

Annual Report 2007



TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

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MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

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It seems the mainstream media has finally caught onto the value of TNI as a source of reliable, relevant information on a range of issues of global importance. After years of scant press coverage, we logged nearly one item citing us every other day. This included *The New York Times* (four times!), *The New Yorker*, *The Washington Times*, *USA Today*, *The International Herald Tribune*, *The Financial Times*, *The Independent*, *The Sunday Observer*, *Nature*, *The New Scientist*, *The Guardian*, *The Hindu* and the *Jakarta Post* to name just some of the most widely read influential. Unique visits to our website more than doubled to over half a million, logging 15 million hits in 2007. Subscribers to our biweekly newsletter increased by 42 per cent to 7,241 loyal readers, and we recorded 77,000 downloads of our publications.

In light of the Nobel Peace Prize for 2007 and the run-up to the UN's Climate Change summit in Bali, the press was paying significantly more attention to climate change issues. Nearly a third of the media coverage we received was for our work in this area, in particular our focus on the myth of achieving carbon neutrality through offset and other carbon trading schemes, and the controversial issue of agrofuels. With the uprising in Burma and the ongoing war in Afghanistan, TNI's critical work on the negative impact of opium eradication efforts was also widely read and influential.

The other major success of the year was a major policy breakthrough regarding water delivery issues. There are now signs that the pro-privatisation position on water delivery in the South has been challenged to the extent that it is buckling. Under pressure from TNI and its partners in the *Reclaim Public Water* (RPW) network, Europe's Development Commissioner finally backed down on an exclusively pro-privatisation approach, publicly committing to Public-Public Partnerships (PuPs). This was followed by a similar policy change on the part of the Dutch Ministry for Development. TNI has been promoting PuPs for the past few years as an alternative to privatisation, facilitating pilot projects between Argentina and Peru in 2007. During our tour of India to launch the Hindi, Malayalam and Tamil editions of the RPW book, *Reclaiming Public Water*, *The Hindu* – one of India's largest newspapers – gave significant coverage of PuPs and remunicipalisation as viable alternatives to privatisation. Meanwhile, TNI's network succeeded in persuading the Norwegian and Italian governments to withdraw from the World Bank's controversial Public Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility that funds consultants to advise poor country governments on how to privatise key public sectors, including water. A further feather in our cap was the recognition of the RPW network as a key partner in UN Habitat's newly launched Global Water Operator Partnership Alliance.

As the fall out from the US' sub-prime mortgage crisis began to manifest globally, with even Germany's Chancellor expressing concern about unregulated financial capital at the G8 summit, TNI's chosen topic for its annual Fellows' Meeting was well timed. We discussed the dangers of unregulated financial capital – the global economic instability it wreaks, and how the fiscal crises created by tax avoidance justify neo-liberal approaches to the provision of public goods and services. The meeting debated mechanisms for global regulation and proposals for securing universal pensions. TNI was privileged to hear from experts like Robin Blackburn, and Sony Kapoor, Sol Picciotto and John Christensen from the Tax Justice Network.

TNI organised fifty-six international workshops in the course of the year, involving an estimated 9,125 people. The events took place in Nairobi, Johannesburg, Porto Alegre, Lima, Bogotá, Quito, Bali, Seoul, Kyoto, Beijing, nine cities in India, Lisbon, Barcelona, Rome, London, Brussels, Amsterdam and The Hague. We also undertook a number of field trips to Afghanistan, Burma, Pakistan and China in the course of the year, and organised a cinema caravan across Portugal and Spain.

TNI was involved in the co-founding of three new networks in 2007. The Reclaim Participatory Democracy network was established at an international meeting in Porto Alegre. The Africa Water Network was launched in Johannesburg with 35 delegates from 17 different African countries. The No Bases Network was launched at a major congress in Quito attended by over 400 delegates from 40 countries.

TNI published one new book, republished one other, and published five translated editions of a third. We also produced thirteen booklets, and brought out two videos. Our Fellows published three books and 322 articles.

As regards our staff and fellows, we said a fond goodbye to staffers Nathalie van Eijdsen, Mariël Otten, Daniel Kollmer, Roeline Knottnerus, and

welcomed our new network engineer, Albi Janssen. Antony Otieno Ong'ayo also joined us temporarily, playing an important role in facilitating TNI's participation at the World Social Forum in Kenya. To the fellowship, we were delighted to welcome Dr Edgardo Lander, Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas.

Through our Next Generation programme, we hosted four wonderful interns, who all worked very hard and served as our rays of sunshine for much of the year. We also supported the work of nine talented young researchers. Eighty-five per cent of the candidates were women and a majority hail from the South.

Towards the end of the year, TNI embarked on an independent evaluation process, commissioning a consultant to take a hard look at evidence of TNI's impact and external perceptions of the Institute. We began benchmarking and strategic foresighting exercises. We plan to complete the processes in early 2008.

Our financial situation was healthy, with an income of Euro 2,120,400, up 11 per cent on the previous year. We posted a positive result of Euro 120,274. The final year is now approaching of a major broad programme grant from the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs, so securing sufficient funding to maintain our current size and levels of activity is a major challenge now facing TNI.

It has been a most satisfying year, and my warmest thanks, as always, go to our ever-generous funders, our dedicated fellows and staff and our partners and friends across the world.

Fiona Dove
Director

Drugs and Democracy

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



For over a decade, TNI's Drugs and Democracy programme has promoted drug policy reform, making it a recognised and respected voice in the global debate on these issues. In 2007, TNI deepened its work through in-depth investigations in Afghanistan and South East Asia, a series of policy dialogues with key decision-makers in Europe and Latin America, and by marshalling the evidence, arguments and civil society collaboration required to push for profound change in UN drug control policies, which are due to be reviewed in 2008/9.

Drug Policy Dialogues

TNI organised a series of Informal Drug Policy Dialogues between governments and non-governmental stakeholders, as an attempt to de-polarise the debate on drugs and enable more coherent, integrated policies. All the dialogues looked at how best to feed evidence-based methodology and analysis into the UN General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) review of UN drug policies in 2008/9.

TNI held its first Latin American policy dialogues together with the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA). In September in Montevideo, the dialogue was organised with the Uruguay National Drugs Council and attended by participants from eight countries in Europe and the Americas. It debated political and scientific responses to the use of cocaine base paste in the southern region of the Americas, discussed Latin America perspectives for the forthcoming UNGASS review, and examined the impact of anti-drug laws on the prison system. The dialogue identified a need to work from a perspective of human rights and the right to health, and called for substituting prison with other alternatives for consumers and micro-traffickers.

The second dialogue in Mexico in October brought together government officials, academics and civil society. It discussed the role of Mexico in the upcoming UNGASS evaluation as well as effective drug control strategies in relation to the recent US-Mexico 'security cooperation initiative'. The dialogue stressed that any plan to curb drug trafficking and violence should be based on strengthening and reforming civilian institutions – particularly the police and the judiciary – and not on military force. Concern about human rights in drug control measures and the fight against Mexican drug cartels was high on the agenda as well, in particular the risk of civilians becoming mixed up in the war between the government and organised crime.

Jointly with the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation (APF), TNI organised an international informal drug policy dialogue in November in Rome in co-operation with the Italian Ministry of Social Solidarity. The two-day dialogue involved 40 participants from 15 countries. They focused on new developments in the field of harm reduction; drugs and prisons; the evaluation of the UN drug control system and the 1998 UNGASS review; possible other control models for cannabis and a reassessment of the coca leaf.

Afghanistan and Colombia

Opium production continues to be heavily intertwined with extreme poverty, instability and armed conflict in Afghanistan. NATO forces are also internally divided over their support role in forced eradication and interdiction operations. In September, TNI published a policy brief *Missing Targets - Counterproductive drug control efforts in Afghanistan*, arguing that the international community needs to face the reality that the entrenched illicit economy in war-torn Afghanistan will not dwindle easily, and that pursuing illusions of quick solutions will do more harm than good. A further briefing in December, *Losing Ground - Drug Control and War in Afghanistan*, was translated by the Italian Ministry of Social Solidarity and distributed to all Italian parliamentarians.



Afghan mission

Tom Kramer and Martin Jelsma undertook a research mission to Nangarhar and Badakshan in Afghanistan in April. The research revealed that eradication targets were not only failing but, in the absence of real economic alternatives, were fuelling poverty and increased instability. The TNI team met with Afghan authorities and international agencies to express their concerns and to push for non-military, sustainable solutions to the problem of growing poppy production. In the aftermath of the mission, TNI with other members of the Dutch NGO Network for Afghanistan (DNNA) issued a press release stating that Dutch ISAF forces in Uruzgan should stop its involvement in counter-narcotic operations, because forced eradication risked undermining ISAF's reconstruction aims.

In December, Armira Armenta wrote *Crop spraying: a déjà vu debate - From the Andean strategy to the Afghan strategy* on the lessons from Colombia for Afghanistan. The briefing warned of the dangers of more aggressive eradication efforts such as aerial spraying of poppy fields and the introduction of a poppy fungus. Earlier in the year, Armenta produced a policy briefing on the growing tensions on the Colombian-Ecuadorian border over aerial spraying of coca fields and supervised a paper that examines the impact of the coca and petroleum economies, internal displacement and the armed conflict on the indigenous Cofán community in Colombia.

South East Asia

TNI initiated an in-depth study of opium bans and forced eradication in South East Asia, undertaken by local researchers with support from Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ, the German government-backed development agency). It examines the consequences of opium reductions for poverty levels in the former opium growing regions of Burma and Laos, monitors heroin price and purity trends, and looks at changes in drug use patterns, such as shifts to other substances like methamphetamines and pharmaceuticals. The research is ongoing and will lead to several publications in 2008.

In June, the UN office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) singled out Burma as a milestone in opium reduction efforts. TNI, based on its research in the region, warned that the lack of



alternative development made the sustainability of the decrease questionable. Martin Jelsma was quoted extensively in news reports by the *International Herald Tribune* and the *New York Times*.

In November, Tom Kramer represented TNI at a GTZ, Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) and UNODC policy conference, 'Developing a Strategic Approach to Alternative Development,' in Bangkok, Thailand. The event focussed on opium cultivation and sustainable alternatives, resulting in several key recommendations to governments, international agencies and civil socie-



ty, intended to feed into UNGASS review deliberations. These included calls for policies to reflect traditional values and customs of local communities and demands that eradication not be undertaken until households have viable and sustainable alternative livelihoods.

Policy reform at UN level

Improvements in UN drug control policies and the functioning of its institutions have been at the heart of TNI's work and will take centre-stage in 2008 with the ten-year review of the 1998 UNGASS on Drugs. The proposed 2008/9 reflection period is an appropriate time to examine the role and mandate of the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), to look at the overall role of the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), to review the functioning of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) and to strengthen the governance of the international drug control system.

In addition to integrating the UNGASS review into all its policy dialogues, TNI also actively participated in a series of international conferences on drug policy. In February, TNI consultant Ricardo Soberón presented a paper entitled 'The Drug's Legal Nightmare: An Andean Perspective' at the UK Wilton Park Conference. Later the same month, Pien Metaal spoke on 'Tendencies in European drugs legislation' at a seminar at La Sapienza University in Rome.

In September, TNI participated in a drugs policy seminar in Lisbon, Portugal organised by the International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA) and the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC), of which TNI is a founding member. The seminar brought together 45 civil society representatives from 15 different countries with the aim of sharing information about the UNGASS 2008 review processes and to discuss the potential structure and content of civil society contributions. One of the products of the seminar was an *Advocacy Guide for Civil Society* which provides key information about the UNGASS review processes as well as advice and ideas on how to engage in effective advocacy to influence the outcomes. As a member of the

IDPC network, TNI also contributed to a *Report of the 2007 Commission on Narcotic Drugs* and elaborated five policy principles for the UNGASS review.

In December, TNI participated in the Drug Policy Reform conference in New Orleans, USA organised by the Drug Policy Alliance (DPA) and attended by more than 1,200 people. TNI spoke on a panel responding to the speech by UNODC executive director Antonio Costa and also participated in panels on Latin American and global policy trends.

In June, TNI issued a press release and briefing paper criticising the *World Drugs Report* for distorting or ignoring key evidence in an attempt to prove the success of UN drug control efforts. TNI researcher Tom Blickman commented that "Inconvenient information is deliberately swept under the carpet, while data that confirm the desired message of success is highlighted out of proportion. This reflects UNODC's ambiguous position as a political agent and centre of expertise."

TNI has also continued to argue for opening up international debate about UN drug control conventions. In December, TNI co-signed a letter to the Dutch Prime Minister and relevant parliamentary commissions, stressing the need for active Dutch involvement in the UNGASS review and more specifically to use the moment to open discussion about the UN conventions that are an obstacle to further developments in The Netherlands' pragmatic drugs policy. The letter presents the resolution that resulted from the 31 October conference on Dutch cannabis policy in The Hague, chaired by Maastricht Mayor Leers and supported by former Dutch Prime Minister Van Agt and former Public Health Minister Borst as well other mayors and police chiefs.

De-scheduling the Coca Leaf

Changing the legal status of the coca leaf remained a key TNI objective and was included as a core theme in most of the policy dialogues. Co-ordinated by Pien Metaal, TNI assisted the Bolivian government with regard to procedure and arguments for a formal proposal to change the legal status of coca. The Morales government decided to first concentrate efforts on building political support and understanding for the proposal, rather than proceeding with the formal notification in 2007. Meanwhile, the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) appeared to harden its position, saying that Bolivia, Peru and Argentina's use of the coca leaf is in conflict with international treaties, particularly the 1961 Single Convention. A policy brief was issued in March under the title *Sending the wrong message - The INCB and the un-scheduling of the coca leaf*.

Human Rights and Prisons

The current war on drugs has led to an overcrowding of the prison system in many countries as more people are convicted for minor crimes such as use, possession, small trafficking and cultivation of drugs. The incarceration of large numbers of people, with massive broader social impacts, for minor drug offences without a noticeable impact on the overall drug control situation raise questions about the effectiveness of current approaches.

In 2007, TNI produced an initial report with data on prison populations in Latin America. It also agreed a common agenda with a number of harm reduction and human rights organisations for the

2008/9 UNGASS review. The aim is to start a global campaign for the release of prisoners convicted for minor drug offences backed by proposals for decriminalisation, de-penalisation and alternatives to prison sentences.

In November, TNI, the Catalan parliamentary office for peace and human rights promotion, CIDOB foundation, and the Maloka Collective organised the seminar 'The illicit drugs economy, sphere of conflict and human rights' in Barcelona. Several papers were delivered on the cocaine market, drug trafficking and organised crime, drugs and human rights in Colombia compared with Afghanistan, Burma and West Africa. These papers and proposed policy alternatives will be elaborated as a book in 2008.

Money laundering and tax regimes

TNI continued its work on tackling money laundering and tax evasion. Tom Blickman attended a number of seminars in The Netherlands and the UK on money laundering. In June, TNI hosted an expert seminar on 'Money laundering, tax evasion and financial regulation.' The purpose of the seminar was to explore the overlaps and contradictions in these two major areas of illicit money flows and international efforts to curb them. The ineffectiveness of the current Anti-Money Laundering (AML) regime was examined drawing out the lessons for building an effective global anti-tax evasion regime.

Participants at the seminar argued that the existence of legal fictions such as offshore trusts and special purpose vehicles should be banned outright through tougher transparency laws. A global public awareness campaign is urgently needed against the legalised provisions of "secrecy" that allow both crime-driven capital and legally earned capital to evade taxes. This campaign should name and shame corporations and wealthy individuals as supporters of global corruption. These measures won't make the drugs issue disappear, but its international scope could be reduced if the secretive offshore financial system is tackled. The issues were further discussed at the TNI Fellows Meeting on 'The Power of Money' (see page 22-23).

Meanwhile, TNI also was involved in launching Tax Justice Netherlands, a network of Dutch civil society organisations. The purpose of the campaign is to promote a just and fair tax system that supports international development aims.

See also:
www.tni.org/drugs
www.ungassondrugs.org

Environmental Justice



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 as the Carbon Trade Watch project, which works with communities and local campaigners. Operating since 2002, TNI's work in this field has been innovative in its combination of research, international networking, multimedia and popular education.

With climate scientists declaring that the evidence for global warming is now 'unequivocal', and negotiations beginning for a new UN climate change treaty in Bali, the world's attention was increasingly focussed on climate change in 2007.

Over the course of the year, TNI built critical attention about carbon offsets, the contradictions and shortcomings of the EU carbon market, and growing social opposition to agrofuels expansion. TNI's research was used in a submission to the UK Environmental Audit Committee's parliamentary enquiry into the EU Emissions Trading Scheme and the voluntary carbon market. In Germany, the political party Die Linke called for a moratorium on further Clean Development Mechanism projects on meeting with members of the Durban Group for Climate Justice, in which TNI is represented.

TNI was invited to participate in over 30 public presentations, debates and discussions on issues relating to carbon trading and climate change in six different countries. We collaborated with a wide variety of organisations, organising workshops at the Camp for Climate Action in the UK

(August), a panel with the Seattle to Brussels network (May), a presentation on Dutch climate policy and the Clean Development Mechanism in The Hague (October), and a presentation on ecological debt in the Basque country (October). TNI and its partners also hosted a number of well-attended side events during the Bali summit, mounting the new exhibition on the carbon market in India, and co-editing a newsletter and website, *AlterEco*, which presented a more social-justice based analysis of the proceedings. TNI also took part in the formation of a new climate justice coalition inside the conference, which brings together a formidable alliance of environmental and social justice organisations under the umbrella call for environmental justice.

Media impact

There was a notable surge in media interest as our critiques of market-led solutions to climate change hit the mainstream. A total of forty-two articles resulted including in *The New York Times*, *The New Yorker* magazine, *The Washington Post*, *USA Today*, *Chicago Daily Herald*, *The Global and Mail* (Canada), *The Vancouver Sun*, *The*

Guardian, The Times of London, The Independent, The New Zealand Herald as well as in prestigious magazines such as *The New Scientist, The Ecologist* and *Nature*. There were also many requests for interviews from major television channels including Al Jazeera, BBC World, Channel 4 in the UK, and ABC (USA) and radio interviews including Radio 4 (UK), Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and the BBC World Service.

Furthermore, throughout 2007, TNI wrote articles on carbon trading for many magazines and journals including *Ecologia Politica, New Matilda, El Viejo Topo, Political Brief, Red Pepper, China Dialogue, Chain Reaction* and *Green Left*. In addition, TNI contributed chapters to three different books in 2007. The first was a chapter on the G8 and emissions trading, which was included in *G8 Macht Politik – Wie die Welt beherrscht wird*, published in German in the run-up to the summit. The English version of this chapter was also included in the publication *G8 Club Governance – Power and Politics in a Global World* published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation. The second was a university text book from Canada entitled *Energy, Security and Climate Change*, in which a TNI article entitled ‘The Obscenity of Carbon Trading’ was published. The third was *Global Warming: The Answer: (The Energy Dividend)* by Wilfred Candler, in which the annex to TNI’s *The Carbon Neutral Myth* was reprinted. Meanwhile, a revised and expanded edition of the 2005 *Trouble in the Air* report – produced jointly with the Centre for Civil Society in South Africa – was published by the University of KwaZulu-Natal Press under the title *Climate Change, Carbon Trading and Civil Society*.

Fieldwork in Asia

TNI has developed its work on carbon trading in close co-operation with the Durban Group for Climate Justice - an international network of NGOs, community-led campaigns, research centres and policy experts – aiming to provide solid evidence-based climate policy recommendations.

During the UNFCCC meeting in Indonesia, the opportunity was taken



for the Durban Group to meet, consolidating the network. Hundreds of DVDs and other relevant TNI products were distributed to the assembled partners.

Following the summit, TNI embarked on field research in Indonesia with members of the Sawit Watch network in Riau, Sumatra. The team visited palm oil plantations and oil crushing facilities receiving CDM credit through the Kyoto Protocol. It also visited a potential pilot project site of the controversial Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) proposal that would be funded through the World Bank’s new Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF).

In 2007, joint fieldwork in India continued, looking particularly at the impact on local communities of new wind farms, receiving carbon market funding. This work has resulted in a photo essay, *The Carbon Market in India*, launched in Bali during the UN summit. The work of TNI and its partners in India attracted media attention, with Channel 4 Dispatches (UK) consulting the Durban Group for Climate Justice regarding the documentary, *The Great Green Smokescreen*, which aired in July. TNI was also contacted by ABC Nightline for film footage from an off-set project in India.

Carbon Offsets

The Carbon Neutral Myth was launched in February. This 80-page report argues that carbon offsets, promoted by everyone from music bands to governments as solutions to climate change, don’t work and distract from the structural changes that are needed. The publication grabbed both popular and media attention, which it maintained throughout the year. It was downloaded approximately 100,000 times from the website, and the report and related TNI research were cited in a wide variety of international media sources. The media attention put the spotlight on the carbon offsets industry, which has been forced to develop tighter standards, whilst greater popular awareness has led to a more critical examination of the industry’s promises.

Cinema Caravan

Following up on with a commitment to popular education and solidarity work, TNI invited five activists from the frontlines of plantation struggles in Brazil to undertake a three-week speaking tour across Portugal and Spain in May. The Brazilians spoke about the impacts of eucalyptus and agrofuel plantations on the lives of rural people.

The group gave seventeen talks and numerous film screenings reaching over 1,000 people, sharing their experiences within the landless movement (MST), local indigenous struggles and the academic research undertaken on their behalf. The tour worked with over thirty organisations including Ecologistas en Acción, Plataforma Rural, Coordinadoras Ecologistas, GAIA, Pola Defensa del Ría, Soldepaz Pachacuti, and several international civil society organisations from Forest Movement Europe.

The group gave several radio interviews to the National Spanish Radio, press interviews to local television in Galicia and Cantabria and the tour was mentioned in the newspaper Diagonal. The group participated in a march with local citizens protesting against a pulp and paper mill owned by Empresa Nacional de Celulosa de Pontevedra (ENCE) in Galicia. The tour engaged in a successful policy discussion with the Director of Environment in Cantabria to discuss the impacts of plantations in Brazil and the connections with the plans to develop an agrofuel port in Cantabria.

Meanwhile, the *Carbon Connection* film was released in November. It is based on video conversations facilitated between communities in Brazil and Scotland affected by carbon trading. The tri-lingual documentary was produced by Fenceline Films in partnership with TNI, the Community Training and Development Unit in Scotland, FASE-ES and the Alert against the Green Desert Movement in Brazil. Over 300 copies were distributed in December in Bali during the UNFCCC Conference, and favourable media reviews are already starting to come in. The *Carbon Connection* will be entered into film festivals and distributed throughout 2008.



TNI's Tamra Gilbertson and Durban Group partners on a research trip in India

Agrofuels

Rising maize (corn) and wheat prices throughout Latin America and Africa put staples out of the range of poor people in 2007. This led to outrage in Mexico City and around the world, and amplified warnings about the dangers of converting food crops into agrofuels.

TNI has been instrumental in the development of an international coalition of ten civil society organisations co-operating to assess the impact that expansion of the agrofuel market will have on agriculture, biodiversity and human rights.

Inspired by calls for solidarity from southern partners to take action on northern policy, TNI began to work closely with the Corporate European Observatory (CEO), Grupo Reflexion Rural (GRR), Econexus, Biofuelwatch and others to develop opposition to the European Commission's proposed target of 10 per cent agrofuel use in transport by 2020.

In late February, the coalition drafted a letter calling on the EU to abandon mandatory agrofuel targets. The letter was signed by 250 organisations and made available in Spanish, Portuguese, French, Dutch and Italian. This led the way to further collaborations.

The first publication from this new coalition, *Agrofuels: Towards a Reality Check in Nine Key Areas* called into question the sustainability of EU policy. It was downloaded throughout the new network from five different websites, and distributed to participants at the UN Convention on Biodiversity's Subsidiary Body on Scientific, Technical and Technological Advice (SBSTTA) meeting in Paris in July. Along with others from this network, TNI met with members of the European Parliament and several other organisations in Brussels to lobby the European Union on issues of sustainability, food sovereignty and renewable energy.

In September, TNI co-published *Paving the Way for Agrofuels: EU policy, sustainability criteria and climate calculations* in English and Spanish. The publication, which was produced jointly with along with CEO, Netherlands and Grupo Reflexión Rural, Argentina criticises the various mechanisms used to justify industrial agrofuels including sustainability criteria as well as the current climate science justifying agrofuel production.

See also
www.carbontradewatch.org

New Politics

The New Politics programme exists to support and respond to innovations by social movements, parties and political institutions worldwide. Since 2004, it has promoted the rethinking of political agency and new forms of organisation in a range of areas, including participatory democracy, urban governance and rural democratisation.

The New Politics programme has three distinct but closely interrelated research and development agendas. The first focuses on new forms of governance and experiments in participatory democracy. This includes monitoring the reform of state institutions which have adapted the language of new politics whilst still pursuing market-driven development policies. The second concerns rethinking political agency in the face of both the challenges posed by globalisation and the innovations emerging out of radical social movements. The focus is on means of organising that explicitly pre-figure the kind of society they are working for. The third leg of the programme, since 2006, focuses on processes of rural democratisation.

Progressive governance and participatory democracy

In January, the programme jointly organised an international workshop with the Autonomous University of Mexico-Xochimilco (UAM-X) in Mexico City, focused on the rise of the left in Latin America. The workshop resulted in the production of a book on *Left Governance in Latin America* (in Spanish), edited by Beatriz Stolowicz. The book contains eight national case studies, on Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Cuba, Ecuador, El Salvador, Mexico and Uruguay.

The Madison Dialogue – a network of committed scholars, activists and government officials coordinated by TNI and the Havens Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison – also produced a briefing paper on *The Economic Policies of Venezuela*, which was downloaded over 20,000 times in its English and Spanish versions.

The ongoing impact of the programme's work on participatory democracy is revealed by the increasing demand on TNI for its expertise and experience from municipalities and civil society organisations seeking to influence national governments, international agencies and other public bodies. In March, TNI participated in the International Conference on Participatory Budgeting, organised by the provincial government of Malaga, Spain, and the Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion – RedFAL, a global network created in the framework of

the World Social Forum, linking progressive municipal and provincial governments from Europe and the Global South.

TNI was subsequently invited to join the newly formed Working Group on Participatory Budgeting, in charge of facilitating grounded research and providing technical guidance to interested local governments and community-based organisations. In June, programme coordinator Daniel Chavez led a course on Participatory Budgets in Europe at the University of Coimbra in Portugal. In October, TNI was invited to give a presentation of current global trends in participatory democracy and governance at the 'Cities of Extremes' international symposium organised in The Hague by the Institute of Social Studies (ISS).

TNI also continued to research and publish on participatory democracy. Hilary Wainwright completed an extensively updated paperback version of her book, *Reclaim the State*, to be published in the second half of 2008, and wrote articles on participatory democracy for various media outlets, including *The Guardian*. Work also began on a supplement on participatory democracy, which will be published in 2008 by partners in the Eurotopia media network.

Engaging in civil society processes

Linking new politics with broader socio-political issues such as trade and labour, the programme was invited to engage in civil society driven regional and global processes of institutional reform. In May, TNI was requested by ActionAid in Brussels to provide critical comments from a participatory democracy viewpoint on three EC-commissioned reports produced by Solidar, ActionAid and Friends of the Earth, focused on a critical review of the European Commission DG Trade's Civil Society Dialogue (CSD). In September, TNI was invited to join the Global Dialogue for a Fair Globalisation, launched in Lima by labour-based organisations Solidar, the Global Network, and Peruvian TNI partner PLADES.

In October, the programme co-organised two major international events. The first seminar took place in Porto Alegre, in co-operation with CIDADE and Oxfam-Novib,

on the theme of 'The Future of Participatory Democracy: Technical Fix or Popular Sovereignty.' Over 80 researchers, representatives of local authorities, CSOs and NGOs from Brazil, Argentina, Chile, United Kingdom, The Netherlands, and Philippines decided at the seminar to found a new global network – Reclaiming Participatory Democracy – focused on challenging technocratic and supposedly ideology-free notions of democracy and 'good governance', and to put forward the collective construction of innovative and grassroots-driven proposals to governments and international agencies. The second event, the 'Second International Workshop on Participatory Budgeting in the Southern Cone' was held in Paysandu, Uruguay, co-organised with the provincial government of Paysandu, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Spanish Agency for International Co-operation (AECI). The Paysandu workshop received extensive media attention, with articles and interviews with local and international participants appearing in the national press, radio and TV. The proceedings of both activities are to be published in 2008.

Capacity building

In August, TNI signed a framework agreement with two Venezuelan institutions - the Fundación Escuela de Gerencia Social (FEGS) and the Universidad Experimental Simón Rodríguez – and the Dutch-based Institute of Social Studies (ISS) to provide research capacity, technical assistance and training for Venezuelan local government officials on participatory democracy and public policy issues.

The programme also completed a major study on *Grassroots Democratisation in Sub-Saharan Africa*, commissioned by the Dutch development organisation ICCO (Interchurch Organisation for Development Co-operation). The report provides an integrated analytical framework in which latest knowledge on grassroots democratisation has been translated into a set of concrete indicators that ICCO is expected to use for appraising and orienting its activities in Africa, in order to enhance the role of African CSOs in local and national politics.

TNI also provided technical facilitation for the project E-presupuesto, an initiative run within the framework of the EC-funded URB-AL network. E-presupuesto is a bi-regional technical cooperation project between the European Union and Latin America, concerned with participatory budgeting and the development of information and communications technologies (ICT). The consortium comprises two European municipalities (from Denmark and Spain) and five Latin American local governments (two in Chile, and others in Peru, Paraguay and Mexico). The project, to be completed in 2008, is developing pilot proposals for ICT-enabled participatory budgeting, based on co-operative research integrating municipal grassroots and local government officials. Preliminary proposals specific to each participating municipality were presented at an international seminar in Santiago, Chile, in November 2007.

Rethinking political agency

In 2007 this part of the programme has helped to establish Networked Politics, a collaborative project for 'Rethinking political organisation in an era of movements and networks.' The project is co-organised by the Institut de Govern i Polítiques Públiques (IGOP), a research centre of the Autonomous University of Barcelona, Transform! Italia and Euromovements. The Rosa Luxemburg Foundation hosted the second of the project's seminars in Berlin in June.

TNI also co-published the proceedings of the first phase of this work. A 72-page booklet entitled *Networked Politics*, launched at the World Social Forum in Nairobi, was followed by a revised and expanded book in Spanish, entitled *Repensar La Política*, published by Icaria in September. An interactive website and extensive e-library were also launched.

The project initiated several case studies to deepen its search for new forms of political organisation. These include work on the implications of feminism for rethinking political organisation; new forms of labour organisation in response to the impact of globalisation (which is being conducted in collaboration with the Department of Geography at Queen Mary College, University of London); the forms of organisation and culture of the open software movement; and the nature of the global governance of the internet, including its relevance as a model of co-ordination for the World Social Forum and other international networks. These are being published online, alongside readers and transcripts from the Berlin seminar.

In addition, the Berlin seminar developed the idea of a dictionary of new politics. A first version was published as *Parole di una nuova politica* by project partner Transform! Italia, and work is underway on Spanish and English versions.

TNI Fellow Hilary Wainwright also presented the project as a keynote speaker at the Left Forum in New York in March, and at Ryerson University in Canada, where she gave the Phyllis Clarke Memorial Lecture on the topic of 'Rethinking Politics in the Age of Networks.'

Intersecting with this work, Wainwright is continuing a series of investigations of left parties in government, following the model of her 2006 dossier on the Workers' Party (PT) in Brazil. In March, she was an international guest at the Congress of the Socialist Left in Norway, and in December she was an international monitor for Venezuela's National Electoral Council during the referendum on President Chavez's proposed constitutional changes.

Rural New Politics

In 2006, TNI began to implement a three-year work-plan aimed at empowering Southern rural social organisations

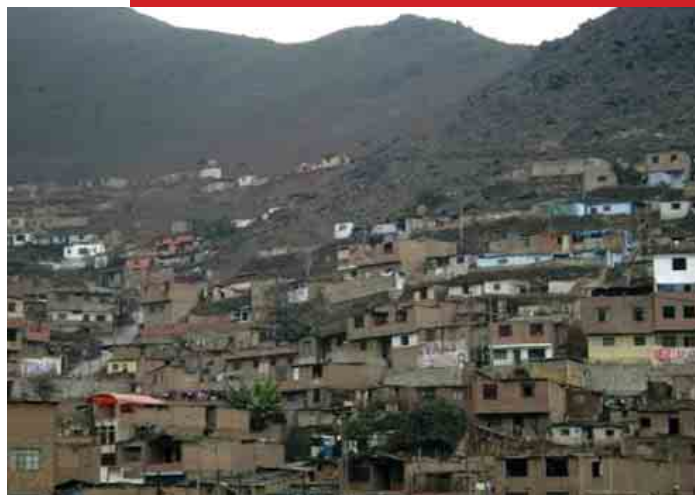
as co-producers of political innovations and to boost their impact on democratisation and development policy processes. The Rural New Politics (RNP) project works with partners in South Africa, Mozambique, Philippines, Indonesia, Brazil and Mexico. In 2007, the work was divided into three phases. During the first phase (January-June), the local research teams carried out fieldwork, combined with ongoing local campaigns or training activities. In the second phase, the fieldwork results were drawn up and writers drafted the first version of their case studies (July-September). The last phase (October to November) started with the organisation of an international workshop in Amsterdam and lasted until the end of the year, with the partners re-writing their case studies according to comments and criticisms received at the October meeting. The six national teams produced in-depth studies about the complex reality of rural democratisation across the Global South, which will be revised to form chapters of an edited book that will be published in 2009.

In June, TNI organised a civil society workshop on overseas development assistance and land policy at the Second European Forum on Sustainable Rural Development in Berlin. Papers from the seminar will be published in 2008.

Local RNP partners were also very active in outreach. In April, the South African partner Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE) organised a seminar in Robertson, Western Cape, where the first results of its household surveys were presented to community representatives, researchers and government officials. In October, TCOE presented its findings at the conference 'Another countryside?: Policy Options for Land and Agrarian Reform in South Africa', where Jun Borrás was the keynote speaker. In November, the Mexican team Universidad Campesina presented their own study during a national meeting of the Right to Know campaign in Guerrero. In December, the research findings of the Filipino team were also presented at a national conference.

LINKS

www.tni.org/newpol
www.epresupuesto.eu
www.networked-politics.info



Photos (top to bottom) : Hilary Wainwright (third from left) inspects ballots during Venezuela's referendum in December; Gemma Galdon Clavell (left) and Peter Waterman (right) debate Global Resistance and Summit Protest at the Crea Theatre, Amsterdam; Rural New Politics participants in discussion at the TNI office, Amsterdam; A view of the informal settlements of Independencia (a district of Lima, Peru), one of seven municipalities engaged in the URB-AL e-Budgeting project, to which TNI provides technical guidance.



Public services towards water justice

TNI's work on public services focuses on achieving water justice through progressive public sector reforms and public-public partnerships. Our work is embedded within the Reclaiming Public Water (RPW) network, which promotes such public reforms as key elements for solving the global crisis in access to clean water and sanitation. TNI serves as the co-ordinating hub of the RPW network, which consists of more than 150 public water managers, civil society activists, academics and trade unionists from more than 35 countries.

Water policy shifts

In 2007, TNI and the Reclaiming Public Water network played a significant role in pushing European institutions and governments towards supporting Public-Public Partnerships (PuPs) among water operators.

In mid-March, EU Development Commissioner Louis Michel announced at a conference in the European Parliament that the Commission believes in the potential of twinning and will start supporting this approach actively. This is a very significant development since until then Commissioner Michel had consistently defended EU pro-privatisation initiatives and ignored civil society critiques and proposals.

The policy shift has undoubtedly been a result, in part, of a pan-European campaign that has run since 2005, involving a broad, informal coalition of NGOs and trade unions including TNI. The network sent a series of open letters to Commissioner Michel criticising the pro-privatisation tendencies in the Commission's global water policies. This critique was echoed in critical media coverage by the *EU Observer* and *Inter Press Service*. In March, the campaign published an open letter, in the form of a large advert in a widely read EU-focused weekly newspaper (*The European Voice*), endorsed by 60 civil society groups including trade unions. At the same time, a colourful demonstration, involving hundreds of activists and unionists and held in front of the Development Directorate-General, was also well covered by the media and added to the pressure on Michel to alter the EU's position.

The same month, the Dutch Minister for Development, Bert Koenders, declared his support for Dutch public utilities engaging in PuPs in developing countries. This marked another advance as the previous Minister had argued exclusively for a stronger role for the private sector. This is a result of an active campaign involving open letters and media outreach led by TNI and other Dutch groups.

Another example of the shift in global water policy was the launch of the Global Water Operator Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA) by UN-Habitat in August, which aims to facilitate and provide support for PuP projects in developing countries. The RPW network has not only provided strong political backing for the initiative through interventions by various groups from the network, but also worked hard to keep the initiative from being undermined by lobbying from pro-privatisation forces. As a result the RPW network has been recognised as a key partner in the GWOP Alliance. The challenge now is to win similar changes in the policies of other donor governments and international agencies, and to ensure that effective political and financial support is given for PuPs so that public water supply in developing countries is strengthened.

Taking on donor-driven privatisation

In 2007, TNI turned the spotlight on the Public Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF), a little known World Bank agency that funds consultants to advise poor country governments on how to privatise key sectors such as water, energy and telecommunications. The UK, World Bank and Japan are the top three donors to the PPIAF, while The Netherlands is the sixth largest contributor.

When the PPIAF held its annual meeting in The Hague at the end of May, TNI jointly with other civil society groups took on the task of preparing an international civil society forum. A seminar 'Stop Water Privatisation - Alternatives to the PPIAF' took place and was followed by an upbeat demonstration in front of the venue of PPIAF's Annual Meeting. A large delegation of campaigners also held a two-hour meeting with an even larger PPIAF delegation, resulting in a heated exchange on water delivery issues.

The focus on PPIAF was supported by a strong international coalition, which succeeded before the meeting in pushing the Italian government to join the Norwegians in announcing its withdrawal of financial support for the PPIAF. Explaining the decision, Vice-Minister Patrizia Sentinelli of the Italian Foreign Affairs Ministry said, "It is crucial to have an international debate on the negative consequences of the push for privatisation in sectors so sensitive that touch upon our common goods. Therefore, I thought it appropriate in this moment to withdraw the participation of the Italian Development Cooperation from the Public Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility." These events were covered in specialist and Dutch press, including *European Water Management News*, the *Environment News Service (ENS)*, *WaterForum Weeknieuws*, *De Trouw* and *Elsevier*.

The African Water Network

TNI is strongly committed to supporting Southern efforts to advance workable public water alternatives, and has prioritised strengthening regional co-operation on the African continent. TNI therefore offered active support for the creation of the African Water Network (AWN), which was launched during the World Social Forum in Nairobi in January. The launch event was attended by 250 activists from 40 African countries. The project also ran two well-attended seminars at the Forum – on PuPs and on rural water challenges in Africa.

This was followed up in November with the General Meeting of the African Water Network, hosted by the Coalition Against Water Privatisation in Johannesburg, South Africa. 35 participants from 17 African countries attended. TNI supported the attendance of eight participants as well as enabling key resource people from India, Mexico and Europe to join the meeting thus

enriching the collective learning process across regions. TNI also supported the launch of the AWN website and a documentary *Turning the Tide: The Savelugu Story*, which showcases the successful community management of water in Savelugu, Ghana.

Public-Public Partnership pilot project in Peru

TNI has continued to support PuP pilot projects in Latin America. Most notably, TNI enabled successful co-operation between Aguas Bonaerenses (ABSA, the union-owned and union-run public water operator of the province of Buenos Aires, Argentina) and the Peruvian water workers union FENTAP.

In the first stage, ABSA assisted FENTAP with developing an elaborate alternative proposal for public water provision in the city of Huancayo in northern Peru. In April 2007, a first evaluation of the Huancayo water utility SEDAM was released, showing that SEDAM had the potential to become a well functioning public utility, if only the right managerial decisions were taken.

This was followed by the decision of the general manager of SEDAM to support the PuP. This major breakthrough led to the signing of the contract between SEDAM and ABSA in June. The agreement sets out objectives and activities such as technological development, interchange of staff, knowledge exchange, capacity development for staff and users, technology transfer and proposals for management improvements.

The experiences in Huancayo show it is possible to go beyond defensive struggles against privatisation to constructing workable alternatives that can become a source of collective learning across Latin America and beyond.

Reclaiming Public Water speakers' tour in India

In April, the RPW network launched the publication of three different Indian language editions (Tamil, Hindi and Malayalam) of its core book *Reclaiming Public Water*. The editions were launched during a tour of nine cities in India featuring international speakers from the network. The public meetings enabled a sharing of experiences of new democratic models of public management in countries such as Venezuela, as well as learning from Indian struggles and reform processes such as the democratisation of water management in Tamil Nadu. The events were well covered by the Indian media, including national newspapers like *The Hindu*, which discussed not only critiques of water privatisation, but also alternative approaches, such as PuPs and the remunicipalisation trend.

Expanded editions of *Reclaiming Public Water* were also released in Portuguese and Japanese. The Brazilian edition was published in collaboration with FASE and the National Association of Municipal Sanitation Services

(ASSEMAE). The Japanese edition was published in May to coincide with the 40th Annual Meeting of the Asian Development Bank, held in Kyoto. The book has now been published in twelve different language editions, each time adding new chapters from the countries concerned to the latest edition, which are also then translated into English and Spanish for the on-line version.

Also published on-line in 2007 was *Water Democracy: Reclaiming Public Water in Asia*, a collection of 19 new essays, which highlights how democratisation and other progressive reforms of public water management are gaining ground in Asia. The publication is part of preparations for the planned Asian regional meeting of the RPW network in 2008.

Advancing Remunicipalisation

TNI supports Southern efforts to replace failing private water supply with workable public water alternatives, which involves education about options for remunicipalisation. In March, TNI co-organised a seminar on 'Jakarta water concessions' with Public Services International (PSI) and the Indonesian NGO Amrta Institute, in response to ten years of Jakarta's failing privatised water service. The seminar was attended by academics, water officials, NGOs, public service workers and journalists, and was covered by the *Jakarta Post*.

Together with Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), TNI has developed 'the remunicipalisation tracker' website: www.remunicipalisation.org. The aim of the website is to showcase cities, regions and countries that have rolled back privatisation and embarked on securing public water for all that need it.

Public Services in Europe: from privatisation to participation

TNI worked this year with the European Federation of Public Service Unions (EPSU) and major public sector unions from Italy, Spain, UK and France to highlight the case for strong, participatory public services, remunicipalisation and a EU legal framework on public services. The collaboration resulted in a special issue of Eurotopia, a magazine supplement initiated by TNI, which brings together progressive magazines from across Europe. The publication was distributed to all delegates at the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) Congress in Seville, Spain in May. Eurotopia. Articles were reproduced in *Carta* (Italy), *El Viejo Topo* (Spain), *Red Pepper* (UK) and in the monthly newsletter of Public Services International. TNI was also represented at an EPSU conference on 'Quality Public Services' in Brussels in June.

See also
www.tni.org/books/publicwater.htm
www.waterjustice.org
www.remunicipalisation.org

Alternative regionalisms

The Alternative Regionalisms programme addresses questions of regional integration and development from the perspective of social movements and civil society organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Through the programme, TNI has helped to catalyse bi-regional initiatives among civil society groups on a South-North and South-South basis. Our work is embedded in relations with Southern civil society networks, in particular the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) in Latin America and the Caribbean, the Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC) in Southern Africa and Focus on the Global South in Asia.



This year, TNI put the spotlight on the European Union's (EU) new 'Global Europe' strategy, which involves an aggressive pursuit of Free Trade Agreements (FTAs) driven by the interests of European transnational corporations. For the first time, the EU strategy links its external trade agenda with competitiveness within Europe itself. There is mounting concern among European civil society groups that this will lead to de-regulation of social and environmental standards both within Europe and in the South.

Asia-Europe

The EU launched negotiations for a number of regional and bilateral FTAs in the Asian region in 2007, including with the Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN), Korea and India.

In March and September, a thirty-member Korean delegation, representing trade union, farmers' and women's organisations, came to Europe to lobby governments during the second and third round of negotiations on the EU-

Korea FTA. TNI facilitated briefing meetings with the European Commission's Directorate General for Trade (DG Trade), Members of the European Parliament (MEPs) as well as the international trade union confederations ITUC and ETUC. TNI programme staff also participated in the Korean Social Forum in Seoul in July.

In February, TNI and Focus on the Global South co-organised a strategy meeting in Bangkok on the proposed EU-ASEAN FTA. This capacity-building activity involved the network of European and South East Asian civil society organisations focused on the FTA, launched at the 2006 Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF) in Helsinki. Throughout 2007, the AEPF network researched implications for public services and the energy sector, and lobbied governments concerned including the EC's DG Trade. Alongside the focus on trade, the AEPF has working groups on labour; militarisation; democratisation and regional integration, as well as on the ASEAN charter.

With a view to exploring the viability of holding the next AEPF in Beijing in October 2008, AEPF representatives held discussions in China with a range of civil society organisations, as well as with the Chinese government unit in charge of the Asia Europe Meeting (ASEM).

Focus on Global China

A growing area of work for TNI concerns China as a key player, regionally within Asia as well as globally. Chinese trade and investment is having a significant impact in Africa and Latin America.

In Shanghai in May, coinciding with the African Development Bank meeting there, TNI co-organised a round-table on 'China's New Role in Africa' with China Development Brief, Focus on the Global South and Fahamu. The event was historic in bringing together, for the first time, NGOs, researchers and campaigners from within and outside.

EU-Latin America

TNI has played a key role in developing the Enlazando Alternativas bi-regional network, which focuses on FTAs, transnational corporations and regional integration in Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC).

The network has been monitoring new FTA negotiations between the EU and parts of Latin America launched in 2007. In September, negotiations were launched for an FTA with the Community of Andean Nations (CAN) and in October, the first round of negotiations with Central America took place in Costa Rica.

The EU-CAN negotiations are likely to be heated due to the Bolivian government's position that no commitments be demanded that infringe on the sovereignty of natural resources, public services, state purchases or intellectual property. More than a hundred civil society organisations and social movements in both Europe and the LAC regions signed on to a statement co-ordinated by TNI and the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) calling on the party governments to broaden the space for democratic participation by civil society and parliaments in the ongoing negotiations.

Meanwhile, the first round of EU-Central America negotiations met with strong opposition from the region's peasant farmers, who expect significant negative impacts on their livelihoods and food sovereignty.

To support civil society organisations in understanding how the EU operates within such agreements, TNI co-published in June a well-received briefing on the seven-year experience with the EU-Mexico Free Trade Agreement, which has served as a model for many European-initiated FTAs. The briefing was widely distributed within Latin America and was also presented at the Bangkok strategy meeting on the EU-ASEAN FTA.

As part of the focus on European transnational corporations operating in the LAC region, a Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) was held during the very successful Enlazando Alternativas in Vienna in April 2006. This year, the bi-regional network co-ordinated a number of tribunal hearings in Glasgow, Madrid, Bogotá, Managua, The Hague and Bilbao, attended by some 1,200 people. These hearings highlight violations of human and labour rights – particularly in the energy sector, public services and the banking sector. A video of the 2006 Vienna tribunal was downloaded 750 times from YouTube and widely distributed in DVD form. The thirty case studies presented at the 2006 Vienna tribunal were also published on the People's Dialogue website. Meanwhile, a dedicated Tribunal Working Group has been busy preparing for a follow-up PPT

Session on TNCs in Lima in May 2008 as part of the next Enlazando Alternativas.

EU-Africa

The furore over Europe's positions on the new Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) being negotiated between the EU and African governments has generated a momentum within civil society for the formation of a Europe-Africa civil society network addressing issues of trade, investment, development and regional integration, similar to that of the AEPF and Enlazando Alternativas. The basis for such a bi-regional network was laid at a pan-African strategy meeting on EPAs held in Accra, Ghana in September organised by the Africa Trade Network (ATN). The outcome of the meeting was a joint advocacy approach on EPAs towards both European and African governments.

TNI participated in the meeting, sharing its experiences in helping to build the AEPF and Enlazando Alternativas. Copies were distributed of the comprehensive TNI briefing by Dot Keet, entitled *Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) - Responses to the EU offensive against ACP Development Regions*. The briefing exposed the enormous pressure the EU has brought to bear on ACP governments to conclude negotiations and agree full trade liberalisation by 2008. It also highlights how EPAs are being contrived to undermine existing African efforts at developmental integration.

As another step towards building a bi-regional solidarity network between Europe and Africa, TNI co-organised a civil society conference 'Europe-Africa: what alternatives?' in Lisbon in December during the official summit between the European Union and the African Union. Organised with the Seattle-to-Brussels Network and the Africa Trade Network, the conference centred its debate on four themes: agriculture and food sovereignty, economic development, migration, and human and social rights.

The EPA campaign heated up as the year progressed. In April and September, public forums on EPAs were organised in The Netherlands and Brussels by TNI and ATN as part of the Stop EPAs Campaign. TNI also enabled African delegates' attendance at the Nairobi World Social Forum in January, and the G8 Alternatives Summit in Rostock, Germany in June, where they were able to present African civil society views on EPAs.

South-South People's Dialogues

Two South-South People's Dialogues took place between civil society organisations from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Common Market of South

America (Mercosur), which TNI gave active support to and participated in.

The one on land and natural resources helped to lay the basis for longer-term co-ordination among rural social movements, identifying agrarian reform, land use, food sovereignty, agrofuels and environmental resources as issues of strategic importance for the defence and development of rural livelihoods.

The second on labour and industrial development saw broad participation from trade unionists, including the labour confederations of Latin America and Southern Africa (ORIT and SATUCC, respectively) as well as key affiliated federations. It addressed issues of decent work and sustainable livelihoods in the context of precarious employment and growing poverty. Participating trade unions agreed to jointly develop appropriate economic strategies for regional co-operation and development.

TNI also participated in three People's Summits in 2007 organised by the Southern African Peoples' Solidarity Network on the occasion of the SADC Summit in Lusaka, Zambia in August; by Solidarity for ASEAN People's Advocacies (SAPA) and the ASEAN Civil Society Conference (ACSC) in Singapore in November on the eve of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Summit; and by the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA), parallel to the Ibero-American summit in Santiago, Chile also in November. Each People's Summit developed specific proposals towards the relevant regional body and drew up a People's Agenda.

In support of these People's Dialogues, TNI has invested resources, facilitated the participation of observers from other regions, and continued to monitor developments in broader South-South co-operation. The latter includes the India, Brazil and South African (IBSA) dialogue; UNASUR (Union de Naciones Sudamericanas); ALBA (Bolivarian Alternative for the Americas) and the People's Trade Treaty.

Meanwhile, proposals for alternative regionalisms were laid out in a special issue of *Global Social Policy*, the leading academic journal addressing the intersections between globalisation, public policy and social development, guest edited by TNI's Cecilia Olivet and Brid Brennan, with contributions by partners in the TNI programme.

Another Europe

TNI has been consistently critical of the neo-liberal framing of European integration, which was consolidated in the draft EU constitution. Following the French and Dutch "no" votes in 2005, renewed efforts to push this through have been met with ongoing resistance.

TNI is a member of the Dutch Anders Europa Coalition, which published a pamphlet entitled *Another Europe is Possible* in February 2007. TNI participated in The Netherlands Campaign for Another Europe with a sign-on petition calling for a referendum on the new EU 'reform' treaty, which garnered 10,000 signatures. TNI also co-organised seminars on the future of Europe at the Dutch Social Forum. A number of articles on the question of European reform were published in *Il Manifesto* (Italy), *Red Pepper* (UK), *Temas* (Spain) and *An Phoblacht* (Ireland).

As part of its vision of Another Europe, TNI is active in defence of migrants' rights. It is a founding member of RESPECT Europe, which campaigns for migrant domestic workers' rights. This year, TNI was involved in RESPECT strategy meetings and in meetings of the joint liaison working group comprised of the Dutch public sector union ABVAKABO FNV, RESPECT Netherlands and the Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers (CFMW). The latter has successfully raised the profile of migrant domestic workers' concerns within Dutch politics. TNI also participated in the Global Community Dialogue on Migration, Development and Human Rights in Brussels in July on the occasion of the inter-governmental Conference on Migration.

See also
www.tni.org/alternativeregionalisms
www.alternativas.org
<http://peoplesdialogue.org>
www.aepf.org

Militarism and Globalisation

The Militarism and Globalisation Programme promotes research and campaigning on the changing global frameworks for military intervention. It is concerned with both military infrastructure - the shifting networks of foreign military bases and nuclear proliferation – and the changing justifications used for military intervention. The roles of the US and EU, as key global actors, are assessed in relation to various global hotspots – including the Middle East, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

Foreign military bases

Following several years of consistent work facilitating the growth of an international NO-BASES network, TNI was one of the main international co-organisers of a global conference against foreign military bases held in Ecuador in March. The conference, which was attended by more than 400 representatives from over 40 countries, attracted widespread media coverage and interest among civil society campaigners. The Ecuadorian government endorsed the conference too, with several ministers and the mayor of Quito amongst the speakers. It used the occasion to repeat its intention to close the US base in the harbour town of Manta in 2009.

TNI launched an easy-to-read primer on foreign bases, *Outposts of Empire*, at the conference. The publication raised all the burning issues in relation to environmental, human rights, social and other abuses associated with foreign military bases. It was widely cited in the Ecuadorian national media, including *El Diario* and *El Comercio*, and was subsequently reprinted due to popular demand. TNI, in collaboration with activists around the world, also produced several new maps showing the global network of foreign military bases. One of the maps, an interactive 'Google Earth overlay', is now being regularly used by academics and campaigners and has been frequently downloaded from the TNI website.

Wilbert van der Zeijden spoke on the campaign to close foreign

military bases at several seminars and conferences

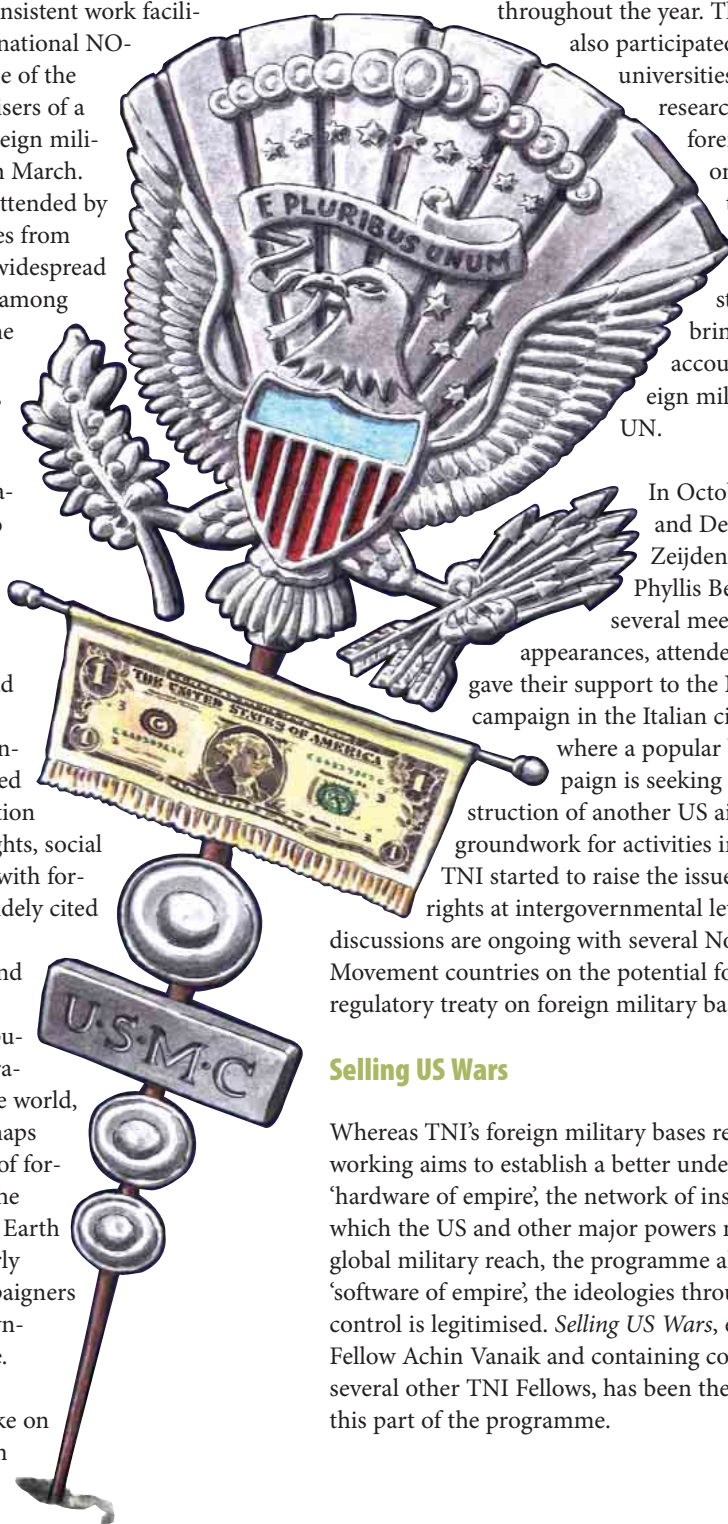
throughout the year. The programme also participated in meetings of universities in the USA

researching the effects of foreign military bases on populations in the South, and with civil society organisations strategising to bring the issue of accountability of foreign military bases to the UN.

In October, November and December, van der Zeijden and TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis addressed several meetings, made radio appearances, attended mass rallies and gave their support to the No Dal Molin campaign in the Italian city of Vicenza, where a popular broad-based campaign is seeking to block the construction of another US airbase. Laying the groundwork for activities in the coming year, TNI started to raise the issue of foreign basing rights at intergovernmental level. As a result, discussions are ongoing with several Non-Aligned Movement countries on the potential for an international regulatory treaty on foreign military bases.

Selling US Wars

Whereas TNI's foreign military bases research and networking aims to establish a better understanding of the 'hardware of empire', the network of installations through which the US and other major powers maintain their global military reach, the programme also works on the 'software of empire', the ideologies through which such control is legitimised. *Selling US Wars*, edited by TNI Fellow Achin Vanaik and containing contributions from several other TNI Fellows, has been the main pillar of this part of the programme.





European (in)security

TNI continued to raise concerns about the growing militarisation of the European Union in 2007. TNI co-organised seminars in Germany, Poland, Ireland, Italy, and attended two hearings at the European Parliament to discuss European security and defence policy. TNI also joined the European Civil Liberties Network in 2007. Through its Next Generation Programme, TNI supported the research of Ben Hayes, who is working on a book on the security dimensions of the EU, which will be co-published by TNI.

The book was published in the UK, US and India in early 2007, with Arabic and Spanish language versions being prepared for 2008 publication. Achin Vanaik, Kamil Mahdi and Thomas Reifer spoke at a book launch in Amsterdam in June, which was streamed live on the internet and made available for download on the YouTube website. Their interventions drew the connections between the book's main themes and the continuing war and occupation of Iraq.

From Iraq to Iran?

TNI organised two specialist seminars on the Iraq conflict in January and June. Both sessions emphasised the need to build longer term working relations with Iraqi civil society organisations.

These meetings contributed to the formation of an 'Iraq Civil Society Project', based on the realisation that amidst the daily violence and chaos, there is a civil society re-emerging in Iraq, including human rights organisations, civil liberty groups, women's networks and trade unions. The stability and strength of any future Iraqi society will depend significantly on the quality and role of civil society and thus international civil society is seeking ways to support non-sectarian counterparts in Iraq.

In addition, TNI co-published with Global Policy Forum in seven languages the highly influential report *War and Occupation in Iraq*, aimed at providing accurate and independent data to the public, the media and policy makers. Meanwhile, TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis spoke publicly on a number of occasions on the danger of a new war against Iran, featuring regularly on CNN, BBC World and Al Jazeera. A primer on the threat of war in Iran will be co-published with the Institute for Policy Studies in early 2008.

West Asia

In light of the intensification of conflict in West Asia, TNI co-sponsored a three day conference in New Delhi, which brought speakers from across the region including the Arab League, Israel and

Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Bangladesh, Pakistan and India. It was aimed at building a wider solidarity for people under threat and occupation in the bigger West Asian region, and at putting pressure on South Asian governments not to collaborate in further aggression. Particular attention was paid to the prospect of war with Iran.

Meanwhile, the crisis in Pakistan prompted TNI to organise a seminar in Amsterdam featuring Dr. Ayesha Siddiqi, author of *Military Inc*, and to publish a briefing by Frank Slijper, *Project Butter Factory* which focuses on the proliferation of nuclear technology from The Netherlands and elsewhere in Europe to the military dictatorship in Pakistan. The paper formed the basis for parliamentary questions in The Netherlands. TNI also supported Fellow Jochen Hippler's field research on regional drivers of conflict in Pakistan.

In The Netherlands, the programme actively participated in several civil society initiatives, including the 40th anniversary commemoration of the Israeli occupation of Palestine and the 'Troops out of Afghanistan' campaign, which includes the Dutch Groenlinks Party and the Socialist Party. The campaign influenced debates in Dutch politics and society on the question as to whether The Netherlands should extend their military activities in Afghanistan.

TNI fellows active in the programme – Achin Vanaik, Praful Bidwai, Walden Bello, Phyllis Bennis, Mariano Aguirre, David Sogge and Kamil Mahdi represented TNI and their own organisations at many related conferences. This included involvement in various UN-sponsored civil society initiatives on Palestine. TNI fellows produced more than 70 articles on Iraq, Iran, Lebanon, Palestine, nuclear proliferation and terrorism. Additionally David Sogge gave a strong focus to lusophone Africa.

See also

www.tni.org/militarism
www.no-bases.org/

FELLOWS MEETING

The Power of Money



History of Finance Capital and the need for regulation

Presenters: Tom Reifer and Myriam Vander Stichele

Marx argued that when capitalism has no further outlet, it seeks a financial outlet. His prediction has been borne out with a massive expansion of capital in global markets – seen in the rise of internal capital of transnationals, which no longer need to borrow to fund large-scale expansion; the accelerating growth of pension, insurance and mutual funds; and the dramatic rise in speculation and derivatives markets, which now dwarf most national reserves.

Financial capital now exercises far greater power than states or institutions like the IMF – and the results are ever more flows of wealth from poor to rich. The big question is what can be done. Regulations in the North are not binding, whilst in the South investment treaties and agreements such as GATS have locked in de-regulation of capital flows. Meanwhile the financial industry is consolidating and will soon be run by about 15 banks. States need to step in to control finance before it is too late.

Extending, securing and harnessing pensions

Presenter: Robin Blackburn

Pensions have come to symbolise many trends in financial globalisation: trends towards privatisation of public rights, commodification, and supporting the growth of financial power with public taxes. Pension funds are now both central beneficiaries but also shock absorbers for capitalism.

Robin Blackburn proposed an alternative of a universal small grant worldwide of \$1 a day funded by the Tobin tax, taxes applied to share transactions and a Meidner scheme (which requires companies to contribute to a reserve social fund). He also proposed democratisation of pension funds to exercise greater control on corporations.

Participants in the session also questioned how to stop the dependence on and bolstering of financial markets, and proposed exploring other possibilities of both funding pensions and redistributing wealth.

Redistribution and Regulation

Presenters: Sony Kapoor and Howard Wachtel

This session examined two proposals for tax systems to deal with falling tax revenues affecting public services and to tackle tax evasion, growing inequality, volatile financial flows and climate change. Sony Kapoor recommended a Financial Transaction Tax, which has already been applied in some countries and is both progressive and easily enforceable. Howard Wachtel proposed a global tax fund on non-financial corporations which would be set internationally and applied on publicly known profits. Any difference between what the company paid in its host country would be redistributed to the global tax fund and issues of transfer-pricing (ie buying from subsidiaries at below-cost and selling at profit) would be resolved.

Global Tax Justice

Presenters: Sol Picciotto and John Christensen

This session examined the weakness of the Anti Money Laundering (AML) regime, which is systematically undermined by offshore centres, tax havens, transfer pricing and mis-invoicing, lax bookkeeping and private banking regulations. An evaluation and overhaul of the entire system of international financial regulation is necessary and will need strong international cooperation. Up to now various political initiatives to strengthen national tax regimes have been consistently thwarted by the persistent and powerful lobbying of business and wealthy individuals.

The Tax Justice Network aims to act as a counter-pressure highlighting the costs of tax avoidance. It is working on a code of conduct for taxation and a Financial Transparency Index to work as a blacklist in order to draw attention to jurisdiction issues. However it was also acknowledged that avoiding taxes is not the only way corporations retain dominance: they also benefit from price fixing, state subsidies and the prevailing paradigm that low taxes are the only way to secure foreign investment.





Deregulated financial capital now dwarfs most national economies, and has resulted in wealth transfers from the poor to the rich. Yet finance is also crucial for investing in public services and pensions, and for supporting social enterprises. What regulation does finance need? What kind of tax systems could redistribute wealth? What are the implications of the rise of institutions like the Bank of the South? The annual TNI Fellows' meeting brought together activist scholars from across the world to debate how money can be brought back under social and popular control.

New challenges for the IMF and the MDBs

Presenters: Edgardo Lander and Tom Reifer

The Asian financial crisis raised serious questions internationally about the IMF and Multilateral Development Banks, with many agreeing that IMF policies of capital account liberalisation created the crisis and their response of austerity programmes worsened it. East Asian countries have responded by building up huge account surpluses but these are still unlikely to cope with future attacks by hedge funds. Moreover their bonds have become highly dependent on propping up the US dollar.

In South America, the challenges to the IFIs and to neoliberal market policies have led to the election of several progressive governments and effectively killed off the US-backed Free Trade Agreement of the Americas. Meanwhile countries like Brazil, Argentina and Venezuela have reduced IFI influence by paying off their debts to the Institutions. Venezuela's proposal for a Bank of the South has the potential to threaten Northern dominance by taking money out of US treasury banks and Northern banks and create alternative sources of funding, including for people-focused development. It is complemented by the Bolivarian Alternative of the Americas, which seeks to develop alternatives to free trade and to limit foreign investors' powers. However the proposal suffers from the fact that the region's main forces are still wedded to export-orientated development, with Brazil largely joining the initiative to block any moves that reduce links with international capital.

Power, Money and Oil

Presenter: Kamil Mahdi

Oil has been central to Iraq's history and, of course, to the US war and occupation. Whilst US demand continues to grow, Iraq holds 12 per cent of the world's reserves with only a fifth of its fields properly explored. In the 1960s, the industry was nationalised with transnationals only allowed to act as purchasers or providers of technical services. But profits and financial worth on markets depend on reserves, and the occupation has given them a chance to reverse their losses. US military power backed by IMF conditions on debt relief have required Iraq to introduce a new oil law, which allows private foreign participation tied to contracts guaranteed by international

jurisdiction. It also allows regions to compete with each other to award contracts to transnational companies, exploiting divisions within Iraq. The law has been approved without public discussion or transparency and is only being challenged by civil society groups.

Financing Public Services

Presenters: Emanuel Lobina and Dr V Suresh

Privatisation in the 1990s was promised as the solution to the lack of investment in the water sector in the South, yet experience has shown that it has failed to deliver either financially or socially. Major multinationals have been forced to withdraw from many developing countries. However, a public participative model in Tamil Nadu, India has shown that social ownership and good public governance can deliver with much less investment and with the support of Public-Public Partnerships.

More broadly, the need for capital, in particular for infrastructure, can be provided by public lending (which is cheaper than private) or supported by various financial schemes, from municipal bonds to ethical funds. The challenge is then to deliver long-term sustainable public and participative models of water management that have safeguards against changing political climates, corporate misuse of water and privatisation by stealth.

Social Investment

Presenter: Pauline Tiffen

Social investment has exploded as a phenomenon in recent years, from dotcom philanthropy to the explosion of "ethical" investment funds. With this success comes the danger that the essence of good social investment will be lost, the key to which lies socially structured organisations. The best Fair Trade organisations generate financing that enables participation in the global market, limits expectations of return, includes ownership by farmers and creates long-term links and exchange with consumers. Many funds and banks that have appropriated social investment contain none of these elements, however. Instead, they promote corporate practices and attitudes that undermine social ventures. The challenge is to create new models that avoid commodification and will work in the long-term.



TNI FELLOWSHIP 2007

There are currently 21 members of TNI's prestigious international fellowship. A number of the fellows are directors or senior associates of other research and advocacy institutes. These include Focus on the Global South (Asia), the Institute for Popular Democracy (Philippines), Policy Alternatives for the Southern Cone (Brazil), the Alternative Information and Development Centre (South Africa), the Foundation for International Relations and Foreign Dialogue (Spain), the Centre for Peace and Development Studies (Germany), the Institute of Globalisation and Social Movements (Russia), and the Institute for Policy Studies (USA). As such, these institutes are solid partners in many of TNI's projects. Others are journalists (India, USA, Germany, UK, Spain, Philippines), while still others are academics or independent scholars. All are directly involved with social justice movements in their own countries and are committed to an internationalist perspective. Fellows participate in the shaping of the overall programme of the Institute, help connect TNI to networks in their own countries and regions, develop joint projects between TNI and their own institutes, offer media outlets to TNI, promote the Institute and each other, assist with fundraising and represent the Institute internationally. They meet annually in Amsterdam. TNI promotes and involves its fellows in its programmes and bigger networks wherever possible. TNI hosts a homepage for each fellow, where full biographical and contact information may be found, as well as on-line reproductions of articles, speeches and interviews, and a bibliography of other works. Although TNI fellowships are honorary and are not paid, TNI has a modest fund, disbursed at the discretion of the Director, which is intended to support the work of fellows where necessary.

THE CURRENT FELLOWSHIP



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



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



Professor Walden Bello
President, Freedom from Debt Coalition; Senior analyst, Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, Thailand



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



Praful Bidwai
Independent journalist, New Delhi, India



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



Brid Brennan
Alternative Regionalisms programme co-ordinator, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



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



Dr. Daniel Chavez
New Politics programme co-ordinator, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



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



Dr. Jochen Hippler
Research Fellow, Institut für Entwicklung und Frieden (INEF), University of Duisburg-Essen (Germany)



Martin Jelsma
Drugs and Democracy programme co-ordinator, TNI, Amsterdam, Netherlands



Dr. Boris Kagarlitsky
Director of the Institute of Globalisation and Social Movements, Moscow, Russia



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



Prof. Edgardo Lander
Professor of Social Sciences, Universidad Central de Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela



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



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



David Sogge
 Independent Consultant,
 Amsterdam, Netherlands



Prof. Achin Vanaik
 Research Fellow, Centre of
 Contemporary Studies, Nehru
 Memorial Museum and Library,
 India



Myriam Vander Stichele
 Senior Researcher, Centre for
 Research on Multinational
 Corporations (SOMO), Amsterdam,
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Prof. Howard Wachtel
 Professor of Economics, American
 University, Washington DC, USA



Hilary Wainwright
 Editor, Red Pepper magazine, UK
 and Research Director, New Politics
 Programme, TNI, Amsterdam,
 Netherlands

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS



Dr. Thomas Reifer
 Assistant Professor of Sociology,
 University of San Diego, USA



Pauline Tiffen
 Independent consultant, UK



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

Samuel Rubin Next Generation Programme

This TNI programme aims to support the next generation of scholar-activists, offering internships within TNI as well as awards to facilitate placements in TNI partner organisations and to undertake projects complementary to TNI's current programme. It is biased in favour of women under the age of 30 from Southern countries with a track record of activism. The programme is funded thanks to the support of the Samuel Rubin Foundation in New York and the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation.

In 2007, awards were granted to Diego Jacoman, Moritz Tenthof, Amy Holmes, Balbalwa Magoqwana, Stacey-Leigh Joseph, Sandra Makwembere, Julie Smith, Dale Wen and Wendy Conway Lamb. These awards led to the production of research on Bolivian cocaine markets and

alternative development in Colombia, a film on US foreign military bases, a collective research project on customer charters in municipal services in four South African cities and work on a funding application for a European-wide security research network. Dale Wen from the International Forum on Globalisation, who was invited to make a presentation on Chinese social movements to the TNI annual Fellows' Meeting in 2006, was subsequently supported to attend the World Social Forum in Nairobi in January 2007.

Lena Strunk, Ana MacNaught, Elektra Paschali, Magdalena Aquilar and Lucia Goldfarb all completed internships at TNI in 2007. Their work ranged from collecting data on harm reduction methods and human rights violations within

prisons, to developing an innovative google map of military bases, and from assisting in the development of TNI's rural new politics project to researching academic debates on democratisation.



JANUARY

World Social Forum (WSF): TNI co-organises 17 seminars on corporate globalisation, militarism, alternative development, carbon trading, new politics and water justice attended by more than 600 people. During the Water Justice seminars, the African Water Network is launched.

Left Governance: TNI jointly organises an international workshop with the Autonomous University of Mexico-Xochimilco (UAM-X)

can international drug policies succeed?' Ricardo Soberón presents a paper entitled 'The Drug's Legal Nightmare: An Andean Perspective.' Pien also speaks later in the month at La Sapienza University in Rome on 'Tendencies in European drugs legislation.'

MARCH

No-Bases: TNI co-organises the International Conference for the Abolition of Foreign Military



REVIEW 2007

focused on the rise of the left in the Latin America. The workshop results in the production of a book on *Left Governance in Latin America* (in Spanish).

FEBRUARY

Carbon Neutral Myth: TNI launches an 80-page report which argues that carbon offsets don't work and distract from the structural changes that are needed. The report is downloaded approximately 100,000 times from the website and prompts widespread international media coverage.

Drug Talks: Pien Metaal and TNI consultants Ricardo Soberón and Thanasis Apostolou participate in the Wilton Park Conference on 'How

Bases in Ecuador, attended by 400 delegates from 40 countries. The conference consolidates the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases and agrees a basic charter.

UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs: TNI participates at the 50th UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna, aimed at preparing the 1998 UNGASS review. TNI distributes a new publication criticising the International Narcotics Control Board for its position of condemning the growing and use of the coca leaf.

Participatory Budgeting: Daniel Chavez addresses an international conference of participatory budgeting in Spain attended by local politicians, neighbourhood activists, academics and civil servants. Organised by the Forum of





Local Authorities for Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy (FAL Network), the conference agrees to form an international working group around participatory budgeting

Water policy shifts: TNI's involvement with over 60 civil society groups in sending letters, supporting the publication of an advert in *The European Voice* and joining a demonstration in front of the EU Commission buildings forces EU Development Commissioner Louis Michel to announce his active support for Public-Public partnerships. TNI also co-organises a seminar with Public Services International (PSI) and Indonesian NGO Amrta Institute: 'Jakarta water concessions: how to improve the service,' in response to ten years of Jakarta's failing privatised water service which is covered by the *Jakarta Post*.



War and Resistance: TNI co-sponsors the international conference "War, Imperialism and Resistance in West Asia", held in New Delhi and aimed at building links of solidarity across West Asia and to pressure the governments in the region to oppose US military projects. Fellow Achin Vanaik speaks on Palestine.



New Politics: TNI Fellows Hilary Wainwright and Phyllis Bennis attend the Left Forum held at Cooper Union in New York City. Wainwright also gives the Phyllis Clarke Memorial lecture at Ryerson University, Canada. Later in the month, TNI, XminY and Dissent-NL organise an activist symposium in The Netherlands to reflect on ten years of summit protest and evaluate the broader dynamics of global movements.

Latin America: TNI co-organises an international seminar on new developmental challenges in Latin America, which debates social responsibility, citizens' participation and regional integration from the perspective of young activists and academics from universities, NGOs, local and national governments. Participants attend from Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, Italy, Mexico, Norway and Uruguay.

APRIL

Cinema Caravan: TNI's Environmental Justice project tours Spain and Portugal with five Brazilian activists resisting eucalyptus expansion. The tour reaches more than 1000 people in 17 talks, raises awareness of carbon trading and agrofuel projects in Brazil and helps link up Brazilian movements with counterparts in Spain and Portugal.

Public Water: TNI co-organises a tour of nine cities in south and north India to promote the publication of *Reclaiming Public Water* in three Indian languages (Tamil, Hindi, Malayalam). More than 600 people attend the events and the issues receive considerable national media coverage, prompting widespread debate about public alternatives to water management.



Basker Vashee: TNI marks the 40th Anniversary of the London School of Economics (LSE) sit-in, paying tribute to former Director and Fellow Basker Vashee, who had joined the sit-in to protest at the appointment of an LSE director complicit in the repression in Rhodesia. TNI Director Fiona Dove pays tribute to Vashee's life at the event.

Afghanistan Mission: Tom Kramer and Martin Jelsma undertake a research trip in Afghanistan looking at the opium eradication efforts in Nangarhar and Badakshan, as well as the traditional use of opium. They are interviewed by Radio Netherlands.

MAY

Tax Justice: TNI joins a network of Dutch civil society organisations in launching the Tax Justice Network Netherlands (TJ-NL), established to promote a just and fair tax system supportive of international development.

South Forum: Susan George participates in the South Forum, dedicated to discussing the cultural and technological development of multiracial and sustainable cities for the 21st century, and organised by the Instituto Cultura del Sur y el Ayuntamiento de Getafe. Susan George participates in *El País'* online discussion organised with readers.

Public Water: TNI co-organises a workshop on water privatisation in Kyoto, Japan and launches the Japanese edition of *Reclaiming Public Water*. TNI staff meet with Japanese unions to explore possibilities for developing Public-Public Partnerships (PuPs) as an alternative to water privatisation in the Asian region. The same month, TNI co-organises an international meeting of civil society organisations in The Hague to discuss the World Bank's Public Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility (PPIAF), which coincides with the Facility's annual meeting. A demonstration is held on the opening day to demand that donors withdraw funding from the controversial organisation.

Photos. (Top left to bottom right) Launch of Selling US Wars in Amsterdam; Wiwid Astuti and Tamra Gilbertson conduct an interview in the Kampar Peninsula, Riau, Indonesia; Audience at Summit Protest debate in Crea Theater, Amsterdam; Praful Bidwai and Edgardo Lander; Tamra Gilbertson; Susan George; (Overleaf, top to bottom) Cecilia Olivet at People's Alternative summit in Seoul, South Korea; Walden Bello, Carlos Aguilar and Dot Keet at the World Social Forum, Nairobi; World Bank People's Tribunal hearing at the Nuthuis, The Hague, Netherlands; protesters gather at the World Social Forum, Nairobi

China's role in the South: TNI co-organises a roundtable in Shanghai on 'China's New Role in Africa and the South: A Search for a New Perspective' which unites academics, NGO representatives, researchers and campaigners from within and outside China. The papers are co-published as a book with Focus on the Global South and Fahamu.

Social summit: TNI co-organises a series of activities at the *Top van Onderop* summit in Amsterdam on the EU constitution, Europe's Free Trade Agreements with the South and the impact of the global carbon trade on local communities. TNI's latest film, *The Carbon Connection*, is premiered.

JUNE

G8 Alternatives: At the Alternative Summit to the G8 in Rostock, TNI organises six workshops on EU militarism, climate change, resistance to EU's free trade agenda in Latin America, the Caribbean and the Global South, alternative development and confronting the power of transnational corporations.

Africa's democracy deficit: William Gumede, best-selling South African author of *Thabo Mbeki and the Battle for the Soul of the ANC*, gives the annual Basker Vashee Memorial Lecture on 'Why African liberation movements have failed to sustain democratic governance when in power?' to a full house of more than 80 people at De Balie in Amsterdam.

Anti Money Laundering: TNI organises a seminar bringing together international experts to look at the effectiveness of the Anti Money Laundering (AML) regime that has been built over the past two decades, and the more recent attempts by states and international organisations to control tax evasion, capital flight and harmful tax competition.

Israeli Occupation: TNI co-organises events in the Netherlands to commemorate 40 years of occupation of the Palestinian Territories. TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis launches her primer, *Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict* at the ABC Treehouse, Amsterdam, Netherlands.

Selling US Wars: Fellows Kamil Mahdi and Achin Vanaik and Associate Fellow Tom Reifer launch TNI's latest book *Selling US Wars: The Iraq conflict, permanent occupation and the US agenda in the Middle East* in Amsterdam.

JULY

People's Dialogues: Cecilia Olivet represents TNI at the Forum on People's Alternative to Free Trade Agreements in Seoul, Korea, giving pre-

sentations on the searches for alternatives to neoliberal globalisation and the impact of the EU trade agenda on South Korea. The conference is organised by the Korean Alliance against Korea-U.S. FTA (KoA).

Migration: TNI participates in the Global Community Dialogue on Migration, Development and Human Rights organised by Migrant Rights International, Migrant Forum Asia and PICUM on the occasion of the inter-governmental Conference on Migration in Brussels.

AUGUST

Climate action: The Environmental Justice project organises workshops challenging market solutions to climate change at the Camp for Climate Action held next to Heathrow airport, which attracts widespread media attention.

South-East Asia mission: Tom Kramer and Martin Jelsma undertake research in Thailand, China and Laos looking at the causes, consequences of and responses to the opium cultivation decline in the region. The findings of the research mission are covered by the *New York Times* and the *International Herald Tribune*.

Israel-Palestine: TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis and Wilbert van der Zeijden speak at a conference held at the European Parliament in Brussels. The conference aims to encourage the work of parliamentarians and civil society in advancing the cause of Middle East peace.

SEPTEMBER

Challenging Free Trade: In a month packed with activities on European trade policy, TNI facilitates a lobby tour to Europe by a 34-strong delegation from Korea during the third round of negotiations for the EU-Korea Free Trade Agreement. TNI Fellow Dot Keet speaks about the impact of Europe's Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs) on Africa's development at a hearing in the European Parliament, Brussels. In Ghana, TNI participates in a Pan African strategy meeting on EPAs organised by the Africa Trade Network. On 27 September, TNI supports the global day of action against EPAs that takes place in 36 countries.

Fair Globalisation: TNI Fellow Walden Bello speaks on 'The nature of work today and the new division of labour' while Daniel Chavez speaks on 'The Latin American Left, regionalisation and national resistance' at the Global Dialogue for a Fair Globalisation organised by Global Network, Solidar and PLADES in Peru.





Drugs Policy Review: TNI participates at a high-level drugs policy seminar in Lisbon in preparation for the 2008 review of the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on Illicit Drugs, discussing the potential structure and content of any civil society contributions.

Confronting the triple crisis: TNI Fellows John Cavanagh, Susan George and Walden Bello speak at a major conference organised in Washington DC by the International Forum on Globalisation and the Institute for Policy Studies.

Another Cold War? Wilbert van der Zeijden represents TNI at a Conference on US Missile Defence organised by the Committee for Nuclear Disarmament and held at the School of Oriental and African Studies in London.

Networking vs. Parties: Oscar Reyes speaks at the International Institute for Research and Education's Grand Inaugural Weekend in Amsterdam.

OCTOBER

Challenging empire: Phyllis Bennis and Wilbert van der Zeijden address citizens of Vicenza at a public event attended by 150 people, supporting popular protests against the expanding US military base organised by the local campaign *No dal Molin*.

World vs Bank: TNI as part of the World Bank Campaign Europe co-hosts a public hearing on the World Bank in co-operation with the Permanent Peoples' Tribunal in The Hague, Netherlands, a week before the World Bank AGM.

Participatory Democracy: TNI Fellows Daniel Chavez and Hilary Wainwright speak at a conference co-organised by TNI on 'The future of participatory democracy: Technical fix or popular sovereignty', held in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The seminar launches a new global network, 'Reclaiming Participatory Democracy'. TNI also co-organises the 'II International Workshop on Participatory Budgeting in the Southern Cone', in Paysandu, Uruguay which receives extensive media attention.

Drug policy: TNI holds the second Latin American informal policy dialogue in Mexico city with Mexican government officials, academics and civil society in cooperation with the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA).

Carbon trade: Oscar Reyes debates carbon trading and Dutch climate policy with Dutch policy makers at a political café organized by Both Ends in The Hague.



NOVEMBER

Venezuelan Democracy: TNI organises a debate in Amsterdam on the Venezuelan constitutional reform process with Hon. Agustín Pérez Celis, Venezuelan Ambassador to The Netherlands; Juan Carlos Monedero, Professor of Political Sciences at the University of Madrid, and TNI Fellow Daniel Chavez.

Reason taken hostage: Susan George presents her latest book *Reason taken hostage: How the secular and religious right became powerful in the United States* (in Spanish) at a conference on 'Social movements: alternatives to globalisation' organised by the University of Granada and the Instituto de Cultura Sur in Madrid.

Base strategies: Wilbert van der Zeijden participates in meetings with several US universities and US Congress members to develop a strategy for hearings in Congress on military bases.

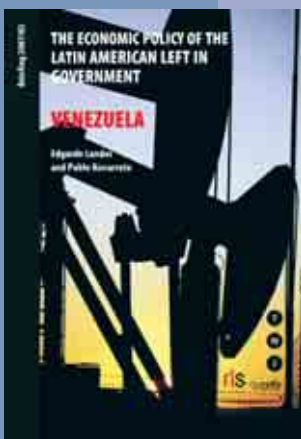
Drug policy: The fourth informal drug policy dialogue, an initiative of the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation (APF) and the Transnational Institute (TNI), takes place in Rome in cooperation with the Italian Ministry of Social Solidarity. TNI also co-organises a Barcelona seminar: 'The illicit drugs economy, sphere of conflict and human rights.'

DECEMBER

Climate Solutions: During the United Nation Climate Change Conference in Bali, Indonesia, TNI co-organises a series of activities at the 'Solidarity village for a cool planet', aimed at exploding the myth that market solutions can be found for global warming. TNI's Environmental Justice project participates, and the conference is followed up by field research and a workshop on climate policy in Riau, Indonesia.

Europe-Africa: what alternatives? TNI, as a member of the Seattle to Brussels (S2B) network, co-organises 'Europe-Africa: what alternatives?' in Lisbon, in parallel to the EU-Africa inter-governmental summit. In the context of Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs), the meeting looks at critical issues of agriculture and food sovereignty, economic development, migration and human and social rights. TNI Fellows Dot Keet, Susan George and Brid Brennan speak for TNI.

Drugs Policy: TNI speaks at the Drug Policy Reform Conference in New Orleans (USA), organized by the Drug Policy Alliance (DPA), gathering 1200 activists mainly from the US and several from Canada, Europe and Latin America.



BOOKS

Selling US Wars
Achin Vanaik (ed)
Interlink publishing / Transnational Institute
March

Hablan los Diablos
Amazonía, coca y narcotráfico en el Perú
Hugo Cabieses et al (eds)
TNI / El Programa Democracia /
Transformación Global
July

BOOKS IN TRANSLATION

Reclaiming Public Water (Hindi edition)
Achievements, struggles and visions from around the world
Belén Balanyá et al (eds)
April

Reclaiming Public Water (Japanese edition)
May

Por um modelo público de água: Triunfos, lutas e sonhos (Brazilian Portuguese edition of 'Reclaiming Public Water')
TNI / CEO / FASE / ASSEMAE
July



BRIEFINGS AND REPORTS

Networked Politics
Rethinking political organisation in an age of movements and networks
Hilary Wainwright et al (eds)
TNI / Transform! Italy / IGOP / Euromovements
January

From Washington Consensus to Vienna Consensus?
The EU's free trade agenda for Latin America and the Caribbean
Roelien Knottnerus, Abel Esteban
January

EU-ASEAN Free Trade Agreements
A seminar reader (web only)
Marc Maes, Roeline Knottnerus, Charles Santiago
http://www.tni.org/detail_pub.phtml?know_id=44
February

The Carbon Neutral Myth: Offset indulgences for your climate sins
Kevin Smith, February

Outposts of Empire: The case against foreign military bases
Sarah Irving, Wilbert van der Zeijden, Oscar Reyes
March (also in Spanish)

Public Services in Europe: From privatisation to participation
Eurotopia No. 4
TNI et al.
May (also in Spanish)

Economic Partnership Agreements (EPAs): Responses to the EU offensive against ACP Developmental Regions
Dot Keet, May

The EU-Mexico Free Trade Agreement seven years on:
A warning to the global South
Rodolfo Aguirre Reveles and Manuel Pérez Rocha L.
TNI / ICCO / RMALC
June (also in Spanish)

Agrofuels: Towards a reality check in nine key areas
TNI et al.
July

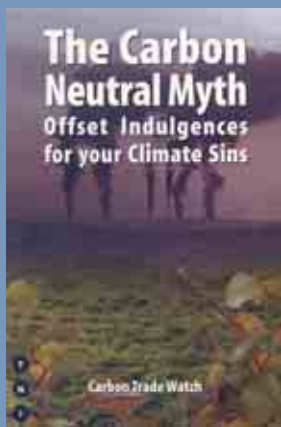
The economic policy of the Latin American left in government:
Venezuela
Edgardo Lander and Pablo Navarrete
November (also in Spanish)

Project Butter Factory: Henk Slebos and the A.Q. Khan nuclear network
Frank Slijper
TNI / Campagne tegen Wapenhandel, September

Repensar la política en la era de los movimientos y las redes
Colectivo Política en Red
Icaria / TNI
November

Paving the way for Agrofuels
EU policy, sustainability criteria, and climate calculations
Nina Holland et al (eds)
TNI / Corporate Europe Observatory / Grupo de Reflexión Rural
November (also in Spanish)

Water Democracy
Reclaiming Public Water in Asia
Olivier Hoedeman et al (eds)
TNI / Focus on the Global South, December



FELLOWS' PUBLICATIONS

Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer

Phyllis Bennis
Olive Branch Press, March

La Pensée enchaînée Comment les droites laïque et religieuse se sont emparées de l'Amérique

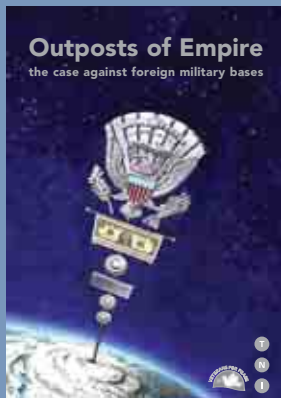
Susan George
Fayard, October

El pensamiento secuestrado Cómo la derecha laica y la religiosa se han apoderado de Estados Unidos

Susan George
Icaria Editorial, November

A Bush & Botox World

Saul Landau
CounterPunch, April



FILMS

The Carbon Connection

Fenceline Films / TNI/Carbon Trade Watch / Alert Against the Green Desert Movement / FASE-ES / Community Training and Development Unit

We don't play golf here! And other stories of globalisation

Saul Landau and George McAlmon
Round World Productions



DRUG POLICY BRIEFINGS

The politicisation of fumigations Glyphosate on the Colombian-Ecuadorian border

Briefing No. 20, February

The European Union Drug Strategy: Progress and Problems

International Drug Policy Consortium
Briefing No. 4, March

Report of the 2007 Commission on Narcotic Drugs

International Drug Policy Consortium
Briefing No. 5, March

Sending the wrong message The INCB and the un-scheduling of the coca leaf

Briefing No. 21, March

Colombia coca cultivation survey results: A question of methods

Briefing No.22, June

Coca, Petroleum and Conflict in Cofán Territory: Spraying, displacement and economic interests

Moritz Tenthoff
Briefing No. 23, September



Missing Targets: Counterproductive drug control efforts in Afghanistan

Briefing No. 24, September

Crop spraying: a déjà vu debate: From the Andean strategy to the Afghan strategy

Briefing No. 25, December



THANKS

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11.11.11 (Belgium)
Christian Aid
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European Commission
ICCO (Netherlands)
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Misereor
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Focus on the Global South
Food First
International Action Network (FIAN)
Friends of the Earth
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
Tax Justice Network
United Nations Development Programme
Via Campesina
AFRICA
Africa Trade Network
African Water Network
CODESRIA
Ghana
National Coalition against Privatisation
Kenya
Comprehensive Course on Franciscan Mission Charism (CCFMC/FRA-CODEP)
Maseno University
Liberia
Sustainable Development

Institute
Mozambique
UNAC
South Africa
Abahlali Alternative Information and Development Centre
Anti-Privatisation Forum
Centre for Civil Society
Coalition against Water Privatisation
Earthlife Africa
eThekweni groundWork
Institute for Social and Economic Research (Rhodes University)
South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
PLAAS
Trust for Community Outreach and Education
University of KwaZulu Natal
University of the Witwatersrand
Uganda
Climate & Development Initiatives
ASIA & OCEANIA
Asian Harm Reduction Network
Focus on the Global South
Australia
New Matilda
Bangladesh
BanglaPraxis
Burma
Ethnic Nationalities Council (Union of Burma)
Forum for Democracy in Burma
Grassroot HRE
Karen Environmental Social Action Network/KESAN
Pan Kachin Development Society
FREDA
BANCA
ECODEV
Cambodia
Womyn's Agenda for Change
China
ARENA
Asian Migrant Centre (AMC)
China Development Brief
Moving Mountains
Chinese NGO Network for International Exchange (CNIE)
China Association for NGO Cooperation
Globalisation Monitor
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PUCL-Tamil Nadu & Pondicherry
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Coalition Stop the War
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BALANCE SHEET 2007, December 31

Please note the figures published are not audited.
Audited financial reports are available from the TNI office on request.

ASSETS	dec 31 '07 <i>in Euro</i>	dec 31 '06 <i>in Euro</i>
Fixed assets	2,333,267	2,401,859
Current assets:		
Outstanding receivables	195,000	118,354
Cash	1,080,231	273,565
Total assets	3,608,498	2,793,778
LIABILITIES		
Equity:	796,452	676,178
Balance previous year	676,178	748,554
Result current year	120,274	-/- 72,376
Provisions	86,332	50,404
Long term liabilities (loan)	1,743,577	1,745,435
Current liabilities		
Redemption mortgage due in coming year	1,848	1,848
Project balance	158,110	119,911
Grants next year	709,343	20,000
Accounts payable	28,838	27,457
Tax	15,330	18,685
Personnel costs to be paid	25,066	25,642
Security on rent	9,282	9,282
Interest mortgage	5,963	5,948
Prepaid rent and service charges	13,358	13,092
Other current liabilities	14,999	79,896
Total liabilities	3,608,498	2,793,778
Income and Expenditure Account		
Income		
Grants	1,783,006	1,508,583
Rent and Service Charges	167,907	163,039
Interest/currency gains and losses	11,934	1,102
Publications & royalties	1,973	12,602
Salary subsidies	47,619	63,938
Miscellaneous income	44,680	37,686
Charged costs/overheads	111,819	74,779
Project balance current year	-/- 38,198	46,759
Total income	2,130,740	1,908,488
Expenditure		
Personnel	749,449	742,066
Building expenses	252,880	220,634
Activity costs	451,856	443,849
Fellowship	28,423	46,535
Office & Communication costs	115,653	84,206
Publication & Outreach activities	311,852	362,258
Samuel Rubin Next Generation	29,446	12,232
World Social Forum	28,637	7,355
Organisational Development	10,744	13,756
Overheads	31,526	35,114
Miscellaneous	---	12,859
Total expenditure	2,010,466	1,980,864
BALANCE	120,274	-/- 72,376

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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.

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