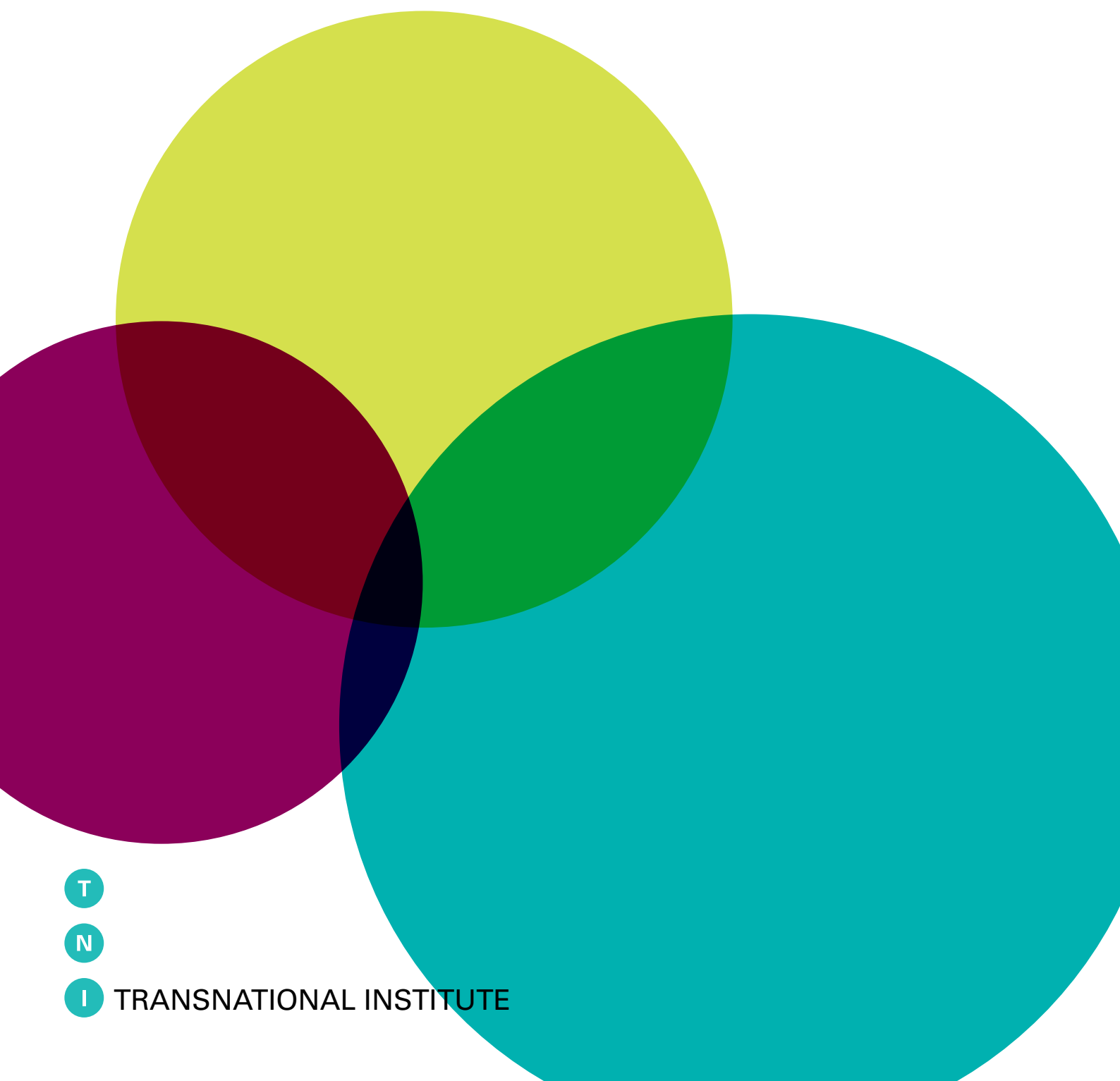


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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE

'Since we all agree that the world is suffering from war, from inequities, from the inhuman treatment of perhaps more than two thirds of humanity, let us come together to examine these questions and to see what answers we can collectively produce that may perhaps deliver us, as humanity, as the human race, into a world different from the one we are living in today'

Philanthropist **Samuel Rubin** declaring his hopes for TNI, *Paris, 1972*

THE TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE is an international network of activist researchers committed to addressing global problems. This is done 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.



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PARTNERS | CSOs | GOVERNMENTS



CROSS-CUTTING THEMES

- EXPOSING HARMS
- PROPOSING ALTERNATIVES
- EMPOWERING MOVEMENTS FOR CHANGE
- BUILDING MOVEMENTS FOR CHANGE
- FACILITATING ADVOCACY

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

The year TNI turned 35 began hopefully with the inauguration of President Obama. The United Nations General Assembly was asserting leadership of the financial crisis. Expectations were high that the coupling of the economic and climate crises might see the world finally choosing the path to sustainability. Energised, social movements converged to support changes in a better direction

The G20, however, successfully usurped the role of the UN and little changed. The non-binding Copenhagen Accord, controversially drafted by the US and BASIC countries, was the only tangible outcome of the Climate Summit. Amidst the crisis, economic growth trumped sustainability. A 'Green New Deal' was sidelined as unaffordable, while government after government in the North ploughed public money by the billions into bailing out banks so that 'business as usual' could be resumed as quickly as possible.

The crises are not going away though. Furthermore, they have exposed the current dominant economic model as unsustainable. The balance of

power in the world is shifting too, opening both new threats and new opportunities for another system of governance. Now is the time to be proposing alternatives and demonstrating in practice how they could work.

This 2009 Annual Report presents TNI's efforts in the past year to continue to expose where the problems lie, and to shift policy in a more socially just and sustainable direction.

We are particularly proud of the achievements of our water work (see p 16-19). In the course of just six years, we can confidently claim a significant contribution to the changes we are now seeing at UN level, and albeit a little more modestly,

at EU level. The urban poor of the developing world are facing an acute shortage of access to drinking water – a fundamental right for human beings. This is caused by ailing public utilities and rapacious attempts by big – usually European – corporations to buy them up in the hope of turning a quick profit. TNI has argued strongly, and demonstrated in practice, that the solution does not lie with privatisation but rather in reforming public utilities. This has worked very well where public utility managers, engineers and unionised workers work closely with users and community organisations. What has also helped enormously are 'public-public partnerships' (PuPs) or non-profit twinning programmes

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

The crises are not going away. Furthermore, they have exposed the current dominant economic model as unsustainable. The balance of power in the world is shifting too, opening both new threats and new opportunities for another system of governance. Now is the time to be proposing alternatives and demonstrating in practice how they could work

between successful and under-performing utilities. In what we see as a major victory, both the UN and EU are now offering funding for PuPs. Furthermore, the network that TNI has helped build around this issue in over 60 countries was invited to advise both bodies in 2009.

We are also seeing some results for our Alternative Regionalisms programme, which advocates a sustainable and people-centred regional integration as the best defence against globalisation in Southern regions. Latin America offers the most opportunity to experiment with an alternative regionalism. A first joint meeting between governments and social movements was held in Paraguay during the Mercosur Summit in 2009 to discuss just this (see p23). TNI facilitated the attendance of both parliamentary and civil society observers from Southern Africa and South East Asia who are interested to stimulate a similar dynamic in their own regions.

Our long-standing efforts to shift drug policy are making very good progress indeed. We now have more than 40 governments engaged in our informal drug policy forums. During the 10 year review of UN drug policy in 2009, it was clear that there is now a majority in favour of a harm reduction policy. This is directly attributable to TNI's efforts. Decision-making at this level is based on consensus, however, and a few spoiler countries could therefore block official adoption of the principle (see p34). Nevertheless, we are

now seeing a wave of reforms being implemented across Latin America, which are also inspiring countries in South East Asia. TNI is being called upon to advise governments wanting to introduce drug law reform. We anticipate that it is only a matter of time before the contradictions force international treaty reform.

At a more general level, TNI is being taken ever more seriously by the mainstream media. Alongside visible and articulate social movements, we see the media as the other crucial means for shaping public opinion. In 2009, we put particular emphasis on media outreach – with gratifying results. We employed two professionals – one in Amsterdam and one in Mexico – who successfully generated 250 articles citing TNI. This included reaching some of the most influential wire services and newspapers globally (see p13).

I would like to thank our dedicated interns, staff and fellows, our diligent researchers, editors and translators for their very hard work this year – typically way beyond the call of duty. I would also like to thank the vast network of organisations and individuals who collaborated with us this year in moving a few steps closer to a better world. The trust and confidence they have in TNI, and the appreciation they always show for our efforts make the long hours we put in worth every minute. And finally, I would like to thank our donors without whom we could not exist.

A few, in particular, deserve special mention. Firstly, the Samuel Rubin Foundation which has unflinching supported us for 35 years. Secondly, the Dutch Ministry of Development Cooperation and the Open Society Institute which have supported our programme continuously over the past five years. And finally, special thanks are due to Oxfam-Novib for stepping up to support us when our contract with the Ministry ended and we feared a funding gap.

TNI is now actively seeking new donors for the coming years. We are also encouraging appreciative individuals to donate through a shiny new button on our website!

TNI is one of the oldest institutes of its type still existing in the world. We have proved our worth in the 35 years of our existence, and hope to continue to serve in the global public interest for at least another thirty five. With your help, we can.

Yours,



Fiona Dove
Director

MESSAGE FROM THE BOARD PRESIDENT

Readers of this Annual Report cannot expect me to be objective or neutral about TNI: the Institute has been my intellectual home for nearly four decades and I owe it more than I can express. The dedication of my most recent book describes my debt this way: "To all my friends and comrades of Attac and the Transnational Institute who for these many years have obliged me to think".

Still I hope to be objective in recognising that TNI has been collectively and consistently right. Perhaps being politically progressive is sufficient to stay ahead of the game and simply wait for confirmation of the trends one has already identified. In TNI's case, however, I'm convinced it comes down to more than simply being progressive. Thanks to the international composition of the Staff and the Fellowship, the exceptional breadth of our interests and the significance of the topics we cover, we've developed a common Weltanschauung, a worldview that has allowed us to move forward with relevant research, analyses and proposals well before others caught on to the real pattern of events, much less the meaning behind them.

Being right before others are has not been an unalloyed blessing. Being transnational in scope and content was daring to the point of

foolhardiness at a time long before the internet made the complexity of communications infinitely easier. We took the difficulties in stride because we were sure twenty different vantage points would result in deeper, more relevant scholarship and come closer to the truth than any single national or cultural view could possibly provide.

Ideas have always been our common coin, but the importance of ideas was not necessarily apparent to everyone else, including funders. The most savage of the right wing neoliberals understood this point perfectly. By the time TNI was founded, their foundations were already spending good money on the production and dissemination of ideas eventually showering their scholars, think tanks, publications, communications departments et alia with over a billion dollars in the United States alone.

Faced with such powerful opposition the counterthrust of smaller, weaker institutions like TNI was hampered. We struggled ahead on limited funds, using poorly paid, part time or volunteer researchers and writers and suffering from distribution restricted by considerations not of quality but of capacity. Progressive funders generously supported "projects" but did not understand that in the wrong ideological

climate, these would founder as soon as the outside funding stopped. As I wrote in 1997 (thus well before the Bush low point): *Today few would deny that we live under the virtually undisputed rule of the market-dominated, ultra-competitive, globalised society with its cortege of manifold iniquities and everyday violence. Have we got the hegemony we deserve? I think we have....The 'war of ideas' has been tragically neglected by the side of the angels. Many public and private institutions that genuinely believe they are working for a more equitable world have in fact actively contributed to the triumph of neo-liberalism or have passively allowed this triumph to occur... The now-dominant economic doctrine did not descend from heaven. It has, rather, been carefully nurtured over decades, through thought, action and propaganda, bought and paid for by a closely knit fraternity...**

The multiple, interlinked and converging crises we now face are the result. Ideas have consequences: finance and the casino economy can run wild, poverty, hunger and inequality exist on an appalling scale in both North and South, the human environment is threatened with collapse.

It is now blindingly obvious to anyone who cares to look that the neoliberal system wreaks havoc

upon our economy, society and planet. At TNI, we think now is the time to forge ahead with hard-hitting analyses and proposals for solutions. We believe we understand not only what's needed to make a clean, green, rich, just and democratic world but also how to get there.

Our gratitude goes to all those who have supported us through the difficult neoliberal times, with money of course but also with their ideas, solidarity and trust. Thanks to all of you, we have become a well-nigh indestructible transnational community of committed, progressive scholars and activists who welcome the future and intend to help shape it.

SUSAN GEORGE
Board President



DR SUSAN GEORGE is author of fourteen widely translated books on North-South issues, including most recently *Their Crises: Our Solutions* (Albin Michel, France; Icaria/Intermon, Spain; Polity, UK forthcoming 2010)

*Susan George, "How to Win the War of Ideas: Lessons from the Gramscian Right", *Dissent*, Summer 1997

2009 highlights

CO-OPERATION TOWARDS AN ALTERNATIVE REGIONAL INTEGRATION

Latin American social movements and the Paraguayan Presidency of Mercosur co-convened the first official exchange on visions for an alternative model of regional integration in July. TNI and its PAAR partners took the initiative following discussions at the World Social Forum in Belem, Brazil, earlier in the year. See page 23

BOOST FOR PUBLIC WATER SOLUTIONS

Both the UN and the EU are moving away from privatisation as a panacea for urban water supply problems. The Global Water Operators Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA), hosted by UN-Habitat, and the new ACP-EU Water Facility focus on public solutions to the crisis. TNI and its partners are working hard to make sure they retain their not-for-profit focus. See page 18

EC COMPLICITY IN CORPORATE IMPUNITY EXPOSED

In November, TNI co-organised a hearing at the European Parliament to draw attention to the recommendations of the Permanent People's Tribunal on Transnational Corporations (TNCs) in Lima in 2008. 250 people discussed EC complicity in protecting the impunity of TNCs. See page 23

RETURN TO PUBLIC SERVICE PROVES VIABLE

In Venezuela, the renationalised telecommunications concern CANTV is showing that a publicly owned company can turn a profit and provide an efficient service. TNI co-operated in an evaluation of the company, including innovative dimensions such as worker and community participation, job creation and coverage. See page 18

In the UK, the public sector union Unison helped a municipal IT and related services department to ward off privatisation and provide a better public service. TNI helped document the case in 'Public service reform... but not as we know it!' See page 19

CARBON TRADING EXPOSED AS FALSE CLIMATE SOLUTION

With all eyes on the UN Climate Conference in Copenhagen in December, carbon trading was high on the global political agenda. TNI's evidence-based critique over the past seven years proved an invaluable resource in challenging carbon trading as a false climate solution. TNI played a key role during the Summit in providing daily resources to movements. See page 25

ASSUMPTIONS OF EU BIOFUEL POLICY PROVED WRONG

TNI's comparative study of agrofuels in Brazil, Mozambique and Germany refutes the assumptions underlying the EU policy on biofuels. The study shows that, rather than having a beneficial impact on the environment, energy security and rural development, increased agrofuel production only feeds industrial expansion. See page 28

EU SECURITY RESEARCH PROGRAMME EXPOSED

In 2009, TNI and Statewatch published *NeoConOpticon*, a detailed exposé of how EU research funding is being used to subsidise the roll-out of Big Brother-type technologies and militarist systems by some of Europe's biggest arms companies. Ostensibly geared towards securing Europe from the threat of illegal immigration and terrorism, the programmes have profound implications for civil liberties and yet there has been no public debate. The report caused a sensation in the media and sparked a major (if muted) debate within the EU security research community. See page 38

BURMA PEACE PROCESS NEEDS CEASE-FIRE GROUPS

In Burma, fighting brought an abrupt end to two decades of a truce between the government and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) in Kokang region, raising doubts about cease-fires agreed with other armed groups. A TNI field mission concluded that the only way to achieve lasting peace and democracy in the country is to involve all ethnic opposition groups in discussions about political change in the country. See page 32

MAJORITY SUPPORT FOR HARM REDUCTION

At the 52nd session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs in Vienna, during the UNGASS review of UN drugs policy, the concept of harm reduction was supported by the majority of member states. As decision-making is based on consensus, however, a powerful minority was able to prevent official endorsement. Harm reduction policies aim to reduce the medical, social and economic harms associated with drug production and consumption. TNI was praised by UN officials for the impact it had on the UNGASS review process. See page 34

FARMERS GET A VOICE ON DRUGS POLICY

In January, TNI co-organised the first worldwide farmers' summit on drug-linked crops in Barcelona. 65 representatives of farmers' organisations and experts working closely with communities from areas with coca, opium and cannabis cultivation participated. Two farmer representatives subsequently attended the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) review meeting in Vienna to present their recommendations. See page 37

NO BASES CAMPAIGN SHOWS RESULTS

The International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases, for which TNI served as the secretariat in 2009, logged a number of successes. In Japan, the Philippines, Ecuador and elsewhere, governments bowed to popular pressure to abandon plans for new bases or close existing ones. The issue was high on the agenda of the UNASUR summit in Latin America, and is now on the agenda of the 2010 NPT (Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty) Review conference. See page 39

EU TRADE AND INVESTMENT POLICY CHALLENGED

Six public debates between global civil society and high level EC representatives on the impact of EU trade and investment policies in the South were organised by TNI in Brussels. Against the backdrop of the global crisis, the Debating Europe Series highlighted the contradictions for development efforts posed by the EU's Global Europe trade strategy. See page 22

TNI timeline

Since it was first conceived by a group of progressive intellectuals in the early 1970s, TNI has been a consistent voice in a changing world

1972

Susan George and Maria Jolas organise a meeting at La Closerie des Lilas restaurant in Paris to explore possibilities for a TNI in Europe. Samuel Rubin, Peter Weiss, Richard Barnet and Marcus Raskin (Institute for Policy Studies, Washington DC) come to present their ideas. Invitees include Jean Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir, Michel Foucault, André Görz, Roland Barthes, Claude Bourdet, Michel Rocard, and Claude Julien. A similar consultative meeting is held in 'Café de Paris', Regent Street in London

1973

**OFFICIAL
END OF
VIETNAM
WAR**

**PINOCHET
COUP IN
CHILE**

Eqbal Ahmed, Pakistani journalist, professor and veteran of the Algerian liberation and anti-Vietnam War struggles, appointed TNI's first director. US philanthropists Ed and Ann Jans buy Paulus Potterstraat 20, Amsterdam and offer TNI free use of the premises

**OIL
CRISIS**

1977

TNI/CIS report on the Soweto uprising 'Black South Africa Explodes' is released during a public event and a related TNI activity is organised at the UN. The report is the only detailed account of events in South Africa since the uprising. The Observer reviews the arms trade mentioned in the report on its front page. The timing of the release in Europe coincides with the trade union boycott of South Africa

1974

TNI convenes its first conference in response to the coup in Chile, establishing itself as a serious presence among radicals in Europe and helping to shape the political response to the coup. 50 participants, including Jacques Chonchol, former Minister of Agriculture under Allende, David Baytelman, former head of the Allende government's land reform programme, Claude Bourdet, Ralph Miliband, André Gunder Frank, Herbert Marcuse and Johan Galtung

1975

International Conference on 'Institutional Alternatives in Health Care'

**PORTUGUESE
REVOLUTION,
DECOLONISATION**

Oaxtepec, Mexico - TNI's Latin America group in Washington co-organises a colloquium on 'The Future of US-Latin American Relations' in cooperation with the Center for Economic Development in Mexico (CIDE). Coordinator of IPS/TNI's Latin America programme is Roberta Salper

1976

Orlando Letelier, Chile's Defence/Foreign Minister during Allende government and Ambassador to the US, is appointed director of TNI and begins a major programme to promote the New International Economic Order. He publishes one of the first critiques of neoliberalism in exposing the experiments of the Chicago Boys in Pinochet's Chile. Letelier persuades the Dutch government not to invest US\$63 million in the Chilean mining industry

**SOWETO
UPRISING,
SOUTH
AFRICA**

Letelier asks Basker Vashee to take the position as TNI's resident director in Amsterdam. Vashee is a ZAPU exile from Zimbabwe and London School of Economics trained economist

'How the Other Half Dies' by Susan George published

Letelier and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, a young assistant at IPS, are assassinated by a car bomb in Washington DC by the Chilean secret service, with CIA complicity

1980

Publication of TNI Special Report 'US Arms Deliveries to South Africa: The Italian Connection' by Michael Klare

TNI shelters CIA whistleblower Philip Agee

'The Southern Connection: Recommendations for a New Approach to Inter-American Relations' by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Latin America, coordinated by Roberta Salper, from IPS. Report published in the name of TNI in first issue of CIDE-magazine

1982

First Samuel Rubin Seminar: 'The Reagan Presidency and the Third World' with Peter Weiss, Marcus Raskin, Richard Barnet, Saul Landau, Eqbal

**ZIMBABWE
INDEPENDENCE**

Ahmad, Basker Vashee, Joyce and Gabriel Kolko and Isabel Letelier, held at the Populier

Conference organised by TNI fellow Mary Kaldor and TNI associate Dan Smith with the Appeal for European Nuclear Disarmament (END), where researchers examine proposals for disarmament, non-alignment and new forms of defence

Samuel Rubin Seminar: 'Middle East: Israel and Palestine' with Edward Said and a representative of the Israeli New Outlook

1981

With the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation, TNI co-sponsors the South-North Conference 'The International Monetary System and the New International Order' in Tanzania. The Institute contributes to the Arusha Initiative for a new international financial order, which becomes the basis for the policy position taken by the Group of 77

Publication of TNI Special Report 'US Arms Deliveries to South Africa: The Italian Connection' by Michael Klare

TNI shelters CIA whistleblower Philip Agee

'The Southern Connection: Recommendations for a New Approach to Inter-American Relations' by the Ad Hoc Working Group on Latin America, coordinated by Roberta Salper, from IPS. Report published in the name of TNI in first issue of CIDE-magazine

Mozambique and Angola deliver briefings on the South African government's economic and military destabilisation of their nations. They receive pledges of support

Conference 'Central American Peasant Organisations: Strategies towards Europe', resulting from a research project on the perspectives of the agricultural sector in Central America in relation to Europe and its agricultural policies. A delegation of ten representatives from Central National Farmers Organisations (ASOCODE) make a four-week tour, April-May, through Europe to meet farmers, NGOs, politicians, press, etc

Conference 'Central American Peasant Organisations: Strategies towards Europe', resulting from a research project on the perspectives of the agricultural sector in Central America in relation to Europe and its agricultural policies. A delegation of ten representatives from Central National Farmers Organisations (ASOCODE) make a four-week tour, April-May, through Europe to meet farmers, NGOs, politicians, press, etc

Workshop on the economic crisis in Sub-Saharan Africa and African visions for the future of the continent, in Amsterdam, with participation of 30 African intellectuals. The workshop resulted in the launch of a project to research what has worked in Africa and why with regards to development projects

9/11 AND THE INVASION OF AFGHANISTAN

Two TNI Fellows speak at the Transactions 2001 Symposium of the Royal Society of Canada in Ottawa, shortly after WTO Ministerial Meeting in Doha. Walden Bello gives an assessment of WTO from the point of view of developing countries, while Susan George concludes 'Rules Yes, These Rules No' for the WTO

1983 Samuel Rubin Seminar on Democracy and Revolution: 'Democracy: The Soviet Model' with Fred Halliday and Jonathan Steele (the Guardian)

Future South African President Thabo Mbeki visits TNI to discuss TNI's work on the country

Meeting with Hossein Bagherzadeh of the Iranian National Council of Resistance (representative from Paris), Fred Halliday and Gianni Noordijk of Amnesty International

1993 Susan George's 'The Debt Boomerang', which chronicles the impact of the debt crisis on the US and Europe, published

1992 Following the fall of the Wall, TNI hosts a historic encounter between democracy activists in Eastern Europe with Western activists from the peace, feminist, environmental and labour movements

1991 Lecture by Uruguayan writer Eduardo Galeano in De Balie as part of the 'Collective Memory' series

1990 'The Fall of the Wall' and 'New Left Answer to the New Right' by Hilary Wainwright published

National Convention for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace in New Delhi, India. Initiated by TNI fellows Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik, and organised by a broad coalition of organisations led by the Movement in India for Nuclear Disarmament

TNI Drugs and Democracy programme co-hosts the conference 'Colombia and Europe respond jointly to Plan Colombia', organised by a coalition of 70 Colombian and 50 European NGOs parallel to the official donor conference for Plan Colombia in Madrid

1984 Samuel Rubin Seminar 'Another window on the world' in Amsterdam. Lectures by Buchi Emecheta, Salman Rushdie, James Baldwin and others. First lecture is by Polish writer, Andrzej Szczypiorski, introduced by John Berger

1995 Publication of the joint TNI / Middle East Research and Information Project (MERIP) book 'Palestine in Crisis: The Struggle for Peace and Political Independence after Oslo' by Graham Usher

1994 'Beyond Bretton Woods' published

1994 END OF APARTHEID

1994 WORLD TRADE ORGANISATION CREATED

TNI is the first to produce critical booklets on the newly created World Trade Organisation

'The Next Threat: Western Perceptions of Islam' edited by TNI fellow Jochen Hippler and Andrea Lueg is published, pre-empting the rise of Islamophobia following 9/11

1996 Asia Europe People's Forum (AEPF) Bangkok, Thailand. 400 participants. The conference was co-organised with Focus on the Global South and a report was published

International seminar on 'Resistances to Neo-Liberalism' held at TNI in Amsterdam. 40 participants

TNI begins a project on drugs and conflict, examining the way the 'war on drugs' in Latin America hinders demilitarisation and democratisation

2000 TNI co-organises an East Timor Solidarity Demonstration at Museum Square in Amsterdam with 100 participants, followed by a well-attended press conference

BATTLE OF SEATTLE

Publication of 'Dark Victory. The United States, Structural Adjustment and Global Poverty' (updated 2nd edition) by TNI fellow Walden Bello, with Shea Cunningham and Bill Rau

TNI Forum 'Globalisation, Social Movements & the New Internationalism', in TNI building, Amsterdam. Speaker Peter Waterman, recently retired professor at the Institute for Social Studies, The Hague

1985 'Philippine Crisis: The European Response', conference on the social, political and economic crisis in the Philippines. Participants were European politicians and parliamentarians. Contributions by Bishop Labayan and later TNI Fellow Joel Rocamora

1986 'The Money Mandarins' by fellow Howard Wachtel published. The work is widely acknowledged as being the seminal work on global finance

1989 BBC documentary broadcast, based on Susan George's book 'A Fate Worse than Debt'

FALL OF THE BERLIN WALL

New Detente Conference, with Mary Kaldor, Richard Falk and Gerard Holden at TNI Amsterdam. The New Detente was a kind of new conversation, a real opening up of a dialogue between East and West

1988 'A Fate Worse Than Debt' by Susan George published

1997 TNI Asia Seminar: Asia Europe Relations in the Light of the Southeast Asian Financial Crisis TNI Amsterdam

TNI warns of US ambitions to launch another war against Iraq

ASIAN FINANCIAL CRISIS

1999 With TNI's assistance Latin American farmers, for the first time, attend the UN Special Assembly on Drugs in New York

The highly influential 'Privatising Nature' by Michael Goldman is published. The book first pointed to the trend towards the privatisation of water, genes, and the atmosphere

TNI Public Forum on 'Missile Defence and Security after September 11', Felix Meritus, Amsterdam. Organised in cooperation with the Project on European Nuclear Non-Proliferation (PENN-NL), XminY, Attac-Nederland and the Campaign against the Arms Trade

Phyllis Bennis presents her new book 'Before & After: US Foreign Policy and the September 11th Crisis' in the ABC Treehouse, Amsterdam

Second People's Summit of the Americas organised under the banner of the Hemispheric Social Alliance in Quebec, Canada. The Alternative Regionalisms web section is launched to coincide with the Summit

Workshop 'Regionalisms from Below'. Dot Keet, Walden Bello and Manuel Pérez from the Alternative Regionalisms project speak, World Social Forum 1, Porto Alegre, Brazil

2001

International Peace Mission to Basilan Philippines; publication of mission report 'Basilan: The Next Afghanistan?'

Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament and NATO Disunity, TNI, Amsterdam. Organised in cooperation with International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). Guest speaker retired British Royal Navy Commander Rob Green, of the New Agenda Group

Workshop on 'Social Movements, Emerging Resistances and Counter-strategies in the Regions of the South and North' and seminar on 'Political Visions for the 21st Century' at the World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil

Public Forum Signals from Southeast Asia: Human Rights under Attack after September 11. Organised by TNI and XminY, in co-operation with Amnesty International. Felix Meritus, Amsterdam

The IPS-TNI SEEN Project releases an exhaustive study of public financing of Enron's overseas expansion. 'Enron's Pawns: How Public Institutions Bankrolled Enron's Globalization Game' explores how the now-fallen giant's rise to global prominence absolutely depended upon close financial relationships with US agencies, the World Bank, and other government institutions

INVASION OF IRAQ

A group of prominent Asian intellectuals, parliamentarians, civil society leaders and activists, including TNI Fellow Walden Bello, go to Baghdad as a part of Asian Peace Mission in a desperate last-ditch effort to avert the war. Their report of meetings with students and other citizens gets under the surface of the mainstream media reports and reveals a vulnerable but enduring people on the edge of war

TNI Forum on 'The Legality of the War against Iraq: Implications for the UN System' organised by TNI and De Balie in Amsterdam. Speakers: Jan Pronk and Peter Weiss

2002

Seminar on 'European Union and Corporate Globalisation. Where are its Trade Policies and Trade Agreements Leading to?' organised by TNI with RMALC, CIFCA, CNCD, Mani Tese, ATTAC (France) in co-operation with AIDC, SAPSN, and Focus on the Global South. TNI Fellows Dot Keet and Brid Brennan participate. ESF, Florence, Italy

Seminar on 'Politics as Common Good. The Movement against Neoliberalism Talks to the European Left' organised by TNI with Associazione Culturale Punto Rosso-Forum Mondiale della Alternative, Transform! in collaboration with Rivista Alternative, Attac Italia. TNI Fellows Boris Kagarlitsky, Hilary Wainwright and Susan George participate. ESF, Florence, Italy

2003

Workshops on 'Weaponisation of Space and Missile Defence', 'Korean Peace and Reconciliation and the Axis of Evil', 'Criminalisation of Movements - Aftermath 9.11' and 'Nuclear proliferation after September 11' organised by TNI for AEPF4, Copenhagen, Denmark

TNI hosts a public meeting on the Israeli-Palestinian war, regional impacts and the respective policies and roles of the US and Europe, all within the context of the September 11 aftermath in De Balie, Amsterdam

TNI co-organises international conference in Amsterdam on 'Drugs and Conflict in Burma: Dilemma's for Policy Responses' with Burma Centre Netherlands, Amsterdam. In preparation for the seminar a new issue in TNI Briefing Series is published. A report of the conference 'Harm reduction for poppy farmers in Myanmar?' appears in the Asian Harm Reduction Network Newsletter

Public debate 'Struggles against Water Privatisation in the South' in Amsterdam, organised by TNI and CEO

TNI starts work to combat carbon-trading

Discussion evening on the Movements for Peace and Global Justice and on the Nature of the Status Quo They Confront Today, with Phyllis Bennis, Mariano Aguirre, Hilary Wainwright, Carolina Rudas, and Olivier Hoedeman at the American Book Centre Treehouse, Amsterdam

'Another world is possible if..' published by Susan George

At the World Social Forum in Mumbai, TNI helps catalyse an international network of 130 members in 38 countries dedicated to ending privatisation and seeking public alternatives for water delivery. The project has since documented **successful democratic examples of public water management worldwide**, drawing more and more cities into the project in the process. A policy shift towards alternatives to privatisation is now clearly under way, and the network has been key in creating the space for Public-Public Partnerships. This network is now the civil society representative in the UN's Global Water Operators Partnerships Alliance (GWOPA)

2008

TNI co-convenes three 'Beijing Nights' during the Asia-Europe People's forum to discuss the crisis. The influential 'Beijing Declaration' is created

Phyllis Bennis launches Understanding the US-Iran Crisis

TNI launches its public debate series in Brussels

'We the Peoples of Europe' by Susan George published

2007

START OF GLOBAL FINANCIAL CRISIS

Fellows meeting on the 'Power of Money' - discussed the need for regulatory mechanisms in the financial markets

2006

Militarism and Globalisation project publishes the briefing 'Arming Big Brother: the EU's security research programme'

TNI co-organises 2nd Enlazando Alternativas social summit in Vienna, Austria

'Challenging Empire' and 'Understanding the Palestinian-Israeli Conflict: A Primer' by Phyllis Bennis published

2005

'Trouble in the triangle: Opium and conflict in Burma' published

Reclaiming Public Water book published at the WSF

2004

European Social Forum - Fellows Susan George, Walden Bello, Myriam Vander Stichele, Jochen Hippler, Praful Bidwai, Dot Keet, Brid Brennan, and Hilary Wainwright attend. TNI (co)organises several seminar on issues including public service privatisations, EU trade liberalisation agendas with Latin America and Africa, carbon trading, new politics, democratic challenges in East and West Europe, and the new US imperial project

TNI co-organise an Encuentro Social on the occasion of the Third Summit of heads of state and governments from the EU and Latin America, aiming at strengthening cooperation between social movements and civil society organisations in the two regions

TNI IN THE MEDIA

This year was the most successful year so far for TNI appearances and citations in the media. TNI's media coverage spanned all continents and included some of the most influential outlets across the globe

Various print and online media outlets cited TNI

250 times

72%

up on 2008

PUBLICATIONS WHERE TNI FEATURED

EU Observer | the Guardian | Financial Times | The Telegraph | BBC | Le Monde diplomatique | El Pais, Frankfurter Allgemeine | NRC Handelsblad | Irish Times (Europe) | New York Times | Washington Post | Christian Science Monitor (North America) | Wereld Omroep | BBC Mundo | El Tiempo | El Comercio | El Universal | Newsweek Argentina (Latin America) | The Hindu | The Times of India | The China Post (Asia) | Zimbabwe Telegraph (Africa) | The Age (Australia) and many others

2009 media highlights

NeoConOpticon

The publication in September was hailed by the National Union of Journalists in Brussels as 'the most significant independent assessment of Europe's emerging "security research" sector to date'. The report was a source for a story on prime time Dutch TV news, in the prestigious NRC Handelsblad, and series of articles for NRC Next. The Observer, the Guardian and the Telegraph in the UK all ran stories. 125,789 copies of the report were downloaded from the TNI and Statewatch sites. Google offers 32,500 results for "neoconopticon"

TNI BLOGS

Blogs from Afghanistan in September were carried by Reuters AlertNet, Reuters humanitarian news service www.alertnet.org/db/bloggers/61640. Al Jazeera and the Dutch World Service also cited TNI and its fellows in broadcasts on the situation in Afghanistan

SMALL TIME DRUG-USERS

When Mexico and Argentina eliminated prison sentences for small-time drug users in August, major media outlets turned to TNI and its partners for comment, resulting in 70 articles. These included the Christian Science Monitor, BBC Mundo, Associated Press, Mexico's largest newspaper El Universal, US news channel MSNBC, Argentina's La Capital

CLIMATE CHRONICLE

Around the Copenhagen climate summit in December international media widely cited TNI. TNI experts' opinion pieces and comments appeared in the media in the Philippines, India, US, Austria, France, Denmark, Finland, Italy, UK, Canada and China, as well as in UN publications. The TNI team in Copenhagen published the daily Climate Chronicle www.tni.org/briefing/climate-chronicle which reported and decoded what was going on inside and outside the negotiations. Meanwhile, the TNI team in Amsterdam produced a resource guide www.tni.org/article/climate-talks-copenhagen-resource-guide for the media featuring analysis, blogs, factsheets and other useful material. The guide was sent to hundreds of journalists covering the climate conference

THE TNI WAY

EXPOSE, PROPOSE, PRACTICE

'The job of the responsible social scientist is first to uncover the forces of wealth, power and control, then to write about them clearly, without jargon... and finally...to take an advocacy position in favour of the disadvantaged, the underdogs, the victims of injustice'

SUSAN GEORGE

TNI is guided by a commitment to equity, democracy, human rights, justice, sustainability and the principle of 'do no harm'. The Institute has a long, proud history of making complex issues understandable. It actively seeks to bridge activism and academia through the concept of 'public scholarship'. It focuses on issues of direct social relevance and seeks to put research and analysis at the service of movements for change.

TNI'S PROGRAMMES seek to expose the failures of many current policies and strategies, propose viable alternatives, and support efforts to put them into practice. This is done by working closely with transnational networks to build a critical mass in favour of alternatives. TNI provides well researched information that can help shape agendas, inform advocacy and popularise alternatives in practice.

1 EXPOSING HARMS

TNI painstakingly collects the necessary evidence to expose, for example, the harms of current drugs policy or the practice of perverse carbon trading schemes. Fellows like Susan George and Walden Bello, among many others, have worked hard to expose the social and environmental cost of the thirty year experiment with neo-liberal policies. Others, like Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik, have dedicated themselves to exposing the folly of nuclear weapons.

2 PROPOSING ALTERNATIVES

TNI believes that it is crucial not only to criticise, but to offer feasible alternatives. This report describes cases where new forms of democratic service provision are bearing fruit and serving as models for initiatives elsewhere. TNI's drugs and conflict programme has spent almost a decade talking with policy makers about what a humane, effective drugs policy should look like. Propositions are on the table for how to turn this moment of global crisis into an opportunity for a green conversion.

3 EMPOWERING MOVEMENTS FOR CHANGE

While TNI puts its information, analysis and ideas into the public domain generally, it specifically seeks to empower movements for change. Most recently, for example, it has helped Southern trade activists and government negotiators compare notes on their dealings with the EU, so that they are in a stronger position to assert sovereign interests. Another is the booklets on major Overseas Development Agencies' land-related policies published to assist the advocacy of organisations of poor farmers in the South defending their lands and livelihoods in the face of competition from foreign agribusiness or, most recently, the wave of global land grabs. TNI also documents best practices, like the innovative experiments with alternatives to privatisation of water utilities, or those with participatory democracy that have evolved from popularisation of the efforts of the Brazilian city of Porto Alegre.

4 BUILDING MOVEMENTS FOR CHANGE

TNI also actively helps build transnational movements for change through, for example, playing a leading role in the strong bi-regional coalitions forged through the Asia-Europe People's Forum and the Enlazando Alternativas forum in Latin America, or helping to found new networks like Climate Justice Now!, the International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases and Reclaim Public Water.

5 FACILITATING ADVOCACY

TNI facilitates cross-regional dialogues aimed at strengthening collective learning and expanding civil society capacity to engage with policy-makers on, for example, public water solutions or alternative visions of regional integration. It supports advocacy efforts by Southern movements in Europe, through building cross-regional solidarity, arranging lobby tours, hearings with parliamentarians, meetings with policy makers and press outreach. This is done regularly on trade and investment issues, for example, resulting in greater public scrutiny in Europe of the impact of EC positions on development in the South.

Always careful to ensure it has a solid mandate from the movements with which it works, TNI also engages directly with policy-makers, for example, over how the UN and EU can support public water solutions. In other cases, like in its drugs work, TNI has convened informal policy dialogues bringing together policy makers, NGOs and experts. Held under Chatham House Rules, they provide an informal environment in which issues can be discussed that may be difficult to approach in a formal setting. These dialogues have helped shift policy discourse in favour of a harm reduction approach.

'In certain areas of expertise the best qualified experts are to be found in the public sector. This is certainly the case concerning water provision and resource management where public water operators provide over 90 per cent of water and sanitation services globally. Public-public partnerships are potentially a very cost-effective approach to promoting the relevant "good governance" principles in the ACP water sector, with potentially long-term and sustainable impacts on institutional and organisational change'

EC discussion paper on the ACP-EU Water Facility



PUBLIC SERVICES

PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRATIC PUBLIC SERVICES AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO PRIVATISATION

Public services around the world are in crisis. While state-run facilities have often proved inefficient, widespread privatisation has resulted in higher costs to consumers and loss of access to services for many, especially the poor. TNI supports the development of well-functioning, democratically organised public service provision which will guarantee universal access to water, energy, health and other basic services

WATER JUSTICE

Over the past five years, TNI has advanced the debate on how to overcome water poverty, and has built a strong, multi-stakeholder network around the issue of access to drinking water. After two decades in which privatisation has been heavily advocated as the only solution to inefficient public services, TNI believes it is crucial to learn from successful public utility reforms and community management in numerous countries around the world.

In recent years, partly as a result of pressure from a burgeoning global water justice movement, donor governments, international financial institutions, and multilateral actors like the UN

and the European Union have been increasingly recognising the potential of public water solutions. TNI and its partners have been working hard to encourage governments and international bodies to embrace this trend.

RECLAIMING PUBLIC WATER

TNI's activities to promote water justice are embedded in the Reclaiming Public Water network, an international network of civil society activists, trade unionists, academics, water utility managers and engineers. Multi-sector participation is an essential feature of the RPW network. When the network was established in 2005 it had 60 members from 20 countries. By 2009, it had 170 members from 41 countries. It advocates effective, democratic

and equitable solutions for the global water crisis.

TNI acts as the hub of the RPW network, facilitating global, regional and local collective learning processes on public water utility reforms. The network shares information and develops collective strategies through regular e-mail exchanges and teleconferences, exchange visits, and face-to-face meetings such as the assembly during the World Water Forum in Istanbul in March 2009.

PUBLIC-PUBLIC PARTNERSHIPS

TNI advocates and facilitates public-public partnerships (PuPs). PuPs aim to link up public water operators on a non-profit basis to strengthen management and technical capacity. They offer an innovative and practical way of allowing public water managers in the South to share their expertise, disseminate good practices and ideas, and drive up performance.

In 2009, the RPW network helped launch a regional platform in Latin America for public-community partnerships (*Plataforma de Acuerdos Público-Comunitarios*) to foster the capacity of the water justice movement to envision and construct viable alternatives. The platform is hosted by the regional network Red Vida. Similar efforts are now underway in Asia, with India taking the lead.

GLOBAL WATER OPERATORS PARTNERSHIPS ALLIANCE

A major achievement in 2009 was the official launch of the Global

Water Operators Partnerships Alliance. The GWOPA, hosted by UN-Habitat, is an alliance of public and private water operators, designed to increase their scope, impact and capacity.

At the founding meeting of the GWOPA in Nairobi, Kenya, in January 2009, the RPW network was selected as a civil society representative on its International Steering Committee (ISC). RPW supported and contributed to the development of the GWOPA from the start of the initiative in 2006

and its membership of the ISC is in recognition of the network's importance both as a stakeholder and as a resource.

Given the major role of private water operators in GWOPA, the RPW network has been deeply involved in advocacy to ensure that the Alliance remains fully focused on not-for-profit co-operation between public utilities, and that Southern water managers are given a lead role in the GWOPA mechanism. The first ISC meeting was held in Stockholm in August 2009, where the GWOPA charter and principles were discussed. The GWOPA is still rather fragile, not least because private water operators have different objectives.

EU WATER FACILITY

In 2009, several years of persistent advocacy work to make development aid funds available for public-public partnerships (PuPs) and other pro-public approaches resulted in the launch by the European Commission of a new ACP (African, Caribbean and Pacific countries)-EU Water Facility. This is the first time the EU has made funding available for PuPs in the water sector. Although the budget (40 million euros) is relatively small compared with what is necessary to achieve the MDGs impacted by water provision, this policy change has important wider repercussions. It marks the end of a period in which the Commission promoted increased private sector involvement as the primary way forward for water delivery in Africa and elsewhere in the South.

CANTV: PIONEERING TELECOM AS A HUMAN RIGHT

CANTV is the second largest company in Venezuela, providing telephone services, internet and satellite coverage. Originally a private company, it was nationalised in 1953 and re-privatised in 1991. In 2007, new Bolivarian legislation declared telecommunications a human right. The Venezuelan government argued that CANTV was denying access to poorer, indigenous and geographically isolated communities. CANTV was renationalised.

In 2009, on the strength of our excellent pre-existing work on public service alternatives, TNI was invited to participate in an in-depth evaluation of CANTV. Full intellectual autonomy, without political interference was agreed. A team was then put together, comprised of Venezuelan social scientists and telecommunication specialists, along with other researchers from the Netherlands, Canada, Spain, Uruguay, Argentina, US and Canada. The evaluation showed that CANTV has remained a well-run and profitable company, but the difference was that profits were now being reinvested in the country, whereas previously they left the country as the main shareholder had been Verizon, a US multinational giant. It also investigated dimensions that conventional company evaluations do not, such as job creation and community participation.

When CANTV had been privatised in 1991, jobs were outsourced to companies with little accountability,

low salaries, job insecurity and very poor working conditions. The new CANTV encouraged workers in those companies to form their own co-operatives to provide the same services to the public enterprise. More than 3,300 workers have now organised in this way. Furthermore, CANTV now sources services and materials from small and medium companies inside Venezuela, rather than from big foreign companies as in the past. This has had a big economic impact given CANTV's size.

As far as community participation goes, the new CANTV followed the success in the water sector in encouraging the establishment of *mesas técnicas*, forums for community organisations wanting to participate actively in the formulation of policy and co-management of service delivery locally. Services have now been extended to geographic areas social sectors not covered previously. With the launch of Venezuela's own state satellite, CANTV now has the potential to reach even the most isolated communities.

Recommendations arising from the report include greater emphasis on training for workers on telecommunications and public management; investing in research and development to sustain innovation; and strengthening efforts to involve communities.

➤ www.tni.org/interview/venezuelas-cantv-what-should-21st-century-socialist%E2%80%9D-telecommunications-company-look

The RPW network, as the main global civil society platform on these issues, played a key role in effecting this policy change by bringing different stakeholders together. TNI, with the Corporate Europe Observatory (CEO), has played a key role in shaping the new Water Facility, delivering policy recommendations drawn from the knowledge accumulated within the RPW network. In September 2009, prior to finalisation of the Facility, TNI and CEO co-hosted a workshop in Brussels. It was attended by 20 public utilities from the Netherlands, France, Spain and Belgium, as well as trade unions, NGOs and representatives of the European Commission. Most of these utilities have rich experiences with public-public projects in developing countries and are eager to expand their engagement. The RPW network is now working with progressive water operators to demonstrate the positive results of PuPs and to act on the possibilities offered by the Water Facility. It is also keen to expand EU support for PuPs in other regions.

WORLD WATER FORUM

The three-yearly World Water Forum has been an important focus of attention for TNI and the RPW network. The Forum, run by the private think-tank World Water Council, is designed to promote pro-privatisation agendas. Together with many partners in the global water justice movement, TNI has made major efforts to bring together water activists, trade unionists and progressive water operators from the South to present alternatives to the WWF agenda. At the Forum in 2009, TNI co-hosted a seminar entitled *Implementing the right to water: Democratisation and public-public partnerships*.

In March, in preparation for the WWF, TNI published the report *Public-Public Partnerships in Water*, together with Public Services International. The report provides a clear introduction to the meaning and potential of PuPs and presents a wide range of short case studies. It highlights the fact that PuPs are becoming the more popular choice, with over 130 'water PuPs' operating

in around 70 countries, compared to just 44 based on the previously much vaunted public-private partnership (PPP) arrangements.

Although the WWF's official declaration failed to recognise water as human right, governments from over 25 countries signed a counter-declaration that 'recognises access to water and sanitation as a human right' and committed themselves 'to all necessary actions for the progressive implementation of this right'. This brought the number of countries which do not endorse the World Water Forum's approach to 25 (compared to four at the previous WWF in Mexico City in 2006). There is still a long way to go before a majority of governments abandon their endorsement of the World Water Council's pro-privatisation policies, but important steps have been taken.

➤ <http://tni.org/project/water-justice>

'It wasn't about resistance to change, it was about controlling your own destiny and not having someone come in and manage us through change'

TONY CARR, Unison representative on public service reform in Newcastle, UK

PUBLIC SERVICE REFORM ... BUT NOT AS WE KNOW IT!

A militant campaign in 2002 by Britain's public sector union, Unison, successfully defeated the attempt by Newcastle council to privatise the city's information technology (IT) and related services. For the next six years, the union branch and council managers formed an innovative partnership to transform the service.

Unison's strategy was to campaign for the council to make an 'in-house' bid when the IT service was put out to tender. The union insisted that management take responsibility for the bid on union terms, which included no compulsory redundancies, major resources for (re) training, and staff involvement throughout the process.

Over 2008 and 2009, TNI was invited by the union to document the struggle for a trade union-led alternative

to privatisation aimed at improving local public services. The study found that by 2008, net savings of 28.5 million euros had been achieved, projected forward over an 11-year period. Every area of service had improved significantly, from the speed and accuracy of benefit payments to satisfaction with the new call centre and the 'one stop shops' for all council services. This study has helped build the case for workplace democracy as a key ingredient in improving public services. TNI's Hilary Wainwright led the project, and in 2009 produced a book with Mathew Little called *'Public service reform ... but not as we know it'*.

'A fascinating and lively account of how it is by strengthening democracy, involving workers and citizens we can transform our public services. It truly kicks privatisation into touch!'

Baroness Helena Kennedy QC

➤ www.tni.org/article/public-service-reform

'The current global crisis ... presents a historic opportunity. Social movements and civil society have the chance to develop a strategic response and not merely seek short term solutions relying on the institutions and policies that have caused the crisis in the first place'

CONCEPT NOTE for conference on 'Regional Integration:
An opportunity to face the crises', Paraguay, July 2009



ALTERNATIVE REGIONALISMS

CHALLENGING DIVISIVE EU TRADE POLICIES

TNI's ongoing work to promote alternative regionalisms was informed in 2009 by three interconnected issues: the European Union's Global Europe Policy, the role of European transnational corporations in Southern economies, and the multiple crises currently facing the global community

FREE TRADE

Central to the European Commission's strategy for promoting Europe's prosperity are the free-trade agreements (FTAs) it has been negotiating with countries and regions in the South. With the impasse in the WTO negotiations, the EU has turned to bilateral and bi-regional trade negotiations to open up new markets for its corporations. These are conducted primarily with the interests of Europe's transnational corporations in mind and scant concern for the interests of Southern societies themselves. They include demands that would require commercialisation of public services, facilitate foreign domination of key sectors of Southern economies, minimise

responsibilities to reinvest profits either directly or through taxation, and render Southern economies dependent on Northern markets and suppliers. TNI has played a prominent role in informing Southern civil society organisations (CSOs) and governments on the EU's trade strategy and helping them to shape responses to it.

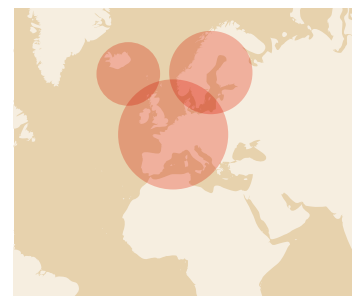
INFORMING THE SOUTH

TNI has helped establish regional and cross-regional networks to enable CSOs to share experiences and learn from each other. In particular, the Institute has helped to build strong bi-regional coalitions through the Asia-Europe People's Forum and Enlazando Alternativas, an equivalent Latin America-Europe

forum. Members of these coalitions use the information to engage their national and regional governments. To encourage a similar development in Southern Africa, TNI facilitates the participation of counterparts from Africa in these forums. Much of TNI's work in 2009 focused on preparations for the two-yearly meetings of both forums in Europe in 2010.

Between 2005 and 2009, TNI co-organised around 50 seminars on the Global Europe strategy and EU-South FTAs. The seminars – given at venues like WTO and G8 counter-summits, the World Social Forum, the European Social Forum and bi-regional CSO network forums – **reached a combined audience of over 9,000.**

GLOBAL EUROPE



TNI's 2009 briefing, *European Union: Promoter of Regional Integration in Latin America – Rhetoric and Reality?* drew attention to the contradiction between the EU's professed support for regional integration in Latin America and the actual experience of the negotiations on the EU-LAC (Latin America and the Caribbean) Association Agreements. Although the paper

focused on Latin America, the questions it raised apply equally to the EU's divisive trade policy in Asia and Africa. Four thousand copies of the briefing were disseminated across Europe and Latin America and online. It was one of a series of TNI briefing papers which gave CSOs and governments in the South a better insight into EU trade negotiations and encouraged the sharing of information and strategies.

pledge. A meeting was organised with 60 newly elected MEPs on how to follow through on their pledges.

In 2009, TNI continued to participate in the efforts of migrant communities to protect their rights and to ensure that EU delegations represent their interests at bi-regional EU-South meetings. The Transnational Migrant Platform, co-founded by TNI in 2008, convened two Europe-wide conferences and participated in the European Working Group to prepare the People's Global Action on Migration and Development in Athens.

DEBATING EUROPE: SESSIONS IN 2009

'[The TNI debate] was refreshingly provocative and radical... Europe may be peering over the edge of an abyss but at least there are some thinkers and policy-makers searching for ways to drag us back'

DAVID GOW, European Business Editor, Guardian

'THE GLOBAL CRISIS, SOLUTIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR EU TRADE POLICY'

Gaspar Frontini, Chief Economist EC DG Trade; Susan George, TNI President; and Ignasi Guardans, MEP/Vice-Chair of EP Committee on International Trade

'THE GLOBAL ECONOMIC CRISIS AND EU RESPONSES – BEYOND THE G20'

with Gert-Jan Koopman, EC Director for Structural Reforms, Lisbon strategy, Economic Evaluation, DG Economic & Financial Affairs; and Walden Bello, TNI Fellow, President Freedom from Debt Coalition, Senior Associate Focus on the Global South, Professor University of the Philippines and Congressman

'RESPONSES TO THE ECONOMIC CRISIS: PERSPECTIVES AHEAD OF THE G20 MEETING IN PITTSBURGH'

with Pedro Paez Pérez, ex-Minister for Economic Policy Coordination, head Ecuadorian Presidential Commission for New Regional Financial Architecture/Banco del Sur, Stiglitz Commissioner; and Adrian van den Hoven, Director of Business Europe IR department on WTO, bilateral trade negotiations

'THE EU-ASEAN FTA – GOING BILATERAL?'

with Charles Santiago, Malaysian MP for the Democratic Action Party; Helmut Markov, GUE/NGL MEP and chairperson of European Parliament Committee on International Trade; and Ignacio García Bercero, Director of Development and Management of Trade Relations with Neighbourhood Countries and with South-East Asia

'WTO DOHA ROUND AND EPAS IN AN ERA OF CRISIS: SALVATION OR SUICIDE FOR ACP COUNTRIES?'

with Dot Keet, TNI Fellow, AIDC (South Africa) and Africa Trade Network; and Ignacio Iruarrizaga Díez, Deputy Head Services and Investment Unit of the EC's DG Trade

INFORMING EUROPE

The focus of TNI's efforts to bring about a change in EU policy was a series of public debates with high-level European officials in Brussels. Five of these debates were held in 2009, three on the global crisis and its implications for EU trade and investment relations, and one each on the EU-ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) and EU-CAN (Community of Andean Nations) negotiations.

In an effort to shape EU responses to the global crisis, TNI co-operated in creating a cross-networking space for European trade unions and other social movements to co-ordinate strategies towards the UN and G20 crisis conferences and engage in the debates on the EU constitutional treaty. TNI also participated in a Seattle-to-Brussels (S2B) campaign to obtain pledges from members of the European Parliament (MEPs) to work for a just EU trade policy, corporate accountability, transparency and ethics, and a reformed financial architecture. A total of 381 MEPs signed the

AN ARCHITECTURE OF IMPUNITY

TNI works to expose the architecture which allows transnational corporations (TNCs) to operate with impunity in the economies of the South. With a special focus on Latin America, TNI conducted research and produced documentation to show how the European Commission structurally supports a system which frees TNCs of any liability for harms caused – not only through the FTAs and other trade agreements, but also through its financial, security, environmental and aid policies.

In November, in co-operation with 70 organisations and networks from Europe and Latin America, TNI organised a hearing at the European Parliament to draw the attention of EU policy-makers to the evidence of complicity between the EU and transnational corporations.

The hearing was attended by 250 people, including many MEPs and delegates from Latin America.

TNI and its partners link up communities and groups impacted by the activities of TNCs to share their experiences and increase the international visibility of their campaigns for justice. The main focus of this work in 2009 was on preparations for the third Permanent People's Tribunal (PPT) on TNCs to be held in Madrid in May 2010. Going beyond previous sessions, this PPT will focus on the architecture of impunity, rather than the conduct of particular companies. It is aimed at stimulating international co-operation on

AN ALTERNATIVE TRADE MANDATE

In 2009, together with other organisations inside and outside the S2B network, TNI started to work towards the construction of an alternative trade mandate for the European Union. A text has been developed following a broad participatory process involving trade activists, trade unions, migrant workers, environmentalists, human rights, farmers' and women's groups, as well as development organisations. This will be presented at the PPT in Madrid. The next step is to organise a series of workshops bringing together parliamentarians and civil society groups from Europe and elsewhere to engage in a broad debate as to how to reorient EU trade policy so that it serves, rather than undermines, the achievement of socio-economic and environmental priorities in the South. www.s2bnetwork.org

how to dismantle structures of corporate political power and make corporations legally accountable for upholding rights and standards.

MULTIPLE CRISES

Neo-liberal policies have proved the single biggest obstacle to the achievement of the UN's millennium development goals. Three decades of neo-liberal policies have culminated in a deep rooted global financial and ultimately economic crisis, a yawning gap between rich and poor, a reversal of many of the rights and standards established over the past century, the exclusion of millions from access to sufficient food, livelihoods, basic goods and services, and accelerated destruction of the environment, including the depletion of biodiversity and natural resources. These crises now converge with the looming climate crisis.

People everywhere, including recently many governments – particularly in the South, are questioning the prevailing paradigm and political capture by its proponents, and are experimenting with alternative policies and practices that might point the way to a saner, fairer, more social and sustainable alternative.

At the beginning of 2009, during a workshop at the World Social Forum in Belem, Brazil, TNI and its partners in the People's Agenda for Alternative Regionalisms (PAAR) network proposed a global conference of social movements and

governments to construct a joint response to this convergence of crises.

The networks in PAAR share a strong commitment to reclaiming the regions, democratising the processes of regional integration, and advancing just and sustainable regional policies. PAAR sees this as a key strategy in countering the negative impact of neo-liberal globalisation. It facilitates the cross-fertilisation of experiences on regional alternatives among civil society organisations embedded in social movements from Asia, Africa, Latin America and Europe. In so doing, PAAR seeks to showcase the feasible alternatives possible. It also seeks allies among sympathetic governments

In July, a major breakthrough was achieved when the first joint conference of social movements and governments was co-organised with the Paraguayan Presidency of Mercosur as part of the agenda of the official Mercosur Summit. The global convergence of crises and the need to rethink mainstream development strategies provided the context for the conference.

Conclusions were reflected in the final statement of the Summit. TNI ensured the presence of civil society and political representatives from Africa and South East Asia, as part of a more general effort to facilitate cross-regional learning and engagement.

For more information on the conference, see:

➤ www.alternative-regionalisms.org

Three decades of neo-liberal policies have culminated in a deep rooted global financial and ultimately economic crisis, a yawning gap between rich and poor, a reversal of many of the rights and standards established over the past century, the exclusion of millions from access to sufficient food, livelihoods, basic goods and services, and accelerated destruction of the environment, including the depletion of biodiversity and natural resources

'Copenhagen has ... given a new momentum to global justice movements that put the multiple climate crises at the centre of the wider convergence of social, economic, political, and governance crises. The climate debate ... is no longer the monopoly of scientists and technocrats. Climate debate has probably now more than ever become an issue of capitalism, labour and class, migration, gender, militarism, energy models, and food production, to mention but a few'

BEATRIZ MARTINEZ, On the Copenhagen UN climate summit or why you need more than butter to bake a cake - reflections on positive outcomes



CLIMATE JUSTICE

MOVING BEYOND A CARBON-BASED ECONOMY

With all eyes on the UN Climate Conference in Copenhagen in December, carbon trading was high on the global political agenda in 2009. It also featured in a proposed US climate bill and the EU's new climate and energy package. As a long-term opponent of this 'trade in pollution', TNI worked closely with partner organisations in the run-up to and during the climate summit to challenge these initiatives and present solidly researched, proven-in-practice alternatives

In the decade since Kyoto, global efforts to tackle climate change have failed miserably. Greenhouse gas emissions have continued to rise, and quickly. There has been a threefold growth in emissions from fossil fuels. The powerful nations continue to rely on 'putting a price on carbon' to reduce energy use and limit climate change, despite any evidence that this works.

TNI's Environmental Justice programme advocates international policies that move the world towards low carbon economies. In practice, that means ending fossil fuel use, closing loopholes that obfuscate the climate impact of trade liberalisation, and doing away with offset logics that do nothing

to reduce emissions at source, including opposing initiatives to enlarge the carbon market, especially the proposals to expand the Clean Development Mechanism.

Against this background, TNI continued in 2009 to promote climate justice by linking up with the wider global justice movement. The programme provided evidence-based research and analysis of what is wrong with carbon trading, multimedia education materials and technical support to partner organisations in the three major networks in which its work is embedded: the Durban Group for Climate Justice, the Agrofuels Coalition and Climate Justice Now!

SYSTEM CHANGE, NOT CLIMATE CHANGE

To help present an alternative voice at the Copenhagen conference, TNI played a leading role in coalitions like Climate Justice Action and Klimaforum, which drew attention to the failure of carbon market-based strategies to address climate change. At the conference itself, TNI and its partners kept up the pressure to seek alternatives by producing clear information on the issues, in the form of factsheets and a daily Climate Chronicle, distributed in print form (5,000 copies) and made accessible online. Workshops and other side events attracted hundreds of attendees, with an estimated 50,000 people visiting the Klimaforum09, the alternative People's Climate Summit

CLIMATE JUSTICE ACTIVISTS TAKE TO THE STREETS OF COPENHAGEN



TNI participated in more than 30 speaking events and workshops around the world, reaching more than 5,000 people, putting climate justice on the agenda of hundreds of organisations, and opening up the climate debate to new groups and individuals

Despite the failure of the official conference to produce an effective strategy on climate change, there were clear positive outcomes for TNI and its allies seeking climate justice. A small group of nations, with Bolivia at the forefront (with a TNI staff member seconded to the Bolivian delegation), stood up to the powerful countries of the North and refused to adopt the Copenhagen Accord. In the streets of Copenhagen, up to 100,000 people demanded 'system change, not climate change', echoing the Klimaforum People's Declaration. The broad-based opposition to the prevailing market-based

regime had firmly moved climate change and climate justice into the mainstream of global struggles for justice.

GLOBAL OUTREACH

Away from the media glare of Copenhagen, TNI engaged in a wide range of activities to support its partners and inform the public. These included public speaking events, media outreach, dissemination of publications, global networking and advocacy.

TNI's team participated in more than 30 speaking events and workshops around the world,

reaching **more than 5,000 people**. The events put climate justice on the agenda of hundreds of organisations, helped bring about a change of focus in many NGOs that had previously accepted market-led solutions, and opened up the climate debate to new groups and individuals, as witnessed by the growth in membership of climate justice networks.

Important popular education materials were produced, including the primer 'Carbon Trading: How it works and why it fails' (see box), and the short animation film 'The Story of Cap and Trade' for which TNI provided advice, research and script-editing. TNI also supported indigenous groups in undertaking popular education on carbon trading, land issues and proposals for Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation (REDD). These included co-publication of a primer on REDD with the Indigenous Environment Network, participation in the making of a Sommerfilms documentary on REDD, and joint work on an Indigenous People's Guide on False Solutions to Climate Change – published by Earth Peoples.

EUROPEAN OUTREACH TOUR

In 2009, TNI conducted a public information and outreach tour of Europe, designed to draw critical attention to EU climate policy and raise awareness of the EU's role in promoting carbon markets in the run-up to the Copenhagen conference.

The tour incorporated a mix of popular education workshops and panel discussions in the context of larger climate conferences and civil society gatherings. Particular attention was paid to awareness-raising on how carbon trading works (and why it fails), including the crucial role played by the EU in promoting it as a core feature of the neo-liberal global climate regime.

The outreach tour contributed significantly to the consolidation of climate justice activism in Europe raising critical awareness of carbon trading, the role of the EU, and corporate influences on climate policy. The extensive outreach activities planted many seeds, and the demand for further materials suggest that they are taking root.



**AN INDIA THAT CAN SAY YES:
A CLIMATE-RESPONSIBLE
DEVELOPMENT AGENDA FOR
COPENHAGEN AND BEYOND**
PRAFUL BIDWAI (DELHI: HEINRICH
BOLL STIFTUNG) 2009

This book shows that climate-responsible development is both possible and necessary. It analyses the climate negotiations process, North-South and rich-poor fault-lines, flaws in market-based approaches, and various burden-sharing proposals focused on development equity. It argues that the rich in the South should be brought into the mitigation net and 'emerging economies' like China and India must join the global climate mitigation effort even while maintaining the principle of North-South differentiation in responsibility.

Bidwai subjects India's climate policy and negotiating stance to a critique and proposes alternative equitable approaches. Instead of hiding behind the poor, and refusing anything other than a per capita emissions norm for burden-sharing, India can and should take far-reaching mitigation and adaptation measures while focusing on raising the living standard of its poor and defending North-South equity globally.

"No secondary book on climate change and India can be written satisfactorily without reference to this one."

Nagraj Adve

www.tni.org/users/praful-bidwai

**CARBON TRADING:
HOW IT WORKS AND WHY IT FAILS**

This primer written by TNI's Carbon Trade Watch staff provides a devastating critique of the theory and practice of carbon trading. Published on the eve of the Copenhagen conference, it shows how the EU Emissions Trading Scheme, the world's largest carbon market, has consistently failed to cap emissions, while the UN's Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) routinely favours environmentally ineffective and socially unjust projects. It includes compelling case studies of CDM projects in Brazil, Indonesia, India and Thailand that have proved fraudulent, to be based on dispossession and human rights abuses, and led to strong resistance. It reveals how carbon trading diverts attention from a rapid transition away from fossil fuel expansion, and points to a plethora of alternative ways forward.

The primer is part of a series on climate issues published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation as one of the focuses of a bigger 'What Next? project' in which TNI staff and fellows participated. It is an updated, popular version of a pioneering 2006 publication written by Larry Lohman of Corner House UK, and complements another publication on climate justice to which TNI Fellows Edgardo Lander and Walden Bello contributed.

"Anyone who still thinks that creating a carbon casino can solve our climate crisis owes it to themselves to read this book. The most convincing and concise challenge to the green profiteers yet."
NAOMI KLEIN, author, *The Shock Doctrine*

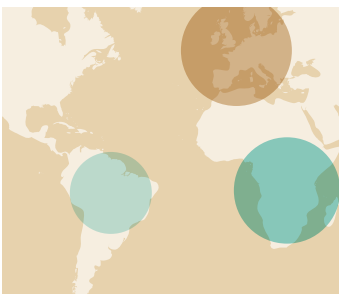
Published by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation www.dhf.uu.se as part of its *Critical Currents* series. ISBN: 1654-4250
↳ www.tni.org/carbon-trade-fails

AGRARIAN JUSTICE

LAND AND FOOD SOVEREIGNTY

In recent years, TNI has been bringing together its long-standing clusters of work on issues directly linked to rural development under a new agrarian justice programme. The programme conducts research and analysis on the impact of agrofuels, development aid and land policies, global land grabbing, food sovereignty, social movements and rural democratisation

EU AND AGROFUELS



AGROFUELS: EU POLICY ASSUMPTIONS FAIL TO REFLECT REALITY

In 2009, as part of its work with the Co-operative Research on Environmental Problems in Europe (CREPE) initiative, TNI undertook a comparative study of agrofuels in Brazil, Mozambique, and Germany. The study, conducted jointly with researchers around the world, examined the policy assumptions underlying the European Union's policy on biofuels. The EU policy assumes that more widespread production and use of biofuels will have beneficial impacts on the environment, energy security and rural development, especially in the South. The study questions these assumptions by contrasting them with reality in three case studies: Mozambique, Brazil and Germany. The study proceeded along

three tracks. First, researchers conducted fieldwork in the three countries. Then the TNI-based lead researchers organised a CSO workshop in Maputo in August-September, where the preliminary findings were presented and discussed. Lastly, the case studies were re-interpreted and the workshop outcomes incorporated into the analysis.

OUTCOMES

The findings of the CREPE study contradicted the EU's policy assumptions. There were, for example, doubts about reductions in greenhouse gas emissions through the transition to agrofuels. It was also found that agrofuels feed industrial expansion by supplementing rather than replacing fossil fuels. Furthermore, despite the promotion

of agrofuels in the South as an opportunity for rural development, production has been dominated by agro-business, with small producers being excluded. Finally, in Brazil, agrofuel cultivation was found to be expanding to the Cerrado and Amazon regions, concentrating land and degrading workers' conditions, contradicting assumptions about the environmental and social sustainability of Brazilian sugar cane.

With the probability that these impacts may intensify as agrofuel production increases, further critical research is necessary. This will also help to hold biofuel policies accountable for the harms they generate and question the fundamental development models that corporate-led agrofuels serve. www.tni.org/report/agrofuel-crops



THE FOOD WARS

WALDEN BELLO JULY 2009

The hike in global food prices has pushed hundreds of millions more people into poverty, and sparked riots and protests in the Middle East, Africa and the Americas. Walden Bello, the leading writer and activist on the global South, provides a penetrating analysis of the causes: not just the rise in energy costs, but also the IMF and WTO-led restructuring of the worldwide agricultural system.

Charting the evolution of the current crisis, Bello also offers a way forward: the principle of food sovereignty, allowing the developing world to protect and sustain a diverse range of crops. 'The Food Wars' is an impassioned, informed and constructive account of a critical turning point in the system of global trade.

'Walden Bello is the world's best guide to American exploitation of the globe's poor and defenceless ... He directly challenges the propaganda and the policies of the Washington establishment with an analysis that is both original and persuasive'

Chalmers Johnson

ISBN: 13: 9781844673315

www.tni.org/tnibook/food-wars



GLOBAL AGROFUELS: SUSTAINING WHAT DEVELOPMENT?

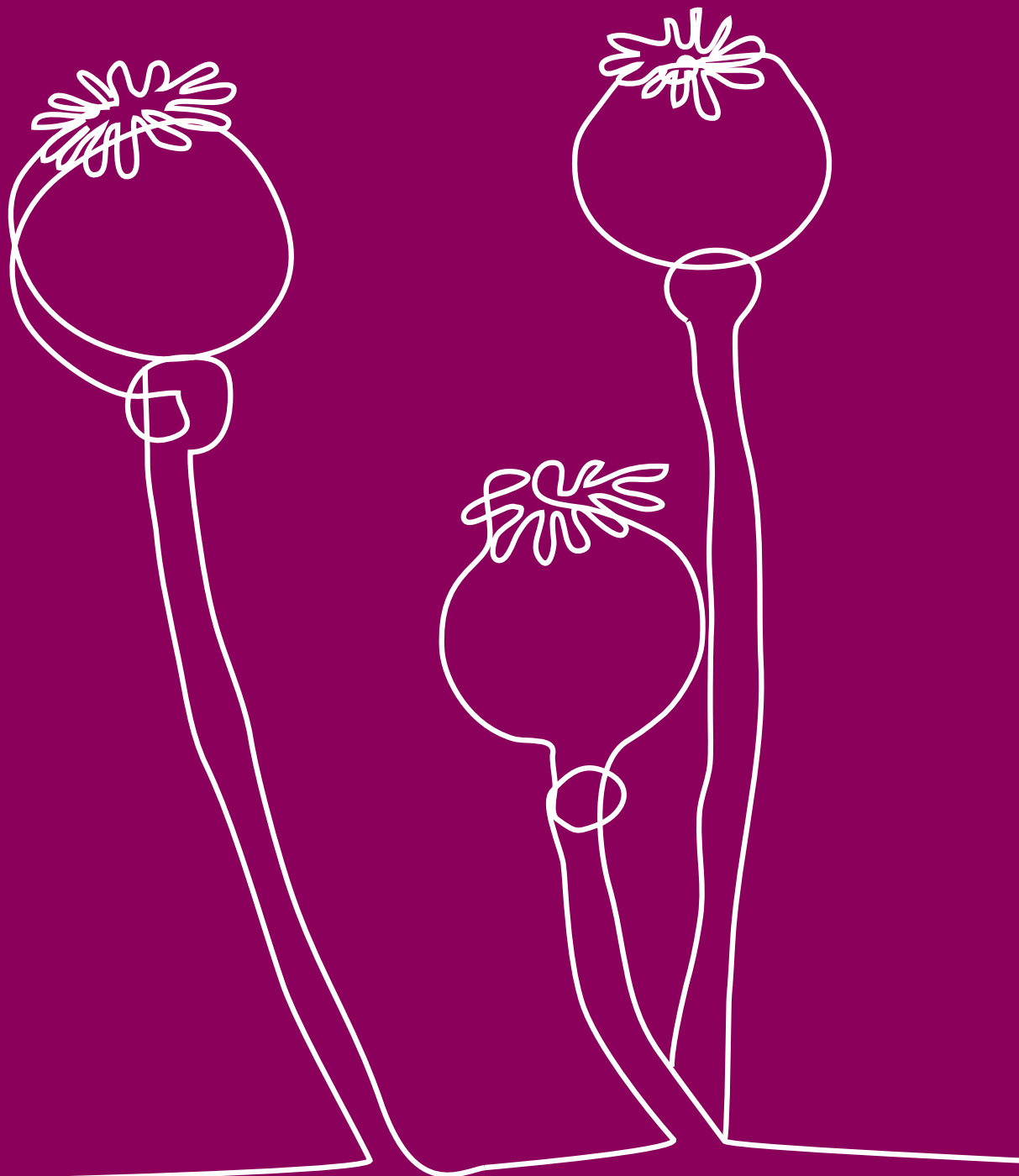
The four-and-a-half day international workshop in Maputo, Mozambique, co-organised by TNI and Uniao Nacional de Camponeses (UNAC), drew some 50 participants from fourteen countries as well as several local civil society organisations and transnational networks concerned with the issue of global agrofuels. The immediate objective of the workshop was to present the initial findings of the study of EU biofuels policy. The concerns of the wide range of groups attending the workshop,

however, gave it a much broader significance and a new dynamic, as the participants became more directly involved in shaping the methodology and structure. This enhanced the quality of the discussions, and strengthened a process of mutual learning across regions and between agrarian and environmental justice movements.

The workshop presentations can be found at <http://globalagrofuels.wordpress.com/presentations-and-papers/>

'There should be no eradication and implementation of opium bans until small-farmer households have viable and sustainable livelihoods'

REDEFINING TARGETS: Towards a realistic Afghan drug control strategy, Policy briefing on Afghanistan



DRUGS AND CONFLICT

A FOCUS ON LONGER-TERM DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE-BUILDING

TNI's efforts to bring about alternative development policies based on harm reduction and human rights principles focused especially on Afghanistan and Burma in 2009. Policies to eradicate drug production and end the often closely related conflicts in these countries have had a devastating effect on livelihoods, especially of small farmers dependent on the production of opium poppies

AFGHANISTAN

REDEFINING TARGETS

Afghanistan remains the world's largest producer of opium and has an under-reported but growing heroin use problem. In December, TNI published a policy briefing on Afghanistan, entitled 'Redefining targets: Towards a realistic Afghan drug control strategy', based on the findings of a mission to the country in November. The briefing emphasised the links between the drugs problem and the conflict in Afghanistan. It called for conflict-sensitive drugs policies, criticising the use of coercion to reduce poppy cultivation.

The briefing argued that drugs targets need to be realistically reviewed, given that promises

of assistance to farmers largely remained unfulfilled and heroin use is on the rise in Afghanistan. The focus, it recommended, should be on longer-term development and health care, reconstruction and peace-

building efforts, rather than on forced eradication of poppy fields and exaggerating Taliban opium earnings. Conflating the war on drugs and the war on the Taliban was counter-productive to both efforts TNI argued.

ENDING THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN: A PRIMER

In this compact primer, TNI Fellow Phyllis Bennis and David Wildman, Executive Secretary for Human Rights and Racial Justice with the General Board of Global Ministries, United Methodist Church, examine the US war in Afghanistan and why it must be brought to an end.

The authors address a wide range of key questions on the war in

Afghanistan. Is Afghanistan really going to become 'Obama's war'? What was the history of the US in Afghanistan before September 11? What role does NATO play in the Afghanistan war? Do Afghans want the US troops to stay in their country? Who are the Taliban? What is al-Qaeda? And, finally, what steps are needed to end the war?

*Published in November 2009
by Interlink Publishing
ISBN: 9781566567855*

AFGHANISTAN AND BURMA



The only way to achieve lasting peace and democracy in Burma is to involve all ethnic opposition groups in discussions about political change in the country. Priority must also be given to the humanitarian and social crises underpinning Burma's political and economic malaise

PUBLICATIONS AND BRIEFINGS

Providing information is one of the pillars of TNI's work. The Drugs & Conflict and the Drug Policy Briefing series combine analysis with policy recommendations, devoting much attention to the drugs and conflict scenarios in Afghanistan and Burma, and in Colombia. The latest issues in 2009 reported on major efforts with teams of local researchers in the Andean and Southeast Asian regions to analyse recent market developments and recommend adequate policy responses.

Two briefings were published on the future of the cease-fire agreements in Burma and one on the sustainability of the opium bans in the ethnic minority regions. In addition, TNI staff and fellows contributed numerous articles on the situation in Afghanistan, Burma and Colombia for publications and media outlets in Europe, the USA, Latin America and Asia.

BURMA

ALTERNATIVES TO SANCTIONS AND A VOICE FOR ETHNIC MINORITIES

In Burma, TNI works to promote effective alternatives to international sanctions and ensure a voice for ethnic

minorities at the peace table. In 2009 TNI and the World Food Programme in Burma assessed the impact of the opium bans in the Wa and Kokang regions in the north of the country. European Commission officials and embassies in Bangkok were briefed on the findings. In May, TNI and the Burma Centre Netherlands organised a harm reduction exchange mission, bringing delegations from ethnic minority groups from Burma to the Netherlands.

CEASE-FIRES AT RISK

An important encounter between representatives of Burmese ethnic minority groups and European and Scandinavian foreign ministries was organised for the first time by TNI and Burma Centre Netherlands in July. A report on the future of the ceasefire agreements, *Burma: Neither Peace nor War* was published to coincide with the event.

Almost immediately thereafter fighting in the Kokang region between the government and the Myanmar National Democratic Alliance Army (MNDAA) brought an abrupt end to a two decade long truce. 37,000 people were forced to flee across the border into China. The MNDAA were the first

of around 20 armed opposition groups to conclude cease-fire agreements with the government, and there had been plans to transform them into official Border Guard Forces. The resumption of conflict put paid to these plans. Other cease-fire groups put their armed forces on high alert, raising doubts about whether those truces could be sustained. TNI's researcher was at the Burmese-China border at the time, producing a new report soon thereafter.

'Burma's cease-fire at risk: Consequences of the Kokang crisis for peace and democracy' concluded that the only way to achieve lasting peace and democracy would be to involve all ethnic opposition groups in discussions about political change in the country. The report also called for priority to be given to the humanitarian and social crises underpinning Burma's political and economic malaise. That calls for support for primary health-care programmes and efforts to address tuberculosis, malaria and HIV/AIDS, together with community-based development projects to former opium farmers and other marginalised communities. European embassies in Thailand were again briefed on the situation by TNI.

BURMA: NEITHER WAR NOR PEACE

2009 marks the twentieth anniversary of the first cease-fire agreements in Burma, which put a stop to decades of fighting between the military government and ethnic armed opposition groups. This report explains the background to the agreements, the goals of the cease-fire groups, and international responses. It goes on to talk about the current situation and prospects for a sustained peace. Ethnic opposition groups who had taken up arms against the government in defence of autonomy and ethnic rights, but later negotiated cease-fire agreements. These have held precariously as the military government continued to ignore the groups' main grievances and aspirations. Now, the regime wants them to disarm or become Border Guard Forces, and form political parties which would participate in the controversial 2010 elections. Unless some basic demands of the ethnic opposition groups are met, however, they are

unlikely to agree to any of this and, indeed, the truces themselves will be unlikely to hold.

The ethnic minority issue and the relevance of the cease-fire agreements have been almost completely ignored by the international community, which has focused on the struggle of the democratic opposition led by Aung San Suu Kyi, who has become an international icon. Without a political settlement that addresses ethnic minority needs and goals, however, it is extremely unlikely there will be peace and democracy in Burma. Instead of isolating and demonising the cease-fire groups, all national and international actors concerned with peace and democracy in Burma should actively engage them in discussions about political change in the country.

The report is available online.

↳ www.tni.org/report/neither-war-nor-peace

DRUG LAW REFORM

THE HUMAN RIGHT TO HARM REDUCTION

In 2009, TNI continued to work with its partners and like-minded governments to bring about changes in drug policies around the world based on the principles of harm reduction, the protection of human rights and alternative livelihoods



UNGASS REVIEW

Much of that work focused on the effectiveness of the United Nations drugs policy over the past ten years, which was evaluated in 2009 at the 52nd session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) in Vienna. In 1998, the United Nations General Assembly Special Session (UNGASS) on Drugs essentially affirmed the zero-tolerance policies embedded in the three UN conventions and

dating back a century to the 1909 International Opium Commission. TNI was one of the few critical non-governmental organisations to be present at the UNGASS in 1998 and, in the intervening decade, has gained a reputation as one of the most influential watchdogs on UN drug control policies.

While a majority of UN member states supported endorsement of harm reduction and human

rights objectives, a powerful, albeit minority, group of UN member states continued to oppose this. Decisions at the CND are made on the basis of consensus rather than votes, therefore harm reduction could not be officially endorsed in Vienna. At the end of the meeting, however, Germany issued an unprecedented statement stating that they would “interpret the term “related support services” used in the Political

HARM REDUCTION, HUMAN RIGHTS AND ALTERNATIVE LIVELIHOODS

Harm reduction refers to policies that aim to reduce the health, social and economic harms associated with drug production and consumption. It means stepping away from punitive approaches and recognizing the presence of drugs as a permanent feature of modern society. Coercive attempts to eliminate drug

production and use has been responsible for serious human rights violations, crimes and conflicts.

TNI believes that all drugs policies should be based on the principles of harm reduction and respect for human rights, and should help to secure sustainable livelihoods for those currently involved in cultivating crops used to produce drugs.

'The UNGASS review debate wouldn't be happening without TNI pushing this process. It would have been a rubber stamp'

DELEGATE to the 52nd session of the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs in Vienna



The repressive legal regime against drug users, small dealers and producers has caused a dramatic rise in the world's prison population. The deterrent effect of these policies has been negligible, while prisons have become a hub for drug trafficking

Declaration and the Plan of Action as including measures which a number of states, international organisations and non-governmental organisations would call "harm reduction measures". The statement was supported by 26 countries, including the Netherlands.

TNI had a measurable impact on the course of the UNGASS review process. Several officials called its publications 'the most relevant contributions from non-governmental side.' TNI regularly advised governments, and seconded an expert to assist the Dutch government delegation to the Vienna meeting.

INFORMAL DIALOGUES

Informal policy dialogues played a major part in securing this impact, helping to get harm reduction on the agenda not only at the UN, but also of national governments. In 2009, in addition to the existing dialogues in Europe (co-organised with the Andreas Papandreou Foundation) and Latin America (with the Washington Office on Latin America), the first Southeast Asian dialogue was organised in Bangkok, together with the German development agency GTZ. Now involving key players in almost 40 governments, the dialogues established a clear link between harm reduction and

human rights principles. A major theme was HIV/AIDS. In 2009, TNI continued to strengthen its ties with global HIV/AIDS alliances to emphasise the link between incidence of the disease and drug use, and harm reduction as the common ground. Other global and regional issues included law enforcement, the proportionality of prison sentences, decriminalisation of drug possession and prison overcrowding, the legal status of the coca leaf, and the link between the decline in opium cultivation and the rise of methamphetamines in Southeast Asia. TNI also organised a second national informal policy dialogue in The Hague, focusing on national policy developments and input for the UNGASS review.

DRUG LAW REFORM AND PRISONS

One of the consequences of the repressive legal regime against drug users, small dealers and producers is a dramatic rise in the world's prison population. Studies have shown that the deterrent effect of these policies has been negligible, while prisons have become a hub for drug trafficking. In many prisons, inmates' human rights are abused, health conditions are poor and the incidence of HIV/AIDS is high. In 2009, TNI initiated a new series of briefings on drug law reform,

publishing issues on reform efforts in Ecuador, Brazil and Mexico. In October, a TNI paper entitled 'Legislative Innovation in Drug Policy' was presented at a conference in Santiago de Chile organised by the Red Chilena de Reducción de Daños. The paper was commissioned by the Latin American Initiative on Drugs and Democracy, a continuation of the previous Commission initiated by former presidents Fernando Henrique Cardoso of Brazil, César Gaviria of Colombia and Ernesto Zedillo of Mexico. It summarises good practices in legislative reforms around the world, representing steps away from a repressive zero-tolerance model towards a more humane and evidence-based drug policy. TNI also provided input for the final report of the Commission in February 2009, which had a significant impact on the drug policy debate in Latin America.

PROMOTING ALTERNATIVE DEVELOPMENT IN DRUG-CROP GROWING AREAS

TNI continued in 2009 to promote conflict-sensitive and development-oriented drug policy proposals. In the last decade, many lessons have been learned from promoting rural development in opium poppy and coca growing areas, though much still needs to be done to apply them.

COCA MYTHS

In June 2009, TNI published the briefing *Coca Myths* to clarify misconceptions about the coca leaf. TNI actively supports the Bolivian government in its efforts to remove the coca leaf from the 1961 Convention, announced by President Morales at the High Level Segment of the CND in Vienna. In July, the

government presented its proposal to amend the Convention to the UN Social and Economic Council (ECOSOC). After informal negotiations, the 54 members of ECOSOC decided unanimously to pass the amendment proposal on to the Parties of the Convention for an 18-month period of consideration.

In the last decade, many lessons have been learned from promoting rural development in opium poppy and coca growing areas, though much still needs to be done to apply them



GLOBAL FORUM OF PRODUCERS OF CROPS DECLARED TO BE ILLICIT

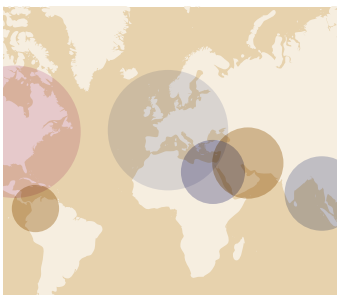
In Barcelona in January, TNI co-organised the first worldwide farmers' summit on drug-linked crops. The Global Forum of Producers of Crops Declared to be Illicit brought together 65 representatives of farmers' organisations and experts working closely with rural communities in Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean where coca, opium and cannabis is cultivated. They exchanged experiences with eradication policies and alternative development projects, and produced a set of recommendations for the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs meeting in Vienna in March. TNI also secured the representation of the farmers at the CND in Vienna, where two representatives presented their recommendations.

MILITARISM AND GLOBALISATION

EXPOSING THE MARKET IN FEAR

TNI's Militarism and Globalisation programme grew out of concerns that too little attention is paid to the connections between the economics of neoliberalism and the escalation of armed conflicts. The programme has achieved good results, helping to stimulate political debate on the implications for the South of EU security policy and reorganisation of the defence industry

NEOLIBERALISM AND ARMED CONFLICT



European governments, supported by significant media attention, have been kept well informed on Southern civil society's views on ways forward to peace in countries such as Burma, Afghanistan, Palestine, Iraq and Colombia. There have been discernible shifts with regard to Burma and Afghanistan. A recent Iraqi civil society conference should generate proposals that can be presented to European governments.

In 2009, TNI continued to promote UN reform in the field of security and conflict, contributing to a Dag Hammarskjöld report on the Responsibility to Protect (R2P) concept, currently a hot issue at UN level with regard to intervention in conflict zones.

NEOCONOPTICON: THE EU SECURITY-INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX

In 2009, TNI and Statewatch published *NeoConOpticon: The EU Security-Industrial Complex*, the follow-up to the 2006 report *Arming Big Brother*, which examined the development of the EU's Security Research Programme (ESRP). *Arming Big Brother*, which was highly critical of corporate influence on the ESRP, has been downloaded more than 500,000 times.

NeoConOpticon presents detailed new research showing how the ESRP is shaped by transnational defence and security corporations. The report warns of the emergence of a powerful new European surveillance system that will be

used for civilian, commercial, police, security and defence purposes alike. Hard copies were distributed among journalists, parliamentarians, policy makers, and within the security research sector itself. 125,789 copies of the report were downloaded from the TNI and Statewatch sites.

The report was well received by the media. In The Netherlands, prime time news carried a story inspired by the report, followed by a series of articles in *NRC Next* and picked up by a *Volkscrant* blogger. Articles also appeared in the *EU Observer*, as well as the *Guardian* and the *Observer* in the UK. It caused the ESRP to delay publication of its own annual report pending review of *NeoConOpticon's* reception. The report had a strong impact on the EU policy agenda, with >

It is not just a case of 'sleepwalking into', or 'waking up to' a surveillance society..., it feels more like turning a blind eye to the star of a new kind of arms race, one in which all the weapons are pointing inwards. Welcome to the NeoConOpticon

NeoConOpticon: The EU Security-Industrial Complex, TNI and Statewatch'



more emphasis given by the Commission and its advisory groups to the social and ethical implications of the EU security research programme. A special site dedicated to the area was set up around the report.

See more at

↳ <http://neconopticon.word-press.com>

Also well received in 2009 was the complementary briefing paper **From Venus to Mars: The European Union's steps towards the militarisation of space**. The paper assessed civilian and military R&D and warned of the excessive influence of defence and security business lobbies at EU level.

NO BASES

The International Network for the Abolition of Foreign Military Bases, for which TNI provided the secretariat in 2009, facilitated the first US conference on foreign military bases in Washington DC and two regional meetings in Europe. The issue was the subject of major controversy at this year's meeting of UNASUR (Latin America) and is now on the agenda of the 2010 NPT (Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons Treaty) Review conference.

The No Bases campaign is having a clear impact on the ground. On the Japanese island of Okinawa, after three

years of protest, the local population finally managed to stop the construction of a new offshore US base. In the Philippines, political pressure on the government grew for reassessment of the legality and desirability of a US military counter-insurgency operation. In July, after a decade of popular protest and campaigning, the Ecuadorian government closed the Manta base for American military use. The prospect of the US relocating the facility to Peru or Colombia, however, was cause for concern resulting in speaking tours, public debates and protests in those countries.

In 2009, an edited volume of studies assessing the problems local communities face around foreign bases was published. **The Bases of Empire: The Global Struggle against US Military Posts**, edited by Catherine Lutz, received positive reviews.

'A major contribution to understanding the causes and consequences of U.S. military bases at home and abroad'

DR KIMBERLY THEIDON,
Harvard University