Researcher, Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations, Amsterdam. Produced a number of publications on the failures to re-regulate the financial industry after the economic crisis and the dangers this poses for developing countries.

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS**DR. GONZALO BERRÓN**

Sociologist, Political Advisor for the Trade Union Confederation of the Américas, in São Paulo, Brazil.

**DR. BORIS KAGARLITSKY**

Director, Institute for Globalisation and Social Movements, Moscow. Organised conferences on the global crisis, the WTO, and the rise of fascism in Russia.

**DR. JOEL ROCAMORA**

Appointed convenor of the Philippines National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC) in the Office of the President of the Republic of the Philippines.

**PROF. HOWARD WACHTEL**

Professor of Economics at the American University, Washington, DC, USA.

**DR. TOM REIFER**

Assistant Professor of Sociology and Ethnic Studies, University of San Diego. Published on indefinite imprisonment and torture, financial crisis and the future of the global system.

**DOT KEET**

Senior Research Associate at the Alternative Information and Development Centre, Cape Town. Continued to work with African social movements opposing EU EPAs.

**PROF. ACHIN VANAİK**

Professor of International Relations and Global Politics at Delhi University, India. Co-edited book on Contemporary India and co-organised a major international conference on 'The Global Crisis and Hegemonic Dilemmas'.

**DR. HILARY WAINWRIGHT**

Senior Research Associate at the International Centre for Participation Studies at the University of Bradford, UK and New Politics researcher, TNI. Wrote, spoke and engaged with trade unions and social movements struggling for alternatives to privatisation across the world.

**PAULINE TIFFEN**

Social Entrepreneur, IP and Labour Rights Consultant. Worked with Maasai leaders on intellectual property rights.

**DR. EDGARDO LANDER**

Professor of Social Sciences at Universidad Central de Venezuela. Played coordinating role at the Cochabamba Peoples' Summit.

**DR. RICARDO VARGAS**

TNI/Acción Andina research co-ordinator in Colombia. Published The Statistics Bazaar, on the manipulation of statistics in the war on drugs in Colombia.

Fellows Meeting Their Crises, Our Solutions

The annual TNI Fellows' meeting in Amsterdam in June brought together more than 40 activist scholars to discuss global issues using the framework provided by TNI Board Director Susan George's new book *Their Crises, Our Solutions*. The lively debates at TNI's offices (summarised below) were accompanied by a well-attended public event on the future of aid in De Balie, a central Amsterdam venue.

THEIR CRISES: OUR SOLUTIONS SUSAN GEORGE

A group of financial and economic elites, the Davos class, has caused a multiple and systemic crisis, in particular through vesting enormous power in the financial sector. Global responses to the crisis have not tackled the deeper structural causes, so it is destined to reoccur. Yet the Left has also been very timid and ineffective in providing alternatives.

CRISIS IN EUROPE: GLOBAL IMPLICATIONS

COSTAS LAPAVITSAS, MYRIAM VAN DER STICHELE, HOWARD WACHTEL

Over \$2.5 trillion has been spent in the US on the bailout with very little to show for it. Meanwhile private banks are back with record profits, subsidised again by low interest rates by the Federal Reserve. In Europe, the crisis of the Euro has exposed the structural weaknesses of a currency that bridges core and periphery countries, relies on a Central Bank without a treasury behind it, and is dependent on suppressing wages. To tackle the

crisis, austerity is being promoted as a political project to further undermine the public sector and the state; yet this is only likely to make an economic crisis even deeper.

THE EAST-SOUTH AXIS VS THE NORTH-SOUTH AXIS

JAN NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, PHYLLIS BENNIS AND KAMIL MAHDI

The BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India and China) each now have about 3% of global GDP and foreign assets which are six times the assets of IMF. This is potentially emancipatory if smaller countries can use the contradictions and tensions among a broader number of powerful countries to increase their own bargaining power. However it also incorporates major challenges, in particular the failure of the BRIC countries to incorporate their peasantry in economic development and to develop ecologically sustainable models of growth. Transnational companies based in the South show the same predatory and destructive habits as their Northern counterparts.

FROM COPENHAGEN TO COCHABAMBA AND BEYOND

NICK BUXTON, EDGARDO LANDER AND PRAFUL BIDWAI

In the aftermath of the failure of Copenhagen's UN climate conference, Bolivia launched a historic initiative for a Peoples' Climate Conference in Cochabamba, Bolivia in April 2010. One of the debates this opened up, rooted in an indigenous

vision, was a profound critique of limitless growth and a recognition that nature has rights. This is a vision that challenges western concepts that have separated man from nature, but it is a necessary one to tackle the environmental crisis. How can these new ideas be translated into policies that tackle issues of jobs, and the need to act urgently in response to a worsening climate crisis?

THE NEW EU SECURITY POLICY

PATRICK COSTELLO WITH BEN HAYES

In 2008, EU's Security Policy was revised, shifting its prior focus on terrorism and weapons of mass destruction to a greater focus on climate change and refugees. This has led to an increasing militarisation of migration policy and greater use of aid to North African states to try and prevent refugee movements. However the European Union as a whole is in a state of political flux, with increased powers going to the European Parliament, major power struggles between institutions and states, and the inability for any one political tendency to dominate the whole EU – all of which provides openings for strategic victories for progressive groups.

THE FLOTILLA CRISIS AND THE MIDDLE EAST

PHYLLIS BENNIS & JAN NEDERVEEN PIETERSE

The storming of the anti-blockade flotilla by Israeli troops (which happened a few days prior to the Fellows meeting) further isolated Israel, and its main backer, the US.

It also marks growing opposition to US government support for Israeli apartheid policies by the US public, giving added momentum to the Boycott-Divestment-Sanctions movement (BDS). While there is a disturbing rise in the far right in Israel, reflected in the politics of Foreign Minister Lieberman, it is counter-balanced by the fact that in polls 60% of the Israeli population support a two-state solution.

ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS

DISCUSSED DURING THE MEETING

- Socialise the banks and oblige them to lend to social & green projects.
- End freedom for capital flows and reintroduce rigorous regulation of financial markets
- Introduce Financial Transaction Tax with revenues divided between climate mitigation, social investment and tackling poverty
- Support alternative currency systems to the US dollar
- Work with trade unions on green conversion plans for fossil-fuel dependent industries
- Public audit of the debts in Greece, Ireland other Eurozone crisis countries
- Take advantage of power of emerging new economies (BRICS) to increase political and economic leverage of African and low-income nations
- Embrace and deepen work on alternatives to 'green capitalism' based on indigenous visions of Vivir Bien (Live Well)
- Work more closely with European Parliament, which has increased political power after the Lisbon Treaty, to push for changes in trade and investment policy.

TNI Outreach in 2010

An estimated **7,890** people participated in TNI co-organised events

TNI WEBSITE

Visitors to TNI's website spent twice as long on the site

There were **319,311** visitors to TNI's website, who viewed pages **675,662** times

The number of average pages viewed by per visitor increased by **8%**

The ratio of visitors to content update increased by **81%**

TNI PRESS OUTREACH

Citations of TNI in the press increased from **250** articles in

2009 to **447** articles in **2010** – up **78%**. This included BBC, The Guardian, Irish Times, Asia Times, Reuters, El País, The Christian Science Monitor.

ENLAZANDO ALTERNATIVAS

2,000 people participated representing **250** organisations from **45** countries.

107 journalists registered for the event.

The website attracted **31,500** visitors in the peak month, and averaged **15,000** a month throughout the year.

ASIA-EUROPE PEOPLE'S FORUM

508 people participated, representing **320** organisations from **37** countries.

RECLAIM PUBLIC WATER NETWORK

Membership grew from **170** to **211** organisations in **40** countries, an increase of **23%** – largely due to new affiliations from North Africa

14 language editions of the Reclaim Public Water book were published by **2010**

TNI IN 2010

AMSTERDAM STAFF

DIRECTOR

Fiona Dove

ADMINISTRATIVE MANAGER

Kees Kimman

BOOKKEEPING

Randy Meyer (volunteer)

Els van den Ende (volunteer)

SECRETARIAT

Kathleen Anderson

Tessa Kersten (volunteer)

BUILDING MAINTENANCE

Clemens Mentink (volunteer)

COMMUNICATIONS

Nina Brenjo (Manager)

Aleksej Scira (Web support)

Melissa Wilson (Web Editor)

Andrea Sturkenboom (Dutch outreach)

COMPUTER AND NETWORK SUPPORT

Albi Janssen

Allal Yacoubi/Martin Pruijser

PROJECT STAFF

Amira Armenta

Tom Blickman

Brid Brennan

Dr Daniel Chavez

Martin Jelsma

Ernestien Jensema

Satoko Kishimoto

Pien Metaal

Cecilia Olivet

Pietje Vervest

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Nick Buxton USA

Ross Eventon UK

Dr Jenny Franco Canada

Lucia Goldfarb Argentina

Tom Kramer The Netherlands

Karen Lang Brazil

Beatriz Martinez Spain

Kristel Mucino Mexico/USA

Paulina Novo The Netherlands

Dr Ricardo Sóberon Peru

AD HOC CONSULTANTS

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Luciana Boiteux de Figueiredo

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Sandra Edwards Ecuador

Dr David Fig South Africa

Giorgina Garibotto Camps Uruguay

Diego Giacoman Aramayo Bolivia

Ana Paula Hernández Mexico

Jorge Hernandez Tinajero Mexico

Dr Mireille Hoenicke Germany

Genevieve Horwood UK

Bahar Kimyongür Belgium

Dr Maria Theresa Mendonça Brazil

José Henrique Rodrigues Torres

Brazil

Pascal Tanguay Thailand

Dr Suzanne Taschereau Canada

Claudia Torrelli Uruguay

Graciela Touzé Argentina

Kenneth Tupper Canada

INTERNS

Ross Eventon UK

Marta Bescansa Rodriguez Spain

FELLOWS

Mariano Aguirre Spain

Dr Marcos Arruda Brazil

Prof Walden Bello Philippines/Thailand

Phyllis Bennis USA

Praful Bidwai India

Dr Jun Borrás Canada

Brid Brennan Ireland/The

Netherlands

John Cavanagh USA

Dr Daniel Chavez Uruguay

Dr Jochen Hippler Germany

Martin Jelsma The Netherlands

Dr Boris Kagarlitsky Russia

Dot Keet South Africa

Dr Edgardo Lander Venezuela

Dr Kamil Mahdi Iraq/UK

Dr Joel Rocamora Philippines

Prof Achin Vanaik India

Myriam Vander Stichele Belgium/

The Netherlands

Prof Howard Wachtel USA

Dr Hilary Wainwright UK

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS

Dr Gonzalo Berrón Brazil

Dr Tom Reifer USA

Pauline Tiffen UK

Dr Ricardo Vargas Colombia

SENIOR FELLOWS

Dr Saul Landau USA

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Peter Weiss USA

Roger van Zwanenburg UK

OBITUARIES

Clemens "Jackara" Mentink (1953-2010)

TNI's volunteer handyman. Clemens was born in Indonesia, grew up in Australia and spent his last years in the Netherlands, his parents' native land. Walk-about and homelessness defined much of his eventful life, giving him deep knowledge of life at the edges. A warm hearted and selfless man, Clemens was welcomed into the bosom of TNI when he volunteered as our handyman in 2007. We miss him dearly.

Martin Pruijser (1951-2010)

Martin was TNI's Computer Consultant for a brief period. A life-long activist, Martin dedicated his many talents to the service of a number of non-profit organisations. He was bookkeeper for one, webmaster for many and computer consultant for TNI. An aficionado of the Portuguese revolution, one-time Communist and motorbike enthusiast, we still miss him.

FINANCE

BALANCE SHEET 2010, December 31

Full audited financial reports are available
from the TNI office on request

	Dec 31 '10 (in Euros)	Dec 31 '09 (in Euros)
ASSETS		
Fixed assets	2.137.698	2.194.773
Current assets:		
Outstanding receivables	592.814	807.387
Cash	957.348	762.414
TOTAL ASSETS	3.687.860	3.764.574
LIABILITIES		
Equity:		
Balance previous year	1.132.963	981.099
Correction to the opening balance	-40.844	
Samuel Rubin Young Scholars Fund	5.458	
Result current year	-174.275	151.864
	923.302	1.132.963
<i>Provisions</i>	14.723	14.410
Long term liabilities (loan)	1.731.645	1.739.634
CURRENT LIABILITIES		
Redemption mortgage due in coming year	7.776	1.848
Project balance	505.960	121.484
Grants next year	258.891	561.207
Accounts payable	114.797	56.891
Wage withholding tax	46.886	37.739
Provision vacationpay	55.581	32.761
Security on rent	11.082	11.282
Other current liabilities	17.217	54.356
TOTAL LIABILITIES	3.687.860	3.764.575
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT		
INCOME		
Grants	2.003.683	984.644
Rent and Service Charges	157.410	162.586
Interest/currency gains and losses	33.128	11.145
Publications & royalties	132	510
Salary subsidies	11.974	12.492
Miscellaneous income	47.888	294.148
Project balance current year	-384.476	608.314
TOTAL INCOME	1.869.739	2.073.839
EXPENDITURE		
Personnel	786.381	854.416
Building expenses	214.671	202.124
Activity costs	833.421	432.674
Fellowship	25.038	3.530
Office & Communication costs	50.038	107.407
Publication & Outreach activities	117.835	270.811
Samuel Rubin Next Generation	2.130	6.178
World Social Forum	10	33.741
Organisational Development	9.032	11.094
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	2.038.556	1.921.975
BALANCE	-168.817	151.864

2010 DONORS

OXFAM NOVIB

The Netherlands: € 668.008

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY INSTITUTE

Switzerland: € 509.990

EUROPEAN COMMISSION

European Union: € 300.036

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Denmark: € 177.210

ICCO

The Netherlands: € 67.320

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Ireland: € 50.000

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AGENCY

Sweden: € 49.353

NORWEGIAN FOREIGN MINISTRY

Norway: € 39.342

GESELLSCHAFT FÜR TECHNISCHE ZUSAMMENARBEIT*

Germany: € 38.287

CORDAID

The Netherlands: € 20.000

DUTCH MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The Netherlands: € 20.000

TROCAIRE

Ireland: € 4.000

* Since January 2011 GTZ changed its name into GIZ: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit.

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Ministry of Foreign Affairs (The Netherlands)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Norway)
Oxfam Novib (The Netherlands)
Samuel Rubin Foundation (USA)
Swedish International Development Association (Sweden)
Trociare (Ireland)

ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS

INTERNATIONAL
Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF)
Europe-Latin America Bi-regional network
European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA)
Food First International Action Network (FIAN)
Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy (REDFAL)
Friends of the Earth International (FOEI)
Municipal Services Project
International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC)
International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA)
International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD)

International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC)
International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)
Our World Is Not For Sale (OWINFS)
People's Global Action on Migration, Development & Human Rights
Public Services International (PSI)
Reclaim Public Water Network
Seattle to Brussels Network
Vía Campesina
Vienna NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs

AFRICA

Africa Trade Network
African Water Network

GHANA

National Coalition Against Privatisation

MOZAMBIQUE

Uniao Nacional de Camponeses (UNAC)

SOUTH AFRICA

Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC)
Amandla magazine
Coalition against Water Privatisation
Dpt of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu Natal
Dpt of Development Studies, University of Cape Town
Institute for Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University
Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of Western Cape
Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE)

ASIA & OCEANIA

Asian Harm Reduction Network
Asia Floor Wage Alliance
Focus on the Global South

BURMA

Many organisations which cannot be named

CHINA

Health Poverty Action
Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy (IATP)
Yunnan University

KOREA

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions

INDONESIA

AMRTA Institute for Water Literacy
Indonesia Popular Governance Institute

INDIA

Centre of Excellence for Change (CEC)
New Trade Union Initiative

MALAYSIA

Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation (MSN)

PHILIPPINES

Institute for Popular Democracy

THAILAND

Forum Asia
Mae Fah Luang Foundation

VIETNAM

Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation

AMERICAS

Hemispheric Social Alliance Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy
La Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores/as de las Americas

Plataforma de Acuerdos de Cooperación Públicos y Comunitarios
Red Vida

ARGENTINA

Fundación de Investigaciones Sociales y Políticas (FYSIP)
Grupo de Reflexión Rural (GRR)
Intercambios
Water and Sanitation Works Trade Union of the Province of Buenos Aires

BOLIVIA

Fondacion Solon
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

BRAZIL

Rede Brasileira pela Integração dos Povos (REBRIP)
Alert Against the Green Desert Movement
ASSEMAE (National Association of Municipal Sanitation Services)
CIDADE, Porto Alegre
Terra de Direitos

CANADA

Blue Planet Project
Council of Canadians
Queens University

COLOMBIA

Acción Andina
Censat Agua Viva
Centro de Estudios de Derecho Justicia y Sociedad (DeJusticia)

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
Federación Dominicana de Municipio (FEDOMU)

MEXICO

Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC)
Colectivo por una Política Integral hacia las Drogas (CUPIHD)

PERÚ

Federación Nacional de Trabajadores del Agua Potable y Alcantarillado del Peru (FENTAP)
Centro de Investigación Drogas y Derechos Humanos (CIDDH)

UNITED STATES

Drug Policy Alliance (DPA)
Food and Water Watch
Mission for the Plurinational State of Bolivia, New York
Institute for Policy Studies (IPS)
Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)

URUGUAY

Friends of the Earth Uruguay (REDES)
Junta Nacional de Drogas (JND)

EUROPE/MIDDLE EAST

European Trade Union Confederation
RESPECT Network
Seattle to Brussels Network
Transform Europe
Women in Development Europe (WIDE)

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Belgian Decent Work Coalition
Belgian Platform on Health and Solidarity
Centre National de la Coopération au Développement (CNCD)
Corporate Europe Observatory

CZECH REPUBLIC

Glopolis

FINLAND

Finnish AEPF Committee
Siemenpuu

Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

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Espaces Marx

GERMANY

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EuroMemorandum Group
Euro-Mediterranean Centrum voor Migratie & Ontwikkeling
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Fort van Sjakoo bookshop
Harm Reduction Platform Netherlands
Institute for Social Studies

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