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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

'We have supported TNI since 1973 and have never had occasion to regret it!'

Cora Weiss, President of the Samuel Rubin Foundation, New York

TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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Critical thinking for our future TNI's fellowship

The Transnational Institute has a proud history of providing insightful analysis on current events and anticipating the critical issues that will shape the world's political economy in coming decades.

TNI's international fellowship and its extensive associated network is the incubator of this forward thinking. Our close work with some of the best activist intellectuals over almost four decades provides TNI with an enviable pool of talent to draw on for our annual Fellows' Meetings – for special collaborative books, as well as for our outreach and projects. This has turned TNI into a veritable 'think spring' for transnational movements committed to progressive social change.

This year, TNI convened two meetings of the international fellowship: one in Amsterdam mid-year and the other in Durban, South Africa in December following the UN climate summit. The debates that took place in June were covered by The Broker, an influential magazine aimed at the development co-operation community in Europe. Two book projects were also initiated and discussed – one examining the emergence of a

multipolar world and the other focused on the securitisation of climate policy.

THE ARAB SPRING AND THE PROMISE OF THE 99%

The mid-year Fellows' meeting in Amsterdam was concerned with understanding the meaning of the new resistance evident in the Arab Spring and the rise of the Indignado and Occupy movements. Democracy activists from Syria and Egypt, Spain and the US were invited to describe and analyse their movements. They exposed the broad crisis of legitimacy of neoliberalism and the deep set frustration at the lack of any meaningful democratic processes with which movements can engage. The discussions also analysed the ongoing struggle over what will emerge and the challenge this poses to the 99% to advance workable alternatives. www.tni.org/arab-spring

THE RISE OF THE SOUTH

Indian corporation Tata's rise in 2010 to become the largest industrial employer in its former colonising nation, the UK, in 2010, was evidence of tectonic shifts in global power. While the EU, US and Japan continue to struggle against recession, Brazil, India and China are booming and may even end up bailing out the former colonial powers of the North. This is happening, however, just as the political notion of the South that emerged in the struggle against colonialism (Bandung Conference, 1954) is an increasingly distant memory, and in the context of the triumph of liberalised capital on the global stage. TNI

is probing the implications of these new complex networks of power, with in-depth discussions at both Fellows' meetings in 2011. TNI has also commissioned a series of papers that are intended to provide the basis for a forthcoming publication.

THE GLOBAL GRAB: LAND, WATER, ENERGY AND AIR

The year-end meeting of the fellowship took place immediately after the UN climate summit and made explicit the connections between TNI's long-standing work on the privatisation of the commons and current attempts by UNEP to argue for a 'Green Economy' based on the commodification of all nature.

TNI, through its ground-breaking 1998 book, *Privatising Nature*, and its successor project Carbon Trade Watch, was a pioneer in challenging the commodification of 'the commons'. TNI's Water

Justice project confronts the failures and injustices of water privatisation and has demonstrated an efficient and just alternative based on reformed public services. Meanwhile TNI's Agrarian Justice project has unpacked the complex power dynamics behind the rise in land grabbing and advocated alternatives.

In 2011, TNI started to more systematically make the connections between its work on issues of the commons today in taking on the questionable assumptions underpinning the so-called 'Green Economy' proposition.

TNI is currently part of the International Committee organising the Peoples' Summit that will take place in Brazil parallel to the Rio+20 conference in mid-June 2012, where the commodification and financialisation of nature will prove a major controversy.

CRITIQUE OF THE 'GREEN ECONOMY'

The 'Green Economy' has become the slogan for the Rio+20 United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development to be held in June 2012, and enjoys the enthusiastic support of the private sector. TNI has been at the forefront of analysis and research to explore what this so-called Green Economy is really about – exposing the interests, thinking and policies behind the slogan.

*At TNI's Fellows' Meeting in June 2011, various analysts unpicked how those serving corporate interests have played a major role in preparations for Rio+20 and highlighted the dangers of putting a price on nature. In December, a second Fellows' Meeting was held in South Africa immediately after the UN climate summit in Durban. For the occasion, TNI published Fellow Edgardo Lander's briefing, **The Green Economy: A Wolf in Sheep's clothing** (November 2011; www.tni.org/green-wolf). The briefing has since become a key resource stimulating debate among civil society organisations preparing for Rio+20.*

During a subsequent preparation meeting in Porto Alegre, attended by Lander, TNI Associate Fellow Gonzalo Berrón and local staffers, TNI also invited longstanding associate and former Peruvian Environment Vice Minister Hugo Cabieses to share his analysis on how the corporate-led 'green' economy was fuelling resource grabs in the Andes.

MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT OF THE TNI BOARD

Associated with TNI since it was founded, I feel qualified to judge our record and freely admit that I do so with pride, but also with some misgivings. We can be proud because we've been consistently right about all the issues we've tackled and we've tackled a great many. We saw their significance before others and accompanied our critiques with positive proposals for change. Our novel concept of 'scholar-activists' is at the core of our practice and for nearly forty years, we've been relevant to researchers and social movements in North and South. So I may truthfully say that I know of nowhere else, whether university, NGO or think-tank, that equals TNI's performance in catching trends and developments before others, calling them correctly and where necessary, trying to change them. TNI has been, as the latest cliché has it, 'cutting edge'.

So why the misgivings? Frankly, a cutting edge is not a comfortable place to be perched and the powerful do not enjoy scrutiny. If you're lucky, you will be respected for exposing the injustices com-

mitted by states, corporations or international organisations, but you will not be loved. You will never be, intellectually speaking, warm and fuzzy, i.e. bland and predictable nor tell the majority what it wants to hear. Even when you've been proven right, you will rarely be cited as the originator of an insight or key concept. Your targets will mostly refuse to recognise your recommendations, no matter how glaring their own errors, simply because following them would counter their material or status interests. Being part of TNI means you have to learn patience and tenacity. Bluntly put, refusing to stay on the safe side like so many others will also keep you relatively poor.

This is why our funders are so important to us: they have had the vision to bet on us and their loyalty shows, I think, that they feel they have made a good choice. We intend to make sure they are not disappointed in future.

I cannot think of a time since we were founded when the world and its people have been in greater

danger and TNI's values of social justice, democratic practice, human rights and environmental sustainability under greater threat. The crises we've been living with for years are converging: environmental breakdown and climate change are creating huge new insecurities for the world's poorest and plans for new kinds of militarisation among the world's richest. Basic resources including food and water are scarcer and more expensive while land is stolen from its traditional tillers. Drugs still wreak havoc. Financial elites and transnational corporations remain virtually unchallenged and use their power to transform all nature into marketable commodities and capture remaining public services and even some governments. Europe, once a model of the socially attentive welfare state, is turning its back on democracy and constantly teetering on the brink of chaos. The poorest countries and the poorest people are left to their fate.

At TNI, we believe that despite the odds, we can and must help

to reduce these risks and fight these dangers; that accessible and relevant scholarship is a vital instrument in the struggle; that human emancipation is slow but sure and solidarity a precious resource.

With the help of our indispensable supporters, we shall face these challenges head on. As the German poet Hölderlin wrote, "where the greatest peril grows, there grows also that which saves".

SUSAN GEORGE
President of the TNI Board



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

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

2011 was marked by a sense of crisis, but also resistance to the measures being taken. Popular movements surged to the forefront worldwide, protesting the hollowing out of democracy that is a legacy of decades of neoliberal economic policy. TNI drew on its strong relationships within transnational networks to help push a countervailing power from below that might help shape a better world for us all.

FIONA DOVE
Executive Director TNI



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

As always when evaluating the year, I am at first astonished and then feel very proud at how much our small dedicated team is able to achieve in a year. The secret lies in the huge network of independent researchers, partners and allies around the world we can draw on and cooperate with to this end. Our thanks page at the end of the report gives a good sense of who and where they are. We acknowledge each and every one for their direct contribution to TNI's results in 2011.

The year was marked by a sense of crisis globally, felt perhaps most particularly in Europe and North America. The financial markets have been proving impossible to regulate, the

all-powerful financial sector too big to control. Popular outrage burst out spontaneously and infectiously with the Indignados in Spain, the Occupy Wall Street movement in the US. Soon spreading across the world. At the same time, of course, there was the Arab spring, which shook dubious regimes everywhere. All were rebelling against the sense of powerlessness ordinary people feel with the hollowing out of democratic processes. This is one legacy of the neo-liberal ideology that we have had to endure for so long.

As the crisis bit deeper in the US, and Europe went into terminal decline economically, there was much hype about the BRICS and other middle income countries

as emerging powers – tipping the world upside down. TNI initiated a 'think spring' to examine what was going on more closely, and the implications for the Global South (in the proper sense of the concept i.e. the poor of the world).

What we discerned was a few extremely rich companies (mainly mining and financial) engaged in an accelerated scramble for resources – grabbing land, water, energy, mineral resources across the South. They are able to do this safe in the knowledge that their investments are protected by the myriad of international treaties their governments have negotiated for them without regard for the greater public

interest. By year end – in the run-up to the Durban UN climate summit -- proposals emanating largely from the financial sector were advocating for the wholesale commodification of not just nature but her services. There is a new speculative market in the making. This will add to the noxious brew of already existing market-based instruments for making money out of the climate crisis, while doing very little to actually address the crisis.

TNI also took a peek at the opportunities that military and security industries are identifying for themselves in this brave new world. We have another 'think spring' looking into this.

Meanwhile, we drew some inspiration from the innovations in regional governance developed by Latin America countries. UNASUR was formally constituted and the Banco del Sur formally inaugurated in 2011. We also drew inspiration from the new movements, and from the countless communities organising and struggling to shape a better world for themselves.

Our fellowship and associated network is an invaluable resource for helping TNI frame the bigger context for our work. They help us make the connections, interrogate our assumptions and think ahead. We took up all of the above issues, and some more, in our programme in 2011.

The three inter-connected focuses of our current Economic Justice programme are corporate accountability, European trade and investment with the South, and alternatives in practice. These include questions of democratic governance, equitable provision of public goods and services, and social economies. The aim of the programme is to help build a countervailing power from below which can roll back the power of big business, re-orient trade and investment policy such that it serves the betterment of people and the environment, and thereby start to prise open the space so necessary if the public interest is to prevail.

In addition, we continue our long standing work on illicit drugs, and started renewed work on Burma. We constantly seek synergies across our projects – a common concern with land grabbing is proving an excellent bridge, for example.

TNI's modus operandus involves providing well researched information and analysis, facilitating spaces for exchange and coordination among movements transnationally and cross-sectorally, and advocating for alternatives. All the work is embedded in rich transnational networks of horizontal relationships. We operate in the nexus between activists, scholars and policy makers. This makes us a very special kind of activist research network, and one many scholar-activists would give their eye-teeth to work with, knowing that what

they do is both relevant and will hopefully make a difference in a way that is neither elitist nor assumes a superior knowledge.

While our focus is transnational public policy, TNI works at many linked levels. Our work on land, water and drugs policy, for example, involves engagement from grassroots to UN level and back again. We are starting to see measurable progress at the level of global policy and practice in each of these areas. Our work on trade, investment and alternative regionalism links activists from local to regional level. Again, we are starting to see some real breakthroughs at the regional policy level.

TNI underwent considerable organisational change in 2011. It was the first year of implementation of a common economic justice programme implemented under the umbrella of the 'Fair, Green and Global' (FGG) Alliance. The Alliance was forged at the initiative of TNI in a bid to (successfully) secure funding from the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation. It involves five complementary organisations also based in The Netherlands, with whom we harmonise much of our Economic Justice programme. The complex new arrangement required us to further professionalise our operations.

We worked with a number of organisational development consultants to help us get on a sustainable financial footing, and to put in place the support systems we need to do our work

better. We also overhauled our website, explored the potential of social media and began to experiment (surprisingly successfully) with e-books. We also renewed our fellowship and brought new blood into our extended Board. We said a sad farewell to six staff members, and welcomed four new colleagues. Others had their hours extended, leaving us with the equivalent of one less full time person than in 2010.

At the same time, our annual budget – and with it, our ambition – increased by 44% on 2010. The most significant grants in 2011 being public money from the Dutch Ministry for Development Cooperation and the European Commission, followed by the Open Society Institute. We ended the year with a 2% deficit, largely incurred by bad debts from previous years that we were forced to write off.

The funding future is not secured, however, for an institute like TNI in the current political climate. And we are alert to the need to broaden our funding base and defend our integrity as an independent organisation. We hope the results we report here will inspire you to help us with this.

Yours,
Fiona Dove, Director

Working in the public interest

Highlights of TNI's achievements in 2011

PROGRESS ON POLICY CHANGE

- The wave of national legal reforms in favour of harm reduction, decriminalisation and proportionality continues rolling – including in Uruguay, Argentina, Mexico, Ecuador, Brazil among a number of others. TNI has made a significant contribution to the trend. *See pages 41-47*
- Bolivia becomes the first country since the inception of the Single Convention on Drugs of 1961 to withdraw from the treaty, applying to rejoin with a provision that they exempt themselves from the provisions on the coca leaf. A number of Latin American and European governments back them. This is the first serious challenge to the out-dated international drug law treaties. TNI has been actively supporting Bolivia's efforts. *See page 41*
- The UNDP and UNICEF in India pledge long-term support for the participatory model of water management developed in Tamil Nadu by Reclaiming Public Water Network members, who are working to have it scaled-up nationally. *See page 12*
- The Dutch Parliament adopted an amendment to terminate the annual contribution of 1.2 million euros to the Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, in line with TNI/RPWN lobbying some years ago. *See page 13*

BEST PRACTICE

- Water utilities close to TNI's Reclaiming Public Water Network in Spain, the Netherlands, Morocco, Uruguay take the lead in serving third country public interests by seeking not-for-profit partnerships aimed at reforming ailing public companies elsewhere based on principles of transparency, accountability and participation of citizens and workers and the human right to water. *See pages 11-15*

VICTORIES

- After a three year campaign, the European Commission is forced to allow unanimous parliamentary ratification in European member states of the EU-Colombia Free Trade Agreement. Just one parliament can veto the agreement, which is heavily criticised due to the human rights situation in that country. *See page 21*

POSITIONS OF INFLUENCE

- In recognition of the constructive role TNI has played in shaping the new integrity policy of the International Steering Committee of UN-Habitat's Global Water Operator Partnerships, we now also participate in its newly established Integrity Sub-committee to help ensure that water operator partnerships adhere to the not-for-profit principle. *See page 13*
- TNI has earned a reputation for being the foremost critical policy research institute on international drugs policy, regularly co-hosting dialogues with 32 governments, providing advice to many and explicitly backed by three former Latin America presidents determined to push reform in the public interest. *See pages 41-47*

WITH THE PEOPLE

- The multi-stakeholder Reclaiming Public Water Network, which TNI co-founded and coordinates, has grown to 260 members in 41 countries since 2005 – including public utility representatives, consumer organisations, trade unions, professionals and activist organisations. *See page 11*
- TNI is the European anchor for two large bi-regional networks in Asia and Latin America, which represent hundreds of thousands of organised citizens concerned to re-orient trade, investment and regional integration in the public interest. *See pages 20-23*
- We work closely with mass movements such as the international trade union confederation, Public Services International, the international small farmers' federation la Vía Campesina, the multi-sectoral Hemispheric Social Alliance of the Americas and ASEAN People's Forum, among many others.

IN THE MEDIA

- Published, interviewed or cited on a wide range of contemporary issues in influential media across the world, including *FoxNews*, *Associated Press*, *The Guardian*, *Al Jazeera*, *CNN*, *Counterpunch*, *Guatemala Times*, *CNNplus*, *The Hindu*, *Taipei Times*, *Tehran Times*, *Diario Hoy* (Ecuador), *El Mundo* (Spain), *Báo Hoà Bình* (Vietnam).

PRODUCTIVE

- TNI published 35 reports, briefings and policy briefs in 2011, each crafted for a particular audience.
- TNI re-published 3 books as experimental e-books. *See pages 54-55*

IN DEMAND

- TNI distributed 20,000 publications in hard copy at meetings around the world
- 815 sources were downloaded from our main website 18,171 times, with our three e-books selling 1,622 copies.
- Google shows 241,000 results for TNI on the internet

COLLECTIVE WORK

- 339 individuals and 338 organisations directly contributed to TNI events and outputs in 2011 either as speakers, writers, researchers, organisers or being involved in the operations of the organisation. *See pages 52-53*

'In the right circumstances the private sector can improve in efficiency and management, but at high costs. PuPs generally have lower costs and greater focus on capacity building and equity, and have the potential to support more holistic approaches to urban services and the water cycle.'

A Comparative Evaluation of Public-Private and Public-Public Partnerships
for Urban Water Services in ACP countries, European Parliament
Director-General External Policies, Policy Department, 2010

BUILDING VIABLE ALTERNATIVES TO WATER PRIVATISATION

The struggle for water is essentially a struggle for democracy. The poor and voiceless remain excluded and solutions to the delivery of water and sanitation for all are fundamentally political rather than just technical. With over 90% of water services worldwide being delivered by the public sector, public water operators offer the largest pool of experience, expertise and good practices.

In 2011, TNI continued to help build viable alternatives to water privatisation, focusing on improving public utilities to make the human right to water a reality for everyone. TNI's work in this area is anchored in the Reclaiming Public Water Network. RPWN brings together 211 organisations from 40 countries – civil society activists, trade unionists, academics, water utility managers and engineers. It works to promote democratic, public models of water delivery as the best means of ensuring safe, affordable access to drinking water for all. TNI acts as the facilitating hub of the network, documenting and disseminating experiences, facilitating advocacy efforts and promoting solidarity globally.

This year each network partner contributed in their own way to creating a momentum towards people's alternatives achieving water for all.

COMMUNAL AQUEDUCTS BRIDGE THE DELIVERY GAP IN COLOMBIA

In Colombia, for example, RPWN partner CENSAT successfully established the National Network of Communal Aqueducts. Communal aqueducts (community-based water systems) are bridging the gap in water service delivery in rural areas where public authorities do not serve the population. The network emerged from local and regional workshops held to empower communities to run and improve their own water systems.

The communal aqueducts supply clean water and, in some cases, basic sanitation to the poorest communities. They offer a viable alternative to the government's privatisation and commercialisation policies. While CENSAT works very closely with communities, it also contributes to regional networks like the Platform for Public-Community Partnerships of the Americas and Red Vida, the Inter-American Network for the Defense of the Right to Water. CENSAT continues to advocate proper recognition of the value of communal aqueducts, and provides institutional, technical and financial support. The network also facilitates partnerships between communal aqueducts and public authorities.

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



SUCCESSES IN 2011

- RPW represented in the integrity committee of the GWOPA International Steering Committee. Integrity clause added to the WOPs guiding principles. RPW nominated to draft guideline for TAP principles.
- World WaterNet (Amsterdam) forming partnership to build capacity of smaller water utilities in Western Cape Region, South Africa.
- Dutch Parliament adopted amendment to terminate the annual contribution of 1.2 million euros to the Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility, in line with TNI/RPWN lobbying.
- National Network of Communal Aqueducts established in Colombia to bridge the gap in water service delivery in rural areas.
- Water Organisations Partnerships India was established, securing long-term support from UNICEF and UNDP India.
- National Association of Water Districts in the Philippines officially adopted policy of strengthening and improving public water service delivery and partnerships, and promoted RPWN's performance benchmarking capacity-building programme; partnership between labour and management aimed at improving community access to water.
- As result of Amrta Institute's high-quality work, Director Nila Ardhanie appointed to advisory board of city's public water authority. Privatisation a big issue in Indonesian media.

NATIONAL PARTNERSHIP PLATFORM LAUNCHED IN INDIA

In India, the Centre of Excellence for Change (CEC) successfully launched the Water Organisations Partnerships India at an international conference convened in Chennai in January. The CEC, which is based on new forms of partnerships between public authorities and rural communities in Tamil Nadu, successfully brought together water ministries and high-level public officials to scale up the initiative to national level. The partnership platform comprises public institutions and non-state actors, including community groups, from the drinking water and the water resource and irrigation sectors. UNICEF and UNDP India have committed to long-term support for the platform. At the Chennai conference, RPWN participants from outside India backed CEC's approach. David Hall, Director of PSIRU, provided strong evidence of why public-public partnerships are the way to tackle the water crisis in India and elsewhere. David Boys of Public Services International (PSI) stressed India's important role in mainstreaming not-for-profit partnerships nationally but also globally. Philipp Terhorst shared the experiences of the Platform for Public-Community Partnerships of the Americas.

STRENGTHENING PUBLIC WATER SERVICE DELIVERY IN THE PHILIPPINES

In the Philippines, meanwhile, the National Association of Water Districts (PAWD) officially adopted a policy of strengthening

and improving public water service delivery and partnerships at its national assembly in February. This was the result of advocacy work by RPWN partner Focus on the Global South. PAWD president Nestor P. Villasin participated in a series of joint activities and promoted the performance benchmarking capacity-building programme – a partnership between labour and management aimed at improving access to water for communities.

RESISTING PRIVATISATION IN JAKARTA

In Jakarta, RPWN partner Amrta Institute intensified its campaign to terminate the city's privatisation contract. It conducted critical research on the performance of private operators, worked with a broader NGO coalition to raise awareness among the general public and with trade unions to demand workers' rights, and developed an alternative post-privatisation model. Throughout the year, privatisation was a big issue in the Indonesian media and the Institute gave regular briefings to journalists, resulting in a substantial number of critical in-depth articles. In August, as a result of Amrta's high-quality work, Director Nila Ardhanie was appointed to the advisory board of the city's public water authority, PAM Jaya. Citizens and public authorities alike are increasingly dissatisfied with the private operators' performance, but power relations between operators and the authorities are significantly unbalanced, undermining the democratic space in which to discuss

alternative water policies. Amrta organised two public debates in June and August which were attended, for the first time, by high level officials and private water operators. The Institute produced two videos: Through the Empty Tap: Water Privatisation in Jakarta www.tni.org/video-through-empty-tap-water and Water Union Rally in Jakarta www.tni.org/video-water-union-rally.

RECLAIMING PUBLIC AND COMMUNITY WATER IN AFRICA

A seminar entitled 'Reclaiming Public and Community Water: Improving water supply through democratisation and Public-Public Partnerships' was held at the World Social Forum in Senegal in February. The seminar helped deepen understanding of the realities of water delivery in Africa, and highlighted experiences of community-public partnerships in Kenya and Cameroon. Under these arrangements, communities contribute their own labour while public authorities provide an initial investment and the necessary engineering expertise enabling communities to run and sustain improved water systems. Community-public partnerships like this have proven to be viable, low-cost solutions in many places. Meanwhile, the ambitious public utility partnership between the Moroccan and Mauritanian state water companies confirms the huge potential of public water operators to improve services through cooperation. ONEP, Morocco's public water utility has proved a key ally of the RPWN.

SAFEGUARDING WOPS AGAINST THE PROFIT MOTIVE

RPWN engages actively in the United Nations' Global Water Operators' Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA). RPWN is a member of its international steering committee. Water Operators' Partnerships (WOPs) are support arrangements between two or more water or sanitation operators, conducted on a not-for-profit basis with the objective of strengthening their capacity. WOPs do not exclude private operators as long as they follow the principles. Safeguarding WOPs from profit-seeking enterprises has therefore been an important priority for TNI. One of the main achievements in 2011 was the addition of an integrity clause to the WOPs guiding principles. An integrity sub-committee was also established within the GWOPA steering committee to ensure compliance with the not-for-profit principle. TNI and its partners will use this new tool effectively to monitor WOP projects, demand transparency and accountability in WOPs, and insist that financial institutions take a more inclusive approach in supporting public utilities.

HARNESSING THE POTENTIAL OF CIVIL SOCIETY

RPWN delegates participated in the GWOPA Congress in Cape Town, South Africa in March. At the congress, the RPWN and PSI co-hosted a thematic session on how participation by trade unions and civil societies can help WOPs succeed. Delegates presented on-the-ground experiences from India, Spain, Uruguay and Kenya, arguing that

active citizens' participation in water and sanitation initiatives is crucial to ensure sustainable improvements in water services for the poorest. Opening the 'Water TAP' (Transparency, Accountability and Participation) is key to improving the delivery of water and sanitation services, it was argued.

TNI worked closely with Waternet, Amsterdam's water company, in organising activities on WOPs as part of the first International Water Week held in Amsterdam from 29 October to 4 November. TNI coordinated a workshop on 'Participation in WOPs: Why and how to do it', and argued successfully for stakeholder participation in partnership projects. The Institute also worked on public outreach from the conference through the blogging site 'Resurrection of public water utilities' www.thebrokeronline.eu/Blogs/Resurrection-of-public-water-utilities

At the year end, there was positive news from the Netherlands. Parliament adopted an amendment to terminate the annual contribution of 1.2 million euros to the Public-Private Infrastructure Advisory Facility. The PPIAF is an agency connected to the World Bank that provides developing countries with

technical assistance to privatise their water supply. By supporting the amendment, the Dutch parliament endorsed a central principle in TNI's advocacy work on the PPIAF some years ago that water is a public service and the Netherlands should not subsidise its privatisation in poor countries.

SOLUTIONS THAT WORK

For decades, public services and the workers who provide them have been under attack. Powerful corporations and governments have relentlessly pushed for lower corporate taxes and more privatisation.

TNI Fellow Hilary Wainwright, a leading researcher and writer on democratic accountability, suggests that public service unions are uniquely positioned to challenge this anti-social agenda. Wainwright conducted research on the role of trade unions in developing successful alternatives to privatisation. The study documented cases in Brazil, Uruguay and South Africa where trade unions have played a distinctive role in halting the privatisation of water. It sought to understand how the unions went beyond their traditional bargaining agenda to take responsibility for the wider public benefit of the service. The strategies they



For decades, public services and the workers who provide them have been under attack. Powerful corporations and governments have relentlessly pushed for lower corporate taxes and more privatisation.

adopted have been taken up and proven effective in many more nations around the world.

The results of the study were presented in a chapter in 'Alternatives to Privatization: Public Options for Essential Services in the Global South' (see publications). The chapter is currently being used with Public Services International to produce a guide for their affiliates around the world on resisting privatisation.

PROMOTING PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IN LATIN AMERICA AND EUROPE

The ambitious Parlocal project was concluded in 2011 after the successful completion of a series of research and capacity development activities. Funded by the European Commission, it linked several local governments, universities and research centres from Latin America and Europe. The project was jointly coordinated by the provincial

governments of Malaga (Spain) and Paysandú (Uruguay), and the National Federation of Municipalities of the Dominican Republic (FEDOMU). Through the project, more than 40 local government officials and technical staff from six countries (Dominican Republic, Uruguay, Spain, Ecuador, Colombia and Brazil) graduated from a 16-month training programme in local governance and participatory democracy.

TNI Fellow Daniel Chavez was responsible for the project's Scientific Committee. He participated actively in the implementation of a training programme for local government officials, and produced several reports and book chapters. Three books and two video documentaries produced by the project are available for open access and may be downloaded at the Participatory Budgeting Information portal. www.infoop.org

Chavez was also involved with a project on participatory budgeting which resulted in a TNI co-published e-book, *Democracia participativa y modernización de los servicios públicos*. Based on a Europe-wide research project on local experiences of participatory budgeting. The book provides a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the dissemination –within the European context– of innovations in municipal governance first developed in Latin America. It looks at the extent to which participatory budgeting can contribute to the modernisation of public service delivery in Europe, in terms of broader and better access to essential services and greater democratisation and citizens' control.



Citizens of Jakarta march to the City Hall to demand that the governor reverse the privatisation of the water utility. Governor representatives who met with delegates agreed that an evaluation was necessary.

'The UN should go forward on strengthening human rights' obligations for TNCs. The Ruggie Guiding Principles do not take full account of human rights law for the area of business – and in particular for the regulation of TNCs. Moreover, in many respects they are a step backward compared to the standards set by the UN human rights system.'

Civil Society Statement to the UN Human Rights Council on the Final Report of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) on human rights and transnational corporations (May 2011)

CHALLENGING THE IMPUNITY OF CORPORATE POWER

Neo-liberal globalisation has seen an unprecedented extension of the power of transnational corporations (TNCs) in the past two decades. Big business has invested heavily in lobby efforts to persuade governments and international financial institutions to shape the global economic environment in ways conducive to their expansion and profit-making with minimal constraints.

This strategy has been successful as governments of mother countries argue favourable conditions of entry for their 'top sectors' in trade and investment negotiations, while host countries are prepared to put public goods and services on the global market, and to bend the rules on environmental and social standards to accommodate 'foreign direct investment'. Policy capture has extended to the construction of an architecture of impunity. This is enshrined in the frameworks of Free Trade Agreements and Bilateral Investment Treaties, upheld by the rules of the World Trade Organisation and the World Bank's International Court for the Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID), among other investment tribunals, and rein-

forced by the conditionalities of the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The power of big business now seems beyond the regulatory reach of governments. The global economic crisis of 2011 shone the spotlight on a few powerful private companies, particularly in the financial sector, and the extent to which governments are powerless to regulate their operations in the public interest.

BUILDING TOGETHER A GLOBAL CAMPAIGN

Corporations can – and frequently do – use the ICSID mechanism to take legal action against national states to protect their investments. States and civil societies, however, have few instruments at their disposal with which to rein in the power of TNCs.

In 2011, TNI and its partner networks took forward the six years of work with the Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) on Transnational Corporations by mooted a global campaign to address the systemic power of TNCs. The 45 cases examined by the PPT demonstrated clear patterns of impunity that went beyond any particular corporation to a more generalised modus operandus characterised by systematic violations of the rights of people and nature. These range from acute environmental destruction, to toxic pollution, displacement and dispossession of communities, destruction of livelihoods, denial of access to basic goods and services, violation of labour rights and assassination of workers and human rights defenders.

2011 marks the first year in TNI's new five-year programme focused on corporate power. TNI is playing a leading role in analysing the power of transnational corporations and the architecture of impunity within which they are able to operate.



SUCSESSES IN 2011

- The voluntary nature of the Ruggie Principles was challenged in view of the impunity with which transnational corporations are able to operate.
- Around 1,350 representatives of social movements – including farmers, trade unionists, women, students, academics, human rights campaigners and policy-makers – were reached directly through attendance at public fora and participation in other activities.
- Following consultations with organisations in Latin America, Africa and Europe, the building blocks were put in place for a global campaign to legally oblige transnational corporations to uphold social and environmental standards.

The starting point for the global campaign is that TNCs operate at global level, so the response must be global too. A two-pronged strategy has been proposed:

- to facilitate the convergence of a broad coalition of social movements and networks from around the world under the umbrella of a People's International Treaty
- to engage with international, regional and national policymakers regarding legally binding obligations to end the impunity of TNCs.

Throughout the year, TNI and its partners, many of which had also been involved in the PPT process, consulted with movements and networks in Africa, Asia, North America and Europe. Around 1,350 representatives of social movements – including farmers, trade unionists, women, students, academics, human rights campaigners and policymakers – were reached directly through attendance at public fora and participation in other activities. A further 1,000 leading activists received or downloaded TNI materials advocating options for a new global response to the untrammelled power of TNCs.

ENGAGING WITH POLICYMAKERS AT THE UN AND THE EU

In April-May, TNI, FIAN International, Via Campesina and member organisations of the Enlazando Alternativas lobbied the UN Human Rights Council in demanding that binding obligations be imposed on TNCs. They urged that binding obligations for TNCs be made central to the mandate of the newly constituted Working Group

on Business and Human Rights which replaced the office of the Special Representative of the Secretary General (SRSG). It is expected that this Working Group might undertake fact-finding missions. In July, TNI followed up by co-organising a public debate in Geneva on the limitations of the Guiding Principles on Corporate Social Responsibility drawn up by Special Rapporteur John Ruggie www.tni.org/obligations-tncs-un

MOVING THE CAMPAIGN FORWARD IN DURBAN

TNI co-organised with allies a series of events in Durban in December to coincide with the UN COP17 climate summit. They included an international forum which examined case studies in Africa and Latin America and discussed the need for codes to restrict the power of TNCs, as well as a strategy meeting with African networks on how to move forward in building the global campaign. www.tni.org/dismantling-tncs

THE TRUTH ABOUT PLAN B: CLIMATE CRISIS, SECURITY STATES AND DISASTER INDUSTRIES

Despite the positive spin about 'rescuing Kyoto', the message from the UN Climate Conference in Durban in December was loud and clear: the inter-governmental process had failed. Twenty years of multilateral negotiations have seen emissions rising by 36%, with national short-term economic interest trumping long-term human survival at every turn.

In December, TNI organised a seminar on the theme of 'Defying Dystopia: the Struggle against Climate Crisis, Security States and Disaster Industries'. It brought together a multidisciplinary team of experts – from civil liberty researchers to climate justice campaigners to arms trade activists – to share their perspectives on how social movements should prepare for the consequences of climate change, to study the forces looking to exploit these developments and to advance a progressive agenda that protects human and civil rights and promotes social and environmental justice.

The seminar shone a spotlight on the emergence of a 'military-industrial-security complex', which looks to increase corporate and military control over key resources at a time of perceived scarcity and instability from which it seeks to profit. The seminar papers are being turned into a book and complementary series of papers to be published online.

BRINGING TOGETHER MEPs AND SOCIAL ACTIVISTS

During a hearing in the European Parliament in November, representatives of affected communities from Latin America, Asia and Africa presented case studies demonstrating TNCs' violations of human rights. They challenged the Ruggie principles as limited in actual situations where these violations occur, and urged MEPs to take stronger action towards supporting the need for binding mechanisms to hold TNCs legally accountable for such violations. The hearing, facilitated by TNI and hosted by the GUE/NGL (left) political group, provided an opportunity for new voices from the South to be heard on these issues and strengthened relations with GUE/NGL and Green MEPs.



Occupy Demonstration in Brussels on 15 October 2011

'Bilateral Investment Treaties and investment chapters in the Free Trade Agreements are part of an architecture of impunity for transnational corporations and as such undermine the sovereignty and constitutions of both developed and developing countries, democratic governance and peoples' interests.'

Call for an Alternative Investment model, Week of Action on Investment
(Brussels, 6 November 2011)

DEMANDING FAIRER RULES FOR TRADE AND INVESTMENT

In cooperation with others in the 'Seattle-to-Brussels' (S2B) European trade network, as well as other partners in both the North and the South, TNI brings together researchers and activists to critically assess the EU's trade and investment agreements and develop people-based alternatives.

In 2011, the focus of the campaign was on stopping ratification of the free trade agreements (FTAs) with Colombia and Peru, and on developing resources and knowledge to respond to far-reaching changes in the European Commission's investment policy.

COLOMBIA AND PERU: MIXED AGREEMENTS?

Under EU regulations, FTAs only need to be ratified by individual member states if they are declared 'mixed', i.e. they also contain provisions that are 'non-commercial'. Negotiations on the FTAs for Colombia and Peru formally closed in March 2010, but they still have to be approved by the European Parliament (and National Parliaments, if declared mixed) before they can come into force.

The campaign to stop the FTAs therefore concentrated on getting the agreements declared 'mixed' and mobilising national and European parliamentarians not to ratify them on human rights grounds. In March, TNI published a policy brief entitled 'Time for Europe to put values and human rights above commercial advantage', making the case for why the EU-Colombia/Peru Free Trade Agreements should not be ratified. According to the brief, the negotiated text of the agreements contained provisions that are not part of the European Commission's investment policy. These included clauses on disarmament, democracy and the environment. This then provided a legal basis for the agreements to be considered

mixed. The brief also documented human rights abuses in Colombia, including extra-judicial killings of trade unionists and violations of indigenous rights. The position was endorsed by a large number of organisations involved in the campaign and translated into Spanish and French (www.tni.org/EU-Colombia-Peru-FTA). The campaign garnered support among members of the European Parliament, with MEPs from Germany, the UK and Ireland submitting motions demanding that the agreements with Colombia and Peru be declared mixed and referring to human rights abuses in particular.

By the end of 2011, the European Commission was ready to rule that the Colombia and Peru

TNI challenges how the European Union's free trade and investment agreements consolidate the power of European corporations at the expense of local industries and small scale farmers in the South. These agreements reduce the space for sovereign public policymaking in poorer countries and regions, damage employment and livelihoods, and increase social inequality and poverty. TNI plays a leading role in bi-regional campaigns to expose the impacts of these agreements and to advocate for alternatives.



'In my draft report, I have taken up several of the points you raise in your petition and briefing document. ... I believe the result has been more than satisfactory, given the political constellation of the EP. The report clearly sets a first step towards the necessary reforms of investment policy and the S&D group will defend this line for the vote in April.'

Kader Arif, S&D (Socialists and Democrats) group, Rapporteur on the Resolution on the future EU investment policy (2011).

SUCCESSFUL LOBBY TOUR BY COLOMBIAN ACTIVISTS

In March, four delegations of representatives from Colombian trade unions and civil society organisations toured the UK, Germany, Hungary, Austria, Spain, France, Belgium, the Netherlands, the Czech Republic and Italy. They drew attention to the human rights situation in Colombia and the socio-economic impacts of the FTA with Colombia. They called on European politicians not to ratify the agreement. The tour, coordinated by TNI, was considered a major success by participants from Colombia and organisations involved in Europe. It was the first concerted pan-European effort to advocate for the non-ratification of the EU-Colombia FTA.

agreements are mixed and will need to be ratified by all 27 EU member states in 2012. The focus of the campaign has now shifted to encouraging national governments not to ratify. It would take only one national government to veto the agreements.

RESPONDING TO CHANGES IN THE EU'S INVESTMENT POLICY

The 2009 Lisbon Treaty introduced a number of changes to the European Union's policy on international investment. Under the new rules, competences to protect foreign investments by European companies would be transferred from national states to the European Union. Member states would no longer be able sign their own Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) with other countries.

The proposals met with resistance from member states unwilling to surrender their right to sign their own BITs. There was also a lot of uncertainty about the status of the 1,300 agreements already in force. In 2010, the European Commission ruled that the existing BITs would remain valid, but that future agreements would be negotiated and agreed at Union level, as part of the negotiations on new Free Trade Agreements.

TNI, together with several members of the Seattle-to-Brussels network, conducted a critical analysis of the new investment policy and initiated a campaign of advocacy and awareness-raising to draw attention to the implications of the new policy in Europe and around the world.

In April 2011, a watershed moment was reached – after a year of lobbying MEPs and EC representatives – when the European Parliament voted on a resolution on future investment policy. In the run-up to the vote, TNI and its S2B partners concentrated on influencing MEPs in an attempt to ensure that the parliamentary resolution would call for a policy that would hold international investors accountable and protect the right of states to regulate and develop policies that would be in the public interest and promote decent work, human rights and sustainability.

In March, over 3,000 people signed an online petition published in six European languages calling for 'No New Corporate Privileges - Change EU Investment Policy Now!'. A subsequent statement calling for a just EU investment

policy was endorsed by 114 EU civil society organisations, three international networks and 65 non-EU organisations. The petition and the statement were sent to 736 MEPs on 4 April.

The statements and briefings produced by S2B were well received by MEPs from the Greens and GUE factions, and several MEPs sent detailed replies in which they acknowledged and agreed with many of the arguments.

Although the final text of the European Parliament's resolution did not go as far as was hoped, it did reflect some of the concerns voiced by TNI and S2B. The fact that the resolution distanced itself from the Council conclusions of October 2010 can be seen as an achievement resulting from the efforts to promote a more balanced EU investment policy.

WEEK OF ACTION FOR AN ALTERNATIVE INVESTMENT REGIME

In the second half of the year, the priority shifted to raising awareness outside Europe about the new investment policy, linking up with movements and networks world-wide.

The focal point of this effort was a Week of Action in Brussels in November. The action was co-organised by S2B, the Network for Justice in Global Investment, the EU-ASEAN FTA network, the Campaign against BITs and ICSID Latin America, the Hemispheric Social Alliance and Enlazando Alternativas. It brought together experts on investment and

activists from around the world campaigning on special cases relating to foreign investment.

The four-day programme included a forum presenting critical analyses of the international investment regime and exploring alternatives. strategy sessions, a debate with the European Commission, a session in the European Parliament, and an expert meeting

The programme helped to catalyse a qualitative jump in thinking on alternatives. This was reflected in the launch of a *Call for an Alternative Investment Model* (available in English, Spanish and French), in November, subsequently endorsed by 92 organisations and 7 transnational networks over the next month. During the public sessions and

lobby meetings, MEPs and representatives from the European Commission and Council were presented with evidence of the damaging effects of the EU's investment policy. They were urged to support a normative and binding regulatory mechanism for addressing the excesses of TNCs. Commission representatives found themselves having to publicly defend why the EU promotes a trade and investment model that exclusively seeks to satisfy the interests of European corporations and undermines the living conditions of people both in Europe and in the South.

The Week of Action established a basis for continuing the global campaign against the EU's investment regime.

Legalised Profiteering? How corporate lawyers are fuelling an investment arbitration boom

In 2011, TNI and the Corporate Europe Observatory started to expose the secretive and lucrative world of international investment arbitration. This briefing paper, published in November 2011, shows how international investment arbitration has enriched a small coterie of multi-billion dollar international firms and investment lawyers. www.tni.org/legalised-profiteering



SUCSESSES IN 2011

- The position and recommendations contained in TNI's policy brief on EU FTAs with Colombia and Peru were endorsed by a broad range of organisations in Europe, including powerful trade unions, helping to consolidate a common position against ratification of the EU-Colombia FTA and a common basis for national advocacy strategies towards parliaments.
- Significant attention was drawn to the controversies regarding these FTAs, resulting in the European Council of Ministers forcing the European Commission to declare the FTA 'mixed' and therefore subject to ratification by national parliaments of all 27 member states.
- Statements and briefings produced by S2B were well received by MEPs from the Greens and GUE factions, and several MEPs sent detailed replies in which they acknowledged and agreed with many of the arguments.
- A petition calling for a just EU investment policy was endorsed by 114 EU civil society organisations, three international networks and 65 non-EU organisations, and sent to 736 MEPs.
- A European Parliament resolution on investment policy distanced itself from the Council conclusions of 2010 and reflected some of the concerns voiced by TNI and S2B.
- The Call for an Alternative Investment Model issued in November was endorsed by 92 organisations and 7 transnational networks.

'The economic crisis that began in 2007 had its origins in the neoliberal economic model of the industrialised countries. [...] In this context, regional integration schemes are of renewed historical importance both to face the repercussions of the economic crisis at the local level, as to generate an autonomous development model that adapts itself to the realities of the region.'

Foreign Policy Magazine of the Ecuadorian Ministry of Foreign Affairs,
Trade and Integration, October 2011

SUPPORTING REGIONAL COOPERATION FOR ALTERNATIVES

In 2011, TNI continued its efforts to broaden the base of social actors engaged in political debate and action to democratise regional integration and advance policies that privilege the interests of ordinary people and their environments rather than simply big business.

One means is the People's Agenda for Alternative Regionalisms initiative (PAAR), which TNI anchors for partners in Latin America, Asia and Southern Africa. It provides a space for activists from regional alliances of civil society organisations and the bigger social movements they are a part of to discuss experiences of critical engagement with regional integration processes and exchange strategies for the development of regional alternatives.

PAAR offers a web portal (www.alternative-regionalisms.org) for relevant materials and information on the state of affairs in each region. Under the umbrella of PAAR in 2011, nine seminars and two regional

people's summits were convened by TNI and partners. A total of 2,240 participants representing civil society groups and social movements, including farmers, women, students, academics, trade unionists and parliamentarians, were directly reached by these activities. More than 12,700 people received or downloaded articles, reports and videos on regional integration and alternatives through the TNI website or via e-lists.

A NEW REGIONAL FINANCIAL ARCHITECTURE FOR LATIN AMERICA

In Latin America, attention is centred on the Union of South American States (UNASUR). UNASUR was legally constituted in March 2011 following the

ninth parliament ratifying the constitutive treaty, with a further three others doing so by mid-year. CSOs and social movements in Latin America see UNASUR as a new and lively process as compared to the Andean Community (CAN) or Mercosur, which failed to respond regionally to the global economic crisis. Innovative regional proposals have emerged within UNASUR. TNI believes early engagement by civil society is crucial to assure that these initiatives favour ordinary people and are not environmentally destructive.

One clear focus of attention has been the proposal by the Ecuadorian government for a debate on a New Regional Financial Architecture (NRFA).

The Alternative Regionalisms project aims at promoting environmentally sustainable, people-centred alternatives at regional level in Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. TNI works with movements cooperating regionally, helping to facilitate the exchanges of ideas and experiences both within and across the regions.





SUCSESSES IN 2011

- 2,240 people from a range of social sectors in five regions of the world participated directly in the activities of the TNI Alternative Regionalisms project in 2011.
- Materials were downloaded 12,700 times, often being reposted to other sites or reproduced in progressive magazines.
- Concrete proposals shared and promoted included new regional financial architecture initiatives in Latin America and an ASEAN Protocol on Freedom of Information for citizens of South East Asia.
- Regional networks in Asia and Latin America have consolidated, holding annual gatherings, and being actively engaged with regional inter-governmental bodies – particularly ASEAN, UNASUR, SARCC – on specific regional proposals.
- TNI and its allies were the only grouping to publicly engage the EC in debates in Brussels about economic governance, and to consistently highlight the fundamentally undemocratic nature of the moves afoot

In the context of the financial crisis, the proposal was welcomed by a large spectrum of civil society organisations. The debate gained momentum when UNASUR 's Council of Economy and Finances met for the first time in August in Peru . And again in December when the Banco del Sur (Bank of the South) could be formally launched following decisive ratification by Uruguay, the fifth parliament of the seven founding countries to do so.

As a contribution to articulating clear and concrete proposals, TNI organised two regional seminars on NRFA. One was held during the UNASUR Council of Economy and Finances in Argentina in August, where a civil society statement, signed by 15 regional organisations and more than 40 national organisations, was presented to UNASUR's Finance Ministers and Presidents of Central Banks of UNASUR. The other was held during the Mercosur Summit in Montevideo in December. For these, TNI published an interview on the New International Financial Architecture and a draft report on the NRFA with Pedro Paez, Plenipotentiary Ambassador for the Ecuadorian Government.

FREEDOM OF INFORMATION IN SOUTH EAST ASIA

The Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) is the focus of the project in South East Asia. In May, the ASEAN People's Forum (APF) – as the main forum of civil society organisations concerned with regional matters – met alongside the 18th formal ASEAN Summit held this year in Jakarta.

During his opening speech, Dr Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono, President of Indonesia and current chair of ASEAN, acknowledged the importance of the participation of civil society. He promised ... 'to promote constructive dialogue and establish stronger partnership and active collaboration with civil society in various sectors of cooperation. We welcome the initiative of civil societies in ASEAN that is making a robust contribution to ASEAN Community building.'

The ASEAN People's Forum took him at his word, crafting a declaration calling upon ASEAN leaders and governments to promote a genuinely people-centred ASEAN and presenting them with demands of people's movements and civil society struggles in the region. The declaration included proposals on environment and climate change, development, social justice,

trade, finance, peace, consumer protection, human rights, sex work/prostitution and HIV/AIDS.

A key issue that has emerged from the movements of South East Asia is a focus on Freedom of Information (FOI) – the recognition of freedom of information as a human right in the region and the adoption of an information policy by ASEAN. This was identified as an issue which could present sufficient opportunities to be won at regional rather than national level. TNI's key partner in the region, Focus on the Global South, brought together several groups to prepare a proposal for an ASEAN Protocol on Freedom of Information. The discussions led to the creation of a Task Force on ASEAN FOI, which has requested basic information from ASEAN bodies concerned with human rights and from the Association's leadership.

MAXIMISING OPPORTUNITIES TO PROMOTE CROSS-REGIONAL COOPERATION

TNI and its partners took advantage of several major international events in 2011 to bring researchers and activities together from different regions to discuss alternative regional solutions to the global crisis.

At the World Social Forum in Senegal in February, 40 participants from around the world attended a seminar entitled 'From Crisis to Opportunity: De-globalisation Strategies and Regional Alternatives'.

At the ASEAN People's Forum in Jakarta in May, a workshop on 'Regional Economic and Financial Cooperation Amidst Crisis: Initiatives in Asia, Latin America and Europe' examined whether regional solutions offer progressive and fair alternatives to the failures of the global financial system. The participants urged ASEAN to adopt a more independent stance in respect of the international financial institutions and work towards a more regional economic and development framework. Oscar Urigateche, from Peru, said that South America has been asserting its independence from IMF-designed financial programmes and could be a source of learning for the ASEAN region.

See www.alternative-regionalisms.org/?page_id=244 for reports on these events and videos of the Jakarta workshop.

THE EU CRISIS POCKET GUIDE

In response to an urgent need for understandable public information on what was causing the EU financial crisis, TNI produced a popular pocket guide. It shows how a crisis made in Wall Street was made worse by EU policies and how it has enriched the 1% to the detriment of the 99%. It outlines some possible solutions that prioritise people and the environment above corporate profits. The publication garnered 1,710 unique page views and approximately 2,500 print copies have been distributed at Occupy and Indignados camps in Amsterdam, London and Spain, as well as schools and universities. Available in English, Spanish and Dutch at www.tni.org/crisis-pocket-guide.





A COUP D'ETAT IN THE EUROPEAN UNION?

The deepening political and economic crisis in Europe in 2011 demanded attention from TNI. The focus was on challenging key components of the European Commission's efforts to transfer powers of economic governance away from EU member states to Brussels. TNI mobilised well informed intellectuals from across the EU to provide the public with the necessary information and analysis about the economic and democratic implications of the EC's plans, and stimulated debate on alternative responses to the crisis.

For decades, TNI has been at the forefront of criticisms of the debt trap, structural adjustment, and undemocratic and anti-social economic governance imposed on the South by the North. In 2011, the peoples of Europe found themselves subject to similar policies in the wake of the financial crisis.

Throughout the year, TNI and its partners sought to provide an alternative source of information, analysis and propositions to the mainstream, and often confusing, discourse dominating the media.

A public debate was organised in Brussels and livestreamed on the internet, follow up interviews were broadcast, and papers, briefings and pocket books produced and disseminated. As part of this effort, TNI also sought to support the new social movements rising largely spontaneously across Europe in protest at the official responses to the crisis.

DEBATING EUROPE: ECONOMIC GOVERNANCE FOR PEOPLE OR FOR THE BANKS?

In partnership with Corporate Europe Observatory and the European Attac Network, TNI organised a public debate in Brussels in October between the European Commission's Economic and Financial Affairs Committee and some respected political economists. A richly pluralistic audience of around 50 people attended, including trade unionists, social activists, parliamentarians, journalists and even representatives of the banking sector. Presentations were made available online in video form at www.tni.org/people-or-banks and additional interviews with speakers at: www.tni.org/perspectives-eu-crisis. A follow-up interview broadcast by TNI can be viewed at www.tni.org/mercozy-deal

In the run-up to the debate, TNI produced a paper entitled 'EU Economic Governance: Which Ways Forward?', available at www.tni.org/eu-ways-forward and reposted in *Spectrezine*. TNI also published a policy brief Governing the EU: Critical Perspectives and Alternative Solutions to the Eurozone Crisis, which provides a thorough critique of the six-pack rules and is available at www.tni.org/files/eu-economic-governance-1.pdf. A version of one of the articles featured in the policy brief, 'The Euro: Break or Remake' by Kenneth Haar, was published in Red Pepper, a popular British magazine.

An article by TNI's Susan George, 'A Coup d'Etat in the European Union?', discussed the six-pack measures, calling them 'a far-reaching takeover of individual countries' capacity to set their own budgets and to manage their own sovereign debts'. Available in English and Spanish at www.tni.org/coup-detat-eu, the article attracted 1,722 page views when it was published.

RESPECT MIGRANT WORKERS

TNI was a founding member of the RESPECT Network Europe, which campaigns for the rights of migrant domestic workers. See www.respectnetworkeu.org/.

In June, a major milestone was reached for the campaign – for the first time, the International Labour Organisation (ILO) recognised domestic work as work and domestic workers as an integral part of the formal workforce. Convention 189 has still to be ratified by member states.

Meanwhile at the end of November, TNI co-organised the People's Global Action (PGA) for Migration, Development and Human Rights in Geneva on 29 November- 2 December. Undertaken as a joint effort with Migrant Rights International, the Transnational Migrant Platform and Migrant Forum Asia, the PGA also brought together human rights and trade union organisations from different regions of the world. The inter-governmental Global Forum on Migration and Development subsequently recognised the PGA as a significant and expanding global civil society space able to effectively interface with governments.

DEVELOPING THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

TNI co-sponsored the conference 'Beyond the Social Economy, Capitalism's Crises and the Solidarity Economy Alternative' in Johannesburg in October. The conference was organised by the Cooperative and Policy Alternative Centre (COPAC), a research and education organisation working with grassroots activists across South Africa. It aimed to draw on international and local experience to develop the solidarity economy in theory and practice as one transformative solution to South Africa's deepening problems of poverty, inequality, environmental destruction and weak, and increasingly corrupt politics. It was also a response to the conservative appropriation of the concept of 'social economy', often reduced to a precarious palliative in the face of social dislocation caused by economic crisis.

The conference brought together a wide range of academics and activists from South Africa and the world, including from cooperatives, community organisations, and social movements. They discussed the role of the state in supporting the solidarity economy; the significance of values, alternative culture and popular education in assuring cohesion and capacity; how to create networks between enterprises and across chains of production and distribution; the role of new communication and information technologies in extending the scope of the solidarity economy; and the importance of showing that it is possible to work for the good of others without being exploited.

The discussions drew on a rich combination of experiences including the well networked solidarity economy of Brazil; the alternative, worker-monitored funding strategy in Argentina; the experience of social centres in Italy as bases of resistance and economic alternatives; and the links between campaigns for food security and the economic alternatives to globalised agri-business. The case of Mineline, an occupied factory in Johannesburg, was a vivid illustration of the importance of recognising the solidarity economy as having a distinct and transformative dynamic from the social economy, and the obstacles that such a radical alternative is often up against.

Results ranged from the beginnings of a National Solidarity Economy and Movement Forum, a newsletter to share solidarity economy practices and news from below, a book that would be an educational tool, to public policy demands for a workers cooperative act and support programme.

TNI Fellow Hilary Wainwright presented one of the framework setting papers which was later included as a chapter in the follow-up book.

'True to the Commission's usual quietly efficient methods, these permanent six-pack measures went through the whole approval procedure with barely a ripple, little debate and virtually zero citizen involvement. Most Europeans have not the slightest inkling that any change has taken place, much less a savage attack on their governments' capacity to govern.'

Susan George, *Counterpunch*, 14-16 October 2011

'It has been several years since private investors and states began buying and leasing millions of hectares of farmland worldwide in order to secure their domestic supply of food, raw commodities, and biofuels, or to get subsidies for carbon storage through plantations. Western investors, including Wall Street banks and hedge funds, now view direct investments in land as a safe haven in an otherwise turbulent financial climate.'

Olivier de Schutter, UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, 'Responsibly Destroying the World's Peasantry', 2010 – response to Principles for Responsible Agricultural Investment, proposed by the World Bank and others.



EXPOSING LAND GRABBING

Land grabbing is not a new phenomenon, but it has taken on unprecedented proportions in recent years. Fuelled by the global financial and economic crises, there has been a rush to access agricultural land in the South, the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

These lands are used to grow crops, especially for agrofuels and increasingly for agroenergy, or to extract natural resources. This rush for land, driven largely by corporations and facilitated by governments, is undermining local food security, destroying the natural environment and causing conflict, while those who protest against it are in danger of being criminalised.

HANDS OFF THE LAND

In April, the 'Hands off the Land' project was launched to raise awareness in Europe of the land grabbing phenomenon worldwide. Partners in the project are TNI, the Food First International Action Network (FIAN) International Secretariat, FIAN branches in the Netherlands, Germany and

Austria, FDCL (Germany) and the Institute of Global Responsibility (Poland). Case studies on land grabbing in five countries in the South are being prepared together with La Vía Campesina member organisations in Mali (CNOP), Zambia (CUTS) and Mozambique (UNAC), as well as Justicia y Paz (Colombia) and Focus on the Global South (on Cambodia) to provide the campaign with a solid empirical base.

In the Netherlands, TNI co-organised awareness-raising and lobbying activities, invited speakers from partner countries and commissioned a study and fact sheet about Dutch involvement in the Global Land Grab.

At European level, the project is producing a wide range of publications, including fact sheets, study papers and policy briefs. TNI was responsible for many of these, including an overall framework paper for the project and a fact sheet pinpointing EU programmes and policies that contribute to land grabbing – for example, its policies on trade and biofuels and the Everything But Arms programme. It also commissioned a paper on positive alternative investments focusing on the importance of supporting small-scale producers, who are already the main investors in agriculture. The paper provides evidence of how promoting these initiatives can be a successful alternative to large corporate investment. www.tni.org/lines-fisheries-forests

TNI's Agrarian Justice project helps campaigns by grassroots agrarian movements at national and transnational levels to more effectively expose and resist policies and practices, such as land and water grabbing, that are detrimental to rural poor people. It also develops and promotes alternative concepts, policies, and practices such as food sovereignty, land and water sovereignty and agro-ecological farming systems.

In the Netherlands, TNI co-organised awareness-raising and lobbying activities, invited speakers from partner countries and commissioned a study and fact sheet about Dutch involvement in the Global Land Grab.

VOLUNTARY GUIDELINES ON LAND TENURE

In 2011, TNI continued to be closely involved in the process of formulating voluntary guidelines on land tenure, forests and fisheries. This process, led by the FAO Committee on Food Security (CFS), has been unfolding for more than two years. It is the most advanced effort yet to establish global principles for governing land, a key advocacy of organisations like FIAN, La Vía Campesina and the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC) since the early 2000s. The CFS was reformed in 2009 to allow for full participation of civil society organisations (CSOs), and the voluntary guidelines process is the most consultative to date, with active CSO participation at regional and global level.

The civil society delegation was both broad and deep, with social movement organisations representing different groups, including peasants, indigenous peoples, fishers, pastoralists, etc. and a wide range of NGOs, from large global players like Oxfam and ActionAid to smaller national organisations. The process gave these widely varying actors the opportunity to forge alliances.

The guidelines were due to be finalised in a plenary meeting of the CFS working group in July. During the CSO preparations for this session, TNI provided technical support and helped anchor the work specifically on the land tenure change and

investment sections of the draft document. This entailed proposing alternative wording where necessary, drawing up a document that civil society delegates could use to try and shape the final document in plenary meetings, and providing civil society spokespeople with on-the-spot analysis during thematic and plenary sessions.

With individual governments, the World Bank and large agribusinesses also represented in the plenary sessions, the CSO delegation was faced with a formidable task. When the July talks proved inconclusive, TNI helped strengthen the civil society delegation for the following round in October by supporting the participation of three additional participants: from FIAN Netherlands, Radio Mundo Real in Uruguay, and China Agricultural University. TNI also took on a more pro-active role in helping to coordinate CSO interventions in the plenary sessions.

The October negotiations also closed without agreement being reached on a final document. The expanded Voluntary Guidelines on Responsible Governance of Tenure for Land, Fisheries and Forests were eventually adopted at a Special Session of the CFS in May 2012, after a third round of negotiations in March. Although the outcome was a compromise document, the CSO effort was successful in ensuring that the Voluntary Guidelines process was kept separate from the World Bank- led process of developing Principles on

Responsible Agricultural Investment. A further major achievement, despite considerable resistance from a number of member states, was getting the document embedded in a human rights framework, with explicit references to the various important UN human rights documents.

TNI felt that its contribution to CSO involvement in the process showed it to be a reliable ally for radical movements and networks on the land and agrarian front specifically, but also more broadly. It can bring not only much needed technical expertise on land issues but also a clear radical perspective, and navigate its way through the complex political dynamics of broad civil society engagements.

NYÉLÉNI COMES TO EUROPE

In August, a TNI delegation attended the Nyéléni Europe 2011 forum for food sovereignty in Krems, Austria. The Nyéléni initiative dates back to the first forum for food sovereignty in Mali in 2007. Nyéléni was a woman farmer in Mali who fought for recognition and became the symbol of the struggle for food security in the country and beyond. The initiative has evolved into a critique of neoliberal politics, offering an alternative framework for organising food and agricultural policies. The first Nyéléni Europe forum brought together a broad spectrum of organisations and movements active on a wide range of issues including land-use and tenure, small-scale

producers, food security, GM foods, agroecology and global commons. For the first time, representatives from many Central and Eastern European countries attended, giving them an opportunity to meet longer-term campaigners from around the world and widening the issues under discussion to include the EU Common Agricultural Policy and the TRIPS agreement on intellectual property rights. Refreshingly, the forum was also attended by a high proportion of young people, including students, activists and others concerned about food security and other related issues.

TNI sent a delegation to Krems as part of the NGO constituency and took part in the various thematic workshops, including one on land which alone attracted some 70 participants. The broad representation and sheer numbers of attendees made the forum a symbolic watershed moment in the campaign for progressive strategies on food security, agrarian justice and the many related issues. www.nyelenieurope.net/en/

PROTECTING THE HUMAN RIGHT TO WATER

One issue that fell by the wayside during the negotiations on the voluntary guidelines was the associated phenomenon of ‘water grabbing’. As the global water crisis intensifies, there is growing recognition of the water dimension of land grabbing. Water is an essential element in agriculture, fisheries and

forestry, as well as food security, hygiene and sanitation, and there is a parallel rush to secure access to water resources, not just for agriculture, but also for other uses, including hydropower development and fracking. In 2011, TNI and its close allies stepped up their focus on water as a key component of their work on agrarian justice. In response to a request from partner La Vía Campesina, TNI prepared a primer on water grabbing to bring together thinking on the issue, how it is impacting on livelihoods and environments, and what can be done to protect the human right to water. The primer is due to be published in March 2012.

RESISTING ‘RESPONSIBLE AGRICULTURAL INVESTMENT’

In October, as an initial step towards a series of country-level cases to maintain the evidence-based anchor of its land

grabbing work, TNI published a paper on a biofuel project in the Philippine province of Isabela. The project, which involves converting prime agricultural land to the monoculture of sugarcane, would impact heavily on local livelihoods and divert natural water sources to this water-intensive crop. Although the project appears to fit the World Bank’s definition of a win-win scenario, promising jobs and conversion of ‘idle’ land, the paper exposes the corporate manipulation, political corruption and exploitation of subsistence farmers typical of such ‘responsible agricultural investment’. Sugarcane is an example of a ‘flexcrop’, which can be directed for a variety of uses, depending on market conditions. In Isabela, although cane is officially being grown for biofuel, capacity to produce ethanol is still limited and it is being sold to sugar centrals. www.tni.org/project-isabela

LAND GRABBING WIDESPREAD IN LATIN AMERICA

In 2011, the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation (FAO) commissioned an empirical study of land grabbing in 17 countries in Latin America and the Caribbean. Researchers from TNI and the international Institute of Social Studies (ISS) provided the framework for the cross-national study and published a paper on its findings in December. Its main finding was that land grabbing is more widespread on the continent than was previously thought and is likely to expand further and gather pace in the near future. www.tni.org/landgrab-perspectives



SUCCESSES IN 2011

- ‘Hands Off the Land’ public education campaign launched with allies
- Contributed to evidence-based argumentation on land grabbing and vested EU corporate interests
- Voluntary Guidelines on Responsible Governance of land tenure, fisheries and forests adopted at the FAO’s Committee on Food Security were embedded in a human rights framework, with explicit references to the various important UN human rights documents.
- The issue of water grabbing was put firmly on the agenda of social movements and UN agencies

As the global water crisis intensifies, there is growing recognition of the water dimension of land grabbing. Water is an essential element in agriculture, fisheries and forestry, as well as food security, hygiene and sanitation, and there is a parallel rush to secure access to water resources, not just for agriculture, but also for other uses, including hydropower development and fracking.

HUNGER, FOOD AND (AGROECOLOGICAL) ALTERNATIVES

In the last week of December, TNI co-organised a day-long seminar entitled *Hunger, Food and (Agroecological) Alternatives*. The seminar, at the Institute for Social Studies in The Hague, included presentations by a number of leading researchers in the food sovereignty debate and attracted some 200 participants from the Netherlands and neighbouring countries. It was also attended by Olivier de Schutter, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food. The seminar was followed up by a public forum at the University of Amsterdam the following evening, at which Tony Weiss, Miguel Altieri and Eric Holt-Gimenez engaged in discussion with around 40 activists and students.

See www.iss.nl/research/networks_and_projects/critical_agrarian_studies_icas/icas_colloquium/hunger_food_agroecological_alternatives/ for Powerpoint presentations and video clips.

SUGAR AND ETHANOL

In October, TNI and Milieudefensie (Friends of the Earth, Netherlands) co-published an English translation of *A Monopoly on Ethanol Production in Brazil*, a report on the merger between Brazilian company COSAN, which has a monopoly on sugar and ethanol production in the country, and the multinational oil corporation Shell. The new company, Raizen, was the first company in Brazil to be awarded the Bonsucro (Better Sugar) standard, ostensibly guaranteeing that its sugar cane production has a minimal impact on the environment. The report concludes, however, that the expansion of sugarcane monoculture is causing widespread appropriation of natural resources, causing pollution of land and water and threatening livelihoods. www.tni.org/sugarcane-brazil

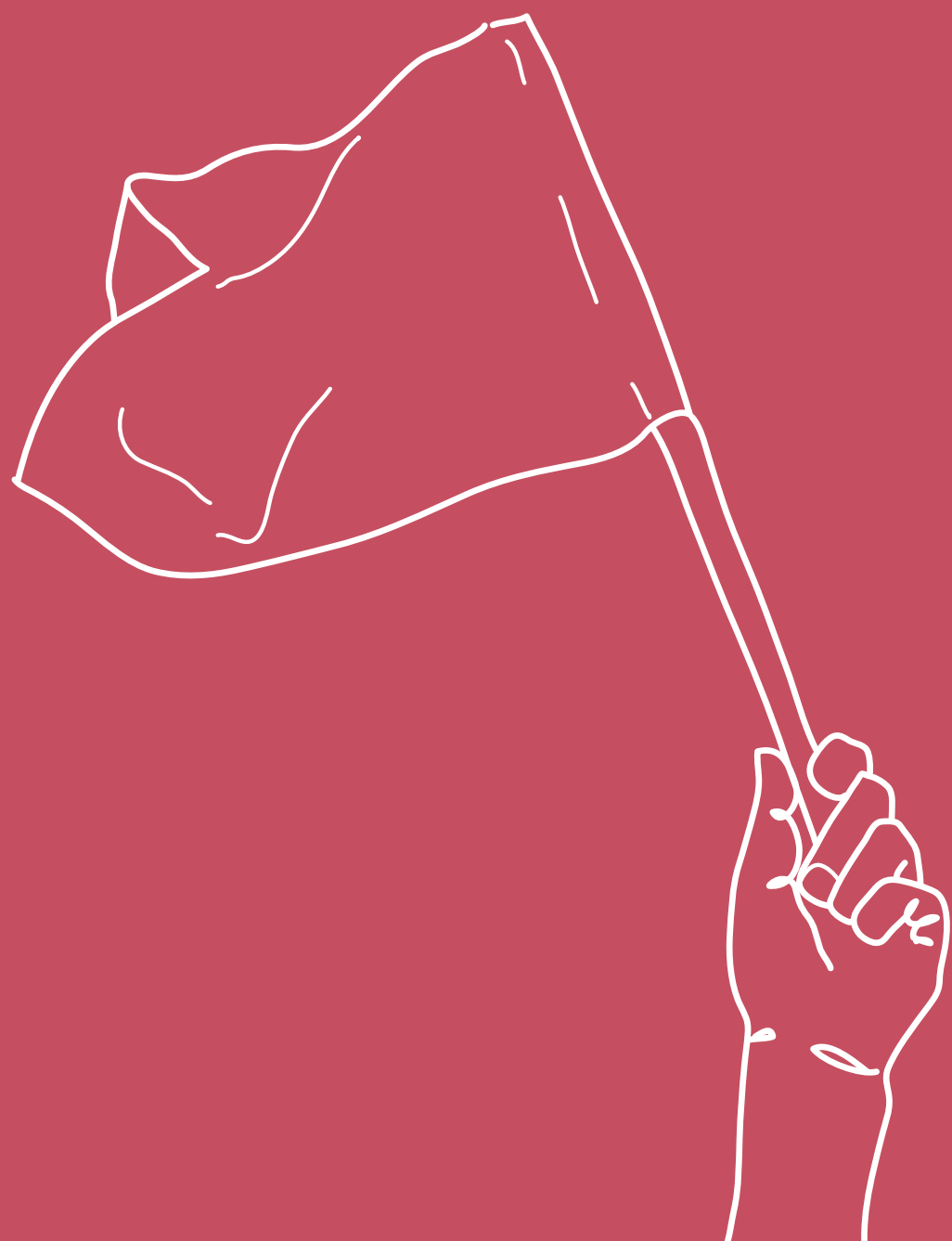
LAND GRAB IN BURMA

In 2011, TNI's Agrarian Justice project worked closely with the Drugs and Democracy team to document and engage with policymakers about the conflict over land tenure and investment in Burma, especially in current and former poppy-growing areas. TNI's research continued to focus on Chinese opium-substitution programmes in the north of Burma, which encourages the Chinese private sector to invest in mono-cultural plantations, especially rubber, as alternative crops for opium farmers. The programmes mainly benefit Chinese companies and local power holders, lead to confiscation of land and loss of livelihoods in local communities, and cause environmental degradation. In the second half of 2011, TNI worked on a large report outlining these issues, using extensive field research by its local team, to be published in early 2012. The topic was discussed at the Third South East Asia Informal Drugs Policy Dialogue in Chiang Mai, Thailand, in November. At the meeting, the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) in Laos asked TNI to help organise an event in Vientiane on Chinese opium-substitution programmes, comparing experiences from Burma and Laos, and to discuss alternative policy responses. TNI was also invited to join the Food Security Working Group in Burma, a civil society advocacy forum, to contribute on smallholder farmers and land rights. The group will help distribute TNI's publications to members of parliament and policymakers, as part of the advocacy effort to improve two new bills on land rights currently being discussed in Burma's new parliament.



'It is too early to tell whether the new political setup, with the introduction of regional parliaments and governments in 2011, will bring more space for local organisations to operate, and whether it will provide new opportunities for them to engage with the government. Renewed fighting in northern Shan state and in Kachin state in 2011 could lead to a permanent breakdown of 20-year old cease-fire agreements in the country. This would be an enormous setback for prospects for peace, democracy and development of the country, as well as for civil society in these areas.'

Tom Kramer in *Civil Society Gaining Ground*, TNI, November 2011.



PROMOTING PROSPECTS FOR ETHNIC PEACE IN BURMA

2011 was a watershed year for Burma. The military-backed Thein Sein government that came to power in March initiated peace talks with all major ethnic armed opposition groups. This was an important first step towards achieving national reconciliation and peace in the country.

Decades of war and oppression, however, have created deep mistrust among Burma's ethnic nationality communities and ethnic conflict will not be solved overnight. To end the civil war and achieve true peace, the talks must move beyond establishing new ceasefires. The process must be fostered by an inclusive political dialogue at national level that addresses key ethnic grievances and aspirations. Failure to do this will undermine the reform process and lead to a continuation of Burma's cycle of conflict.

In 2011, the joint TNI-BCN Burma project continued to support the peace process by bringing together ethnic actors from within and outside the country as well as international experts; organising

advocacy tours in Europe, the United States and Asia; and producing policy briefings and reports.

STRATEGY SEMINARS: A SPACE TO TALK

Two strategy seminars were organised in 2011 – in Bangkok in February and in Chiang Mai in November. The closed-door seminars, co-organised with the Shalom Foundation, were informal and aimed at confidence-building among the different actors. The participants were invited in their personal capacity and were encouraged to speak on their own behalf, allowing them to express doubts and dilemmas and solicit feedback on policies. The Burmese participants expressed their appreciation for this space

in which to talk to each other and with international experts, to exchange ideas and formulate alternative agendas for change.

TNI-BCN PUBLICATIONS

In 2011, the project published three Burma Policy Briefings and two Burma Reports. See publications on next page.

The publications were distributed directly to over 3,000 policymakers, NGOs, academics and journalists working on Burma in Asia, Europe and the US. They have been quoted in several newspapers in those places. They were also sent to a wide range of actors in Burma, including armed opposition groups, members of political parties, local organisations, local media,

TNI has been working closely with the Burma Centrum Nederland (BCN) on the subject of peace and democracy in Burma for decades now. TNI's work on drugs opened up a whole set of new opportunities for work in Burma in recent years – including a focus on cease-fire groups in territories along the China border region where opium poppy has been traditionally cultivated, land grabbing in the name of crop substitution (alternative development) projects, and drug law reform.

Some former Burmese government officials have circulated the publications to people in various ministries. One official reported that they had been well-received because they “are quite balanced and do not simply blame everything on the government”, adding that they provide information they previously had no access to. “You know more than us”, he told a staff member.

organisations in exile, and to representatives of the Burmese government and various Burmese embassies in Europe and Asia.

Copies were also disseminated during advocacy missions and seminars, and during visits to EU member states, the US and Asia. The policy briefings are available on the TNI website (www.tni.org/work-area/burma-project), which also features background information on the project, more TNI publications on Burma, and links to other relevant organisations and publications. The briefings can also be downloaded from the websites of other organisations, including The Irrawaddy, SHAN newsgroup, the International Drugs Policy Consortium and Network Myanmar. TNI has received very positive feedback on the publications, including from opposition groups, ethnic NGOs and academics in Burma, as well as from activists

and INGO representatives on the Thai border. Some former Burmese government officials have circulated the publications to people in various ministries. One official reported that they had been well-received because they “are quite balanced and do not simply blame everything on the government”, adding that they provide information they previously had no access to. “You know more than us”, he told a staff member.

Asian, European and US policymakers have also commented very positively on the publications. A Yunnan-based Chinese academic described TNI as the “leading research organisation on Myanmar”, while a European ambassador in Yangon said the publications “were like our Bible”. The publications have clearly become a reliable and influential source of information, analyses and policy advice for many policymakers.

BURMA POLICY BRIEFINGS

Ethnic Politics in Burma: The Time for Solutions, Policy Briefing 5, February 2011
www.tni.org/briefing/ethnic-politics-burma-time-solutions

Burma’s New Government: Prospects for Governance and Peace in Ethnic States, Policy Briefing 6, May 2011
www.tni.org/report/burmas-new-government-prospects-governance-and-peace-ethnic-states

Conflict or Peace? Ethnic Unrest Intensifies in Burma, Policy Briefing Nr.7, June 2011
www.tni.org/briefing/conflict-or-peace-ethnic-unrest-intensifies-burma

BURMA REPORTS

Burma’s Longest War: Anatomy of the Karen Conflict, March 2011
www.tni.org/report/civil-society-gaining-ground

Civil Society Gaining Ground, Opportunities for Change and Development in Burma, November 2011
www.tni.org/briefing/burmas-longest-war-anatomy-karen-conflict

ADVOCACY: INFORMING THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

In 2011, the project – with organisations in the host countries – organised three advocacy visits by representatives from Burma to the EU, the US and China. Learning lessons from visits in the first year of the project, the delegations were better prepared, receiving training and holding extensive consultations prior to the visits to ensure that the positions they were taking had widespread civil society support in Burma.

EUROPE LOBBY TRIP

A delegation of representatives of ethnic nationality NGOs visited Sweden, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and the Czech Republic in the first quarter of the year to update policymakers on the situation in Burma following the elections of November 2010. The delegation met members of parliament, policymakers and potential funding organisations. In Brussels, they participated in a seminar at the European Institute for Asian Studies, co-organised with the Euro Burma Office.

US LOBBY TRIP

Three representatives of Burmese civil society and a representative of the Northeast Asia Quaker International Affairs Representative AFSC Asia Region visited New York and Washington in July. They met a variety of policymakers, diplomats and political representatives. A major topic was the hostilities that had broken out in northern Burma in June between the Burmese military and the KIO.

ADDRESSING GRIEVANCES AND BROADENING THE FOCUS

During the visits, the delegation analysed the results of the 2010 elections and the post-election landscape in Burma. They advised the international community to seek ways to strengthen the civilian, reform-minded wing of the government and to work at local level. They discussed the hostilities in the north of the country, and stressed the need to address ethnic grievances and aspirations. The role of China was also an important topic of discussion.

The delegation emphasised the importance of engaging with a wide range of key stakeholders, and not just the government and Aung San Suu Kyi. This should include new political parties, elected parliamentary representatives, ethnic armed groups and civil society organisations, involving them in the reconciliation process.

CHINA LOBBY TRIP

In Asia, the project cooperates with the Center for Peace and Conflict Studies (CPCS) in Phnom Penh and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) office in Beijing. These partners distribute the project’s publications and co-organise advocacy activities for ethnic representatives from Burma.

A delegation comprising the CPCS director and two Shalom representatives from Burma arrived in Beijing in June, three days after violent conflict had broken out in Kachin state. The discussion focused on the

conflict, and on how Chinese infrastructure projects in the region are impacting on it. The delegation met with government officials and policy advisors, as well as academics, local NGOs, members of the local media, and the director of an influential international think tank. The visit gave members of Burmese civil society the opportunity to present their concerns to a full range of stakeholders in China, including financial institutions backing controversial infrastructure projects in the country’s conflict zones.

The lobby trip to China was successful in a number of ways. A wide range of government officials and financial groupings expressed a growing openness to engagement with civil society from Burma on social and environmental concerns. Chinese civil society also gained a better understanding of China’s involvement overseas, and built

connections with organisations in Burma. Furthermore, the advocacy efforts in Beijing helped empower researchers and open new research initiatives that are beginning to question Yunnan’s deepening push into Burma.

BRIEFING JOURNALISTS AND DIPLOMATS

Besides the advocacy visits, project staff conducted briefings for journalists and diplomats. Briefings were given at the European Commission Delegation in Bangkok for Commission officials and representatives of EU member states, and at the UK, Italian and US embassies in Yangon. A TNI representative visited the United States in May and November to give briefings on ethnic conflict and on drugs and conflict in Burma, meeting also with representatives from the State Department. Project staff also gave several briefings on ethnic conflict in Burma to the Thai National Security Council.

ADVOCACY LETTERS AND STATEMENTS

Letter to UN Secretary-General
In February, a letter co-drafted by TNI-BCN was sent to UN Secretary-General Ban Ki Moon asking him to ensure a sustained channel for dialogue and expressing support for his mission to engage in a way that prioritises the needs and aspirations of the people of Burma.

Letter to the European Commission
In March, TNI-BCN co-drafted a letter to Vice President of the European Commission and the EU High Representative for External Affairs making recommendations about how the EU could adapt its Common Position to the needs of Burma, especially with regard to investments and economic development and constructive engagement.

Joint statement
In June, TNI-BCN co-drafted and signed, together with several international NGOs working on Burma, a joint statement: ‘Civil Society Organisations Call for Dialogue and Urgent International Engagement to Support Non-Military Solutions in Northern Myanmar’, as a reaction to the threat of escalation of conflict in Northern Burma.

For more details, see the Burma Project site at www.tni.org/work-area/burma-project

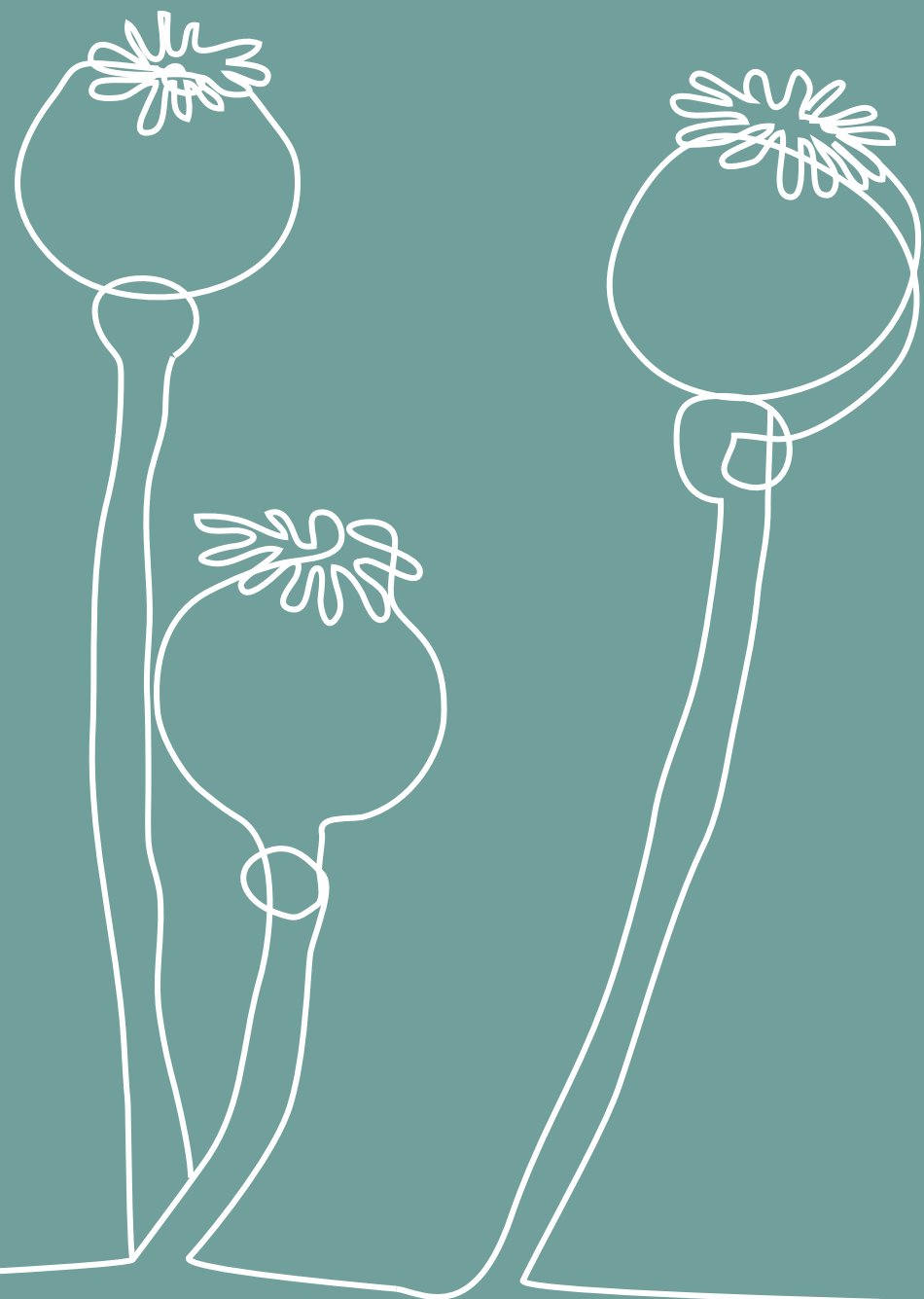


SUCCESSES IN 2011

- An informal network of CSOs from ethnic areas has emerged, with stronger capacity for advocacy and the development of joint strategies towards the international community.
- Ethnic CSOs and representatives of armed groups have been able to meet through participation in strategy meetings to discuss political strategies and raise community concerns.
- TNI/BCN Policy Briefings have contributed to a common understanding of ethnic conflict in Burma among a wide range of actors in Burma and abroad.
- TNI/BCN reports have stimulated debate and discussion about critical issues that were previously deemed too sensitive by many actors.
- The timing of the project enabled it to comment on the electoral process and link it with the ethnic issue. After the elections, it facilitated analysis on the functioning of ethnic parties in national and regional parliaments.
- Lobby tours to Europe and the US showed that there is a vibrant civil society and opposition in Burma and more scope for independent action than people tend to think.
- The project contributed to a better understanding among international policymakers of the ethnic issue, and among actors inside Burma that democracy and a solution to the ethnic crises go hand-in-hand. It undoubtedly helped to put ethnic conflict high on the agenda.
- Stronger links have been facilitated between Burma and China – including between civil society organisations as well as with government officials and financial agencies in China.

'The global war on drugs has failed, with devastating consequences for individuals and societies around the world. Fifty years after the initiation of the UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, and 40 years after President Nixon launched the US government's war on drugs, fundamental reforms in national and global drug control policies are urgently needed.'

War on Drugs: Report of the Global Commission on Drug Policy, June 2011



REFORMING REPRESSIVE DRUG LAWS

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

The year 2011 marked the 50th anniversary of the 1961 Single Convention, while 2012 will be the centenary of the signing in The Hague of the very first international drug control treaty – the Opium Convention of January 1912. A first draft of the briefing paper on the 1961 Convention, a re-interpretation of its historical significance and the obstacles it poses to reform efforts was released at a TNI/IDPC lunchtime side-event during the March 2011 CND session. The background research for this draft was also used for the paper TNI contributed in support of the Global Commission on Drugs and Democracy, which was submitted in December and presented and discussed at the

Commission's first meeting in Geneva in January. See: www.undrugcontrol.info/en/publications/legislative-reform-series/-/item/1158-the-development-of-international-drug-control

In 2011, TNI continued to support efforts to advance drug law reform around the world by facilitating the exchange of good practices and lessons learned. The programme advocates for drug laws based on human rights principles. This includes decriminalisation of drug use, proportionality in sentencing, harm reduction measures, effective law enforcement practices and prison reform. It also worked with like-minded partners to bring the UN bodies

specialised in drug issues (UNODC, CND and INCB) more in line with the wider goals of the UN system as a whole.

REFORM OF UN CONVENTION ON NARCOTIC DRUGS

TNI continued to advise the government of Bolivia on its attempts to reconcile its new Constitution with the obligation to ban the chewing of coca leaves under the 1961 UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. After Bolivia's amendment proposal was rejected in early 2011, TNI has fully supported the country's decision to withdraw from the Convention and to apply for re-accession with a reservation regarding the coca leaf. This controversial step was formalised at the end of

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



SUCCESSIONS IN 2011

- With TNI support, Bolivia became the first country to formally challenge the 1961 UN Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs. TNI brought the legal conflict to the attention of officials across Latin America and Europe, with a number of countries in both regions expressing support for the Bolivian position.
- The Global Commission on Drug Policy supports many of the recommendations TNI has been promoting over the years, including a paradigm shift towards harm reduction and full respect for human rights in drug control, decriminalisation of users and small farmers, exploration of legal regulation models for the cannabis market, respect for indigenous cultures including a rescheduling of the coca leaf, and opening the debate about the future of the UN drug control conventions.

June and came into effect on 1 January 2012. TNI has helped to clarify the existing rules and procedures involved, produced a background on procedural questions, and drafted an Advocacy Note on the issue in July for the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC). It also brought the legal conflict to the attention of officials across Latin America and Europe with a view to gaining support for the Bolivian position. As with the amendment earlier last year, there will be no European Union consensus against it as several countries, including Spain and the Czech Republic, have already expressed support for Bolivia on this matter. Background: www.druglawreform.info/en/issues/unscheduling-the-coca-leaf/item/2596-bolivia-denunciation-of-the-1961-single-convention-on-narcotic-drugs-IDPC-advocacy-note: www.druglawreform.info/images/stories/documents/IDPC-advocacy-bolivia-july2011.pdf

TNI's reinterpretation of the Single Convention was elaborated into an academic paper, 'Regime Change: Re-visiting the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs'. It is to be published in the International Journal of Drug Policy in January 2012 (www.undrugcontrol.info/images/stories/documents/regime-change.pdf)

This is being reworked as a TNI/IDPC briefing paper that will analyse the room for manoeuvre and the limits of latitude of the

UN drug control treaty system as a whole, covering the three Conventions together. In May, TNI and WOLA organised an innovative workshop on supply-oriented harm reduction at the WOLA office in Washington, DC. The workshop brought together a group of 20 international experts from the US, Europe, and Latin America, who discussed how a harm-reduction approach might be applied to the supply-side of the drug market. The main question discussed at this seminar was whether the concept of harm reduction, broadly construed, can be applied to supply-oriented challenges to better address the harms associated with illicit drug production and distribution, but also minimise the harms that stem from drug control itself. The general conclusion of the workshop was that intelligently 'managing' the market and steering it into a less violent and less harmful direction holds more promise than continuing with the current supply reduction paradigm. See www.druglawreform.info/en/events/expert-seminars/item/2631-expert-workshop-on-supply-oriented-harm-reduction

THE EIGHTH INTERNATIONAL INFORMAL DRUG POLICY DIALOGUE

Fifty people gathered in Lisbon for the 8th International Informal Drug Policy Dialogue, co-hosted by the Portuguese Institute on Drugs and Drug Addiction (IDT) and the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It was difficult to keep the number of participants

down, as the dialogue series has earned a reputation, in the course of the years, as an influential brainstorm meeting for the international drug policy agenda. The lessons of Portuguese decriminalisation featured prominently on the agenda. The outcomes of the expert seminar on threshold quantities were discussed and a full session was devoted to cannabis policy reform options. As has become practice, the final session discussed the upcoming annual session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs and other relevant topics appearing on the EU and global drug policy agendas in the near future. A full report is available at: www.undrugcontrol.info/en/events/informal-policy-dialogues

THE FUTURE OF ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT

TNI took an active part in preparing the International Workshop and Conference on Alternative Development (ICAD 2011-2012), an initiative of the Thai and Peruvian governments, which took place in November in Chiangmai in Thailand. TNI was asked by the ONCB and the Thai Mae Fah Luang Foundation to be part of a small group of key advisors, known as the 'Substance Team', to help organise the conference and prepare input for the policy documents. TNI broadened this group by inviting representatives from WOLA and GIZ to join. The ONCB also asked TNI to provide a list of potential participants from Latin America and Asia

for the workshop, enabling it to ensure appropriate representation of civil society organisations, including farmers' representatives, from the two regions.

ICAD discusses progress and best practices on alternative development and aims to develop a set of International Guiding Principles on Alternative Development to serve as an authoritative reference. A high-level international conference in Peru in November 2012 will aim to build a consensus on the future direction of alternative development among all stakeholders. TNI followed the discussions on alternative development closely and published a range of policy briefings on the issue. It played a crucial role in the process, facilitating workshops, actively participating in the plenary session to discuss and vote on the final declaration of the workshops and, as a member of the Substance Team, producing draft texts to be discussed in the plenary, including the main discussion paper, the final declaration and draft guiding principles. The declaration and guidelines reflected and adopted several issues that TNI has been advocating over a long period, including a critical view on the use of mono-culture plantations in alternative development schemes, the need to address poverty as one of the root causes behind illicit cultivation, respect for traditional licit uses of drug-linked crops, and community participation in the

design and implementation of projects. TNI established a close working relationship with Thai government officials, who made clear that they appreciated TNI's active and constructive role in the process. See www.undrugcontrol.info/en/issues/alternative-development/item/2955-report-of-the-workshop-portion-of-the-international-workshop-and-conference-on-alternative-development-icad

ADVANCING DRUG LAW REFORM IN LATIN AMERICA

The main focus of TNI's work in Latin America has been to sustain monitoring of the drug law reform processes under way in several countries in the region, and providing expertise, informal consultations and sharing information on best practices elsewhere. TNI maintains close contact with protagonists of ongoing reform efforts in Mexico, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Argentina,

Uruguay, Bolivia and Peru. The English version of the TNI/WOLA report, entitled *Systems Overload: Drug Laws and Prisons in Latin America* (www.druglawreform.info/en/publications/systems-overload) was published in March 2011 and distributed widely at the meeting of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND). The report, originally published in Spanish in December 2010, was presented to a Spanish language audience in March at a conference in Quito, Ecuador, organised by TNI and WOLA in cooperation with the Instituto de Altos Estudios Nacionales (IAEN), a school for public officials. The conclusions and recommendations were also presented at the Latin American Informal Drug Policy Dialogue in Uruguay in February.

TNI continued to consolidate the regional research team, the Colectivo de Estudios Drogas y Derecho (CEDD). In

WORKSHOP ON HARM REDUCTION FOR ATS IN BURMA

In October, TNI co-organised an informal two-day workshop on Harm Reduction and Amphetamine Type Stimulants (ATS) in Yangon, Burma, together with the Burnet Institute and supported by the Western Australian Substance Users Association (WASUA). Prior to the meeting, TNI published a Drug Policy Briefing, entitled 'Amphetamine Type Stimulants and Harm Reduction: Experiences from Myanmar, Thailand and Southern China', outlining the issues at stake. The 40 participants included local representatives from drug user organisations and peer outreach workers from different regions of Burma, as well as international and local NGOs and UN agencies active in Burma. The findings and recommendations were summarised in a short initial report presented at a reception at the end of the workshop to Yangon-based international donors, several embassies and NGOs working in the field. A short summary of the meeting was published as a blog for the TNI website and distributed through its mailing list of 2,500 addressees, including policymakers, academics, journalists and civil society organisers.

Workshop findings: www.druglawreform.info/en/weblog/item/2896-ats-and-harm-reduction. Policy briefing: www.druglawreform.info/images/stories/documents/brief37.pdf



SUCCESSIONS IN 2011 (continued)

- TNI initiated an influential series of expert seminars feeding sophisticated technical analysis into policy debates in Europe on key drug law reform dilemmas, being subsequently invited by the European Commission to expert meetings aimed at revising EU legislation on sentencing levels for drug trafficking and on new psychoactive substances.
- The ICAD declaration and guidelines reflected and adopted several issues that TNI has been advocating over a long period, including a critical view on the use of mono-culture plantations in alternative development schemes, the need to address poverty as one of the root causes behind illicit cultivation, respect for traditional licit uses of drug-linked crops, and community participation in the design and implementation of projects
- TNI established a close working relationship with Thai government officials, who made clear that they appreciated TNI's active and constructive role in the process. TNI was asked to help the Thai government to prepare an international workshop to elaborate policy guidelines for Alternative Development strategies in Asia and Latin America.

SUCSESSES IN 2011
(continued)

- A first workshop was held in Burma on harm reduction in respect of methamphetamines.
- The report on disproportionate drug laws and prison overcrowding in Latin America, together with the continuing informal drug policy dialogues, contributed to opening the political debate
- Since the launch of the UN Drug Control website in June 2011, 3,830 unique visitors have accessed the site with 5,102 visits and 11,030 page views. Between July and December 2011, the Drug Law Reform website was accessed by 19,493 unique visitors, with 25,205 visits and 45,733 page views – an 80% increase on last year

the second phase of its study on drug laws in Latin America, CEDD started new research on the disproportionate costs of drug legislation and criminal justice practices in the region. Two meetings were organised in the margins of other larger events to discuss progress. The first took place in Mexico during the Third Latin American Drug Policy Conference in September, and the second in Los Angeles, benefiting from the presence of several other Latin American delegates at the

Drug Policy Alliance Conference in early November.

LATIN AMERICAN DRUG
POLICY DIALOGUE

The Seventh TNI/WOLA Latin America Informal Drug Policy Dialogue was organised in collaboration with the Junta Nacional de Drogas (JND) in Uruguay in February. The Uruguayan government hosted a public event linked to the dialogue which featured TNI and WOLA experts. This resulted in interviews in the Uruguayan

daily newspaper La República (www.druglawreform.info/es/quienes-somos/en-la-prensa/item/1165-qpolitica-represiva-de-lucha-contra-el-narcotrafico-fracasoq-en-el-mundo)

The discussion at the Montevideo dialogue was the most advanced to date. Of particular importance was the participation of the National Drugs Coordinator of Portugal, who initiated a discussion on the positive results of the decriminalisation of drug use

EXPERT SEMINAR SERIES

In 2011, TNI and IDPC co-organised three expert seminars on aspects of international drug control. The seminars are part of a series co-funded by the European Commission and the Open Society Foundation and are attended by members of the judiciary, domestic and international policymakers and representatives of NGOs and academic institutions.

The outcomes of the seminars and the briefing papers produced on the issues have proven to be timely and essential contributions to the European drug policymaking process. Recognition of their usefulness is underlined by the fact that TNI was invited to participate in the closed expert meetings convened by the European Commission to revise EU legislation on sentencing levels for drug trafficking and on new psychoactive substances.

Threshold Quantities, Lisbon, Portugal, January

Twenty-five people from twelve different countries (from the EU, Latin America, Asia and Australia) attended this seminar, hosted by the European Monitoring Centre for Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA). They discussed experiences with the use of quantity thresholds to distinguish between possession of drugs for use versus trade, and between various levels of illicit drug trading. It was agreed that threshold quantities help introduce more rationality and proportionality to drug control systems. A detailed report of the meeting can be found at <http://www.undrugcontrol.info/en/events/expert-seminars/item/1265-tni-emcdda-expert-seminar-on-threshold-quantities>

Proportionality of Sentencing for Drug Offences, London, UK, May

This seminar, hosted with the International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC) and the UK Sentencing Council, was timely since it coincided with the public consultation of the Sentencing Council on drug offences guidelines. The outcomes of the seminar were summarised in a response to the consultation, with the aim of contributing to the final guidelines on sentencing to be presented in January 2012.

See <http://www.druglawreform.info/en/issues/proportionality-of-sentences/item/3146-response-from-idpc-to-the-sentencing-council-for-england-and-wales-consultation-on-the-drug-offences-guideline>

Herbal Stimulants and Legal Highs, Amsterdam, the Netherlands, October

Twenty-seven people attended this seminar, co-organised by TNI and IDPC, which addressed four themes: market dynamics, herbal stimulants, legal control mechanisms, and EU strategies on new substances. It ended on a note of opportunity, but also urgency. It was felt that there is a real danger of replication of traditional zero-tolerant drug control models, whereas policymakers could and should use the ‘legal highs’ phenomenon to begin experimenting with policy responses that could drive the markets towards less harmful substances and patterns of use. The outcomes of the meeting were fed into the expert seminar on the revision of Council Decision 2005/387/JHA on new psychoactive substances, organised by the European Commission in Brussels in December. See <http://www.undrugcontrol.info/en/events/expert-seminars/item/3143-expert-seminar-on-herbal-stimulants-and-legal-highs>

in his country and the lessons that could be learned for Latin America. A full account of the discussion that took place can be found in the report of the meeting, which is available in English and in Spanish at www.druglawreform.info/en/events/informal-policy-dialogues

IMPACT OF DRUG LAWS IN
SOUTHEAST ASIA

TNI started a new research project this year. Its aim is to promote drug law reform in Asia in line with health and human rights principles and to stimulate debate amongst policymakers and civil society around a more effective and rational response to drug-related problems. Modelled on the first phase of the Latin American study, the project will look at the impact of drug laws in Burma, Thailand and Malaysia. The research will analyse the national drug laws and institutions, drug law enforcement in practice, sentencing levels and the prison situation in these countries. It will also identify opportunities at all levels of the criminal justice system, where people who use drugs or cultivate or trade drugs for subsistence purposes can be diverted away from the criminal justice system and provided with community-based alternatives.

THAI REFORMS SHELVED

In 2011, with a new government installed in Thailand, a number of proposals for legislative reforms were shelved, including a decriminalisation proposal,

lifting the ban on kratom and introducing proportionality principles into sentencing. TNI and IDPC had collaborated with the Thai Office of the Narcotics Control Board (ONCB) to draw up these reform proposals in 2010. ONCB remains the coordinating national agency on drug policy and has indicated that it would like to continue its working relationship with TNI and IDPC. Considering the new war on drugs launched by the Thai government, however, which has led to the arrest of tens of thousands of drug users, any step towards decriminalisation seems far off for the time being. TNI is maintaining close communication with Thai officials who feel uncomfortable with the recent regressive drug policy changes. It is hoped that they will try to ensure that basic human rights standards are upheld and prepare the ground for a re-launch of progressive drug law reform proposals as soon as political circumstances allow.

NEW SPACE FOR ADVOCACY
IN BURMA

The political reform process instigated by the new military-backed government in Burma provides further space for advocacy on drug law reform in the country. At the end of 2011, TNI met with representatives from the Central Committee for Drugs Abuse Control (CCDAC) and the Attorney General’s Office to propose a workshop for government officials to share experiences with drug law reform in other parts of the

world. They expressed their interest and requested a formal proposal. TNI and IDPC will follow up on this in 2012.

SOUTHEAST ASIAN DRUG
POLICY DIALOGUE

The *Third Southeast Asian Informal Drug Policy Dialogue* took place in November in Chiangmai. The dialogue was co-organised with the German Gesellschaft fur Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ) and co-hosted by the Office of the Narcotics Control Board (ONCB), Thailand. Thirty-five delegates participated, including officials from Thailand and Laos, representatives of United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), NGOs from the region, as well as several academics. Unfortunately, despite much effort and several promises, the invited Chinese and Burmese government officials did not attend. The meeting discussed six themes: regional integration of ASEAN and the ASEAN drug action plan, harm reduction strategies for amphetamine-type stimulants, legal challenges for Southeast Asia and experiences from other regions, land tenure and land investments in (ex-)poppy growing areas, alternative development and voluntary guidelines, and supply-oriented harm reduction. The final session discussed a way forward for the informal dialogue process in Southeast Asia. The discussions were very frank and the dialogue clearly showed the need for such a platform in Southeast Asia.

Intelligently ‘managing’ the market and steering it into a less violent and less harmful direction holds more promise than continuing with the current supply reduction paradigm.



Padaung woman from Kayah state on the Thai border region of Burma

WEBSITES

Since June 2011, TNI has been running both the Drug Law Reform in Latin America and the UN Drug Control websites, in English and Spanish. The Latin America website offers country information on current drug laws and trends, accessible through an interactive map on the front page. The UN Drug Control website is dedicated to reform of the UN drug control system and related issues like the debate on alternative development. The sites have a regular weblog and latest news sections which are updated almost daily. TNI mailing lists are also used to alert people on new publications, the Drug Law Reform and Drug Policy briefing series, etc. The sites are now running smoothly. Attention is shifting to making better use of blogs and the outreach potential of social media. In September, an internal training workshop on blogging was organised with TNI communications staff.

Between July and December 2011, the Drug Law Reform website was accessed by 19,493 unique visitors, with 25,205 visits and 45,733 page views. That is an increase of nearly 80% compared to a year ago. Since the launch of the UN Drug Control website in June 2011, 3,830 unique visitors have accessed the site with 5,102 visits and 11,030 page views.

Drug Law Reform in Latin America: www.druglawreform.info

UN Drug Control: www.undrugcontrol.info

The Southeast Asia Drug Law Reform website has been online since the autumn of 2011. As research in the region advances, more substantive content will be added, including an overview of key documents relevant to legislative innovation in the region. The site is to be integrated with the other two websites to share background information relevant to both regions, TNI's Drug Law Reform briefing series, web logs, etc.

TNI IN THE MEDIA

The influential **NACLA report** (North American Congress on Latin America) mentioned the Systems Overload report on drug laws and the prison situation in Latin America and the Human Face video series in their July/August issue (<https://nacla.org/blog/2011/6/30/beneath-underdog>). TNI prepared an article for the British magazine **Red Pepper** (www.redpepper.org.uk/drug-club), based on its briefing on cannabis social clubs in Spain. The Italian newspaper **Il Manifesto** reproduced our blog on the INCB and the Bolivian withdrawal from the 1961 UN Single Convention (www.fuoriluogo.it/sito/home/mappamondo/sud_america/bolivia/la-bolivia-sotto-inquisizione). WOLA's Latin America Today podcast broadcast on Bolivia and the international drug control regime (www.druglawreform.info/en/about-us/in-the-media/item/2648-bolivia-and-the-international-drug-control-regime), based on an interview with TNI. TNI briefed a large number of local and international journalists on drug-related issues in Burma, and with regard to Latin America during the seminar for journalists in Mexico in September organised by Intercambios and the Pan-American Health Organisation (OPS).



TNI Fellows 2011

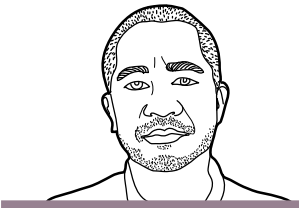
FELLOWS



PHYLLIS BENNIS
Director of the New Internationalism Project and Fellow at IPS, Washington, DC. In 2011, travelled to the Middle East following the Tahrir Square uprisings, and was quoted and published widely in the international media. Worked closely with Richard Falk, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights in the Occupied Territories, co-authoring several articles on the aftermath of the Gaza flotilla crisis.



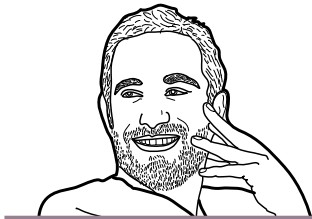
PRAFUL BIDWAI
As one of South Asia's most widely published columnists, continued to provide insightful analysis on nuclear power, state corruption, neoliberal economic policies and international relations. Latest book, 'The Politics of Climate Change and the Global Crisis: Mortgaging Our Future' was co-published and launched by TNI at the UN Durban climate talks.



DR. SATURNINO 'JUN' BORRAS JR.
Associate Professor of Rural Development, Environment and Population at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, Adjunct Professor, COHD at China Agricultural University, Beijing and Editor-in-Chief of the Journal of Peasant Studies. In 2011, co-organised a groundbreaking international conference on land issues at the University of Sussex and emerged as a highly respected voice at the UN in proposing alternatives to World Bank 'codes of conduct' regarding land investment.



DR. DANIEL CHAVEZ
Independent researcher and lecturer on Latin American Political Economy at the International Business School in Amsterdam. In 2011, conducted research and training activities on local governance in Latin America and Europe for the Parlocal project involving six municipalities, prepared three e-learning courses on participatory governance, public services and social policy, and contributed research on progressive electricity reforms for the book 'Alternatives to Privatisation'.



DR. BEN HAYES
Independent researcher at civil liberties organisation Statewatch, specialising in EU Justice and Home Affairs law, police cooperation, border controls, surveillance technologies and counter-terrorism policies. In 2011, undertook research for Dutch NGO Cordaid on the impact of regulations concerning financing of terrorism on civil society. Also initiated work with TNI on a new book on the securitisation of climate policy.



DR. EDGARDO LANDER
Professor of Social Sciences at Universidad Central de Venezuela and member of the Permanent Working Group on Alternatives to Development (Rosa Luxemburg Foundation, Andean Region). Critique of commodification of nature under the guise of UNEP's 'Green Economy' published by TNI in time for the climate summit in Durban in December became essential reading for movements engaging with the process leading up to Rio+20 summit in 2012.



PROF. ACHIN VANAIAK
Recently retired as Professor of International Relations and Global Politics from the University of Delhi. Active member of the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (India). Books and writings range from studies of India's political economy, issues concerning religion, communalism and secularism to international contemporary politics and nuclear disarmament.

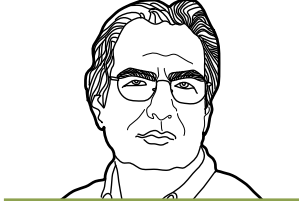


DR. HILARY WAINWRIGHT
Senior Research Associate at the University of Bradford, editor of Red Pepper magazine in the UK and contributor to The Guardian newspaper. Contributed a chapter to the MSP book on 'Alternatives to Privatisation', now being reworked by public sector unions into an educational pamphlet. Worked particularly closely with South African organisations in 2011 on public sector reform, solidarity economies and political responses. Also undertook research and analysis on the new social movements of Occupy and Indignados, and the crisis in Europe.

ASSOCIATES



DR. JOCHEN HIPPLER
Researcher at the University of Duisburg, Peace and Development Institute. Specialist on the Middle East and Central Asia. Has published papers on military intervention in the Arab Spring, military intervention in Libya and Pakistan.



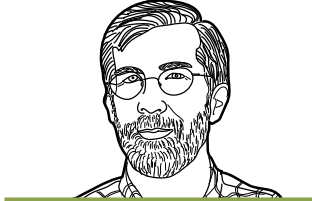
MARIANO AGUIRRE
Managing Director of the Norwegian Peace Building Centre, Oslo, Norway. Undertook research and provided insightful analysis on the Arab Spring and the ongoing conflict in Afghanistan. In 2011, authored '9/11: A perfect pretext, a terrible legacy'.



DR. JOEL ROCAMORA
Political analyst and civil society leader working on democracy, governance and social movements. Author of several reputed publications, including 'History Breaking Through: The Struggle within the Communist Party of the Philippines' (1994). Now convenor of the Philippine government's National Anti-Poverty Commission (NAPC).



MYRIAM VANDER STICHELE
Senior Researcher, Centre for Research on Multinational Corporations, Amsterdam. Authored a number of publications on the failures to re-regulate the financial industry after the economic crisis and the dangers this poses for developing countries, including 'The Missing Dimension: How European Financial Reforms Ignore Developing Countries and Sustainability' (November 2011).



JOHN CAVANAGH
Director of the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington, DC, USA. In 2011 undertook research in Philippines, Trinidad and Tobago and the US on the potential of local food systems to achieve food sovereignty. This research will be included in an upcoming book entitled *Local Dreams: Finding Rootedness in the Age of Vulnerability*.



PROF. HOWARD WACHTEL
Professor Emeritus of Economics at the American University, Washington, DC, USA. Author of 'Street of Dreams - Boulevard of Broken Hearts: A History of Wall Street' and first coordinator of TNI's Global Economy Programme in the 1970s when he famously wrote 'The Money Mandarins'. In 2011, he published 'Greece's Woes: So Goes the Euro' on how the Greek crisis exposed the fundamental flaws in the Euro project.



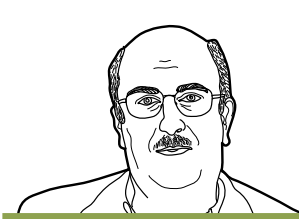
DR. MARCOS ARRUDA
Economist and educator at the Institute of Alternative Policies for the Southern Cone of Latin America (PACS), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Consultant on endogenous sustainable development, self-management, and solidarity economy. Member of Jubilee South, the Ecovillage Network, the Transition Towns Movement and the International University for Peace. Author.



DR. WALDEN BELLO
Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of the Philippines for the Akbayan Party, being responsible for the parliamentary commission on migrant workers. Senior analyst with Focus on the Global South. Predicted the financial crisis several years prior to the current meltdown and is a globally respected figure within the alternative globalisation movement.



PROF. SAUL LANDAU
Film-maker, journalist and author. Fellow and Vice Chair of the Board at the Institute for Policy Studies. Has produced more than forty films on social, political and historical issues, and worldwide human rights. His latest film is *Will the Real Terrorist Please Stand Up?*



DR. KAMIL MAHDI
Analyst of Middle Eastern politics and economics, in particular the political economy of oil-exporting countries. Honorary Visiting Fellow at the Middle East Centre of the London School of Economics.



DR. BORIS KAGARLITSKY
Director, Institute for Globalisation and Social Movements, Moscow. Regular commentator in Moscow Times on political developments in Russia, including the rise of opposition to Medvedev and Putin. Author of a number of books on globalisation and Russian politics.

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS

DOT KEET
Long-standing Research Associate with the Alternative Information and Development Centre, Cape Town, working with African social movements opposing WTO and Economic Partnership Agreements with the European Union, and monitoring developments regarding regional integration in Southern Africa. Currently focused on implications of European governmental proposals on the financial crisis for African countries.

DR. RICARDO VARGAS
Sociologist, TNI/Acción Andina research co-ordinator in Colombia. Writes frequently for various publications and journals, both in Colombia and internationally. In 2011, published 'Colombia: A successful case for the war on drugs?' and 'USAID's Alternative Development policy in Colombia. Continued to monitor drugs policy, land grabbing and political developments in Colombia.

DR. GONZALO BERRÓN
Political Science Postgraduate from São Paulo, Brazil. Currently a member of a research team on transnational social movements and linked to the Brazilian and Latin American trade union movement. Works on issues of regional integration and critiques of 'free trade' from the perspective of workers.

DR. TOM REIFER
Associate Professor of Sociology and Ethnic Studies programme at the University of San Diego. Continued to publish on US policies of indefinite imprisonment and torture, the global financial crisis, alternative regionalisms, and the future of the global system.

PAULINE TIFFEN
Social Entrepreneur, Intellectual Property and Labour Rights Consultant, UK. Focuses on helping small-scale producers in Africa and Latin America to profit from the international marketplace through technical assistance, research and networking. Worked with Maasai leaders in East Africa to manage and control their intellectual property rights.

TNI IN 2011

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Davine Thaw (South Africa)



FINANCE

BALANCE SHEET 2011, December 31

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

	Dec 31 '11 (in Euros)	Dec 31 '10 (in Euros)
ASSETS		
Fixed assets	2,074,842	2,137,698
Current assets:		
Outstanding receivables	472,284	592,814
Cash	868,593	957,348
TOTAL ASSETS	3,415,718	3,687,860
LIABILITIES		
Equity:		
Balance previous year	923,302	1,132,963
Correction to the opening balance	0	-40,844
Samuel Rubin Young Scholars Fund	0	5,458
Result current year	-62,975	-174,275
	860,327	923,302
Provisions	21,750	14,723
Long term liabilities (loan)	1,611,420	1,731,645
CURRENT LIABILITIES		
Redemption mortgage due in coming year	7,726	7,776
Project balance	0	505,960
Grants next year	520,933	258,891
Accounts payable	96,336	114,797
Liabilities to Partners	166,964	
Wage withholding tax	16,135	46,886
Provision vacationpay	78,446	55,581
Security on rent	11,082	11,082
Other current liabilities	24,599	17,217
TOTAL LIABILITIES	3,415,718	3,687,860
INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT		
INCOME		
Grants	2,396,471	2,003,683
Rent	131,149	122,300
Interest/currency gains and losses	18,939	33,128
Salary subsidies	6,057	11,974
Miscellaneous income	96,477	48,020
Project balance current year		-384,476
TOTAL INCOME	2,649,093	1,834,629
EXPENDITURE		
Personnel	858,504	786,381
Building expenses	165,624	179,561
Activity costs	1,217,716	860,599
Office & Communication costs	136,701	50,038
Publication & Outreach activities	261,856	117,835
Organisational Development	17,809	9,032
TOTAL EXPENDITURE	2,658,210	2,003,446
BALANCE	-9,117	-168,817
EXTRAORDINARY LOSSES	-53,857	
TOTAL BALANCE	-62,974	

2011 DONORS

DUTCH MINISTRY OF
DEVELOPMENT COOPERATION
The Netherlands: € 825,245

EUROPEAN COMMISSION
European Union: € 736,973

FOUNDATION OPEN SOCIETY
INSTITUTE
Switzerland: € 363,037

OXFAM NOVIB
The Netherlands: € 148,636

SWEDISH INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENT AGENCY
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DANISH MINISTRY FOR
FOREIGN AFFAIRS
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SAMUEL RUBIN FOUNDATION
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OTHERS
€ 27,900

ISVARA FOUNDATION
Switzerland: € 24,054

ROYAL DUTCH EMBASSY BANGKOK
The Netherlands: € 20,000

THANKS

TNI is grateful to the following organisations and people for the contributions to the sucess of TNI in 2011.

FUNDERS

European Commission
Foundation Open Society Institute (Switzerland)
Irish Aid (Ireland)
Isvara Foundation (Netherlands)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Denmark)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Netherlands)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Norway)
Oxfam Novib (Netherlands)
Samuel Rubin Foundation (USA)
Swedish International Development Association (Sweden)

ORGANISATIONS AND NETWORKS

INTERNATIONAL

Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPF)
Europe-Latin America Bi-regional network
European Monitoring Centre on Drugs and Drug Addiction (EMCDDA)
Food First International Action Network (FIAN)
Forum of Local Authorities for Social Inclusion and Participatory Democracy (REDFAL)
Friends of the Earth International (FOEI)
Municipal Services Project
International Drug Policy Consortium (IDPC)
International Harm Reduction Association (IHRA)
International Harm Reduction Development Program (IHRD)
International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty (IPC)
International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)
Our World Is Not For Sale (OWINFS)
People's Global Action on Migration, Development & Human Rights Public Services

International (PSI)
Reclaim Public Water Network
Seattle to Brussels Network
Via Campesina
Vienna NGO Committee on Narcotic Drugs

AFRICA

Africa Trade Network
African Water Network
Biowatch

Ghana

National Coalition Against Privatisation
Third World Network

Kenya

Local Government Workers' Union (KLGWU)

Morocco

Institut International de l'Eau et de l'Assainissement (ONEP)

Mozambique

Uniao Nacional de Camponeses (UNAC)

South Africa

Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC)
Amandla magazine
Centre for Civil Society, University of KwaZulu Natal
Coalition against Water Privatisation
Dept of Development Studies, University of KwaZulu Natal
Dept of Economics, University of Cape Town
Institute for Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University
Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of Western Cape
South African Municipal Workers' Union (SAMWU)
South Durban Community Environmental Alliance
Trust for Community Outreach and Education (TCOE)

Tanzania

Tanzanian Association of NGOs (TANGO)

ASIA & OCEANIA

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

Burma

Many organisations which cannot be named

China

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

Korea

Korean Confederation of Trade Unions

Indonesia

AMRTA Institute for Water Literacy
Indonesia Popular Governance Institute

India

Centre of Excellence for Change (CEC)
New Trade Union Initiative
Water Organisations Partnership in India

Japan

Advocacy & Monitoring Network on Sustainable Development

Malaysia

Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation (MSN)

Philippines

Institute for Popular Democracy
Philippine Association of Water Districts

Thailand

Forum Asia
Mae Fah Luang Foundation

Vietnam

Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation

AMERICAS

Hemispheric Social Alliance
Latin American Commission on Drugs and Democracy

La Confederación Sindical de Trabajadores/as de las Americas
Plataforma de Acuerdos de Cooperación Públicos y Comunitarios
Red Vida

Argentina

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

Bolivia

Fondación Solón
Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Brazil

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

Canada

Blue Planet Project
Council of Canadians
Queens University

Colombia

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

Dominican Republic

Federación Dominicana de Municipio (FEDOMU)

Mexico

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

Perú

Federación Nacional de Trabajadores del Agua Potable y Alcantarillado

del Peru (FENTAP)
Centro de Investigación Drogas y Derechos Humanos (CIDDH)

United States

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

Uruguay

Federación de Funcionarios de OSE (FOSSE)
Friends of the Earth Uruguay (REDES)
Junta Nacional de Drogas (JND)
Obras Sanitarias del Estado (OSE)

EUROPE/MIDDLE EAST

Aqua Publica Europea
EuroMemorandum Group
European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC)
RESPECT Network
Seattle to Brussels Network (S2B)
Transform Europe
Women in Development Europe (WIDE)

Austria

ATTAC

Belgium

11.11.11
Belgian Decent Work Coalition
Belgian Platform on Health and Solidarity
Centre National de la Coopération au Développement (CNCD)

Czech Republic

Glopolis

Finland

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Siemenpuu
Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam

France

AITEC
Centre Lebre

Espaces Marx
Federation Régionale des Centres d'Initiatives pour Valoriser l'Agriculture
Fondation Sciences Citoyennes

Germany

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Heinrich Boell Stiftung
Powershift
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World Economy, Ecology & Development (WEED)

Greece

Diogenis

Hungary

Védegylet/Protect the Future

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Fuorilugo
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Clean Clothes Campaign
Coalitie voor Eerlijke Handel
Comitee Grondwet Nee
Commission for Filipino Migrant Workers
Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO)
Food First International Action Network (FIAN-NL)
Fort van Sjakoo bookshop
Harm Reduction Platform
Netherlands
Institute of Social Studies
Milieudefensie
Nederlands Instituut voor Zuidelijk Afrika (NIZA)
Palestina Komitee
Netherlands (NPK)
OneWorld
Respect NL
Society for International Development (SID)
Stichting Onderzoek Multinational

Ondernemers (SOMO)
Stop Global Europe Campaign
Stop the War Coalition
Tax Justice Netherlands
Transnational Migrant Platform
University of Amsterdam
World Waternet
XminY Solidariteitsfonds

Portugal

Institute on Drugs and Drugs Addition (IDT)

Spain

Asociación Española de Operadores Públicos de Abastecimiento y Saneamiento (AEOPAS)
Cañamo
Diputación de Málaga
Ecologistas en Acción
Federación de Asociaciones Cannábicas (FAC)
Fundación Nueva Cultura de Agua
Ingeneria Sin Fronteras
Catalina
Observatorio de la Deuda en la Globalización (ODG)
Observatorio de Multinacionales en América Latina (OMAL)

United Kingdom

Food Ethics Council
Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU)
Open University
Red Pepper magazine
Stewardship
Transform Drug Policy Foundation
War on Want
World Development Movement (WDM)
University Exeter

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PUBLICATIONS 2011

DRUGS


 **Systems Overload: Drug Laws and Prisons in Latin America** *March 2011* Pien Metaal and Colette Youngers (Eds) Wola /TNI. This report is the result of a research project on the relationship between drug legislation and the prison situation that was carried out in eight countries. *(Also in Spanish)*


 **The development of international drug control** *February 2011* Martin Jelsma. TNI's paper for the Global Commission on Drug Policy describes the foundations of the global drug control system, its degeneration into the 'war on drugs', and how international drug policy can be made both more effective and more humane.


 **Coca leaf: Myths and Reality** *February 2011.* Tom Blickman. Every day press accounts around the world use the word coca in their headlines, when they refer in fact to cocaine. TNI's Drugs and Democracy Team expose the myths and reality surrounding the coca leaf.

DRUG POLICY BRIEFINGS


 **USAID's Alternative Development policy in Colombia** *October 2011* Ricardo Vargas. Alternative Development as practised by USAID and the Colombia government was always guided more by security rather than development considerations. This report examines the key aspects of USAID's alternative development policy and its implementation in Colombia during the last decade. A critical analysis by Ricardo Vargas. Drug Policy Briefing Nr. 38. *Also in Spanish.*


 **Amphetamine Type Stimulants and Harm Reduction** *October 2011* Tom Blickman. Little is known about the methamphetamine market in the region, but there are strong indications that the situation is deteriorating with substances becoming stronger, methods of use more harmful and the number of users steadily increasing. There is an urgent need for donors and governments to introduce effective harm reduction measures. Drug Policy Briefing Nr. 37.


 **Alternative Development from the perspective of Colombian farmers** *July 2011* Susana Ojeda. There is considerable debate on whether Alternative Development is successful from the point of view of experts and politicians, but what do Colombian farmers targeted by these programmes think and what are the implications for their daily lives? Drug Policy Briefing No. 36. *Also in Spanish.*

 **On the Frontline of Northeast India** *March 2011* Drugs and Democracy. Conflict and underdevelopment in Northeast India have contributed to drug consumption and production, and are hampering access to treatment, care and support for drug users. Drug Policy Briefing No. 35. *Also in Spanish.*

DRUG LAW REFORM SERIES


 **Legal highs': The challenge of new psychoactive substances.** *October 2011.* Adam Winstock and Chris Wilkins. This paper aimed to set out some of the policy and public health issues raised by the appearance of a wide range of emergent psychoactive substances of diverse origin, effect and risk profile (commonly referred to as 'legal highs'). Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 16. *Also in Spanish*

 **How to determine personal use in drug legislation** *September 2011* Grazia Zuffa. Distinguishing between drug possession for personal use and supply and trafficking is widely acknowledged as one of the most difficult and controversial issues facing drug legislators and policymakers. Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 15. *Also in Spanish.*

 **Conviction by Numbers** *September 2011* Genevieve Harris. The use of "threshold quantities" for determining charges for drug offences has become a popular quick-fix by policy makers keen to save time and money, but they should be used with caution as they also carry the risk of wrongful conviction and disproportionate responses. Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 14. *Also in Spanish.*

 **Kratom in Thailand: Decriminalisation and Community Control?** *May 2011* Pascal Tanguay. Kratom is an integral part of Thai culture and has negligible harmful effects. Community level control and education are recommended for the best path to harm reduction. Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 13.

 **Fifty Years of the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs: A Reinterpretation** *March 2011* Martin Jelsma. David Bewley-Taylor Fifty years after its entering into force, it is time for a critical reflection on the validity of the Single Convention today: a reinterpretation of its historical significance and an assessment of its aims, its strengths and its weaknesses. Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 12. *Also in Spanish.*

 **Lifting the ban on coca chewing** *March 2011* Martin Jelsma. This briefing paper analyses the reasons behind Bolivia's proposal to remove from the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs the obligation to abolish the practice of coca chewing and the opposing arguments that have been brought forward. Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 11. *Also in Spanish.*

 **The development of international drug control** *February 2011* Martin Jelsma. The emergence of more pragmatic and less punitive approaches to the drugs issue may represent the beginning of change in the current global drug control regime. Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 10. *Also in Spanish.*


 **Cannabis social clubs in Spain** *January 2011* Martín Barriuso Alonso. Cannabis social clubs in Spain are noncommercial organisations of users who get together to cultivate and distribute enough cannabis to meet their personal needs without having to turn to the black market. Series on Legislative Reform of Drug Policies Nr. 9. *Also in Spanish.*


AGRARIAN JUSTICE

 **Global Land Grabbing and Trajectories of Agrarian Change: A Preliminary Analysis** *December 2011* Jennifer Franco Jun Borrás. The politics of change in land use and in property relations linked to cases of land grabbing are not well understood, and yet are crucial to a deeper understanding of the phenomenon; this paper explores these topics, providing a preliminary analysis.

 **Land grabbing in Latin America and the Caribbean in broader international perspectives** *December 2011* Jun Borrás, Jennifer Franco, Cristóbal Kay, Max Spoor. A critical re-assessment of a UN FAO study on land grabbing finds that a too-narrow definition has obscured evidence of land grabbing on a wider geographical scale than previously thought; this research includes new evidence of cases in Latin America and the Caribbean. *Also in Spanish.*

 **Social and environmental impacts of sugarcane production in Brazil** *November 2011* Carlos Vinicius Xavier, Fábio T. Pitta and Maria Luisa Mendonça. In this publication, data and recent analyses will be presented on the expansion of sugar cane monoculture for ethanol production in Brazil, and in particular on the monopolisation in the sector due to mergers and the takeover of production plants by foreign companies.

 **Land, conflict and the challenge of pro-poor peace-building** *October 2011* Jennifer Franco Jun Borrás. There is a lot of contention over approaches to land reform policy, in terms of how to involve the state, the market and communities; but what matters most for a socio-economically and politically sustainable solution, is that the policy is genuinely 'pro-poor'.

 **The Many Faces of the Investor Rush in Southern Africa: Towards a Typology of Commercial Land Deals.** *March 2011.* Ruth Hall. Reviews the latest experiences of land grabbing in Southern Africa, detailing questions of scale and duration, initiation, negotiation processes, production sectors, employment, natural resource use and more.

 **Agricultural Innovation: Sustaining what agriculture? For what European bio-economy?** *February 2011* Jennifer Franco, Lucia Goldfarb, David Fig. Les Levidow, S.M.Oreszczy et al. The Europe 2020 strategy's promotion of resource-efficient technologies and market incentives as the solution for sustainable agriculture is contradicted by experience

where techno-fixes and market pressures have increased overall demand on resources. *Imported into the European Union.*

 **Political Dynamics of Land grabbing in Southeast Asia: Understanding Europe's Role** *January 2011* Jun Borrás Jennifer Franco. The European Union is a significant player in the widespread occurrence of land grabbing in Southeast Asia; both through its corporate sector and public policies.


ECONOMIC JUSTICE

 **The Green Economy: the Wolf in Sheep's clothing** *December 2011* Edgardo Lander. The fundamental flaw at the heart of UNEP's report "Towards a Green Economy" is its failure to analyse the extraordinarily unequal power relations that exist in today's world, and the interests at play in the operation of this global economic system. *Als available in Spanish.*

 **Globalising Hunger** *December 2011* Thomas Fritz. The publication analyses the impacts of the scramble for the cheapest raw materials, the exports of cereals, dairy and poultry products, as well as the effects of the growing demand for animal feed, by far the most important agricultural commodity.

 **The Politics of Climate Change and the Global Crisis: Mortgaging Our Future** *December 2011.* Praful Bidwai. Bidwai addresses the impacts of climate change and the politics of the international climate negotiations; and second, India as an example of an 'emerging economy' major polluter, which can potentially both aid or obstruct the fight against climate change.


 **Legalised Profiteering?** *November 2011* Nick Buxton. The secretive and lucrative world of international investment arbitration has enriched a small coterie of multi-billion dollar international firms, which actively promote and even help finance litigations against states and have fought fiercely to prevent changes to an unjust international investment regime. *Also in Spanish.*

 **The EU Crisis Pocket Guide** *October 2011* TNI. A useful pocket guide on how a crisis made in Wall Street was made worse by EU policies, how it has enriched the 1% to the detriment of the 99%, and outlining some possible solutions that prioritise people and the environment above corporate profits. *Also in Spanish.*

 **Financial Governance beyond the Crisis: Creating an Innovative Financial Architecture in Latin America,** *October 2011.* Sofia Jarrin, Nick Buxton. An in-depth interview with Pedro Paez, Plenipotentiary Ambassador for the Ecuadorian Government on the New International Financial Architecture and Chair of the Ecuadorian Presidential Technical Commission for

thedesign of a New Regional Financial Architecture – Banco del Sur.


 **Strengthening public water in Africa** *August 2011* Samir Bensaid. While both North-South partnerships and SouthSouth Partnerships have strengths and limitations, linking these in networked models is an effective way to mobilise expertise and funding and achieve success.


 **Democracia participativa y modernización de los servicios públicos (ebook)** *julio 2011* Yves Sintomer y Ernesto Ganuza, con la colaboración de Carsten Herzberg y Anja Röcke. Este libro electrónico gratuito pretende analizar la experiencia con el mecanismo del presupuesto participativo en Europa.


 **Time for Europe to put human rights above commercial advantage** *March 2011* Cecilia Olivet. Paulina Novo Free trade or slave trade? How the EU's free trade agreements in Colombia and Peru reward human rights abuses, destroy livelihoods, promote land grabbing and strip governments of their sovereignty to regulate capital flows. *Also in Spanish.*


 **Change EU investment policy - now is the time!** *January 2011* Alternative Regionalisms. Seattle-to-Brussels network (S2B) Bilateral investment treaties (BITs) allow transnational corporations to by-pass domestic courts and sue sovereign states - costing tax payers millions in legal expenses and preventing governments from acting in the best interests of their citizens.

BURMA

 **Civil Society Gaining Ground** *November 2011* Tom Kramer. Local organisations have adopted different strategies towards the authoritarian government in Burma. Focussing on the dynamics of civil society Tom Kramer looks into the possibilities and risks of growing international interest in engagement with these groups.


 **Conflict or Peace? Ethnic Unrest Intensifies in Burma** *June 2011.* The breakdown in the ceasefire of the Kachin Independence Organisation (KIO) with the central government represents a major failure in national politics and threatens to escalate to serious humanitarian crisis if not immediately addressed.


 **Burma's New Government: Prospects for Governance and Peace in Ethnic States** *May 2011.* What are the prospects for Burma's quasi-civilian government effectively addressing the country's ethnic minority grievances and resolving the multiple, decades-long conflicts? **TNI-BCN Burma Policy Briefing Nr 6, May 2011.**

 **Burma's Longest War: Anatomy of the Karen Conflict** *March 2011* Ashley South. As Burma enters a period of political transition, the role of the Karen ethnic communities will be critical in responding to the political and economic challenges that will shape their future. An in-depth history and analysis of the Karen's complex relationship with the Burmese state and central government.

 **Ethnic Politics in Burma: The Time for Solutions** *February 2011* Following the shake-up of Burmese politics last year, the country's military leaders now face the challenge of introducing a new system while ethnic tensions and exclusions remain. **TNI-BCN Burma Policy Briefing Nr 5, February 2011**

PEACE AND SECURITY

 **Desafiando al imperio (ebook)** *Febrero 2011* Phyllis Bennis. En este libro electrónico gratuito, Phyllis Bennis analiza el auge del unilateralismo estadounidense y la doctrina de la guerra preventiva, centrándose especialmente en los casos de Iraq e Israel/Palestina, y examina los retos y las oportunidades para reivindicar las Naciones Unidas como parte del movimiento mundial por la paz.

 **Casus belli: cómo los Estados Unidos venden la guerra (ebook)** *Febrero 2011* Achin Vanaik. Este libro electrónico gratuito analiza las diversas excusas que se han esgrimido para ir a la guerra durante las últimas décadas de crecientes ambiciones imperialistas por parte de los Estados Unidos.

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The Transnational Institute (TNI)
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to steer the world in a democratic,
equitable and environmentally
sustainable direction.

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