

Annual Report 2005

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TRANSNATIONAL INSTITUTE



MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

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In 2005, TNI had much to celebrate. We received an incredible gift from our long-time advisor on environmental matters and owner of our former premises, Hermann von Hatzfeldt, which enabled us to raise a loan to buy a beautiful 19th century red brick school building near the centre of Amsterdam. The move took place without a hitch and we still managed to host our annual fellows' meeting the same month.

We also won a much-coveted award from the Lindesmith Foundation in recognition of our decade of work on international drug policy, and the outstanding role played by our colleague, Martin Jelsma. Martin was honoured as "one of, if not the, outstanding strategists in terms of how international institutions deal with drugs and drug policy" at a 1000-strong gathering of drug policy-makers in Los Angeles. TNI's work on international drugs policy is being taken ever more seriously by governments and policy-makers across the world. The Hungarian government hosted the second informal international drugs policy dialogue co-organised by TNI and the Andreas Papandreu Foundation, and TNI gave the keynote address at a major international conference hosted by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office. We were also given an audience by the European, Peruvian, Argentinean and Brazilian parliaments this year. Some progress is being made, with calls for harm reduction measures finding almost unanimous support in relation to the HIV/AIDS epidemic at the 2005 Commission on Narcotics Drugs, though the formal outcome did not reflect this after strong objections from the United States. In 2005, TNI continued to focus on illicit crop cultivation in Burma, Afghanistan and the Andean region, arguing forcefully that forced eradication without securing alternative livelihoods is a recipe for humanitarian crises and the fuelling of conflict.

Europe was a major theme for TNI in 2005, given the constitutional debates and referendums. TNI took this as its theme for the annual fellows meeting, hosted an international seminar on the construction of Europe, and published research on the distorting influence of Europe's multinational corporations on security policy and sustainable development. At the same time, we put greater effort into strengthening European social movements and highlighting positive examples of European movements and local governments learning from innovations in the South. As part of this effort, our work on participatory democracy and the renewal of public services, particularly as regards urban drinking water provision, has been greatly appreciated. A book published by the water justice network was sold out in the first few months, being reprinted twice and translated into three languages, with another six scheduled for 2006. A major effort

is now being made, with some early results, to encourage Public-Public Partnerships between public water utilities in the North and the South as an alternative to Public-Private Partnerships and outright privatisations, and to encourage greater worker and consumer involvement in improving public services. Another popular book published by TNI – on participatory democracy – was also translated into three languages in the course of 2005. In all cases, the translations of TNI's books this year were at the initiative of local governments or popular organisations.

All in all, it was a very busy year for TNI, with the Institute (co)organising 47 major events, plus two photo exhibitions and film screenings. We (co)organised nine public meetings and a photo exhibition in The Netherlands; 29 international seminars, seven international strategy meetings, a photo exhibition and film screenings, taking place variously in South Africa, the Philippines, China, Brazil, Uruguay, Spain and Scotland; and two major international policy dialogues - on international drugs policy and EU-Mexico relations respectively. TNI also participated actively in the Netherlands, Mediterranean, European and World Social Forums. We (co)published seven books, saw another six previously published books translated variously into Bahasa Indonesian, Portuguese, Spanish and Italian; three Spanish/English briefing papers; three Spanish/English drug policy briefs; three reports and a four-language magazine supplement. In addition, we promoted the 208 articles and seven books written by our fellows, logged over 5 million hits on our website and increased the number of subscribers to our biweekly newsletter to 4,600.

On the staffing front, we said goodbye to Sabra Bano, Jessica Bekker and Glynis Cooper, while welcoming to the team Kees Kimman, Gemma Galdón and Roeline Knottnerus. The full staff complement stood at 18.2 in 2005, excluding our freelance staff. We took on a record nine interns from different parts of the world, all but one

studying in The Netherlands. Four very talented young people were supported by TNI's Next Generation programme to do work complementary to TNI's current programme, in all instances resulting in TNI publishing their writings.

Financially, TNI managed to keep within its annual budget (Euro 2,263,185 - a 68% increase on the previous year). The equity accumulated up to the end of 2004 and the existing provision fund for building maintenance was used towards the cost of renovating the new offices. We are able to meet our loan repayments in respect of the purchase of the new premises through renting out offices. TNI's equity at the end of 2005 stood at Euro 11,455.

2005 may have been a year of celebration, but it was also a year of profound sadness for the Institute. Our beloved former director, board member and resident fellow, Dr Basker Vashee, a fine African intellectual who struggled for justice in his birthplace of Zimbabwe all his life, and who had worked for TNI for three decades, died just a month after the move. As his "family" in The Netherlands, TNI had the honour of giving him the farewell he deserved, hosting a wake attended by friends who reflected the internationalist he was, and organising the funeral. We have since instituted a library, a fund for African activist-scholarship, and an annual lecture in his honour, all in the hope of the memory of Basker extending a long way into the future.

On behalf of the Institute, I thank all staff, fellows and funders for the energy and commitment they put into a satisfyingly productive year; Hermann von Hatzfeldt for his unprecedented generosity; the friends and family of Basker Vashee who gave him the eulogies and the final farewell he deserved; and finally, Basker himself for being and for being ours.

Fiona Dove
Director

Drugs and Democracy

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

The United Nations and Harm Reduction

In early 2005, TNI played a leading role in an urgent lobby, mobilisation and media campaign around the US pressure on the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) on the issue of harm reduction measures for the purpose of HIV/AIDS prevention. TNI provided a detailed analysis of the emerging contradictions within the UN system in a Drug Policy Briefing, *The United Nations and Harm Reduction*.

A wide range of NGOs working on HIV/AIDS and drugs issues worldwide joined the campaign, which culminated in an open letter to the delegates of the 48th session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) signed by 200 organisations and many individuals in 56 countries. As a result, editorials in opinion-leading newspapers, including *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, condemned the US pressure in strong words.

The campaign had a major impact. The March CND session saw almost unanimous support for harm reduction measures to counter the HIV/AIDS epidemic from the European Union, Latin American, African and Asian countries. The formal outcome, however, was disappointing as the US blocked the adoption of any harm-reduction friendly language. TNI issued a detailed report: *The United Nations and Harm Reduction – Revisited; An Unauthorised Report on the Outcomes of the 48th CND Session*.

In the following month, several meetings took place where the UN harm reduction stalemate could be discussed. At Wilton Park in the UK, Martin Jelsma addressed the third international conference on global drug policy, co-organised by the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office, the Beckley Foundation, DrugScope, Open Society Institute and TNI. The Drugs and Democracy Programme also organised an evaluation of the CND outcomes with delegates from the relevant Dutch Ministries, as part of its ongoing Drugs Debate Platform in The Netherlands. In April,

Pien Metaal spoke at a European Parliament hearing on the EU Action Plan on drugs 2005-2008.

Amidst fears that US pressure would be extended to UNAIDS, the harm reduction campaign shifted its attention to the UNAIDS Programme Coordinating Board (PCB) meeting in June. The threat to UNAIDS' mandate to be involved in needle exchange and other harm reduction practices was averted, however, with the adoption (despite US objections) of a position paper on *Intensifying HIV Prevention*. The paper calls for harm reduction, specifying the importance of drug substitution treatment and sterile needle and syringe programmes.

Drugs Policy Dialogue

An informal drug policy dialogue was held in Budapest on 21-22 October, hosted by the Coordination Committee on Drug Affairs at the Hungarian Ministry of Youth, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. The meeting, a joint initiative of TNI and the Andreas G. Papandreou Foundation (APF), followed a previous dialogue in Crete in 2004. Its key themes were (1) harm reduction developments at the regional and UN level; (2) preparations for the 2008 UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS); and (3) alternative development – dilemmas around coca and opium reduction efforts in the Andean region, Afghanistan and Burma.

The meeting facilitated an open-minded exchange of opinions and experiences of policy makers and non-governmental experts, with the majority of the 35 participants being current or former policy officials. It was timed to immediately precede the annual ICAA conference (International Council on Alcohol and Addictions) from 23-28 October in Budapest. Martin Jelsma spoke on a panel with the UNODC Deputy Director on "The UN drug control debate: Current dilemmas and prospects for 2008".

Coca Commission and Latin American Policy Dialogue

TNI continued its preparations for a Coca Expert Commission, which aims to produce viable proposals on the long-standing coca issue by 2008. In January, a meeting of the Commission's core group was convened in Brazil. Parallel to this, possibilities for a Latin American policy dialogue were explored, focussing on four agenda items: harm reduction in Latin America, coca initiatives, the UNGASS review and alternative development. Several steps were taken in 2005 to further link and advance the Latin American policy dialogue and Coca Commission initiatives. These included debates in the Peruvian national parliament, the Rio de Janeiro State Assembly, and the Congress in Argentina, all with speakers from TNI. Private talks were held with several potential key players from Peru, Colombia, Bolivia, the Andean Community (CAN), Brazil and Uruguay.

In April, Hugo Cabieses and Ricardo Soberón (TNI consultants in Peru) and Pien Metaal presented initial proposals and identified potential obstacles at an international seminar on "Depenalisation of the Coca Leaf" in La Paz, Bolivia. Discussions on the creation of an international coca diplomacy strategy for the new government were held with the MAS party, who's Presidential candidate Evo Morales –a former coca farmers' leader- won the December 2005 Bolivian elections .

Coca and Conflict – Andean region

Three Drug Policy Briefings were published in 2005 on drugs and conflict issues in the Andean region: *Colombia: Drugs & Security - On the problems of confusing drug policy and security policy* (January); *Broken Promises And Coca Eradication In Peru* (March); and *The Politics of Glyphosate: The CICAD Study on the Impacts of Glyphosate and the Crop Figures* (June). Several articles were written especially for publication on our website: "Coca and Drugs. A Human, Political and Technical Issue" by Hugo Cabieses; "A Few Comments about the OAS-CICAD Study of the Impact of Glyphosate used in the Eradication of Illicit Crops in Colombia" by Ricardo Vargas; "Opinion: The Coca Ordinance" by Ricardo Soberón; and "Useful Narcoterrorism. A Look at the US Position on the Demobilisation of Colombia's Paramilitaries" by Amira Armenta of the TNI drugs team.

In July, TNI Associate Fellow in Bogotá, Ricardo Vargas, released his new book *Narcotráfico, guerra y política antidrogas. Una perspectiva sobre las drogas en el conflicto armado colombiano*, co-published by TNI and Acción Andina.

In August, TNI and MLAL released a book called



Hablan los diablos ('Devil's talk'), published by Abya Yala in Quito (Ecuador), which collects the writings of four Peruvian drugs experts and interviews with coca peasant leaders. The absence of open public debate on Peruvian drug policy turned these experts and farmers' representatives into 'devils' advocates' questioning conventional wisdoms on the issue and offering alternative policy recommendations. The book was launched at an event in Lima, with several of the authors present.

Opium and Conflict - Afghanistan and Burma

In Afghanistan and Burma, the world's two largest opium producers, local authorities implemented bans on poppy cultivation under pressure from the international community. In Afghanistan, farmers in several provinces decided not to plant in order to comply with the opium ban imposed by President Karzai at the end 2004 and under threat of seeing their crops destroyed. In Burma, on the occasion of the International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Drug Trafficking (26 June), the

United Wa State Army (UWSA) issued an opium ban in the northern areas under its control.

In June, *Trouble In The Triangle: Opium And Conflict In Burma* was published by Silkworm Books (Chiang Mai). It resulted from an earlier international conference held in Amsterdam to discuss issues on international engagement with Burma, viewed through the prism of drug policy. The book is part of a joint TNI/BCN (Burma Centre Netherlands) project on drugs and conflict in Burma, which aims to stimulate local, national, and international communities to rethink their drug eradication strategies. The overall goal is to provide a coherent approach to development, national reconciliation, and democracy building, and to strengthen Burma's civil, political, and ethnic groups in developing alternatives to the current repressive drug control policies.



The eradication of opium poppies without first securing alternative income opportunities could trigger a humanitarian crisis and renewed conflict in Afghanistan

A Drugs and Conflict Briefing *Downward Spiral: Banning Opium in Afghanistan and Burma* was also released in June. It argued that the reversed sequencing of first forcing farmers out of poppy cultivation before ensuring other income opportunities can trigger a humanitarian crisis. Aggressive drug control efforts against farmers and small-scale opium traders, and forced eradication operations in particular, would have a negative impact on prospects for poverty reduction, peace and democracy in both countries.

Information for the briefing was gathered during two research missions. In February, Martin Jelsma, coordinator of the Drugs and Democracy programme, joined a research mission on drugs and conflict in Afghanistan organised by the German Technical Cooperation (GTZ) as part of a European Commission Project for Alternative Livelihoods (PAL). The aim was to obtain an overview of the inter-linkages between the opium economy and various conflicts in the country. GTZ used the information to produce the PAL

Project report, *Conflict processing and the Opium Poppy Economy in Afghanistan*. The issue of the opium ban was raised in discussions with Afghan, British, US, EU and UN authorities in the country, and the appropriateness of forced eradication in a context of fragile security and reconstruction was questioned.

Tom Blickman wrote a Drug Policy Briefing on *Plan Afghanistan* in February on the potential threat of aerial eradication in the country along similar lines to the crop spraying Colombia, an issue TNI has campaigned against for many years. President Karzai has subsequently decided to deny permission for such an aggressive approach in Afghanistan.

Also in February Tom Kramer, a consultant for the project, undertook a mission to Thailand and Burma to hold discussions with all stakeholders and examine the situation after the latest harvest in the Wa region. In July, a 3-person TNI/BCN mission visited the 'Golden Triangle' again, to present and discuss the book and the briefing with all major Burmese stakeholders in and outside the country.

Tom Kramer represented TNI at the *Kabul International Symposium on Global Drug Policy* in September, organised by the *Senlis Council* around its proposal for licensing opium for the production of medicinal painkillers. The possibility of licit pharmaceutical uses of opiates in Afghanistan and Burma was also raised in articles by Martin Jelsma for the *International Journal on Drug Policy* ("Learning Lessons from the Taliban Opium Ban"), and *The Irrawaddy* (Thailand) ("A Pipe Dream?").

Networking

In 2005, TNI attended network meetings of the International Drug Policy Consortium, hosted by the Beckley Foundation in London, which brought NGOs and professionals, and the International Network for Drug Policy Analysis, involving academic drug policy analysis experts.

At the International Drug Policy Reform Conference, organised by the Drug Policy Alliance in Long Beach, California, on 12 November, Martin Jelsma received the "Alfred R. Lindesmith Award for Achievement in the Field of Scholarship". According to the citation "he is increasingly recognized as one of, if not the, outstanding strategists in terms of how international institutions deal with drugs and drug policy"



Crime and Globalisation



Over the last decade, fear of the 'new' threats from transnational organised crime and international terrorism has been used to justify the creation of various multilateral agreements and conventions on drug control, money laundering, transnational organised crime and terrorism. These 'global enforcement regimes', reinforced by a new layer of international security policy aimed at countering perceived threats from non-state actors, are the focus of TNI's Crime and Globalisation project. At a more local level, the project also works on gang violence in marginalised urban areas, looking at the governance issues raised by this problem.

In January 2005, the project organised a seminar at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil to launch the briefing paper, *A Pointless War: Drugs and Violence in Brazil*. The event was co-hosted with Brazilian partner Koinonia, and included a number of Latin American parliamentarians and civil society campaigners. The briefing was also presented at the Legislative Assembly of the State of Rio de Janeiro, with the participation of state and national representatives of the PT (Partido dos Trabalhadores), Brazil's governing party. A favela visit organised in conjunction with the Instituto Brasileiro de Inovações em Saúde Social (IBISS), a local NGO, also helped to put NGO representatives and parliamentarians in touch with the realities of gang and police violence there.

The project's main activity in 2005 was an international Expert Seminar on 'Global Enforcement Regimes:

Transnational Organised Crime, International Terrorism and Money Laundering' on 28-29 April in Amsterdam. The meeting brought together academics and representatives of civil society organisations, including Statewatch (UK) and the Fourth Freedom Forum (USA), to discuss post-9/11 policymaking on international security measures, and examine the impact of multilateral agreements being pushed at the UN and by the G8. The seminar proceedings were published in July, and a presentation by Michael Woodiwiss and David Bewley-Taylor was subsequently developed into a TNI Briefing, *The Global Fix: The Construction of a Global Enforcement Regime*, published in October in English and Spanish.

In July, an online briefing on *The G8 and Security* was published to coincide with the G8 Summit in Gleneagles, Scotland. It showed how G8 security recommendations are being introduced at EU level to 'harmonise' policies at a European level – in effect, disempowering non-G8 members of the EU at the expense of enforcing a Washington-led security 'consensus'.

The project's continuing work on global enforcement regimes looks at the work of UN agencies, including the UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) on transnational organised crime, money laundering and corruption. As part of TNI's wider programme on Drugs, Crime and Development, the project puts forward an approach based on more holistic principles of good governance and human security, encouraging policies that address the root causes of many of these problems.





New Politics

The New Politics Programme exists to support and respond to a widespread process of innovation and experimentation by social movements, progressive political parties and governments worldwide. In 2005, it worked with regional governments and researchers to promote participatory governance, and with social movements and parties to rethink political agency, as well as laying the groundwork for a project on rural new politics.



The New Politics programme assumes that most far-reaching innovations are made in practice, but that their potential is only fully realised through a process of critical theorisation and democratic debate. The programme organises spaces for such reflection, carries out and supports research into experiences of creating a new politics, and promotes the importance of these innovations as a means to move beyond the crisis of existing political institutions. Increasingly, it is also monitoring the ambiguous innovations of state institutions, which use the language of new politics and fragments of its practice whilst at the same time pursuing market-driven development policies.

The programme has two distinct research agendas. The first focuses on new forms of governance and experiments in participatory democracy. The second focuses on innovations in political agency, including attempts to renew progressive political parties. The former is led by Daniel Chavez and the latter by Hilary Wainwright. In 2005, the groundwork was laid for a third strand of the programme on 'rural new politics', which will be directed by Jenny Franco.

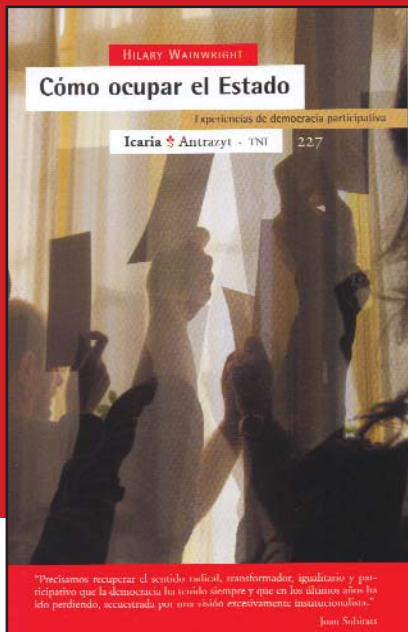
Rethinking governance, remaking participatory democracy

The year began with a meeting of the Madison Dialogue, a research programme on progressive national governance in Latin America, at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. The Madison Dialogue network involves research centres in Latin America, the USA and Europe, and is co-organised by TNI and the Havens

Center at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

The Madison Dialogue was inaugurated at a conference on the 'New Latin American Left' at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in 2004. In April 2005, the proceedings of that conference were published as a book entitled *La Nueva Izquierda en America Latina: Sus Origenes y Trayectoria Futura*, edited by TNI's Daniel Chavez and the Havens Center's César Rodríguez and Patrick Barrett, and published by Grupo Editorial Norma in Bogotá. It gave rise to a lively debate in academia, the media and political circles throughout Latin America, with reviews appearing in major newspapers such as *Página 12* (Argentina), *La Semana* (Colombia), *Brecha* (Uruguay) and *La Vanguardia* (Spain), as well as in a special report on the Latin American left published by *The New York Times*. The first edition of the book sold out. A revised second edition and an English language version are being prepared for publication in 2006.

In June, the New Politics Programme, in co-operation with the provincial government of Barcelona, organised an ambitious two-day international conference on 'Participatory Democracy, Political Actors and Social Movements'. The conference – which brought together over thirty researchers, development practitioners and government officials from Latin America, Asia and Europe – was conceived as the first of series of annual summits, aimed at becoming a permanent space for in-depth analysis and exchange of ideas around the theme of participatory and progressive governance. Preparations for the conference were facilitated by the International Observatory on



The invisible left

The premier of *La Izquierda Invisible: política, izquierda y participación a través de los jóvenes*, a feature-length documentary film by TNI Young Scholars Delaraiz, attracted 2,000 people in Montevideo, Uruguay. The film focuses on attempts to broaden the space for effective participation within progressive political parties and social movements.

Participatory Democracy (IOPD), of which both TNI and the Barcelona provincial government are members. The conference proceedings will be published in English, Spanish and Catalan in 2006.

The programme's focus on participatory democracy also began to shift from policy research to active support for policy implementation in 2005. In October, at the request of the provincial government of Paysandú, in Uruguay, TNI organised a regional conference around the theme of 'Building Citizenship: Participatory Budgeting Experiences in the Southern Cone', with the participation of researchers and government officials from Buenos Aires and Rosario (Argentina), Porto Alegre (Brazil), and Montevideo (Uruguay). In the immediate aftermath of the conference the provincial government launched its own pilot programme of participatory budgeting, with technical support from TNI and Delaraiz, a Uruguayan think tank composed of young activist-researchers who were supported by the TNI Next Generation Programme in 2004.

Rethinking political agency

This year's research on 'rethinking political agency' surveyed innovations across the globe as a backdrop to its more focussed inquiries. The first step in this direction was a highly participatory seminar at the World Social Forum entitled 'Politics Turned Upside Down', organised jointly with the Institute of Popular Democracy (IPD) in the Philippines, OP Repros (a network centred on participatory budgeting processes) in Brazil, and Transform! Italia. The seminar examined diverse 'laboratories' for new politics around

the world, from a microcosm of a community housing struggle in South Africa to the World Social Forum's new methodology.

The WSF was also the occasion for the launch by OP Repros and the publisher Xama of a revised and updated Brazilian edition of Hilary Wainwright's book *Reclaim the State*, under the title *Poder Popular no Século XXI*. The launch marked the beginning of a continuing collaboration with OP Repros, which enabled Wainwright to visit Brazil in August to investigate the crisis facing the PT. Her work focused on the party's failure to spread and adapt the principles of participatory democracy at federal level, despite its work to pioneer and develop such measures at a municipal level in Brazil since the late 1980s. Wainwright published articles based on her research in *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, *Open Democracy* and *Red Pepper*. She also edited (with Sue Branford) a 65-page dossier on the Brazilian political crisis, entitled *In the Eye of the Storm*. Spanish and English versions were made available online, registering over 10,000 downloads in the first month.

This research on Brazilian politics will be an important part of a wider inquiry into innovations in political organisation in an era of social movements and networks. Wainwright developed the European side of this inquiry by focusing on new political developments in Italy, France and Germany. The programme also opened the Asian dimension to its work with a highly productive seminar on 'Movements and Parties in South-East Asia and Latin America' in Manila in November, organised jointly between TNI, the Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), the Active Citizenship Foundation (ACF), and the Manila office of the Friedrich-Ebert Stiftung. It included contributions from Brazil, El

Salvador, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, South Korea, Thailand and Uruguay.

Rural New Politics

If the struggle for agrarian justice has been primarily about land, it has also necessarily been concerned with political democracy and democratic state-building. This is the focus of the analysis presented in *Struggling for Agrarian Justice and Citizenship Rights in the Rural Philippines*, a book authored by Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Jennifer C. Franco, Romulo J. de la Rosa, and Salvador H. Feranil, jointly published by the Institute for Popular Democracy and TNI in December. The book was an initial step towards the development of the rural dimension of the New Politics Programme. By problematising rural democratisation processes, the project (formally launched in January 2006) will examine how conventional portrayals of rural poor people's collective action not only fall far short of reality, but also obscure an important trend in rural politics and societies. Rural poor people's

mobilisations 'from below' are an increasingly integral part of the strategic battle over the boundaries of democratisation system-wide.

The new project – whose full title is 'Rural Social Organisations as Co-Producers of New Politics Innovations and Their Impact on Development Policy Processes' – will promote a combined research, exchange, education and advocacy agenda. It will engage with the local and national networks of rural social organisations that are directly involved in struggles for rights-based democratic development, as well as the transnational advocacy groups and networks that assist them, such as Via Campesina. The predominantly urban-based social and political movements involved in popular-democratic experimentation across the Global South will also be addressed by the project. Lastly, it will engage with national and international development agencies, policymakers and academics, all of whose perceptions, decisions and actions play a role in shaping rural development processes.

Euromovements and Eurotopia

One aim of the New Politics Programme is to help develop tools for new ways of organising. For this reason, it supported European movements in recovering and systematising the knowledge generated by the most recent cycle of social activism. TNI's support enabled Euromovements – a collaborative, action-research project – to develop a 'tools box' which includes: a directory of social movement organisations; a survey on networks; a directory of action research experiences and resources; a database of international and European mobilisations since 1994; and several web-bibliographic resources, including a joint newsletter reflecting on the European Social Forum and the challenges that face its future. These tools are designed to create open, decentralised and collaboratively produced information and knowledge.

The New Politics programme also facilitated the creation of Eurotopia, a multi-lingual supplement distributed by several magazines and journals across Europe. Following a successful pilot, the first issue was published in 2005, coordinated by El Viejo Topo in Barcelona. It focused on the theme of precarious work and the organisational challenges it presents to trade unions. The project was granted financial support by the European Cultural Foundation and Cardiff University.



Public Services

The future of public services is a major issue of contention amongst governments, social movements, international financial institutions and other organisations involved in the design and implementation of economic and social policies. What counts as 'quality', 'equality' and 'accountability' in public services is disputed, as are proposals for restructuring the public sector.

The Public Services programme was launched in January. It builds on the work of TNI Fellows and Amsterdam-based projects on the privatisation and deregulation of services promoted by the WTO (in particular on the likely impacts of the General Agreement of Trade in Services, GATS) and regional trade agreements, the Energy Project (a global network of NGOs and research centres co-ordinated by TNI until 2004), and the extensive international work undertaken by TNI on water justice.

The programme aims to contribute concrete analysis of the impacts and the institutional framework of reforms implemented in different regions of the world, and disseminate the 'lessons' learned from people-driven improvements in public policy and institutional development.

The team running the programme is composed of TNI Fellow Daniel Chavez (co-ordinator), and Roberto Elissalde, Hersilia Fonseca and Andres Prieto, members of a collective of researchers and writers based in Montevideo, Uruguay. They are backed by a network of policy-oriented activist-researchers.

The programme is focused on the promotion of applied research and innovative policy debate, engaging governmental, private and civic stakeholders active in public services reforms from the local to the national and regional levels. The public services initially considered by the project are: water, electricity, public transportation, telecommunications and postal services, education, healthcare, social welfare and social security, social housing, and municipal waste collection.

The main output of the project in 2005 is *Beyond the market: the future of public services*, a public services yearbook published in association with the Public Services International Research Unit (PSIRU). It aims to contribute a much needed facts-based analysis to counter the bias in the global debate on public sector reform, as well as pushing forwards new ideas for the democratic, participatory, efficient and accountable gover-



nance of public services. The contributors are a group with diverse national, professional and political backgrounds, many of them with direct links to trade unions and other social movements.

The yearbook provides an overview of the state of public services around the world. It covers national and international policy developments from January to December 2005, and is structured around four distinct but closely interrelated sections. The first part focuses on theoretical concepts and relevant policy issues, presenting an overview of current discussions on the nature and meaning of public services. The second part comprises a state-of-the-art review of basic public services, including health, education, electricity, and water and sanitation. The third part explores the latest developments and challenges on a regional basis, through detailed assessments of the state of public services in selected countries from both the North and the South. Part four analyses the social and corporate actors engaged in debates and conflicts around the development of public services. It will be supported by a web-based statistical database on public services worldwide, which will be launched in 2006.

TNI expects the public services yearbook, published in English and Spanish, to become an internationally respected source of information and analysis on the evolution of public services.

Water Justice

The Water Justice project, run jointly with the Corporate Europe Observatory, promotes participatory, public sector water as the most viable means to achieve the goal of water for all. With the tide now turning against privatisation, it is facilitating the creation of new regional and global networks to exchange knowledge on the construction of viable public-public co-operation in the water sector.



2005 began with the launch of the book *Reclaiming Public Water - Achievements, struggles and visions from around the world* at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January. *Reclaiming Public Water* presents wide ranging examples of new progressive models of public water delivery, which have often led to significant improvements in access to clean water and sanitation in the South. The book is written by water utility managers, trade unionists, academics and civil society campaigners from more than twenty countries. During the seminar, attended by over 200 people, co-authors from Indonesia, Argentina, Brazil and Venezuela presented examples of how public water delivery can be improved through diverse forms of democratisation, citizens' participation and community control. In response to worldwide demand, the book has already been reprinted several times, with a total run of 2,500 English language copies so far.

Reclaiming Public Water in translation

The first translation of *Reclaiming Public Water*, co-ordinated by the project's Indonesian partner organisation the Amrta Institute for Water Literacy, was into Bahasa Indonesian. The Amrta Institute, whose director Nila Ardhanie contributed a chapter to the book, campaigns against the Indonesian government's plans to privatise 250 out of the country's 300 public water utilities, and is using *Reclaiming Public Water* to increase awareness about alternative options such as public utility reform. The Indonesian edition was launched in August with seminars in Jakarta and Solo (central Java), which involved chapter authors from Malaysia, Venezuela and The Netherlands as keynote speakers. The launch seminar in Solo was hosted by PDAM, which has ended up near the top of the Indonesian government's list of water utilities to be privatised, despite the fact that it is one of the most efficient and best performing public water operators in the country.

Following the Indonesian example, civil society groups in Italy, Finland, Japan, India and elsewhere have initiated projects to translate the book into several more languages. Most of these edi-

tions, often including additional chapters and updates from the original edition, will be released in 2006.

The Spanish edition of the book *Por un Modelo público de agua - Triunfos, luchas y sueños* was published in November 2005 by El Viejo Topo. Book presentation seminars involving co-authors from Latin America took place in seven cities: Madrid, Barcelona, Zaragoza, Murcia, Huesca, Bilbao and Tenerife (hosted by a wide range of Spanish civil society organisations). Besides distributing the book in Spain, El Viejo Topo printed another 2,500 copies for distribution in Latin America on a non-profit basis. The Water Justice project's partners – water unions and grassroots groups in Bolivia, Peru, Venezuela, Mexico and Argentina – made bulk orders of these copies at a symbolic price.

Building new networks

The production of the book was an important step in what has become an elaborate international co-operation process on alternatives to privatisation. When the Spanish edition was launched in Madrid on 17-18 November, a seminar was held to follow up on its themes. 35 civil society campaigners, trade unionists and water professionals from 15 countries from across the globe were involved, including several of the book's co-authors. The seminar heard several testimonies, including those of water activists from El Alto and Cochabamba (Bolivia) who are now striving to create new democratically-controlled public water companies following failed privatisations. It also heard of the 'change management' experience undergone by the state water company in Tamil Nadu, a democratisation process with impressive results which challenge the World Bank's attempts to impose water privatisation as the only alternative for the sub-continent.

The Madrid seminar also saw the launch of the 'Reclaiming Public Water' network, which aims to strengthen the international voice of those promoting improved public water as an alternative to the private sector. In co-operation with other initiatives, the network will be an umbrella for information sharing, joint action and linked projects amongst its participant organisations. It aims to gather information and analyse new cases of progressive public water reforms and improvements from around the globe, to intensify the 'collective learning' process. TNI plays a facilitating and co-ordinating role in the network.

Several new working groups were also established at the seminar. These include a 'Friends of Public-Public Partnerships' working group. Public-Public Partnerships (PUPs) between water operators are a crucial method for achiev-

ing positive change in public water management. This working group will promote not-for-profit PUPs as an alternative to the neoliberal Public-Private Partnerships (PPPs) approach. A working group on the question of financing public water systems was also set up. This group will undertake research to show how financing public water for all is possible, in the face of the clear failure of privatisation to leverage the necessary finances for investing in water and sanitation services. Plans were made for joint activities around the Fourth World Water Forum in Mexico City in March 2006, with the aim to make the case for public water provision as a viable and attractive option for delivering water for all.

Informing governments, water professionals and civil society

The Madrid seminar confirmed that *Reclaiming Public Water* has been a source of inspiration for many around the world involved in pursuing improved public water delivery as an alternative to privatisation. The book has also been used as an advocacy tool to convince governments and regional institutions in South and North (ranging from the United Kingdom to the European Commission and Venezuela) to support progressive water reforms. 150 copies were distributed to government delegates during the most recent session of the UN's Commission on Sustainable Development in New York in April 2005. *Reclaiming Public Water* also made its way to the list of recommended reading for UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's advisory board on water and sanitation.

Based on the book's insights, the Water Justice project published a long article on public utility reforms in the May 2005 issue of the magazine *Water & Wastewater International*, read by water sector professionals around the world. The project also contributed background chapters on innovative water and sanitation reforms to TNI's *Public Services Yearbook 2005/6*, and a Spanish book on public services published by the Heinrich Böll Foundation.

TNI's Water Project continued to be an active part of the European civil society networks promoting more progressive EU policies on international water issues. TNI, for instance, was a signatory to an open letter to European Commissioner Louis Michel on the occasion of World Water Day, which called on the EU to stop imposing water privatisation on developing countries. The open letter urged the EU to "provide the necessary financial and political support for workable public solutions." TNI also administers several email listserves for information flow and discussion between civil society activists.

Carbon Trade Watch: working for environmental justice

Carbon Trade Watch monitors the impact of pollution trading upon environmental, social and economic justice. Although the new carbon market established by the Kyoto Protocol is not due to come into effect until 2008, its effects are already being seen. The first phase of the EU Emissions Trading Scheme resulted in an overall increase of 2 per cent in emissions for the power sector and millions of euros in windfall profits for some energy companies. The Clean Development Mechanism (CDM), lauded as the pathway for developing countries towards sustainability, performed badly with only 10 per cent of projects based on renewable technologies. In 2005, Carbon Trade Watch continued to research these negative impacts of the market-based response to climate change, and has worked with partner organisations to develop community-led responses to them.

Supporting communities

Carbon Trade Watch has built and maintains strong relationships with communities affected by pollution trading projects, and in 2005 continued to support those most affected by the trade in greenhouse gases. The project worked with partner organisation FASE in its campaign to halt carbon finance for destructive monoculture plantations in Brazil through multimedia, web initiatives and international solidarity efforts. After much local resistance and international campaigning, the UN has recently rejected such tree-plantation projects in Brazil. But carbon trading projects still threaten to exacerbate environmental injustices in the region, as corporations seek more carbon market financing for these controversial schemes.

A significant dimension of TNI's work is to highlight the interconnectedness of climate change issues and other issues of environmental justice. The 'Raised Voices' (www.raisedvoices.net) project continued with eight new video letters shot in Brazil and Scotland in 2005. The letters offered an unmediated opportunity for communities affected by monoculture plantations and the oil industry to speak out, forging international solidarity by communicating with each other and the wider public. The communities themselves have ownership of the material and the production process, which is vital to ensure the continuity of these local initiatives. As part of this project, testimonies on the impacts of G8 foreign policies from communities in Brazil, South Africa, India, West Papua, Ethiopia, Nigeria and Kenya were shown in Scotland to coincide with the G8 ministerial meeting in Gleneagles.

Generating vital research

In July 2005, Carbon Trade Watch published *Hoodwinked in the Hothouse: The G8, Climate Change and Free-market Environmentalism* to coincide with the G8 Ministerial. The briefing analysed the rhetoric and reality behind the climate claims of the G8 countries, critiquing the increasing tendency to make policy in accordance with the doctrine of free-market environmentalism. It also drew out

the connections between climate change and G8 policies and created a strong connection between what are normally distinct fields. *Hoodwinked in the Hothouse* was distributed and utilised widely by campaigners at the G8 talks, and was downloaded over 5,000 times from the TNI website.

In November, TNI and the Durban-based Centre for Civil Society published *Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere*. The book, edited by Patrick Bond and Rehana Dada, explores the impacts of the carbon market in South Africa – connecting energy privatisation with issues around the enclosure of the atmosphere. The book includes new research by Carbon Trade Watch guest researcher Graham Erion on how the CDM works in South Africa. He used the case study of a WWF Gold Standard CDM project, which adhered to strict sustainability and social criteria but was unable to raise sufficient funds from the carbon market, to elaborate on the more fundamental contradiction between environmental and social goals and market-based approaches to climate change. This evidence was presented to civil society at the climate talks in Montreal, along with several other presentations there by chapter authors. The whole book was made available online at the end of November, and was downloaded over 3,000 times by the end of 2005.

Networking for change

TNI is also part of a growing network of civil society groups, community campaigners, academics and grassroots movements in the Durban Group for People's Action on Climate Justice. Carbon Trade Watch organised several activities throughout 2005 with partners in this network, including a number of well-attended workshops, panels and debates on climate justice issues at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. The photo-exhibition *Where the Trees are a Desert* was on display in the Forum's main arts space, where thousands of people experienced it. An opening night event was hosted by local partners FASE-ES, the Uruguay-based World



Rainforest Movement Movement, and a representative from the indigenous Guarani community in Espírito Santo. The exhibition remained in Brazil and continues to be utilised by FASE-ES in its ongoing work on plantations.

The Durban Group also organised a Climate Justice Convergence Centre in Montreal to coincide with the eleventh session of the Conference of the Parties to the Climate Change Convention (COP11). Workshops, panels, films, photo-exhibitions, art, music and receptions took place over two weeks in the centre, where a multitude of indigenous peoples, youth, academics, campaigners and artists came together in the only space available during the talks for ordinary citizens to discuss, debate and act upon issues around climate justice.

Reaching out with multimedia

The project is continuing to make its materials accessible through a diverse range of media. An educational CD-ROM was added to this range in 2005, which collated all of the project's existing materials on issues of carbon trading. Other new features, including video clips, were added to the website. Briefings from previous years continue to be popular and relevant, with the pioneering *Sky is Not the Limit* downloaded 13,000 times in 2005. Carbon Trade Watch is continuing to build on this range of media work. Filming for a new plantations video was completed, which is due out in 2006.

This combination of multimedia, publications, new research and meaningful connections with those most affected by climate justice issues has made TNI an effective and powerful partner in the struggle for environmental justice around the world.

Links:

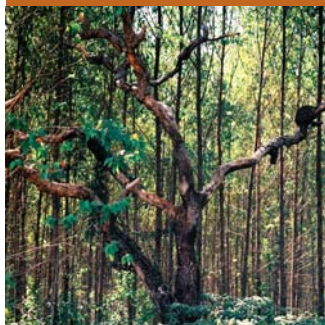
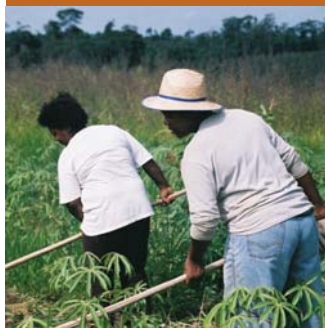
www.tni.org/ctw
www.raisedvoices.net
www.carbontradewatch.org
www.seen.org

Sustainable Energy and Economy Network

SEEN is a project of TNI and the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington DC, USA, which focuses on steering investments away from fossil fuels and promoting sustainable alternatives to them.

In 2005, much of SEEN's work focused on World Bank support for oil extraction projects, and its emerging role in carbon trading. In February, SEEN co-director Daphne Wynsham produced a report for Foreign Policy in Focus on the World Bank and the carbon market. It focused on how the Bank will profit handsomely from carbon market transactions. In March, SEEN joined with other organisations to mount an intensive media campaign contesting the nomination of Paul Wolfowitz as president of the World Bank. In July, SEEN produced briefing notes on the 'G8, World Bank and Climate Change', providing commentary that was picked up by, amongst others, BBC News. SEEN staff were also present at the September meeting of the World Bank in Washington DC, and produced an analysis of its outcomes that highlighted the 'double-standards' undermining its claim of leadership in the global climate debate. SEEN was also present at COP11 in Montreal, working as part of the Durban Group for Peoples Action on Climate Change.

Media outreach continues to be an important part of SEEN's work, with its staff regularly appearing as commentators on local and national radio broadcasts in the USA, and globally. Daphne Wysham, co-hosts a weekly radio programme, *Earthbeat*, on WPFW (Pacifica Radio) in Washington D.C.



In 2005, the militarism and globalisation project continued to facilitate and extend an International Network Against Foreign Military Bases. The year began with a series of four meetings on this subject at the World Social Forum. A joint framework was established for future activities by the network, which brings together local campaign groups from base-affected communities with national and international peace campaigns. The meetings also laid the groundwork for a major international conference in Ecuador in 2007. TNI's research on foreign bases included work by interns Jeroen Freriks, Abimanyu Royseptu and Kazuki Matsuura, who looked at a variety of topics relating to bases in Asia and the Middle East, including the legacy of foreign military presence in Indonesia and Japan.

in an article for *Development and Cooperation* magazine, and published an English language edition of his edited collection *Nation-building: a key concept for peaceful conflict transformation?*

Middle East and South Asia

TNI continued its involvement in networks working for a viable peace in the Middle East and nuclear non-proliferation in South Asia, with the Fellowship providing sharp analysis of the political situation in India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Pakistan and Palestine.

In March, Achin Vanaik, Phyllis Bennis and Walden Bello all addressed an international conference on 'Peace in Palestine' in Putrajaya, Malaysia. The conference, supported by the

Militarism and Globalisation

TNI's militarism and globalisation project focuses on the changing global frameworks for military intervention and the spread of new security infrastructures. In 2005, it continued to provide expert analysis and facilitation for civil society networks that reject the destabilising 'war on terror'. The project worked towards greater accountability in US and EU military decision-making and reform at a UN level, challenging the emerging new pretexts for war and the spread of foreign military bases.

TNI's foreign bases research aims to establish a better understanding of the new 'geography of empire' – with the US by far the largest foreign military presence, maintaining an estimated 725 bases in about 150 countries. This work was complemented by research on the 'ideologies of empire', with an international seminar on this theme held in Montevideo, Uruguay in November 2005. The meeting brought together several TNI Fellows and international relations experts, who examined the pretexts used to justify new wars. The seminar was held in preparation for a book on 'selling US wars', edited by Achin Vanaik, to be published at the end of 2006.

TNI Fellows Mariano Aguirre and Jochen Hippler also published on this theme in 2005. Aguirre wrote articles on neo-imperialism in *La Vanguardia*, the largest Catalan newspaper, and on the difficulties of 'exporting democracy' for *Open Democracy*. Jochen Hippler identified 'A dangerous trend in Afghanistan' towards the merger of anti-terror and reconstruction efforts

Malaysian government, brought together civil society organisations from 34 countries. In addition, TNI co-organised three seminars on the Israel-Palestine conflict at the WSF in Brazil in January.

In June, Walden Bello and Saul Landau gave evidence at the final session of the World Tribunal on Iraq, held in Istanbul, Turkey. TNI is a signatory to the Tribunal's Final Declaration, having previously served on its planning committee.

Walden Bello spoke on platforms across the globe about Iraq and the global peace movement, and published a new book *Dilemmas of Domination: The Unmaking of the American Empire*. Phyllis Bennis continued her 'Talking Points' series on the Iraq conflict with commentaries on the Iraqi constitution, elections, and the ongoing US involvement in the country. Achin Vanaik also wrote on the Iraq elections for *The Telegraph (Calcutta)*, as did Praful Bidwai for *Frontline* magazine.

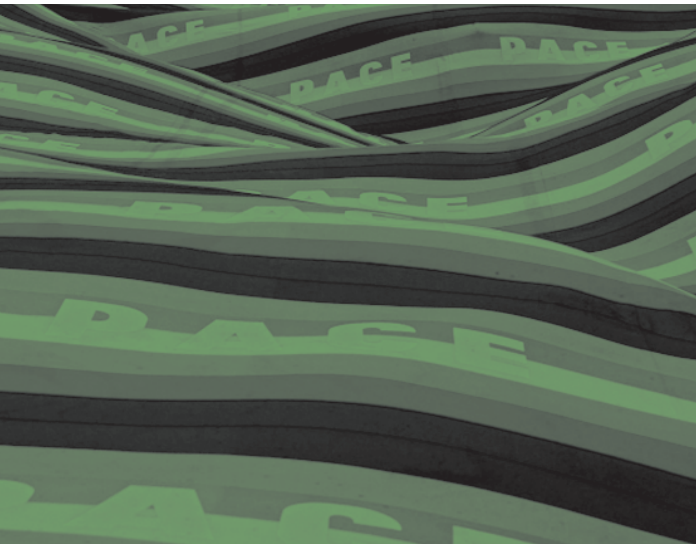
Escalating tensions between the US and Iran were the focus of several articles by Phyllis Bennis, Praful Bidwai, and Achin Vanaik in the latter part of the year – continuing their long-standing work on the issue of nuclear proliferation. A new section of the TNI website was established, collecting their regular analysis of the evolving Iran crisis.

Praful Bidwai and Achin Vanaik published widely on nuclear proliferation and militarism in South Asia, with several articles on India-Pakistan relations, and India's military co-operation agreement with the USA, in *Economic and Political Weekly*, *Foreign Policy in Focus*, *Frontline*, *Inter Press Service*, *Khaleej Times* and *The Telegraph (Calcutta)*.

ty policy to make it more responsive to civil society voices.

In September, TNI took part in the People's United Nations Assembly in Perugia, Italy, held on the eve of the United Nations summit in New York. Dot Keet spoke on trade and development issues, Phyllis Bennis addressed peace, security and the UN, whilst Jochen Hippler discussed anti-terror measures and the need for genuine dialogue with leaders from the Muslim world.

Phyllis Bennis's new book, *Challenging Empire: People, Governments and the UN defy US Power* was published by Interlink in November. It tracks the rise of US unilateralism and the doctrine of pre-emptive war, as well as examining the potential for a three part challenge to US



Europe's Military Future

In May, TNI held a two-day seminar on 'Another Europe', with defence and security issues amongst the key concerns. The meeting was timed to coincide with referendums on the EU constitution in The Netherlands and France, and discussed the implications of the proposed constitution for a 'militarised Europe'. Workshops were held on the geo-politics of EU enlargement, the European Security Research Programme, and arms industry lobbying. The meeting also served as a launch event for a briefing on the EU's emerging military-industrial complex.

These activities laid the groundwork for further work on EU militarisation, forming the basis of an issue of Eurotopia on 'Europe's military future' in January 2006 and a follow-up TNI Briefing on EU security research.

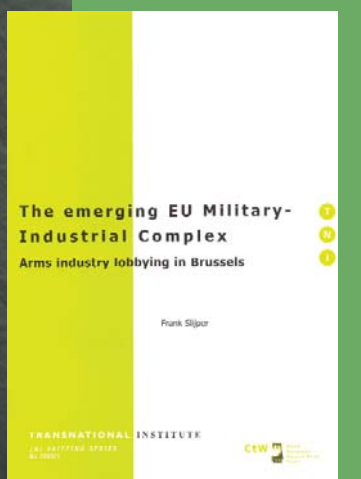


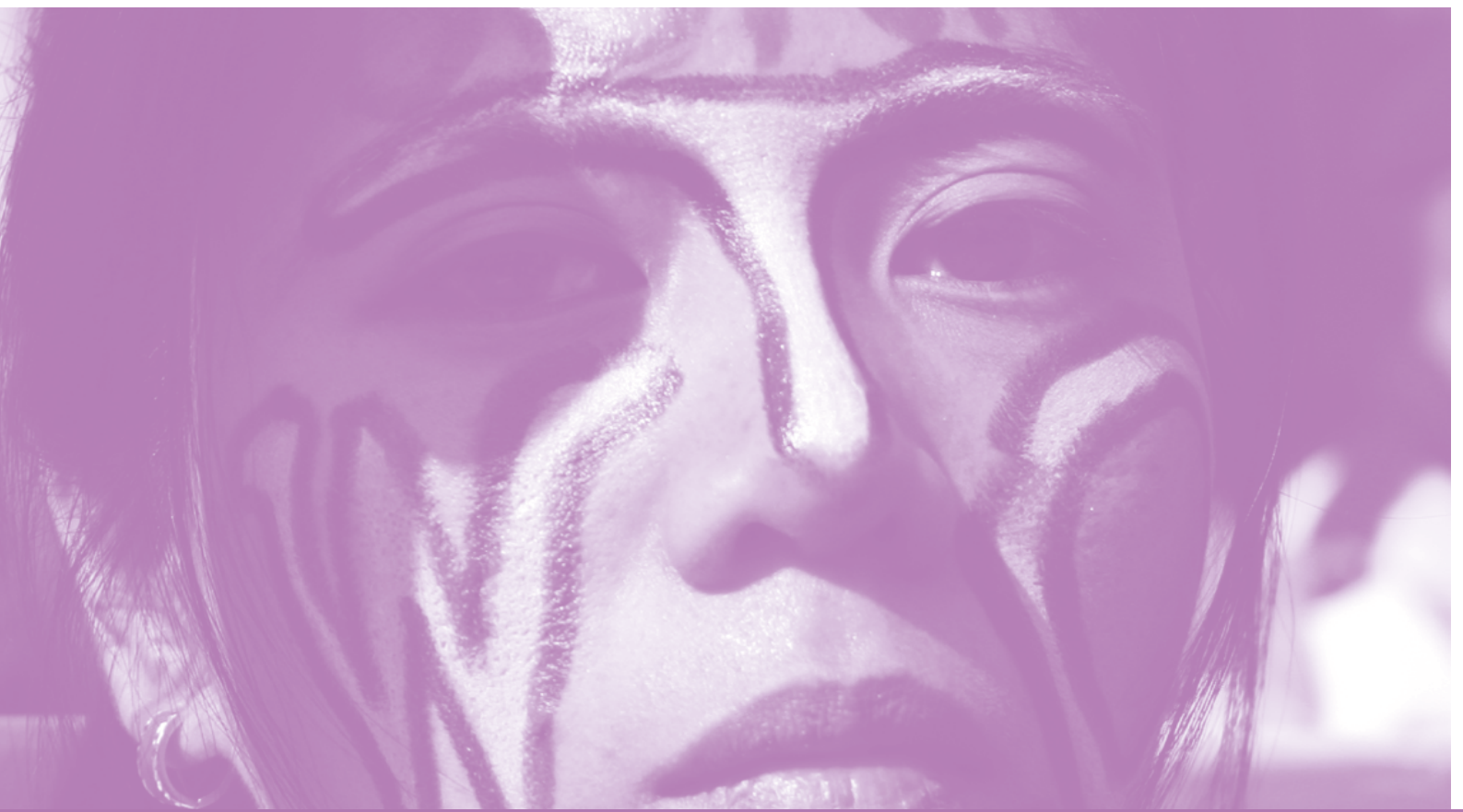
United Nations reform

In seeking alternatives to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, military bases and the advance of neo-imperial conflicts, the militarism and globalisation project seeks to develop a stronger international framework on military and securi-

militarism: the global social movements, governments willing to resist US demands, and a democratised UN. Bennis is a regular commentator on UN reform in the international media, and discussed this issue on *CNN*, *BBC World Service* and in *The Guardian* in 2005.

TNI's militarism project published a Briefing on *The Emerging EU Military-Industrial Complex: Arms Industry Lobbying in Brussels*, written by Frank Slijper, in May. The Briefing exposed a lack of transparency in EU defence policymaking, and sought to raise awareness of the undue influence of the continent's arms corporations on decision-making. It was distributed widely in Brussels, as well as amongst MPs in the UK and Ireland, and was central to discussions at a conference of the European Network for Peace and Human Rights in October.





Alternative regionalisms

The TNI Alternative Regionalisms programme seeks to influence the shape and substance of regional governance by facilitating cross-regional exchanges between social movements and civil society networks. This is done through a series of Peoples' Dialogues. 2005 saw the consolidation of EU-Latin America and EU-Asia networks, as well as continuing critical engagement with the WTO on its General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS).

TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme is a joint initiative with the Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC, South Africa), the Brazilian Institute of Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE) and Focus on the Global South (Thailand). Its activities are built around a series of Peoples' Dialogues. These are intended to strengthen regional development by providing spaces for civil society co-operation between regions. They are typically organised in parallel to Heads of States and Governments summits. Whereas those summits tend to be dominated by trade liberalisation, the Peoples' Dialogues foster civil society collaboration to promote needs-based rather than market-based co-operation. The Dialogues act as a catalyst for new networks, and a meeting place to consolidate existing coalitions. The underlying philosophy is that diverse, international coalitions are better placed than single organisations to achieve effective policy advocacy at a regional level.

EU-Latin America

In 2005, work was undertaken to strengthen the EU-Latin America bi-regional network established as a result of the previous year's Enlazando Alternativas ("Linking Alternatives") Social Encounter in Guadalajara, Mexico. An estimated 750 people attended three seminars on EU-Latin America relations at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January. These focussed on the role of EU-based transnational corporations, the relationship between development co-operation and trade, and the potential for the EU to play a role in the de-militarisation of the Andean region and Chiapas. A photo exhibition of the theme of Alternatives in Latin America was widely viewed throughout the Forum.

In March, TNI participated in the second Dialogue Forum between the civil societies and governments of Mexico and the European Union, hosted by the

Mexican Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The regionalisms programme also participated in an 'Alternatives for Globalisation' conference, organised by REGGEN and the United Nations University in Brazil in October.

Preparations for the 2006 Enlazando Alternativas 2 summit began midway through the year. A 'Call to Vienna' was launched in September, receiving the support of over 200 civil society organisations, trade unions and progressive parties from Europe and Latin America. Several organising meetings were held, with TNI and the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA) facilitating the international co-ordination for the 'alternative summit'. A Tribunal on multinational corporations was planned as a key part of the activities of the Vienna meeting. Evidence gathering and practical arrangements were made, with TNI preparing a case on the impact of European banks' policies on the financial sector in Latin America and Europe.

Asia-Europe

TNI has co-organised an Asia Europe People's Forum (AEPF) since 1996, developing a strong civil society network spanning the EU, South East and East Asia. As a 2005 report from the United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD) noted, there are "signs that issues of social policy and development are receiving a higher profile in the official agenda" as a result of the AEPF. However, as the same UNRISD paper noted, the inter-governmental meeting still skews these discussions by framing them in relation to a security agenda.

This year's activities further consolidated the AEPF network, following a successful fifth Forum in Vietnam in 2004. These meetings have successfully raised the profile of citizens' demands at ASEM (Asia Europe) meetings between Heads of States. With the expansion of the networks to include Vietnamese and Chinese



In November, TNI co-organised a seminar at the Peoples' Summit of the Americas in Mar Del Plata, Argentina, in conjunction with the Hemispheric Social Alliance. The meeting focused on the role of European transnational corporations in Latin America. It also saw the launch of *Enlazando Alternativas*, a book based on papers originally presented at the Social Encounter in Guadalajara, and covering themes ranging from the role of transnational corporations and the economics of regional integration to gender and human rights agendas. The book was co-published in Spanish in conjunction with Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC), Iniciativa de Copenhague para Centroamérica y México (CIFCA) and the Alianza Social Continental (ASC).

organisations it was recognised that the network would require a more formal and systematic structure. TNI facilitated several meetings over the course of the year to develop an AEPF Charter and a clearer organisational structure. The AEPF network is now built around bi-regional and thematic 'circles', with TNI acting as European co-ordinator for the 'water' and 'alternative regionalisms' circles.

Preparations were also made for the next AEPF meeting, to be held in Helsinki in September 2006. As a result, more than 100 Finnish organisations and movements are involved in the preparations for that event, and several articles on related topics have already appeared in the Finnish media.

In September, Susan George was in Finland for the Helsinki Conference on 'Mobilising Political

Will', the culmination of an extensive civil society dialogue on globalisation and democracy initiated by the Finnish and Tanzanian governments in 2002. George facilitated a dialogue on innovative financing for development. As a member of the Helsinki Group, she also contributed several position papers and attended four international seminars to prepare the group's report, which was launched by the Finnish and Tanzanian Foreign Ministers at Chatham House in the UK in June.

In November, TNI was represented at the ASEAN civil society forum. This was the first time in ASEAN's 38 year history that civil society representatives were invited in, although the level of representation remains severely limited. TNI also co-organised an international workshop and strategy meeting on the theme of 're-thinking regionalisms in Asia' in Hong Kong in December, which aimed to consolidate civil society networking in the region.

GATS and the WTO

TNI hosts the secretariat of the Dutch GATS Platform, a coalition of research and campaign groups critical of the push for services liberalisation.

In summer 2005, the GATS Platform contacted over 500 local authorities in The Netherlands with a comprehensive information package on GATS. This was in preparation for an international convention of local communities in Liege, Belgium to discuss the idea of GATS Free Zones. Susan George was a keynote speaker at the event.

In the run up to the WTO Ministerial in Hong Kong, the GATS Platform participated in numerous civil society consultations with the Dutch Department of Economic Affairs on the issues of WTO, GATS and the EU services directive. The GATS Platform was also an active participant in the Fair Trade Coalition (FTC), contributing a chapter on GATS to its lobbying document 'Towards a Sustainable Result in Hong Kong'. This report was presented to the Dutch Parliament. In November, the GATS Platform participated in a roundtable at the Dutch Parliament on the WTO.

TNI Fellows were also active in researching the WTO and GATS. Dot Keet produced a new analysis of the WTO and industrial tariff liberalisation. In November, she presented a paper to the South African Parliament on economic governance and the country's position in WTO negotiations. Her analysis of 'Why South Africa needs to oppose GATS' was published in the Johannesburg financial daily Business Report in December. Walden Bello addressed various meetings globally on WTO, including addressing 'Developing Country Prospects at the Hong Kong WTO and Beyond' at a conference in the Philippines in November.

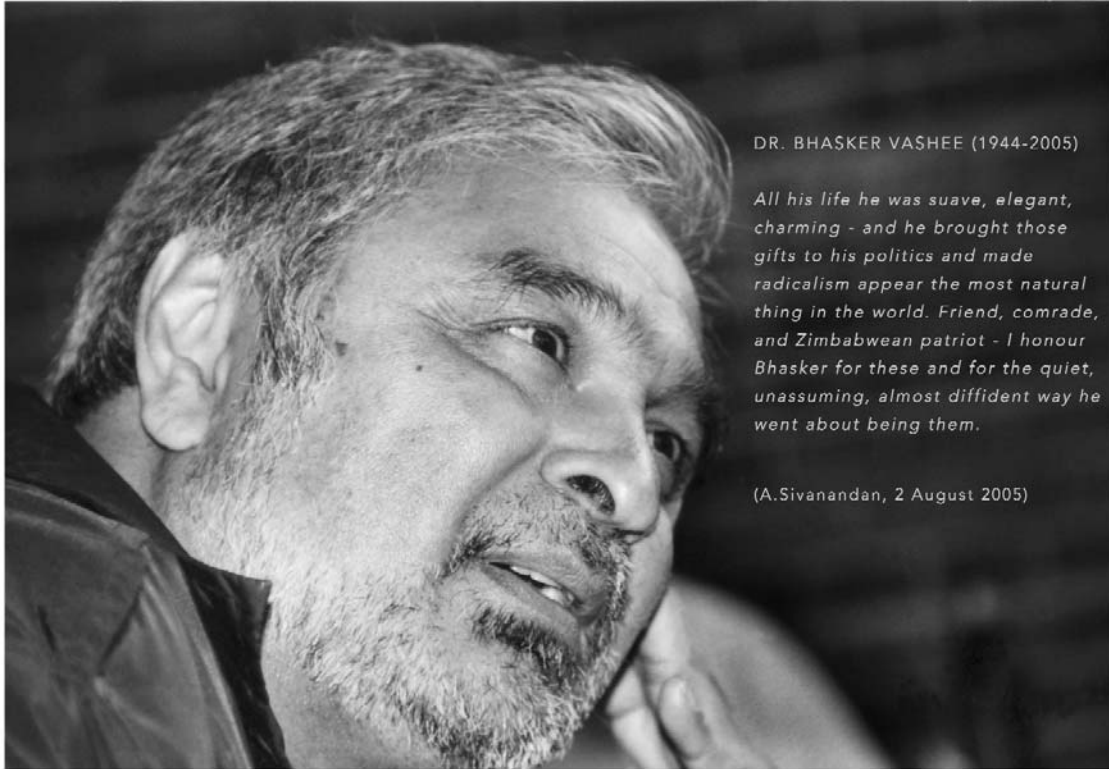
TNI co-organised a Peoples' Week of Action in Hong Kong to coincide with the 6th WTO Ministerial Conference in December. Seminars were held on the WTO, bilateral free trade agreements, eco-

omic partnership agreements in Africa and the Caribbean, and Iraq. Several TNI staff and Fellows attended, with regular analysis posted on the TNI website during and after the event. Cecilia Olivet coordinated logistics for Radio Mundo Real, building new alliances with Asian alternative media.

ANOTHER EUROPE

As the EU contemplated a new constitution, TNI hosted four days of in-depth discussions on the future of Europe. In mid-May, 35 activist scholars gathered for the annual TNI Fellows' meeting on 'Europe Today' (see pages 24-25). Immediately following this meeting, and in the run up to French and Dutch referendums on the constitution, TNI hosted a two-day seminar on the theme of 'Another Europe'. As part of TNI's Samuel Rubin Next Generation programme, the meeting brought together young scholar activists from Europe and the global South to discuss EU trade policy, GATS, EPAs, the EU constitution, and its security agenda. Articles based on these discussions were published in *The Guardian*, *Open Democracy*, *EU Observer*, *Frontline*, *Khaleej Times* and *Red Pepper*. Since the Dutch 'no' vote, TNI has also played a part in a new 'Europa Anders' coalition, which seeks to engage the Dutch public on questions of European integration. In September, Susan George published *Nous, Peuples d'Europe*, in which she argues that Europe needs a radically different orientation to break with the neoliberal vision proposed in the EU constitution treaty.

The GATS Platform also stepped up its campaign against the European Services Directive. GATS Platform co-ordinator Roeline Knottnerus, together with PES-MEP Ieke van den Burg (PdDA/Dutch Labour Party), compiled a brochure assessing the risks and legal pitfalls of the Directive. The GATS Platform engaged in its own lobbying activities on the Directive, as well as taking part in lobbies by the Stop the EU Services Directive coalition.



DR. BHASKER VASHEE (1944-2005)

All his life he was suave, elegant, charming - and he brought those gifts to his politics and made radicalism appear the most natural thing in the world. Friend, comrade, and Zimbabwean patriot - I honour Bhasker for these and for the quiet, unassuming, almost diffident way he went about being them.

(A.Sivanandan, 2 August 2005)

Dr. Bhasker (Basker) Chhaganlal Vashee

(20 February 1944 - 18 July 2005)

Basker Vashee, who died aged 61, was an African, a socialist and an internationalist. He never wavered in his idealism and commitment to a world based on human solidarity. He was a modest, patient man endowed with immense charm and a contagious chuckle. His deepest desires were to see Robert Mugabe fall, to retire to Zimbabwe and to have a family. Regrettably, Basker did not live to see the former, although his ashes are interned in the country he described as “the only place I really love and want to be a part of”. The latter he satisfied through his dedication to the three children of his great love Gretta Nieuwenhuizen and the staff of TNI.

Basker was radicalised as a student, becoming General Secretary of the Rhodesian African Students’ Union at a time when Ian Smith, the then prime minister of what was a British colony, made his unilateral declaration of independence. He was soon picked up by Smith’s security police and kept in solitary confinement for a year before being deported to Britain on his release in 1966.

On arriving in London, he completed his BSc in Economics and went on to study an MSc at the London School of Economics (LSE). He had, meanwhile, become a card-carrying member of the Zimbabwe African People’s Union (ZAPU), as well as playing a part in that university’s first ever militant sit-in.

Basker went on to read for a PhD in Economics at the University of Sussex, graduating in 1974. Meanwhile, he co-founded and served as executive editor of Counter-Information Services (CIS), which monitored multinational corporations’ operations in the Third World.

In 1976, he was appointed Executive Director of TNI. Under his leadership, TNI became *the* place in Europe for African liberation movements to meet. Basker had, since 1974, served the Zimbabwean national liberation movement in Britain and later Europe. He participated in the Lancaster House talks, which resulted in the first democratic elections in an independent Zimbabwe in 1980. He returned to Zimbabwe for three years in the hope of staying, but ZAPU had lost out to Robert Mugabe’s Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU). Within a couple of years, Basker’s elation gave way to disappointment as Zimbabwe became increasingly authoritarian. He returned to Europe and TNI.

His health deteriorated around this time. Basker had been diagnosed with a heart condition at the age of 34 and suffered his first heart attack in 1986, which saw him having to step down as TNI Executive Director. After a period of recovery, he went to the USA for three years, where he was a Visiting Professor at Hampshire and Smith Colleges in Massachusetts, and gave evidence to the US Senate and the United Nations on apartheid in South Africa.

He returned to Amsterdam in 1991, serving as TNI’s resident Fellow. He represented the Institute at numerous conferences and organised a number at TNI itself. In his last years, he regularly lectured on African political economy in The Netherlands and the UK. Basker served on the Board of Trustees of both TNI and the trade union-related Transnational Information Exchange, which he had helped found in 1978, as well as on the African Commission of the International Advisory Council of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs. He co-operated actively with the Netherlands Institute for Southern Africa (NIZA) and was engaged both socially and politically with the African diaspora in The Netherlands.

TNI FELLOWSHIP 2005

There are currently 20 members of TNI's prestigious international fellowship programme. A number of the fellows are directors or senior associates of other research and advocacy institutes. These include Focus on the Global South (Asia), the Institute for Popular Democracy (Philippines), Policy Alternatives for the Southern Cone (Brazil), the Alternative Information and Development Centre (South Africa), the Centre for Peace Studies (Spain), the Centre for Peace and Development Studies (Germany), the Centre for Globalisation Studies (Russia), and the Institute for Policy Studies (USA). As such, these institutes are solid partners in many of TNI's projects. Others are journalists (India, USA, Germany, UK, Spain, Philippines), while still others are academics or independent scholars. All are directly involved with social justice movements in their own countries and are committed to an internationalist perspective.

Fellows participate in the shaping of the overall programme of the institute, help connect TNI to networks in their own countries and regions, develop joint projects between TNI and their own institutes, offer media outlets to TNI, promote the institute and each other, assist with fundraising and represent the Institute internationally. They meet annually in Amsterdam.

TNI promotes and involves its fellows in its programmes and bigger networks wherever possible. TNI hosts a homepage for each fellow, where full biographical and contact information may be found, as well as on-line reproductions of articles, speeches and interviews, and a bibliography of other works. Although TNI fellowships are honorary and are not paid, TNI has a modest fund, disbursed at the discretion of the Director, which is intended to support the work of fellows where necessary.

THE CURRENT FELLOWSHIP



Dr. Mariano Aguirre
Journalist and Co-director of Fundación para las Relaciones Internacionales y el Diálogo Exterior (FRIDE), Madrid, Spain



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



Professor Walden Bello
Director of Focus on the Global South, Bangkok, Thailand



Phyllis Bennis
Fellow at the Institute for Policy Studies (IPS), Washington DC, USA



Praful Bidwai
Independent journalist, New Delhi, India



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



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



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



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



Dr. Susan George
Author, Independent Scholar; Vice president of ATTAC; TNI Planning Board Chairperson



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



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



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



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



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



David Sogge
Independent Consultant, Amsterdam, Netherlands



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



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



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



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

ASSOCIATE FELLOWS



Pauline Tiffen
Independent consultant, UK



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

SAMUEL RUBIN YOUNG FELLOWSHIP PROGRAMME

The Samuel Rubin Young Fellowship Programme aims to provide support, resources and a transnational environment for talented, socially committed young scholar-activists in the hope that TNI may contribute, albeit modestly, to the production of a new generation of influential leaders and change-makers. The programme is named in honour of the man with the original foresight to finance such a project.

In keeping with TNI's characteristic approach, the programme is transnational in composition and orientation. It is biased in favour of scholar-activists from the Global South, particularly women. The programme has a modest fund thanks to contributions from the Samuel Rubin Foundation and the Dutch Ministry for Foreign Affairs. Beneficiaries may be individuals or collectives, must be under the age of 35, and produce a project proposal with at least one substantive product. They hold the title of TNI Young Fellow for the duration of their grant.



Maria Cecilia Olivet (29), Uruguay, has a BA degree in International Relations from Universidad de la República in Uruguay and an MA in International Politics and East Asia from Warwick University, UK. Her area of specialisation is regionalism, with a particular emphasis on Latin America-East Asia interregional relations. Cecilia came to TNI via our partner in Uruguay, REDES (Friends of the Earth). She received a Young Fellowship grant for work with the TNI Alternative Regionalisms Programme during the 6th WTO Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong in December 2005, where she also reported for Real World Radio (RWR). Cecilia continues to work with TNI's Alternative Regionalisms programme, staying on to help organise the Enlazando Alternativas II summit in Vienna in 2006.



Diana Siller (29), Mexico, has an MSc in Urban Planning and Development from the University of London at the Development Planning Unit (DPU) and an MA in Environmental Management from the University of Amsterdam. Under the mentorship of Daniel Chavez, TNI Fellow and Public Services programme co-ordinator, Diana developed an updated overview of the process of public services privatisation in Mexico, which was published as part of TNI's Public Services Yearbook. She now works as a researcher at the Centre of Demographic, Urban and Environmental Studies of Colegio de Mexico.



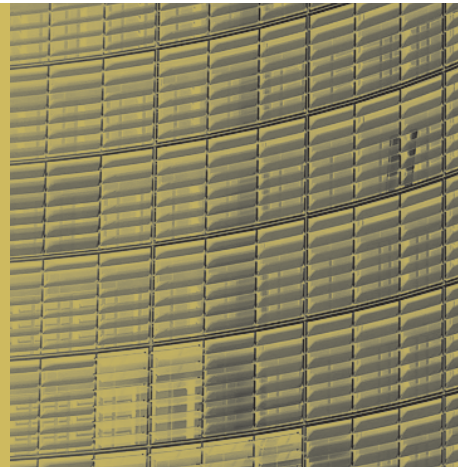
Alessandra Galie (26), Italy. A former intern and 2004 Young Fellows Awardee, TNI continued to support Alessandra while she was working at the Humanitarian Group for Social Development (HGSD) in Lebanon. Alessandra worked with the Alternative Regionalisms Programme maintaining a web portal. She also contributed a chapter on public services in Lebanon and Syria to TNI's Public Services Yearbook.



Oscar Reyes (27), UK, has a BA degree in English Literature from the University of Oxford and an MA in Ideology and Discourse Analysis from the University of Essex. He was a lecturer at the University of East London and Goldsmiths College, University of London, and co-producer of a weekly social and ecological justice radio show on London's Resonance FM. He is co-editor, with TNI Fellow Hilary Wainwright, of *Red Pepper* magazine in the UK. He was awarded a Young Fellowship in 2005 to undertake work on the *Eurotopia* magazine supplement for TNI's New Politics programme. He now works for TNI as its Communications Officer.

FELLOWS MEETING

Europe Today



Europe between East and West: Relations with the US, Russia and China

Presenters: Boris Kagarlitsky, Tom Reifer

This session discussed the differences and commonalities between the EU and US approaches to their external relations with China and Russia. The EU is now the largest supplier of foreign technology and investment in China, with some EU members also engaging in military exchanges with the People's Republic. These developments could be read as part of an effort to improve EU-China relations, driven by a common concern to constrain US power. But there are several arguments against this view. Chinese moves towards multilateralism are qualified by its caution about becoming politically engaged in international conflicts. The EU and US trade positions share a neo-liberal bias and, with the opening of Chinese markets, the US is also an important source of foreign investment. And talk of EU foreign policy may, in any case, be a misnomer. As EU members do not share one set of common interests, the EU's external relations are complex and often highly contested between them – one factor in its inability to act as a counterweight to the US.

The EU and USA also compete in their political relations with Russia, although they promote the same neo-liberal economic model. Whilst it is often argued that Russia needs foreign investment, the country is actually a net exporter of capital. European investments are being made in real estate, oil and manufacturing, but Russian companies are at the same time going multinational. The true scale of capital outflows from Russia to the EU is concealed because significant amounts pass through grey and black markets. What Russia needs are not-for-profit investments in basic public services and goods, including housing, water and education. But the World Bank's push to commercialise these sectors makes that outcome less likely, and compounds the country's problems.

European militarisation

Presenter: Frank Slijper

The EU's military capability has developed rapidly since 1997, when the Amsterdam Treaty first paved the way for an EU security policy. The European arms industry, sensing a chance to widen its market, has since engaged in concerted lobbying. Industry lobbyists not only have

access to decision-makers – in many cases, they are the ones making the decisions. Policymaking tasks are often devolved to councils of experts and secretive advisory groups drawn largely from the industry. The clauses on defence in the proposed EU constitution arose in this way. Lucrative dual-use technologies are also being developed with EU funding. There is a need for far more transparency around lobbying at EU level, to rebalance policy in favour of citizens' interests rather than those of the arms companies.

Europe and the South: the push for regional integration

Presenters: Dot Keet, Myriam van der Stichele, Claudia Torrelli

While it may be tempting to see the EU as a counterweight to the USA, their actions on the global economic stage have much in common. Trade functions as a mechanism of control. Market openings are forced at a multilateral level, including via WTO negotiations, but the EU also uses plurilateral mechanisms such as the OECD and the Quad (US, EU, Japan and Canada) to similar effect.

The EU and US compete in the push for bilateral market access, holding up certain agreements (US-Chile, EU-Mexico) as models, since their terms invariably go beyond those achieved at the WTO. There are few democratic mechanisms to rein in EU policymaking, since the European Commission rather than member states has power of initiative in trade negotiations.

There is a need for political pressure to redress this imbalance. Civil society organisations, including the peace movement and even some trade unions, are often ambiguous in their responses or fail to engage with the EU's aggressive trade liberalisation in the South. Different models of regional integration are needed. Venezuelan and Cuban moves to develop a 'Bolivarian Alternative of the Americas' are one interesting experiment, countering free-trade led regional co-operation with exchanges of goods and services based on mutually understood needs. The undermining of the G20 after Cancun, with Brazil and India drawn into the 'Five Interested Parties' group, shows the need for renewed civil society pressure within those states, and co-operation amongst smaller states. In this context, the G77's Global System of Trade Preferences Amongst Developing Countries could pro-

In May 2005, the European Union's constitutional debate marked an important juncture in the shaping of its future. Will the EU pursue a neo-liberal course, or seek to reinvigorate a distinctively European social model? Will EU militarism complement the existing US hegemony or constrain it? Can Europe's institutions be democratised? And what is the basis of European citizenship? The annual TNI Fellows meeting brought together around 35 activist scholars from across the world to debate these issues, and to think through the global implications of European practice on a range of fronts: including trade, militarisation, regional integration, and the practice of its social movements and political parties.

vide a useful mechanism if it were to be re-oriented around people-centred development.

Europe and Islam

Presenter: Jochen Hippler

This session examined issues of European identity in relation to Islam and violence. There is no evidence that Islam breeds more violence than secularism, although it has sometimes been used as a pretext for politically motivated violence. The main source of violence in modern times is the nation-state, and attempts to found nation-states: even the majority of suicide bombings in the world are for secular reasons. So it is important to disentangle Islam and violence in current debates about European identity. European identity should not be seen as fully separate from Islamic identity, with Muslims expected to 'integrate' in order to attain citizenship. European and Muslim identities are complex, contested and overlapping. Any debate on Europe and Islam should recognise this at the outset, and discussions on the 'war on terror' should look towards wider political and economic explanations of violence, starting with questions of state actions.

European Left Politics Today

Presenters: Marco Consolo, Gábor Scheiring, Hilary Wainwright

The anti-war movement in Europe did not stop the war on Iraq, but it has arguably helped to consolidate a European Left – which is also visible at the European Social Forum (ESF). The emerging European social movements do not eclipse the role of political parties, but seek a new relationship with them and have developed innovative organisational forms from which the parties could learn.

However, these social movements are predominantly Western European. The new left remains weak in Central and Eastern Europe, for historical reasons. In Hungary, for example, most privatisation measures are passed by the socialists, with opposition led by a nationalist and anti-modernist right. This limits the space for progressive social movements, although there are some efforts now to broaden the current of globalisation-critical and environmentalist movements.

What measures can the left take to ensure that it is not condemned to being a permanent opposition in Europe? Social movements should be attentive to the dangers that they can be too self-referential, and insufficiently practical. Parties still have an important role in conveying political demands at a state level. But where that path is currently closed off, progress can nevertheless be made at a European level and in the local arena.

The EU Constitutional debate

Speakers: Susan George, Erik Wesseliuss

This session took place on the eve of the 'no' votes in The Netherlands and France on the EU constitution. The speakers addressed the topic from the perspective of the progressive 'no' campaigns in the two countries, in which they played leading roles. Underlying the popularity of the 'no' case was resentment at neo-liberal reforms and distrust in government. It was also argued that the constitution was undemocratic. The constitutional treaty set out detailed policies in its 480-pages, which would effectively have subjected future generations to the pro-market political and economic choices of the present. The Convention which devised the document was itself an unelected body.

The text of the constitutional treaty was profoundly pro-market, with the clauses on fundamental rights making no mention of workers' rights. There was also concern about the militarism clauses, which would have committed member states to 'improving their military capabilities' year on year – a code for increased defence spending. Even the democratic gains that were offered in terms of the transparency of the Council of Ministers were tokenistic, given that the vast majority of EU decision-making happens in committees that would remain closed.

The debate in France, in particular, succeeded in mobilising a nationwide political movement, and in both countries the discussion opened a space to debate the political direction that Europe is taking. This made it impossible for supporters of the constitution to label its opponents as simply xenophobic. The two governments insisted that there was no 'plan B'. But with the constitutional debate laying the existing workings of the EU open to scrutiny, the speakers felt that it offered an important political opportunity to begin shaping 'another Europe'.



JANUARY

World Social Forum (WSF): TNI co-organises seminars on militarism, water justice, alternative regional development, Middle Eastern politics, EU-Latin America relations, Islam and globalisation, new politics, foreign military bases, drugs and violence in Brazil, and participatory budgeting at the 5th WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil.

Water Justice: *Reclaiming Public Water: achieve-*

Economy in Afghanistan. Also in February, Tom Blickman produces a Drug Policy Briefing entitled *Plan Afghanistan*, on the threat of aerial eradication of opium.

MARCH

Commission on Narcotic Drugs: TNI is joined by 200 organisations in signing an Open Letter on HIV/AIDS and drugs issues, written to the



REVIEW 2005



ments, struggles and visions from around the world is launched at the WSF. The book presents wide-ranging examples of how progressive models of public water delivery have led to significant improvements in access to clean water and sanitation in the South. The first editions are quickly sold out, and 2,500 copies of the English edition have been distributed to date.

FEBRUARY

Opium in Afghanistan: Martin Jelsma joins a research mission on drugs and conflict in Afghanistan as part of a European Commission Project for Alternative Livelihoods (PAL). The information gathered is published in a report on *Conflict processing and the Opium Poppy*

delegates of the 48th session of the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND). The Drugs and Democracy programme produces a briefing on *The United Nations and Harm Reduction*, and a follow-up *The United Nations and Harm Reduction Revisited: An Unauthorised Report on the Outcomes of the 48th CND Session*. An evaluation meeting is also held in The Netherlands, with delegates from the Dutch Ministries.

Peace in Palestine: Achin Vanaik, Phyllis Bennis and Walden Bello speak at a conference on 'Peace in Palestine' in Putrajaya, Malaysia. The conference, supported by the Malaysian government, brings together civil society organisations from 34 countries.

APRIL

Latin American Left: *La Nueva Izquierda en America Latina: Sus Origenes y Trayectoria Futura*, co-edited by TNI's Daniel Chavez, is published. Reviews appear in *Página 12* (Argentina), *La Semana* (Colombia), *Brecha* (Uruguay) and *La Vanguardia* (Spain), and the book is featured in a special report on the Latin American left published by *The New York Times*.



MAY

Europe: 35 people attend the annual TNI Fellows' meeting on the theme of 'Europe Today'. It is followed by a two-day seminar on the theme 'Another Europe is possible'. The meetings come on the eve of the French and Dutch 'no' votes on the EU constitution, and are addressed by leading figures in both campaigns. Follow-up articles appear in *The Guardian*, *Open Democracy* and



Coca Leaf: Pien Metaal and TNI consultants Hugo Cabieses and Ricardo Soberón participate in the 'International Forum on the Coca Leaf' at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos in Lima, Peru. This follows the publication in March of a Drugs Briefing on *Broken Promises And Coca Eradication In Peru*.

Global Enforcement Regimes: TNI hosts an international expert seminar on 'Global Enforcement Regimes: Transnational Organised Crime, International Terrorism and Money Laundering' to discuss post-9/11 policymaking on international security measures. Seminar proceedings are published in July, and a TNI Briefing, *The Global Fix: The Construction of a Global Enforcement Regime*, follows in English and Spanish versions in October.

EU Observer. To coincide with the Fellows' Meeting, Susan George presents a Dutch translation of her book, *Het Lugano Report*, at the Felix Meritis, Amsterdam. A Militarism and Globalisation Briefing, *The Emerging EU Military-Industrial Complex: Arms Industry Lobbying in Brussels* is also published in May, to a positive reception.

JUNE

Participatory democracy: TNI is co-organiser of an ambitious two-day international conference in Barcelona, Spain, on the theme of 'Participatory Democracy, Political Actors and Social Movements'. The conference is hosted in conjunction with the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy (IOPD) and the Barcelona provincial government.

Opium in Burma: *Trouble In The Triangle: Opium And Conflict In Burma*, edited by Martin Jelsma, Tom Kramer and Pietje Vervest, is published. It discusses international engagement with Burma through the prism of drug policy. A Drugs and Conflict Briefing, *Downward Spiral: Banning Opium in Afghanistan and Burma*, is also released. In July, a 3-person TNI/Burma Centrum Netherlands mission visits the 'Golden Triangle' to discuss the book and the briefing with all major Burmese stakeholders in and outside the country.

Eurotopia: The first issue of Eurotopia, a collaboratively produced supplement to seven progres-

sive European magazines, is presented at the Mediterranean Social Forum in Barcelona.

World Tribunal on Iraq: TNI Fellows Walden Bello and Saul Landau give evidence at the final session of the World Tribunal on Iraq, held in Istanbul. TNI is also a signatory to the Tribunal's Final Declaration.

JULY

The invisible left: The premier of *La Izquierda Invisible: política, izquierda y participación a través de los jóvenes*, a feature-length documentary film by TNI Young Scholars Delaraiz, attracts 2,000 people in Montevideo, Uruguay. The film focuses on attempts to broaden the space for effective participation within progressive political parties and social movements.

G8: Carbon Trade Watch publishes *Hoodwinked in the Hothouse: The G8, Climate Change and Free-market Environmentalism* to coincide with the G8 talks in Scotland. It is widely distributed outside the talks, and receives 5,000 downloads. TNI Fellows Hilary Wainwright, Walden Bello and Susan George are on the panel at a Make G8 History event in London, with Bello and George also speaking at the G8 Alternatives summit in Scotland. A Crime and Globalisation briefing on *The G8 and Security* is also published.

Narcotrafficking in Colombia: TNI Associate Fellow in Bogotá, Ricardo Vargas, releases his new book *Narcotráfico, guerra y política antidrogas. Una perspectiva sobre las drogas en el conflicto armado colombiano*, co-published by TNI and Acción Andina.

AUGUST

Partido dos Trabalhadores (PT), Brazil: Hilary Wainwright visits Brazil to investigate the PT's failure to spread its programmes of participatory democracy from a municipal to a federal level. Her investigation also looks at the party's corruption crisis. Articles based on her research are published in *The Guardian*, *The Nation*, *Open Democracy* and *Red Pepper*. She also co-edits a dossier, *In the Eye of the Storm*, published online in Spanish and English. It registers over 10,000 downloads in its first month online.

Coca in Peru: *Hablan los diablos* ('Devil's talk') is published, collecting the writings of four Peruvian experts and interviews with coca peasant leaders. A launch event is held in Lima, Peru, with several of the authors present.

Public Water in Indonesia: *Reclaiming Public Water* is published in Bahasa Indonesian by TNI partner organisation the Amrta Institute for Water Literacy. Seminars are held in Jakarta and Solo (central Java) with authors from Malaysia, Venezuela and The Netherlands. The Solo seminar is hosted by PDAM, an efficient public water utility threatened with privatisation.

SEPTEMBER

Helsinki process: Susan George participates in the Helsinki Conference, a civil society dialogue initiated by the Finnish and Tanzanian governments. Her contribution focuses on the possibilities for funding development through taxation upon currency transactions.

Africa, globalisation and EPAS: TNI co-organises a debate at the Felix Meritis, Amsterdam, at which Yash Tandon, Executive Director of the South Centre, and Kris Douma, a PvdA member of the Dutch Parliament, are the keynote speakers.

United Nations reform: TNI takes part in the 6th People's UN Assembly held in Perugia, Italy. Dot Keet speaks on trade and development, Phyllis Bennis addresses questions of peace and security and the role of the UN, and Jochen Hippler discusses the Middle East, anti-terrorism and the need for dialogue with leaders from the Muslim world.

OCTOBER

Drug dialogue: An informal drug policy dialogue is held in, hosted by the Co-ordination Committee on Drug Affairs at the Hungarian Ministry of Youth, Family, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities. 35 policymakers and non-governmental experts attend the meeting. They discuss harm reduction, alternative development, and preparations for the 2008 UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs (UNGASS).

Participatory budgeting: At the request of the provincial government of Paysandú, Uruguay, TNI organises a regional conference on 'Building Citizenship: Participatory Budgeting Experiences in the Southern Cone'. In the immediate aftermath, the provincial government launches its own pilot programme of participatory budgeting with technical support from TNI and Delaraiz.





NOVEMBER

Reclaiming public water: The Spanish edition of the water justice book *Por un Modelo público de agua - Triunfos, luchas y sueños* is published. Seminars involving several co-authors take place in seven Spanish cities. The Madrid seminar is attended by civil society campaigners, trade unionists and water professionals from 15 countries, who decide to launch a 'Reclaiming Public Water' network, with TNI playing a facilitating and co-ordinating role.

Carbon trade: TNI and the Durban-based Centre for Civil Society publish *Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere*. The book explores the impacts of the carbon market in South Africa. As part of the Durban Group, Carbon Trade Watch also organises a Climate Justice Convergence Centre in Montreal to coincide with the eleventh session of the Conference of the Parties to the Climate Change Convention (COP11).

Lindesmith Award: Martin Jelsma receives the Alfred R. Lindesmith Award for Achievement in the Field of Scholarship. According to the citation 'he is increasingly recognised as one of, if not the, outstanding strategists in terms of how international institutions deal with drugs and drug policy.'

Movements and parties: A seminar on 'Movements and Parties in South-East Asia and Latin America' is held in Manila, organised jointly between TNI, the Institute for Popular Democracy (IPD), the Active Citizenship Foundation (ACF), and the Manila office of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. It includes contributions from Brazil, El Salvador, Indonesia, Malaysia, Philippines, South Korea, Thailand and Uruguay.

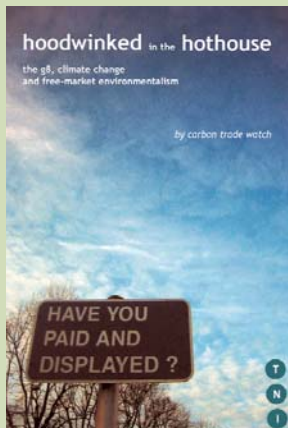
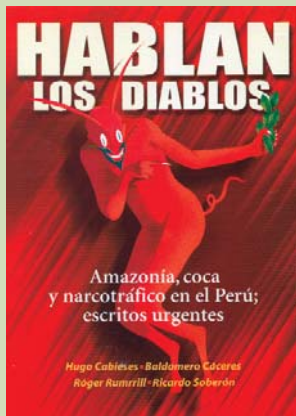
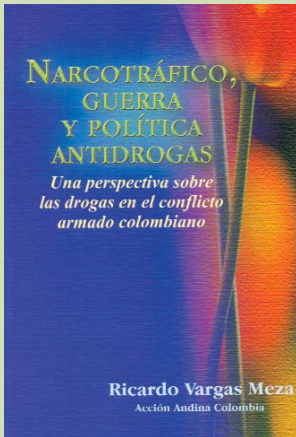
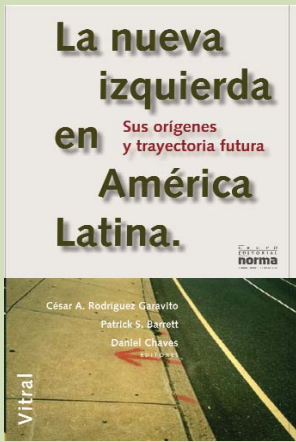
Ideologies of empire: Several TNI fellows and international relations experts met in Montevideo, Uruguay, to examine the pretexts used to justify the 'war on terror'. The seminar was held in preparation for a book on 'selling US wars', to be published in 2006.

DECEMBER

WTO ministerial: TNI co-organises a Forum on Trade and War to coincide with the WTO's 6th Ministerial Meeting in Hong Kong. TNI participates in seminars on the WTO and bilateral free trade agreements, economic partnership agreements in Africa and the Caribbean, and Iraq.

Previous page. Row 1: Kathleen Anderson and Martin Jelsma at WSF, Porto Alegre, Brazil; Dot Keet at People's UN in Perugia, Italy; Walden Bello at WTO Ministerial, Hong Kong. *Row 2:* (l-r) Zia Mian, Phyllis Bennis, Robert Grosse, Fiona Dove and Achin Vanaik at Ideologies of Empire seminar, Montevideo, Uruguay; Carbon Trade Watch exhibition at Climate Justice Convergence Centre, Montreal, Canada; Phyllis Bennis and Romano Prodi at People's UN, Perugia, Italy.

This page. Top to bottom: Yash Tandon and Kris Douma at Felix Meritis, Amsterdam; March at WSF, Brazil; Fiona Dove and Martin Jelsma; Audience at Ideologies of Empire seminar, Uruguay.



BOOKS

Reclaiming Public Water: Achievements, Struggles and Visions from Around the World
Belén Balanyá, Brid Brennan, Olivier Hoedeman, Satoko Kishimoto and Philipp Terhorst (eds.)
TNI/Corporate Europe Observatory
January (also published in Indonesian, July and in Spanish, November)

La nueva izquierda en América Latina
Sus orígenes y trayectoria futura
César A. Rodríguez Garavito, Patrick S. Barrett and Daniel Chavez (eds.)
Grupo Editorial Norma
April

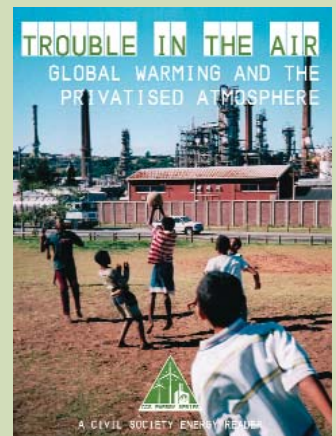
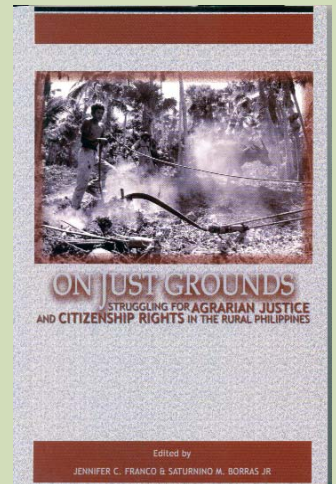
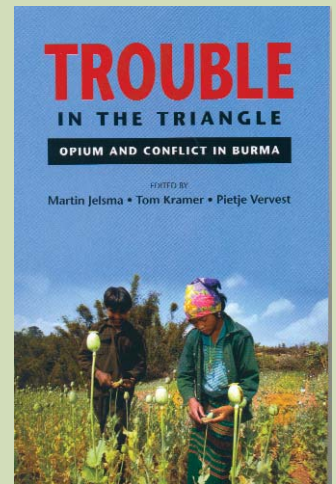
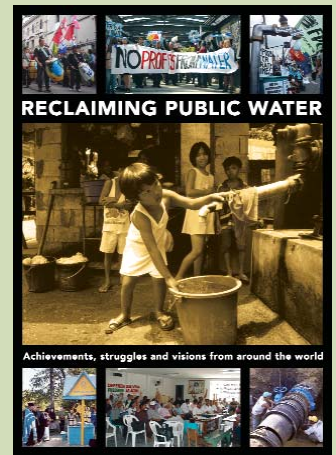
Trouble in the Triangle
Opium and Conflict in Burma
Martin Jelsma, Tom Kramer and Pietje Vervest (eds.)
Silkworm Books
July

Narcotráfico, guerra y política antidrogas:
Una perspectiva sobre las drogas en el conflicto armado colombiano
Ricardo Vargas
TNI/Acción Andina
July

Hablan los diablos: Amazonía, coca y narcotráfico en el Perú
Escritos urgentes
Hugo Cabieses, Baldomero Cáceres, Róger Rumrill and Ricardo Soberón
TNI/ABLA YALA/MLAL
July

Trouble in the Air: Global Warming and the Privatised Atmosphere
Patrick Bond and Rehana Dada (eds.)
TNI/Centre for Civil Society
November

On Just Grounds: Struggling for agrarian justice and citizenship rights in the rural Philippines
Saturnino M. Borrás Jr., Jennifer C. Franco, Romulo J. de la Rosa and Salvador H. Feranil
TNI/Institute for Popular Democracy
December

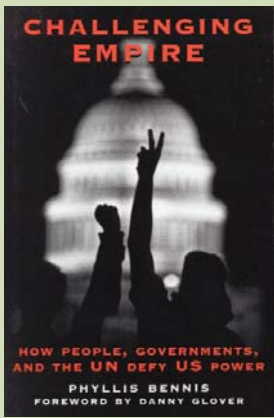


BRIEFING SERIES

The Emerging EU Military-Industrial Complex: Arms industry lobbying in Brussels
Frank Slijper
May

Downward Spiral: Banning Opium in Afghanistan and Burma
June (also in Spanish)

The Global Fix: The Construction of a Global Enforcement Regime
October (also in Spanish)



FELLOWS' PUBLICATIONS

Governments and the UN Defy U.S. Power
Phyllis Bennis
Interlink Publishing

The anti-development state: the Political Economy of Permanent Crisis in the Philippines

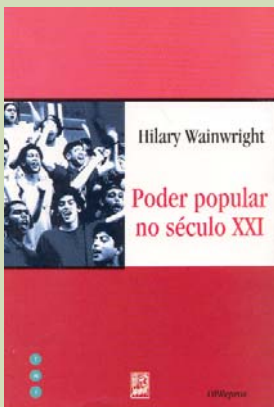
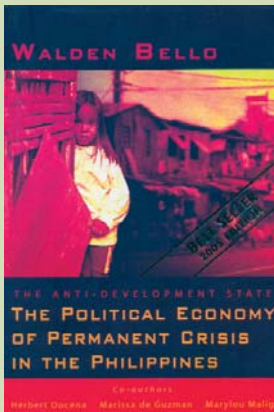
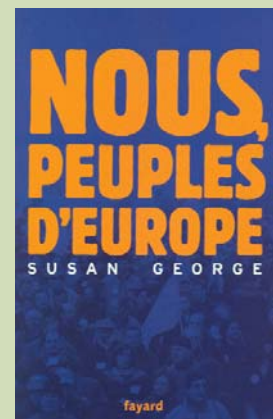
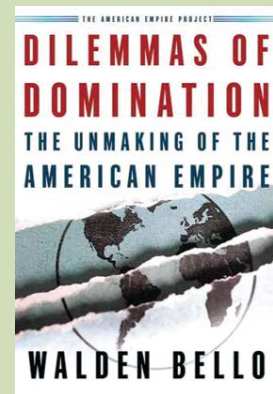
Walden Bello (with Herbert Docena, Marissa de Guzman and Marylou Malig)
Focus on the Global South / University of the Philippines

Dilemmas of Domination: The Unmaking of the American Empire
Walden Bello
Metropolitan Books

Field Guide to the Global Economy
John Cavanagh (with Sarah Anderson and Thea Lee)
Revised and updated edition, The New Press

Nous, peuples d'Europe
Susan George
Fayard

Nation-Building: A Key Concept for Peaceful Conflict Transformation?
Jochen Hippler ed.
Pluto Press



REPORTS

Desde el Sur, apuntes para un borrador: Sistematización comparada de nuevas experiencias en PPSS implementadas en Argentina y Brasil
Leticia Pérez and Ivonne Martínez
January

Hoodwinked in the Hothouse: The G8, Climate Change and Free-market Environmentalism
Kevin Smith, Adam Ma'anit, Steven Kelk, Tamra Gilbertson, Graham Erion and Heidi Bachram
June

Enlazando Alternativas 2004: Encuentro Social América Latina, Europa y el Caribe, 25 al 29 de 2004
November
Challenging Empire: People,

TNI BOOKS IN TRANSLATION

La sinistra e le città: Partecipazione nei governi locali dell'America Latina
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BALANCE SHEET 2005, December 31

Please note that the figures published are not audited. Audited financial reports are available from the TNI office on request from 30 June.

in Euro

	dec 31 '05	dec 31 '04
Fixed assets	2,471,700	2,635
Current assets:		
Outstanding claims	64,074	80,569
Grants to be received	19,236	110,230
Cash	254,314	564,401
Total assets	2,809,324	757,835
Current liabilities		
Equity:		
Balance previous year	42,869	-13,598
Result current year	749,763	56,467
Provisions	6,670	24,913
Project balance	166,671	72,693
Grants next year	0	440,000
Accounts payable	27,048	137,714
Tax	5,411	8,892
Personnel costs to be paid	30,323	21,539
Security on rent	5,282	
Interest mortgage	5,816	
Other current liabilities	20,399	9,215
Long term liabilities (loan)	1,747,284	
Total liabilities	2,809,324	757,835

Income and Expenditure Account

Income		
Grants	1,269,081	1,052,377
Gift: purchase of building	738,308	0
Rent	104,932	20,830
Interest/currency gain/loss	4,727	4,231
Publications & royalties	4,510	4,672
Salary subsidies	125,726	128,775
Miscellaneous income	116,690	41,627
Seed money/reallocated		13,987
Provisions previous year	66,511	150,165
Project balance current year	-166,670	-72,693
Total income	2,263,815	1,343,971
Expenditure		
Personnel	671,581	726,881
Building expenses	231,253	6,466
Travel & conferences	268,518	187,073
Fellowship	16,995	19,312
Office & Communication costs	64,777	219,303
Publication & Outreach activities	226,538	127,687
Samuel Rubin Next Generation	25,564	0
World Social Forum	8,486	
Miscellaneous	340	782
Total expenditure	1,514,052	1,287,504
Balance	749,763*	56,467

*Please note that of this amount 738,308 is non-liquid fixed asset. The liquid balance for 2005 is 11,455.

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Founded in 1974, the Transnational Institute (TNI) is an international network of activist-scholars committed to critical analyses of the global problems of today and tomorrow, with a view to providing intellectual support to those movements concerned to steer the world in a democratic, equitable and environmentally sustainable direction.

In the spirit of public scholarship, and aligned to no political party, TNI seeks to create and promote international co-operation in analysing and finding possible solutions to such global problems as militarism and conflict, poverty and marginalisation, social injustice and environmental degradation.

Since its inception, hundreds of progressive scholars and activists have been involved in TNI projects. This extensive international network is mobilised to find the most appropriate people to design and participate in study groups, international conferences, and the production and dissemination of research results. Products generally take the form of specifically targeted working and policy papers, as well as easy-to-read books, often translated into a number of languages.

At the heart of TNI lies the committed core of current fellows and advisors. They include journalists, independent researchers, and senior scholars from similar institutes in Africa, Asia, Latin America, Eastern and Western Europe, Scandinavia and the USA.

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