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# 2017 annual report



TNI strives for peace, equity and democracy in a sustainable world, brought about and supported by an informed and engaged citizenry.

# MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

## Fiona Dove - Executive Director, Transnational Institute

At a time in history when reactionary forces are gaining ground and enabling even more corporate looting of our common wealth and our fragile planet, an institute like TNI is more critical than ever.

In 2017, we marked 43 years of critical thinking, exposing the underlying causes of today's authoritarian politics, and putting forward the real solutions we need.

We were particularly proud to get our new War and Pacification programme off the ground, raising money for its work exposing the dangerous policies and actors behind the increasing militarised response to social problems – from migration to poverty. In June, we brought together over 40 critical activists and researchers to examine the long-term roots of authoritarianism, launching a series of papers that will continue into 2018. We also worked with our partners at the Institute of Social Studies to unpack the rural dimensions of authoritarian politics, holding a conference in March at which more than 70 papers were presented.

In the same academic vein, TNI also launched the CAROLINE post-doctoral programme, which commenced in October. Researcher Siobhan Airey is on secondment to TNI from UCD (Dublin), in an academic-TNI partnership.

Meanwhile, our Public Alternatives work is ever more successful in uncovering and showing the real alternatives to privatized services and neoliberal cities. Our pioneering Reclaiming Public Services report, which for the first time counted and listed the wave of cities bringing services back under public control has been cited constantly, including by the UK Labour Party leader Jeremy Corbyn. Building on this research, TNI in 2017 also launched a new participatory award, Transformative Cities, to recognize and promote cities leading and delivering radical economic and social justice.

TNI also works with national governments who are prepared to make radical necessary policy changes. In 2017, TNI advised the Canadian government as it took its first steps towards legal regulation of cannabis markets. We also supported the Ecuadorian government, with one of our researchers chairing a commission on investment agreements that led the country in May 2017 to announce it would terminate its remaining 16 Bilateral Investment Agreements.

To sustain this work, TNI has been busy fundraising – successfully raising €4.4 million in new grants for 2017 and beyond. We also started to diversify our funding knowing that official government and philanthropic grant funding are increasingly threatened in the current political climate. This resulted in the employment of a community builder, who will help build relationships and community funding that can ensure our endurance and independence in coming years.

We believe in transparency and accountability for our funding, so were very proud too that our 2017 financial reports received 5 stars for 'excellence' by the Transparify initiative.

TNI believes in practicing what we preach, so we were also thrilled in 2017 to finally install solar panels on our building roof. We were the first in the Netherlands to have optimisers installed, which means we currently have the most advanced small-scale technology in the country. So far, we have already cut our electricity and carbon emissions by 30%.

This is our work – to expose the powerful, propose solutions, share best practice and work with social movements who can bring about change.

We are immensely grateful to all those donors, large and small, who believe in our work and make it possible.

Thank you, Fiona Dove.



# expose injustice

Support communities, especially those suffering exclusion and poverty, to organize, demand and find solutions

# propose solutions

Build understanding of what blocks justice and explore viable ways forward





# support best practice

Demand access, control and accountability of key public institutions to citizens

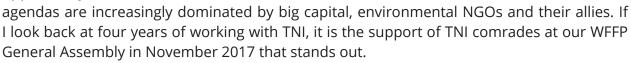
# **NASEEGH JAFFER**

# **WFFP General Secretary**

I have worked with TNI since I was elected as General Secretary of the World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP) in 2014.

It has been a long journey where we have ventured into new areas of the politics of oceans and fisheries, done deep analysis and co-developed a series of publications. The significance of our collaborative efforts is reflected in the work of WFFP today and in particular in the areas of Ocean Grabbing and Food Sovereignty.

Working with a strong political ally like TNI is a rare opportunity in a world where the oceans and fisheries



The support not only enriched our political discussions at the assembly, it also infused energy into our movement.



"I have worked with TNI since I was elected as General Secretary of the World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP) in 2014."



# **EXPOSE INJUSTICE**

# A Public-Public Partnership proves pragmatic

TNI goes beyond traditional research, producing relevant and reliable knowledge, and engaging with key communities who can best use this knowledge for their advocacy campaigns and for achieving progressive change.

TNI exposes the injustice that underlies entrenched systems of thought, and seeks real inclusive solutions that offer alternatives to the status quo. For instance, the narrative that for state enterprises to be better managed and more efficient, they have to privatize. This has been proffered so often that it is taken as indisputable truth. But is it? There is no empirical evidence that the private sector is more efficient than the public sector.

Perhaps the answer lies elsewhere.

In this landmark case in Cali, Colombia, the local campaign to stop the privatization of the Telecom services used a report published by TNI, The Bailout Business Report, to effectively expose and stop the aspirations of the private consultant company, Lazard. The firm, a financial advisory and asset management concern, was hired by the local government of Cali to advise on the possibility of privatising the local telecommunications company. This would have led to job cuts in the name of efficiency, and restricted access to telecommunications services for the broader public.

TNI provided evidence based on the Bailout Business report and, together with the local SINTRAEMCALI trade union, produced a report (in Spanish), "Lazard: profiting from privatising." The report exposed the intentions of Lazard, and as a result of successful advocacy, the privatisation was halted, and Lazard left Cali.

The initial challenge of inefficiency in the Colombian municipal company EMCALI's operations could still be solved, but by other more people-friendly means. For an inclusive solution, TNI supported the development of a Public-Public partnership between EMCALI and the Uruguayan state telecom company ANTEL, to not only defend public ownership, but to improve efficiency.

ANTEL, the publicly-owned Uruguayan telecoms company, runs an equitable and accessible fibre optic network, and debunks the myth that privatisation is the only way to increase efficiency. ANTEL committed itself to sign an agreement with EMCALI to provide technical assistance in the process of modernising the Colombian company.

In addition to this, the Uruguayan trade union SUTEL signed an MOU with the Colombian union SINTRAEMCALI – further cementing regional solidarity. While the official agreement and implementation is still expected in 2018, this was already a big step in thwarting the takeover of public services by private interests.

84.
publications
(some translated in up to 12 languages)

177
media stories

Close to
1 million
page views on main TNI
website
(975,188)

# **AKINBODE OLUWAFEMI**

Deputy Executive Director, Environmental Rights Action

TNI has played very crucial roles in our campaign against water privatization in Lagos, Nigeria's most populous city. At various times, TNI provided technical and funding support for the campaign.

After successfully forcing the International Finance Corporation (IFC) to walk away from a secret advisory contract to privatize Lagos water, civil society and grassroots groups agreed to organise the first water summit to internationalise the Lagos water campaign and



tap from the experience of global groups that also confront the water privatization monster.

TNI's technical expertise at the summit helped shape the discussions and the final outcome, which was a categorical rejection of the misleading marketing myth of Public-Private Partnerships (PPP) promoted by the World Bank. TNI's intervention via recommendations on sustainable public solutions to privatization fired the passion of the hundreds of groups that participated in that meeting to secure more wins subsequently.

TNI's research formed an integral part of our key recommendations to the Lagos government on public water solutions that was captured in the report – Lagos Water Crisis: Alternative Roadmap for Water Sector. Since the report was produced in 2016 it has been used for corresponding with policy makers and other critical stakeholders.

Our work together with TNI has built the capacity of local organizations in engaging policy makers from the point of strength and in-depth knowledge of the issues.

If there is one recommendation I would suggest to TNI, it would be that it continues providing the technical and funding support that has been very critical in advancing the Lagos struggle to this point.

"Through TNI we learn a lot about decisions in Europe that affect Myanmar. Just recently, TNI informed us that another round of negotiations between the EU and Myanmar was due to take place on a proposed investment protection agreement. This information helped us to issue statements to the European Commission and the government at the right time."



# **PROPOSE SOLUTIONS**

# A Public-Public Partnership proves pragmatic

Across the world, many impoverished communities face similar struggles against the unbridled power of Transnational Corporations (TNCs). TNI believes that ongoing corporate violations of human rights and the environment require more than voluntary Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) initiatives, as these have not demonstrably reined in corporate greed. A unified voice is necessary to roll back the global architecture of corporate impunity that allows unjust practises to continue. This is why TNI participates in the Global Campaign to Reclaim People's Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity.

In its participation in the Global Campaign activities and mobilisations, TNI contributes to bringing disparate communities together, and significantly strengthening efforts to establish a binding international treaty for Transnational Corporations.

In 2017, much of this work involved advocacy with governments at the United Nations and specific country level, which saw the participation of 100 governments in the October 2017 3rd Session of the open-ended intergovernmental working group on transnational corporations (OEIGWG) - expanded from 65 governments in the first Session in 2015.

A highlight during the 3rd Session of the OEIGWG was the presentation of the draft proposal for a Treaty. As a member of the editorial team of the Global Campaign on the binding treaty working Group, TNI played an important facilitation role in the process of crafting the text - which was formulated on the basis of a wide ranging international consultation and inputs from affected communities, social movements, trade unions, indigenous peoples, migrant and refugee peoples networks, women's movements and human rights networks.

The resulting publication – Treaty on Transnational Corporations and their Supply Chains – Treaty Text Proposal – marks a historic moment in the struggle against corporate impunity. It is the first text articulating key proposals on advancing access to justice for affected communities. The text serves as a basis for advocacy, and has helped all the partner organizations in articulating their case.

Strategic partnerships in

19 countries

Co-organized
123
seminars and workshops

Events reaching up to 26,400 people

36
meetings with policy makers

Hosts and plays leading role in 14 International networks (400+ individual orgs)

# **CAT HOBBS**

### Founder and director of We Own It (UK)

We campaign for public ownership and against privatisation. Since launching in 2013 we have won key victories: helping to push back the privatisation of the Land Registry; stopping the sell off of NHS Professionals; winning the campaign to bring the East Coast railway into public control. I've been inspired by TNI's work since I discovered it some years ago.

TNI's research on water remunicipalisation around the world is incredibly exciting for people in the UK to hear about – it gives us hope! In 2017, I worked with TNI on the Reclaiming Public Services book. TNI's global perspective and research findings have helped us to make the case for public ownership in the UK.



I look forward to working further with TNI on what democratic public ownership of energy, water, transport and other public services concretely looks like. Public ownership is highly popular and now firmly on the political table in the UK. We need to have solid proposals to capture the momentum.

"We campaign for public ownership and against privatisation. Since launching in 2013 we have won key victories: helping to push back the privatisation of the Land Registry; stopping the selling off of NHS Professionals; and winning the campaign to bring the East Coast railway into public control. I've been inspired by TNI's work since I discovered it some years ago."



# SUPPORT BEST PRACTICE

### Ecuador out the door

TNI opposes corporate-driven trade and investment policies by providing analysis of their social and ecological impacts, supporting the development of popular campaigns and proposing alternative policies that prioritise people's rights over corporate profits.

In 2015, Ecuador established an independent commission, headed in its last stages by Cecilia Olivet from TNI, to audit its Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs). The Commission produced a 700-page report that showed these treaties had brought enormous costs to the country, but had failed to bring any benefits in terms of attracting foreign investment. The Commission recommended the termination of all of Ecuador's BITs. Subsequently, on May 8 2017, President Correa announced that Ecuador would terminate its 16 remaining BITs.

"These treaties forced us to submit to courts of arbitration of dubious impartiality, of doubtful economic rationality, of dubious juridical rationality. Courts established for the alleged settlement of disputes between sovereign states and investors," Correa said. He argued that the agreements showed how former governments gave precedence to the rights of capital over human beings – a symptom of the neoliberal consensus that long guided the country.

The commission stated that the agreements were entered into "lightly", and without acknowledging the high risk for the country. It found that in most cases, there was no discussion inside the legislative branch before agreements were signed, and there was no clear negotiation process.

This lax approach meant that the treaties allowed clauses with broad privileges in favour of the investor, limiting the power of the Ecuadorian state to guide foreign investment. They also failed to protect the government's right to regulate foreign investors.

As a solution for the future, the commission recommended that new treaties be signed on the basis of an alternative model that includes binding obligations for the investors and ensures the state's ability to regulate social and environmental matters without the possibility of being sued.



Cecilia Olivet hands over the CAITISA Commission report to Rafael Correa, president of Ecuador.

# **SERGIO MAURICIO ZAMORA**

Member, Board of Directors of EMCALI (Municipal Enterprises of Cali) representing the trade union Sintraemcali

In the past two years our union has successfully resisted the privatisation of the telecommunications unit and has developed alternative proposals to keep EMCALI in public hands.

First, together with TNI, we produced a research report that exposed the corporate interests and amoral practices of MBA Lazard and other investment banks engaged in the implementation of privatisation in Colombia. Then, again with active support from TNI, we developed a public-public partnership between EMCALI and ANTEL, the state-owned telecom company of Uruguay.



This the world's first public-public alliance in the telecom sector, which gives hopes to many other trade unions searching for alternatives to privatisation in Colombia and other countries of the South.

"In the past two years our union has successfully resisted the privatisation of the telecommunications unit and has developed alternative proposals to keep EMCALI in public hands."

# **PROJECTS**

# **AGRARIAN & ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE**

# Critical thinking, Real solutions



In July TNI participated and contributed to different moments that were part of the process towards the 7th international conference of La Via Campesina (LVC) in Bilbao Spain.

TNI's Agrarian & Environmental Justice Programme brings together research and analysis on the collective struggles of movements and rural working people, to democratise access, ownership and control of land, water and other natural resources. TNI works closely with alliances of small-scale farmers, fisherfolk and marginalised rural working people, together with environmental and social organizations and unions. This work has embedded TNI within the major international networks of those at the forefront of pushing back on the influence of TNCs and private interests, fighting for food and territories sovereignty, and demanding people's rights to use land and resources in locally defined and sustainable ways. TNI provides analysis on how corporate interests and the global trade and investment regime excludes them, and helps to formulate effective interventions.

TNI believes that to build sustainable and democratic food and energy systems, we need to properly identify the causes of dispossession, obstruct ineffective solutions promoted by corporate interests, and support real solutions led by organized farmers, fisherfolk and frontline communities.

In 2017, a special focus was directed towards the impact of trade and investment policies on struggles to defend territories, land and natural resources. These goals were furthered by increased embeddedness in communities of rural farmers and small scale fishers, as well as the generation of a wealth of knowledge through working together with academics from across the world.

**Goals:** To improve climate, energy and food sovereignty policies that would redirect trade and investment towards sustainable and inclusive food and energy systems, and would genuinely address climate change challenges.

Goals	Outcomes in 2017 to which TNI contributed
Strengthen capacity of civil society organizations (CSOs) in Colombia, Myanmar, Cambodia, The Philippines and Europe to resist mining-energy and agroindustry projects that undermine food and land sovereignty	<ul> <li>TNI was recognized as an organization that provides reliable and trusted technical support on key issues to many local CSOs and local CSO networks, including, for example, many local CSOs in Myanmar working on ethnic land rights and on land and natural resource issues generally, including numerous ethnic armed groups (both those that have signed and those that have not signed a ceasefire agreement with the government).</li> <li>The Hands on the Land campaign, with support from TNI, continued to build the movement for food sovereignty at the European level, with a focus on Eastern and Central European countries.</li> <li>HoTL research and analysis raised awareness of land grabbing in Europe and resource grabbing in the Global South. Based on this research, HoTL advocated for improved policies at the local, national and regional level.</li> <li>Through participation at WFFP and LVC events, TNI increased the capacity of organizations and/or communities of small-scale rural food producers, environmentalists and unions to organize and advocate for the recognition of their rights against the resource rush.</li> </ul>
EU policies that favour land concentration and land grabbing are analysed and questioned. Much of TNI's work in this area is done through our leadership in the Hands On the Land campaign, carried out with 16 partners whose official goal is to mobilize European support for sustainable management of natural resources and the human right to food.	TNI's analysis on land grabbing and land concentration in Europe received stronger visibility and policy engagement. For example, the European Parliament accepted TNI's report on access to land, land concentration, and land grabbing in Europe. There was strong progress on the process towards the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and other People Working in Rural Areas. The declaration entered the final draft stage after a six year process. The EU acknowledged the Right to Food at EU level, and increasingly acknowledged the link between human rights and food sovereignty.
TNI publications, and framing of issues such as our series on 'flex crops' are used by civil society organizations. (Flex crops seeks to unpack the complexity of globalized food regimes, where crops such as corn increasingly serve multiple uses and involve complex production chains. This understanding enables activists to mobilize effectively.)	TNI's 'flex crop' terminology was cited 102 times in other academic papers during 2017, up from 86 times in 2016. The 'flex crop' framing was presented and discussed by different scholars at venues such as the Initiative of Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS) colloquium, the Land and Territory conference, and the BRICS Initiative in Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS) conference.
The UN's Voluntary Guidelines on the Responsible Governance of Tenure (VGGT) and the Voluntary Guidelines for Securing Sustainable Small-Scale Fisheries (VGSSF) are actively used by peasant and fishing communities to secure access to and control over land, water and other natural resources by communities in Cambodia, The Philippines, Myanmar, Uganda, Nigeria, Mali and South Africa.	<ul> <li>TNI was called upon – by La Via Campesina and World Forum of Fisher Peoples (WFFP) – to provide analytical, political and technical support to communities seeking to use the VGGT and the VGSSF.</li> <li>CSOs in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa explored use of the VGGT in natural resource struggles. TNI accompanied the Katosi community in Uganda.</li> <li>CSOs in four countries in sub-Saharan Africa explored use of the VGGT in natural resource struggles, with technical support from TNI.</li> <li>TNI's toolkits on participatory action research and the use of the tenure guidelines added to the extensive list of resources that were jointly produced with scholars. These toolkits provide a valuable resource for social movement advocacy.</li> </ul>

# **Highlights**

- TNI, through participation at WFFP and LVC events, increased capacity of organizations and/or communities of small-scale rural food producers, environmentalists and unions to organize and advocate for the recognition of their rights against the resource rush.
- TNI worked with communities and organizations in four African countries, three Southeast Asian countries, 15 Latin American and Caribbean countries and across 21 countries within the European Union, with a particular emphasis on Eastern Europe.
- TNI helped to build bridges within academic and social movements through ICAS, which assists social movements understanding as well as consolidating a network of engaged academics.

"TNI... knows how to build relationships with academics, and to use their work effectively, to feed into social movements' campaigns. In this way, TNI is a highly effective interlocutor between sectors that can and need to work together, but often struggle to do so by themselves. Having TNI on board makes all the difference."

- Prof. Ruth Hall, Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape, South Africa

# **Project in numbers**

- 11 Briefings and reports published
- 104 conference papers produced through ICAS and ERPI
- Co-led five international networks, collaborated with three major international social movements, and supported strategic partners in seven countries
- Co-organized 26 seminars and workshops, reaching 4259 people

#### **TNI: Embedded in movements**

In 2017, TNI engaged in advocacy at different levels: from national and regional to international level, with UN institutions.

In Europe, TNI facilitated the Hands On the Land alliance (HoTL), which was built with more than 16 different civil society organizations and social movement actors across Europe. HoTL aimed to raise awareness on the use and governance of land, water and other natural resources and its effects on the realisation of the right to food and food sovereignty. While the project came to a close as a funded project in early 2018, the work done in 2017 continued to strengthen the network and laid the ground for future breakthroughs.

As a follow up to the work done in 2016, when HoTL engaged in co-organizing the 2nd Nyeleni Europe Forum for Food Sovereignty, in 2017 the Alliance continued working on movement building for Food Sovereignty at European level, with focus on Eastern and Central European countries. HoTL continued working on research and analysis of land grabbing practices in Europe, awareness raising on the resource grabs in the Global South, and advocacy at different levels.

Other key results included stronger visibility for and policy engagement by HOTL, including acceptance by the European Parliament of an own initiative report on access to land, land concentration, and land grabbing in Europe. This own-initiative report, which drew heavily on TNI research on land issues in Europe, was a vital moment for the European Parliament to face up to the reality of land grabbing and land concentration in Europe. TNI and the HOTL alliance played an important role in shepherding through the report towards its successful adoption through the production of various briefing papers, lobby notes and advocacy meetings with European parliamentarians.

There was strong progress on the process towards the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and other People Working in Rural Areas, which is now entering the final draft stage after a six year process. There was also acknowledgement of the Right to Food at EU level, accompanied by increased acknowledgement of the link between human rights and food sovereignty.

# **Building Core Alliances**

In July TNI participated and contributed to different moments that were part of the process towards the 7th international conference of La Via Campesina (LVC) in Bilbao Spain. LVC is an international movement that works to defend peasant agriculture for food sovereignty, build resilient agroecosystems, and promote social justice and dignity for peasants. TNI provided extensive support in the run-up to, during, and after the conference.

LVC organized a youth camp for young members of the movement to come together and exchange ideas on their political participation. This process helped to build solidarity, sharpen strategic planning, and engender mutual capacity building. Overall, TNI played a supporting role, coordinating more than 50 volunteers during the general assembly.

#### **WFFP**

TNI works closely with the World Forum for Fisher Peoples (WFFP), which is a mass-based movement of small-scale fisher people from across the world that aims to fight the pressure being placed on small-scale fisheries, including habitat destruction, anthropogenic pollution, encroachment on small-scale fishing territories by the large scale fishing fleets, illegal fishing, overfishing and climate change.

During 2017, TNI worked with WFFP on analysis of different fisheries policies and the articulation of proposals for food sovereignty from the fisherfolks movements. In November, TNI played a supporting role at the WFFP General Assembly, which is the organization's main moment for internal discussion, agreements and setting out of the strategic direction. Research, visual material, analysis and workshops were organized and published by TNI together with WFFP or some of its members to help build mutual knowledge of global policy developments that affect WFFP members. TNI contributed to the interchange of knowledge between LVC and WFFP, both of which face very similar challenges, and could use similar interventions.

# **Bridging academia and social movements**

TNI, particularly through TNI Fellow Jun Borras and close academic partners and allies, continued to participate in the Initiatives in Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS), a community of like-minded critical scholars, development practitioners and movement activists from different parts of the world who are working on agrarian issues. TNI, together with the Hands on the Land alliance, organized one panel and two workshops on the topics of public food policies and territorial markets at a colloquium in Vitoria Gasteiz Basque Spain, where social movements and academics discussed topics that were key to their agendas for food sovereignty and social and environmental justice. In total, a series of 98 conference papers was produced. TNI is also involved in BICAS, which is a similar collective, but only of largely BRICS-based or connected academic researchers concerned with understanding the BRICS countries and their implications for global agrarian transformations.

TNI contributed to building bridges between activists and scholars, supporting participation and dialogue in constructive ways. For instance, the Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative (ERPI) produced a series of conference papers, focused on understanding the rise of 'authoritarian populism' in rural settings across the world, as well as the nascent forms of resistance and the alternatives being pursued. The series, which shared the same theme as the TNI fellows meeting, generated 85 abstracts submitted by academics (students and staff) from 71 countries. TNI gave six researchers small grants to write up papers based on those abstracts, in addition to 28 given by ERPI. Ultimately, more than 300 people attended the conference held at the ISS in The Hague, where the research was presented. The conference pushed existing theoretical understandings of authoritarian populism and emancipatory politics in rural contexts, and opened up new ways of interacting with the subject matter.

TNI produced a report on EU policies and their impact on fisheries, and also provided technical support for advocacy by WFFP members towards the Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO), the Committee for Fisheries (COFI) and other international institutions. In addition, TNI contributed to additional dialogue and exchange of ideas between LVC and WFFP through sharing video documentaries of the LVC conference at WFFP Assembly. This helped to highlight the similarities in the different movements' struggles, and encouraged the sharing of strategies and proposals.

2017 saw the denouement of a project where social movements and researchers in different African countries discussed the use of the FAO's Tenure Guidelines, and published reports on their respective national situations. Researchers and movements from Nigeria, Mali, South Africa and Uganda analyzed the use of tenure guidelines as a tool towards access and control of natural resources. In addition to this, TNI also published a toolkit on participatory action research and another on the use of the tenure guidelines. The publications add to the extensive list of resources that were produced with scholars engaged with the work of the programme, and were made available as resources for social movement advocacy.

#### The Latin American connection

For many years, TNI has worked with social movements in Latin America to link up different struggles with climate and environmental justice debates. In 2017, TNI supported the process of the "Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el Neoliberalismo" (Hemispheric Action Days for Democracy and against Neoliberalism), a convergence of social movements and organizations, including the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas, CLOC-Via Campesina, World March of Women, Friends of the Earth Latin America and the Caribbean, Jubilee South Americas, ALBA Movimientos, among others.

The convergence defined 4 thematic axes on which to focus: Free Trade agreements, Transnational Corporations, Regional Integration and Democracy. In 2017, a special focus was directed towards trade and investment policies impact on struggles to defend territories, land and natural resources.

TNI contributed technical support and analysis to a series of debates with Trade Unions Confederation of the Americas (TUCA) about unions position and proposal for Energy Democracy. This included some internal meetings and documentation and a public seminar in Buenos Aires, co-organized with the Public Alternatives programme, with participation of different TNI allies, who helped to bring their visions and struggles on energy projects and for land and territorial sovereignty.

## **People**

- Lyda Fernanda Forero Project Coordinator
- Dr. Jennifer Franco Senior Research Associate
- Sylvia Kay Hands On the Land Project Officer
- Timothé Feodoroff -Research Associate
- Alberto Alonso-Fradejas Research Associate
- Zoe Brent Research Associate
- Mads Barbesgaard Research Associate
- Dr. Jun Borras Fellow, Professor at the Institute of Social Studies
- Katie Sandwell Programme Assistantt

#### Volunteers/Interns

Alessandra Este

#### **Key publications**

- Videos on fisheries
- Manual on use of the Tenure Guidelines
- Hands On The Land Publications
- Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative Publications

#### **Partners**

#### Global

- · La Via Campesina
- FIAN International
- World Forum of Fisher Peoples
- IPC on Food Sovereignty
- Friends of the Earth International

#### **Europe-wide**

- Hands On the Land Alliance: European Coordination Via Campesina (ECVC), FIAN Netherlands, FIAN Belgium, FIAN Germany, FIAN Austria, FIAN Sweden, FDCL (Germany), IGO (Poland), EHNE-Bizkaia (Basque country), Crocevia (Italy), Terra Nuova (Italy), Vedegylet (Hungary), Za Zemiata (FOE Bulgaria), Eco Ruralis (Romania).
- Institute of Social Studies (Netherlands)
- University of Wageningen (Netherlands)
- Afrika Kontakt (Denmark)
- HEGOA, University of the Basque Country
- Office for Human Rights Action on Colombia (OIDHACO)

- · Observatorio de Multinacionales en América Latina (OMAL)
- RE-Common
- ATTAC France
- FERN
- · Corporate Europe Observatory
- IDS Sussex (lan Scoones)

#### Asia

- · Regional Center for Social Science and Sustainable Development (RCSD), Chiang Mai University, Thailand
- · Paung Ku (PK), Myanmar
- · Karen Environmental and Social Action Network (KESAN), Myanmar
- · Land in Our Hands Network (LIOH), Myanmar
- · Land Core Group (LCG), Myanmar
- Equitable Cambodia (EC), Cambodia
- · Community Peace-Building Network (CPN), Cambodia
- RIGHTS, Philippines
- Center for Environment and Community Assets Development, Vietnam
- Russian National Academy of National Economy and Public Administration (RANEPA)
- · China Agricultural University, China

#### Africa

- · Masifundise, South Africa
- PLAAS, University of the Western Cape, South Africa
- · Katosi Women's Development Trust (KWDT), Uganda
- Friends of the Earth Nigeria/Environmental Rights Action (ERA), Nigeria
- Coordination Nationale des Paysannes du Mali (CNOP), Mali
- · Convergence Malienne contre les accaparement des terres (CMAT), Mali

#### **Americas**

- Land & Sovereignty in the Americas Activist Research Collective including IPC Latin America, Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (CLOC)/La Via Campesina Latin America
- Food First (USA)
- University of California Davis (Liza Grandia)
- FIAN Ecuador, Colombia, Honduras and Brazil
- Universidad de Zacatecas, Mexico (Raul Delgado-Wise and Henry Veltmeyer)
- Universidad de San Carlos de Guatemala (Silvel Elias)
- Universidad de Costa Rica (Andres Leon Araya)
- Universidad del Externado de Colombia (Dario Fajardo and Vladimir Rodriguez)
- Universidad Nacional de Brasilia (UNB) (Sergio Sauer)
- Universidad Estadual de Sao Paolo (UNESP) (Bernardo Mancano Fernandes)
- Comité de Unidad Campesina de Guatemala (CUC)/LvC Guatemala
- Asociación de Zonas de Reservas Campesinas de Colombia (ANZORC)
- · Movimiento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST) (Rita Zanoto and Marina dos Santos)
- Movimiento Nacional Campesino e Indigena de Argentina (MNCI/LvC Argentina)
- Consejo Internacional de Tratados Indios (CITI)
- · Base Investigaciones Sociales, Paraguay
- Guatemalan Institute of Agrarian and Rural Studies (IDEAR)
- · Fundacion Tierra Bolivia
- Trade Union Confederation of the Americas
- · Jubilee South Americas
- · Grupo Carta de Belem
- · CENSAT Agua Viva, Amigos de la Tierra Colombia
- · Comisión intereclesial de Justicia y Paz
- REDES Amigos de la Tierra Uruguay
- CUT Brasil
- · CESTA Amigos de la Tierra El Salvador
- · World March of Women

# **CORPORATE POWER**

# Critical thinking, Real solutions



TNI continued to play a coordinating role in the Week of People's Mobilisation in Geneva.

Recent decades have seen an expansion in corporate power and influence over state, regional and international bodies, as well as over academia and science. Transnational corporations (TNCs) are accused of capturing states, and determining their economic, social and development policy. TNCs also undermine democracy, and put in place a trade and investment agenda that grants them extensive rights, and effective impunity for violations of human rights or destruction of the environment.

Avoiding any accountability, TNCs are protected by an architecture of impunity which consist of free trade and investment protection agreements, coupled with Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) sanctioning mechanisms on states. TNI's Corporate Power project works internationally to push back against such corporate impunity.

In 2017, TNI continued to be actively engaged in the UN Open Ended Inter-Governmental Working Group (OEIGWG) process, which seeks an internationally binding Treaty on Transnational Corporations and other business enterprises with respect to Human Rights. Such a treaty would be a major step towards effecting systemic change, and granting access to justice for the countless communities affected by the activities of TNCs. Since the launch of the Global Campaign to Reclaim People's Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity in 2012, TNI has participated and worked with an international network of social movements, trade unions, civil society organizations and communities affected by TNC operations, to push for the development and adoption of the treaty.

In 2017, the programme's main focus was preparing for the 3rd session of the OEIGWG and facilitating the development of a Draft Proposal text as a specific civil society input to the Treaty process.

Goals: Move towards the establishment of a Treaty for binding regulations for transnational

corporations, which would end impunity and secure justice for communities affected by corporate abuses.

Goals (2020)	Outcomes in 2017 to which TNI contributed
Build an international coalition of civil society organizations working toward a Treaty on TNCs at the UN level, advocating binding norms in relation to human rights and corporate activities and mechanisms that provide access to justice for affected communities.	<ul> <li>16 new organizations active at the continental and international level joined the Stop Corporate Impunity network.</li> <li>The Global Campaign network expanded to include international networks from different global regions working to raise the issues of corporate power and impunity. Of particular significance was the joining of new members in the trade union and health sectors – the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA), Sud Solidaires Trade Union, and the Peoples Health Movement India.</li> <li>Activists from 44 countries – representing unions, peasant organizations, environmental organizations, youth, women, indigenous peoples, migrants and the access to medicines movements – convened in Geneva to participate in and observe the proceedings of the UN Human Rights Council in October 2017. Participants made oral statements to the session's six panels.</li> <li>The World Parliamentary Forum on the Binding Treaty was formalized and a Public Forum was held in Geneva. The statement from the forum was signed by 250 MPs and MEPs from 22 countries.</li> <li>The 2nd Hearing of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal session on communities affected by TNCs in seven countries in Southern Africa was held in Johannesburg in August.</li> </ul>
A significant number of governments engage in the Open Ended Inter-Governmental Working Group (OEIGWG) working on a binding instrument on TNCs and human rights.	<ul> <li>100 governments participated in the 3rd Session of the OEIGWG – expanded from 65 governments at the 1st Session in 2015.</li> <li>Thanks to strong lobbying, EU governments engaged with the process rather than obstructing negotiations.</li> <li>The engagement of governments in OEIGWG was increased by Stop Corporate Impunity activities in March, June and October at UN side-events, contributions to plenaries and outside mobilizations.</li> </ul>
The proposals of the International Peoples Treaty are made more concrete in order to develop more effective juridical strategies of resistance and access to justice.	The Stop Corporate Impunity network, facilitated by TNI, presented a draft proposal for a Treaty on Transnational Corporations and their Supply Chains at the 3rd OEIGWG Session in Geneva in October 2017, based on wide-ranging consultation with social movements and CSOs in different global regions and finalized at an Expert Meeting. The second Hearing of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal session on communities affected by TNCs in 7 countries in Southern Africa was held in Johannesburg in August.
The coalition of civil society organizations develops effective strategies to tackle corporate power.	<ul> <li>Catalan Centre on Transnational Corporations (and potential International Peoples' Centre on Corporate Impunity) received official support of the Catalan Parliament through a Resolution on 3 November 2016, with the City Council of Barcelona proposing financial support.</li> <li>TNI developed factsheets with representatives of affected communities (MAB, Brazil and UDAPT, Ecuador) illustrating corporate impunity.</li> <li>Improved media work in Spanish with articles in El Pais, Revista de la Jornada, and Publico.</li> </ul>
Increased awareness on corporate capture of institutions of democracy.	Global Campaign began work on the issue of privatization of democracy, in particular with Brazilian, US, South African and European partners, developing a paper and organizing a dedicated workshop in October.

# **Highlights**

- Presentation of a draft proposal for a Treaty on Transnational Corporations and their Supply Chains at the 3rd OEIGWG Session in Geneva, October 2017 based on wide-ranging consultation with social movements and CSOs in different global regions and finalized with an Expert Meeting.
- Formalization of the World Parliamentary Forum on the Binding Treaty holding a Public Forum in Geneva and the publication of a Statement with 250 signatures of MPs and MEPs from 22 countries
- Facilitation of attendance of delegates and affected communities from 44 countries to attend the

UN Human Rights Council 37th session and participation in the OEIGWG with Oral Interventions in the Plenary and participation in Side meetings.

- Integration of 16 new movements and civil society organizations as members of the Global Campaign.
- Facilitation and co-organization of the second Hearing of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal session on communities affected by TNCs in 7 countries in Southern Africa held in Johannesburg in August.
- Initiation of the Permanent Peoples Tribunal process on the role of corporations in the violation of the Human Rights of Migrant and Refugee Peoples in Barcelona in July and in Palermo in December.

"We must end impunity for corporations that violate human rights or wreck our environment. The next Labour government will work to create a legally binding treaty to regulate global corporations, their subsidiaries and suppliers under international human rights law."

— Jeremy Corbyn (@jeremycorbyn)

# **Project in numbers**

- 16 new organizations joined the Global Campaign
- Activists from 44 countries convened in Geneva to participate in and observe the proceedings of the UN Human Rights Council in October 2017.
- 250 MPs and MEPs from 22 countries signed a statement on the formalization of the World Parliamentary Forum on the Binding Treaty.
- 100 governments took part in the October 2017 3rd Session of the OEIGWG expanded from 65 governments in the first Session in 2015.

# **Towards Accountability for TNCs**

Lack of accountability for the violations of human rights and the rights of peoples and nature have become inherent in the operations of transnational corporations (TNCs). Together with affected communities and social movements, TNI has advocated for binding regulations on TNCs with respect to human rights as the most effective way to address the current status quo of impunity. In the context of asymmetry of power between TNCs and states, voluntary self-regulation as in Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) and the UN Guiding Principles (UNGPs) has failed to effectively address corporate impunity. Such binding regulation is needed at international as well as the national level, given the wide-ranging nature of the economic and political power of corporations and the immensely negative effects on the lives of millions across the globe.

In its participation in the Global Campaign activities and mobilisations, as well as in the initiatives of the Treaty Alliance, TNI contributed to significantly strengthening efforts to establish a binding international treaty for transnational corporations. Much of this involved advocacy with governments at the United Nations and specific country level, which saw the participation of 100 governments in the October 2017 3rd Session of the OEIGWG – expanded from 65 governments in the first Session in 2015.

TNI continued to play a coordinating role in the Week of People's Mobilisation in Geneva which combined an inside and outside strategy. Inside the UNHRC, representatives of affected communities (for example from the UDAPT case on Chevron oil pollution in Ecuador; Amadiba crisis on threatened sand dune exploitation in Xolobeni in South Africa; and Mariana destruction of the river Doce with toxic dam collapse in Brazil) spoke in plenary interventions and during side meetings together with other CSO delegates and experts. Outside, at the UNHRC entrance, delegates from different global regions engaged with their Swiss counterparts and the Swiss public in several workshops and also participated as speakers in street rallies and in a public forum held at the University of Geneva.

# A modest proposal

In addition to the various side events and advocacy activities in Geneva, a highlight during the 3rd Session of the OEIGWG was the presentation of the draft proposal for a Treaty. As a member of the editorial team of the Global Campaign on the Binding Treaty Working Group, TNI played an important facilitation role in the whole process of crafting the text – which was formulated on the basis of a wide ranging international consultation. Inputs came from affected communities, social movements, trade unions, indigenous peoples, migrant and refugee peoples networks, women's movements and human rights networks. This was followed by an expert working meeting where the key articles of the Treaty text were articulated and then disseminated to the Global Campaign network for final consultation and endorsement.

The resulting publication – the Treaty on Transnational Corporations and their Supply Chains – marks a historic moment in the struggle against corporate impunity in being the first text articulating key proposals on advancing access to justice for affected communities. The proposals include: Binding Obligations for TNCs; Extra Territorial Obligations of States; Primacy of Human Rights over Trade & Investment Agreements & conditionalities of IFIs; Obligations of TNCs in the entire Global Supply Chain; International Tribunal on TNCs & mechanisms of enforcement; Rights of Affected Peoples.

The Proposal text and its key contents was shared to UN governments in the frame of three side events, as well as bilateral meetings and interventions in the Plenary of the OEIGWG. The text serves as a basis for advocacy, and has helped all the partner organizations in their exchanges during the OEIGWG Plenary.

The Ecuador chairperson also presented the Elements of a Treaty document, which included some key points from the campaign's proposal, representing the successful conclusion of this phase of the OEIGWG mandate. The lively debate on the floor of the UNHRC saw states like South Africa, Namibia, Palestine, Bolivia, Mozambique, Algeria, Cuba, Pakistan and Azerbaijan, among others, strongly supporting the proposed Elements document while others such as Russia, Mexico and Brazil raised some concerns.

On the other hand, the US announced that they were not interested in the Treaty as they would not be bound by it. The spokesperson for the EU member states continued to re-iterate opposition and to raise issues of procedure related to the mandate of the OEIGWG. Despite this controversy, the 3rd Session of the OEIGWG ended on track towards the negotiation of a Treaty on TNCs which is scheduled for the 4th Session of the OEIGWG in October 2018.

# **Building Core Alliances**

The Global Campaign made significant progress over the course of 2017, in integrating new members, and in responding to Urgent Alerts on Human Rights and Environmental Rights Defenders and in building regional and international solidarity.

Significant to the expansion of the Global Campaign network in 2017 has been the participation and membership of international networks of trade union and health sectors – the Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA), Sud Solidaires Trade Union, and the Peoples Health Movement India have joined the Global Campaign network.

Some examples of networks that TNI has either joined, participated in, created or facilitated in the different global regions to raise the issues of corporate power & impunity include: the Jornadas Continentales contra el Neoliberalismo y por la Democracia (Montevideo, November 2017), the Forum on Trade & Investment, debt and corporate power (Buenos Aires, December 2017), the National Workshop for Human Rights Defenders on Business and Human Rights (Delhi, India, April 2017), the Asia Europe Peoples Forum (Brussels, April 2017), and the SAPSN (Southern Africa Peoples Solidarity Network) in Johannesburg.

The rapid expansion of the network, as well as the mobilisation of new members show how TNI and the Global Campaign approach and strategy are perceived by key constituencies as effective and useful. It has also provided an opportunity to learn multiple new strategies, as well as to share accumulated knowledge and experience across network partners and sectors. TNI has played an active role in generating synergies between the Global Campaign and the human rights networks and CSOs in the broader NGO based Treaty Alliance. TNI has successfully contributed to raised awareness of the need for the Treaty, played a critical role in amplifying the voice of communities negatively impacted by disregard for human rights and environmental standards, and provided access for such communities to relevant UN forums.

# **Peoples Center on Corporate Impunity & Permanent People's Tribunals**

Communities affected by the operations of Transnational Corporations (TNCs) have been persistent in demanding accountability and in seeking access to justice. TNI's work in this area has been focused in the further development of the People's Center on Corporate Impunity – aiming to provide a comprehensive documentation on TNCs and to support communities and sectors preparing cases on TNCs. The Peoples Center has been advanced in partnership with the Permanent Peoples Tribunal. Affected communities have approached the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) to bring their case into the arena of public opinion not only to expose the operations of TNCs and their impact on livelihoods and the environment but to advocate proposals for the regulation of TNCs in relation to Human Rights.

In August 2017, communities from seven countries in Africa (Zambia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, South Africa, Tanzania, Zimbabwe) partnered with TNI to prepare a second hearing of the PPT, and presented cases on land grabbing, mining and tax evasion and illicit financial flows in Johannesburg. Besides being a space to hear the voices of farmers, peasants, women and their analysis and real life experiences, it also provided a basis for strengthening alliances and synergies among movements (e.g La Via Campesina, Justica Ambiental (Ja!), World March of Women, Rural Women's Assembly, Womin) and communities at a regional level. It is laying the basis for a region-wide campaign on the Right to Say No to destructive development & Yes to a peoples-led alternative economy.

Likewise, the PPT in response to communities of migrant and refugee peoples created a moment for people to document their stories on the violation of their rights by TNCs implicated in forced displacement of livelihoods, contributing to extreme climate change, and in ongoing wars and militarisation of borders. They initiated a process to investigate the corporations by participating in the Transnational Migrant Platform-Europe (TMP-E).

This PPT session was launched in Barcelona in July 2017 and the first Hearing took place in Palermo in December. It gave visibility to sustained and intensifying denial of rights to migrant and refugee peoples on hazardous journeys of death and disappearance, encampment and slavery practice at the borders and continuing push-back of human and labour rights within Fortress Europe.

#### **People**

- Brid Brennan Project Coordinator
- Monica Vargas Coordinator of Global Campaign to Reclaim Peoples' Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity
- Gonzalo Berrón Research Associate, Brazil
- Katie Sandwell Project Assistant
- Benny Kuruvilla Research Associate, India
- Sol Trumbo Vila Project officer
- Susan George President of TNI
- David Fig -TNI Fellow, South Africa

# **Major publications**

- Proposal text for a Treaty on Transnational Corporations and Their Supply Chains with Regard to Human Rights
- "Fatal Blows to Corporate Power" by Brid Brennan and Gonzalo Berron Joint TNI and ALAI (Agencia Latinoamericana de Información) Also in Spanish
- "Una oportunidad histórica para negociar un tratado vinculante sobre transnacionales y derechos humanos" by Gonzalo Berrón October 2017
- "La victoire sera nôtre : en finir avec la privatisation transnationale du pouvoir" by Gonzalo Berrón. Included in Accords de libre-échange : cinquante nuances de marché. Published by Centre tricontinental (CETRI)
- "The end of Corporate Impunity is coming" (video)

#### **Partners**

#### **International**

- · Bi-regional Europe-Latin America and the Caribbean Enlazando Alternativas Network
- CADTM International
- FIAN International
- Friends of the Earth International
- People's Health Movement
- International Articulation of those Affected by Vale
- La Via Campesina International
- The International Office for Human Rights Action on Colombia
- · World March of Women
- World Rainforest Movement
- Global Forest Coalition (GFC)
- International Association of Democratic Lawiers (IADL)

#### Regional

- · Amigos de la Tierra América Latina y el Caribe ATALC
- CADTM AYNA, Americas
- Focus on the Global South, India/Thailand/Philippines
- Hemispheric Social Alliance, Americas
- Jubileo Sur Americas
- Plataforma Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, Democracia y Desarrollo, Americas
- · Social Movements for an Alternative Asia
- Red Lationamericana por el Acceso a Medicamentos
- RIPESS Europe
- Trade Union Confederation of the Americas (TUCA))

#### **Africa**

- African Women Unite Against Destructive Natural Resource Extraction (WoMin), South Africa
- Alternative Information Development Center (AIDC), South Africa
- · Bench Marks Foundation, South Africa
- · Biowatch South Africa
- Centre for Trade Policy and Development (CTPD), Zambia
- Environmental Rights Action/Friends of the Earth Nigeria
- · Groundwork Friends of the Earth South Africa
- JA! Friends of the Earth, Mozambique
- · La Via Campesina Africa
- · Mining Affected Communities United in Action (MACUA), South Africa
- Rural Women's Assembly Africa
- SEATINI, Zimbabwe

#### **Americas**

- ATTAC Argentina
- Brazilian Interdisciplinary AIDS Association (ABIA)
- Brazilian Network for the Integration of the Peoples (REBRIP)
- CDHAL, Canada
- · CEDIB, Bolivia
- · Censat Agua Viva Amigos de la Tierra Colombia

- · Corporate Accountability International, US
- · Derechos Humanos sin Fronteras, Perú
- Educational Assistance (FASE), Brazil
- Federation of Organs for Social and Educational Assistance (FASE), Brazil
- Fundación de Estudios para la Aplicación del Derecho (FESPAD), El Salvador
- Grassroots Global Justice, United States of America
- · HOMA Institute, Brazil
- Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) Global Economy Project
- Instituto Egüit Gênero, Economia e Cidadania Global, Brazil
- Instituto Políticas Alternativas para o Cone Sul (PACS), Brazil
- · Justiça Global, Brazil
- · Mesa Nacional frente a Minería Metálica, El Salvador
- Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens (MAB), Brazil
- Movimiento Rios Vivos, Colombia
- · Observatorio Petrolero Sur (OPSur), Argentina
- · Polaris Institute, Canada
- · Red Mugui Sur, Peru
- · Terra de Direitos, Brazil
- · Unión de Afectados y Afectadas por las Operaciones Petroleras de Texaco (UDAPT), Ecuador
- · Vigencia, Brazil

#### Asia (and Middle East)

- Alliance of Progressive Labour (APL), Philippines
- · Alyansa Tigil Mina (ATM), Philippines
- Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (Stop the Wall), Palestine
- A Seed Japan (Action for Solidarity, Equality, Environment and Development)
- · ATTAC, Morocco
- Attac Japan
- EU-Asean Trade network, South-East Asia
- Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ), Indonesia

## Europe

- ATTAC France
- ATTAC Spain
- Centre Europe Tiers Monde (CETIM), Switzerland
- · Coordination Climat Justice Sociale, Switzerland
- Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), Belgium
- Ecologistas en Acción-Ekologistak Martxan Ecologistes en Acció, Spain
- Ekologistak Martxan, Basque Country
- Enginyeria sense Fronteras, Catalonia
- Entrepueblos, Spain
- France Amérique Latine (FAL), France
- · LAB, Euskal Herria
- Milieudefensie Friends of the Earth, Netherlands
- · Multiwatch, Switzerland
- · NOVACT, Spain
- · Observatório de la Deuda en la Globalización (ODG), Spain
- Observatorio de Multinacionales en America Latina (OMAL), Spain
- Red Internacional de Derechos Humanos (RIDH), Switzerland
- · SolidaritéS, Switzerland
- SOMO Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations, Netherlands
- War on Want, United Kingdom

See full list on Stop Corporate Impunity website:

http://www.stopcorporateimpunity.org/list-of-signatories/

# **DRUGS & DEMOCRACY**

# Critical thinking, Real solutions



Cannabis fields near Ketama Morocco

TNI's Drugs & Democracy programme analyses policies and trends in the illicit drugs market, examining the underlying causes of drug production and consumption, and the impacts of current drug policies on conflict, development and democracy. The programme facilitates policy dialogue and advocates evidence-based policies, guided by principles of harm reduction and human rights.

TNI works to give voice to those who have suffered disproportionately the consequences of the war on drugs – beginning with farmers of coca, opium poppy and cannabis, to imprisoned drug users – and has emerged as a leading global advisor to both governments and civil society organizations looking for more effective human rights-based drug policies.

In 2017, the main focus was on advising the Canadian government on its path towards legalization, as well as ongoing work with partners in South America and South-East Asia.

**Goal:** To reassess the conventional repressive drug policy approaches in favour of pragmatic policies based on harm reduction, human rights, and development principles.

Goals	Outcomes in 2017 to which TNI contributed
Ensure 2017 UNGASS recognizes the reality of a broken consensus and accepts the possibility of future changes in the UN treaty system and its institutional architecture.	<ul> <li>Important steps taken:</li> <li>A growing bloc of countries questioned the international drug control system.</li> <li>Discourse shifted towards a more human rights, health and development-based approach.</li> </ul>
Ensure active engagement of other UN agencies and meaningful participation of civil society in UNGASS.	<ul> <li>With TNI's strong encouragement, other relevant UN agencies.         e.g. UNDP and OHCHR, actively contributed to UNGASS preparation.</li> <li>Broad civil society participation occurred in the preparatory process, with notable impact on the outcomes of the negotiations.</li> </ul>
Organize forums with opium, coca and cannabis farmers in order to facilitate participation in policy debates and UNGASS.	<ul> <li>Advocacy on the importance of farmers' participation in drug policy discussions accepted at both official level and within the policy reform community.</li> <li>TNI facilitated dialogues between the government, CSOs, and former guerilla leaders about the implementation of the drugs part of the Colombian peace accords.</li> <li>TNI contributed to the drafting of the International Guidelines on Human Rights and Drug Policy for use by national governments, especially in the context of illicit cultivation and supply side policies</li> <li>Farmers' representatives were included in the Civil Society Task Force, at ICAD2 and in the UNGASS itself.</li> <li>UNODC and CND documents included language on the need to address poverty rather than criminalizing farmers' communities.</li> </ul>
Continue the cross-fertilisation of experiences and best practices in drug law reform and cannabis regulation.	<ul> <li>Series of briefings on cannabis policies published (Indonesia, Paraguay, Latin America).</li> <li>Input and advice given to Canadian and Jamaican governments and Dutch parliamentarians on regulation of Cannabis markets.</li> <li>Examples of best practices fed into drug law reform discussions and proposals in Myanmar and Thailand.</li> </ul>
Explore different options for revision of the UN drug control treaty system.	<ul> <li>TNI presented the Canadian Government with inter se modification, a mechanism to modify the UN conventions on drugs whereby legal regulation of cannabis markets could be facilitated.</li> <li>Like-minded governments explored alternative drug policy at the Brandenburg forum, co-organised by TNI.</li> <li>Collaboration with the GiZ-led Global Partnership on Drug Policies and Development (GPDPD) also continued.</li> <li>Under the auspices of the GPDPD, the University of Essex, and the UNDP, TNI contributed insights into policies on the traditional use of crop control policies in the process of drafting proposed Human Rights guidelines in respect to international drug policy.</li> </ul>
Continue informal dialogues to facilitate strategic policy debates and creation of like-minded groups and consolidation of coordinated positions.	<ul> <li>Government officials from Cambodia, Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia and Laos met for the ninth informal drug policy dialogue in South East Asia, co-hosted by TNI and the Cambodian government</li> <li>Policy dialogues were held in Myanmar, Colombia and Germany.</li> </ul>
Move international debate about Alternative Development towards concept of harm reduction, applied to the drug supply-side.	<ul> <li>The harm reduction approach to drug policy was strengthened in Myanmar, with the publication of the Burmese version of the seminal 'Found in the dark" report.</li> <li>TNI continues to update its primer on human rights and drug policy.</li> </ul>

# **Highlights**

- TNI presented the Canadian government with a mechanism to modify the UN conventions on drugs whereby legal regulation of cannabis markets could be facilitated.
- TNI facilitated dialogues between the government, CSOs, and former guerilla leaders about the implementation of the drugs part of the Colombian peace accords.
- TNI strengthened skills and knowledge on drug policy advocacy amongst a group of professionals and scholars from Southeast Asia through the Advocacy Fellowship Program on Drug Policy Reform.
- TNI contributed to the drafting of the International Guidelines on Human Rights and Drug Policy for use by national governments, especially in the context of illicit cultivation and supply side policies

"It was a priceless experience for me to join TNI's Advocacy Fellowship Program on Drug Policy Reform in Amsterdam. It gave us an opportunity to discuss and learn about the development of Drug Policy around the world, and particularly in Netherlands. I realized that there is still so much work to be done in my home country, Indonesia. Having learned so many things from the fellowship, I hope that I will be able to contribute in making a better drug policy in Indonesia."

- Viona Wijaya, South East Asian fellowship alumnus

## **Project in numbers**

- 5029 followers for TNI's @DrugLawReform on twitter
- 12894 people participated in TNI organized or co-organized events.
- 6486 subscribers to TNI South East Asia Mailing list
- 8678 total subscribers to TNI's mailing list.
- Articles citing or mentioning our work and perspectives appeared in Al Jazeera, The Jakarta Post, Asia Times, El Espectador, The Irrawaddy, The Economist, Nikkei Asian Review, The Daily Star, Myanmar Times, Shan Herald, The Diplomat, New York Times (ES), Foreign Policy, South China Morning Post

# A pathway to drug policy reform

TNI believes that current prohibitionist drug policies are ineffective and counter-productive. The programme helps governments to devise and execute policy alternatives that do not infringe on human rights.

Countries that have decided to implement liberal domestic policies on drugs still need to be in harmony with their international treaty obligations. Uruguay and Canada, for instance, have been engaged in efforts to legalize and regulate the recreational use of cannabis within their borders, creating tensions with the UN conventions. The second expert meeting on Cannabis Regulation and International Law, hosted in October by TNI in Amsterdam, discussed a pathway to domestic drug policy reform: the inter se modification mechanism.

The mechanism is useful for countries that want to explore different regulatory approaches towards drugs / psychoactive substances, and yet find a peaceful coexistence with the UN drug control treaty system. The process lays the ground for countries that are considering liberalizing their domestic drug policy, while simultaneously taking international law seriously and thereby contributing to the process of modernizing the UN drug control system.

# Plugging small scale farmers into the emergent economy

TNI has gained respect and credit for pioneering proposals related to farmer participation, harm reduction on the supply side, and regulation of markets for cannabis and mild stimulants like the coca leaf. In 2017, TNI published a policy briefing discussing whether or not the stated aim of reducing cannabis cultivation is realistic or beneficial for Morocco, and what it would mean for the Rif, the major production area in the country.

TNI was intricately involved in preparations by Moroccan and Colombian farmers to claim a significant stake in a legalized medical cannabis market. As legal cannabis markets open up globally, many small-holder growers that have supplied the illicit market for decades face the distinct possibility of being pushed out by bigger corporate players, and thus losing their livelihoods. This issue is most pressing in countries like Morocco, which stand to gain the most from crops that have historically been prohibited. This briefing has been widely used to buttress advocacy and to make the case for Moroccan farmers.

# **Building Core alliances**

TNI has always positioned itself within networks where its rigorous research and analysis can have the strongest impact. In 2017, TNI co-organized the Brandenburg forum, a convening of like-minded governments exploring alternative drug policy and continued its collaboration with the Global Partnership on Drug Policies and Development (GPDPD).

Under the auspices of the GPDPD, convened by the German GiZ, the University of Essex, and the UNDP, TNI gave insights into policies on the traditional use of crop control policies in the process of drafting proposed Human Rights guidelines in respect to international drug policy. Through decades of building trust and capacity TNI has gained deep insights into the needs and desires, and human rights concerns of those involved in the supply side of the drugs industry. These insights continue to guide TNI's interventions.

TNI took part in the facilitation of the South East Asian Advocacy fellowship, which is hosted by long-standing TNI partner, the Open Society Foundation. The fellowship brought together young people from the Phillipines, Myanmar, Thailand, Indonesia, and Cambodia, and immersed them in two weeks of intensive advocacy training, particularly on drug policy. Alumni of the fellowship leave with a deeper understanding of advocacy work, and they leave to strengthen their own organizations, as well as forging interpersonal and inter-organizational ties that build solidarity in the region.

TNI also prepared and facilitated the ninth informal drug policy dialogue in South East Asia, co-hosted with the Cambodian government, and involving mainly Myanmar, Thailand, Malaysia, Laos and the Cambodian hosts. As an informal event, the dialogue gave policymakers an opportunity to speak freely and compare notes with peers from across the region without being limited by existing policy positions.

## **Drawing parallels and learning transnationally**

Growers of illicit crops in Colombia and in Myanmar may operate in vastly different cultural settings, but they have faced very similar challenges. Both countries are undergoing difficult peace processes within a former conflict situation, both face challenges in rural development, and both engage in criminalization of traditional crop production. TNI, which has garnered experience working in both countries for decades, sent missions supporting grower communities in the peace processes. TNI also facilitated engagement between the two national governments to exchange experiences in the peace processes in both countries.

Finally, TNI continued to contribute to the shifting to a Human Rights and harm reduction approach in drug regulation through the publication of the Burmese version of "Found in the Dark", TNI's seminal 2016 report on human rights violations resulting from limitations in Myanmar's drug policy.

## **Key publications**

- Morocco and cannabis https://www.tni.org/en/publication/morocco-and-cannabis
- Edging Forward https://www.tni.org/en/publication/edging-forward
- Coca and the Colombian Peace Accords https://www.tni.org/en/article/coca-and-the-colombian-peace-accords
- Human rights and drug policy primer (updated March 2017) https://www.tni.org/en/briefing/human-rightsand-drug-policy

## **People**

- Martin Jelsma Programme Director
- Ernestien Jensema Team Coordinator
- Pien Metaal Senior Project Officer
- · Tom Blickman Senior Project Officer
- Tom Kramer Senior Research Associate, Myanmar
- David Bewley-Taylor Associate, UK
- Ricardo Vargas Associate, Colombia
- · Dania Putri Program Assistant

#### Interns:

- Devika Sud (India)
- Martin de Simona Colombia

## **Partners and networks**

### Global

- Global Commission on Drug Policy (GCDP)
- International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC)
- · Open Society Foundations (OSF)
- Global Partnership on Drug Policies and Development (GPDPD)
- · Global Forum of Producers of Prohibited Plants (GFPPP)

#### **Americas**

- · Research Consortium on Drugs and the Law (Colectivo de Estudios Drogas y Derecho, CEDD) Latin America
- Intercambios Asociación Civil, Argentina
- · DeJusticia, Colombia
- Observatorio de Cultivos Declarados Ilicitos (OCDI), INDEPAZ, Colombia
- Centro de Investigación y Docencia Económica (CIDE) Mexico
- · Colectivo por una política integral hacia las drogas (CUPIDH), Mexico
- México Unido Contra la Delincuencia (MUCD), Mexico
- Centre for Research on Drugs and Human Rights (CIDDH), Peru
- · Asociación Costarricense para el Estudio e Intervención en Drogas (ACEID), Costa Rica
- · Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), US

#### Asia

- National Drug Users Network Myanmar (NDNM)
- Myanmar Opium Farmers Forum (MOFF)
- Drug Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG)
- · Lawyers Collective, India
- Paung Ku, Myanmar
- Metta Development Foundation, Myanmar
- iDefend, Philippines

#### Europe

- Forum Droghe Fuoriluogo, Italy
- University of Utrecht (Criminology), Netherlands
- Transform Drug Policy Foundation, UK
- Release, UK
- Global Drug Policy Observatory (GDPO), Swansea University, UK
- International Centre on Human Rights and Drug Policy, UK
- · Diogenis Association, Greece
- · Energy Control, Spain
- International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research & Services (ICEERS), Spain
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), Germany
- · Grupo de estudio de políticas sobre el cannabis (GEPCA) (Task Force on Cannabis Policies), Spain

#### Africa

• Confédération des Associations de Sanhaja du Rif pour le développement, Morocco

# **MYANMAR**

# Critical thinking, Real solutions



Karenni activists protest in front of military command in Loikaw

The election of a new civilian government in Myanmar in 2015 raised hopes for democratization, greater economic and social justice, and an end to one of the longest running armed conflicts in the world. However, the transition to a long lasting peace buttressed by economic development and justice can only happen in the presence of a strong civil society. In Myanmar, TNI's work on agrarian justice, trade and investment, and humane drugs policy converge within a common vision of alternative development.

In 2017, TNI continued its work with communities who have been excluded from the conversation about the country's future. Since the days of military rule, TNI has gained respect for supporting farmers, fishers, NGOs, and ethnic minorities in their endeavours for more participation in the political and economic trajectory of the country. TNI supports a strong role for local movements in Myanmar, and its support role has expanded as Myanmar began opening up politically and economically, with a team of six people now currently based in Yangon.

Among other activities, TNI supports the aspirations of local farmers and fishers for just policies on land and other natural resources. It opens up space for opium farmers to dialogue with the government about drug policies that work, and facilitates conversation on just, and conflict-sensitive investment. TNI also provides in-depth analyses of the conflict in the country.

**Goals:** strengthen civil society organizations, particularly those based in ethnic regions, in dealing with the challenges brought about by the rapid opening-up of the country and the desire of its people for democracy and an inclusive and sustainable peace.

# Highlights

- TNI supported ethnic-based civil society organisations (CSOs) in building their capacity to assert their rights to land and other natural resources.
- TNI supported CSOs developing alternative, development-led drug policy options that are evidence based, prioritise health, and respect human rights.
- TNI co-published a report on the potential negative effects of an investment protection agreement between the EU and Myanmar, which strengthened advocacy efforts against the treaty.
- TNI supported ethnic based CSOs and Ethnic Armed Organizations to develop their inputs into the peace process.

# **Project in numbers**

- · Eight TNI publications distributed in Myanmar
- 16972 visits to TNI's web publications
- 2492 participants in TNI co-organized workshops
- Regular media coverage in Myanmar Times, TIME magazine, The Guardian, Reuters, BBC, Al Jazeera, The Irrawaddy, New York Times and others.

# Supporting the right to land and other natural resources

TNI continued to provide support to civil society organizations (CSOs) and ethnic armed organizations (EAOs) in building their capacity to develop a pro-poor land policy and assert their rights to land and other natural resources. TNI worked to enhance their capacity to develop and articulate alternative policy options and to sharpen their inputs into the peace process. Key focal areas were the right to land for ethnic nationalities including for internally displaced people (IDPs) and refugees, small scale fishers' resource rights, and recognition and protection of customary tenure systems and shifting cultivation. In search of inclusive and long lasting solutions for peace, TNI always stresses the need to involve local CSOs and local communities in activities with EAOs and with government.

# **Promoting customary land rights**

Among activities held throughout the year, highlights included a series of workshops in several regions of the country. For example, TNI co-organized several workshops attended by CSOs from different ethnic groups from northern, eastern and southern Shan State. They agreed to focus on advocating for the respect, recognition and protection of ethnic customary land rights. With support from TNI, these ethnic-based CSOs carried out pilot studies on customary land research and used the outcomes and experience to adapt and finalize the design of the research methodology.

## Supporting the development of EAOs land policy

TNI is fully cognizant of the complicated and sensitive nature of the relationships among ethnic armed organizations and the central government in Myanmar. TNI believes that long-lasting peace and sustainable development are possible only with their meaningful participation, and that of broader civil society. Over the course of the year, TNI continued to provide support to various land policy conferences, committee meetings and associations. In cooperation with local partners, TNI facilitated the development of the land policy positions of various geographically diverse EAOs, and shared insights on international standards on land policy.

Participants at one conference told TNI that the event built stronger understanding, trust, and collaboration between different groups towards implementation of alternative land policy and good land governance. Several of the EAOs reached agreement on a process to seek common strategies and solutions to address land challenges in close cooperation with local organizations and to carry out consultations with local communities.

# **Workshops for CSOs on fisheries**

Consequent to TNI's work on land, a request came to look at fisheries as well, given that fishing is such an important source of livelihoods for communities in Mon State and Tanintharyi Region. TNI and partner Paung Ku, in cooperation with Dawei Development Association (DDA), and the Southern Youth and Gulf of Martaban Development Consortium (GMDC), hosted a workshop in Dawei with small scale fishers from these regions.

The workshop identified key issues facing the small-scale fishing communities, and discussed how the FAO Voluntary Guidelines on Small-Scale Fisheries could be used effectively as a tool to address these issues; and to start developing and advocating for policy proposals towards politicians and EAOs. The main findings pointed at entrenched gender roles in the fishing communities and differential impacts on men, women, boys and girls by development projects. Pressures on natural resources, including deep impacts on quality of life and livelihoods caused by lower fish stock and conflicts between small-scale fishers and large-scale fishers, and government policies around licensing and other regulations were also identified as issues that could be tackled using the SSF guidelines.

In preparation for the workshop, TNI published a report on the enclosure of oceans and aquatic resources in Myanmar. The Burmese version was co-published with Paung Ku, and 4,000 copies were distributed among the 120 participants and numerous fishing communities.

# **Sustainable and Conflict Sensitive Drugs Policies**

Myanmar is a large scale producer and consumer of opium and heroin. National policies on drugs - targeting mainly drug users and opium farmers - have been the subject of critique due to their harshness. TNI continued to provide technical support to CSOs to develop alternative, development-led drug policy options that are evidence based, prioritize health, and respect human rights. Throughout the year, TNI sought to promote more sustainable drug policies in Myanmar, and organized other drug policy related events, which provided a platform for local organizations to conduct dialogues with government representatives.

TNI has also supported the efforts of CSOs and EAOs to contribute to the peace process. A focus was on ways to address the links between drugs and conflict.

## Transnational connections among farmers growing crops declared illicit

TNI provided support for various activities of the Myanmar Opium Farmers Forum (MOFF). The MOFF annual meeting took place in Kengtung in May. Thirty-five representatives from small-scale opium farming communities in Kayah State, southern, eastern and northern Shan State and Kachin State attended the forum. The members updated each other on recent activities. A representative of Drug Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG) gave input on the national drug policy reform process, and how the MOFF could contribute to this.

TNI invited a resource person from Colombia, who provided insights from the coca farmers' movement in Latin America. He facilitated a session on how farmers in Colombia were involved in the peace process, and how the drug issue was included in the peace negotiations. The input from Colombia gave extra motivation to the participants to carry out more local activities and to mobilize and increase MOFF membership.

# **Drug Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG)**

TNI is a founding and active member of the Drug Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG), a network of local and international NGOs promoting more sustainable drug policies in Myanmar. During 2017, TNI regularly attended DPAG meetings and played an active role in organizing a number of activities. TNI ensured the participation of local CSOs – especially those representing drug users, as well as communities from opium growing areas – in all DPAG activities.

TNI helped organise, and provided input, at a drug policy seminar organized by DPAG for around 120 MPs and Central Committee members from the National League for Democracy (NLD), which took place in Yangon in June 2017. TNI also provided input in a two days drug policy training to Mon State politicians organized by DPAG for a MySoP (Myanmar School of Politics) workshop in October, in Mon State.

In September, DPAG released a joint statement on the amendment of the 1993 Narcotics Law, calling for an end to the incarceration of drug users and instead advocating that those who need it receive adequate treatment. The letter was signed by all DPAG members and several other local and international organizations.

# **Promoting just and conflict-sensitive Investment**

In June, together with the Catholic social justice organizations network (CIDSE), TNI co-organized advocacy towards the European Parliament on the EU-Myanmar Investment Protection Agreement (IPA). Together with partners, TNI co-published a report, also in Burmese, on the myths and risks of an EU-Myanmar IPA, which strengthened advocacy efforts against the treaty. The briefing was distributed widely in the European Parliament, to the Myanmar investment commission and selected MPs in Myanmar.

Negotiations on the IPA have since stalled, and a planned European Parliament Mission to Myanmar was abandoned. Activities in Myanmar co-organized by TNI led to deepening of knowledge of the dangers of Investor State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms by the members of several CSO networks in Myanmar. TNI contributed significantly to the increasingly assertive resistance by Myanmar civil society organizations against the EU-Myanmar Investment Treaty, including sustained engagement with parliamentarians and governmental officials both in the EU and Myanmar.

## **People**

- Tom Kramer Project Coordinator, Myanmar
- Pietje Vervest Economic Justice Programme Coordinator
- Jennifer Franco Senior Research Associate
- Martin Smith Senior Research Associate, Myanmar
- Ernestien Jensema Drugs programme coordinator
- Khu Khu Ju Land Policy Advisor, Myanmar
- Sai Lone Drugs Policy Advisor, Myanmar
- · Renaud Cachia Drugs Policy Advisor, Myanmar
- Phwe Phyu Project Assistant and logistical support, Myanmar
- Hannah Twomey Research Assistant
- Shadan Mung San Zau Translation and research, Myanmar

# **Key publications**

- Guiding Drug Law reform in Myanmar: A legal analysis of the Draft Bill Amending 1993 Narcotic Drug and Psychotropic substances Law. DPAG (Report)
- Myths and risks of the EU-Myanmar Investment Protection Agreement (Policy briefing, TNI)
- Beyond Panglong: Myanmar's National Peace and Reform Dilemma- (Policy briefing TNI)
- 8th Asian Informal Drug Policy Dialogue in Nay Pyi Taw. Meeting Report
- Re-Asserting Control: Voluntary Return, Restitution and the Right to Land for IDPs and Refugees in Myanmar (Policy Briefing)
- Found in the Dark (Infograph)
- · Enclosing the oceans and our aquatic resources: Myanmar's Next Great Transformation (Report)
- Addressing drug problems in Myanmar: 5 key interventions that can make a difference (Policy Briefing, DPAG)

#### **Partners**

- · Land in Our Hands
- Paung Ku
- Drug Policy Advocacy Group
- Myanmar Opium Farmers' Forum
- National Drug Users' Network Myanmar
- Karen Environmental and Social Action Network
- Ethnic Community Development Forum
- Myanmar Alliance for Transparency and Accountability
- Metta Development Foundation
- · Joint Strategic Team
- Farmers' and Labour Union
- Mong Pan Youth Association
- Pa-O Youth Organisation
- Ta-ang Students' and Youth Union
- The Border Consortium
- · Human Rights Foundation of Monland
- Karenni Land Policy Committee
- · Lahu Development Network
- Mon Land Policy Committee
- Shan CSO Land Network
- Southern Youth
- Dawei Development Association
- Myanmar Anti-Narcotics Association
- · Mae Fah Luang Foundation
- Medicins du Monde
- International Drug Policy Consortium
- Land Core Group
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ)

# **PUBLIC ALTERNATIVES**

# Critical thinking, Real solutions



This water rights campaign in Africa's largest city succeeded in stopping privatisation and when challenged by authorities developed an alternative roadmap for the city's water systems. The Lagos campaign is the first major national campaign against privatisation in Nigeria, and has resulted in US\$185 million in government funds allocated to ensuring clean water for Lagos' people.

TNI has worked steadfastly to build a strong countervailing force that reverses privatisation and delivers a more democratic, accountable and effective public sector that serves citizens and the environment. We continue to pioneer work around public enterprises, primarily in the water and renewable energy sectors. A special dimension of our work is concerned with exploring and catalysing new thinking on politics and economics as a necessary condition for the achievement of public alternatives.

TNI's Public Alternatives program is committed to building and sharing experiences of alternative models of cooperation and service delivery that embed principles of justice rather than profit. 2017 was an auspicious year, as there were multiple moments of breakthrough. In addition to other notable achievements, TNI's partners successfully effected concrete policy changes in Lagos, Nigeria; Cali, Colombia; and Jakarta, Indonesia to advance viable, feasible and progressive proposals on the democratic provision and financing of public goods and services.

**Goals:** To advance viable, feasible and progressive proposals on the democratic provision and financing of public goods and services.

Goals (2020)	Results to which TNI contributed in 2017
Establish a 'decentralized think tank' on New Politics to boost the development of and enable exchange on desirable, viable and achievable alternatives to neoliberal capitalism.	<ul> <li>TNI's research, The Bailout Business report played a crucial role in stalling a private takeover of the the public telecoms company in Cali, Colombia. It also led to a Public-Public partnership with the Uruguayan counterpart, showing an alternative that respects people's rights and supports justice.</li> <li>The new politics 'decentralized think tank' co-published multiple publications, including Thomas Marois' report on "How public banks can help finance a green and just energy transformation", a primer on commons transition and P2P networks,The European Left in times of crises: Lessons from Greeceby Andreas Karitzis,and hosted events and conferences in Cape Town South Africa and in Quito, Ecuador, among others.</li> </ul>
A strong international alliance for energy democracy (ED) is built, strengthening national campaigns, building collective knowledge production and helping shift a corporate fossil-fuel energy infrastructure towards a renewable community energy system.	<ul> <li>TNI, together with partners, Centre of Science and Technology For Rural Development (COSTFORD and Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), successfully organized a workshop on energy democracy in Kerala, India. This helped to spread and further cement the discourse of energy democracy.</li> <li>The subscriber list of Energy Democracy Now! grew to 261 members, and some of the new members were organizations who had previously expressed skepticism about the initiative. TNI also built capacity and networks at the local, regional and international levels with CSOs, academics/researchers, trade unions, progressive political parties and progressive media working on energy democracy.</li> <li>At least 835 examples of (re)municipalisation of public services worldwide were identified, involving more than 1,600 municipalities in 45 countries.</li> <li>Interventions and activities by TNI and its partners ensured that "Energie Democratie" discourse gained traction in the Netherlands.</li> </ul>
State water companies in Lagos (Nigeria) and Ghana undertake reform processes based on genuine dialogues with citizens and workers.	Partner organisations in Lagos, Nigeria, used TNI's research and networks to effectively roll back the implementation of the Lagos Environmental Laws, protecting poor people's right to water.  A difference solition was the Supreme court see to half water.
In Colombia, public budget is allocated to community water systems through public-community partnerships.	A citizen coalition won the Supreme court case to halt water privatisation in Jakarta, with support from TNI.
Water provision is successfully re-municipalized in Jakarta and the new public system makes significant progress in securing access to water and environmental protection.	
The Citizens Bill on water rights and sustainable resource management is successfully adopted in Mexico.	
Proposals for a comprehensive progressive and democratic transformation of the EU is widely debated and embraced by not only the European United Left but by the Greens and Social Democrats MPs, MEPs and other policy institutions.	TNI Board President Susan George actively engaged on behalf of TNI in new networks such as Democracy in Europe (DiEM), Plan B and AlterSummit that are seeking to build forces for a more just democratic world.

# **Highlights**

- TNI's research, mainly The Bailout Business, helped in stopping the privatization of Telecom services in Cali, Colombia. An alternative arrangement, a Public-Public Partnership with Uruguay's ANTEL, was then initiated through TNI's expertise and networks.
- Partner organisations in Lagos, Nigeria, used TNI's research and networks to effectively roll back the implementation of the Lagos Environmental Laws, protecting poor people's right to water.
- TNI supported the citizen coalition that won the Supreme court case to halt water privatisation in Jakarta.

"TNI has played very crucial roles in our campaign against water privatization in Lagos, Nigeria's most populous city. At various times, TNI has provided technical and funding support for the campaign. TNI's research formed an integral part of our key recommendations to the Lagos government... Our work together with TNI has built the capacity of local organisations in engaging policy makers from the point of strength and indepth knowledge of the issues."

- Akinbode Oluwafemi, Deputy Executive Director, Environmental Rights Action, Lagos, Nigeria.

### **Project in numbers**

- 802 people participated in events organised by TNI's Public Alternatives program
- 2276 people participated in events where we presented the work of Public Alternatives
- At least 835 examples of (re)municipalisation of public services worldwide were identified, involving more than 1,600 municipalities in 45 countries.
- · Five videos were produced.
- The summary report of Reclaiming Public Services was translated into 12 languages
- The report Bail Out Business: Who profits from bank rescues in the EU? was referred to in more than 100 media outlets.
- 5 major publications were released in English, Spanish, Italian, Greek.
- 269 researchers and practitioners from 34 countries subscribe to the energy democracy mailing list.

### Establishing Public Public Partnerships that work in Cali, Colombia

TNI goes beyond traditional research, producing relevant and reliable knowledge and engaging with key communities who can best use this knowledge for their advocacy campaigns. TNI's ideal outcome is when the knowledge it generates is used to effect specific policy change. In this landmark case, the local campaign to stop the privatization of the Telecom services used the Bailout Business Report, published by TNI, to effectively stop the aspirations of the private consultant company, Lazard.

TNI provided evidence based on the Bailout Business report and, together with the local SINTRAEMCALI trade union, produced a report (in Spanish), "Lazard: profiting from privatising." The report exposed the intentions of Lazard, which was hired by the local government of Cali to advise on the possibility of privatising the local telecommunications company. As a result of successful advocacy work, Lazard left Cali and the privatisation was halted.

The initial challenge of inefficiency in EMCALI's operations could still be solved, but by other more people-friendly means. The Uruguayan telecoms company ANTEL, which runs the most equitable accessible fibre optic network in the world, is an example that belies the belief that the private sector is always more efficient than the public sector.

Hence, in line with the stated position to not only criticise but also offer viable alternatives, TNI supported the development of a Public-Public partnership between the Colombian municipal company EMCALI and the Uruguayan state telecom company ANTEL, to not only defend public ownership, but to improve efficiency. ANTEL committed itself to sign an agreement with EMCALI to provide technical assistance in the process of modernising the company.

While the official agreement and implementation needs to be seen in 2018, this was already a big step in thwarting the takeover of public services by private interests. An added outcome of this process was that the Uruguayan trade union SUTEL signed a MOU with the Colombian union SINTRAEMCALI, further cementing regional solidarity.

### Protecting the right to water in Lagos, Nigeria

TNI's partner in Nigeria, Environmental Rights Action (ERA), achieved a breakthrough when it mobilized public resistance and thwarted the implementation of the Lagos State Environment laws. These laws were widely perceived to be anti-people as they further denied poor people access to clean water and criminalised the informal sector. With input from TNI, ERA's Our water Our rights campaign successfully removed the problematic parts of the legislation by activating networks and mobilizing actors across the 30 different areas of Lagos. The 2016 report Lagos Water crisis: Alternative roadmap for public water sector, served as a key tool of advocacy and mobilisation.

As a result of the campaign, the Lagos State government in 2017 allocated \$185 million to ensure the provision of clean water for Lagos residents. This was a massive achievement, as the government had previously insisted that there was no funding available for the water sector, and had presented public private partnerships (PPPs) as the only viable solution.

### **Restoring Public Water Management**

TNI's partner, the Amrta Institute, supported a civilian lawsuit filed by the Coalition of Jakarta Residents Opposing Water Privatization (KMMSAJ). The lawsuit, going all the way back to 2012, aims to annul water privatization concession contracts in Jakarta.

In one of the most iconic legal decisions in support of public control of resources, Indonesia's Supreme Court ordered the termination of water privatization, and the restoration of public management, in order to ensure the human right to water.

TNI co-published a report: Social Justice at bay, on the Dutch role in Jakarta´s coastal defence and land reclamation. The report offered a staunch critique of the National Capital Integrated Development Programme (NCICD). The research was supported by the Save Jakarta Bay coalition, with leadership by TNI's ally, the Indonesian Association of Traditional Fisher People.

In addition, TNI supported long term partner, the Platform for Public Community Partnerships in the Americas (PAPC), which was closely involved in the process of formulating a law for the management of community water aqueducts in Colombia. In 2017, the bill, which aims to legally protect the heritage of community-led water management in Colombia, was finalized. The bill was validated as a popular initiative through different national meetings, and movement partners explored a strategy for its presentation to the Colombian Parliament.

### Democratic access to public energy worldwide

A rapidly expanding field of work for TNI is that of Energy Democracy, which is concerned with shifting power in all aspects of the energy sector – from production to distribution and supply, from finance to technology and knowledge – to energy users and workers. The broad goal is to link community solutions and public policies for energy transformation.

In 2017, TNI engaged in the Energy Democracy Now! Convergence organized by Friends of the Earth Europe and the European Federation of Renewable Energy cooperatives (REScoop). TNI organized several workshops on energy democracy and politics. Building capacity and networks at the local, regional and international levels with CSOs, academics/researchers, trade unions, progressive political parties, as well as progressive media. As a sign that the messaging and advocacy is working, the subscriber list grew to 261 members, and some of the new members were organizations who had previously expressed skepticism about the initiative.

TNI, together with partners, Centre of Science and Technology For Rural Development (COSTFORD and Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED), also successfully organized a workshop on energy democracy in Kerala, India. This helped in spreading and further cementing the discourse of energy democracy.

TNI assisted in bringing about A future without NAM, a conference about re-nationalising the Dutch gas company in Groningen. It was notable that Dutch political parties the SP, Groenlinks, PvdA, and Christian Unie were involved. In general, interventions and activities by TNI and its partners ensured that "Energie Democratie" discourse gained traction in the Netherlands in 2017.

### Movement rooted in ideas

TNI takes pride in providing intellectual and knowledge support to its many partners. As part of this strand of work, TNI facilitates the New Politics initiative, a 'decentralised think tank', which aims to stimulate innovative thinking around the design and expansion of counter-hegemonic alternatives, focusing on the identities and roles of social movements, civil coalitions and political parties.

2017 was a prolific year in this regard, with multiple publications, including Thomas Marois' report on how "How public banks can help finance a green and just energy transformation", to a primer on commons transition and P2P networks, as well as the events and conferences in Cape Town South Africa and in Quito, Ecuador, among others.

In addition to the New Politics initiative, TNI has also located itself within an alliance that aims to collectively develop a relevant international platform to foster urban political transformation. The Transformative Cities initiative was launched with a new website, and the first call for applications was successfully made. The initiative received 32 applications, from diverse geographical regions and focusing on water, energy and housing.

TNI assisted many groups from Europe, Africa, Asia and Latin America to write applications for the Transformative Cities award, and to enhance their capacity to increase the visibility of their social struggles, as well as the political strategies they have employed for transformation. The evaluation methodology was developed with expert help, and a group of evaluators who have expertise in each field was formed to conduct the evaluation.

To further ground these specific policy victories, TNI's Public Alternatives program provided a strong evidence base to demonstrate the failure of public service privatization, and support for the growing trend towards remunicipalisation of public services with a study encompassing 1600 municipalities in 45 countries.

The report, which was picked up by media across the world, demonstrates the power citizens, workers, and cities have to reverse the privatisation of services provision, and has become a reference point for progressive municipalist, labour, and trade movements. It has also helped in the attempt to develop alternative economic strategies.

The research findings generated policy debates in many countries, and TNI was invited on multiple occasions to present the book. These include the Fearless cities summit in Barcelona, the Energy Cities annual conference in Germany, the parliament discussions in Rome and Copenhagen, and the ATTAC Summer University, among others. It was especially important that the 30th World Congress of Public Services International (PSI), held in November in Geneva, had a panel on remunicipalisation. Summary reports in 12 languages were distributed in the congress, and thus embedded TNI's approach and discourse in the Public Services union movement globally.

### **Key Publications**

- The Bail Out Business: Who profits from bank rescues in the EU? (English, Spanish, Greek)
- Reclaiming Public Services: How cities and citizens are turning back privatisation (English, Spanish, Italian)
- Commons Transition and P2P: A Primer (English, Spanish)
- The European Left in times of crises: Lessons from Greece (English)
- Venezuela Perspectives from the South (English)

### People

- Satoko Kishimoto Project Coordinator
- Dr. Daniel Chavez Senior Project Officer/Fellow
- Edgardo Lander Fellow
- Hilary Wainwright Fellow
- Sol Trumbo Vila Project Officer
- Lavinia Steinfort Programme Assistant

### **Partners and networks**

#### Global

- Reclaiming Public Water Network
- Municipal Services Project
- Public Services International
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED)
- P2P Foundation

#### **Americas**

- Plataforma de Acuerdos Públicos Comunitarios de Las Américas
- University of Mexico
- University of Costa Rica
- University of the Republic (Uruguay)
- ANTEL (Uruguay)
- Blue Planet Project (Canada)
- Havens Center for Social Justice at the University of Wisconsin-Madison (USA)
- Institute for Latin American Studies of the University of Buenos Aires
- Canadian Union of Public Employees-CUPE (Canada)
- Agua para todos, Agua para la vida (Mexico)
- SINTRAEMCALI, the public sector union in Cali (Colombia)
- IAEN Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales (Ecuador)
- el Instituto de Estudios de América Latina y el Caribe (IEALC)

### Africa

- University of the Western Cape (South Africa)
- Environmental Rights Action (ERA) / Friends of the Earth Nigeria
- Alternative Information & Development Centre (AIDC) (South Africa)

#### Asia

- Amrta Institutefor Water Literacy (Indonesia)
- Focus on the Global South (Asia)
- Save Jakarta Bay Coalition
- Indonesia Traditional Fisherfolks Union (KNTI) (Indonesia)
- Legal Aid Institute (LBH) Jakarta
- All Japan Water Supply Workers Union (ZENSUIDO) (Japan)

### **Europe**

- Corporate Europe Observatory (Belgium)
- Public Services International Research Unit (UK)
- European Public Service Unions (EPSU)
- European Water Movement
- Energy Cities Local authorities in energy transition (Europe)
- Austrian Chamber of Labour AK (Austria)
- Friends of the Earth Europe
- Multinational Observatory (France)

- Ingeniería Sin Fronteras CATALUÑA (ISF)
- Aqua Publica Europea (European Association of Public Water Operators)
- Forum Italiano dei Movimenti per l'Acqua (Italy)
- SOSte to NERO (S.O.S. Water) (Greece)
- Institute for Political Ecology (Croatia)
- Rosa Luxemburg Foundation Brussels office
- Platform London (UK)
- Switched on London (UK)
- Global Justice Now (UK)
- Tax Justice Network Netherlands (NL)
- transform! network (Europe)
- Alter Summit (Europe)
- We Own It campaign (UK)
- Norwegian Union of Municipal and General Employees Fagforbundet (Norway)
- University of Glasgow (Scotland)
- University of the Basque Country
- European Alternatives

# TRADE & INVESTMENT

### Critical thinking, Real solutions



TNI's ISDS impactos website looks at the impacts of Investor State Dispute Settlements across Latin America (In Spanish)

TNI has supported movements opposing unjust trade rules since the 1990s – with a newer focus on the Investor-State Dispute Settlement Mechanism (ISDS) since 2010. ISDS allows corporations to sue states for implementing regulations that protect the public interest. Through its research, publications, education and training, media outreach and coalition-building efforts, TNI lends support to those pushing back against free trade agreements (FTAs) and investment treaties. TNI has closely collaborated with social movements in Europe, Asia and Latin America to develop popular campaigns and propose alternatives that prioritise people's rights over corporate profits.

In 2017, TNI continued to coordinate the Seattle-to-Brussels (S2B) network in Europe, which spearheads pan-European campaigns on trade and investment issues. TNI remained closely involved in maintaining the push back against CETA, even after the agreement was ratified by the European Parliament, resisting the Multilateral Investment Court (MIC), and in delegitimising attempts to expand the reach of investor protection clauses in free trade treaties.

Globally, TNI contributed significantly to sustaining the de-legitimization of investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) mechanisms. This resistance and awareness building has resulted in a number of governments around the world reconsidering their positions on ISDS, such as South Africa, Indonesia and others. 2017 saw a specific turnaround in Ecuador, which pulled out of all its Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs).

**Goals:** To establish the principle that the public interest and integrity of national judicial systems should not be undermined by trade and investment rules, particularly through the settlement of investment disputes.

Goals	Outcomes in 2017 to which TNI contributed
Governments in the South/EU start to question their investment agreements.	<ul> <li>Ecuador withdrew from its 16 remaining BITs based on input from a commission headed, in the final phase, by TNI's Cecilia Olivet.</li> <li>Despite the ratification of CETA, a key success for TNI and S2B's advocacy efforts, in alliance with FGG, FNV and Consumentenbond, is that investment protection was excluded from the provisional implementation.</li> </ul>
The inclusion of investment protection in the EU-led bilateral FTAs is challenged by media.	The following media outlets published critiques of the investment protection: The Guardian, Publico, Euractiv, Le Monde, Politico, Agence Europe, euobserver, La Diaria, and Dutch media, including Volkskrant, NRC, NU.nl, NOS; El Universal and Reforma on EU-Mexico agreement, Interaksyon; PhilStar and Manila Bulletin in The Philippines
Policy-makers in EU and South speak critically about the dangers of investment arbitration and see the need for reform.	<ul> <li>Policy makers around the world, including Greens and members of EPP, S&amp;D (European Parliament), spoke critically of ISDS.</li> <li>TNI's research on the impacts of investment protection in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC) and all the arbitration cases against LAC countries helped activists, journalists and policy makers to grasp the extent of the costs that the investment regime has had for Latin America.</li> </ul>
Opinion-makers, including lawyers, add their voices to the growing critique of IIAs/ISDS.	The European Association of Judges expressed reservations about the competence and judicial standards of the Commission's Investment Court System's proposal.
CSOs in Asia (ASEAN + India) and Latin America increase awareness of the dangers of IIAs and ISDS and capacity to engage their own governments and media on the investment protection agenda and are able to propose alternatives.	<ul> <li>Progress on the EU-Myanmar investment protection agreement has stalled. TNI had co-published a report on the potential negative effects of an investment protection agreement between the EU and Myanmar. This was done together with European NGOs and Myanmar CSOs. The briefing, which deepened the level of critique, was distributed widely in the European Parliament, and to selected MPs in Myanmar.</li> <li>TNI's publication on the dangers of the investment protection framework in the Kyrgyz Republic was featured in several Kyrgyz media outlets and the analysis, published in English and Russian was processed and disseminated in three workshops with 20 participants in each.</li> <li>TNI, SOMO and IGJ's joint publication about ISDS raised awareness of the issue among CSOs in Indonesia and Europe. A statement calling for a moratorium of the negotiations, launched during the second round, was supported by 31 Indonesian networks and organisations and 22 international ones, throwing a spanner in the works for the agreement.</li> <li>The continental gathering of social movements, "La Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el Neoliberalismo" in Montevideo, attended by 2000 people, featured the issue in the gathering's final declaration. TNI's input at the gathering helped to deepen the analysis and to foster well-informed debate on trade, investment and corporate power.</li> <li>Launch of Argentinian assembly and relaunch of network of social movements in Latin America against 'free trade' (Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay and Uruguay).</li> </ul>
Dutch government indicates willingness to review their model BITs and renegotiate their old ones.	Due to sustained pressure, the Dutch government established a consultation process, the Breed Handelsberaad (BHB) in response to critiques that trade policy-making is not transparent, accountable nor inclusive. Dutch NGOs were eventually invited to participate, under the condition that information remains confidential. While this was a step in the right direction, TNI declined to join the process due to the confidentiality requirement.
MEPs and policy-makers in EU and the South accept that ICS does not address the key flaws of ISDS system.	TNI supported resistance to the Multilateral Investment Court (MIC), and delegitimised attempts to expand the reach of investor protection clauses in free trade treaties. A broad number of MEPs as well as some MPs from southern governments criticized ISDS.

### **Highlights**

- Based on key input from an independent commission headed by TNI's Cecilia Olivet, Ecuador pulled out of all its Bilateral Investment Treaties.
- TNI participated in resistance against the Multilateral Investment Court (MIC), which was debunked as a sanitized but still odious alternative to ISDS.
- TNI co-published a report on the potential negative effects of an investment protection agreement between the EU and Myanmar, which strengthened advocacy efforts against the treaty.
- TNI contributed to increased exposure of the negative effects of ISDS in Latin America and Asia.

"The cooperation with TNI is a big asset for our campaign and lobby work... Joint work with TNI has allowed REDES AT to strengthen its analytical expertise and capacity to position these issues in the public political agenda. We have been able to develop strong arguments and present them to Members of Parliament and the International Relations Commission of the governing party, to substantiate our opposition to the approval of new free trade agreements and the need to reverse current bilateral investment agreements. We have also been able to foster the public debate which we consider essential to democratize decision making on trade and investment and open the door for social organizations and movements' participation, debate and positioning."

– Karin Nansen, founding member of Friends of the Earth Uruguay / REDES (since 1988). Current chair of Friends of the Earth International.

### **Project in numbers**

- 1330 people participated in 21 TNI co-organized events
- 15 meetings with key policy makers.
- 12 briefings/reports/policy statements published

### **Ecuador gets rid of its bilateral investment treaties**

In 2015, Ecuador established an independent commission to audit its Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs). The Commission, which was led in the final stretch by Cecilia Olivet from TNI, produced a 700 page report that showed these treaties had brought enormous costs to the country, but had failed to bring any benefits in terms of attracting foreign investment. The Commission recommended the termination of all of Ecuador's BITs. Subsequently, on May 8 2017, President Correa announced that Ecuador would terminate its 16 remaining BITs. The input of the commission was key to Ecuador's decision.

### **CETA** ratified amid huge public debate

Although CETA was ratified by the European Parliarment in February 2017 (408 in favour, 254 against and 33 abstentions), no other trade agreement has met such strong opposition in the European Parliament, and in the streets. TNI, as part of the Dutch trade campaign and S2B, facilitated and enabled an informed debate about the CETA treaty by bringing evidence to policy makers about the treaty's negative impacts. The network applied significant pressure on Dutch MEPs and the European Council not to ratify the treaty. Social-democrats, usually supportive of trade agreements, were divided over CETA. This was the result of two years of sustained campaigning and advocacy at national and European level.

Despite the ratification, a key success for TNI and S2B's advocacy efforts, in alliance with FGG, FNV and Consumentenbond, is that investment protection was excluded from the provisional implementation of CETA. Due to the consistent pressure, investors will not get rights under CETA until all 28 EU Member States ratify the agreement. Furthermore, TNI demanded that the European Court of Justice (ECJ) assess the compatibility of the investment protection chapter of CETA with EU laws. The ECJ is currently reviewing this issue.

# Exposing the EU's move to globalise ISDS or to create an International Court for Multinationals

As a result of the backlash against the investment arbitration mechanism and the difficulties for the ratification of CETA, in January 2017, the EU and Canada initiated a process of global discussions to establish a Multilateral Investment Court (MIC). TNI, as part of S2B, quickly responded to the MIC proposal and framed it as a global ISDS, and a PR exercise to re-legitimise ISDS. This influenced some MEPs and Trade Unions in their opinion about MIC. A Policy Debate in Brussels with ambassadors from South Africa, Ecuador, and the chair of the German judges federation helped to publicly expose how the MIC proposal maintained the key flaws of ISDS.

### **Transparency in the Netherlands.**

On the Dutch front, TNI, together with its Dutch partner NGOs, is developing a campaign to push for a public consultation on Dutch BITs, to start in mid 2018.

In addition, and due to sustained pressure, the Dutch government established a consultation process, the Breed Handelsberaad (BHB) in response to critiques that trade policy-making is nontransparent, unaccountable and non-inclusive. Dutch NGOs were eventually invited to participate, under the condition that information remains confidential. While this was a step in the right direction, TNI declined to join the process due to the confidentiality requirement.

### **EU-Myanmar investment treaty under pressure**

In June, TNI co-organised advocacy towards the European Parliament on the EU-Myanmar Investment Protection Agreement (IPA). TNI co-published a report on the potential negative effects of an investment protection agreement between the EU and Myanmar. This was done together with European NGOs and Myanmar CSOs (Paung Ku, KESAN, Myanmar Alliance for Transparency and Accountability (MATA), Land in Our Hands (LIOH) network, The EU-ASEAN FTA campaign network, CIDSE, MISEREOR, Info Birmanie, Secours Catholique – Caritas France, CCFD-Terre Solidaire, Seattle to Brussels Network, Association Internationale de Techniciens, Experts et Chercheurs (AITEC), and 11.11.11). The briefing was distributed widely in the European Parliament, and to selected MPs in Myanmar.

The paper argued that the benefits of the IPA were highly overstated, and the risks seriously underestimated. It was shown that the IPA could have major negative impacts on democratic development, human rights and sustainable peace in Myanmar, depriving it of the necessary policy space to harness investment to serve sustainable development and peace. It also had the potential to bankrupt the country through potential lawsuits led by foreign companies unwilling to see stronger regulations that may impact their profits. The publication of the report strengthened advocacy efforts against the treaty.

With input and support from TNI, CSOs in Myanmar sharpened their ability to reply in-depth to questions about the IPA from the media. They actively approached MPs from the ruling NLD party. They increased their participation in regional activities on FTAs at the Southeast-Asian level. In cooperation with Paung Ku, LIOH, Kesan and others, they published multiple letters and op-eds in Myanmar that framed the EU-Myanmar IPA in a similar framework as the agreements that Ecuador canceled.

# Struggles against ISDS still high on the agenda of Asian and Latin American social movements

In 2017, social movements worldwide, particularly in Asia and Latin America, increased their attention on ISDS and strengthened their resistance campaigns.

TNI participated in the generation and sharing of knowledge and capacity amongst alliance partners with regards to the proposed EU-Indonesia FTA. A joint publication by TNI, SOMO and IGJ

widely increased awareness about ISDS among CSOs in Indonesia and Europe. A statement calling for a moratorium of the negotiations, launched during the second round, was supported by 31 Indonesian networks and organisations and 22 international ones, throwing spanners in the works for the agreement.

Upon request by Kyrgyz participants in the Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF) held in 2016 in Mongolia, a publication on the dangers of the investment protection framework in the Kyrgyz Republic was published by TNI in English and Russian. It featured in several Kyrgyz media outlets and the analysis was processed and disseminated in three workshops with 20 participants in each.

### **Latin America**

During 2017, several of TNI's activities were geared towards increasing awareness about the dangers of ISDS in the Latin American region, and linking the issue of investment protection to concrete struggles. TNI co-hosted training seminars in Argentina (45 participants – mainly trade unionists and activists working on trade, mining and public services- from nine countries in Latin America); Colombia (for CSOs, on the recent cases against Colombia), and in Brussels (focusing on the debate about Europe-Latin America trade relations in a new era.)

TNI put a spotlight on the impacts of investment protection in Latin America and the Caribbean (LAC). It published research on all the arbitration cases against Latin America and Caribbean countries. It was presented through a dedicated website in an easily accessible way (short articles, infographics, interactive maps and graphs). This information aimed to help activists, journalists and policy makers grasp the extent of the costs that the investment regime has had for Latin America. This effort filled a current gap in the literature and helped to strengthen the capacity of Latin American activists to engage in discussions on the impacts of ISDS in the region.

In November, in Montevideo, TNI joined 2,000 other participants at the continental gathering of Social movements at "La Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el Neoliberalismo" in Montevideo, where it made significant contributions to the debates on trade, investment and corporate power. TNI's input helped to deepen the analysis and to foster well-informed debate. The issue of investment protection featured in the gathering's final declaration.

In December, TNI hosted several trade and investment workshops alongside the WTO Ministerial Meeting in Buenos Aires, Argentina. This was the first WTO Ministerial Conference in South America, at a time when the regional context is highly favorable to free trade. Unfortunately, the conference was held amid high distrust of civil society, an unusual development for the ministerial conferences. Argentina's creation of a list with more than 60 names of activists whose accreditation, as well as their entry to the country, were denied was an unprecedented development. Despite being on the list of denied organizations, TNI was able to finally get accreditation with the help of Dutch authorities. These activities opened up new constituencies interested in the issue among CSOs and Trade Unions in the region. This has further expanded and deepened alliances that are working on the issue.

Throughout the year, TNI supported resistance efforts regarding the renegotiation of the EU-Mexico Free Trade Agreement. TNI facilitated a space of dialogue and exchange of information between European and Mexican CSOs on EU-Mexico trade and investment relations. This included the hosting of monthly conference calls and a dedicated e-list on this issue.

### **Notable Publications**

- Keep the Farm TTIP-and CETA-free! (January 2017)
- TiSA and the Threat to Public Banks (April 2017)
- TiSA and state-owned enterprises (April 2017)
- Investment arbitration: a counterargument activist's guide (June 2017)
- Kyrgyz Republic's experience with investment treaties and arbitration cases (July 2017)
- Myths and risks of the EU-Myanmar Investment Protection Agreement (September 2017)
- Chinese investment in Europe in the Age of Brexit and Trump (September 2017)
- Human Rights as a Key Issue in the Indonesia-EU Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (September 2017)
- ISDS in numbers: Impacts of investment arbitration against Latin America and the Caribbean (December 2017)

### People

- Cecilia Olivet Trade and Investment Project Coordinator
- Pietje Vervest Economic Justice Programme Coordinator
- Luciana Ghiotto Research Associate, Argentina
- Benny Kuruvilla Research Associate, India
- Lavinia Steinfort Programme Assistant
- Roeline Knottnerus Research Associate
- Niels Jongerius Dutch Advocacy Officer

### Volunteers/Interns

· Amaranta Villareal Nansen

### **Partners**

### **International**

• Friends of the Earth International

### **Europe**

- Seattle to Brussels network
- Aitec, France
- · Institute of Global Responsibility, Poland
- ATTAC France
- Attac Austria
- · Centre National de Coopération au Développement (CNCD), Belgium
- 11.11, Belgium
- Friends of the Earth Europe, Belgium
- · Corporate Europe Observatory, Belgium
- Fairwatch, Italy
- · France America Latina, France
- Milieudefensie, Netherlands
- · Oficina International de los Derechos Humanos Acción Colombia (OIDHACO), Belgium
- · Powershift, Germany
- · Re-Common, Italy
- Stop TTIP Italy campaign
- Vedegylet Egyesulet, Hungary
- · Both ENDS, Netherlands
- SOMO, Netherlands
- FNV, Netherlands
- WEMOS, Netherlands
- Foodwatch, Netherlands
- Dutch Dairymen Board, Netherlands
- · Nederlandse Akkerbouw Bond
- · ASEED, Netherlands
- · Vrijschrift, Netherlands
- Platform Authentieke Journalistiek, Netherlands
- Platform ABC, Netherlands
- Ecologistas en Acción, Spain

- Traidcraft, UK
- · War on Want, UK
- Global Justice Now, UK
- · Rosa Luxembourg Foundation Brussels office, Belgium
- · Afrika Kontakt, Denmark
- · Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung, Germany

### **Americas**

- Iubileo Sur Americas
- Confederation Sindical de las Americas
- The Democracy Center, Bolivia
- CENSAT Agua Viva /Friends of the Earth, Colombia
- · Colectivo de Abogados "José Alvear Restrepo" (CAJAR), Colombia
- Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular (CINEP), Colombia
- Escuela Nacional Sindical, Colombia
- · Ecuador Decide, Ecuador
- Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), United States
- · Redes/Friends of the Earth, Uruguay
- ATTAC Argentina
- CLACSO
- · Campaign Mexico better off without TPP
- · Campaign Chile better off without TPP
- Campaign Argentina better off without FTAs
- Coalition "Jornada Continental por Democracia y Contra Neoliberalismo"
- · Council of Canadians, Canada

#### Asia

- EU-ASEAN FTA network, South East Asia
- · Focus on the Global South, Philippines, Thailand and India
- Alyansa Tigil Mina, Philippines
- Indonesia for Global Justice, Indonesia
- Paung Ku, Myanmar
- · Kesan, Myanmar
- Myanmar Alliance for Transparency and Accountability
- · Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation, Malaysia
- · IDEALS, Philippines
- SENTRO, Philippines
- Forum Against FTAs, India

# **WAR & PACIFICATION**

## Critical thinking, Real solutions



Video based on findings in TNI and StopWapenhandel's report: Expanding the Fortress - The policies, the profiteers and the people shaped by EU's border externalisation programme. https://youtu.be/SsssVTm2fi4

The War and Pacification programme is concerned with analysing the drivers of permanent war and publicising its consequences for human rights and democracy. The programme analyses the assault on civil liberties through counter-terrorism efforts, immigration and border policies; and the global authoritarian trend. It focuses on the corporate capture of security policy – particularly at EU level.

This is expressed by the militarization of borders, and the growing dominance of (high tech) security strategies for addressing social and ecological crises.

The content of this programme is a dynamic and increasingly important part of TNI's work, as the use of violence is integral to the extension of corporate power as well as strategies to control migrants and social movements.

In 2017, several key publications were produced, and TNI's participation in relevant networks and coalitions was strengthened.

**Goal:** To make publicly visible permanent war and the pacification of resistance.

Goals (2020)	Outcomes in 2017 to which TNI contributed
Put out call for papers on authoritarianism, organize public meeting in Amsterdam on Authoritarianism & Rise of Populist Right, and organize fellows' meeting on theme of 'authoritarianism'	<ul> <li>TNI brought together leading scholars and activists to discuss         Authoritarianism, producing a workshop report and a series         of papers on the theme that will be launched throughout 2018.         The work has particularly highlighted the need to unmask the         ways authoritarianism has been embedded within neoliberal         democracies, creating the context for the emergence of the         brazen autocrats of today.</li> </ul>
Convene activist workshop, produce framing paper on 'Shrinking Space' for democratic dissent; commission papers & conduct interviews about cases that exemplify the issues; conduct advocacy	<ul> <li>TNI collaboratively developed a critical take on the so-called "shrinking space" phenomenon, based on a 2016 meeting in Berlin. The resulting paper challenges the idea that this shrinking space is only happening within typically undemocratic governments. By focusing on its manifestation in Europe, the paper demonstrates that it is a more widespread and insidious phenomenon.</li> <li>The paper was well received and widely circulated, including translation into Arabic (work in progress), French, Italian and Spanish. It was presented and discussed at numerous events and conferences, including a Dutch knowledge platform event in the Hague, co-organised with the Women Peacemakers Programme, Duke Law International Human Rights Clinic, Human Security Collective and the Charity &amp; Security Network.</li> </ul>
Publish & promote Border Wars series	<ul> <li>Border Wars II: An update on the arms industry profiting from Europe's refugee tragedy was published, well received in media and scholarly circles.</li> </ul>

### **Highlights**

- TNI maintained media focus and attention on policymakers on EU homeland security spending
- TNI consolidated networks challenging EU security policy through key reports and meetings
- TNI's work with the Permanent People's Tribunal brought new key concepts in the work against impunity and border crimes, and was used to inform, deepen and sharpen policy critique by movement partners.

"Across the world, in both democratic and non-democratic states, many activists and social justice organizations face an increasingly repressive and securitized environment, as well as unprecedented attacks on their legitimacy and security."

- On Shrinking Space, 2017

### Rethinking "Shrinking Space"

Individual and collective activism is facing a global pushback from states, corporations and the Far Right. In the context of rising authoritarianism, xenophobia and right-wing populism, the issue is an urgent one, and as such there is a need to understand the mechanisms through which it occurs.

The metaphor of 'shrinking space' has been widely embraced as a way of describing a new generation of restrictions on political struggle. However TNI and collaborators recognized a need to deconstruct this narrative and unpack some of the problems inherent in the concept.

The first publication produced by the new War and Pacification programme was a paper that offered a critical take on the so-called "shrinking space" phenomenon. TNI developed the paper collaboratively through an international meeting held in Berlin in October 2016, and published in April 2017. The paper challenged the idea that this shrinking space is only happening within typically undemocratic governments, and showed that it is a more widespread and insidious phenomenon by focusing on its manifestation in Europe.

The paper was well received and widely circulated, including translation into Arabic (work in progress), French, Italian and Spanish. It was presented and discussed at numerous events and conferences, including a Dutch knowledge platform event in the Hague, co-organised with the

Women Peacemakers Programme, Duke Law International Human Rights Clinic, Human Security Collective and the Charity & Security Network.

Additionally, the paper set the tone for a range of issue papers on the same theme published in 2017 and 2018. For instance, TNI's exposition of Europe's offensive against people helping refugees.

### **Challenging authoritarianism**

The election of Trump, Duterte, Orban joining with the likes of Putin, Trump, Erdogan and Modi has made authoritarianism the norm rather than exception to modern politics. To support our work with social movements which are being increasingly criminalised, TNI decided in 2017 to invest in research to look at the underlying causes of the rise in authoritarianism.

In June 2017, TNI brought together leading scholars and activists to discuss the theme, producing a workshop report and a series of papers on the theme that are being launched throughout 2018. The work has particularly highlighted the need to unmask the ways authoritarianism has been embedded within neoliberal democracies, creating the context for the emergence of the brazen autocrats of today. It has also dovetailed with TNI's work with the Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative (ERPI) series on rural authoritarianism and populism.

### **Challenging Europe's Security Union**

In August, TNI with Statewatch launched Market Forces: The Development of the EU Security-Industrial Complex, a detailed examination of the EU's security strategy. The report updates the groundbreaking Neoconoption 2009 report that was downloaded more than 1 million times. The new report shows that EU funding for new security tools and technologies will double in the 2014-2020 period compared to the previous six years. The biggest winner is the "homeland security" industry whose influence on European policy continues to grow. The report was covered by the EU Observer, and Open Democracy.

### Secure and dispossessed

TNI's book, The secure and the dispossessed: how the military and corporations are shaping a climate-changed world, published in December 2015, gained new relevance with the election of Trump in the US. President Trump's bringing together of corporate executives and military generals under the rubric of 'securing' the US from threats of refugees presaged many of the warnings of the book, of a militarised eco-apartheid future, even while Trump denies the climate science.

In June 2017, co-editor of the book Nick Buxton was invited to launch the Spanish translation for the book in Spain thanks to the support of Fuhem EcoSocial. The book was very well received in three launch events (Madrid, Bilbao and Barcelona) attended by 200 people and was covered by national radio programme Cadena Ser, TV Bilbao, La Marea, Corresponsables, Radio Euskadi, Gara and others. Nick Buxton also continued to write articles on the theme in US media outlets including Truth-Out, Roar Magazine, Open Democracy and was also interviewed by Wired, Mongabay and a number of community radio stations.

### War and US foreign policy

TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis continued to be a frequently called-on analyst and commentator on Middle East politics and US foreign policy for major US news outlets. She was invited to share her perspectives on the war in Syria, US military involvement in Iraq, and the Israel-Palestine conflict and occupation.

Reports were produced that provided an information base for the consolidation of networks in Europe challenging EU security policy – in particular, exposing the arms and security companies which are beneficiaries of EU research grants, and the vested interests in a hostile environment with respect to refugees and migrants, as well as the wars that produce them.

### **Permanent People's Tribunals**

The activities of Transnational Corporations have real victims, and the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) offers an opportunity for affected communities to renounce their activities and have their say. TNI initiated a process to investigate and document the narratives of communities of migrant and refugee peoples participating in the Transnational Migrant Platform-Europe (TMP-E), on the violation of their rights by TNCs involved in forced displacement of livelihoods, contributing to extreme climate change and in ongoing wars and militarization of borders.

TNI was closely involved in the launch in Barcelona of the Permanent People's Tribunal on the violations of the rights of migrant and refugee peoples. TNI participated in the conceptual, communication and logistic level of setting up the process.

This PPT session was launched in Barcelona in July 2017 and the first Hearing took place in Palermo in December- giving visibility to sustained and intensifying denial of rights to migrant and refugee peoples on hazardous journeys, where death and disappearance, encampment and slavery practice at the borders are commonplace, and continuing push-back of human and labour rights within Fortress Europe.

The tribunal brought new key concepts to enrich the work against impunity of corporations, as well as border crimes (such as: necropolitics, spaces without rights and missing people).

### **Key Publications**

- On "shrinking space": A framing paper
- Market Forces: The development of the EU Security-Industrial Complex
- Infographic: The EU's Security Industrial Complex
- Understanding and confronting authoritarianism: Meeting Report Amsterdam, 8–11 June 2017
- State of Power 2017
- Border wars report 2017 (2nd)

### People

- Ben Hayes TNI fellow
- Nick Buxton Editor/Researcher
- Frank Barat 'Shrinking Space' Coordinator
- Phyllis Bennis Fellow
- · Achin Vanaik Fellow
- Arun Kundnani Research Associate

### **Partners**

- Statewatch
- Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)
- European Campaign Against the Arms Trade (ECAAT)
- European Council on Refugees and Exiles (ECRE)
- Spinwatch
- Izi Solutions
- Noor
- Al Fanar
- · Comité Justice & Libertés Pour Tous (CJL)
- Un Ponte Per (UPP)
- Women's Partnership for Peac
- Stop Wapenhandel
- Agir pour la Paix
- Privacy International
- Centro Delás d'estudis per la pau
- Instituto Internacional para la Acción No-violenta NOVACT

# RACHMI HERTANTI

Executive director of Indonesia for Global Justice (IGJ). IGJ has been working with TNI since 2014.

Some publications compiled by IGJ and TNI on Indonesia-EU CEPA have opened the discourse of some parliament members in Indonesia on the importance of conducting Human Rights Impact Assessments (HRIAs) before ratifying the agreement. Even if the support from the Members of Parliament has not expanded yet, there has been an excellent first step in expanding the advocacy process in Indonesia, specifically in Parliament.

The follow up for their support was also indicated in a meeting between CSOs and Indonesian Parliament Members in response to the 4th round of IEU CEPA



negotiations on February 2018, In Jakarta. The meeting was also part of the meeting of Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF) Cluster Trade Justice and Corporate Accountability, where IGJ and TNI are the core team.

The other work, the effort to open democratization and the transparency of trade and international investment agreement negotiations also became the focus of joint work between IGJ and TNI. Nowadays, in Indonesia, there is a trial process of Indonesian civil society demands requesting the mechanism of parliamentary approval before the investment treaty or Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) is ratified under the International Treaty Act.

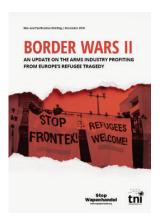
Hopefully, in the future, the cooperation between IGJ and TNI will get even stronger, specifically in encouraging the advocacy process in trade and international investment agreement not only in national but also regional and international level.

"Some publications compiled by IGJ and TNI on Indonesia-EU CEPA have opened the discourse of some parliament members in Indonesia on the importance of conducting HRIAs before ratifying the agreement. Even if the support from the Members of Parliament has not expanded yet, there has been an excellent first step in expanding the advocacy process in Indonesia, specifically in Parliament."

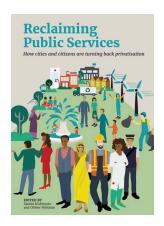
# **PUBLICATIONS**

### Most popular publications in 2017

















## **ALBA DEL CAMPO**

Feminist, ecologist and journalist Advisor to Cádiz City Council about the energy transition and coordinating the city's energy tables.

I know TNI through my work with energy democracy and a fair energy transition. My experience of working with TNI has been enriching. I particularly appreciate the rigor of their information, the focus on questions that are absolutely necessary to real change, and also the generosity to make visible the work of others people and organizations. Also, Lavinia is the best!



"I know TNI through my work with energy democracy and a fair energy transition. My experience of working with TNI has been enriching. I particularly appreciate the rigor of their information, the focus on questions that are absolutely necessary to real change, and also the generosity to make visible the work of others people and organizations."

# PEOPLE

### **FELLOWS**

### PROF. ACHIN VANAIK

### Professor of International Relations and Global Politics, Delhi University

AAchin Vanaik continued to be active in the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), where his work particularly focused on getting young people to join nuclear advocacy, through a new conference with young people, on denuclearization and the prevention of nuclear proliferation.

He was also active in the Indian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (INCACBI), where he was involved in the Boycott, Divestment, Sanctions (BDS) campaign, which works to pressure Israel to comply with international law. He also contributes to the the Society for Marxist Studies (SMS), which held two week long residential schools -one in the north in the Summer, and one in the south in the winter for post-graduate students and social activists.

He was involved in a campaign against the Indian government's systematic assault on the media and education, through the People's Tribunal against the attack on education, which has facilitated reports and testimonies in 17 of India's 25 States.

In 2017, he published the updated version of his book on Hindu nationalism and Authoritarianism: The Rise of Hindu Authoritarianism: Secular Claims, Communal Realities (2017)

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2Q49lhXapHw

### **DR. BEN HAYES**

### Independent researcher and consultant on security policies and civil liberties

During 2017 Ben worked primarily on the (re-)development of TNI's War and Pacification programme (previously Peace and Security). The first publication the new programme produced was a critical take on the so-called "shrinking space" phenomenon, which was co-authored by Ben and various collaborators. TNI developed the primer collaboratively through a representative international meeting held in Berlin in October 2016, and published in April 2017.

Ben continued to work on the impact of international counter-terrorism measures on fundamental rights, due process and the work of civil society organisations. In 2017, his research was commissioned by the German development organisation Bread for the World, and the Human Security Collective.

Ben also featured extensively in the 2017 documentary "Hold Your Peace", a film by the Women Peacemakers Program, highlighting how responses to terrorism have, in practice, squeezed women's rights organisations and their defenders between terror and counter-terror.

He also continued to work on the issue of transnational surveillance architectures and his paper Towards multilateral standards for surveillance reform, co-authored with Ian Brown, Mort Halperin, Ben Scott and Mathias Vermeulen was published in Privacy and Power: A Transatlantic Dialogue in the Shadow of the NSA-Affair, by Cambridge University Press.

The paper was later cited approvingly by the Irish High Court in its judgment in the famous Max Schrems "Europe-vs-Facebook" case.

Ben spoke at numerous conferences and events throughout the year, including 4Days4Peace in Barcelona.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\_klUG3VfcNI

### DR. DANIEL CHAVEZ

### Research Fellow, Coordinator of TNI's New Politics Project

Daniel coordinates TNI's New Politics project, and continues his close collaboration with TNI's Public Alternatives project. After the success of the resistance to the privatization of the Cali Telecom industry, he continued to be involved in network building and in the negotiations for a Public-Public partnership with Uruguay.

He carried out work on energy democracy, particularly with the Labour Energy transition group, which is a partner of TNI. His work had a specific focus on the energy transition in Uruguay, which is vastly expanding its wind power capabilities.

In March, he organized a new politics conference in Cape Town, South Africa, titled The crisis of politics/the politics of crisis. The conference aimed at exchanging ideas on collective strategies for resistance and towards the development of counter-hegemonic alternatives in light of the rise of the Right, and the growing difficulties faced by national progressive projects.

In academia, Daniel was engaged in the ongoing process to launch a masters program in Ecuador, and has continued his collaboration with the Latin American Council for Social Sciences (CLACSO) and an academic unit of the University of Buenos Aires (IEALC) to develop a new regional initiative aimed at supporting young researchers interested in producing relevant and useful knowledge for social movements and popular organisations.

Daniel maintains his attention on regional trends in Latin America, particularly on the rise of the right wing and the deradicalisation of the left. For TNI's New Politics project, he finished a manuscript for a book on Public Enterprises in Latin America, which will be published in 2018.

### DR. DAVID FIG

Independent researcher, Chair of the Board of Biowatch South Africa, Honorary Research Associate in the Chair of Bio-Economics at the University of Cape Town and in the Society, Work and Development Institute in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg

During 2017, David continued his work with environmentalist and local community organizations in South Africa. He worked with the African Uranium Alliance, where he continues to advocate for an end to nuclear procurement. He joined a delegation to Vietnam to advise parliament on nuclear science, and this intervention contributed to Vietnam tearing up agreements with Russia and Japan on nuclear energy.

As follow up on the Swaziland Permanent People's Tribunal in 2016, he continues his work on extractive industries, which is made all the more pressing by the increased possibility of fracking in the delicate ecosystem of the Karoo in South Africa. David authored a "handbook on fracking", for use by local activists.

David was regularly interviewed and filmed giving commentary and analysis on the issue of climate change in the region, particularly in light of the drought and the water shortages in Cape Town.

He has also been actively involved in conversations around food security, and particularly the use of GMOs, and fertilisers.

Davis provided research to relevant ministries in support of a sugar tax for soft drinks in South Africa, and the tax was implemented, although it now needs to be monitored.

He also continued his work with TNI's New Politics project, and with the Rosa Luxembourg foundation.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zYDZ-ymblSg

### PROF. EDGARDO LANDER

### Professor of Social Sciences at the Universidad Central de Venezuela in Caracas

Edgardo Lander actively participates in TNI's New Politics project, writing critical analyses of the Venezuelan political situation that have been translated and widely circulated in Spanish, English, French and German.

Within Venezuela, he is part of the Citizens Platform in Defense of Democracy, a political collective trying to defend the Bolivarian Constitution of 1999, which is under severe attacks both by an increasingly authoritarian government and the right wing opposition. The group aims at building alternatives to interventionist policies.

Edgardo has actively fought against the expansion of extractivism, particularly in the struggle against the Orinoco Mining Arch, a government project to open up 122,000 square kilometers of richly biodiverse territories- an area the size of Cuba- to transnational corporations for large scale open pit mining. This is in violation of the constitution and the main environmental, labor and indigenous peoples rights' laws.

His recent work focused on the shift to the right wing in the region, particularly in Brazil and Argentina, which has led to a sense of defeat and feeling of loss for progressive movements.

He writes and speaks on the economic and political crisis in Venezuela, where almost 10% of the population has emigrated in the last 3 years. In particular, he spent time working on a chapter on Venezuela for the book Alternatives in a world of crisis, to be published by the Rosa Luxemburg foundation in 2018.

He continues to be active in the Latin American Permanent Working Group on Alternatives to Development for the Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, and is also a Member of the Political Ecology Working Group for the Latin American Social Science Council (CLASCO).

### DR. HILARY WAINWRIGHT

### Editor of Red Pepper magazine, UK

Hilary Wainwright is a leading researcher and writer on the emergence of new forms of democratic accountability within parties, movements and the state. She is the driving force and editor behind Red Pepper, a popular British new left magazine, and has documented countless examples of resurgent democratic movements from Brazil to Britain and the lessons they provide for progressive politics.

In the first half of 2017, Hilary finished writing her book A New Politics from the left, subsequently published by Polity Press. As from around May/June, she did extensive media promotion for British politician Jeremy Corbyn, and in November she joined the Community Wealth Building Commission under the economic office of his party. Her essay, Forging a social knowledge economy: Transformative collaboration between radical left governments, state workers and solidarity economics, was published in the book: From the street to the state: Changing the world by taking power, an essay collection edited by Paul Gray.

Hilary participated at the TNI organized conference The Crisis of Politics / The Politics of Crisis, held in Cape Town, South Africa in March 2017.

As well as TNI fellow, she is also Senior Research Associate at the International Centre for Participation Studies at the Department for Peace Studies, University of Bradford, UK and Senior Research Associate at International Centre for Participation Studies', Bradford University. She has also been a visiting Professor and Scholar at the University of California, Los Angeles; Havens Center, University of Wisconsin, Madison and Todai University, Tokyo.

### **PROFESSOR JUN BORRAS**

Professor in Rural Development at the Institute of Social Studies (ISS) and Editor-in-Chief of The Journal of Peasant Studies (JPS)

Jun Borras has been a long-term leading collaborator and guide for TNI's work on agrarian and environmental justice.

In 2017, he was co-convenor of the annual conferences for the Institute for Critical Agrarian Studies (ICAS) and for the BRICS Initiative for Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS), which is a similar collective, but largely with a focus on BRICS-based or connected academic researchers concerned with understanding the BRICS countries policies and dynamics, as well as their implications for global agrarian transformations.

The ICAS conference was organized together with EHNE Bizkaia in April in Vitoria, Northern Spain. The annual BICAS conference was held in October in Moscow, hosted by RANEPA, on the occasion of the 100 years anniversary of the Russian revolution. Former TNI fellows Theodor Shanin and Boris Kagarlisky were part of the conference.

In addition to involvement in planning the conferences, Jun was a co-writer of the Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative (ERPI) framing paper on confronting authoritarian populism. He was also involved in the ERPI call for grants.

Jun participated in a project, in collaboration with the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) that produced a toolkit for participatory action research, aimed at strengthening the capacity of grassroots communities in Mali, Nigeria, Uganda and South Africa to address through action research, situations of land and other natural resource grabbing that are threatening their lives and livelihoods. The project reached its denouement in 2017.

Jun was also involved in research activities for the MOSAIC project, which explores the link between climate change mitigation/adaptation and land grabbing with the aim to strengthen understanding of these dynamics and build capacity for more effective state policies and grassroots action and interaction, for socially and environmentally just outcomes in the case study areas and beyond.

### **PHYLISS BENNIS**

### Director of the New Internationalism Project at the Institute for Policy Studies

Phyllis Bennis' New Internationalism project reflects the Inside/Outside strategy that TNI's sister institute, Institute for Policy Studies (IPS) has long identified as central to changing the world.

In 2017, she spent much of her time on the road, with university and community-based presentations and speaking engagements around her publications, particularly the 7th revised edition of her book on Israel-Palestine: Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer

Phyllis had a more strategic role as a board member and contributor for Jewish Voice for Peace (JVP), which opposes anti-Jewish, anti-Muslim, and anti-Arab bigotry and oppression. She particularly worked on a campaign called Deadly Exchange, which focuses on exchange programs that bring together police, ICE, border patrol, and FBI from the US with soldiers, police, border agents, etc. from Israel.

As part of the larger goal of challenging state violence and discrimination in both countries, the organization exposes and opposes ties between local American police and civil authorities, and the Israeli military where they promote and extend discriminatory and repressive policing practices that already exist in both countries. Such practices include extrajudicial executions, shoot-to-kill policies, police murders, racial profiling, massive spying and surveillance, deportation and detention, and attacks on human rights defenders. In addition to the use of her research, Phyllis wrote guest articles for the organization.

Phyllis spent time working with other campaigns and social movements like Black Lives Matter and ClimateJustice.Org. She spoke against the Trump administration's muslim ban at Reagan National Airport, and at multiple other podiums throughout the year.

Phyllis also paid attention to the war in the Sahel, contributing analysis on issues of migration and instability in the area.

Recently Phyllis has been working on the latest IPS publication, a reflection on the fiftieth anniversary of the Poor people's campaign in the US, culminating in the publication of: The souls of poor folk, which is an assessment of the conditions and trends of poverty today and of the past fifty years in the United States.

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=DFM55ookn80

### **ASSOCIATES**

- · Dr. Boris Kagarlitsky
- · Dr. Joel Rocamora
- Dr. Kees Biekart
- Myriam Vander Stichele
- · Dot Keet
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- Halle-Jorn Hannsen (Norway)
- Prof. Jan Pronk (Netherlands)
- · Dr. Howard Wachtel
- · John Cavanagh
- Dr. Marcos Arruda
- · Dr. Walden Bello
- · Dr. David Bewley-Taylor
- · Bob Debus (Australia)
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- Moestafa Hammash (Syria/Netherlands)
- Daniel van Heijningen(Netherlands)
- Emma Vitureira (USA)
- Christine Lewis Carroll (Spain)

# **ANDREW CUMBERS**

Professor of the University Glasgow of Political Economy. Author of the book Reclaiming Public Ownership: Making Space for Economic Democracy (2012)

I have worked with TNI for the last few years on energy democracy and re-thinking public ownership. TNI is the world-leader to find out what is going to happen on local public ownership, and on various trends and processes going on in various countries.

For an academic doing policy work like me, TNI's work is essential to establish a base for analysis, and I hope to build further collaborations for many years to come.



"For an academic doing policy work like me, TNI's work is essential to establish a base for analysis, and I hope to build further collaborations for many years to come."

# FINANCES

### **INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS**

	in Euros
2017	5,688,308
2016	4,936,827
2015	3,744,609
2014	3,523,687
2013	2,875,511

### **INCOME**

	amount in Euros	percentage
Grants	5.399.348	94.92%
Rent	135.743	2.39%
Exchange losses/gains	-24.016	-0.42%
Interest	3.898	0.07%
Other	173.335	3.05%
TOTAL INCOME	5.688.308	100%

### **HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY**

	amount in Euros	percentage
Personnel	1.372.816	24.5%
Building	154.855	2.8%
Activities	3.895.691	69.5%
Office	178.065	3.2%
TOTAL	5.601.427	100%

# WHAT PROJECTS OUR MONEY IS SPENT ON

	amount in Euros	percentage
Drugs policy	566.983	10.5%
Trade & Investment	1.511.274	27.9%
Corporate Power	621.602	11.5%
Myanmar	812.655	15%
Public sector alternatives	239.043	4.4%
Agrarian & environmental Justice	1.665.769	30.7%
TOTAL	5.417.325	100%

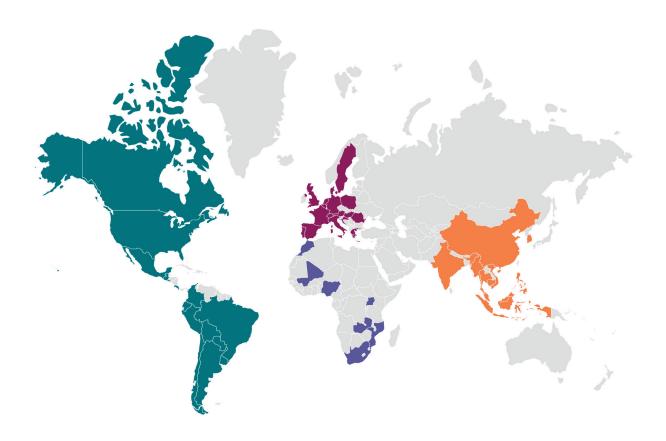
# **ACTIVE GRANTS 2017**

DONOR	project name	TOTAL GRANT	DURATION	TNI ROLE	GOALS
Open Society Foundation	Drugs & Democracy	US\$ 690.000	1/10/2016-30/9/2018	Sole	Support Drugs & Democracy programme at TNI 2016-2018
Open Society Foundation	Drugs Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG)	USD 72,000	1-1-2016 - 31/6/2017	Sole	Capacity building on drugs policy advocacy in Myanmar
Open Society Initiative for Europe	Advancing democratic controls and accountability mechanisms in the EU security budget 2021-27	USD 40 539	15/9/17-31/12/17	Sole	Workshop to plan programme to advance democratic controls & accountability mechanisms in the EU security budget 20121- 2027
Open Society Foundation (Arab region)	Towards a Regional Alternative Development Institute (MENA)	USD 40000	1/10/17-31/3/18	Sole	Consultative workshop towards a strategy for a regional alternative development institute for the MENA region
Open Society Foundation (Arab region)	Food Sovereignty (MENA)	USD 100000	1/10/17-30/9/19	Sole – working through OSEA in Tunisia	Research and advocacy on food sovereignty in Morocco and Tunisia
Fondation de France	Shrinking Space	€ 10,000.00	7/8/17 - 6/8/2018	Sole	Support advocacy on Shrinking Space for civil society
Fondation Charles Leopold Meyer	Shrinking Space	Eur 20000	1/1/17-31/12/17	Sole	Support advocacy on Shrinking Space for civil society
Guerilla Foundation	Shrinking Space	Eur 15000	1/6/17-31/5/18	Sole	Support advocacy on Shrinking Space for civil society
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Trade & Development	Fair, Green and Global	€ 10,586,519.00	1/1/16-31/12/20	Partner – accountable to Both Ends as lead organisation	Ensure improved corporate conduct advances social justice, decent work and environmental sustainability; trade and investment advances socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development; and financial systems, tax regimes and public financing practices advance socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development.
European Union/Europe Aid	EYD2015: Spotlight on the global food-land-climate nexus mobilizing European support for sustainable management of natural resources and the human right to food.	€ 4,000,000.00	5/2/15-4/2/18	Lead organisation - 15 other partners in Europe (budget reflects total for consortium)	Mobilise European support for sustainable management of natural resources and the human right to food
European Union/Home Affairs & Justice	New Approaches to Harm Reduction Policies & Practices (NAHRPP)	€ 401,029	1/1/17-1/1/19	Lead organisation - 3 other partners (budget reflects total for consortium)	To expand the knowledge base about drug use patterns and innovative harm reduction policies and practices in respect of three problems among public authorities and professionals and civil society stakeholders in Europe: A) the increased use of plant-based NPS without the requisite knowledge to reduce the risk of harm; B) a persistent illicit cannabis market for the still most used drug in the EU; and the impact on the effectiveness of drug and (C) policies of austerity measures affecting health and social services, particularly in Southern Europe.
Swiss Development Cooperation (SDC)	Supporting CivilSociety in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive PoliticalProcesses and Address Ethnic Conflict	€ 1,329,875.00	1//6/17-31/5/21	Sole	To support CivilSociety in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive PoliticalProcesses and Address Ethnic Conflict
Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA)	Supporting CivilSociety in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive PoliticalProcesses and Address Ethnic Conflict	21,000,000 SEK	1/9/2017 - 31/12/2020	Sole	To support CivilSociety in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive PoliticalProcesses and Address Ethnic Conflict
Funders for Fair Trade	TTIP-NL	€ 70,000.00	1/7/16-30/6/17	Host organisation, collaborative project with 3 other FGG alliance members	Netherlands campaign on TTIP/ CETA
Funders for Fair Trade	TTIP-NL	€ 70,000.00	1/7/17-30/6/18	Host organisation, collaborative project with 3 other FGG alliance members	Netherlands campaign on TTIP/ CETA

Funders for Fair Trade	Seattle-to-Brussels Network (S2B)	€ 93,000.00	1/6/16-31/5/17	Host organisation but funds used soley for S2B network (32 members across Europe)	Support coordination of the Seattle-to-Brussels network
Funders for Fair Trade	Seattle-to-Brussels Network (S2B)	€ 120,000.00	1/6/17-31/5/18	Host organisation but funds used soley for S2B network (32 members across Europe)	Support coordination of the Seattle-to-Brussels network
Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung	EU-Latin America workshop	€ 3,630.00	1/4/17-7/7/17	Host for S2B network	Prepare & realise workshop in Bxl on EU-Latin America trade & investment
Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung	ISDC/MIC brochure	€ 14,250.00	14/07/17-15/10/17	Host for S2B network	Produce brochure on ISDS-MIC
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	Trade & Investment	€ 100,000.00	29/11/17-29/11/2019	Sole	To support TNI's Trade & Investment programme
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (GIZ)	9th Informal Drug Policy Dialogue in Asia & AD workshop	€ 35,000.00	18/9/17-1/2/18	Sole	Organisation of 9th Asian policy dialogue and workshop on alternative development
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (GIZ)	Global Partnership for Drugs Policies & Development (GPDPD)	€ 250,000.00	15/11/16-15/5/18	Sole	Implementation of the outcomes of UNGASS 2016, the preparations for the global review in 2019-2020, and harmonizing drug policies with the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and human rights obligations
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (GIZ)	Asia drug dialogue & workshop	€ 40,000.00	5/10/16-21/3/17	Sole	Organise 8th Asian drug policy dialogue & workshop on alternative development
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit, GmbH (GlZ)	Global Partnership for Drugs Policies & Development (GPDPD): exchange visits	€ 139,810.00	15/11/17-30/6/18	Sole	to support the Myanmar government in improving their understanding of public health approaches in drug policies as well as to promote sustainable, community based and development-oriented approaches to problems related to illicit drug cultivation in support of the ongoing peace building efforts.
Nederlandse Wetenschaplijke Organisatie (NWO) – Cocoon	Conflict and cooperation in the management of Climate Change	GBP 57.837	1/6/14-31/5/18	Partner – accountable to ISS as lead organisation	To understand the interplay between climate mitigation policies, land grabbing, and conflict or cooperation in Myanmar and Cambodia, and derive relevant insights from other countries; contribute to grassroots and civil society partners' development interventions to promote socially just and inclusive mitigation strategies and land policies and practices; build capacity to address, through strategic collective action, conflicts associated with climate mitigation and land grabbing
International Development Research Council (Canada, IDRC) via FIAN	IDRC research on bottom-up accountability initiatives in large scale land acquisitions.	€ 39,800.00	1/10/14-30/9/17	Partner — accountable to FIAN International as lead organisation	To deepen the work of African organisations involved in negotiating the Tenure Guidelines
Food & Agricultural Organisation (FAO)	Workshops on land/fishery guidelines in Indonesia	€ 40,090.00	28/7/17-29/10/17	Contracted	Organise workshops in Indonesia on land/fisheries guidelines
Food & Agricultural Organisation (FAO)	Gender in small scale fisheries: Myanmar	€ 24,730.00	1/3/17-30/9/17	Contracted	Report on gender in small scale fisheries, Myanmar
CEE Bankwatch	Impact of Investment treaties in Kyrgyzstan	€ 9,700.00	1/1/17-30/6/17	Sub-contract	Report & awareness-raising on the impact of investment protection treaties on development, democracy & public budgets in Kyrgyzstan

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### **CREDITS**

**WRITING/EDITING:** Shaun Matsheza

**DESIGN:** Evan Clayburg



The Transnational Institute (TNI) is an international research and advocacy institute committed to building a just, democratic and sustainable planet. For more than 40 years, TNI has served as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy-makers.

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