

Annual Report 2008



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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE



MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

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The global financial crisis and its fallout was a major focal point of TNI's attention in 2008. Seeing the writing on the wall, we had dedicated our 2007 annual fellows' meeting to the subject of the international financial system. TNI found itself well positioned when the news of the inevitable meltdown broke. In Beijing in October, TNI pulled together over 200 activist intellectuals to craft a response, which became the major point of reference for movements everywhere. Our <casinocrash.org> blog attracted thousands of people daily, and our fellows were in high demand to talk to the implications for the future of neo-liberal economics.

Meanwhile, in our role as 'collective intellectual', we tried to stay one step ahead by focussing our 2008 Fellows' Meeting on the convergence of crises. We highlighted the intertwined crises of food, land, energy and climate and discussed the need for a framework that addresses them all. This means ditching neo-liberalism in favour of a green conversion of the economy oriented towards an equitable, sustainable development for all.

The silver lining to the global economic crisis was a new openness to the kinds of alternative policies TNI has been working to promote for many years. Our sustained critique of carbon trading served to highlight the false promise that one can save the planet by pursuing 'business as usual'. Our work on European free trade agreements provided evidence as to why transnational corporations need to be regulated, and exposed the folly of the EU's dogged pursuance of (especially financial) liberalisation in the face of the crisis. Now, many southern governments are resisting EU pressure as they rethink neo-liberal globalisation as the only feasible path to development. Our work in popularising and supporting practical alternatives to water privatisation bore fruit at both national and international policy level. We saw a major shift in favour of public solutions in India, and at EU and UN levels. Two new networks emerged to push this from below: the European Network for Public Water and the Latin American Public-Public Partnership Platform.

Meanwhile, the gross intensification of the war in Gaza and increasing instability in the bigger Middle East/

Central Asian region was a matter of grave concern for our security analysts throughout the year. The ousting of George W Bush and the election of Barack Obama gave some initial cause for celebration, but more sober analyses fear that Afghanistan may become Obama's war. This does not bode well for regional stability, as developments in neighbouring Pakistan show.

TNI had a productive year in 2008. We co-published eleven reports, two DVDs and four new books, as well as updated translations of two previously published books. Our Fellows published ten books and 255 articles. Our publications were downloaded 61,500 times in 2008. TNI co-organised a staggering 45 international events attended by 15,700 people. These took place in Egypt, Lebanon, Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, Thailand, Vietnam, China, India, UK, Spain, Belgium, The Netherlands, Sweden and the USA. Our other outreach statistics are impressive too, logging 16.6 million hits on our website (up 25%) and 8,693 subscribers to our biweekly newsletter (up 20%).

Improved media coverage was sustained throughout 2008, with TNI being cited 143 times, on all our key topics, in influential media across the world. This included articles disseminated by two of the key mainstream news agencies, Reuters and the Associated Press. We also reached the *EU Observer* regularly, as well as *The Economist*, *El País*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *USA Today*, *The Hindu* and *The Guardian*. TNI also experimented with blogs for the first time. Both proved very popular – one on the Colombian conflict by Amira Armenta, and the other <Casinocrash.org> on the global financial crisis.

On the internal front, we were delighted to welcome Dr Jun Borrás (Philippines/Canada) and Dr Gonzalo Berrón (Argentina/Brazil) to the fellowship. Meanwhile, Fellow Walden Bello did us proud in being honoured as Outstanding Public Scholar of the year by the International Studies Association's Political Economy section. We welcomed to the staff, Lucía Goldfarb and Ernestine Jensema, while saying a fond goodbye to Gemma Galdón and Daniel Gomez. We were very grateful for the volunteer work of Arlette Ray, Els van de Ende and Susan Medeiros in 2008, and enjoyed the company of Örsan Senlap, Anna McNaught and Helen

Vreedevelde who joined us for part of the year. Through our Samuel Rubin Next Generation programme, we hosted six interns who all worked very hard for various projects. We also supported the work of seven talented young researchers. Two were subsequently employed temporarily and a third was given a two-year contract to undertake research on agrofuels.

TNI has continued to refine its planning, monitoring and evaluation systems. For much of 2008, consultant Bob Thomson conducted an independent evaluation of perceptions of TNI's work and value. He surveyed our subscribers, and interviewed target organisations, partners, associates, fellows and staff. Subscribers – mainly academics, policy makers and activists – indicated great satisfaction with TNI's outputs, while the others interviewed were highly complimentary regarding TNI's role and work. The challenge now is how to build on the strengths that have been affirmed, and how to create the space for deeper reflection within the organisation.

On the financial front, we posted a positive result of Euro 185,000. Our income increased 27% to Euro 2.7 million, exceeding by 10% our co-financing target for the Dutch Development Co-operation Ministry grant, which ends this year. Ministry policy is currently changing. Indications are that, as a relatively small network organisation focused on broad international policy change, TNI may find it difficult to secure one of the just 30 major grants on offer in the next round of funding from 2011 onwards.

TNI has been in existence for 35 years and has never been as relevant or as productive as it is now. Our most recent evaluation demonstrates that TNI's role in building transnational civil society coalitions, producing evidence-based arguments for policy changes, and providing vision for a socially and ecologically just world is highly valued. Our challenge now is to find the funds to sustain this work. We will need all the support we can get, and trust we can count on you!

Fiona Dove
Executive Director
Amsterdam
May 2009



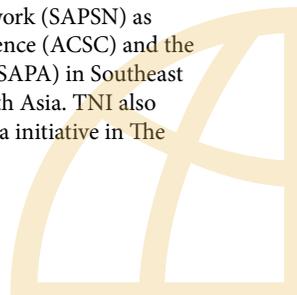
Alternative Regionalisms



TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme promotes socially just and environmentally sustainable regional alternatives to the current model of corporate-led globalisation. Working closely with social movements and coalitions of civil society organisations in the South and Europe, the programme combines network-building, research and policy advocacy.

The unfolding global financial crisis and its anticipated socio-economic impact, particularly in the South, gave new impetus to TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme and its support for regional alternatives to corporate globalisation. TNI worked closely with others sharing a vision of a people-centred regional integration—the Hemispheric

Social Alliance (HSA) in Latin America and Caribbean; the Southern Africa People's Solidarity Network (SAPSN) as well as the ASEAN Civil Society Conference (ACSC) and the Solidarity for Asian Peoples' Advocacy (SAPA) in Southeast Asia and with a People's SAARC, in South Asia. TNI also actively participated in the Ander Europa initiative in The



Netherlands promoting a more democratic Europe. Major events of the year included the Enlazando Alternativas in Peru and the Asia-Europe People's Forum in Beijing. EU free trade and investment negotiations with the South, embodied in its "Global Europe" strategy was a key focus of the year. On this, TNI also worked with the Seattle to Brussels network (S2B).

Challenging Global Europe

A hundred campaigners from both Europe and the South met in Brussels in April to exchange strategies and to develop common campaign plans. A hearing was held in the European Parliament, a rally took place in Brussels, and press conferences were convened. Southern partners then embarked on an advocacy tour to The Netherlands, the UK, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy and Germany. Meanwhile, TNI undertook a particularly successful initiative—in co-operation with Third World Network and the South Centre (Geneva)—facilitating an exchange in Brussels among 20 trade negotiators from Africa, Latin America and Asia on their countries' negotiations with the EU. Feedback indicated that the trade negotiators were hugely grateful for the opportunity to compare notes and better understand the Global Europe trade strategy.

Follow-up strategy meetings were held during the Enlazando Alternativas conference in Peru in May; the European Social Forum in Malmö, Sweden in September; and the Asia-Europe People's Forum held in Beijing in October. In December, TNI launched its Public Debate series in Brussels that aims to directly engage the European Commission.

Meanwhile, Susan George's book *We, the Peoples of Europe* on the controversy over the EU constitution was published in English in 2008, and widely distributed through the Ander Europa and other progressive European activist networks. George also contributed on the same subject to *Budgeting for the Future: Building Another Europe* (Sbilanciamoci). A documentary, *Neo-Liberalism*, solely dedicated to George's views was produced by the engaged and acclaimed Cinema Libre Studio.

Asia Focus

TNI contributed to the EU-ASEAN Free Trade Agreement (FTA) Campaign network, set up in 2007, by facilitating the participation of Bolivia's trade negotiator in a roundtable in Vietnam (the country heading the ASEAN negotiating team). National and thematic platforms of the network were established in five countries in Southeast Asia (Philippines, Thailand, Indonesia, Malaysia and Vietnam), including an inter-regional labour seminar. Lobby meetings were held with ASEAN and EU trade negotiators, as were public events—well covered by the local media. Research in those

same five countries on the EU-ASEAN FTA and its likely impacts has since been commissioned.

Meanwhile, an EU-China NGO network was formed in 2008 to focus particularly on the EU-China Partnership and Co-operation Agreement. A book, *China's New Role in Africa and the South*, was also co-published following a meeting in China organised with Fahamu and Focus on the Global South the year before. TNI participated in a follow-up meeting in Kenya in 2008 on China-Africa relations, and contributed to a second book due out in 2009.

Southern African Protests

In May, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) met in Johannesburg, South Africa where protests were organised against the signing of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) with Europe. Subsequent press coverage gave voice to the criticism that EPAs were being signed under duress from the EU, and significantly undermined Africa's own efforts at regional integration. Our South African fellow, Dot Keet, and regional partners—the Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network and the Africa Trade Network—played important link roles between the activities in Europe and Southern Africa.

New Era for Europe-Latin America Relations

Also in May, EU and Latin American heads of state met in Peru for their bi-annual summit. TNI and partners in Latin America co-organised the *Enlazando Alternativas* (Linking Alternatives) the same week. Over 9,000 people from 73 countries in Europe and Latin America registered for the event, with 15,000 people attending the closing rally addressed by President Evo Morales of Bolivia. Over 2,500 journalists



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registered for the forum and the result was a significant media coverage, particularly in the Latin American media. Both activists and certain Latin American governments voiced criticisms of the Global Europe trade strategy. Over 100 workshops on alternatives to the current economic model were held involving

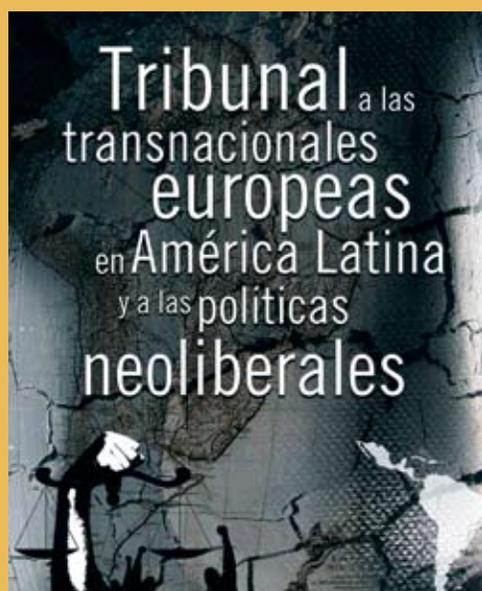
people from rural, environmental, indigenous, trade union, feminist, human rights, solidarity, migrant and NGO organisations. A final declaration highlighted participants' vision of bi-regional relations that would be in the interests of the peoples of both regions. Unusually, this has since been posted to the website of the official inter-governmental summit. Meanwhile a DVD, co-produced by TNI highlighting the regional alternatives emerging in Latin America, was downloaded 700 times on the first day it appeared on-line. It was subsequently distributed widely to various networks.

In November, a major controversy broke when the EU cancelled negotiations with the Andean Community of Nations (CAN) in the face of Bolivian criticisms of the EU's negotiating stance. Despite its stated commitment to negotiate on a "region-to-region" basis, the EU subsequently opened bilateral negotiations with Peru, Colombia and Ecuador, effectively breaking the back of CAN as a regional body and driving wedges among member countries. TNI and the Hemispheric Social Alliance initiated a protest petition, subsequently signed by 198 organisations from 31 countries, as well as a number of parliamentarians.

A Tribunal on Corporations

Twenty-one companies found themselves in the dock at the Second Session of the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) on European Transnational Corporations in Latin America. The exercise showed the need for official legal instruments to hold strategic companies accountable where they impact negatively on, for example, labour, environment, health and safety rights, as well as where they are involved in corruption and exert undue political influence. Evidence was prepared in advance for the jury and then orally presented in Lima. The 12-person jury included a Supreme Court judge, lawyers, former senators, professors and human rights advocates. The European Commission and all the companies concerned were informed of the Tribunal and invited to attend. Only one (Norwegian) company presented itself to the Tribunal.

Based on the evidence, the jury produced a written resolution in which it called on the United Nations Human Rights Council to appoint a Special Rapporteur to report to the General Assembly on the possibility of setting up an International Tribunal to judge economic and ecological crimes of transnational corporations, and to which individual and collective victims can turn as legitimate plaintiffs. It also called on governments to enforce labour, human and environmental rights, as well as the rights of peoples, communities and indigenous nations in line with international conventions, agreements and declarations. The jury further called on governments to guarantee the sovereignty and dignity of peoples over the economic interests of the private sector, to assure universal access to public services, and to keep basic means of life in the public domain (water, air, land, seeds, genetic heritage and pharmaceuticals). Finally, the jury resolved to refer cases to the International Criminal Court, European Court of Human Rights, United Nations Economic and Social Council, United Nations Human Rights Council, Inter-American Commission on Human Rights, and all other possible legal avenues at national level in both regions. See the full text at www.tni.org/reports/altreg/pptlima.pdf



Asia Europe People's Forum in China

As news of the global financial crisis threw the world into shock, 500 delegates from 40 countries met in Beijing for the 7th Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF) in October 2008. Held under the banner of "For Social and Ecological Justice", this was the largest civil society conference to take place in China since the UN Women's Conference in 1995, and the first ever to focus on Europe-Asia relations. Opened by the Chinese Minister of Foreign Affairs, AEPF broke new ground in bringing together Chinese, European and Asian activists, NGOs and parliamentarians to discuss issues of common concern.

The Beijing AEPF was a first engagement with Chinese civil society for most international participants. Many Chinese participants commented that they were inspired to learn that civil society organisations can impact on global policies. Resource materials were published in Chinese on a range of topics, such as water privatisations, climate change, carbon trading, the Burmese conflict, and the EU-China Partnership and Cooperation Agreement. A final plenary brought together in a final declaration the recommendations of all sessions at the conference, which was then presented to the official Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM).

TNI has served as the European anchor of the AEPF bi-regional network since 1996. It is committed to advancing a people's perspective on Asia-Europe relations—especially in the areas of trade, democracy, human rights and human security. Its most high profile activity is the organisation of the AEPF every other year—alternately in Asia and Europe—in parallel to ASEM summit. Meanwhile, civil society organisations in South Asia were inspired to initiate a People's Summit of their own in Sri Lanka in 2008.

Beijing Nights

News of the global financial meltdown broke just before AEPF in Beijing. Many present felt an urgent need to discuss the implications, so TNI co-convened the "Beijing Nights". Around 250 stalwarts met until midnight for three consecutive nights. By the third night, there was consensus that the crisis represented an opportunity to push for democratisation of the global system and ensure the alternatives so many had worked towards for so long would finally get the public attention they deserved. The result was the *Beijing Declaration*, "The Global Economic Crisis: An Historic Opportunity for Transformation", which was quickly disseminated worldwide and endorsed by over 1,000 organisations within days. It has since become a major reference point as progressive civil society continues to assert its vision of what could be possible as the crisis deepens globally. A special blog (www.casinocrash.org) was set up with the Beijing Declaration as its centrepiece, attracting thousands of visitors daily.

Meanwhile, TNI's Susan George was swamped by demands for interviews on her views on the crisis. Subsequent articles appeared in the *New Scientist*, the BBC, *The Guardian*, *De Stem* (Belgium), *Politis* (France), *The Irish Times* and the *EU Observer*. George called for the crisis to be treated as an opportunity to move away from neo-liberal economics and militarism, and to invest in a sustainable future. Her view was echoed by Walden Bello, who also received a lot of media coverage in the wake of the crisis.



Beijing Nights discussions. From left to right: TNI Fellows Walden Bello and Boris Kagarlitsky, with Director Fiona Dove chairing.

Migrant Voices and Rights

Controversial European immigration legislation was passed in 2008: the EU Return Directive (June) and the Asylum & Migration Pact (October). Potentially affecting an estimated 10 million people in Europe, the laws focus on criminalisation, detention, and deportation of migrants. The EU Return Directive was particularly contested and only passed by a five per cent margin. Protest came from the presidents of several Latin American countries concerned about the human rights of their nationals and loss of remittances on which several economies of the South heavily depend (and which far outweigh EU development funds).

In June, TNI co-founded the Transnational Migrant Platform, which aims to bring together migrant communities for the development of common strategies to influence migrant and development policy in The Netherlands and Europe. TNI also attended the World Social Forum on Migrations in Madrid in September. TNI helped to ensure the inclusion of migrant organisations in delegations to international civil society conferences, encouraged European migrant organisations to become active members of networks such as the Seattle to Brussels network, and worked to make the migrant agenda an integral part of the work of broader civil society networks in Europe.



New Politics

The TNI New Politics programme is concerned with the empowerment of civil society for more democratic, participatory and accountable governance. Since we live in a complex world where no inherited orthodoxy can provide all the answers, the only way to develop these tools is through interrogating, comparing and reflecting on experiment and actual experience.

Photo: Eduard Bayer

In co-operation with other activist-researchers, TNI has been surveying political innovations across the globe, documenting and reflecting on the new thinking about political agency emanating from contemporary social movements. This includes a specific rural focus. TNI has also been taking a hard look at the policies of the new radical governments of Latin America to see how new and how radical they really are. We have been promoting experiments with participatory democracy, and undertaking training on the subject. We have been looking to citizen and worker participation as an alternative driving force for public sector reform (see “In the Public Service”, page 13). Finally, we picked up on an issue not traditionally considered much by progressives, that of crime and governance.

Networked Politics

TNI’s New Politics programme is rethinking traditional political organisation as the world is confronted with the emergence of new movements and network-based organising. This work explores the implications—and limits—of the organising principles and cultures behind, for example, the women’s movement or the alter-globalisation movement, which reject hierarchy and instrumental priorities and seek new forms of political agency.

At seminars during the past four editions of the World and European Social Forums (WSF and ESF), we presented diverse “laboratories” for new politics—from the microcosm of community housing struggles in South Africa, to the experiences of radical political parties in government, to the methodologies of the World Social Forum. A significant outcome of the work has been the Networked Politics project. It is exploring new or potential institutional forms influenced by the networked forms of



organisation of contemporary social movements, and the social sharing facilitated by new communication technologies. The project held a seminar at the University of California in Berkeley at the end of the year, which brought together an interestingly diverse mix of philosophers, open source activists and trade unionists. TNI also works closely with Transform! Europe and others to study the implications of contemporary communication technologies for new political institutions.

Meanwhile, TNI Fellow Kees Biekart co-edited *Civic Driven Change*, a volume very complementary to the work of TNI's New Politics programme. It documents the discussions that have taken place within the Civic Driven Change Initiative, about a perspective of change in societies that stems from citizens rather than states or markets. The Civic Driven Change Initiative is hosted by the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague.

Rural Innovations

Much of TNI's work on new politics has focused on urban settings. Our rural new politics project is an effort to document democratic innovations in a rural setting, while facilitating mutual learning among rural-based organisations from countries as diverse as Brazil, Mexico, South Africa, Mozambique, Indonesia and the Philippines. Working with researchers associated with rural rights advocacy organisations in those countries, the project has been looking at the highly diverse democratic innovations occurring on the rural front, their relationship to urban-based initiatives, and their impact on the national development policy process. Initial reports were presented by researchers to feedback workshops with members of the associated organisations. The process has served to stimulate reflections on organisational strategies, helped to strengthen local campaigns and build international solidarity. Relations between the Mozambican and South African organisations, particularly, were strengthened significantly through the project. The final report is currently being compiled.

Meanwhile, TNI published two initial booklets in its new Land Policy series analysing aid policies in relation to land issues—one on the European Union and another on the World Bank.

Latin America's radical alternatives

A wave of radical governments has been swept to power across Latin America on a sea of dissatisfaction with neo-liberal economics and unresponsive politicians. TNI has sought to assess just how progressive the policies of these governments have been, and highlight the genuine alternatives emerging. The research has been co-ordinated through the Madison Dialogue, a joint project with the University of Wisconsin's Havens Center, involving researchers from 10 Latin American countries. In May, we published a new edition of *La*

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Nueva Izquierda en América Latina, which received excellent reviews in the two best regarded Spanish-language newspapers, *El País* and *El Mundo*. The book also became the subject of debates on websites and blogs across Latin America. It was published in English as *Utopia Reborn*, and launched at a seminar held at the Centre for Dutch Universities' Latin American Studies Departments (CEDLA).

Latin American innovations were also the subject of a major conference at the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague attended by major Dutch NGOs, Dutch Foreign Ministry officials, Latin American ambassadors, and students. The Dutch world service broadcast a roundtable with the international guests.

Meanwhile, the Madison Dialogue completed the third phase of its research project focused on social policy innovations in Latin America.

Participatory Democracy

Part of the effort of the New Politics project is to promote democratic experimentation. In 2008, TNI worked with local governments and civic organisations in Denmark, Spain, Chile, Paraguay, Peru and Mexico to develop pilot proposals for participatory budgeting in small and middle-size municipalities. This was part of a two-year research and capacity-building initiative begun in 2007 that explored the potential benefits of information and communication technologies (ICT) for strengthening local democracy (e-democracy) in Europe and Latin America. TNI provided advice and technical facilitation to the project, which is funded by the European Commission's Urban budget line. The final report of the project, which includes concrete guidelines for implementation, was presented at an international conference in Culiacan, Mexico in

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November and is to be published by the EC in May 2009.

TNI developed a very successful six-month module on “New Theories and Practices in the Fields of Participatory Democracy and Local Governance” for the Programa Latinoamericano de Educación a Distancia en Ciencias Sociales (PLED, Latin American Programme of Distance Education in Social Sciences). PLED is a region-wide initiative of the Centro Cultural de la Cooperación (Buenos Aires), the University of Rio Cuarto (Argentina) and the Autonomous University of Mexico (UAM). It currently has 160 registered students from across Latin America and Spain—mainly social activists, development practitioners and public officials. TNI involved as teachers appropriate people from the Popular Sovereignty Network.

TNI also signed a bi-national framework agreement with the Caracas-based Fundación Escuela de Gerencia Social (FEGS), the Universidad Simón Rodríguez and the Institute of Social Studies (ISS, The Hague) to develop a postgraduate education and research programme on social policy and participatory democracy in Venezuela. The curriculum has been submitted to the country’s Higher Education Council for official approval.

Meanwhile, a video on the future of participatory democracy was produced by the Popular Sovereignty Network, established at an international seminar co-hosted by TNI and CIDADE in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2007. It has been distributed internationally with Spanish and English subtitles.

TNI, together with progressive magazines in

Europe, also jointly published a special issue of the supplement, *Eurotopia*, focusing on participatory democracy in Europe. Chavez also spoke about the expansion of participatory budgeting in Europe and Latin America at a Forum on the Future of Democracy in Europe organised by the Council of Europe in Madrid in October, and at the International Conference of Democratic Innovations organised a week later by governments of Catalonia, Spain.

Crime and Governance

In 2003, the New Politics programme was first inspired to tackle the question of crime and governance. It is an issue that progressives tend to ignore due to its complexity. We studied how organised crime can fill power vacuums and take over political space, how poor communities are criminalised, and how life in such communities is in conflict with the basic human right to security. In February 2008, TNI co-organised a seminar on “Políticas alternativas de seguridad ciudadana en America Latina” (Alternative policies on citizen security in Latin America) in Buenos Aires. It was attended by high-level public officials, including five national and provincial ministers from Argentina, Uruguay, Honduras and Costa Rica, national police advisors, UN Development Programme representatives, development NGO practitioners, researchers and civil society leaders. Meanwhile, TNI commissioned four papers on the subject in relation to Venezuela, Brazil, Kenya and South Africa.





Water Justice and Public Services

TNI's programme on Public Services seeks innovative ways to reform public services such that citizens have universal access to water, energy, health and other basic services. While recognising that state-run facilities are often inefficient, the experience of commercialisation and privatisation has resulted in higher costs to consumers and in many countries with predominantly poor populations, many people have lost access to basic services.

There is a wide spectrum of options between state-run utilities and outright privatisation. TNI has been documenting and popularising a number of feasible alternatives, including consumer co-operatives, union-run facilities, participatory democracy mechanisms for consumer involvement in the management of services, and mechanisms such as public-public partnerships to improve the functioning of public utilities.

The centrepiece of TNI's work on public services has been our very successful focus on water. This is embedded within the Reclaiming Public Water (RPW) network, a growing international network of civil society activists, trade unionists, academics, as well as water utility managers and engineers. With members in over 40 countries, it advocates effective, democratic and equitable ways to solve the global water crisis.

TNI also worked in 2008 with the British public sector union UNISON to document and evaluate the experience in Newcastle Council of a publicly-led process of public service reform in which the unions played an important role. We also joined the international steering committee of the Municipal Services Project, advising on a five-year research project focused on health systems in Africa and links to the

delivery of water, sanitation and electricity.

Water Justice

Multinational corporations are facing intense opposition from local communities in the face of increased tariffs and failure to deliver on promised improvements. There is now a growing trend to return failing, privately-managed water services to public management. France, arguably the heartland of privatised water services, is at the forefront of the remunicipalisation trend, now also increasingly manifest elsewhere in the world. In June, a new website (www.remunicipalisation.org) was launched to track the growing trend. This attracted the attention of the media, with articles appearing in *Le Monde Diplomatique*, *Il Manifesto*, as well as specialist publications like *Water World* and *European Water News*.

PuPs vs Privatisation

A key focus of the Reclaiming Public Water network in 2008 was the promotion and facilitation of public-public partnerships (PuPs) between water utilities. PuPs are not-for-profit link-ups between public water operators to share management and technical expertise. Part of the effort has been to advocate that international



Above: Reclaim Public Water's regional seminar in Chennai, India. From top to bottom: Small group workshop; Bolivia's Water Minister Rene Orillana talks to the press; meeting with villagers; water engineers' meeting.

agencies and donor governments support the PuP approach rather than push for privatisation. UN Habitat is already supportive of the approach through its Water Operator Partnerships (WOPs), aimed at supporting public utilities in the South. TNI and its partners have had to work hard, however, to ensure private water industry lobbyists did not co-opt the project.

Both UN Habitat and the UN advisory board on water and sanitation (UNSAGB) have since agreed that WOPs should not be for profit, and have recognised the RPW network as an important stakeholder and resource for the WOPs initiative. The RPW network has established itself as a significant representative of civil society and will likely be included in the Interim Steering Committee of the Global WOP Alliance (GWOPA) to be selected in early 2009. RPW will work to build the capacity of needy public utilities in the South to access WOP support.

To this end, the RPW worked to strengthen the network at regional level, with meetings held in Latin America, Asia and Europe. These highlighted successful examples of publicly managed water utilities and promoted the idea of PuPs for improving the functioning of troubled others.

Latin America Pioneers

In Cochabamba, Bolivia, where some of the first open battles against water privatisation were fought and won, 60 organisations from 16 countries in the Americas came together in August to build alliances between public and community-based water systems across the continent. The most significant result was the creation of the Latin America PuP platform, which will promote, facilitate and support PuP projects in the region. The success of such PuPs will be key to the success of community efforts to reclaim public services.

Meanwhile, TNI and groups from Red Vida (American Network for the Defence of the Right to Water) have been supporting a pilot PuP between SEDAM — the utility in the Peruvian city of Huancaayo, and ASBA — the public water operator from Buenos Aires, Argentina. Co-operation has already resulted in a thorough evaluation of the challenges facing SEDAM and plans are being implemented to overcome these.

Asia Embraces PuPs

The state of Tamil Nadu in India is famous for its Water Supplies and Drainage Board's (TWAD) successful experiment to improve water facilities through democratic experimentation using the *koodam* approach. This a Tamil tradition based on equality among participants — crucial in

overcoming barriers of class, caste and gender. TWAD's initiative has created new partnerships between water engineers and rural communities in need of improved water services. For this reason, the city of Chennai was chosen as the site for the Reclaiming Public Water network's regional meeting in Asia in September. Participants from across the region visited the villages concerned and learned about the *koodam* approach. It was subsequently used in the seminar to create the ideal atmosphere for learning and discussing co-operation.

India's most widely read national daily, *The Hindu*, published a series of in-depth articles on water democratisation and PuPs as a result of the seminar. This caught the attention of high-level officials responsible for the drinking water and sanitation policies of the Indian government. Subsequently, a session on PuPs was added to the South Asia Conference on Sanitation (SACOSAN), a high-powered regional conference held in Delhi in November. With the support of TNI and the international trade union confederation, Public Services International, our Indian partners prepared the session, introducing the concept to officials and policy makers from countries across the region.

Meanwhile, with the support of TNI, the Beijing-based research group Xinjiang Conservation Fund (XCF) released the report *Rethinking China's Urban Water Privatisation* based on data from 500 households in five Chinese cities. The report was well received at the workshop on "Alternatives to Privatisation" held during the Seventh Asia Europe People's Forum (AEPF) in Beijing in October. It catalysed a lively debate among water activists, Chinese authorities and mainstream academics.

Europe's best practice

The Reclaiming Public Water network

presented 10 diverse cases of successful public water management in Europe at an important seminar held during the European Social Forum in Malmö, Sweden in September. A discussion paper was subsequently published.

An important outcome of the meeting was the formation of the European Network for Public Water (ENPW). Involving citizen groups from most European Union member states, ENPW aims to pressure EU policy-makers to abandon short-sighted pro-privatisation policies by focusing attention on lessons to be learned from Europe's many sustainable and socially responsible public utilities. ENPW is also demanding a moratorium on new EU liberalisation initiatives in the water sector and clear guarantees that public water supplies will be exempted from EU competition and procurement rules.

Middle East Comes On Board

With the controversial World Water Forum (WWF) scheduled to take place in Istanbul in 2009, the Middle East was an important focus of work for the Reclaiming Public Water network. Groups struggling around water in the region are not yet well integrated into the international networks of the global water justice movement. In an effort to strengthen links within and across the region, TNI commissioned local activists to document their struggles as a contribution to an expanded and updated Arabic edition of the hugely successful *Reclaiming Public Water* book. The Arabic edition is the 13th language edition since 2005. The new chapters described the worsening water crisis, as well as the mismanagement and gross injustice that characterises water policies in numerous countries of the region. The chapters were all translated into English and Spanish too, as part of the online resource offered by RPW. An Oxfam Novib-sponsored regional water forum held in Beirut

In line with TNI's aim of documenting and drawing out the wider implications of successful alternatives to privatisation, Hilary Wainwright worked with British public sector workers' union UNISON and the International Centre for Participation Studies (ICPS) at Bradford University to write up the experience of UNISON's successful campaign for an "in-house" bid for control of Newcastle Council's Information and Communications Technology infrastructure and related "back office", as well as public access and information services.

The study shows how public services can be transformed by strengthening democratic involvement of workers as well as users. After the success of the bid in the procurement process the trade union worked with the City Council's management to improve services. Considerable savings were achieved, which were then re-allocated to frontline services for citizens. Results of the study were presented at a seminar organised by TNI and UNISON in Newcastle, and another undertaken with Norwegian public sector unions during the European Social Forum in Sweden. The study will be published in early 2009 as *Public Service Reform But Not As We Know It!*

in November presented a useful opportunity to launch the book, draw partners from the region into the global network, and strengthen regional co-operation.

Meanwhile, TNI and RPW partners worked to expose the World Water Forum as a space controlled by a think tank working to protect private water multinationals, and not a UN event as many people are led to believe.

Healthy Services

A new five-year research project, focused on linking primary health care to water/sanitation and electricity delivery, was initiated by the Municipal Services Project (MSP) at a seminar held at the Public Services International Research Unit in England in 2008. The project will focus on sub-Saharan Africa, while drawing on experiences from Latin America and Asia.

The MSP is co-ordinated jointly by Rhodes University in South Africa and Queens University in Canada and is funded by Canada's International Development Research Centre. The international steering committee advising the project includes TNI, Focus on the Global South, and key partners from the Reclaiming Public Water network in Africa and Latin America.



DRUGS AND DEMOCRACY

TNI has been analysing trends in the illegal drugs market and international drug policies since 1996. Our Drugs and Democracy programme seeks a reassessment of the conventional repressive drug policy approaches in favour of more pragmatic and civil society inspired policies based on human rights and harm-reduction principles for small producers, as well as consumers.



As a respected voice in the global debate around drug policies, TNI continued to marshal the evidence, arguments and civil society collaboration required to push for profound change in UN drug control policies, currently under review. The year's main achievement was the building of a coalition of more than 30 like-minded governments, which agree that current UN-backed "war against drugs" policies are not working. The programme also co-organised a series of dialogues with key policy makers in Europe and Latin America, and initiated further in-depth research on drug markets in South East Asia. TNI was instrumental in putting penal reform firmly on the agenda in 2008, arguing that the criminalisation of peasants growers and small drug traders is counter-productive, since their involvement in the drug trade is related to poverty and a lack of sustainable options to survive by legal means.

Ten Years

TNI has been involved in international drug control policy work since the 1998 UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS). Now 10 years on, the programme reflected on the lessons of a decade of work in this field. The assessment was published as *Ten Years: TNI Drugs & Democracy Programme 1998-2008*. The publication took stock of TNI's achievements as well as our methodology, laying out the principles and the context in which any progress must be assessed. The report makes clear that a concerted effort will be required by all those committed to these principles to ensure that the upcoming UNGASS review in March 2009 does not result in regression.

The "Beyond 2008" global NGO forum on the UNGASS review in Vienna in July provided the perfect opportunity to distribute this lesson-rich report to the gathered civil society organisations. The forum was the culmination of a series of regional NGO consultations that took place worldwide. Despite the wide range of views on drug policy among the delegates—from outright prohibition to legalisation, they nevertheless agreed a set of recommendations containing clear harm reduction and human rights language and calling for evidence-based and culturally and socially sensitive approaches.

The UNGASS Review

The ten-year UNGASS review dominated much of the programme's work this year. TNI participated in the 51st meeting of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna in March. The CND initiated the review of the original 1998 UNGASS's plans and declaration, marking the beginning of a year-long 'period of global reflection' leading up to the High Level Segment meeting at the 52nd CND in March 2009, when actual decisions will be made. TNI contributed to a joint briefing *The 2008 Commission on Narcotic Drugs: Report of Proceedings*, published in April by the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC). We also launched a new website (www.ungassondrugs.org) to cover and encourage discussion on all the issues around UNGASS.

Meanwhile, in June, the 2008 World Drug Report was published in which the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) tried to hide its failure to meet the 10-year UNGASS targets by comparing current production and levels of use with usage at the time of the Opium wars. In response, TNI published a special Drug Policy briefing denouncing the report as not only a bad history lesson, but a shameless effort by the UNODC to obscure the fact that global production of cocaine and heroin has increased rather than declined over the past decade.

Technical expertise

TNI has provided regular counsel to the Dutch government, even serving as part of the delegation during inter-governmental negotiations at the EU and UN level. In February, the Dutch Parliamentary Justice Commission called on TNI's expertise for a debate on the UNGASS review. We stressed that the 2008/9 period was the opportunity to achieve a breakthrough for the acceptance of harm reduction principles at UN level, that it was the moment to evaluate the performance of UN agencies, like the UNODC and the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), and that it was time to open the door to a serious revision of the UN drug control treaty system.

TNI also actively engaged in the ensuing inter-governmental expert working groups held over the summer to prepare for the High Level Segment meeting

TNI serves as a technical consultant to the Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy chaired by three former Latin American presidents: Brazil's Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Colombia's César Gaviria and Mexico's Ernesto Zedillo. See TNI's Martin Jelsma in first seat from left.



in March 2009. We were also asked to assist the Dutch delegation in assessing the state of international cooperation in the eradication of illicit drug crops and on alternative development. Our analysis was that the continuing high rates of cultivation have created pressure on policy makers to come up with quick fixes and one-size-fits-all solutions, rather than looking for longer term, more sustainable policies that could contribute to reducing illicit cultivation of opium and coca. Current drug control interventions are often unbalanced and poorly sequenced, with too much focus on law enforcement measures and eradication,



and too little investment in sustainable alternative development, including creating the conditions for peace required in such places as Colombia, Afghanistan and Burma.

The Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy led by three former Latin American presidents: Brazil's Fernando Henrique Cardoso, Colombia's César Gaviria and Mexico's Ernesto Zedillo, have also called on TNI to serve as technical experts. We participated in the Commission's inaugural meeting in Rio de Janeiro in April as well as the follow up meeting in Bogotá (Colombia) in September. Meanwhile, we continue to play an advisory role to the Bolivian government.

Drug Policy Dialogues

For the past few years, TNI has been facilitating dialogues among policy makers from 30 like-minded countries in the hopes of building a unified lobby for change — with an eye on the UNGASS Review in 2009. Such dialogues took place this year in Ecuador, Bolivia, The Netherlands, Germany and the European Parliament. TNI and the governments in each host country co-organised the dialogues, which included international agencies as well as grassroots farmers' organisations.

These informal dialogues offer a space in which to look at the evidence of the failures of current drug policy and to discuss rationally the possibilities of more coherent, integrated policies, including embracing basic harm reduction principles and alternative livelihood strategies. The dialogues also look at questions of sustainable development and problems in border areas caused by aerial spraying, drug trafficking and population displacement. New issues tabled included penal and prison reforms; removing the coca leaf from UN conventions on scheduled drugs (see Box: "Coca yes, Cocaine no"); and new roles for the international community in supply control.

South East Asian research

TNI continued its research on the impact of opium bans and forced eradication in South East Asia. Local researchers from Burma, China, Laos and Thailand, trained by TNI since 2007, produced the results of



the first phase of their study in the publication of “Withdrawal Symptoms: Changes in the Southeast Asian Drugs Market”. The study shows an increase in poverty levels among farmers in the former opium growing regions of Burma and Laos, rising heroin prices, declining purity, and shifts in drug use patterns away from opium and heroin towards methamphetamines and other pharmaceuticals. The publication was the subject of an editorial in Bangkok’s leading newspaper, *The Nation*, as well as two articles in *The Irrawaddy* magazine.

In August and September, TNI’s team travelled through China, Laos, Thailand and Burma for the second phase of the research where they met the local researchers, interviewed drug control officials and prepared a second, more elaborate report to be published in January 2009 in time for the planned first South East Asian informal drugs policy dialogue.

Colombia

Meanwhile, TNI published two Drug Policy Briefings on Colombia: *Alternative Development, Economic Interests and Paramilitaries in Urabá* in September 2008 and *Crops for Illicit Use and Ecocide: Are Illicit Crops Really the Main Cause of Damage to the Ecosystem in Colombia?* in December 2008. In addition, TNI’s Amira Armenta maintained a regular and much-visited blog on “Drugs and Conflict in Colombia” (<http://colombiadrogas.wordpress.com>).

Changing the legal status of the coca leaf is a key TNI objective. In 2008, the UN’s International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) called on countries to “abolish or prohibit coca leaf chewing and the manufacture of coca tea”. TNI immediately responded with a press release charging the INCB with displaying an arrogant cultural insensitivity in calling for criminal sanctions against what is a fundamental feature of Andean-Amazon indigenous cultures. The International Drug Policy Consortium also published a hard-hitting response to the INCB, to which TNI contributed significantly. The issue was a core theme in most of policy dialogues TNI organised in 2008.

In March, TNI addressed the plenary session of the CND in support of the Bolivian government’s request that the coca leaf be removed from the list of controlled substances in the 1961 UN Single Convention. In December, TNI co-organised a seminar in Washington DC on “Indigenous Rights in the Andes and Licit Uses of the Coca Leaf” — with the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), and George Washington University.



Environmental Justice



Photo: Chris Lang

TNI's Environmental Justice programme works towards the development of holistic and justice-based policy alternatives to deal with climate change. It monitors the negative social and environmental impact of carbon trading, and researches the impact of the rush to agrofuel production on land rights.

Solutions cannot lie in badly conceived schemes that do little address to reduce emissions and are detrimental for local communities.

With the economic crash of 2008, the world came one step closer to recognising the carbon credit market as another illusory bubble ready to pop. Indeed, the Kyoto Protocol's reliance on market mechanisms—carbon trading schemes—that promised profit for reduced emissions has merely resulted in pollution levels being moved around the globe. TNI argues that the roots of the climate problem lie in our environmentally and socially destructive policies. It is these that should be changed. Solutions cannot lie in badly conceived schemes that do little address to reduce emissions and are detrimental for local communities.

Through speaking tours, network-building, popular education materials, and engaging the press, TNI continued to successfully draw public attention to and influence the debate around carbon trading. With our partners in the Durban Group for Climate Justice, Climate Justice Now! and the Agrofuel alliance, we consciously made the links between the climate and economic crises, pointing out that those mainstream solutions for the economic crisis completely undermine efforts to combat climate change in a socially and environmentally just manner. Particular attention was paid to the upcoming G20 summit in London and the UN Climate Talks in Copenhagen in 2009, which will be crucial in setting out the post-2012 Kyoto process.

The Climate Justice Now! network is a loose international coalition formed at the end of 2007 during the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) conference in Bali. It came together to challenge more mainstream environmental NGOs, for not taking sufficient account of social justice issues. Significantly, it bridged environmental justice activism and those working against neo-liberal economic policies. TNI was one of the organisers of the Climate Justice Now! network's inaugural meeting in Bangkok in June. The network has taken leadership on climate justice issues within the Social Forum process, and is set to play an important role in the lead up to the UNFCCC meeting in Copenhagen at the end of 2009.

Public Outreach

Early in 2008, TNI and others from the Durban Group for Climate Justice joined up with grassroots organisations across the US for a two-month speakers' tour of North America. They shared the documented failures of carbon trading in Europe, India, Brazil, Uganda and elsewhere, and learned about US carbon trading plans and climate politics. They urged the US not to adopt the European Cap-and-Trade model that allows companies to sell on their pollution credits if they pollute less than their allowance. The team gave 50 talks to over 2,000 people during the tour.

TNI organised workshops and gave talks on climate justice at a number of other events across the world in the course of 2008, including in China, Thailand, Spain, Greece and the UK. A crucial tool for public education purposes has been TNI's multimedia projects.

The TNI-produced documentary, *The Carbon Connection*, features a dialogue between a Brazilian and Scottish community linked by the new emissions market. It was screened in 10 countries and requested at film festivals in Italy, Spain, India, USA, Australia, Brazil and Malaysia across the world. The film won the 2008 Student Jury Prize at the 22nd Annual Sondrio International Film Festival in Italy. *The Carbon Connection* was also widely reviewed in the international media. Over 2,000 copies of the documentary were distributed in the first half of the year. It is available at www.carbontradewatch.org in English, Spanish and Portuguese.

Meanwhile, TNI's photo exhibition on the UN programme Reduced Emissions from Deforestation/ Degradation (REDD) was also requested by partner groups attending the UN's Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues and displayed in New York.

The carbontradewatch.org website was redesigned to appeal to activists and journalists alike. It was expanded to include more Spanish-language content and a multimedia section. The website attracted 30,000 visitors in 2008.

Media Impact

This TNI project has been particularly successful with the media over the past few years, and 2008 was no exception. It has positioned itself as a well-informed source on climate justice issues. TNI was frequently called on to brief researchers and journalists on carbon and plantation offsets, EU Trading Schemes and REDD including BBC TV, BBC World Service, ISVARA (The Netherlands), the *International Herald Tribune*, and Eclectic Production (France). TNI was also cited by Reuters, *The New Yorker* magazine, *USA Today*, *The Hindu* (India), the *EU Observer*, *Sydney Morning Herald*, *The Guardian* (UK), among many others. Interviews with the team appeared on CNN, CNBC (US) and SBS TV (Australia), and were broadcast by Australian National Radio, KBOO Radio (US) and Diagonal (Spain). Meanwhile, TNI continued to write a monthly column, "Temperature Gauge", for *Red Pepper* magazine in the UK.

The impact this media and other work has had on public opinion was shown when TNI's Kevin Smith, together with Professor Michael Wara of Stanford Law School won the *Economist* online debate opposing carbon trading in December.

We consciously made the links between the climate and economic crises, pointing out that those mainstream solutions for the economic crisis completely undermine efforts to combat climate change in a socially and environmentally just manner.

Agrofuel Aggro

Agrofuels have been widely hyped as a solution for carbon emissions from transport. Vast amounts of fossil fuels are often required to transform the crops into fuels. Agrofuel production relies on big industrial agribusiness — a model of production widely criticised for its socially and environmentally negative impact.

In 2008, *The Guardian* (UK) published a leaked World Bank document that blamed agrofuels for 75 per cent of recent food price increases. Further controversy has been generated over agrofuels displacing food crops with the UN warning that the world is in the grip of an unprecedented food crisis. The controversy has deepened with evidence of land grabs displacing peasant farmers in Indonesia, Colombia, Nigeria and many other parts of the world.

Agrofuels was a hot issue in the European Parliament in 2008, where a vote was held on whether there should be a 10 per cent target for agrofuels in transport. TNI and partners lobbied MPs in Brussels to support a moratorium on agrofuels until the impact on rural populations in Southern producer countries could be better assessed. The target was subsequently reduced to 4 per cent in 2015.

TNI also attended the UN's Convention on Biological Diversity meeting in Bonn in May, staging a number of educational events. A short documentary was made for online viewing.

Meanwhile, TNI translated into Spanish and distributed across Latin America two publications: *Agrofuels: Towards a Reality Check in Nine Key Areas* and *Paving the Way for Agrofuels: EU Policy, Sustainability Criteria and Climate Calculations*. We also produced (in English and Spanish) a report on *Agrofuels and the Right to Food in Latin America*, timed for the UN's Common Fund for Commodities meeting in Amsterdam in October 2008, where subsidies for agrofuel production had fuelled an internal controversy.

In May, TNI began a new research project looking at assumptions and drivers shaping the global market in agrofuels and the resulting impact on rural populations. In particular, it focuses on the policy



Photo: Freddy Greaves

dynamic at the EU level, the role of Germany as the biggest consumer and producer in Europe, Brazil as a key international player, Mozambique as a poor country being drawn into the market, and the inter-linkages among all three countries as part of the new global market.

The research is part of a bigger co-operative research project, Co-operative Research on Environmental Problems in Europe (CRÊPE), being funded through the European Commission's FP7 Science & Society budget line. The CRÊPE project covers a wide range of environmental issues and involves co-operation between scientists and civil society organisations. Other partners include the Open University (UK), the University of Twente (Netherlands), Fondation Sciences Citoyennes (France), Consiglio dei Diritti Genetici (Genetic Rights Council, Italy), Food Ethics Council (UK), Fundación Nueva Cultura del Agua (New Water Culture Foundation, Spain), Federation Regionale des Centres d'Initiatives pour Valoriser l'Agriculture (Regional Federation of Centres of Initiatives for the Valuing of Agriculture, France). TNI set up a website for the project at www.crepeweb.net.

Militarism and Globalisation

The TNI Militarism and Globalisation programme studies the changing global framework for military control and the spread of new security infrastructure. Projects focus on military industrial reorganisation in Europe, foreign military bases and UN reform, while fellows publish useful commentaries on critical conflicts and security developments.

Great hopes were raised at the prospect of George W Bush leaving office and Barack Obama being elected President of the United States. Susan George's thoroughly researched page-turner, *Hijacking America*, published this year, threw cold water on expectations as she documents how the secular and religious right have captured US institutions and changed the way North Americans think. Other TNI Fellows were similarly sober in assessing prospects for major changes to US foreign policy. The day after Obama won the election, Phyllis Bennis gave a talk in Amsterdam where she was ecstatic at the positive symbolism of Obama's election, but warned that resolution of the Middle East conflict was still very far off, and Afghanistan just might become Obama's war.

In 2008, TNI's militarism programme continued its focus on global security policies—the software—crafted by the US and EU and imposed on the rest of the world, as well as on the physical infrastructure—or hardware—of global military domination in the form of foreign military bases, fleets and interventions. Research into European security policy focused

particularly on the new security infrastructure being put in place by the European Space Agency and projects being funded by the European Security Research Programme. Co-ordination of the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases (NO-Bases) moved from the YMCA in Ecuador to TNI in Amsterdam in line with the network's policy of rotating co-ordination. Two workshops were convened to develop a new project on civil society's role in UN reform. The programme published three books and two booklets, and promoted numerous excellent publications by fellows, many focused on the bigger Central Asian region.

Bases of Empire

TNI has served as a key co-ordinating partner for the NO-Bases network since its founding in 2007. TNI's Wilbert van der Zeijden was appointed Executive Co-ordinator of the network in July, and international co-ordination moved to TNI's offices in Amsterdam.

The NO-Bases network unites over 500 local campaign organisations on five continents. In 2008,

they applauded the closure of the US base in Manta, Ecuador; celebrated the victory of the Henoko villagers in Okinawa, Japan who, after more than three years of daily blocking the construction of a new US off-shore base, saw their efforts rewarded with a decision to stop construction; actively supported the successful call on the US Senate to cut funding to the new African Command; and built solidarity with dozens of campaigns worldwide, including hunger strikes in the Czech Republic, flotillas in the Indian Ocean, and non-violent protests in Italy and the UK. The network also shared in defeat, when the UK's House of Lords decided against the Chagosian people's right to return to their Indian Ocean islands of Chagos after over 35 years of exile.

NO-Bases focussed on regional organising in 2008, with consultation and strategy meetings held in Malaysia, China, Honduras and Peru. A successful European regional meeting was held during the European Social Forum in Malmö, Sweden. In December, case studies were published by TNI

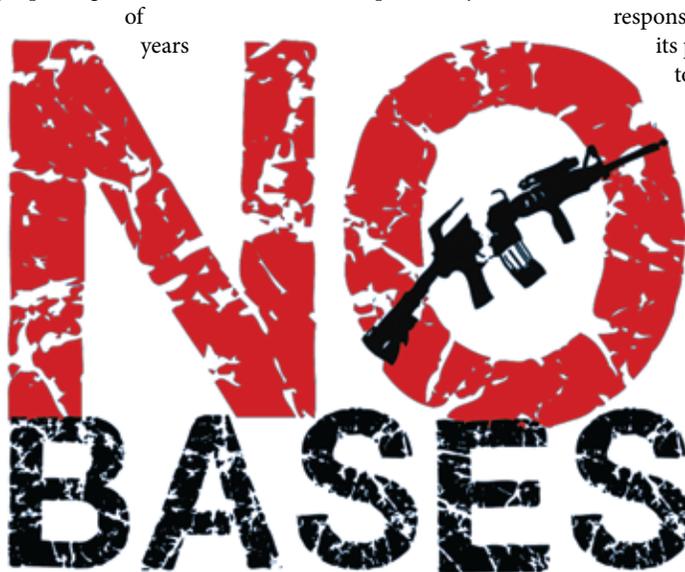
and Pluto Press as *The Bases of Empire*. A documentary film project also got underway looking at historical examples of resistance to foreign military bases in Germany and Turkey.

Civil Society and UN Reform

TNI has been building a group of scholars, activists and UN insiders concerned to promote the active involvement of civil society in UN reform efforts. In 2008, two workshops were convened to further explore the idea in Amsterdam in February, and with the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in Uppsala, Sweden in September. What emerged was a need to create a shared strategic space for civil organisations engaged or planning to engage with UN agencies. As a start, case studies are to be commissioned that document the success of key civil society-led campaigns, such as those that led to the Land Mines and Cluster Bombs treaties, and the formation of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Rights. TNI's own Drugs and Democracy programme (see pages 14-17) will contribute an account of its own efforts to reform UN drug control agencies and assert the need for the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to serve as the common

basis for all UN agencies. The other need identified was for high level dialogues on prospects for UN reform, including how to empower the General Assembly vis à vis the Security Council, how to ensure greater coherence across the UN in relation to human rights, and the implications of the ongoing shifts in global power relations.

Meanwhile, TNI's Director Fiona Dove and Fellow Phyllis Bennis stayed on in Uppsala with former UN Oil for Food Programme Director Denis Halliday to participate in a debate at the university on the 'Responsibility to Protect'. R2P relates to a state's



responsibilities towards its population, and to the international community where a state fails to fulfil its responsibilities. The principle is that if a state is unwilling or unable to carry out its responsibility, that responsibility must be transferred to the international community, which must attempt to solve

problems initially via peaceful means (such as diplomatic pressure, dialogue, even sanctions) and then, as a last resort, through the use of military force, provided this is sanctioned by the Security Council wherein lies the controversy. Bennis made the argument for R2P to be invoked in the case of Israel regarding Palestinian rights and welfare. Dove argued for the need for Security Council reform if R2P is to be embraced by all nations.

European Security Developments

TNI has been working for several years on the processes around EU defence and security policy-making. Building on previous work with Statewatch (UK) and the Campaign against Arms Trade (NL), TNI continued to investigate the European Security Research Programme, looking particularly at the nature of the projects it is now funding. A detailed report is being prepared on the implications for civil liberties of the dubious security products being brought to market with European research funds. The report will also serve as the basis for a complaint submission to Europe's ombudsman.

TNI also co-published *From Venus to Mars*, which examines the activities of the European Space Agency, including the EU Satellite Centre, Galileo and Kopernikus. The report raises concerns about the blurring of civilian and military applications, the potential for an arms race, and the role of business lobbies. Situating European space policy in the broader EU defence policy debate, the report notes the enhanced prominence of space policy in the Lisbon Treaty. The launch of the report was timed to coincide with the eve of the European Space Agency's annual ministerial meeting in The Netherlands in November, drawing a lot of media attention, particularly in the UK and US, and stimulating a more public debate.

Central Asia in focus

The bigger Central Asian region was a major focus for TNI in 2008. Throughout the year, TNI Fellows provided commentaries on the ongoing conflict in Iraq, the escalation of violence in Afghanistan, and further regional destabilisation with upheavals in Pakistan and the threat of war against Iran.

Two excellent and eminently readable primers by Phyllis Bennis were published in 2008: *Ending the Iraq War* and *Understanding the US-Iran Crisis*, as well as a second booklet on how to stop the US' next war being against Iran. She regularly appeared as a commentator on CNN, Al Jazeera and BBC, and was cited in the *International Herald Tribune*.

Jochen Hippler, meanwhile, published a thoughtful policy briefing on the international political

implications of escalating violence in Afghanistan. TNI's Drugs & Democracy team undertook a field trip to Afghanistan and proved a good source for journalists writing on the problematic of fighting opium production in the context of the heightened war there. They paid particular attention to the conflicts in the tribal areas on the border with Pakistan, and rivalries with the Taliban. Mariano Aguirre also wrote on Afghanistan and Pakistan, as did Praful Bidwai. Meanwhile, TNI supported fieldwork in Pakistan by Fellow Jochen Hippler, who witnessed the upheavals culminating in the assassination of Benazir Bhutto. He subsequently published *Das Gefährlichste Land der Welt?* (The Most Dangerous Land in the World).

Colombia and South American Security

South America was the other focus of attention for TNI analyses in 2008. Associate Fellow Ricardo Soberón offered four axes by which to understand current US military deployment in Latin America, and more particularly the purpose of the proposed base in Peru: encircling the conflict in Colombia, retarding the Bolivarian project in South America, countering Brazil's South American Security Council, and controlling territory for natural resource exploitation purposes.

Meanwhile, retired Venezuelan army general, Alberto Mueller Rojas, further expanded on the South American Security Council at a seminar held at TNI. This was initiated by Brazil following the resolution of diplomatic tensions after Colombia invaded Ecuador to raid a FARC camp. A successful blog by TNI's Amira Armenta on the Colombian conflict was also launched.



TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis talking at the American Book Centre in Amsterdam the day after President Obama's election on prospects for peace in the greater Middle East.

Photo: Anya Meulenbelt

Globalisation in Crisis: Analysis, Prospects and Opportunities

This year saw the convergence of three major global crises: credit, food and climate. TNI has been at the forefront of these issues for many years, warning that free market fundamentalism could have these consequences. What analytical tools can help us understand these crises? Which countries and regions of the world will most shape the planet's future? What alternatives are emerging? The annual TNI Fellows' meeting brought together more than 40 activist scholars to discuss these issues, and provided some thoughtful insights into the challenges TNI should prioritise as it plans its work for the coming years.

Credit and Food Crises: Global Economic Prospects

Presenter: Susan George

The financial crisis is proof of how 'free' globalised capital has become: with no limits, little unaccountability and cushioned by the knowledge that states would have to bail out the banks. The crisis does not mean that there is too little money or credit. The world is in fact awash with money. The problem is that speculation and deregulation has sucked money upwards and concentrated it in the hands of a small elite. Similarly, the food crisis is about distribution of land and investment in agriculture rather than the limits of production.

Resolving the crises will need a myriad of approaches: re-regulation of the finance sector, requiring banks to make environmental investments, rebalancing the power of labour

and capital, challenging free trade regimes, moving from an economy based on expanding consumption to a social, low-carbon economy. While we might favour an ecological Keynesianism, we should also be alert that states may respond to the crises by imposing a militarist form of Keynesianism.

Resource Wars and the Geo-Politics of Energy

Presenters: Praful Bidwai and Boris Kagarlitsky

It used to be argued that the economy of extraction and production of materials would be replaced by a new hi-tech economy. In fact, the opposite has happened with highly resource-intensive industries expanding—fossil fuels, minerals, land, forests and water. This is further opening up regions such as Africa, which recently surpassed the Middle East as a provider of US oil. There are also new protagonists on the global extractive stage such as India, China, Russia and Ukraine, which all seem unable to break with environmentally-destructive models of development. The conflicts over resources, in particular water and land, have been exacerbated by the climate crisis and are already causing conflicts in regions such as Darfur and Kashmir. It is also leading to the militarisation

of foreign policy, as seen in the growing influence of the Pentagon in African affairs.

Climate Politics, Agrofuels and Land Struggles

Presenters: Jun Borrás and Oscar Reyes

Land and climate change are now at the forefront of development discourse. The mainstream market framing of the issues is often at the source of the problems in the first place, however, and it is thus little wonder that no real solutions are delivered.

In the case of climate change, the decision to tackle global warming by pricing carbon, and using Cap-and-Trade along with offsetting schemes, has proved to be a corporate bonanza with little environmental benefit. It has distracted from the necessary if difficult structural changes needed in areas of energy, trade, food and production. In the case of land, the promotion of market-led land policies, supported by the international aid community, is likely to lead to future conflicts as corporations seek to take over land for industrial agriculture, including agrofuels.

Both free-market land reform and current climate policies face growing



There is a tension between the urgency of the ecological crisis and the flawed nature of the institutions expected to take action.



opposition from a broad alliance of social organisations—with land rights and climate justice movements increasingly linking up.

Centres of Gravity: China and India as Global Players

Presenters: Isabel Hilton and Achin Vanaik

China and India's emergence as global powers has the potential to rebalance the global order. There is no sign that either wants to, or can, replace US global hegemony, but their economic expansion is already having an impact within Asia and, indeed, worldwide. The option of an alternative trading partner may have opened up negotiating space for some countries, but it has also led to the support of such pariah regimes as Sudan and the expansion of damaging extraction industries globally.

Internally, the cost of growth has been inequality, environmental devastation and rising social conflict. In India, the Maoist Naxalite movement is growing. In China, there have been an estimated 80,000 internal disturbances over the last three years. It is increasingly questionable how sustainable China and India's growth will be. India may prove more able than China to resolve these problems due to its more democratic institutions.

The Middle East: Still the Crucible of Empire?

Presenters: Phyllis Bennis and Kamil Mahdi

The economy of the Middle East will continue to be driven largely by external actors. Iraq and Iran, in particular, will remain in the crosshairs of US foreign policy. Even if President Obama wants to

end the war, he is still committed to occupation, leaving behind troops and mercenaries. Iran worries the US because of its strength in the region and its control over oil, water and land.

A post-oil era is not far off but there is little sign that the Middle East has prepared itself: the region continues to export capital, fails to invest internally and has neglected long-term challenges of food and water sustainability. Dubai may be proclaimed as a model for the future, but remains an enclave economy built on social divides and ecological destruction.

Counter forces are emerging – from the Iraqi resistance against US occupation to labour movements in Egypt – but currently lack a unifying vision and organisation. In short, there is a real need to work with civil society partners in the Middle East to strengthen a focus on political, cultural, economic and social rights.

Political Agency for Change

Presenters: Edgardo Lander and Hilary Wainwright

The current crises are symptoms of the problem with the project of industrial society, based on the control, manipulation and destruction of nature. Current approaches to tackling climate change will not work unless there is a radical change of mindset, taking on board new conceptions of wealth, happiness and well-being.

This will also require rethinking how social and political change happens. What are the forces, structures, institutions and methodology that

The crisis does not mean that there is too little money or credit. The world is in fact awash with money. The problem is that speculation and deregulation has sucked money upwards and concentrated it in the hands of a small elite.



Photo: Anya Meulenbelt

will allow this? There is a tension between the urgency of the ecological crisis and the flawed nature of the institutions expected to take action. An unreformed institution often distorts or undermines radical change.

TNI has a key role to play in highlighting where radical alternatives are already being developed, and helping to connect these. It can also reflect the important learning emerging where neo-liberalism has ruptured, such as in Latin America. At the same time, TNI needs to analyse why ostensibly alternative forms of political organisation have failed to live up to expectations.



There are currently 23 members of TNI's prestigious international fellowship programme. 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 Centre for Peace Studies (Spain), the Centre for Peace and Development Studies (Germany), the Centre for Globalisation Studies (Russia), the Institute for Policy Studies (USA) and the Centre for Critical Studies in Agrarian Change (Canada). 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.

TNI fellows may be nominated through any existing fellow or staff member. Fellows are appointed by TNI's Board of Directors for a three-year term, with due attention paid to regional and gender balances. Fellowships are renewable depending on contributions to TNI over the past three years and ongoing relevance to the programme. Key criteria for appointments include expertise and networks relevant to TNI's current or future programme. Appointments are made only after the candidate has been a guest at an annual Fellows Meeting for two consecutive years. Invitations to Fellows Meetings are issued through the Director.

THE CURRENT FELLOWSHIP



Mariano Aguirre
Managing Director of the Norwegian Peace Building Centre, Oslo, Norway as of 2009.



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



Professor Walden Bello
President of the Freedom from Debt Coalition and senior analyst with Focus on the Global South, a program of Chulalongkorn University's Social Research Institute, Bangkok, Thailand.



Phyllis Bennis
Director of the New Internationalism project and Research Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, DC, USA.



Praful Bidwai
Independent journalist, New Delhi, India.



Dr. Kees Biekart
Senior Lecturer in Politics of Alternative Development at the Institute for Social Studies, The Hague, Netherlands.

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS



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



Dr. Tom Reifer
Assistant Professor of Sociology and Ethnic Studies programme at the University of San Diego, USA.



Dr. Saturnino Borrás Jr.
Canada Research Chair in International Development Studies at Saint Mary's University, Canada.



Brid Brennan
Co-ordinator Trade, Investment and Development Programme, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



John Cavanagh
Director of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, DC, USA



Dr. Daniel Chavez
Co-ordinator, New Politics and Public Services Programmes, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



Dr. Susan George
Author, Independent Scholar; Chairperson of TNI Board of Directors.



Dr. Jochen Hippler
Researcher at the University of Duisburg, Peace and Development Institute



Martin Jelsma
Co-ordinator, Drugs & Democracy Programme, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



Dr. Boris Kagarlitsky
Director, Centre for Globalisation Studies (IPROG), Moscow



Dot Keet
Senior Research Associate at the Alternative Information and Development Centre, Cape Town, South Africa



Dr. Edgardo Lander
Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas.



Dr. Kamil Mahdi
Senior lecturer in Middle East economics at the University of Exeter and secretary of the International Association of Contemporary Iraqi Studies.



Dr. Joel Rocamora
Research Fellow, Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), Manila, Philippines



David Sogge
Independent Consultant, Amsterdam, Netherlands



Prof. Achin Vanaik
Professor of International Relations and Global Politics in the Political Science Department of Delhi University, India



Myriam Vander Stichele
Senior Researcher, SOMO (Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations), Amsterdam, Netherlands



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



Dr. Hilary Wainwright
Editor of *Red Pepper* magazine, UK and New Politics researcher, TNI, Netherlands

SENIOR FELLOW

Dr. Saul Landau
Filmmaker



Pauline Tiffen
Independent consultant, UK



Dr. Ricardo Vargas
Sociologist, TNI/ Acción 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 had 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. Preference is given to applicants prepared to work directly for an existing TNI programme. They hold the title of TNI Young Fellow for the duration of their grant.

In 2008, awards were granted to Örsan Şenalp (32), Turkey; Carlos Aguilar Sánchez, (28), Costa Rica; Ben Hayes (30), UK; Lucía Goldfarb (30), Argentina; Ana Mac Naught (25), Mexico; Claudia Torrelli (31), Uruguay; and Tom Kurcharz (31), Spain. In all cases, the Young Fellows worked directly for a TNI programme and funds were used to enable them to attend international conferences.

In addition, TNI took on eight interns in 2008: Maia Almendral (Philippines); Warren Berry (USA); Joanna Cabello (Peru); Ruggero Fornoni (Italy); Lazar Konforti (Canada); Simone Tholens (Norway); and Carolina Sierra Gonzalez (Colombia). Their work ranged from basic research for particular TNI projects to assisting with fundraising and logistics for international conferences.

LOOKING AHEAD TO 2009...

"Obama and Osama : The terrorism of the strong and the terrorism of the weak."
Achin Vanaik, Professor of International Relations and Global Politics and TNI fellow

"The world economic crisis is wrapped in a larger one: the global climate crisis. To solve the former we must wrap our solutions in the latter."
- Saul I. Landau, Former director of TNI and TNI fellow

"Politicians, the media, citizens and business finally have to take seriously the voices of those who warned that the system and all its instruments was unsustainable and who have been silenced for years.."
- Myriam Vander Stichele, Director of Center for Research on Multinational Corporations (SOMO) and TNI fellow

"Massive conversion to a green, greenhouse-gas-free economy could rescue us from the financial crisis now devastating the real economy and the lives of real people throughout the world. I hope that the worsening circumstances of 2009 will force our timorous politicians, having exhausted all other alternatives, to undertake such a programme and provide some hope for people and the planet." - Susan George, Author and TNI fellow



"This is a moment when the world is watching, and waiting for change—real change, the 'change we can believe in.' That change demands OUR action—to encourage, to resist, to fight for really ending wars and ending the mindset that leads to war. - Phyllis Bennis, Director of New Internationalism Project, IPS and TNI fellow

"Start the transformation from market fundamentalism to a new economy that solves both the climate crisis and the economic meltdown. And, start the transformation of the United States from a global cop to a good neighbour." - John Cavanagh, Director of Institute for Policy Studies and TNI fellow

"The opportunity for radical change is at hand. The Left has to develop new repertoires of political action suited to the collapse of neo-liberal ideological hegemony. We have to aspire to seize our societies' 'commanding heights' to democratise its structures, to move those 'heights' closer to the plains where people are." - Joel Rocamora, Director of Institute for Popular Democracy and TNI fellow

"Imperialist proponents of Iraq's division have been discredited. Popular rejection of the occupation and its economic and social policies is universal, and sectarian blocks have collapsed. Obama's prevarication on withdrawal would be a lost opportunity, because Iraqis will not tolerate US bases, mercenaries or dictats."

- Kamil Mahdi, Senior Lecturer at Exeter University and TNI fellow

"The crisis emanating from the heartlands of global capitalism will impact on all 'developing' economies who have been pressured into reliance on 'market access,' 'export-led growth,' investment and 'aid' to deal with the damaging 'adjustment costs' that resulted from such policies. But, as the neo-liberal system implodes, critical analysts and activists in the South can use the crisis to intensify their efforts to actively promote the local, national and regional alternatives that they have been pursuing for decades." - Dot Keet, Research Associate of the Alternative Information and Development Center (AIDC) and TNI fellow

"I can 'hope' for an end to the global financial crisis and out of the ashes will come a new reign of economic justice—but my more sober analytical assessment doesn't get me there." - Howard M. Wachtel, Economics Professor and TNI fellow



第七届亚欧人民论坛
7th Asia-Europe People's Forum

2008

Review

2008

JANUARY

Sustainable Economy: Susan George spoke on “Towards a Sustainable and Solidarity Economy” at a major conference held at the University of Tilburg, attended by over 300 people.

Latin American Alternatives: The pro-poor measures of the Hugo Chavez government seem to prove that an alternative to “free market” policies is possible. The mainstream western media, however, does not objectively cover the reforms in Venezuela, choosing to focus rather on his alleged dictatorial tendencies. Daniel Chavez gave a lecture at the ISS in The Hague on alternatives being implemented across Latin America.

FEBRUARY

Climate Justice: TNI and other members of the Durban Group for Climate Justice undertook a two-month speaking across North America to share experiences of the failures of carbon trading in Europe, India, Brazil, Uganda and elsewhere, and to learn more about US carbon trading plans and climate politics. Fifty talks were given to over 2,000 people.

MARCH

UN and Drugs: TNI attended the 51st UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs in Vienna for the beginning of a year long assessment of the 1998 UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on Drugs. TNI launched a website which monitored the process. TNI's Ricardo Soberón and the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDCP) addressed the plenary session in support of the

Bolivian government's call for the removal of the coca leaf from the list of dangerous drugs.

APRIL

EU Trade Agreements: TNI organised a week of strategy workshops on the EU's trade liberalisation offensive towards the South. Two hundred partner representatives participate. The week was followed by a hearing in the European Parliament, press conferences, outreach in Brussels and advocacy tours across Europe.

MAY

Development Politics: What does the shifting economic balance mean for the World Bank and IMF and their standard neo-liberal approach towards poverty reduction? Susan George debated World Bank economist Simeon Djankov and Ugandan journalist Andrew Mwenda in front of a full house at Amsterdam's De Balie.

Latin American Alternatives: Over 9,000 people from 73 countries participated in the TNI co-organised People's Summit in Lima (Peru) parallel to the fifth summit of the heads of state from Latin America and Europe. Resistance to neo-liberalism and alternative paths to development were core focuses. More than 15,000 people gather to hear Bolivia's President Evo Morales close the People's Summit.

Latin American Alternatives: TNI co-hosted an international seminar at the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague, with the embassies of Bolivia, Cuba and Venezuela, focussed on the policies of the



new progressive governments in several Latin American countries. Two hundred people attended including major NGOs, Foreign Ministry officials and students.

Latin American Security: Latin America faced a serious security crisis when Colombia attacked a FARC camp in Ecuador. The resolution of the crisis without Washington's involvement was seen as a milestone for the region's diplomacy. In the aftermath, the Brazilian government proposed the creation of a South American Security Council. Alberto Mueller Rojas, retired army general, Vice President of the United Socialist Party of Venezuela (PSUV), and advisor to President Chávez on international affairs and defence policy spoke to a packed audience in TNI's seminar room.

JUNE

South Africa Energy Crisis: Dr. David Fig, a South African environmental sociologist and political economist delivered the annual Basker Vashee Memorial Lecture at de Balie in Amsterdam. He spoke about options for solving South Africa's energy crisis. Fifty people attend.

UN and Drugs: TNI organised a dialogue with Dutch drug policy makers in The Hague to evaluate Dutch drug policy, and discuss the UNGASS international drugs policy review process.

JULY

Climate Justice: TNI co-organised a three-day meeting of the Climate Justice Now! network in Bangkok

attended by 170 activists from 31 countries. They reached consensus on opposition to carbon trading and "offset" schemes, and developed strategies for the upcoming Copenhagen Climate Summit in 2009.

AUGUST

Water Justice: TNI co-organised a regional conference on "Water: Common Good, Public Management and Alternatives" in Cochabamba, Bolivia. Fifty delegates attend including activists, trade unionists and public utility workers. The Latin American Public-Public Partnership Platform is launched to promote alternatives to privatisation.

SEPTEMBER

Water Justice: A regional seminar on "Water: Common Good, Public Management and Alternatives. Securing the Right to Water—Challenges and Solutions in Asia" is co-organised by TNI in Chennai, India. Representatives from 15 Asian countries attend, including 70 activists and public utilities workers from around India. Representatives of Latin American and European networks also attend. Major media coverage results in issues raised at the seminar getting onto the agenda of the high-powered South Asia Conference on Sanitation (SACOSAN).

UN Reform: TNI and the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation co-hosted an international workshop

on prospects for UN reform, focusing on the role of civil society. Twenty people attend, including a representative of the Permanent Forum on Indigenous Rights and former Oil for Food co-ordinator, Denis Halliday.

UN and Responsibility to Protect: Fiona Dove and Phyllis Bennis talked to “The Responsibility to Protect”, whereby all states have an international legal responsibility to prevent genocide and mass atrocities. Held at the University of Uppsala, 50 people attend.

European Social Forum: TNI co-organised 20 seminars and workshops at the ESF in Malmö, Sweden. EU policy was a major common focus. TNI co-hosted the Assembly of Water Movements, which saw the launch of the European Network for Public Water, the first pan-European water network to resist privatisation.

OCTOBER

Democratic Futures: Daniel Chavez reflected on e-democracy at a Council of Europe conference on the future of democracy, hosted by the Spanish Ministry of Public Administrations.

Sustainable Economy: Susan George spoke to the School of International Development & Global Studies, University of Ottawa on “Transforming the Global Economy: Solutions for a Sustainable World”. The

podcast is viewed 1,709 times. She also delivered the Schumacher Lecture at the University of Leeds, with the transcript of her speech being the most popular article on the TNI website in October.

Asia-Europe People’s Forum: TNI co-hosted the seventh Asia Europe People’s Forum “For Social and Ecological Justice” in Beijing. Over 500 delegates attend, with 250 from China itself.

Global Financial Crisis: As the global financial crisis erupted, TNI co-convened three “Beijing Nights” during the AEPF to discuss the crisis. 200 people attend, crafting the Beijing Declaration. TNI subsequently launches the Casino Crash blog that logs a consistent 500 to 800 visitors a day up to the end of the year.

NOVEMBER

Pinochet Case: Tom Reifer represents TNI at a conference on the “Consequences of the Pinochet Case Ten Years On”, held at the Institute of Advanced Legal Studies in London, UK.

Latin American Left: TNI co-organised a debate on the meaning of the resurgence of the left in Latin America at CEDLA in Amsterdam, using the occasion to launch the book, *The Latin American Left—Utopia Reborn*, edited by Daniel Chavez. Fifty academic specialists on Latin America attended.



Global Financial Crisis: Is it the end of neo-liberalism? Susan George Howard Wachtel, Barry Gills and Myriam vander Stichele, talk to the meaning of the economic crisis, in an overflowing TNI seminar room. The session is filmed and put online as a resource.

US Elections and the Middle East: A day after President Obama's electoral victory, Phyllis Bennis analysed implications for US policy towards the Middle East at the ABC Treehouse in Amsterdam. The occasion is used to launch Bennis' latest book, *Understanding the US-Iran Crisis*. Fifty people attended. Her talk is covered by popular Dutch bloggers Stan van Houke and Anja Meulenbelt.

DECEMBER

Sustainable Economy: At the Amnesty International Human Rights Action Centre in London, TNI's Susan George and Walden Bello discuss the possibilities the global crisis presents for moving the world economy in a sustainable direction.

Global Economic Crisis: TNI co-hosted a full day workshop in Amsterdam on "The Left and the Crisis". With 50 people attending, Fiona

Dove spoke about the implications of the crisis for developing countries and the challenge to the European left. A transcript of her speech is put on line in Dutch.

Migrant Policies: TNI, as part of the Transnational Migrant Platform, marked International Migrant Rights Day by co-hosting a public forum, "Between UN Conventions and Current EU Migrant Policy: Today's Challenges in Affirming Migrants Rights" in Amsterdam. Over 100 people were present.

Global Economic Crisis: TNI launched its Public Debate Series in Brussels, with a focus on the EU's role in the global crisis. Fiona Dove chaired a panel with Stiglitz Commission member Francois Houtart, ATTAC Germany's Sven Giegold, and Latin American specialist Sue Branford. Fifty people attend. Articles are published in *MO* magazine in Belgium and the *EU Observer*.

Drug Policies: TNI co-organised a conference at George Washington University on "Indigenous Rights in the Andes and Licit Uses of the Coca Leaf" as part of efforts to have the coca leaf removed from the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs.

Networked Politics: TNI co-hosted a seminar on decentralised and horizontal forms of organisation for social change, at the University of California in Berkley. Sixty people attended.



2008 PUBLICATIONS

LAND POLICY SERIES

The FAO and Its Work on Land Policy and Agrarian Reform

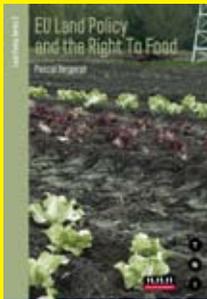
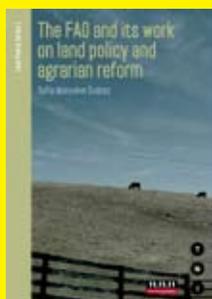
Sofía Monsalve Suárez
TNI / 11.11.11.
Land Policy Series 1
ISBN 978-90-71007-26-2.

Territorial Restructuring and the Grounding of Agrarian Reform: Indigenous Communities, Gold Mining and the World Bank

Eric Holt-Giménez
TNI / 11.11.11.
Land Policy Series 2
ISBN 978-90-71007-25-5

EU Land Policy and the Right to Food

Pascal Bergeret
TNI / 11.11.11.
Land Policy Series 3
ISBN 978-90-71007-24-8



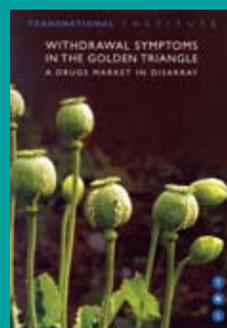
DRUGS & CONFLICT SERIES

Withdrawal Symptoms: Changes in the Southeast Asian Drugs Market

Martin Jelsma and Tom Kramer
Drugs & Conflict Debate Papers No. 16
TNI
ISSN 1871-3408
(Also in Spanish as *Síntomas de abstinencia: Cambios en el mercado de las drogas del sudeste asiático.*)

10 Years of TNI Drugs and Democracy Programme, 1998 - 2008

TNI
ISBN 978-90-71007-21-7
(Also in Spanish as *10 años del programa Drogas y Democracia del TNI, 1998 - 2008.*)



TNI BOOKS

The New Latin American Left Utopia Reborn

Patrick Barrett, Daniel Chavez and César Rodríguez-Garavito (editors)
TNI
ISBN 978-0-7453-2677-1
(Also in Spanish as *La Nueva Izquierda en América Latina*, Catarata, Madrid, ISBN 978-84-8319-368-6.)

We the Peoples of Europe

Susan George
Pluto Books / TNI
ISBN 978-0-7453-2633-7

China's New Role in Africa and the South: A Search for a New Perspective

Dorothy-Grace Guerrero and Firoze Manji (editors)
Focus on the Global South / TNI / Fahamu
ISBN 978-1-906387-26-6

Reclaiming Public Water (Arabic edition)

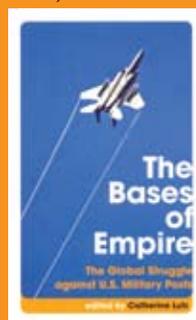
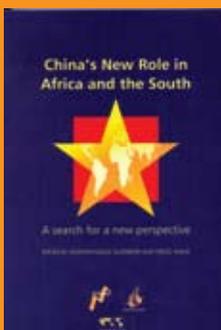
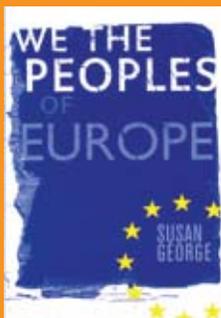
Belén Balanyá
TNI / CEO
ISBN 90/71007/10/3

The Bases of Empire The Global Struggle against US Military Posts

Chaterine Lutz (Editor)
Pluto Books / TNI
ISBN 978-0-7453-2832-4

EU-China Partnership and Cooperation Agreement and Its Impacts on Gender

WIDE / Focus on the Global South / Asiahouse / TNI.

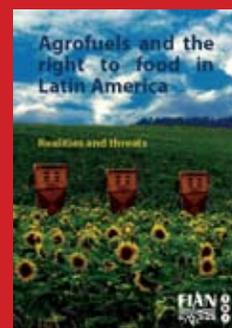


AGROFUELS SERIES

Agrofuels and the Right to Food in Latin America:

Realities and Threats
Sofía Monsalve Suárez (editor)
October 2008
TNI
ISBN 978-90-71007-20-0

(Also in Spanish as *Agrocombustibles y derecho a la alimentación en América Latina* *Realidad y amenazas*, published with FIAN, May 2008.)



Paving the Way for Agrofuels: EU Policy, Sustainability Criteria and Climate Calculations

Tamra Gilbertson et al (Revised Second Printing)
TNI, Corporate Europe Observatory, Grupo de Reflexion Rural
ISSN 1871-3408



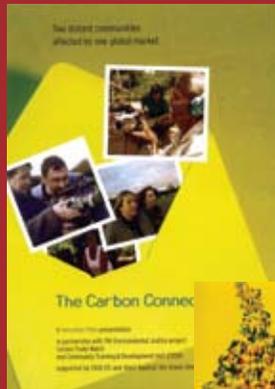
TNI VIDEOS

The Carbon Connection

Carbon Trade Watch

TNI

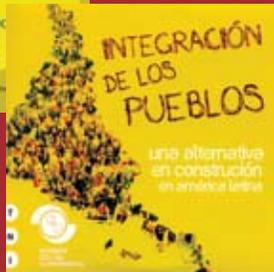
(Also in Portuguese as *Los vínculos del CO2: Un nuevo documental analiza las repercusiones del comercio de emisiones.*)



Integration of the Peoples: Alternative in Construction in Latin America

Cecilia Olivet and Ricardo Santos (directors)
TNI

(Also in Spanish as *Integración de los pueblos: una alternativa en construcción en América Latina.*)



TNI BOOKLETS

Bajo el signo del conflicto:

Colombia y sus relaciones con Estados Unidos y la Unión Europea

Amira Armenta

TNI

Iran in the Crosshairs:

How to Prevent Washington's Next War

Phyllis Bennis and the Iran team at the Institute for Policy Studies

TNI / Institute for Policy Studies

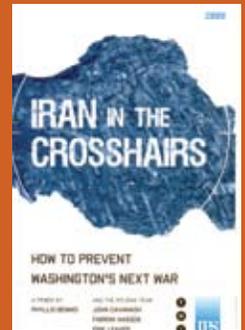
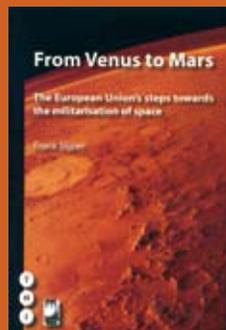
From Venus to Mars:

The European Union's Steps Towards the Militarisation of Space

Frank Slijper

TNI / Campagne tegen Wapenhandel

ISBN ISSN 1871-3408



MAGAZINE SUPPLEMENT

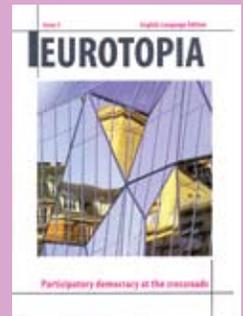
Participatory Democracy at the Crossroads

Eurotopia No. 5

23 September 2008

TNI / Fundación

por la Europa de los Ciudadanos



TNI FELLOWS' BOOKS

Ending the Iraq War: A Primer

Phyllis Bennis

Olive Branch Press

ISBN 9781566567176

Understanding the US-Iran Crisis

Phyllis Bennis

Olive Branch Press

ISBN 978-1-56656-731-2

Competing Views and Strategies on Agrarian Reform:

International Perspective

Saturnino M. Borrás Jr.

Ateneo de Manila University Press

ISBN 978-971-550-558-1

Transnational Agrarian Movements Confronting Globalization

Sturnino M. Borrás Jr. et al (editors)

Wiley-Blackwell

ISBN: 978-1-4051-9041-1

Development Redefined:

How the Market Met Its Match

Robin Broad and John Cavanagh

Paradigm Publishers

ISBN 978-1-59451-523-1

Hijacking America:

How the Religious and Secular Right Changed what Americans Think

Susan George

Polity Press

ISBN 13: 978-0-7456-4461-5

Das Gefährlichste Land der Welt?

Jochen Hippler

Kiepenheuer & Witsch GmbH

ISBN 3462040111

Von Marokko Bis Afghanistan Krieg Und Frieden Im Nahen Und Mittleren Osten

Jochen Hippler

Konkret Literatur Verlag

ISBN 3894582537

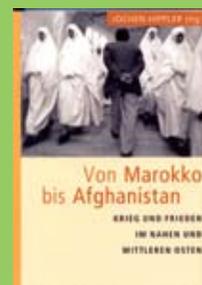
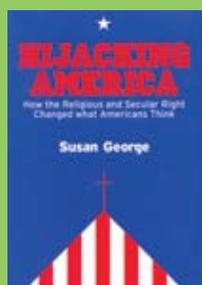
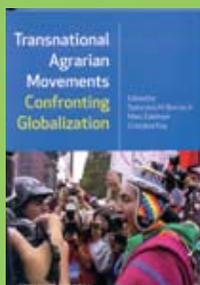
Empire of the Periphery:

Russia and the World System

Boris Kagarlitsky

Pluto Press

ISBN 978-0-7453-2682-5



FUNDERS

11.11.11 (Belgium)
 Action Aid (UK)
 Appleton Foundation (USA)
 Basque government
 Beijing Municipal Government
 Beijing NGO Association for International Exchanges
 Chinese Foreign Ministry
 Christian Aid (UK)
 Church Development Service (Evangelischer Entwicklungsdienst-EED, Germany)
 CNCD
 Cordaid (Netherlands)
 Danish Foreign Ministry
 Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ)
 DKA Austria
 EURO-CIDSE
 European Commission
 Federal Foreign Ministry Germany
 Finnish Foreign Ministry
 Foundation Open Society Institute (Switzerland)
 ICCO (Netherlands)
 Irish Aid, Department of Foreign Affairs/
 An Roinn Gnóthai
 Eachtracha Ireland
 Karibu Foundation (USA)
 Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Netherlands)
 Network for Social Change (UK)
 Open Society Institute (OSI)
 Oxfam Novib (Netherlands)
 Oxfam Solidarity Belgium
 Samuel Rubin Foundation (USA)
 Trocaire (Ireland)

ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS

INTERNATIONAL

Durban Group for Climate Justice
 Focus on the Global South
 Food First International Action Network (FIAN)
 Friends of the Earth International
 Alliance of Indigenous and Tribal Peoples of the Tropical Forests
 International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC)
 International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA)
 International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD)
 International Network for the Abolition of

Foreign Military Bases
 Our World Is Not For Sale (OWINFS)
 Public Services International (PSI)
 Reclaim Public Water
 Reclaiming Participatory Democracy Network
 Seattle to Brussels Network
 Via Campesina
 Vienna NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs

AFRICA

Africa Trade Network
 African Water Network
 CODESRIA

Ghana

National Coalition against Privatisation
 Mozambique

South Africa

Abahlali
 Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC)
 Amanda Magazine
 Centre for Civil Society
 Coalition against Water Privatisation
 Earthlife Africa
 Ethekeweni
 groundWork
 Institute for Social and Economic Research (Rhodes University)
 PLAAS
 Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE)
 University of KwaZulu Natal

ASIA & OCEANIA

Asian Harm Reduction Network
 Focus on the Global South
 Australia
 New Matilda
 Bangladesh
 BanglaPraxis
 Burma
 Pan Kachin Development Society
 The Irrawaddy
 China

All China Federation of Trade Unions
 All-China Environment Federation
 All-China Women's Federation
 All-China Youth Federation
 Asian Migrant Centre
 Association of Former Diplomats of China
 Beijing NGO Association for International Exchanges
 China Arms Control and Disarmament Association
 China Asia-Africa Society
 China Association for International Science and Technology Cooperation

China Association for NGO Cooperation
 China Association for Preservation and Development of Tibetan Culture
 China Association for Science and Technology
 China Association of Agricultural Science Societies
 China Association of Employment Promotion
 China Association of Women Entrepreneurs
 China Care and Compassion Society
 China Center for Promotion of Grass-root Democracy
 China Council for International Investment Promotion
 China Development Brief
 China Disabled Person's Federation
 China Economic and Social Council
 China Education Association for International Exchange
 China Environmental Protection Foundation
 China Family Planning Association
 China Great Wall Society
 China Green Foundation
 China Industry-University-Research Institute Collaboration Association
 China International Institute of Multinational Corporations
 China Law Society
 China Society for Human Rights Studies
 China Society for Promotion of the Guangcai Program
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 China WTO Network
 Chinese Association for International Understanding
 Chinese Medical Association
 Chinese NGO Network for International Exchange (CNIE)
 Chinese People's Association for Friendship with Foreign Countries
 Chinese People's Association for Peace and Disarmament
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 Rainforest Action Network
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 Sustainable Energy and Economy Network
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 South Denmark
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Full audited financial reports are available from the TNI office on request.

BALANCE SHEET 2008, December 31

| | dec 31 '08 | dec 31 '07 |
|--|------------------|------------------|
| | in Euro | in Euro |
| ASSETS | | |
| Fixed assets | 2,261,246 | 2,333,267 |
| Current assets: | | |
| Outstanding receivables | 999,328 | 195,000 |
| Cash | 414,614 | 1,080,231 |
| Total assets | 3,675,188 | 3,608,498 |
| LIABILITIES | | |
| Equity: | 981,099 | 796,452 |
| Balance previous year | 796,452 | 676,178 |
| Result current year | 184,647 | 120,274 |
| Provisions | 30,994 | 86,332 |
| Long term liabilities (loan) | 1,741,645 | 1,743,577 |
| Current liabilities: | | |
| Redemption mortgage due in coming year | 1,848 | 1,848 |
| Project balance | 729,800 | 158,110 |
| Grants next year | 17,500 | 709,343 |
| Accounts payable | 47,264 | 28,838 |
| Tax | 22,599 | 15,330 |
| Personnel costs to be paid | 26,549 | 25,066 |
| Security on rent | 9,282 | 9,282 |
| Interest mortgage | 5,320 | 5,963 |
| Prepaid rent and service charges | 1,978 | 13,358 |
| Other current liabilities | 59,310 | 14,999 |
| Total liabilities | 3,675,188 | 3,608,498 |
| Income and Expenditure Account | | |
| Income | | |
| Grants | 2,783,789 | 1,783,006 |
| Rent and Service Charges | 125,966 | 127,586 |
| Interest/currency gains and losses | 18,988 | 11,934 |
| Publications & royalties | 1,643 | 1,973 |
| Salary subsidies | 23,596 | 36,771 |
| Miscellaneous income | 202,607 | 44,680 |
| Charged costs/overheads | 115,615 | 102,887 |
| Project balance current year | -/-571,690 | -/-38,198 |
| Total income | 2,700,514 | 2,070,639 |
| Expenditure | | |
| Personnel | 804,511 | 749,449 |
| Building expenses | 183,317 | 212,559 |
| Activity costs | 994,005 | 451,856 |
| Fellowship | 53,316 | 28,423 |
| Office & Communication costs | 70,185 | 95,873 |
| Publication & Outreach activities | 228,406 | 311,852 |
| Samuel Rubin Next Generation | 52,836 | 29,446 |
| World Social Forum | -1,354 | 28,637 |
| Organisational Development | 15,031 | 10,744 |
| Overheads | 115,615 | 31,526 |
| Miscellaneous | --- | --- |
| Total expenditure | 2,515,868 | 1,950,365 |
| BALANCE | 184,647 | 120,274 |
| 2008 Donors | | |
| 11.11.11 | (Belgium) | |
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| Cordaid | (Netherlands) | |
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Toast to Hermann: "Staff, fellows and advisors toast Hermann von Hatzfeldt for his generosity to TNI over the years."



Hermann opens: "TNI Advisor Hermann von Hatzfeldt opening his heartfelt gift from the TNI community for his generosity over the years."



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.

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