

# Annual Report 2006



TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

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# MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

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Breakthroughs on the public policy front were a major highlight of 2006 for TNI. At the hugely successful *Enlazando Alternativas* in Vienna, attended by over 1,500 delegates from Europe and Latin America, we had the presidents of Venezuela and Bolivia and the vice-president of Cuba join us for the final session, with follow up invitations from these and other Latin American governments to further dialogues on a range of development policy matters. We also co-hosted a major conference on the economic policies of Mercosur governments in Uruguay, attended by high level government officials, senators, parliamentarians and policy advisors. Meanwhile, the similarly successful Asia-Europe People's Forum in Helsinki saw the Finnish Foreign Minister address the Forum, the Prime Minister receive a delegation from the Forum, and an official EU-commissioned report acknowledge the challenges posed by the AEPF for both the inter-governmental Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) and its official civil society body the Asia-Europe Forum (ASEF). The fruits of 10 years of lobbying by the AEPF also showed in the invitation to dialogue at the ASEM Labour Ministers' meeting in Vietnam and the subsequent incorporation of some AEPF proposals in its final declaration.

The Swiss government co-hosted with TNI the third annual Informal Drug Policy Dialogue, attracting representatives from UN agencies, the European Commission and a number of governments, mainly from Europe and Latin America. TNI was subsequently invited to join the official Dutch delegation to the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs, held a number of policy dialogues with the Dutch government on the question of Afghanistan, and was invited to participate in major policy dialogues in the UK and Germany. The latter involved sixty of the major international players in the drugs and development policy field. The results of our work over the past ten years are now beginning to show in European policy documents.

As regards our work on public services, this year saw important strides in the development of the public-public partnerships (PuPs) approach to improving access to water and sanitation, which TNI and partners have been advocating. TNI co-hosted a successful symposium on this theme in parallel to the World Water Forum in Mexico. Our materials were quoted several times in the UNDP's Human Development Report 2006, and the UN Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation proposed the launch of a mechanism to facilitate PuPs. We saw concrete commitments to such PuPs emerge from public water utilities in Brazil, Bolivia, Uruguay, Argentina and Peru in 2006, and indications of interest in France and Spain.

TNI was busier than ever in 2006, (co) organising a total of 77 international events involving 10,560 participants. These took place variously in The Netherlands, Spain, Greece, Finland, Austria, Hungary, Switzerland, United Kingdom, Venezuela, Uruguay, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Puerto Rico, United States, Canada, India, and the Philippines. They included activities conducted under the auspices of the World Social Forum process in Venezuela, India, Athens and The Netherlands; as well as the Asia-Europe People's Forum, the EU-Latin America and Caribbean "Enlazando Alternativas", the Madison Dialogue on Latin American politics, and the annual Informal Drug Policy Dialogue. TNI also (co) published two new books as well as translations of five previously published books; five briefing papers; three reports and a multilingual magazine supplement for distribution within Europe. Furthermore, we actively promoted the seven books and 285 articles authored by our fellows. We are particularly proud of the success of our *Reclaim Public Water* book, first published in English in 2005, and now translated into Bahasa, Spanish, Italian and Korean, with further translations into Finnish, Japanese, French, Chinese, Tamil, Hindi and Malayalam now underway.

We held our annual fellows' meeting on China, being privileged to have an opportunity to engage with Chaohua Wang, acclaimed author of *One China, Many Paths* and academics and activists from within China. Chinese NGOs are now official observers to the AEPF International Council, and 27 Chinese organisations participated in the AEPF in Helsinki. TNI has subsequently undertaken a mission to China, and is beginning a programme of training and dialogue with Chinese NGOs.

In memory of our dear late friend and colleague, we inaugurated the annual Basker Vashee Memorial lecture on African politics in

June, also dedicating the TNI library to his memory. Dr Alex Magaisa, a political commentator and economist from Zimbabwe, gave the inaugural lecture at de Balie in Amsterdam.

On the staffing front, we bade a sad farewell to Helen Vredeveld, Heidi Bachram and Annemarie Oostenbrink. Annemarie was given a particularly fond send-off on retiring as our bookkeeper after 17 years service with TNI. We welcomed to the team Environmental Justice project assistant Kevin Smith, Rural New Politics project manager Daniel Gómez and Communications Officer Oscar Reyes. The full staff complement stood at 18.9 in 2006, excluding our regular freelance staff. We took on six interns, mainly from Spain and the United States. Three talented young people were supported by TNI's Next Generation programme to do work complementary to TNI's current programme. Their work is to be published by TNI in 2007.

TNI had an income of Euro 1.909 million in 2006, down 16 per cent on the previous year – which had been a particularly good one as it included an extremely generous gift from our long-time friend, advisor and landlord, Hermann von Hatzfeldt. We effectively overspent Euro 10,376 in 2006 (a 0.5 per cent rate of over-expenditure) though the figure in our accounts is higher due to a legal obligation to post as a cost the depreciation in the value of our building.

On behalf of the Institute, I thank all staff, fellows, contracted researchers, partners and funders for their contributions to another very successful year for TNI.

Fiona Dove  
Director



# Alternative regionalisms

**The Alternative Regionalisms programme addresses the question of alternative development from the perspective of social movements and regional coalitions of civil society organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. It facilitates cross-regional exchanges on a South-South and South-North basis through a series of Peoples' Dialogues.**

TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme is a joint initiative with the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA, Americas), the Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis (Ibase), the Alternative Development and Information Centre (AIDC, South Africa), the Southern African People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN), and Focus on the Global South (Asia). Its activities in 2006 have been built around a series of Peoples' Dialogues and summits aimed at strengthening regional development and enhancing the capacity of social movements and civil society organisations to influence and shape regional governance.

With the WTO at an impasse, this work could not be more timely. The US and EU both hotly pursuing bilateral and bi-regional agreements. The EU's 'global Europe' strategy, launched in October 2006, places trade and investment liberalisation at the core of its future strategy. In response, civil society networks in the South and Europe have stepped up their efforts to articulate alternatives.

## **Linking alternatives in a new era of EU-LAC relations**

TNI was centrally involved in the organisation of the

"Linking Alternatives 2" (Enlazando Alternativas 2, EA2) social summit. This was held in Vienna, Austria from 10 to 13 May, in parallel to the Fourth EU- Latin America Caribbean (LAC) Heads of State and Government summit. More than 1,500 delegates from over 200 organisations in the EU and LAC regions attended the summit, which was organised around five major thematic seminars: free trade agreements; political dialogue; development co-operation; peace and militarisation; and regional integration. These were accompanied by numerous workshops and network meetings, ranging in scope from drugs to water justice.

At the core of the social summit, the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal (PPT) organised a hearing on European transnational corporations (TNCs), documenting their widespread human and labour rights violations in both the EU and LAC regions. Twenty-seven cases covering five thematic areas – natural resources, public services, agriculture, labour and finance – were presented by 40 witnesses and experts. TNI co-ordinated the documentation for these Tribunal hearings. An executive summary of each case has been posted on the website [www.peoplesdialogue.org](http://www.peoplesdialogue.org), with publications on each specific area to follow in 2007.

The panel of jurors included distinguished economists, lawyers, feminists, environmentalists, writers and academics. It was chaired by Professor Elmar Altwater, and TNI Fellow Susan George was among the jurors. The resulting indictment will lead to a further process of hearings in 2007, culminating in a comprehensive session of the PPT at the next EU-LAC social summit in Lima in May 2008.

The EA2 summit concluded with a dialogue between civil society organisations (CSOs), including TNI Fellow Brid Brennan, and government leaders, including President Morales (Bolivia), President Chavez (Venezuela) and Vice President Lage (Cuba). Topics discussed ranged from the flexibilisation of labour, food sovereignty, migrants' rights and public services to alternative regional trade frameworks, including the Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas (ALBA) and the Trade Treaty of the Peoples.

TNI co-ordinated media outreach for the Vienna social summit. This included a radio

radio), *The Observer*, *RAI*, *Die Tageszeitung*, *Telesur*, *RAI* and *TVE*.

The initiation of the EU-LAC bi-regional network has resulted in an intensive exchange of ideas across a range of civil society networks in both regions. Public forums on current EU policy towards the LAC region were held in The Netherlands, Germany, France, Austria, Britain, Spain and Italy in advance of the Vienna summit.

The main focus for policy advocacy in advance of Vienna was the Austrian EU Presidency. A delegation from the EU-LAC network (including a TNI representative) held briefings with the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in April, which established a positive atmosphere of dialogue. TNI participated in a lobby initiative at the Dutch Parliament and a press briefing with other Dutch NGOs shortly before Vienna. Other organisations in the network targeted other EU and LAC governments.



forum that mobilised 12 networks from Europe and Latin America, broadcasting 12 hours of daily coverage throughout the event in English, German, Spanish, Croatian, Dutch and Portuguese. The Tribunal and concluding CSO-governments dialogue were streamed live over the internet. This footage will be incorporated into a DVD on EA2.

Over 260 journalists, photographers and cinematographers from 21 countries covered EA2, which received extensive national and international media coverage. TNI Director Fiona Dove gave interviews to BBC World Service and BBC America and was quoted in *Der Standard*, which also ran a profile on TNI Fellow Susan George. TNI also featured in media coverage by *Die Presse* (Austria), *Liberazione* (Italy), *RAI 3* (Italy), *La Jornada* (Mexico), *BBC Radio 5* (UK), *European Voice* (Belgium) *Brecha* (Uruguay) and numerous agency reports. Coverage for the event as a whole included numerous newspaper articles and interviews in such outlets as *ABC*, *Associated Press*, *Agence France Presse*, *Austrian Press Agency*, *Bloomberg*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *El Pais*, *Financial Times*, *Frankfurter Rundschau*, *Inter Press Agency*, *ORF* (Austrian state TV and

There was also advocacy at an EU level. In response to the EU Commission's December 2005 Communication on "A stronger partnership between the European Union and Latin America", the bi-regional network co-ordinated policy responses that resulted in a number of amendments tabled by Green and GUE/NLG MEPs in the European Parliament.

### Asia-Europe People's Forum

TNI is also the European co-ordinator for the Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF), which was held in Helsinki from 3 to 6 September on the occasion of the 5<sup>th</sup> Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM). More than 700 participants from 45 countries attended. TNI Fellows Susan George and Achin Vanaik were among the keynote speakers, while the alternative regionalisms, water justice, new politics, and militarism and globalisation projects all co-organised seminars.

There was significant interaction with the inter-governmental process, facilitated by the Finnish government. AEPF representatives were invited to a public reception organised by the Prime Minister, who accepted and commented on the

*Left to right: TNI Fellow Achin Vanaik addresses the Asia-Europe People's Forum in Helsinki; Bolivian President Evo Morales speaks at the Enlazando Alternativas Summit in Vienna; a crowd at the Social Summit for Peoples' Integration in Cochabamba.*

AEPF Final Declaration. The Finnish foreign minister participated in an open forum held during the AEPF. Policy advocacy work was also conducted, with lobbying of the governments of The Netherlands, Sweden, Belgium, Germany, Estonia, Hungary and Indonesia. Numerous articles on the Forum were published in the Finnish, Philippine, Chinese and Malaysian media.

In March, the AEPF organised a seminar in Ho Chi Minh City, Vietnam in preparation for the first ASEM Labour Ministers' meeting. The introduction of this new ministerial meeting was a response to AEPF lobbying, which had argued that the block over-emphasises trade and investment to the exclusion of social and labour priorities. Pietje Vervest represented TNI at the seminar, which was also attended by participants from Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos, Philippines, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, China and Europe. The programme consisted of a review of the earlier AEPF and trade union social agenda lobby work towards ASEM, and the development of a common advocacy agenda on labour rights and standards. From May to July, these issues were brought to specific ASEM Labour Ministries in Europe and Asia in preparation for the ASEM Labour Summit, which was held in Berlin from 3 to 5 September.

The ASEM Labour Ministers' meeting is the AEPF's most significant and successful lobby interchange with ASEM institutions. The ASEM Labour Ministers' statement carried a number of the proposals put forward at the Ho Chi Minh seminar – for example, confirmation of the concept of “decent work” as promoted by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), and inclusion of the social partners in the ASEM process.

An official study prepared for ASEM 6 by the University of Helsinki and the Japan Center for International Exchange, entitled *ASEM in its Tenth Year: looking back, looking forward*, acknowledged the importance of the AEPF: “In the socio-cultural pillar, ASEM and also ASEP have been challenged by the civil society, in particular the NGO-initiated Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF), to make the ASEM process more participatory and democratic and to include more social issues in the agenda.”

The event as a whole consolidated the development of the AEPF as a unique bi-regional Asia-Europe network. There is growing participation by civil society organisations from countries in transition (China and Vietnam) as well as from Central and Eastern Europe. The China delegation to the AEPF included 27 members of different organisations.

## AEPF and China

**Following the Helsinki AEPF the need was felt to broaden AEPF's links to other emerging civil society organisations in China in preparation for the 2008 ASEM, which will be held there. In November, TNI and other AEPF member organisations undertook a visit to Beijing to contact a range of civil society organisations. The visit aimed to increase our awareness and understanding about the activities of social organisations in China, to see how our organisations could strengthen links with Chinese organisations, and to introduce the AEPF and ASEM process. Meetings were held with a range of international organisations with offices in China, Chinese academics, Chinese environmental organisations, Chinese women's rights organisations, Chinese community organisations, and Chinese and international journalists. The visit made clear that there is considerable interest in the AEPF as a venue for the exchange of experiences and strategies regarding relations between the EU and China, and between China and ASEAN countries. The evolving bi-lateral trade agreements between the EU and Asian countries, although seen by many as important, are agendas which are still largely unfamiliar to Chinese civil society organisations.**

## People's social summits

The Alternative Regionalisms programme played an active role in numerous other social summits and regional dialogues throughout 2006.

The Social Summit for Peoples' Integration took place in Cochabamba, Bolivia from 6 to 9 December and was attended by over 3,000 participants. TNI and HSA co-organised four seminars on behalf of the Enlazando Alternativas bi-regional network. These discussions on EU agreements with Latin America, European transnational corporations and EU integration resulted in a joint action plan for the network in 2007-2008. Brid Brennan, Cecilia Olivet and Claudia Torrelli represented TNI.

In August, Dot Keet participated in the SADC People's Summit in Maseru, Lesotho – an event for which TNI project partners AIDC and SAPSN were the co-organisers. The main focus of the conference was the proposed EU Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), which are perceived as detrimental to African self-determination and development.

The first of the Latin American-Southern African People's Dialogues was hosted at the Brazilian Landless Workers' Movement (MST)

Centre near São Paulo from 30 October to 6 November. This intensive seminar was organised by TNI partners AIDC, Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE, South Africa) and Ibase. It brought together about 60 representatives from major networks and social movements involved in land and agrarian reform issues, food sovereignty and the environment from all countries of SADC and Mercosur.

A civil society conference marking the ASEAN Summit was organised in Cebu, Philippines from 10 to 12 December. The original stimulus for this meeting was an international seminar on "Rethinking Regional Strategies" organised by TNI in Hong Kong in December 2005. The Cebu conference brought together trade unions, farmers' and fishers' associations and women's groups, with the aim of empowering civil society organisations as stakeholders in defining the kind of regional community ASEAN should become. Dot Keet, Brid Brennan and Pietje Vervest of TNI participated in a seminar looking at experiences of regional integration from other regions.

Brid Brennan represented TNI at the UNESCO-Mercosur high level symposium on regionalism in Buenos Aires and Montevideo from 20 to 25 February. TNI was also an active participant in the 9 to 11 November strategy meeting of the Our World is not for Sale (OWINFS) network in São Paulo, Brazil, which was attended by Brid Brennan, Dot Keet and Cecilia Olivet. OWINFS is a global network of organisations and campaigners working on trade and investment issues.

## Publications

The networking and advocacy work of the alternative regionalisms programme was enhanced by the production of a number of web dossiers and publications in 2006. In October, TNI published an in-depth 68-page report by Dot Keet on *South-South Strategic Alternatives to the Global Economic System and Power Regime*, in English and Spanish versions. It analyses the new terrain of inter-governmental alliances between Southern actors that are emerging to challenge the bias of the current global trade and investment system, and looks at the possibilities for civil society engagement with them.

In December, TNI published a debate paper, *From Washington consensus to Vienna consensus?*, written by Roeline Knottnerus and Abel Esteban. It analyses the context and agendas behind the "new generation" free trade agree-

ments between the EU and LAC regions, and exposes how transnational corporations are setting the terms of their negotiation.

A regular EU-South Watch section was maintained on the TNI website, monitoring economic, political and social trends with a specific focus on the ASEAN region and its implications for Europe-Asia relations. Three Policy Advocacy Briefings were also produced, which built upon this work: *Advancing a Social Agenda in ASEM* (September), *EU-ASEAN Relations Entering a New Phase* (October, co-published with TNI partner Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation, Malaysia), and *Re-thinking ASEAN Regionalism* (December).

## Another Europe

In May TNI co-organised a seminar at the Dutch Social Forum as part of the Ander Europa coalition, attracting over 250 participants. A debate was subsequently held in De Balie, Amsterdam on 1 June, exactly one year after the Dutch 'no' vote to the EU constitution. 5,000 copies of a Dutch-language brochure on "Another Europe" were distributed at these and other events in the Netherlands.

2006 also saw the publication of the Spanish edition of Susan George's book on the EU, *Nosotros, los pueblos de Europa*. TNI Fellow Mariano Aguirre joined Susan George in a roundtable discussion in Madrid to launch the book. Susan George also spoke on the theme of "What Course for Europe" at the Encuentros de Salamanca, Spain from 21 to 23 June.

## Domestic migrant workers

As part of the Ander Europa project, TNI, Commission for Filipino Migrants, TRUSTED Migrant Workers, RESPECT NL and the ABVAKABO FNV co-organised a Forum Theatre Acting Together 2006, debating the rights of migrant domestic workers and the challenges to trade unions.

On 27 June, about 60 people, mostly migrant domestic workers (MDWs) filled the TNI seminar room to participate in a historic first Trade Union meeting bringing officials of the ABVAKABO FNV and Migrant Domestic Workers in the Netherlands together for the purpose of joining the trade union.

# Public services towards water justice

**The Water Justice project, run jointly with Corporate Europe Observatory, advocates progressive public water reforms and public-public partnerships as the key elements for solving the global crisis in access to clean water and sanitation. The activities of the project are embedded in the Reclaiming Public Water network, which brings together public water managers, civil society activists, academics and trade unionists.**

## **Mexico City: International Forum in the Defence of Water**

At the beginning of 2006, the efforts of the Water Justice project were fully focused on preparations for the Fourth World Water Forum, held in Mexico City from 16 to 22 March. Dissatisfied with the exclusive character of this influential international water policy event and its neoliberal agenda, the Coalición de Organizaciones Mexicanas por el Derecho al Agua (COMDA) civil society coalition invited TNI and other groups from around the world to jointly prepare a parallel event, the International Forum in the Defence of Water.

The International Forum started with a one-day symposium on “Public Water for All”, co-organised by the Water Justice project in conjunction with other members of the Reclaiming Public Water network. It brought together over 200 public water managers, civil society activists, academics and trade unionists from across the world. The symposium was also the launch event for “Public Water for All - the role of public-public partnerships”, a TNI/CEO discussion paper exploring the potential of public-public partnerships (PUPs) for accelerating improvements in access to clean water and sanitation.

There was extensive media coverage of the Water Justice project’s work around the World Water Forum, which was cited by the *Jakarta Post*, *El Universal*, *La Jornada* and the Inter Press Service among others.

PUPs and progressive public water reforms were major themes throughout the International Forum in Defense of Water, signalling that the water justice movements are moving far beyond opposition to privatisation to make positive proposals for public water reform. During the World Water Forum, more than 20,000 people demonstrated against privatisation and for the human right to water, signalling the strength of opposition to the neoliberal approach advocated by the forum organisers. Inside the forum, there were signs of a growing recognition of the widespread failures of private sector water management. The fragile beginnings of a more positive approach towards public sector water operators were visible, in stark contrast to the unashamed promotion of privatisation at the previous editions of the World Water Forum (The Hague in 2000 and Kyoto in 2003). Notably, the UN Advisory Board on Water and Sanitation proposed the launch of a mechanism to facilitate public-public partnerships, described as Water Operators Partnerships (WOPs), on a not-for-profit basis.

## Reclaiming Public Water network

Throughout the year, TNI (together with CEO) functioned as the coordinating hub of the Reclaiming Public Water network, launched in November 2005 by contributors to the TNI/CEO book of the same name. The network aims to promote progressive public water models and other alternatives to water privatisation. It currently has 130 members from over 35 countries, most of them representing civil society groups, trade unions and public water operator associations. A survey to evaluate the impact of the network in its first year of existence was circulated in November. The extensive feedback was very positive overall and, more importantly, showed great enthusiasm for further intensifying joint work by members of the network.

An important part of TNI's contribution was to assist with translation projects – all initiated by different civil society groups and trade unions – resulting in the publication of the *Reclaiming Public Water* book in Italian (March), Chinese (September), Finnish (November) and Korean (November). Most of these new editions included additional chapters about local experiences of privatisation and/or progressive public sector reforms. These chapters, in turn, were translated into English and Spanish and made available online. This has resulted in a growing catalogue of experiences with public management approaches that have helped expand access to clean water and sanitation. Book launch events took place Milan, Florence, Rome, Caracas, Hong Kong, Helsinki and several other cities. Each of these launch events featured international speakers, from Venezuela, Brazil and Europe, who were in most cases authors of chapters published in the book. Moreover, work on new French, Japanese, Brazilian and Indian editions started in 2006. TNI also initiated the translation into English of an important book documenting twenty cases of successful public water delivery in Brazil, first published in Portuguese by the Brazilian Association of Municipal Services of Water and Sanitation operators (ASSEMAE).

New book chapters and other relevant resources are uploaded on the TNI website as well as the Reclaiming Public Water website, [www.waterjustice.org](http://www.waterjustice.org). This website was renewed and re-launched on 22 March, World Water Day. It has become an important clearing-house for news and background analysis on public sector reform and alternatives to privatisation, receiving over 21,000 visits per month.

In November, TNI co-hosted the three-day international seminar “Public Water Models in Rural Areas” in Barcelona. The seminar, an initiative of the Catalan Engineers Without Borders group, was an important step forward

for the Reclaiming Public Water network, which until then had primarily focused on urban and peri-urban water issues. Thirty-five participants from Latin America, South and south-east Asia, Africa and Europe developed plans to contest the drive by International Financial Institutions (IFIs) to privatise or commercialise rural water supply, from drinking water to irrigation. The key features for improving access to clean water in rural areas include state responsibility, the democratisation of planning and management, and new models of public-community relations (including public-public partnerships).

A series of Reclaiming Public Water network workshops were held during the International Meeting on the Right to Water in Marseilles on 24-25 November. These focused on developing new public-public-partnerships (PUPs) involving utilities, community organisations, trade unions and civil society groups. As a result, a firm commitment was made for the creation of new PUPs involving ASSEMAE (the Brazilian federation of municipal public water utilities), Coordinadora (Cochabamba, Bolivia), the Uruguayan state water company, the water company of the province of Buenos Aires, and the Peruvian water workers' union FENTAP. The Water Justice project is involved in a support role. These plans for new PUPs were the culmination of a discussion process that began at the International Forum in Mexico City in March and were further developed during ASSEMAE's annual congress in Joinville in June, where an international workshop took place with the support of TNI. Throughout the year, TNI has provided consistent support to advocacy efforts for more effective and socially just public water delivery in the city of Huancayo (Peru), undertaken by the water workers' union FENTAP and local civil society groups.

The Water Justice project also co-organised strategy workshops on alternatives to privatisation during international civil society conferences in Vienna (Enlazando Alternativas, 10-13 May) and Helsinki (6<sup>th</sup> Asia-Europe People's Forum, 3-6 September). TNI co-hosted a conference on public water reforms in Bratislava, Slovakia on 13 November, attended mainly by public water managers and civil society campaigners. In the Indonesian capital Jakarta, where ten years of water privatisation have proven to be a clear failure, TNI's support enabled Guillermo Amorebieta of the Water and Sanitation Workers' Trade Union of the Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina, to share his union's experiences of water re-municipalisation in a series of workshops from 7 to 11 November. The Water Justice project also provided support to the campaign by Bantay Tubig for the re-municipalisation of water in Manila, the Philippines, where a similar situation exists.

## Influencing the international water debate

TNI is actively involved in advocacy to convince IFI donor governments of the need to create a more enabling environment for improving public sector water. In January, for example, an NGO letter was sent to European government negotiators preparing the EU position for the Ministerial Conference of the World Water Forum. In March, the Water Justice project took the lead in a joint letter by Dutch NGOs and public water managers calling upon the Dutch government to engage in concrete support for PUPs. In December, the project co-drafted an open letter to European Commissioner Louis Michel, calling upon the Commission to end its funding for the Public-Private Infrastructure

Advisory Facility (PPIAF), a global mechanism exclusively promoting privatisation.

The *Reclaiming Public Water* book, through a range of updated editions in different languages, has continued to be not only a source of inspiration for civil society groups around the world, but was also increasingly a reference cited by policy-makers and international agencies. The 2006 *Human Development Report*, published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), included several references to the book, including to the book's portrait of participatory water management in the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre. These references reflect a trend towards greater recognition of public water successes and a generally more positive approach to public sector reforms.

## Beyond the market: the future of public services

*Beyond the market: the future of public services*, a public services yearbook published in association with the Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU), was launched in January at the WSF in Caracas. Published simultaneously in English and Spanish, it contributes a much needed facts-based analysis to counter the bias in the global debate on public sector reform, as well as pushing forwards new ideas for the democratic, participatory, efficient and accountable governance of public services. The yearbook provides an overview of the state of public services around the world, covering national and international policy developments. The first part focuses on theoretical concepts and relevant policy issues, presenting an overview of current discussions on the nature and meaning of public services. The second part comprises a state-of-the-art review of basic public services, including health, education, electricity, and water and sanitation. The third part explores the latest developments and challenges on a regional basis, through detailed assessments of the state of public services in selected countries from both the North and the South. Part four analyses the social and corporate actors engaged in debates and conflicts around the development of public services. A launch event was held at the Uruguayan Parliament, and the yearbook was distributed to trade unionists, social movements and academics worldwide



Launch of *Beyond the Market* at the Uruguayan Parliament

# New Politics

**The New Politics programme engages with innovations and experimentation by social movements, parties and political institutions worldwide. Since 2004, it has stimulated new debates and supported research into experiences of creating a new politics in the areas of participatory democracy, political organisation, urban governance and rural democratisation.**

The New Politics programme has three distinct research agendas. The first focuses on governance and experiments in participatory democracy. The second focuses on innovations in political agency, including attempts to renew progressive political parties and institutions, and the impact of new forms of organising (networks) and new information and communication technologies (ICTs) in the dynamics and ideas of social movements. The third leg of the programme, officially launched in 2006, concentrates on research and advocacy on rural democratisation processes in the Global South.

## Rethinking governance

In January, the members of the Madison Dialogue, an ambitious research programme on progressive national governance in Latin America jointly managed by TNI and the Havens Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, met at the World Social Forum in Caracas, Venezuela. The aim of the Madison Dialogue is to promote a systematic and balanced analysis of the resurgence of left political parties, progressive governments and social movements in Latin America. As a result of this planning meeting, the network launched a research project focused on a comparative analysis of the economic policies implemented by five Latin American governments: Venezuela, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia. A follow-up meeting of the Madison Dialogue took place in Puerto Rico in March during the International Congress of the Latin American Study Association (LASA).

In October, an international seminar on *The Economic Policies of the Latin American Left in Government* was organised in Montevideo, jointly hosted by TNI, the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation and the Centre for Research and Training on Regional Integration (CEFIR, a think-tank founded by the European Commission to develop studies on Mercosur and Latin American integration). The seminar was attended by around 50 participants, including representatives of the Uruguayan government, and researchers and activists from 14 countries. TNI participants included Daniel Chavez, Hilary Wainwright, Brid Brennan, Cecilia Olivet, Dot Keet, David Sogge, Fiona Dove, Susan George and Marcos Arruda. The discussions were fully translated and recorded, with a view to a subsequent publication based on the five comprehensive case

studies presented in English and Spanish and the seminar proceedings.

In addition, a new edition of the *La Nueva Izquierda en America Latina: Sus Origenes y Trayectoria Futura* book, the first output of the Madison Dialogue, is under preparation in both English and Spanish.

The collaboration between TNI's New Politics Programme and the Havens Center, this time joined by the Liberty Tree Foundation, also made possible a major International Conference on Local Participatory Democracy, held in Madison in September. TNI enabled the participation of associate researchers from Brazil, Canada, Hungary and the Philippines.

The Institute's work around the issue of participatory democracy was also disseminated through several presentations made by Daniel Chavez, Hilary Wainwright and Gemma Galdon Clavell at multiple international conferences, workshops and seminars. Among other places, New Politics researchers were invited to give lectures at the University of Amsterdam, the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, the International Congress of the Latin American Studies Association in Puerto Rico, the World, European and Dutch Social Forums, the What Next? Forum in Uppsala, and the Enlazando Alternativas summit in Vienna.

TNI was also invited to join the Jury of Good Practices of the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy, and is now an active member of URB-AL, a network aimed at promoting decentralised cooperation between local authorities on issues of urban local development in Latin America and Europe. In 2006, TNI created a consortium with other URB-AL partners for the implementation of an EC-funded project focused on the critical appraisal of the potential benefits of ICTs in participatory budgeting.

Moreover, the programme's work in this area has crystallised in the consolidation of new experiences of participatory budgeting in the Southern Cone, where the regional government of Paysandu (Uruguay) – which received technical support from TNI in 2005 and 2006 – has become a regional reference. In consideration of the programme's expertise in this area, TNI was invited to an international conference – held in Tegucigalpa in October

– co-organised by the Government of Honduras and a broad coalition of European development agencies, aimed at discussing the development of participatory budgeting in Central America in the framework of national and local anti-poverty policies.

### Rethinking political agency

2006 saw the completion of the first phase of New Politics' collaborative inquiry into rethinking political organisation in an era of networks and movements. This project is jointly implemented by TNI, IGOP (Spain), Transform! (Italy) and Euromovements, and includes a strong association with Repros and Ibase in Brazil, the Institute for Popular Democracy in the Philippines and the participation of social movement activists and thinkers based in Argentina, Venezuela and Canada.

The year began at the WSF, where several seminars were organised, including a discussion on the theme of "One Actor Amongst Many? The Role of Political Parties in an Age of Networks and Movements." Two smaller sessions were organised in Bologna in May and in Manchester in June, which laid the groundwork for the main event, an international seminar on "Rethinking Agency in an Era of Networks and Movements", held in Barcelona in late October and hosted by the Centro de Cultura Contemporánea de Barcelona (CCCCB).

This project is divided into four main lines of inquiry, which attempt to reflect on the changing nature of state institutions; on the innovations and impasses of social movements; on the rethinking of political representation and political parties; and on the new tools for transformative politics opened-up by developments in information technology. These lines of inquiry were brought together at the Barcelona seminar. Recordings and transcripts from the meetings in Manchester, Bologna and

Barcelona form the basis of a booklet on *Networked Politics* being prepared for publication in 2007, which is intended as a tool to generate further debate and stimulate the next phase of the inquiry.

Another component of the inquiry includes case studies exploring the possibilities and problems of rethinking politics by investigating and reflecting on practice. The first of these was conducted in 2005, focussing on the experience of the Brazilian Workers' Party in government. An online dossier was then published in English and Spanish in February, receiving over 12,000 downloads in its first month of publication. A revised and expanded version of this work was published as a book in Portuguese, *No Olho do Furação*, in October, with a launch event held in Sao Paulo shortly before the re-election of Luiz Inácio Lula da Silva as President of Brazil.

Preliminary research has begun on political agency in Venezuela. Several other case studies have been commissioned, ranging from the issue of social movement trade unionism, to work on the insights of feminism for rethinking political organisation, and the organisation of the free and open source software movement.

An important influence in the inquiry has been a dialogue between progressive intellectuals, parties and movements in Latin America and Europe. Hilary Wainwright made this her theme in the opening lecture at the CLACSO – Latin American Council on Social Sciences – General Assembly in Rio de Janeiro in August.

### Rural New Politics

The rural dimension of the New Politics Programme was formally launched in January 2006. It examines how rural poor people's mobilisations "from below" are an increasingly integral part of the global struggle for democratisa-

## Eurotopia

**The development of the independent media has always been an important theme of the New Politics programme both as a mean of disseminating, exchanging and debating new political thinking and as itself a catalyst for the emergence of new political actors. In this context, the programme has continued to develop Eurotopia, a multi-lingual pan-European syndication network and supplement co-ordinated with Carta (Italy), El Veiço Topo (Spain), Epohi (Greece), Red Pepper (UK) and other magazines from across Europe. Carta magazine co-ordinated the second Eurotopia supplement in January on the theme of EU militarisation. In May, Epohi co-ordinated the third issue of Eurotopia to coincide with the European Social Forum in Athens. Together, the partner magazines also held a very successful seminar at the ESF on the prospects and problems of building a pan-European critical media. Finally, the different partners agreed to continue the experiment and, at the urging of several public sector unions, agreed to commission a special issue on the future of public services in Europe.**

tion. The project will engage with national and international development agencies, policymakers and academics, all of whose perceptions, decisions and actions play a role in shaping rural development processes.

The year began with Fiona Dove and the Rural New Politics team attending a major international conference organised by the Institute of Social Studies. In March, Jenny Franco and Daniel Gómez – research co-ordinator and project manager, respectively – represented TNI at the International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD), facilitated by the

International NGO/CSO Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC), in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

In April, TNI played host to a seminar co-organised with FIAN International on the theme of Land Rights, Human Rights: FIAN's Weapons to Combat Hunger. Soon after, the project received a generous grant from Oxfam-Novib, which enabled it to start an ambitious research and advocacy workplan in co-operation with grassroots organisations in Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Mozambique, Indonesia and Philippines.



# Drugs and Democracy

**TNI's Drugs and Democracy Programme analyses global trends in drugs policy and promotes a pragmatic approach to tackling drugs based on harm reduction principles. Its work on drugs and conflict in the Andean/Amazon region, Afghanistan and Burma forges connections between illicit drugs and wider issues of demilitarisation, democratisation, public health promotion and poverty reduction. These are then reflected in attempts to influence the policy debate at UN and regional decision-making levels through policy dialogues, field investigations, books and articles.**

## Ten years of expertise

In 2006, TNI's Drugs and Democracy programme celebrated its tenth year of existence. Over these ten years the programme has gained a reputation worldwide as one of the leading international drug policy advocates and as a serious critical watchdog on drug control institutions, in particular the United Nations Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND), UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB).

TNI promotes evidence-based policies guided by the principles of harm reduction, human rights for users and producers, as well as the cultural and traditional uses of substances. The project seeks the reform of the current out-dated UN conventions on drugs, which were inconsistent from the start and have been surpassed by new scientific insights and new pragmatic policies that have proven to be successful.

## Coca diplomacy

A simple leaf of an ancient plant featured prominently on the international agenda in 2006: the coca leaf. It is included amongst the most hazardous classified substances in the 1961 UN Single Convention, which has had severe consequences for the Andean region. A decade-old demand to remove the coca leaf from strict international drug controls gained momentum with the election of coca-farmers' leader Evo Morales to the presidency in Bolivia in December 2005. He announced that the un-scheduling of the coca leaf from its current classification as a dangerous drug in the international drug control conventions would be one of his main objectives.

In 2006, TNI continued its work to un-schedule coca and set up a Coca Experts Commission to assist the Bolivian government in this complicated procedure. In February, TNI organised a workshop of the Coca Experts Commission in Bolivia on options for un-scheduling coca. A meeting was subsequently held with the Bolivian Foreign Minister David Choquehuanca and Bolivian policy officials to discuss a coca diplomacy strategy for

the new Morales government. A public forum was organised in La Paz together with the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) on "Drugs and Democracy in Latin America" that attracted over 300 participants. Martin Jelsma and Pien Metaal were interviewed on national television and by several newspapers.

In May, TNI published the briefing *Coca Yes, Cocaine No? Legal Options for the Coca Leaf*, number 13 in the ongoing drugs and conflict debate papers series. The briefing was presented at the alternative EU-LAC Summit in Vienna, Linking Alternatives. Pien Metaal hosted a panel on the coca issue with Dionisio Nuñez, a Bolivian coca-peasant leader and member of TNI's Coca Commission.

In October, Martin Jelsma and Pien Metaal participated in the second "International Forum on the Coca Leaf: The Frontiers of Coca" at the University of Buenos Aires, Argentina, to discuss coca issues, looking specifically at the new Bolivian policies and the recent decriminalisation of coca consumption in Argentina. This was followed by a two-day working seminar in Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Bolivia, and a follow-up meeting at the Foreign Office in La Paz. Martin Jelsma, Pien Metaal and members of the Coca Experts Commission discussed with Bolivian government officials the necessary steps to un-schedule the coca leaf from the UN Convention. A report was subsequently sent to the Bolivian President for his consideration.

## Smokeable cocaine

The Southern Cone region of South America has witnessed an explosive increase in the use of smokeable cocaine base paste in urban areas. The health effects of "paco" as it is called in Argentina (short for "pasta base de cocaine" or PBC) are devastating. However, little is known about the epidemic. TNI commissioned two studies in the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo conducted by Intercambios in Argentina and a group of researchers in Uruguay. In addition, TNI's Tom Blickman surveyed the state of the market in Brazil.

The outcomes of these studies were presented in a TNI briefing, *Paco Under Scrutiny*, published in October. The briefing examines the origin, characteristics and impact of the explosive increase in cocaine base paste in urban areas. It also looks at the possible cause-and-effect relationship between this increase and the transformation in the structure of drugs trafficking in Argentina, Uruguay and southern Brazil. The briefing was presented at the coca leaf forum at the University of Buenos Aires. A conference on cocaine-related problems and harm reduction was organised by the study's authors in Montevideo, Uruguay, with the support of national authorities and local stakeholders. It was inaugurated by the National Drugs Secretary and the Dutch Ambassador in Uruguay.

## Drugs and conflict

The opium poppy, the raw material for heroin, also featured prominently on the international agenda. It stands accused of fuelling conflict in Afghanistan and terrorism in the region. In 2006, opium production in Afghanistan reached record new levels, triggering international pressure for “quick fix” eradication, which risks further destabilising Afghanistan and could lead to exacerbation of the current conflict. With the dramatic upsurge in opium cultivation and the growing armed conflict in southern Afghanistan, proposed harsher measures include calls for NATO involvement in drug control, and the use of more aggressive eradication techniques, such as aerial spraying with herbicides or the introduction of a poppy-killing fungus.

In May, TNI researchers Tom Kramer and Cristian Rivier conducted a mission to Afghanistan, visiting Kabul and Nangarhar provinces to conduct interviews on opium eradication and on counter-narcotics support by foreign military forces in the country. In December, the briefing *Losing Ground: Drug Control and War in Afghanistan* was published on opium elimination efforts and the controversy about involving military forces in anti-drugs operations in Afghanistan. It also provides background on the Afghan drug control strategy, its new counter-narcotics law, and the role of Afghanistan within the global opiates market. An Op-Ed was published in the *NRC Handelsblad*, and several interviews were given to other media.

The Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Oxfam Novib twice invited TNI for a policy dialogue on Afghanistan with a focus on the opium economy and alternative livelihoods, the Dutch International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) mission and Uruzgan, and the problems with military involvement in counter-narcotics.

## Colombia

TNI associate fellow Ricardo Vargas of Acción Andina Colombia and TNI staff member Amira



Armenta continued TNI's long-standing commitment to find peaceful solutions for the drugs and conflict situation in Colombia and growing insecurity in the Andean-Amazonian Region. Two drug policy briefings were published. In May, “Political Challenges Posed by the Failure of Prohibition” described the failure of Washington's drug policy, which has enabled illegal globalisation to expand its foothold in the hemisphere. It should be recognised that the US-Colombian bilateral approach to the drug problem has failed, sacrificing regional interests.

In September, “The Sierra de la Macarena: drugs and armed conflict in Colombia” was published, criticising the aerial spraying of coca in the national park as an action that is liable to prolong the armed conflict.

## United Nations Drug Control

TNI participated in the 49th session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna in March. Martin Jelsma was an NGO advisor to

the Dutch government delegation. TNI lobbied for acceptance of a harm reduction resolution tabled by Brazil, and for adoption of an EU proposal for the evaluation of the 1998 UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS).

In June, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) released the 2006 World Drug Report. The UNODC struggled to fabricate success stories about the effectiveness of the current global drug control regime. Flawed comparisons were constructed with higher opium production levels a century ago, higher prevalence figures for tobacco, and biased claims about cannabis. In response, TNI released a Drug Policy Briefing, "International drug control: 100 years of success? TNI comments on the UNODC World Drug Report 2006."



## UNGASS evaluation

TNI has put significant effort into promoting a genuine UNGASS evaluation. Lobby efforts continued throughout the year, especially on the establishment of an expert group to assist the CND with the UNGASS review and on a clear EU position on the whole review process. In May, Tom Blickman co-authored a briefing "The UNGASS Evaluation Process Evaluated", published by the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC), describing the fortunes of the resolution at the CND and putting forward proposals to strengthen the upcoming UNGASS evaluation process.

TNI participated in efforts aiming to strengthen civil society consultation mechanisms at the EU and UN levels; and coordination was maintained with related initiatives such as the Wilton Park conference series, the International Drug Policy Consortium and the UN NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs. In early May the annual International Harm Reduction Conference was held in Vancouver. A strategy workshop was held which aimed at a common strategy beyond 2008/09 among several NGOs and experts advocating the reform of the UN drug control conventions.

The next moment to evaluate the current status and effectiveness of drug control could be the ten-year evaluation of the 1998 UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS), which will take place in 2008 or 2009 depending on the decision of the CND in 2007. TNI is working, as a member of the NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs in Vienna, to ensure that NGO participation in the UN drug control system is strengthened, and to make sure that the voice of civil society will be heard at the UNGASS evaluation.

## Harm reduction in Burma/Myanmar

TNI consultant Tom Kramer conducted a research mission in Burma. In May, TNI and the Burma Centre Netherlands (BCN) released a Drug Policy Briefing on "HIV/ AIDS and drug use in Burma/Myanmar", just prior to the start of the 2006 UNGASS Review the 2001 UN Declaration of Commitment on HIV/AIDS.

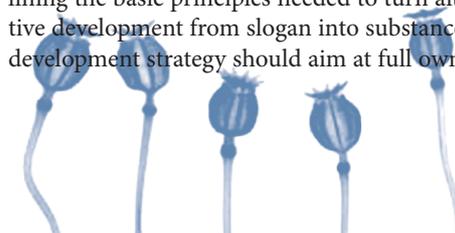
In November, TNI, BCN and the Asian Harm Reduction Network (AHRN) brought together people working on harm reduction programmes and HIV/AIDS in Burma and neighbouring countries for an exchange and lobby visit in The Netherlands. The Netherlands has been a pioneer in the development of harm reduction policy concepts and practices, and participants learnt of the history and recent developments within these programmes.

The participants also spoke at a public conference in Amsterdam on "HIV/AIDS in Burma and neighbouring regions: Widening the space for harm reduction" and raised awareness in Europe about the HIV/AIDS situation and harm reduction policies in Burma and northeast India, China and Thailand. The conference and lobby visits are expected to lay the basis for an increase in space and funding for harm reduction policies in Burma and neighbouring countries.

## Alternative development

TNI actively supports alternative development policies that seek to provide legal livelihoods for poor farmers involved in cultivating drug-related crops such as coca and opium. It has always advocated an approach that separates alternative development from law enforcement and eradication efforts, rather than making development assistance conditional upon eradication.

In March 2006, the CND organised a thematic debate on alternative development. TNI co-organised and spoke at the parallel NGO Forum on Alternative Development and presented outcomes of the discussion on behalf of the UN NGO Committee at the plenary session of the CND, outlining the basic principles needed to turn alternative development from slogan into substance. Any development strategy should aim at full ownership



by the participants, the empowerment of local communities and mutual trust building. Participatory planning should therefore engage communities in identifying objectives and desired outcomes, and allow them to be an integral part of the consequent projects, aiming at consensus building and dialogue.

Alternative development was the focus of a four-day policy conference on “Development in a Drugs Environment: beyond alternative development?”, organised by the European Commission, the German Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) at the GTZ-Haus in Berlin starting end May. Martin Jelsma and Tom Kramer of TNI were among the 60 policy makers from around the world present to discuss the future direction of alternative development strategies in the Andean region, Afghanistan and south-east Asia.

### Drugs Policy Dialogue

Many of the issues TNI is working on are tackled in the informal drug policy dialogue and informal consultations with national and international policy officials and government representatives. Since 2004, TNI in collaboration with the Andreas Papandreou Foundation (APF) has organised these dialogues to allow an open-minded exchange on drug policy issues between national and international policy officials, academics and civil society. Two events were organised in Athens:

a regional conference on the drugs situation in the Balkans in March, and a national seminar on the UNGASS evaluation in December.

The third informal drugs policy dialogue was held in November in Bern (Switzerland) in collaboration with the Swiss Federal Office of Public Health. The two-day dialogue had four sessions focused on: (1) effectiveness of law enforcement in supply reduction; (2) HIV/AIDS and harm reduction; (3) Bolivia and legal options for the coca leaf; and (4) preparations for the 2008 UNGASS review – the current state and the way forward. The participants, most of whom are actively involved in policy-making, included over 40 policy officials from 21 countries, six inter-governmental organisations, five international NGOs and several academics. In addition, participants were invited to visit the Bern city drug injection facility, where managers explained how the facility functioned and gave a guided tour of the premises. A report on the meeting was published in December and made available on the TNI website.

For the past decade, the programme has maintained its main focus on developments in drug policy and its implication for countries in the South. The strategic objective for the period 2005-2008 is to contribute to a more integrated and coherent policy where illicit drugs are regarded as a cross-cutting issue within the broader development goals of poverty reduction, public health promotion, human rights protection, peace building and good governance.



# Militarism and Globalisation

The Militarism and Globalisation project analyses the changing global frameworks for military intervention and the spread of new security infrastructures. In 2006, it continued to work on defence industrial reorganisation, the accountability of foreign military bases, Middle East conflict and UN reform.

The militarism and globalisation programme looks at the infrastructures that support war in the twenty-first century. In 2006, this included work on the new legitimisations for war (the 'software of empire'), as well as its physical infrastructure (or 'hardware') in the form of foreign military bases. The programme drew attention to EU militarism and security research, highlighting the EU security research programme as an important basis for an emerging 'security-industrial complex'. Alongside these initiatives, TNI continued to support debates, produce analyses, policy proposals and journalism on key contemporary conflicts, with a particular focus on the Middle East.

## Security research

In April, the programme published *Arming Big Brother*, a briefing on the new EU Security Research Programme (ESRP). The report, authored by TNI Next Generation Scholar Ben Hayes, was downloaded over 50,000 times in 2006. It received widespread media attention, in both international and specialist media, with press citations in Denmark, Sweden, Finland, the UK, Ireland, The Netherlands, Belgium, Germany, Austria, Poland, Czech Republic, Macedonia, Romania, Italy, Spain, Japan, Iran, the United States, Canada, and Brazil. Follow up articles were published in *The EU Observer*, *Red Pepper* and *European Security Magazine*. A Spanish version of the briefing has been published as *Manos Arriba*, with a Dutch translation being prepared by the Belgian NGO Vrede VZW.

The briefing has resulted in increased awareness of ESRP among policy makers. It led to parliamentary questions in Ireland, while in September Ben Hayes debated the ESRP with the European Commission at a special hearing in the European Parliament. The findings of the briefing were also presented at activist and specialist conferences in Ireland, Austria, Finland, Belgium, Greece and Poland.

TNI's work contributes to a broader perspective on EU security and counter-terrorism issues, in partnership with Statewatch (UK), Corporate

European Observatory (Netherlands), Campagne Tegen Wapenhandel (Netherlands), CIP/FUHEM (Spain) and the Peace & Neutrality Alliance (PANA, Ireland), as well as with the newly established European Peace & Security Initiative, of which TNI is a member organisation. TNI co-organised debates on Islamophobia and the war on terror in Europe at the Dutch Social Forum, with a reader on this issue published for the occasion. A new website on EU security and defence policies is also under preparation.

## Outposts of empire

Throughout the year, the programme was one of three core co-ordinating organisations for the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases (or NO-BASES Network). This global network now has over 250 member organisations, mostly local grassroots organisations from the South. It campaigns for the accountability of bases in relation to their ecological, human rights, socio-economic, legal and political impacts, both locally and in terms of their use as launch-pads for illegal invasions or within networks of detention and torture.

In June, the programme co-organised sessions on Foreign Military Bases during the World Peace Forum in Canada. In July, a series of public sessions and policy debates were held with the Ecuadorian government and a preparatory meeting for the first international conference on foreign military bases was held in Quito, which takes place in Ecuador in March 2007. The country's new government has stated its intention not to renew the US lease contract for the Manta airbase.

In August, discussions were held with a dozen US universities regarding research co-operation on how foreign bases affect local communities. A website facilitating the pooling of contacts, plans and results has been established as a result. TNI associate Adriana Rossi wrote the TNI Briefing paper *Mercosur: entre doctrinas, mercado y seguridad* on US military and economic involvement in the Mercosur region. It includes policy



recommendations on regional security cooperation within the region, and was distributed among governments there and in the Andean region.

### **Iraq, the Middle East and South Asia**

TNI has long been active in the movement against the war on and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan. This work continued in 2006. In March, the programme organised two seminars in Amsterdam to discuss the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan, and the possibility of a US intervention in Iran. These brought together social movement activists and international relations specialists from Australia, Belgium, Germany, India, Iraq, Italy, The Netherlands, the UK and the US. The second of these seminars focused on the new legitimations for war. It built upon an earlier seminar in Montevideo in November 2005. The results will be published as *Selling US Wars*, due in March 2007."

In October, the programme was one of the organisers of the "War and Peace" Conference in Amsterdam, held in the run-up to the Dutch parliamentary elections. It discussed the positions and policies of Dutch political parties in relation to a broad range of militarism-related themes. TNI Fellow Kamil Mahdi was among the speakers, as well as TNI Young Fellow Ben Hayes.

Seminars on the Iraq conflict were organised in September and November to facilitate linkages between Iraqi civil society organisations and their international counterparts. These form part of a new Iraq Civil Society Project, with a conference planned to take place in Rome at the end of 2007. It is hoped that these new collaborations will provide a basis for policy engagement with European governments on stabilisation and reconstruction.

TNI Fellows active in the programme – Achin Vanaik, Praful Bidwai, Walden Bello, Phyllis Bennis, Mariano Aguirre, David Sogge and Kamil Mahdi – represented TNI and their own

organisations at numerous conferences in 2006. These included seminars on aid and failed states in Spain, Portugal and The Netherlands; a speaking tour of New Mexico; preparations for a special conference in India on the Middle East; and involvement in various UN-sponsored civil society initiatives on Palestine.

Despite some signs of thawing relations, India and Pakistan remain in a dangerous nuclear standoff. TNI Fellows Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik continue to report widely on this issue, as well as on India's military co-operation agreement with the US.

In the course of 2006, TNI fellows produced more than 75 articles on Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, nuclear proliferation and terrorism, all of which were republished on the TNI website.

### **United Nations reform**

TNI has focused increasing attention in 2006 on the role of the United Nations, with new synergies being developed between TNI's work on militarism and its Drugs and Democracy programme (see page 16).

Phyllis Bennis and TNI Director Fiona Dove held a series of high-level meetings with the South African foreign ministry and its think tanks in respect of the broader Middle East conflict and South Africa's potential role at the UN Security Council.

Phyllis Bennis' book *Challenging Empire: How People, Governments and the UN defy US power* had its Dutch launch at a public meeting in Amsterdam in January. Bennis, alongside TNI fellows Praful Bidwai and Susan George, participated in the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation's "What Next?" project, concentrating on how civil society can better challenge wars and discussing the potential for UN reform. The groundwork was laid for further work on UN reform in 2007.



# Environmental Justice



**The Environmental Justice project monitors the negative impact of carbon trading upon environmental, social and economic justice, and works to develop community-led responses to it. Since 2002, this work has been conducted under the framework of a Carbon Trade Watch project that provides an innovative combination of research, international networking, multimedia and popular education.**

## Reaching out with multimedia

The increase in media attention around climate change issues in 2006 meant that the project was able to step up its media outreach work, with articles published by BBC News online, *Parliamentary Briefing*, *Green Left*, *The Big Issue (Scotland)* and by the Centre for Alternative Technology. Carbon Trade Watch research was also cited as a source in *The Guardian* newspaper by George Monbiot and Robert Newman, and informed a special issue of the *New Internationalist* on carbon trading. The project produced a monthly climate justice column, 'Temperature Gauge', in *Red Pepper* magazine. The project also gave media interviews to BBC Radio 4, Reuters TV, the BBC World Service and Radio Netherlands.

Multimedia continues to play an important role in the development of the Environmental Justice project. Including communities in the filming and editing of documentary films in which they feature is an important ethic underlying the Environmental Justice project's approach to participatory media. The short film 'Luta Quilombola' was filmed in Brazil in July, with a first version made available online. A final version, edited by local Brazilian activists with the assistance of the

Environmental Justice project, is being developed for Spring 2007, with subtitles in English and Spanish.

The project returned to the Tupinikim village of Pau, Brazil to screen a version of the documentary on indigenous resistance filmed in 2005, and to seek feedback from Cacique leaders in advance of producing a final cut of the film.

The ongoing 'Raised Voices' video letters project entered its third phase, which saw screenings in Scotland and Brazil to the participants in the project. Feedback from both communities was sent and screened. The full documentary will be distributed in 2007.

The photography component of the project provided resources for magazines and partner organisations. The 'Where the Trees are a Desert' photo exhibition was displayed at the Enlazando Alternativas summit in Vienna, Austria in May. The exhibition was expanded following further field visits to Brazil in July and August and displayed at the 'What Next Forum' in Uppsala, Sweden in September. Copies of the 2005 version of the exhibition were returned to the Brazilian people featured in these photos, and a full copy of the exhibition was given to

partner group FASE-ES for use as an outreach tool.

The Landless Workers' Movement (MST) in Brazil requested 1,000 copies of the publication, *Where the Trees are a Desert* in Portuguese for distribution throughout its schools, which have added this text to their curriculum.

The project continues to maintain the [www.carbontradewatch.org](http://www.carbontradewatch.org) website, as well as providing comprehensive material on carbon trading on the main TNI website. Its reports were downloaded over 21,000 times in 2006.

### International networking

The Environmental Justice project continues to play a very active role in the Durban Group for Climate Justice, an international network of civil society groups, grassroots movements, community campaigners and academics.

In July 2006, the project co-organised an international meeting of this network in Montes Claros, Minas Gerais, Brazil. Fifteen Brazilian organisations were also in attendance, including the Center for Alternative Agriculture (CAA), FASE-ES, the Movement of Dam-Affected People (MAB), the Landless Workers' Movement (MST), World Rainforest Movement (WRM), FERN and the Pastoral Land Commission (CPT). The meeting explored the impacts of off-sets projects and made important links between groups in Brazil working on themes ranging from dams and plantations to mining.

In September, the Durban Group for Climate Justice published a book, *Carbon Trading: a critical conversation on climate change, privatisation and power*, edited by Larry Lohmann and published by the Dag Hammerskjöld Foundation as part of its Development Dialogue series, which has over 12,000 subscribers. The project contributed research and a photo-essay for a case study on a carbon project on the generation of carbon credits from heavily polluting pig-iron production in Minas Gerais, Brazil.

### Research and advocacy

In January, the Environmental Justice project participated in a policy meeting on emissions trading organised by partner Scottish Education and Action for Development (SEAD) in Edinburgh, Scotland in January, presenting information on emissions trading and community resistance.

Field research was conducted in Argentina in June and July, with a focus on biofuel impacts from soy plantations in rural Argentina. This research has provided a basis for the project to network and build on its biofuels and renewable

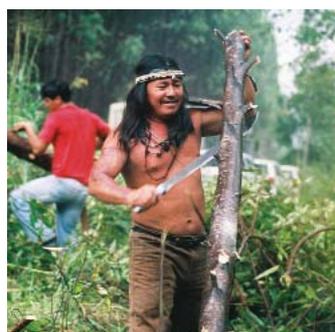
energy work. The project also undertook new research on carbon offsets, which will be published in February 2007.

In September, the Environmental Justice project organised a two-day retreat and planning meeting in the UK, where participants and partners in its work were able to reflect, share information and plan future projects.

In November, the project attended the National Forum for Forest Peoples and Forest Workers (NFFPFW) Second Annual National Forest Rights in Ranchi, India, during which 10,000 people demonstrated for forest peoples' rights. The project gave a workshop, showed short films from Brazil and presented information on climate change. Field research was conducted on sponge iron factories, mining and wind farms in India, all related to projects eligible for carbon credits under the Kyoto Protocol's Clean Development Mechanism. Community visits with local people provided a deeper understanding of the impacts on rural communities. These included filming testimonies, photography and interviews. Site visits to factories and projects were also part of the research.

The project was also invited to the India Social Forum in November where the project and its partner groups, along with TNI Fellow Praful Bidwai, spoke on a panel to 1,300 people about climate change and emissions trading.

This was one of a number of successful workshops conducted throughout 2006. The project hosted numerous well-attended workshops throughout the year at events such as the European Social Forum in Athens, the Climate Camp in the UK, the People and Planet conference in London, as well as at various meetings in South Africa, Brazil, Sweden, and India.



# TNI FELLOWSHIP 2006

There are currently 21 members of TNI's prestigious international fellowship. A number of the fellows are directors or senior associates of other research and advocacy institutes. These include Focus on the Global South (Asia), the Institute for Popular Democracy (Philippines), Policy Alternatives for the Southern Cone (Brazil), the Alternative Information and Development Centre (South Africa), the Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue (Spain), the Centre for Peace and Development Studies (Germany), the Institute of Globalisation and Social Movements (Russia), and the Institute for Policy Studies (USA). As such, these institutes are solid partners in many of TNI's projects. Others are journalists (India, USA, Germany, UK, Spain, Philippines), while still 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 promotes and involves its fellows in its programmes and bigger networks wherever possible. TNI hosts a homepage for each fellow, where full biographical and contact information may be found, as well as on-line reproductions of articles, speeches and interviews, and a bibliography of other works. Although TNI fellowships are honorary and are not paid, TNI has a modest fund, disbursed at the discretion of the Director, which is intended to support the work of fellows where necessary.

## THE CURRENT FELLOWSHIP



**Dr. Mariano Aguirre**  
Director of Peace, Security and Human Rights at Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), Madrid, Spain



**Dr. Marcos Arruda**  
Co-ordinator of Políticas Alternativas Para O Cone Sul (PACS), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil



**Professor Walden Bello**  
Director of Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, Thailand



**Phyllis Bennis**  
Director of The New Internationalism Project at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington DC, USA



**Praful Bidwai**  
Independent journalist, New Delhi, India



**Dr. Kees Biekart**  
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**Brid Brennan**  
Alternative Regionalisms programme co-ordinator, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



**John Cavanagh**  
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**Dr. Susan George**  
Author, Independent Scholar; TNI Planning Board Chairperson



**Dr. Jochen Hippler**  
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**Martin Jelsma**  
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**Dr. Boris Kagarlitsky**  
Director of the Institute of Globalisation and Social Movements, Moscow, Russia



**Dot Keet**  
Research Associate, Alternative Information & Development Center (AIDC), Cape Town, South Africa



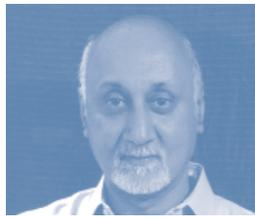
**Dr. Kamil Mahdi**  
Senior Lecturer in the Economics of the Middle East, University of Exeter, UK



**Dr. Joel Rocamora**  
Director, Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Manila, Philippines



**David Sogge**  
Independent Consultant,  
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**Hilary Wainwright**  
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## ASSOCIATE FELLOWS



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Assistant Professor of Sociology,  
University of San Diego, USA



**Pauline Tiffen**  
Independent consultant, UK



**Ricardo Vargas**  
Sociologist, TNI/Accion Andina  
research co-ordinator in Colombia

## SAMUEL RUBIN YOUNG FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

The Samuel Rubin Young Fellowship Programme aims to provide support, resources and a transnational environment for talented, socially committed young scholar-activists in the hope that TNI may contribute, albeit modestly, to the production of a new generation of influential leaders and change-makers. The programme is named in honour of the man with the original foresight to finance such a project.

In keeping with TNI's characteristic approach, the programme is transnational in composition and orientation. It is biased in favour of scholar-activists from the Global South, particularly women. The programme has a modest fund thanks to contributions from the Samuel Rubin Foundation and the Dutch Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Beneficiaries may be individuals or collectives, must be under the age of 35, and produce a project proposal with at least one substantive product. They hold the title of TNI Young Fellow for the duration of their grant.

**Ben Hayes** (30), UK, has been a researcher with the civil liberties group Statewatch since 1996, specialising in the development and implementation of EU Justice and Home Affairs policy. He is joint co-ordinator of the European Civil Liberties Network. Ben wrote *Arming Big Brother*, a briefing on the European Union's Security Research programme for TNI in 2006 and has received a TNI Next Generation award to write a book on the European Security State for TNI, to be published in 2007.

**Jan Hanrath** (29), Germany, is a student of political science at the University of Duisberg, focussing on EU-Middle East relations. He had previously studied in Ghana and undertook an internship in Lebanon. He speaks German, English, French and Arabic. Jan is a founding member of the Euro-Mediterranean Young Scholars' Network. He was supported to work on two TNI publications, concerning political violence and Middle East politics, under the guidance of TNI fellow Dr Jochen Hippler.

**Carlos Aguilar Sánchez** (26), Costa Rica, works for the Hemispheric Social Alliance, originally formed in opposition to the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. He has been working with TNI on EU-Latin America relations, participating actively in the *Enlazando Alternativas* co-organised by TNI in Vienna in 2006. Carlos was supported by TNI to develop research and analysis in support of Central American social movement strategies towards negotiations for an EU-Central America agreement, which includes insights into the strategic interests of the EU in Central America.

# FELLOWS MEETING

## China Rising



### The Economics of China Today

*Presenter: Chaohua Wang*

This session discussed the dynamics and prospects of China's "economic miracle", its impact upon developing countries and, in the wake of climate change, its potential consequences for the whole planet.

In some ways, China's growth can be compared to that of Victorian England in its oversupply of goods and its relentless global search for raw materials to fuel growth. However, the speed of China's growth, its reliance on low costs rather than productivity, and the fact that its economic rise is not backed by political and military domination differentiates China from the British Empire. The context of environmental meltdown also means that a 19<sup>th</sup> century-style industrialisation would be a dangerous road to 21<sup>st</sup> century development.

The consequences of uneven development and limited attention to environmental issues can be seen in the rise of rural unrest, land expropriations, a dangerous rise in bad lending, growing wealth polarisation and a collapse in social welfare. The Chinese government is yet to fully face up to its global responsibility for a model based on low wages and environmental damage.

### Political debates in China Today

*Presenter: Zhaotian He*

2005 marked the 30<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the end of the Cultural Revolution and the start of reform processes in China, but how are we to understand the currents of thinking and debate amongst Chinese intellectuals now? 1989 marked a clear turning point, leading to a strong rejection of Communist Party and state rule on the one hand, and suspicion of social movements based on idealism on the other. However, this prompted an uncritical idolisation of the market, a failure to analyse possible alternatives, insensitivity to issues of equality and social justice, and a lack of meaningful engagement with international debates such as those on Iraq or Palestine.

A new left that is critical of neoliberalism is starting to emerge, but it is yet to truly challenge or influence the state in developing a substantive policy of redistribution, or shift its emphasis away from the current model of economic developmentalism.

The relationship between state, society and the global economy is key to this whole debate. The current eco-

omic model allies state repression with multinational power to keep wages low. The commodification of everyday life has increased the power of money in society, but has also resulted in counter-effects like the rise of religious groups such as the Falun Gong.

### The myth behind China's miracle and emergence of alternative voices

#### Social movements in China Today

*Presenter: Dale Jiajun Wen*

The myth of China's "economic miracle" is that it is creating manufacturing jobs and increasing wages, but the reality is that manufacturing jobs decreased 15 per cent from 98 million to 83 million between 1995 and 2002. Sweatshops have become the norm, average salaries are falling and public services have declined. China is going for a "bigger is better" model and the rural populations, in particular, are suffering the consequences.

A number of movements are articulating alternatives to this situation: the Rural Reconstruction movement, which links students from more than 100 universities with peasants; an environmental movement consisting of more than 2000 NGOs; labour movements; and the New Left, a largely nationalist movement against excessive foreign control. These movements have changed the government's rhetoric but their impact on its practice is so far limited to a few band-aid measures. The movements' limitations raise questions about redesigning and rethinking the state, a major concern for many left movements worldwide. These are particularly difficult issues in China, with its repressive state institutions, the state's cooption by international capital at the national level, and a vacuum of state power at the local level, which is now often occupied by mafias and organised crime.

### Energy and environment

*Presenter: Eva Sternfeld*

China's carbon dioxide emissions per person are still a quarter of those in the US, but the gap is closing rapidly. Energy consumption has increased by more than 70 per cent since 1990. China's growth is highly dependent on fossil fuels (67 per cent coal, 22 per cent crude oil) with the building of 500 coal-fired power plants planned in the next decade. Although the government is investing more in renewable energies, which it hopes will reach 12 per



In 2006, China marked its twentieth year of rapid economic growth. It is increasingly acknowledged as an economic and political superpower that could one day rival the US. However, little is still known in the West about the dynamics of China's politics and economy, and its impact on workers and the environment. Does China's "economic miracle" really live up to its name? Can China's repressive state be reformed? What voices for change are emerging? What are the implications of China's actions on the global stage? The annual TNI Fellows meeting brought together 40 activist scholars from across the world to debate these issues, and to think through how global social movements should engage with 21st Century China.

cent of total production by 2020, this relatively small proportion is outweighed by overall increases in the country's energy use, and is in any case dependent upon an expansion of nuclear energy, whose potential costs in terms of contamination and storage are rarely questioned in China.

Climate change is already having an impact in China with shrinking glaciers, increased flooding, and a higher frequency of sandstorms in North China. However, the popular belief remains that technical solutions will resolve the crisis, and there is resistance to taking measures that curtail economic growth and enhanced competition with the US. There is also little consciousness of energy efficiency, in part as a legacy of the free provision of water and heating. Whether or not the rising ecological crises prompt a significant shift in thinking in China remains an open question.

### Labour organisation

*Presenter: Dongfang Han*

Official information about labour conditions in China is very unreliable, but the picture painted by various reports from the ground suggests that communist-style government and capitalist working practices have led to the worst possible scenario for labour. There are numerous cases from across the country of local protests in response to companies failing to pay workers or paying pitiful wages. Protests against unhealthy and dangerous working conditions are also widespread.

The Chinese authorities oppose independent union organising. The official labour movement is only seen as a tool to secure power, and there is fear of the Solidarnosc example in Poland. Multinational companies exploit the lack of union organising to prevent effective monitoring of their suppliers, and have opposed laws affecting investments. Repression has helped China to maintain its competitive advantage of low wages, while the threat of China is invoked throughout Asia and worldwide to keep wages low.

The key question is how best to organise. Working within the Chinese system to push for the application of existing laws and codes of conduct may help in certain cases. Sometimes it is the only pragmatic course of action, but doubts were expressed over whether this can ultimately help to build the kind of broad social movement unionism needed to raise wages and social welfare standards not just in China but worldwide.

### China's Global impact

*Open discussion*

This wide-ranging debate addressed various aspects of the outlook for China and its impact on the global political economy. Several participants struck a pessimistic tone, reflecting the severe challenges posed by China in terms of the race to the bottom on labour, environmental disasters, its growing debt crisis, capital flight, and a crisis in ideology. China's potent mix of economic and military power without democracy means that it lacks global responsibility, and we should not look to China for meaningful opposition to the US empire. Up to now, China's actions in Africa and its role in international forums such as the UN or G33 have confirmed its largely passive or negative impact. At the same time, several participants felt that it was important not to view China as a single block, as its direction is still not clearly fixed. There are signs of openings within government and Chinese civil society which could respond to engagement. There remains a clear need for the better distribution of information and alternatives within China, and for a more nuanced analysis of China's situation as a whole.





## JANUARY

**World Social Forum (WSF):** TNI co-organises seminars on the new Latin American left, the experiences of left governments in Europe and Latin America, alternatives to EU policies for trade and investment, and building alternatives to neoliberal globalisation in Europe and Latin America at the 6<sup>th</sup> WSF in Caracas, Venezuela. *Beyond the Market: the future of public services*, edited by Daniel Chavez, is launched.

**Regulating cannabis:** Martin Jelsma presents an expert opinion at a Dutch Parliament hearing about regulating the supply of cannabis to coffee shops.

**UNESCO-Mercosur:** Brid Brennan and Joy Chavez (of Focus on the Global South) represent the Alternative Regionalisms programme at the UNESCO-Mercosur high level symposium on regionalism in Buenos Aires, Argentina.



# REVIEW 2006



**Brazil crisis:** An online dossier edited by Hilary Wainwright and Sue Branford, *In the Eye of the Storm: left-wing activists discuss the political crisis in Brazil*, is launched. It attracts over 12,000 downloads in its first month of publication, and sparks a national media debate in Brazil.

## FEBRUARY

**International drugs policy:** Martin Jelsma participates in the Wilton Park conference on International Drugs Policy, chairing a session on “Reducing Supply: Dilemmas in Producing Countries”.

**Citizens’ participation:** Daniel Chavez speaks about the challenges to participation budgeting in Porto Alegre, Brazil at the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague.

**Coca Commission:** TNI, the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA) and Enlace organise an International Forum “Drogas y Democracia en América Latina” in La Paz, Bolivia, attended by over 300 participants. A Coca Commission on options for coca decriminalisation is established, and a strategy meeting is held with the Bolivian Foreign Ministry. Pien Metaal takes part in a live talk show on coca on Bolivian television.

## MARCH

**Commission on Narcotic Drugs:** TNI participates in the 49th session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna, Austria. Martin Jelsma was an NGO advisor to the Dutch government delegation. TNI co-organises an



NGO Forum on Alternative Development, and presents outcomes on behalf of the UN NGO Committee at the plenary session of the CND.

**Public water for all:** TNI and CEO, with other members of the Reclaiming Public Water network, host an international symposium “Public water for all” on the eve of the World Water Forum in Mexico City. The symposium is a pre-event for the International Forum in Defense of Water.

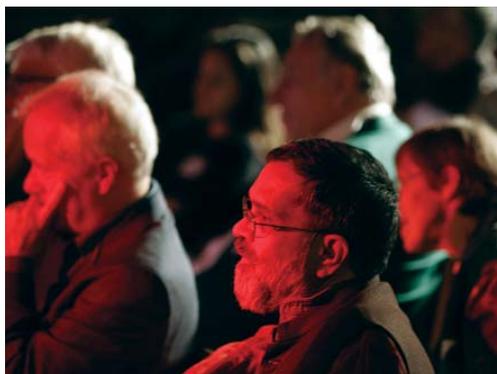
**Challenging Empire:** Phyllis Bennis presents her



## APRIL

**EU security:** The militarism and globalisation project publishes the briefing “Arming Big Brother: the EU’s security research programme”, written by Young Scholar Ben Hayes. It attracts media coverage in national papers in the UK, Poland, Germany, Italy and Poland, as well as several specialist publications.

**Combating hunger:** TNI hosts a seminar, co-



organised with Food First Information and Action Network (FIAN), to discuss the right to food and strategies to combat hunger.

## MAY

**European Social Forum (ESF):** TNI co-organises seminars on participatory governance in European cities; rethinking politics in an era of networks and movements; building strategies around the debate on EU constitution; social movements and left governments in Latin America; foreign military bases; and climate change at the 4th ESF in Athens, Greece. Eurotopia No. 3, focusing on social movements in Europe, is launched at the Forum.

**Linking Alternatives:** TNI co-organises the Enlazando Alternativas 2 social summit in Vienna, Austria, which is attended by over 1,500 participants. A session of the Permanent People’s Tribunal is held to examine human and labour rights violations by European transnational corporations. Susan George is among the jurors. Brid Brennan participates in a dialogue between government leaders, including Presidents Chavez and Morales, and civil society organisations. With over 260 journalists registered, the summit attracts significant international media coverage.

**Mission to Afghanistan:** TNI researchers Tom Kramer and Cristian Rivier visit Kabul and Nangarhar province in Afghanistan for interviews on opium eradication and the counternarcotics role of foreign military forces. *NRC Handelsblad* publishes an online diary of their visit.



new book *Challenging Empire: How People, Governments and the UN Defy US Power* at the ABC Treehouse, Amsterdam.

**Drugs in the Balkans:** TNI co-organises a conference “The Problem of Illegal Drugs in the Balkans” with the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation, under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Athens.

**Agrarian reform:** Jenny Franco represents TNI at the International Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development (ICARRD), facilitated by the International NGO/CSO Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty, Porto Alegre, Brazil.

**Participatory budgeting:** Daniel Chavez speaks on participatory budgeting in Latin American cities and discusses its replicability in Northern urban contexts at the Latin American Studies Association conference in San Juan, Puerto Rico.

**Dutch Social Forum:** TNI co-organises seminars on 'Another Europe', water justice, Palestine and the Middle East at the Dutch Social Forum in Nijmegen. A Dutch brochure on 'Another Europe' is launched, with 5,000 copies distributed at this and other events.

**Drugs and development:** Martin Jelsma and Tom Kramer participate in a policy conference on "Development in a Drugs Environment: Beyond Alternative Development?" organised by the European Commission, the German Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) at the GTZ-Haus in Berlin.

## JUNE

**China:** The annual TNI Fellows' meeting focuses on China. 40 people attend, including several leading China analysts. Chaohua Wang presents her book *One China, Many Paths* at the ABC Treehouse, Amsterdam.

**Basker Vashee memorial:** Dr Alex Magaisa delivers the inaugural Annual Basker Vashee Memorial Lecture in De Balie, Amsterdam, on the topic of "Law, Politics and the Crisis in Zimbabwe".

**World drug report:** TNI responds to the UNODC 2006 World Drug Report with the launch of a Drug Policy Briefing, "International drug control: 100 years of success?"

**Migrant domestic workers:** Together with the Commission for the Philippine Migrant Workers, TNI co-hosts a historic meeting on the occasion of the first recognition of the trade union rights of migrant domestic workers in the Netherlands.

## JULY

**Dialogue on violence against women:** TNI, together with CFMW and RESPECT NL, co-organises a dialogue with Ms. Yakin Ertürk, UN Special Rapporteur on violence against women.

**Climate justice:** TNI is among the organisers of an international meeting of Durban Group for Climate Justice in Montes Claros, Minas Gerais, Brazil. The meeting explores the impacts of off-sets projects and forges links with Brazilian environmental groups.

**Participatory democracy:** Daniel Chavez gives a lecture on "Participatory democracy and 'Progressive Cities' in Europe" at the Hungarian seminar on participatory democracies, Budapest.

**Public water:** TNI hosts a workshop on

"Democratising Public Water Delivery", where guest speaker Dr. V Suresh introduces the successful efforts to democratise public water delivery in Tamil Nadu, India.

## AUGUST

**Rethinking political organisation:** Hilary Wainwright gives the opening address at the XXII CLACSO ( El Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales) General Assembly, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. She lectures on the theme of "Rethinking political organisation in an era of movements, war and the global market".

**Another economy:** Susan George speaks at a conference for another economy, "L'impresa di un'economia diversa: IV Forum annuale di Sbilanciamoci" in Bari, Italy.

## SEPTEMBER

**Asia Europe People's Forum:** TNI co-organises the 6<sup>th</sup> Asia Europe People's Forum, held in Paasitorni Conference Centre in Helsinki, Finland. More than 700 participants from 45 countries attended. TNI Fellows Susan George and Achin Vanaik are among the keynote speakers, while the water justice, new politics, and militarism and globalisation projects all co-organise seminars.

**After Lebanon:** Phyllis Bennis analyses the outcome of Israel's war on Lebanon at a packed event at the ABC Treehouse, Amsterdam.

**Debating Lula's government:** Within the framework of the Madison Dialogue, TNI co-organises a seminar on "Lula's Government: A Critical Debate" in São Paulo, Brazil. Tni Fellow Marcos Arruda is among the speakers.

**What Next?:** Praful Bidwai, Susan George and Hilary Wainwright speak at the conference "From 'what now?' to 'what next?' - challenges and visions for another development", organised by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, Uppsala, Sweden. The environmental justice project displays the "Where the trees are a desert" photo exhibition.

**Local democracy:** Daniel Chavez speaks at the first Local Democracy convention, Madison, Wisconsin, USA

## OCTOBER

**Cocaine base paste:** Martin Jelsma and Pien Metaal present '*Paco*' under scrutiny, a TNI briefing on the cocaine base paste market in Argentina, Uruguay and Brazil, at the second International Forum on the Coca Leaf in Buenos Aires, Argentina.





**Political terror:** Achin Vanaik lectures on “Political terror, US imperialism and South Asia” at the Khalili Lecture Theatre, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London; and speaks on the same topic at the 10th Edinburgh Independent Radical Book Fair.

**Latin American economies:** TNI co-organises an international seminar on “The Economic Policies of the Latin American Left in Government” in Montevideo, Uruguay as part of the Madison Dialogue project.

**War and peace:** TNI Fellow Kamil Mahdi and Young Scholar Ben Hayes speak at the “War and Peace” conference at Felix Meritis, Amsterdam. The conference is an initiative of the Netherlands Stop the War Coalition, and is co-sponsored by TNI.

## NOVEMBER

**Drug policy dialogue:** The third informal drug policy dialogue, an initiative of TNI and the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation (APF), takes place in Bern, co-hosted by the Swiss Federal Office of Public Health. Participants from 21 countries discuss the effectiveness of law enforcement in supply reduction, recent developments around HIV/AIDS and harm reduction, Bolivia and legal options for the coca leaf and preparations for the 2008 UNGASS Review.

**India Social Forum:** The Environmental Justice Project, together with Praful Bidwai, speak to an audience of 1,300 people on climate change and emissions trading.

**HIV/AIDS in Burma:** TNI co-organises a conference on “HIV/AIDS in Burma and neighbouring regions” at De Balie, Amsterdam.

**Trade strategy:** Brid Brennan, Dot Keet and Cecilia Olivet participate in the Our World is Not For Sale (OWINFS) strategy meeting in Sao Paulo, Brazil. Dot Keet’s report on “South-South Strategic Alternatives to the Global Economic System and Power Regime” is launched.

**Rural public water:** TNI co-organises an international seminar on “Public Models of Drinking Water Supply and sanitation in Rural Areas” in Barcelona, Spain, to assess the challenges in the rural drinking water supply and sanitation systems worldwide.

## DECEMBER

**People’s summit:** TNI and the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) co-organise four seminars on behalf of the Enlazando Alternativas bi-regional network during the People’s Summit in Cochabamba, Bolivia, with a focus on EU-Latin America trade agreements and the role of European transnational corporations. TNI is represented by Brid Brennan, Cecilia Olivet and Claudia Torrelli.

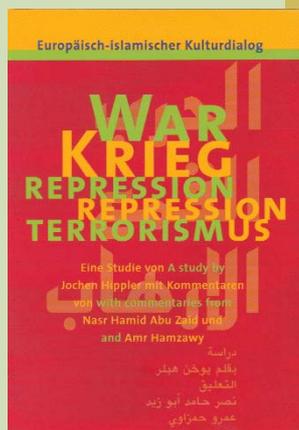
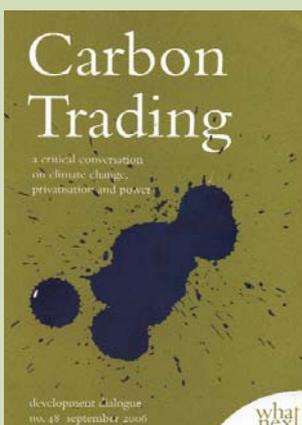
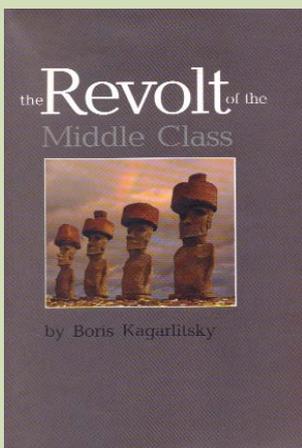
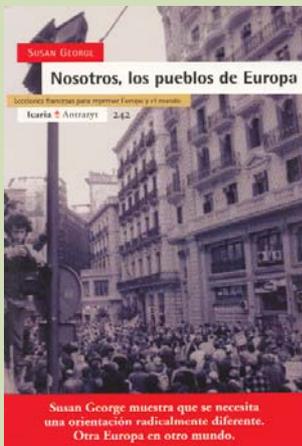
**UNGASS:** TNI and the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation co-organise a seminar on the UNGASS evaluation in Athens, Greece.

**Palestine-Israel:** Achin Vanaik participates in the civil society forum on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia exploring the role of civil society in supporting a lasting solution to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

**Public water:** TNI and ECOFONDO, Colombia co-organise a workshop on “Water: a public good” to discuss the proposed privatisation of Colombia’s water resources.

**Afghanistan:** The Drugs and Democracy project publish “Losing Ground: drug control and war in Afghanistan”, the 15<sup>th</sup> briefing in the Drugs and Conflict series.

*Row 1: Anil Naidoo, water justice seminar, AEPF, Helsinki; Bolivian water minister Abel Mamani and campaigner Oscar Oliveira, International Forum in Defence of Water, Mexico; Suresh Salla, World Water Forum, Mexico; Row 2: Alex Magaisa, Basker Vashee Memorial Lecture, Amsterdam; Susan George, AEPF, Helsinki; Praful Bidwai, What's Next? Forum, Uppsala; Row 3: Burying the WTO, Geneva, Switzerland; Page 28-9. Top to bottom: Ramón Fernandez Durán, AEPF, Helsinki; Fiona Dove, Enlazando Alternativas, Vienna; Au Loong-Yu, TNI Fellows' Meeting, Amsterdam; Presidents Evo Morales and Hugo Chavez, Enlazando Alternativas, Vienna.*



# BOOKS

## Beyond the market: the future of public services

Daniel Chavez (ed)  
TNI/Public Services International Research Unit, January

## Crônicas depois do furacão

Argumentos para repensar a esquerda  
Hilary Wainwright and Sue Branford  
Xamã VM Editora, São Paulo, November

## BOOKS IN TRANSLATION

## Más allá del mercado: el futuro de los servicios públicos

Daniel Chavez (ed)  
TNI/Public Services International Research Unit, January

## Acqua: per un modello pubblico di gestione. Successi, lotte e sogni

(Italian edition of 'Reclaiming Public Water')  
Belén Balanyá, Brid Brennan, Olivier Hoedeman, Satoko Kishimoto and Philipp Terhorst (eds)  
WWF Italia/Abruzzo Social Forum, March

## Reclaiming Public Water (Chinese edition)

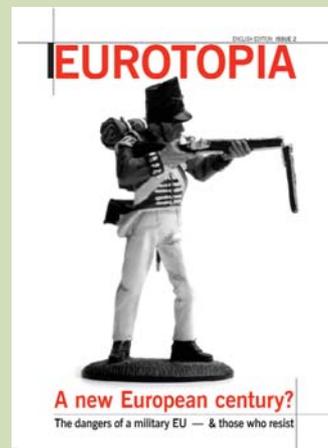
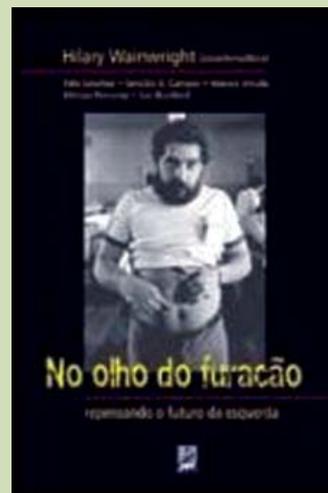
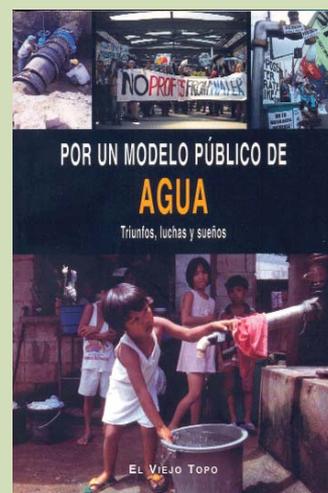
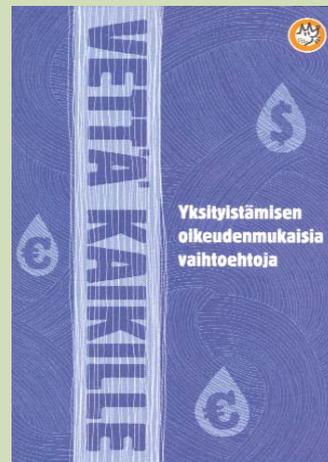
TNI, September

## Reclaiming Public Water (Korean edition of 'Reclaiming Public Water')

Korean Government Employees' Union (KGEU), September

## Yksityistämisen oikeudenmukaisia vaihtoehtoja

(Finnish edition of 'Reclaiming Public Water')  
LIKE, October



# BRIEFING SERIES

## Arming Big Brother

The EU's Security Research Programme  
Ben Hayes  
April (also in Spanish)

## Coca Yes, Cocaine No?

Legal Options for the Coca Leaf  
April (also in Spanish)

## Mercosur: entre doctrinas, mercado y seguridad

Adriana Rossi  
September

## 'Paco' Under Scrutiny

The cocaine base paste market in the Southern Cone  
October (also in Spanish)

## Losing Ground

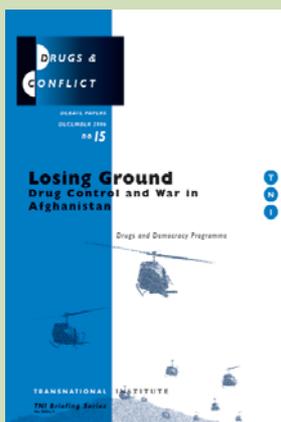
Drug control and war in Afghanistan  
December (also in Spanish)



# FELLOWS' BOOKS

**Who reaps the fruit? Critical Issues in the Fresh Fruit and Vegetable Chain**  
Myriam vander Stichele, Sanne van der Wal and Joris Oldenziel  
SOMO, June

**Nosotros, los pueblos de Europa: Lecciones francesas para repensar Europa y el mundo**  
Susan George  
Icaria Editorial, September



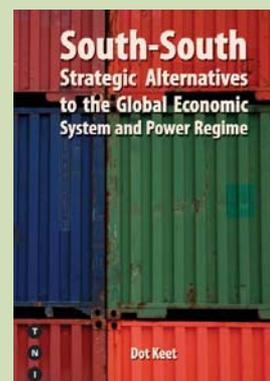
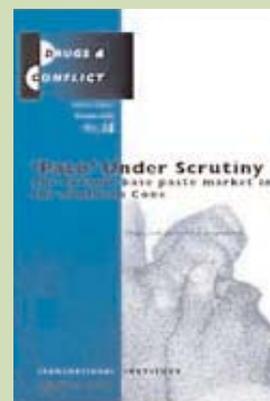
**War, Repression, Terrorism Political Violence and Civilisation in Western and Muslim Societies**  
Jochen Hippler (with commentaries by Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid and Amr Hamzawy)  
Institute for Foreign Cultural Relations (IFA), September

**EPA negotiations do not promote the right investment policies in Africa**  
Myriam vander Stichele  
SOMO, September



**The risks and dangers of liberalisation of services in Africa under EPAs**  
Myriam vander Stichele  
SOMO, September

**Corporate Power over EU Trade Policy: Good for business, bad for the World**  
Myriam vander Stichele, Kim Bizzarri and Leonard Plank  
Seattle to Brussels Network, October



## REPORTS

**In the Eye of the Storm: Left-wing activists discuss the political crisis in Brazil**  
Hilary Wainwright and Sue Branford (eds.)  
TNI, January (also in Spanish)

**A new European century: the dangers of a military EU**  
Eurotopia  
TNI, January

**Carbon Trading**  
A Critical Conversation on Climate Change, Privatisation and Power  
Larry Lohmann (ed)  
Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, September

**South-South Strategic Alternatives to the Global Economic System and Power Regime**  
Dot Keet  
TNI, October (also in Spanish)

# THANKS

## THANKS

### Funders

Ministry for Foreign Affairs (Netherlands)  
Foundation Open Society Institute (Switzerland)  
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Network for Social Change (UK)  
National Committee for International Cooperation and Sustainable Development, NCDO (Netherlands)  
Novib/Oxfam (Netherlands)  
South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (Netherlands/South Africa)  
Samuel Rubin Foundation (USA)  
Trocaire (Ireland)  
11.11.11 (Belgium)  
**ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS**  
**International**  
Durban Group for Peoples Action on Climate Change  
Food First International Action Network (FIAN)  
Friends of the Earth International  
Greenpeace  
Indymedia  
International Network For the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases  
Jubilee South  
Living Color  
Oilwatch International  
Public Services International (PSI)  
Reclaim Public Water Network  
Via Campesina

### AFRICA

Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network  
Southern African Trade Union Coordinating Council  
**Burkina Faso**  
Orcade (Organisation pour Renforcer les Capacites Development)  
**Ghana**  
National Coalition against Privatisation  
The National Coalition against Privatisation of Water  
**Kenya**  
CCFMC (Comprehensive Course on Franciscan Mission Charism) /FRA-CODEP  
**Laos**  
LFTU  
Women Federation and Trade Union  
**Liberia**  
Sustainable Development Institute  
**Mali**  
CORDE  
**Mozambique**  
UNAC  
**Nigeria**  
Environmental Rights Action  
**Senegal**  
ASPE (Senegalese association for environment)

### South Africa

Alternative Information and Development Center  
Anti-Privatisation Forum  
Centre for Civil Society  
Earthlife Africa  
eThekweni  
groundWork  
Pambazuka  
Khanya College  
South Durban  
Community Environmental Alliance  
Timberwatch  
Trust for Community Outreach and Education  
**Uganda**  
Climate & Development Initiatives

### ASIA

Asian Peace Alliance  
Focus on the Global South  
Southeast Asian Council for Food Security and Fair Trade (SEACON)  
**Australia**  
Friends of the Earth  
CDMWatch  
**Bangladesh**  
BanglaPraxis  
**Burma**  
Ethnic Nationalities Council (Union of Burma)  
Forum for Democracy in Burma  
Grassroot HRE  
Karen Environmental Movement/KESAN  
**Cambodia**  
Womyn's Agenda for Change  
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Action Aid China  
ARENA  
Asian Migrant Centre (AMC)  
Asian Harm Reduction Network  
Cardno ACIL China  
China Development Brief  
Chine Association for International Understanding  
China Association for NGO Cooperation  
Greenpeace Hong Kong  
Hong Kong Federation of trade Unions  
Oxfam  
Globalisation Monitor  
Government Waterworks Professionals Association  
SNR  
UNA  
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Delhi Forum  
Magic Lantern Foundation  
PEACE  
Prayas  
INSAF (The International South Asia Forum, India)  
PUCL-Tamil Nadu & Pondicherry  
**Indonesia**  
AMRTA Institute  
Indonesian Partnership for Governance Initiatives (IPGI)  
Indonesian Forum on Globalisation  
International NGO Forum on Indonesia Development (INFID)  
People's Coalition for the Right to Water  
Pergerakan  
**Israel**  
News from Within  
Union of Arab Community Based Associations/Ittijah  
**Japan**  
KoPA  
**Korea**

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU)  
SunKongHoe University  
**Malaysia**  
Era Consumer Forum Asia  
International Movement for a Just World (JUST)  
Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation (MSN)  
**Philippines**  
Akbayn Citizens' Action Party  
Bantay Tubig, The Water Vigilance Network  
Freedom from Debt Coalition  
Initiatives for International Dialogue  
Institute for Popular Democracy  
Iraq Solidarity Campaign  
Migrant Forum Asia (MFA)  
Mindanao Peaceweavers  
**Thailand**  
Asian Forum for Human Rights and Development  
Aids Access Thailand/Asian Harm Reduction Network (AHRN)  
Forum Asia  
Forum of the Poor  
FTA Watch  
Labour Union of Metropolitan Waterworks Authority (LUMWA)  
People Media Foundation  
Silkworm Books  
United Nationalities League for Democracy/UNLD  
**Vietnam**  
Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation  
Vietnam Union of Friendship Organisations

### AMERICAS

Hemispheric Social Alliance  
Red Vida (Inter-American Vigilance for the Defense and Right to Water)  
**Argentina**  
Intercambios  
Acción Sur  
ATTAC  
Banco de la Provincia de Buenos Aires  
Federation of campesinos cocareros de La Asunta  
Fundación de Investigaciones Sociales y Políticas  
Luchador por la recuperación de las tierras mapuches en La Patagonia  
Universidad de Rosario  
Water and Sanitation Works Trade Union of the Province of Buenos Aires  
**Bolivia**  
ASICA SUR/ Coordinadora del Agua, Cochabamba  
CEDIB  
Centro de Documentación e Información  
Federation of campesinos cocareros de La Asunta  
Centre for Strategic Studies  
Federation of Neighbourhood Committees (FEJUVE), El Alto  
Movimiento Al Socialismo  
**Brazil**  
ABONG  
Alert Against the Green Desert Movement  
ASSEMAE (National

Association of Municipal Sanitation Services)  
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ACJ Ecuador  
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COMDA (Coalición de Organizaciones Mexicanas por el Derecho al Agua)  
Equipo Pueblo  
Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC)  
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Federación Nacional de Trabajadores del Agua Potable y Alcantarillado del Peru (FENTAP)  
Programa Laboral de Desarrollo  
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Fellowship of Reconciliation  
Food and Water Watch  
Global Justice Ecology Project  
Havens Center, Madison  
Indigenous Environmental Network  
Institute for Policy Studies  
Liberty Tree Foundation  
Sustainable Energy and Economy Network (SEEN)  
Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (UUSC)  
Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA)  
**Uruguay**

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Miranda International Center

### EUROPE

Euro-Burma Office  
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European Peace & Security Initiative  
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Information Group for Latin America (IGLA)  
Sudwind  
**Belgium**  
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European Federation of Public Service Union  
GRIP  
Vrede VZW  
**Denmark**  
ATTAC  
CARE  
**France**  
Amis de la Terre/FOE  
ATTAC  
CCIPPP  
Espaces Marx  
France Libertés  
Politis  
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Finnish Asiatic Society  
Finnish Indonesia Society  
Friends of the Earth  
Service Centre for Development  
Cooperation of Finland (KEPA)  
Finnish Asiatic Society  
NOC AEPF Finland  
Trade Union for Public and Welfare Sectors (JHL)  
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Carta  
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Rifondazione Comunista  
Tavola della Pace  
Transform! Italia  
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World Wide Fund for Nature-Italy (WWF Italy)  
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ABVAKABO  
Ander Europa  
De Balie  
Belangenvereniging Druggebruikers MDHG  
Both ENDS  
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Nederland  
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Coalitie voor Eerlijk Handel  
Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers  
Comitee Grondwet Nee Moving Mountains  
Corporate Europe Observatory  
Een Ander Joods Geluid  
Friends of the Earth  
Friends of the MST  
GATS Platform  
ICCO  
Indonesia House  
Institute for Social Studies  
International Socialists  
LAKA  
de Landelijke Studentenvakbond  
Milieudefensie  
ATTAC  
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Nederland (PKN)  
Respect NL  
Stichting Bayanihan  
Stichting Drugsbeleid  
Stichting Duurzame Solidariteit  
Stichting Onderzoek Multinationale Ondernemingen  
University of Amsterdam  
University of Leiden  
VIA  
Vice Versa  
WEMOS Health for All  
Word Information Service on Energy (WISE)  
XminY Solidariteitsfonds  
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FIVAS  
Network on Local Politics in Developing Countries  
University of Oslo  
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**Slovakia**  
Friend of the Earth  
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 IGOPE  
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 (Engineers Without  
 Borders Spain)  
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 InsightShare  
 Iraq Occupation Focus  
 Kalayaan  
 New Internationalist  
 One World ActionOxford  
 Research Group  
 Pluto Books  
 PSIRU  
 Red Pepper  
 Rising Tide  
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## BALANCE SHEET 2006, December 31

<b>ASSETS</b>	dec 31 '06 in Euro	dec 31 '05 in Euro
Fixed assets	2,401,859	2,471,700
Current assets:		
Outstanding claims	118,354	50,326
Grants to be received	0	19,236
Cash	273,565	254,314
<b>Total assets</b>	<b>2,793,778</b>	<b>2,795,576</b>
<b>LIABILITIES</b>		
<b>Equity:</b>	<b>676,178</b>	<b>748,554</b>
Balance previous year	748,554	42,869
Result current year	-/- 72,376	705,685
Provisions	50,404	29,670
Long term liabilities (loan)	1,745,435	1,747,284
Current liabilities		
Redemption mortgage due in coming year	1,848	1,788
Project balance	119,911	166,670
Grants next year	20,000	---
Accounts payable	27,457	27,049
Tax	18,685	5,411
Personnel costs to be paid	25,642	30,323
Security on rent	9,282	5,282
Interest mortgage	5,948	5,816
Prepaid rent and service charges	13,092	---
Other current liabilities	79,896	27,729
<b>Total liabilities</b>	<b>2,793,778</b>	<b>2,795,576</b>
Income and Expenditure Account		
Income		
Grants	1,508,583	1,269,081
Gift: purchase of building	---	781,808
Rent	163,039	104,932
Interest/currency gain/loss	1,102	4,649
Publications & royalties	12,602	4,510
Salary subsidies	63,938	128,342
Miscellaneous income	37,686	73,190
Charged costs/overheads	74,779	35,084
Provisions previous year	---	66,511
Project balance current year	46,759	-166,670
<b>Total income</b>	<b>1,908,488</b>	<b>2,301,437</b>
Expenditure		
Personnel	742,066	678,911
Building expenses	220,634	254,253
Activity costs	443,849	268,518
Fellowship	46,535	16,995
Office & Communication costs	84,206	64,777
Publication & Outreach activities	362,258	226,538
Samuel Rubin Next Generation	12,232	25,486
World Social Forum	7,355	8,486
Organisational Development	13,756	---
Overheads	35,114	35,084
Miscellaneous	12,859	16,704
<b>Total expenditure</b>	<b>1,980,864</b>	<b>1,595,752</b>
<b>BALANCE</b>	<b>-/- 72,376</b>	<b>705,685</b>

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# Transnational Institute

**Founded in 1974, the Transnational Institute (TNI) is an international network of activist-scholars committed to critical analyses of the global problems of today and tomorrow, with a view to providing intellectual support to those movements concerned to steer the world in a democratic, equitable and environmentally sustainable direction.**

**In the spirit of public scholarship, and aligned to no political party, TNI seeks to create and promote international co-operation in analysing and finding possible solutions to such global problems as militarism and conflict, poverty and marginalisation, social injustice and environmental degradation.**

**Since its inception, hundreds of progressive scholars and activists have been involved in TNI projects. This extensive international network is mobilised to find the most appropriate people to design and participate in study groups, international conferences, and the production and dissemination of research results. Products generally take the form of specifically targeted working and policy papers, as well as easy-to-read books, often translated into a number of languages.**

**At the heart of TNI lies the committed core of current fellows and advisors. They include journalists, independent researchers, and senior scholars from similar institutes in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe, Scandinavia and the USA.**

**TNI is constituted as a non-profit organisation registered in the Netherlands.**