2019 annual report
TNI envisions a world of peace, equity and democracy on a sustainable planet brought about and sustained by an informed and engaged people.
Dubbed the ‘year of protest’, 2019 saw millions of people take to the streets on every continent.

There was plenty to protest. Deepening inequality, rising cost of living, autocratic governments, discrimination, and the concentration of wealth and power into fewer and fewer hands. Many protests were met with brutal repression, but this did not quell the fight for dignity and freedom.

TNI stood alongside and in support of these movements, as we have consistently done for all 46 years of our existence. We have provided research and logistical support and put forward proposals that can bring about social and ecological transformation.

One front of that struggle is at a global level, challenging the architecture that locks in the policies and practices against which people are revolting. 2019 saw some tangible progress as negotiations finally got underway for the Treaty on Transnational Corporations and Other Business Entities at the UN’s Human Rights Council. If successful, this would for the first time corporations would be held legally accountable at international level for human rights abuses. Meanwhile, the Investor-State Dispute Settlement system, a key mechanism corporations use to avoid regulation, also faced increasing challenges to its legitimacy. In part as a result of public pressure, delegates from 100 countries began meeting to discuss reforms, although more mobilization will be needed to ensure they are not just cosmetic. These campaigns go to the core of the global power of corporations, and are driven by a powerful and intersectional movement demanding these shadow sovereigns, as TNI’s President Susan George characterized them, be dethroned. TNI has been at the heart of this movement from its inception.

TNI is also engaged in many struggles that are part of everyday life. This includes supporting movements for universal public services. Our detailed mapping and research of innovative public alternatives – that thrive despite immense pressure to privatize - has shown that universal public service provision is not only feasible and viable but imperative for the healthy functioning of societies and economies.

And further, especially given the COVID-19 context, there is a groundswell of popular support to win back public services. In a heartwarming letter of thanks following the international The Future is Public conference co-hosted by TNI in Amsterdam in December, one delegate expressed gratitude for TNI’s work in providing an, “international space that allows movements and organizations of different kinds to think together ... to create a transversal network... (which requires) an environment of trust and care... and that is what we all could feel in the atmosphere of all the meetings and workshops”. TNI may be best known by many for its knowledge production but within social movements, it is also this caring, facilitative capacity to nurture transversal networks for which we are appreciated.

In June, we took the opportunity to assess the political climate at an international strategy seminar amidst an unfolding second wave of uprisings in North Africa, extended protests in Chile, the sustained climate strikes, and many more revolts around the world. We examined the shifting state of global power – in particular, the globalization of Chinese corporations through investments in mega-infrastructure around the world; the rise of data-driven capitalism; challenges to multilateralism; and ensuing geopolitical contestations. TNI subsequently co-produced a framework document for movements in Asia and Europe grappling with questions concerning China’s Belt and Road Initiative, and is making a concerted effort to involve activist-scholars from and/or working on China. We established a new partnership with IT for Change, an India-based research and advocacy institute working on data rights, digital divides and digital governance, and employed a coordinator for our growing work in North Africa. The strategic discussions also provided initial input for the development of a new five-year strategic plan for TNI.

Our Fellows and Associates did us proud as always as you can read later in this report. They play a pivotal role within particular transnational movements, are public intellectuals that command much respect among TNI constituencies, and play an important ambassadorial role for TNI too. One, Jun Borras, earned much deserved recognition in being awarded a prestigious grant for top scientists from the European Research Council.
On a more sombre note, Thura Myint Lwin, a much loved and valued member of our Myanmar team, passed away after a long illness. We posthumously published his last paper on methamphetamine use in Myanmar, which resulted in a recent article in *The Economist*.

On the financial front, we more or less broke even in 2019. Fundraising continued to be a major priority, given the risk that a five-year grant representing half our budget might not be renewed from 2021. We reached out to sympathetic private foundations, with some success, and made a concerted effort to build an independent donor base, doubling our income from that source compared to the previous year. We have also built a continuity reserve that will buy TNI a little time should we face a major reduction in funding. Fortunately, we heard in March 2020 that one of our alliances would receive another five-year grant which provides some welcome longer-term security. More work does need to be done, however, to ensure we can sustain the breadth of our programme while rising to the challenge of a rapidly changing world now spurred by the unprecedented pandemic currently engulfing us all.

Grateful thanks go to all our funders and donors, Fellows and Associates, staff and research associates, allies and partners and, of course, of Supervisory Board for their ongoing support and contributions to TNI’s efforts to put progressive and transformative ideas into movement.

Fiona Dove
Executive Director
OUR MISSION

TNI’s mission is to strengthen international social movements with rigorous research, reliable information, sound analysis and constructive proposals that advance progressive, democratic policy change and common solutions to global problems. In so doing, TNI acts as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy makers.
TNI’s overarching goals for 2016-2020, consistent with our emancipatory vision for society, remain:

**STRATEGIES**
Construct a broadly-shared understanding of what blocks realization of an emancipatory vision of the world and of viable ways towards achieving that vision, especially from the perspective of people in the Global South.

**EMPOWERMENT**
Achieve the realization of potentials by citizens everywhere, but especially those suffering exclusion and poverty, to organize around, articulate and amplify their concerns and proposals.

**TRANSFORMATION**
Advocate for the transformation of norms, policies and practice of key public and private institutions, especially those with transnational influence, towards greater transparency, accountability, engagement with and responsiveness to citizens in democratic, equitable and inclusive ways.

In support of these long-term goals, which also indicate the type of work TNI does, an ambitious five-year programme was developed. By the end of 2019, as TNI enters the final year of the programme, impressive cumulative progress towards achievement of outcomes and goals have been documented. Below are brief summaries in this regard for 2019, and some elaboration of indications that the programme is on track to achieve its goals by the end of 2020.

Meanwhile in June 2019, TNI convened an international strategic seminar as a first step towards developing a new five-year strategic plan 2021-2026. The seminar involved 60 people including staff, fellows, board members, some key partner organizations and a number of knowledgeable resource people. Priority issues discussed included environmental breakdown; the emergence of data capitalism; and the rise of China.
TNI’S 2019 IN NUMBERS

RESEARCH OUTPUT
TNI launched 169 publications in 10 languages.

EVENTS, WORKSHOPS AND SEMINARS
TNI co-organised 125 events, workshops and seminars in 21 countries attended by 7,721 people.

MEDIA
TNI’s ideas were mentioned in 271 media stories reaching a conservatively estimated audience of 18 million.

ACADEMIC CITATIONS
TNI Fellows and staff were cited 3,397 times in academic publications, an increase of 12%.

DIALOGUE WITH POLICY MAKERS
TNI was in dialogue with policy makers from 35 countries and 15 international organisations.

TNi’S WEBPAGES
TNI’s web pages were viewed more than 1.25 million times an annual increase of 10%.

NEWSLETTER
Subscriptions to TNI’s e-newsletter increased by 6% to 22,852 people.

SOCIAL MEDIA
TNI’s ideas reached 1.71 million people on Twitter, an annual increase of 15%.

HOW WE WORK

For more than 40 Years, TNI has served as an activist think tank with, and for, progressive social movements across the globe. TNI takes as its vantage point the perspective of the Global South, by which we mean the poor, exploited, marginalised and oppressed of the world. Our scope is geographically global and scientifically social with an emphasis on multidisciplinarity. Our focus primarily concerns global public policy matters.

TNI collaborated with 384 organisations in 60 countries, 37 regional networks and 20 global networks.

“My experience of working with TNI has been very positive. TNI provides a high level of technical expertise and is always willing to work collaboratively and share the expertise. PSI particularly appreciates the way TNI is able to take complex issues and make them understandable for workers and their union representatives. We also appreciate the way TNI has a worker and development focus that looks at the causes of global problems and not just the effects. Our partnership with TNI is valuable because TNI’s values, its focus on making a real difference and the professionalism of its staff make collaboration easy.”

Daniel Bertossa
Assistant General Secretary of Public Services International (PSI), representing 30 million members in 170 countries
WHO WE WORK WITH

MOVEMENTS
TNI works in support of, and as part of, progressive social movements in developing a relevant and useful research and advocacy agenda. We work with a broad range of organizations including trade unions, organizations of small-scale farmers and fishers, environmental and feminist networks, media platforms, and numerous issue-specific research and advocacy groups – both directly and within intersectional coalitions. We help to make links wherever possible and, in so doing, contribute to building powerful transnationally-connected movements for change.

POLICY-MAKERS
From local to international levels, and across the political spectrum, TNI provides civil servants and elected representatives with information and analysis on a wide-range of themes. We do this, for example, through co-convening informal policy dialogues, presentations to parliamentary committees, or side events at UN meetings. Wherever possible we work with allies and try to ensure that those in whose name the advocacy is done are at the table.

ACTIVIST-SCHOLARS
TNI strives to be a useful think tank for social movements. We work with activist-scholars to provide movements with the tools necessary to understand and take on the forces of wealth, power and control; analyses of developments that help movements stay one step ahead; and evidence-based argumentation. Activist-scholars can also serve as influential and visionary public intellectuals, and provide persuasive expertise in engagements with policy-makers and in the media. TNI also sees merit in building new generations of critical and radical intellectuals dedicated to serving the public good, providing a strong body of knowledge on which they can draw and build, and seeing knowledge production itself as a site of struggle.

MEDIA
TNI works with media to amplify the struggles of movements, to give visibility to progressive innovations, and to provide a critical perspective on the issues of the moment. This includes press outreach, active social media engagement as well as partnerships with progressive media platforms.
WORKING TRANSNATIONALLY

For a full list of our partners visit http://annual2019.tni.org
PROGRAMME ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2019

In support of our long-term goals, which also indicate the type of work TNI does, a five-year programme began in 2016. This is organized as seven broad programme areas each with an ambitious objective to be achieved by the end of 2020. As we enter the last year of the programme, we are very proud of how far we have come in meeting these objectives. Below are brief summaries in this regard, and some elaboration of indications that the programme is on track to achieve its goals.

“At Sintraemcali we’re very grateful to TNI for the support they provided to sustain our struggle against the privatisation of essential services. We value the way TNI relates with us, as the institute recognises the importance of organised labour in today’s economics and politics and gives us the tools to build or improve our own research and advocacy capabilities.”

Jhoni Trejos
Member of the Executive Board of the Union of Municipal Services Workers (Sintraemcali) of Cali, Colombia
OBJECTIVE 1

Move towards the establishment of a treaty for binding regulations for transnational corporations, which would end impunity, and secure justice for communities affected by corporate abuses.
In 2019, after just seven years of organizing and advocacy work, the treaty started to become a reality.

TNI's Corporate Power programme develops analysis and proposals on how to end corporate impunity and dismantle corporate power. A major vehicle for our work is the international Stop Corporate Impunity Campaign (Campaign), launched at Rio+20 in 2012. It is a loose network comprised of 238 organisations representing 260 million people, located primarily in the Global South. TNI has served as the main anchor of the Campaign, and has supported regional coordination hubs for Southern Africa, Asia and South America. The Campaign ensures the voices of affected communities are heard and amplified, and mobilizes international solidarity. In 2019, this included organization of a 'toxic tour' of Mexico involving members of the European Parliament and US Senate. The Campaign has sought to involve a broad range of social agents – including trade unions, farmers' organizations, people's health advocates, environmental activists, feminists and women's organizations. It has also catalysed an expanding international network of parliamentary supporters: a supportive network of legal experts, and is working to consolidate an international network of observatories. Following extensive consultations, the Campaign has facilitated the collation of proposals for what members would like to see in a prospective Treaty, and distilled key demands. These have been fed into the official process through advocacy efforts undertaken by members at national level as well as in Geneva, and the organization of side events and the submission of written and oral statements during the UN talks in Geneva. For the first time, in 2019 the Campaign convened an informal policy dialogue with sympathetic governments ahead of negotiations in Geneva.

TNI also played an important role in convening the broader Treaty Alliance of civil society organizations in 2014, with which the Campaign has coordinated strategies since. Together, we have campaigned for a mechanism by which transnational corporations would be held accountable for human rights abuses and violations of international human rights law. In 2019, we also invested in “Futures Labs” to study the increasing displacement of multilateralism with multistakeholderism at global governance level, and state capture by corporations at national levels.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

- 9 governments participate in an informal policy dialogue ahead of the Geneva negotiations, with two emerging as strong champions for the treaty
- 89 UN member states and 2 non-member states, along with a record number of civil society organizations, participated in the negotiations on the first revision of the draft treaty. China sent its most senior delegation to the talks to date.
- African states - led by South Africa and Namibia - presented a strong unified front in favour of the treaty.
- 847,000 people of Europe signed a petition supporting a treaty and against the investment dispute regime, which was presented to the EU representative during the Treaty talks.
- The EU participated constructively for the first time in the treaty negotiations, mounting a strong defence of ongoing civil society participation against moves by authoritarian governments to exclude civil society.
- 18 more sitting parliamentarians joined the 257-strong Global Inter-parliamentary Network (GIN) spanning 23 countries, which broadened its base to more green and social democratic parties. GIN had a visible presence in Geneva, organizing a side event attracting representatives from 15 states.
- GIN efforts saw a resolution passed in favour of the treaty in the Mercosur Parliament.
- 6 new members joined the Campaign, including from Benin, El Salvador and a Latin American network concerned with access to medicine.
- The Mexican toxic tour was strongly covered in national media, directly engaged the Minister of Environment, and resulted in one destructive project being cancelled.
- 400 organisations signed up to a letter protesting the strategic partnerships between the UN and the World Economic Forum in respect of the Sustainable Development Goals, a move many saw as outsourcing UN responsibilities to transnational corporations.
OBJECTIVE 2

To establish the principle that the public interest and the integrity of national judicial systems should not be undermined by trade and investment rules, particularly investment disputes.
After eight years dogged work towards this objective, the principle we have sought to establish is gaining ever wider recognition. Advocacy efforts have prompted a reform process which began in 2019 under the rubric of the United Nations Center on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL), as well as a process to ‘modernise’ the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT) under which a spate of Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) cases are being brought as governments attempt to effect commitments to climate change mitigation.

TNI’s Trade & Investment programme critically follows trade and investment policies. In line with our mission, TNI provides well-researched analysis for social movements on social and ecological impacts, supporting public education, and the development of popular advocacy campaigns. These are geared towards alternative paradigms that prioritise the environment and people’s rights over corporate profits. We worked with hundreds of allies all over the world, helping to build a powerful movement working from local to international levels. We also developed a new network of academic lawyers willing to support efforts in Latin America. A key development in 2019 was the joining of forces in 2019 of trade campaigners and the international networks campaigning to stop corporate impunity. This saw co-ordinated action across Europe and Latin America. The Asia-Europe People’s Forum continued to provide a basis for ongoing coordination in that region. Cooperation with the 30-million-members-strong Public Services International saw concerted efforts to raise awareness of the perils of ISDS for public coffers among public sector workers in Africa.

The major focus of TNI’s work in 2019 continued to be investor protection clauses in Free Trade and Investment Agreements. The spotlight was kept on the ECT, which had been looking to expand its membership. It has proved a major and increasing source of ISDS cases obstructing efforts at energy transitions, and has put ISDS squarely on the agenda of climate activists. TNI and its partners also continued to monitor EU agreements with Singapore, Indonesia, Vietnam, Mexico, Mercosur and Canada, as well as the Trans Pacific Partnership II, the Asian Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership negotiations, and developments in respect of China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) investments and new instruments being developed for investor protections.

TNI (co) published a number of new papers, accompanied by videos and (social) media outreach; helped to conduct activist workshops on the various continents; responded to media requests for more information; and provided expert advice to government officials and political representatives.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

- 106 states and 70 observer organisations participated in the first UNCITRAL meeting held in New York in April to discuss reform of ISDS.
- 847,000 people in Europe sign a petition to scrap ISDS and support a Treaty to stop corporate impunity, presented to the EU Commission representative to the Human Rights Council in Geneva in October.
- The Dutch Labour Party withdrew its support for the EU-Canada agreement (CETA)
- 100 candidate Members of the European Parliament pledged to oppose ISDS.
- The ECT secretariat launched a process of ‘modernization’ prompted by advocacy on ISDS, and suspended expansion of membership.
- Luxemburg’s Energy Minister publicly denounced the ECT threatening to withdraw if reform negotiations are unsuccessful.
- A major public debate has been catalysed in Spain, following a number of ISDS cases brought under the ECT, with TNI as a major go-to point for journalists.
- Parties to the Asian Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership dropped ISDS from its negotiations, with Malaysia and South Korea taking outspoken positions against ISDS following advocacy by TNI partners in those countries.
- Following strong advocacy by partners, the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Argentine Senate discussed a proposed law requiring the Executive to inform the Congress of impact assessments of Free Trade Agreements before these may be signed by the government.
OBJECTIVE 3

To improve climate, energy and food security policies that would redirect trade and investment towards sustainable and inclusive food and energy systems, and which would genuinely address climate change challenges.
Policies promoting large-scale, capital and energy intensive, and extractive forms of resource appropriation are everywhere disrupting locally adapted, culturally appropriate, mostly small-scale, and labour-intensive food production with profound social and environmental consequences.

TNI’s Agrarian & Environmental Justice programme supports small-scale food producers, trade unions and environmental organizations in their advocacy for more sustainable and inclusive food and energy systems, and greater convergence of their respective positions and agendas.

TNI continues to provide materials for its allies that explain the problem with the extractive model. In 2019, this included a report on the history of Dutch land struggles by local small-scale agro-ecological farmers. This was complemented by another on how EU policies enable land grabs elsewhere in the world. Meanwhile, TNI sponsored a school in Tunisia attended by farmers and activists from 6 countries in the region. A well-received report on extractivism in the region was launched there, marking the start of TNI’s new focus on the region.

With our fisher allies, we continued to unpack the Blue Growth agenda. This purports to respond to contemporary challenges by promising to conserve the seas, provide more protein as food, and promote renewable energy. Closer analysis belies these promises. TNI works with small-scale fisher organisations to develop critical responses, and to defend the principles won in the Small-scale Fisheries (SSF) Guidelines. In 2019, we worked with affiliates in Indonesia and Mauritius, both with sizeable small-scale fishing communities, to document the impacts of Marine Spatial Planning (MSP). This is a zoning process which ostensibly minimizes conflicts over access to land and sea. Again, it is clear that in practice small-scale fishers are not sufficiently considered stakeholders, much less rights holders. Instead, corporate interests are privileged, including ongoing mining, oil and gas extraction. We helped organize the Ocean Peoples’ Conference in Oslo as a counter to the official Blue Growth conference, and have provided support while allies deliberated on strategy within the working group on fisheries of the International Planning Committee on Food Sovereignty (IPC). The IPC has been a key platform from which Guidelines on Land Tenure and Small-scale Fisher Rights have been won, as well as the recently approved UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants.

Promoting food sovereignty is the second major focus for TNI and a vision developed by the global small-scale food producer organizations with which TNI works most closely. It is also the vision of two new projects in which TNI is involved on the European front. One concerns ‘community-supported fisheries’ and the other concerns ‘community-supported agro-ecological farmers’. Partners in both advocate public policies to support direct producer-consumer relations at local level. They argue this as a sustainable alternative to the prevailing imperative towards ever larger and more intensive agriculture geared for export, which has become a major environmental threat and contributor to climate change. This kind of ‘fish/farm to fork’ idea, supported by local governments, was also put on the agenda at TNI’s Future is Public Conference (see Public Alternatives).

The third focus for TNI is just transitions. In a year marked by acute environmental disasters and massive protests, climate was firmly top of the agenda in 2019. TNI has participated in various collective efforts to develop a common vision between small-scale food producers and environmentalists. We also participated in deliberations between trade unions and environmentalists in South Africa, Nigeria and the Americas, as well as broader intersectional meetings preparing for the UN Climate Summit. One exciting outcome was an emerging common vision of just transitions.

Meanwhile, TNI continued its cooperation with the international academic network of the Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative, and other related research projects coordinated by the Institute for Social Studies of Erasmus University Rotterdam. These are linked to the Journal of Peasant Studies, edited by TNI Fellow, Jun Borras. The network provides intellectual resources useful to the movements.
Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

- A strong, intersectional and common vision emerges on just transitions.
- The Ocean Peoples’ Conference uses TNI’s critique of Blue Economy, and puts the issue on agendas of Norwegian and South Pacific trade campaigners.
- Indonesian fisher organization, KNTI, uses TNI’s report on Marine Spatial Planning to expand alliances and in advocacy towards policy-makers.
- The North African Food Sovereignty Network grows by 6 members, and expands to 5 countries.
- The Dutch Federation of Agroecology Farmers (Federatie van Agro-ecologische Boeren) is born, conceived at a TNI co-convened conference the year before. It was able to provide an alternative voice on sustainable farming during the agri-business-organised protests against state efforts to reduce nitrogen emissions.
OBJECTIVE 4

To advance viable, feasible and progressive proposals on the democratic provision and financing of public goods and services.
A major challenge for proponents of public alternatives is the question of how to finance them. After a year's work, TNI published a widely appreciated book, *Public Finance for the Future We Want*, accompanied by a video, infographics, an executive summary and policy recommendations for wide dissemination purposes. With the production of this resource, the programme has achieved the five-year goal it set itself with a solid body of viable and feasible proposals produced. It is now a question of putting these ideas into movement.

TNI's Public Alternatives programme works to build a strong countervailing force that reverses privatization and helps construct democratic, effective, and universally accessible public services. Strategies include the promotion of public-public partnerships, partnerships between public companies and community cooperatives, making visible stories of success. TNI supports struggles in specific countries, providing international perspectives, network linkages, mutual learning opportunities and reflections on democratic political practice as a necessary precondition for public alternatives. We also provide resources of common value to the movements, translated into many languages and accompanied by popular materials.

In 2019, there was a high demand for TNI resources from Japanese activists concerned that new laws allow private financing of water services. The Japanese edition of our book, *Reclaiming Public Services*, which presents the latest trend towards re-municipalisation, attracted significant media attention and became an important reference during parliamentary debates. In the city of Hamamatsu, the mayor abandoned his proposal to privatise drinking water after 600 residents gathered to express their opposition to the plan.

In Nigeria, TNI supported the organization of a national water summit in Abuja by trade union and environmental partners. The summit was attended by 150 people, including relevant policymakers and garnered coverage by 20 national newspapers. We also continued to work with South African trade unions and environmental organizations on the complex question of the threatened unbundling of the beleaguered national energy utility – widely perceived as a precursor to privatization - and how to achieve a just transition away from the country's dependence on fossil fuels while also addressing questions of energy poverty as well as broader issues of inequality and democratisation. The process produced remarkable unity between unions in competing federations, as well as with key environmental organisations.

In Latin America, TNI provided ongoing support to the Platform for Public Community Agreements of the Americas (PAPC), which fosters community-public partnerships on water. PAPC involved 52 organisations from 6 countries in mutual learning exchanges, including associations of community aqueducts, trade unions, social and environmental organizations concerned with strengthening community water management and the defence of water as a common good and fundamental human right. TNI also continued to support the public sector union of Cali (Colombia) in their successful struggle against the privatization of the telecommunications section of their company. The company subsequently signed a public-public partnership with a strong Uruguayan counterpart, with which TNI has had historical relations at both union and company level.

On the European front, TNI participates in mPower, a collaborative project led by the University of Glasgow, which involves peer-to-peer learning among 100 European municipalities. It is aimed at achieving large scale, replicable success in respect of energy democracy and just transitions. In 2019, mPower provided a bespoke peer learning programme for 27 local authorities, as well as seven in-person trainings, with 6 municipalities subsequently declaring a climate emergency. TNI coordinated dissemination of the best practices which emerged from these encounters.

We also co-organized a second regional Eastern European New Politics seminar in Prague in 2019. This resulted in plans for an ongoing project to reflect on Eastern European democratic imaginaries since 1989, expected to consolidate the network in the region.

TNI engaged with the UK Labour Party's National Policy Forum on public ownership of water and energy, provided a study of Portugal's radical anti-austerity programmes, and facilitated input from Paris' public water utility that was brought back under public management 10 years prior. With the production of this resource, the programme has achieved the five-year goal it set itself with a solid body of viable and feasible proposals produced. It is now a question of putting these ideas into movement.

The year ended with a major international conference on democratic ownership of the economy co-organized by TNI, De 99 van Amsterdam – a new think tank supported by the City – and 16 international partners. Held in a mosque and Ghanaian church in a marginalized neighbourhood of Amsterdam, the conference
was attended by 332 people from 35 countries, including municipalities, trade
unions, researchers, sector professionals, politicians, journalists, campaign
organisations, and philanthropic foundations. The conference provided a much
appreciated space for alliance-building among diverse advocates and movements,
as well as empowerment for the host communities. It resulted in a half-hour
broadcast of the Laura Flanders show in the USA, extended collaboration with
the University of Glasgow to jointly build an interactive global database of (re)
municipalisation as a public resource, and plans for a follow-up conference in
Amsterdam in 2020.

The conference culminated with the second annual Transformative Cities awards,
broadcast live and followed by audiences in 11 countries. 34 submissions from 24
countries were documented by journalists, and added to the Atlas of Utopias; short-
lists were developed by an international panel and were subject to popular voting
by 11,000 people mobilized by local groups vying for support. The winning entries
gained publicity in their own countries affirming their efforts and empowering their
advocacy on universal water access, housing for all, democratic energy transitions,
and sustainable food systems.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

• Hamamatsu (Japan) abandoned plans to privatise drinking water.
  TNI’s remunicipalisation book received widespread media coverage
  and became an important reference in parliamentary debates.
• The Abuja (Nigeria) National Water Summit was organized and covered
  by 20 national newspapers.
• The ailing Calí public utility signs a public-public partnership in respect of its
  telecommunications section with a successful counterpart in Uruguay.
• 52 organisations from 6 countries in Latin America engaged in peer learning
  on community-managed water systems.
• The Atlas of Utopias attracted 19,000 unique visitors and 11,000 people
  participated in the voting for the Transformative Cities awards.
• South African unions across two competing federations, as well as key
  environmental groups, united in opposition to privatization of the national
  power company and for a just energy transition.
• 27 European municipalities participate in mPower mutual learning on just
  energy transitions, and 6 declare a climate emergency.
To reassess the conventional repressive drugs policy approaches in favour of pragmatic policies based on harm reduction, human rights, and development principles.
Over the past twenty years, TNI has earned a reputation for developing innovative drug policy proposals and promoting these through effective advocacy. We consider issues of conflict, development and democracy and are guided by principles of harm reduction and human rights for producers, as well as users. TNI is regarded as one of the most knowledgeable watchdogs of the UN drug control system and our advice is often sought by government officials, UN agencies, and NGOs. TNI’s Informal Drug Policy Dialogues have brought government officials from more than 30 countries together with representatives of international agencies and civil society for open-minded and confidential strategy debates about drug policy changes. TNI has cultivated a strong network of legal experts to develop concrete proposals for national drug law reforms and for the modernization of the UN treaty system. At the same time, TNI also has its feet firmly on the ground. We work closely with rural communities involved in illicit cultivation of coca, opium poppy and cannabis, including in complicated conflict situations like in Colombia and Myanmar, where TNI has been involved in peace building efforts for many years. TNI helps small-scale producers across the world to find a voice in national and international policy spaces.

The emerging legal global cannabis market has been a key focus for TNI in 2019. This includes the historical moment to win global recognition for the medical use of cannabis based on a World Health Organisation (WHO) cannabis review process. WHO has tabled a number of recommendations to reclassify the plant and its components, which will be put to a UN vote. TNI actively engaged in the debates and published an in-depth briefing about the implications of these changes while pushing for a more critical review, since the proposed changes do not properly reflect the opportunities at stake. This includes the opportunity for the emerging medical cannabis market to include and benefit small-scale traditional farmers. TNI has taken the initiative to support and defend their right to access and participate in the debates. With partners organizing among small-scale farmers, TNI has developed a proposal for a UN drugs treaty modification which could provide a basis for setting the terms required to reach fair(er) and more inclusive trade for those impoverished communities which have depended on the illegal market for so long. TNI also supported the establishment of a regional Caribbean group of local cannabis growers that could give voice to concerns and proposals in engagements with their governments and at regional level. Together with the government of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, TNI organised a workshop to discuss a strategy for fair(er) trade in cannabis. This saw the establishment of a new group of activists, academics and policy makers from the region that will work together to draft a position paper on cannabis policies in the Caribbean. Similar efforts in Morocco continued throughout the year.

In Europe, several city and regional authorities are developing initiatives to regulate their local cannabis market. TNI brought together several of these in producing a study comparing progress in 6 countries, and uncovering the policy dilemmas faced by local authorities and civil society groups alike. The outputs were shared with policy makers, local authorities, civil society, media and academics to provide input for local as well as national and EU level policy discussions.

TNI also launched a report on the smokable cocaine market in Latin America and the Caribbean. This is the result of a longstanding collaboration with harm reduction groups in the region advocating that governments take effective action. Policies for users of this substance tend to be merely repressive and only exacerbate related problems, while access to health services is extremely limited, leading to extreme human suffering in many urban centres.

Organised farmers from both Colombia and Myanmar were able to make inputs to the Commission on Narcotic Drugs in 2019 describing the conditions of their communities and making a plea for a peace-building and development-oriented approach to the drugs question. TNI helped partners in Colombia in several ways to defend and deepen the peace process, which is threatened following political changes, widespread assassinations of local social leaders, and government intentions to resume chemical spraying of coca fields. TNI also helped build the Myanmar Opium Farmers’ Forum (MOFF), including linking opium farmers’ families and a drugs users’ network. The MOFF was able to build relations with the Office of the Narcotics Control Board, has attained some legitimacy in engaging with Myanmar government officials, and its annual statement articulating the conditions and needs of the communities it represents provided a basis for parliamentary questions. A MOFF/TNI film documenting the lives of opium farmers in Myanmar won the best documentary award at the only national film festival in Myanmar (See also under Results for our Myanmar programme). Based on the grounded knowledge of its team in the country, TNI challenged a dangerously misleading UN Office for Drug Control (UNODC) report which blamed increased opium production
on local ethnic armed organisations in territories, in fact, under government control. This resulted in UNODC issuing a clarification, if not a correction.

TNI co-organised the 10th Asian Informal Drugs Policy Dialogue in Myanmar, which was attended by governments, experts and civil society organisations from 11 countries in the region. The dialogue nudged governments towards a less repressive and more harm reduction oriented approach, with Myanmar, Thailand and Malaysia providing a lead on reform. Input from TNI included a policy briefing on methamphetamine use in the region.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

• A new Caribbean group developing a cannabis policy, based on fair trade principals, is established.
• Fair trade medical cannabis is put on the agenda of national governments in the Caribbean, Morocco as well as of UN bodies.
• A strengthened MOFF able to engage, without fear of reprisals, in national policy processes in Myanmar.
• Discernible progress on reform in a less repressive, more harm reduction oriented direction among some key Asian governments.
OBJECTIVE 6

To make publicly visible the permanent state of war and the pacification of resistance.
TNI’s War and Pacification programme is concerned with analysing and exposing the drivers and consequences for human rights and democracy of the state of permanent war, particularly in the context of the authoritarian trend that is discernibly growing globally. Similarly, it interrogates the pacification of resistance and attempts to criminalise dissent and solidarity. The latter was particularly relevant in 2019 which has been dubbed the year of protest for the sheer number of places where fed-up citizens took to the streets against their governments, and which were marked by a global pattern of brutal policing and extreme repression.

In 2019, TNI’s work focused on the corporate drivers of militarised border policies; explored progressive alternatives to counter-terrorism policies; and began a new pan-European project looking at the structural drivers of institutionalized anti-Muslim racism. In the spirit of the latter, TNI co-published a well-publicised statement denouncing Dutch legislation to ban women wearing the niqab, which was picked up by the UN Special Rapporteur on Racism who was outspoken about the ban on her visit to the Netherlands. We also continued to monitor and publish analysis of ongoing and threatened wars -- notably in Syria following the US withdrawal of troops from Kurdish areas, and provocations in respect of Iran on the part of the US and UK-- as well as the fragile peace in Colombia and Myanmar (see more under Results for our Drugs and Myanmar programmes).

We produced three new reports in our Border Wars series, placing the border security industrial complex firmly on the agenda of many NGOs working on issues of migration. We provided solid, well-sourced evidence regarding the role played by corporate actors in shaping border politics making them increasingly militarized and hostile to those seeking asylum. TNI published The Business of Building Walls to coincide with the 30th anniversary since the fall of the Berlin Wall, which sparked widespread media attention in 30 countries including The Independent, Al Jazeera and Euronews. A second report concerned the US-Mexico border, More than a Wall, which was also very well received, notably by Agence France Press and Mexican media. We also received interesting feedback from an employee of a federal contractor in the USA who had read the report and would like to learn more about the role of private contractors in shaping militarised borders. The third report, Guarding the Fortress, concerned the role of the European Border and Coast Guard Agency in militarising borders and criminalising migrants, undermining fundamental rights to freedom of movement and the right to asylum. TNI was invited to present its borders research at a gathering in Tunisia of African and European political and UN representatives, activists, academics, and NGOs. Our critical framing of border externalization was highly valued by participants present from countries such as Mali and Niger, who experience the direct consequences of European border policies and the devastating impact on their national and regional contexts. The UN Working Group on Mercenaries also reached out, finding our framing particularly useful with regard to the role of private actors and their influence on border politics. TNI was also invited to host an informative panel at Sabir Festival of Mediterranean Cultures in the south of Italy, which discussed how the militarization of borders has become a globalized phenomenon. Many European-based activists and NGOs later reported finding our panel particularly insightful and informative in joining the dots between border policies in the Americas, Asia, Africa and the EU. In particular, we were commended for including a discussion on the role of China, the Belt and Road Initiative and its impact on ports and movement. TNI also travelled to key border regions in the Americas, including the Mexican border with Guatemala and the Colombian border with Venezuela, to observe first hand border dynamics and to meet with partners and consolidate relations.

TNI brought together a group of critical security and counter-terrorism analysts based in Britain, who produced a unique progressive policy document titled Leaving the War on Terror. This policy document is the first of its kind in that it goes beyond simply criticising Britain’s role in the War on Terror and its counter-terrorism policies, and actively proposes an alternative approach to what security should look like. It was the subject of a panel discussion held during the Imagine Belfast Festival of Ideas and Politics. The report was launched to a full house at the House of Commons at an event hosted by the Shadow Home Secretary. There was much engagement with the report on social media platforms with 1,252 downloads and 2,600 views of the accompanying video in the first week alone. The report has been praised by political figures within the Labour Party, as well as activists and academics alike for its invaluable contribution in shifting the narrative from a militarised model of security to interrogating what security really means for us as we go about our daily lives. TNI also submitted input to the UN Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms while Countering Terrorism. She conveyed that she found the framing particularly useful for her report on soft law and countering violent extremism (CVE) in moving the conversation beyond counter-terrorism, and looking at how it impacts our
sense of security more broadly almost twenty years since 9/11 launched the state of permanent war.

The year culminated with the publication of a book on the Far Right by TNI Associate Walden Bello, and support for a well-attended Europe-wide promotion tour. In addition, TNI co-published a report which reflects interviews with over 80 progressive activists around the world on the threat of the far-right. The consensus view emerging from the latter was that the far-right has been able to capitalise on popular discontent with economic globalisation, and popularise a racist theory of a "great replacement" underway through migration. Contributors identify weaknesses as the inability of the far-right to deal with climate issues and the encouraging internationalism catalysed by concerns about climate change as key to any counter.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

• The UN Special Rapporteur on Racism was outspoken about the niqab ban on her visit to the Netherlands.
• Media attention in 30 countries for report The Business of Building Walls.
• Leaving the War on Terror report garners 1,252 downloads and 2,600 views of the accompanying video in the first week after publication.
• Deloitte employees morally outraged by family separations on the US southern border and the role of the company as a federal contractor for ICE and United States Customs and Border Protection read our report and ask for more information.
• The UN Working Group on Mercenaries use our reports for a workshop.
OBJECTIVE 7

To support civil society organisations in Myanmar in addressing ethnic conflict to make the current peace and political and economic reform process more inclusive.
TNI’s Myanmar programme works to strengthen ethnic-based civil society organisations (CSOs) and Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs) to engage in policy development with respect to land and related resources, and drugs. TNI is helping to build the capacity and confidence of opium farmers and other rural working people (including fishers), with an emphasis on women, youth and internally displaced people (IDPs), to develop their own policy position; to normalize dialogues with EAOs towards achieving a social compact; and to facilitate people-to-people exchanges among the regions to collectively strengthen their engagements with the Myanmar national state on common policy areas. TNI works in Karen, Kachin, Karenni, Mon, Shan and Kayah States and Tanintharyi Region, and at the national level. It brings international context and experiences to bear on the process, and helps CSOs to analyse national legal proposals and understand their implications for grassroots communities while encouraging them to articulate their own perspectives.

In 2019, as an outcome of processes TNI has facilitated since 2013, two EAOs finalised land and natural resource policies, bringing to four the total number of finalized EAO land policies developed with support from TNI. Based on research and consultation, these policies reflect customary practices and tenure systems in use in different ethnic regions. Implemented by EOAs on the ground, they provide evidence that recognising customary systems is possible and contributing to environmental sustainability and peace building. These policies serve to promote a more inclusive and democratic land governance vision for the country, including in peace negotiations between EAOs and the government. They reflect international best practices, including on the right to land for women as well as for displaced communities, and have been developed in close cooperation with local civil society organisations (CSO) and through extensive grassroots consultations. CSOs are often in the lead in policy development, thanks to the capacity-building support they have received from TNI and the Myanmar NGO partners with which cooperation has been built over the years.

TNI also brought representatives from these different land policy processes and from key ethnic-based CSOs with which we have been working for many years, to strategise together. After developing a joint position on the critical issue of recognition of customary tenure, these same CSOs and EAOs next began discussing a federal land law and began working on drafting a framework for engaging with this. TNI has also facilitated processes with The Border Consortium (TBC) since 2014. In 2019, representatives of internally displaced people (IDP) and refugee committees from Mon, Karen, Karenni, Shan and Kachin communities came together and developed a joint position paper on their right to land. They presented their shared vision in separate meetings with international donors, with ethnic political parties, and at a public launch.

Meanwhile, TNI continued to support the Myanmar Opium Farmers’ Forum (MOFF) in various activities. As opium farmers’ livelihoods are still criminalised by law, speaking up for themselves is difficult but necessary, and 2019 brought several milestones. MOFF members joined an exchange visited to the Illicit Crop Monitoring Survey Team of the Thai Office of the Narcotics Control Board (ONCB) in Chiang Mai and joined an ONCB illicit crop monitoring and eradication team visit to a Lahu village. This gave them insights into alternative policy options as well the possibility of more positive relations between government and opium farmers as practiced in Thailand. Also, the MOFF/TNI film ‘The lives of producers of prohibited plants in Myanmar’ won the award for best documentary at the Wathann Film Festival. MOFF representatives introduced the film in person, bearing testimony to their growing confidence to speak out in public about their plight. Finally, the official statement from MOFF’s annual forum was read out at the Governmental Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control (CCDAC) coordination meeting. It was used by the National League for Democracy (NLD) to raise questions in the national parliament.

In other work in 2019, TNI organised a political economy crash course on demand for 125 CSO representatives. They gained deeper understanding of the paradigms driving the world’s economy and how they impact on national and local conditions. The course provided participants with analytical tools to help interpret and navigate developments unfolding around them, thus better positioning them to shape positive investments.

Meanwhile, TNI’s report ‘Selling the Silk Road Spirit – China’s Belt and Road Initiative in Myanmar’, based on Chinese language sources and thus bringing a new perspective, received significant attention in the Myanmar media. It was used in workshops by CSOs and ethnic political parties to strategise and develop policy to address the negative impacts of Chinese investment in Myanmar.
Finally, taking on a very sensitive subject, TNI's report 'Arakan (Rakhine State): A Land in Conflict on Myanmar’s Western Frontier' was well received by key local and international actors. Outlining grievances and aspirations of Buddhist Rakhine and Muslim Rohingya political movements, the report shows how Arakan represents Myanmar’s post-colonial failures in microcosm: ethnic conflict, political impasse, militarisation, economic neglect and the marginalisation of local peoples.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2019 include:

- A further two ethnic regions (now four in total) produced land and natural resource policies reflecting local customary practices and tenure systems, developed by CSOs and implemented by EAOs.
- Cross-regional cooperation between CSOs and EAOs result in agreement on customary tenure, and cooperation towards a common position towards a federal land law.
- IDPs and refugee committees from five ethnic minority regions develop a joint position on land rights which they present to international donors, ethnic political parties, and publically.
- The Myanmar Opium Farmers’ Forum grows in confidence, develops relations with the Office of the Narcotics Control Board, and with government officials. Their film wins best documentary at the main national film festival.
- 125 CSOs participate in an international political economy course providing them with tools for understanding the bigger context for contestations over development paths.
- CSOs and ethnic political parties are able to develop responses to Chinese investments based on accurate information on Chinese strategies towards Myanmar. The report garners significant media attention in Myanmar.
- A report on Rakhine State provides a perspective from both Buddhist and Muslim communities is well received by local and international actors.
The foundation “Stichting Transnational Institute” was registered with the Dutch Chamber of Commerce on 21 March 1974.

The objectives of the foundation are to strive for a world of peace, equity and democracy on a sustainable planet brought about and supported by an informed and engaged citizenry, as well as all that is directly or indirectly connected therewith or may be conducive thereto, all to be interpreted in the broadest sense, if in the general interest. The foundation seeks to realise its objectives, *inter alia*, by

a) strengthening the capacity of progressive international social movements to advocate for change
b) acting as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy makers
c) producing rigorous research and analysis
d) organising international conferences; and
e) collaborating with other organisations worldwide
The governance structure of TNI is set up as follows:

- The Supervisory Board, which is responsible for supervising the management of the Foundation and the general course of affairs, and to provide the Management Board with advice.
- The Management Board (Executive Director), which is responsible for the realisation of the objects of the Foundation, the strategy, the policy and the results thereof.
- The Fellowship consisting of recognised international experts in the substantive areas that are relevant for the work of TNI, which also advises the Supervisory and the Management Board on issues of substance.
- The Board of Advisors, composed of eminent international experts, which renders assistance to the organisation in more general terms.

The structure is set out below:

The composition of each of these organs is based on a careful balance to ensure participation of the various stakeholders relevant for TNI and to reflect its international composition and orientation as well as its ambitions. This includes considerations of gender, continental representation, scholarly capacity, engagement with social movements TNI seeks to serve, as well as the relevant disciplines and skills required by TNI.

**Composition of the Supervisory Board in 2019**

The Supervisory Board is selected on the basis of the criteria laid down in the by-laws, and profiles which are regularly reviewed and revised. A committee – comprised of one Supervisory Board member, one staff member (usually the Executive Director), and one fellow – interviews candidates and makes a recommendation to the Supervisory Board, which makes the final decision.

The Supervisory Board members serve a four-year term, once renewable, and are not remunerated. The Supervisory Board meets at least three times per year to discuss the progress of the organisational activities. Detailed information about the Supervisory Board members can be found on the TNI website [here](#).

Susan George has served as President of TNI since 2015, which is an honorary position.
The composition of the Supervisory Board in 2019 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Term Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gisela Dütting</td>
<td>15/04/2016 – 29/03/2019 (2nd term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pauline Tiffen</td>
<td>12/12/2014 – 11/12/2022 (2nd term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frenk van Enckevort</td>
<td>15/06/2018 – 14/06/2022 (1st term)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ruth Kronenburg</td>
<td>29/10/2018 – 28/10/2022 (1st term)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There were some changes to the Supervisory Board in 2019, all formalized at its meeting of 29 March 2019. Gisela Dütting, the Chairperson, stepped out of the Board. This resulted in a reshuffle of portfolios among remaining Board members. Pauline Tiffen took on the role of Chairperson, Ruth Kronenburg that of Audit Committee, and Frenk van Enckevort that of Secretary.

The Board serves voluntarily and is not remunerated.

**Composition of the Management Board**

The Management Board consists of one person – the Executive Director, Fiona Dove. The following staff report directly to her: the Personnel Officer, Programme Coordinators, Communication Coordinator, Evaluation Officer and Community Builder.

The leadership expected from the Executive Director is to provide vision and to help staff think strategically. She is supported in the daily management by a Management Team comprised of the Personnel Officer, Programme Coordinators and Communication Coordinator, which meets weekly.

The Supervisory Board determines the remuneration of the Executive Director. The remuneration complies with both the guidelines of Goede Doelen Nederland as well as those of the Dutch Government (Wet Normering Topinkomens).

**Remuneration of the Management Board/Executive Director:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gross salary</td>
<td>80,608</td>
<td>82,713</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Holiday pay</td>
<td>6,405</td>
<td>6,520</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of year payment</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>87,513</strong></td>
<td><strong>90,733</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taxes and premiums paid by TNI</td>
<td>9,702</td>
<td>10,402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension contribution from TNI</td>
<td>9,800</td>
<td>10,354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>107,015</strong></td>
<td><strong>110,489</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Composition of the International Fellowship**

Fellows work with the TNI programmes closest to their specific areas of expertise, producing relevant analyses and commentaries, often linking TNI to broader scholarly communities. They meet together at least once a year for the annual Fellows’ Meeting. These meetings take stock of the implications of recent global developments, enabling TNI to assess the context in which it is working. We also explore emerging questions, bringing in additional expertise where necessary, helping TNI ‘stay ahead of the curve’ and to think openly and critically about the big issues.

Fellows serve a four-year term, renewable once. Detailed information about the current Fellowship can be found on the TNI [website](https://www.tni.org). The current composition of the Fellowship is as follows:
Former Fellows join the ranks of TNI Associates, which may also include other researchers and scholars who make substantial ongoing contributions to the TNI community. Together, they constitute the ‘think tank’ dimension of TNI.

The current term of office of the Fellowship expired at the end of 2019. TNI has been undertaking an extensive process of evaluation and consultation with a view to reconstituting the various structures of TNI, including the role of Fellows and Associates, from 2020 onwards.

‘Futures Labs’ were introduced as an innovation in 2019. These are conceived as working groups on key issues of the future which TNI needs to understand better. The three key subjects identified include the trend away from multilateralism and towards multistakeholderism; the advent of the data capitalism; and the globalisation of Chinese corporations. The first took the form of a special seminar, which is now feeding into new work being developed by one of our existing programmes. The second took the form of commissions of a series of articles, the identification of knowledgeable scholars and activist organisations with whom TNI might cooperate, and the beginnings of a new area of work which all our programmes are considering how to integrate. The third has involved proactive identification of knowledgeable scholars, particularly Chinese scholars, analysing the Belt and Road Initiative and developing a framework paper to help TNI and its allies rise to the challenges posed.

### Composition of the International Advisory Board

The International Advisory Board, and its composition, is under consideration. It was not operational in 2019.
3: RISK MANAGEMENT

TNI regularly assesses legal; security; financial; reputational; and operational risks. Overall risks are assessed annually in terms of probability and severity of impact and improved mitigation measures put in place where necessary. An inventory is under development, which will provide the organisation with a comprehensive matrix for monitoring purposes.

Below the key risks addressed in 2019, and identified for 2020 are discussed.

Covid-19
An important risk identified for 2020 is the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic. Measures taken to ensure the safety of staff include the closing of the office, allowing staff to work from home, and arranging regular online team and staff meetings until it is officially deemed safe to reopen the office. There are also risks associated with lock-downs during the Corona crisis, whereby most people work from home and often outside of secured computer network systems. Efforts to ensure cyber security awareness continued to mitigate breaches (see more on cyber security below).

In preparation for the reopening of the office, plans have been made to minimize contact risk. These include allowing those who need to travel by public transport or who feel particularly vulnerable or who suspect they may be infected to continue working from home until it is safe to return; arranging shifts to ensure not too many people are in the office at the same time; the provision of appropriate equipment, such as shields between desks, the availability of sanitisers, gloves and masks; and agreement on safety protocols.

No travel or physical events are foreseen for 2020, with most activities going online where possible, or otherwise postponed. All programmes will revise plans and budgets accordingly, in discussion with partners and funders as required. Every effort will be made to minimize the financial impact on TNI, its staff including freelancers, and its partners.

There is some anticipation that the subsequent economic crisis may impact on funders, particularly private foundations that rely on invested capital. Mitigation strategies include diversifying the funding base.

Security and safety
Security and safety remains a key risk to monitor in 2020. There is acute awareness of the growing climate of repression against progressive activists discernible across the world, including against partner organizations. Key risk mitigation measures put in place in this regard in 2019 are elaborated below.

Myanmar
Our Myanmar programme involves people from conflict zones in a deteriorating political context. In 2019, a thorough matrix of risks was developed, which is assessed and updated annually for probability and severity, and includes considered mitigation strategies. Mitigation strategies followed in 2019, for example, included moving meetings to neighbouring countries for the safety of participants. In 2020, local staff will be required to fill in risk assessments for each activity organized.

Data security and safe communications
A comprehensive Information & Communication Technology (ICT) policy, including data protection, data security and data breach policies and procedures, was adopted in 2019, codifying many pre-existing practices. This was developed with external expert support, and workshopped with
staff before being finally approved by the Supervisory Board. Staff are well educated about the need to be compliant with the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR). This is regularly checked under the responsibility of management staff.

TNI's Computer Support team regularly educates staff on safe communications, raising awareness of the pitfalls of certain applications and platforms and the merits of others. The team has created a TNI 'next cloud' held on a number of servers in The Netherlands which gives remote access shared directories for authorized staff. It has also created a second cloud where documentation may be shared with authorized external parties. The computer support team has also worked with Dutch counterparts in the Fair, Green and Global Alliance to the same end, running workshops with staff to raise awareness, and developing recommendations for changes that should be made in the way data is shared and stored, and communications are conducted.

**Website security**

TNI's website is hosted on very secure servers with regular back-ups. In consultation with our security conscious web developers, we have worked hard to ensure tni.org is a closed loop site with few easy points of intrusion. Access to the website is limited to a handful of individual staff and administrative access is limited to just two individuals. Nevertheless, TNI's website came under protracted DDoS attack in 2019, one of many NGO sites targeted around the same time. Our site was down for nearly a month though we were able to run a mirror site within a few days while measures were put in place to put up a permanent shield to fend off the attack and prevent any future such attacks.
TNI puts a lot of effort into ensuring it acts internally in ways consistent with its values, and improving its accountability.

**Fair Employer**

In line with TNI’s vision and values, we are an equal opportunities employer with a strict policy of non-discrimination and strive for as much diversity as possible within the organization. Twenty-two nationalities are represented among our total complement of 55 staff, which includes payroll, external staff, interns and volunteers. Monthly staff meetings are held where news is exchanged, and consultations on policy are held. Separate staff meetings are held in Myanmar for the staff based there.

Consistent with our vision and values, TNI’s internal organisational culture is non-hierarchical and highly consultative. As far as possible, decisions are taken through a process of consensus-building. While most staff are expected to be self-steering, there are also clear lines of accountability and recognition of the authority of the team leader to make final decisions. The organogram is set for each five-year cycle, being reviewed as necessary.

By the end of 2019, the foundation had 25,29 full time equivalent (FTE) employees (in 2018: 24,79) on the payroll. The average number of FTE over the year was 25,60 compared to 25,40 the previous year -- representing an increase of 0,2 FTE. At the end of the year, these figures represented 28 individuals. There were no resignations in 2019. One staff member was medically boarded part-time, with every effort made to support his recovery and gradual reintegration into the workplace on a full-time basis.

TNI uses as its guideline the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CAO) for the Care and Welfare Sector in The Netherlands. Staff receive an incremental increase for each year of service. In addition, and in line with the CAO, staff were awarded a one-off payment in January 2019, and a salary increase in July 2019. The ratio of the highest:median salary was 2,2 and the highest:lowest was 3,4. These figures do not take account of years of service or income tax differentials, which would bring the ratio down.

According to benchmarks established in 2018 by Partos, the umbrella body for non-governmental organisations operating within the development cooperation sector, TNI salaries are within the norm for the sector. In respect of benchmarks for the charitable sector more broadly, established by Goede Doel Nederland, TNI salaries are slightly below the norm.
There is a training budget set at 1% of the personnel budget, and guided by a training policy. 15 staff benefited from training courses in 2019 at a cost of Euro 9,853. These included data security and safe communications, foreign language skills (Spanish and French), graphic design, campaigning, writing, research grant writing, first response (medical emergencies), mindfulness, and gender/power sensitivity training. In addition, an in-house skills share was run on English writing, and weekly lunch-time accelerator sessions were introduced for self-education purposes.

Work began on the development of new Disciplinary and Grievance policies and procedures, which shall be finalized in early 2020.

The costs of the employees on the payroll were:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2018</th>
<th>2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salaries</td>
<td>1,163,197</td>
<td>1,176,836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social security</td>
<td>185,503</td>
<td>200,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pension premiums</td>
<td>87,959</td>
<td>83,102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sickness insurance</td>
<td>17,789</td>
<td>17,565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other personnel costs</td>
<td>34,808</td>
<td>40,315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,489,424</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,518,718</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Volunteers, Interns and Visiting Scholars

TNI had 2 volunteers in the course of 2019, and welcomed 8 interns hailing from China, USA, Germany, Spain, Bulgaria, UK and Netherlands. Most were students at Dutch universities. They are paid an honorarium in line with Dutch norms.

In addition, we continued to host visiting scholar, Siobhan Airey, based at TNI since 2018 while undertaking post-doctoral research on finance for development from a legal perspective and supported by a Caroline Fellowship from the Irish Research Council.

External Staff

TNI is registered as an employer only in The Netherlands and Belgium. Staff located in other countries are employed on freelance contracts. These staff are treated equally with payroll staff, with their salaries pegged to TNI salary policy and compensation for social security and pension contributions built into the calculations, adjusted for domestic tax rates and costs of living. In 2019, TNI employed 17 dedicated freelance staff in 2019 across the world, located in Brazil, India, Morocco, USA, UK, Spain (3) and Myanmar (8). Very sadly, one of our Myanmar team, Thura Myint Lwin, passed away in 2019 following a long illness.

Other Contracts

A further 19 people were contracted for specific work in the course of 2019, including in Myanmar, Indonesia, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Denmark, Belgium, Netherlands, Spain, UK, and Bulgaria.

A total of 74 people were contracted to work for TNI in various capacities and under various conditions in 2019.
Staffing of Fiscally Sponsored Projects

In addition, TNI serves as the fiscal sponsor for four projects, for which staff are also contracted. These are:

- Seattle-to-Brussels Network (Europe), with the coordinator on TNI’s payroll
- Handel Anders Network (Netherlands), with the coordinator employed on a freelance contract
- Drug Policy Alternatives Group (Myanmar), with the coordinator and an assistant employed on freelance contracts
- Food Sovereignty in the MENA region (Tunisia), with four researchers on freelance contract

Social Report

TNI strives to establish and uphold ethical standards within its organization. Work began in 2019 on reviewing and updating TNI’s Integrity Policies, which includes a longstanding policy on sexual harassment. New policies under development include a Whistle-Blower Policy and a Code of Conduct. These will be finalized in early 2020.

No inappropriate behaviour, misconduct or any other breaches of TNI’s integrity policies were reported in 2019. No complaints were received on the basis of the Complaints Policy published on the TNI website.

Socially-conscious and Green Office

TNI owns its office building, originally built in the 19th century as a school. It is zoned for cultural and educational purposes by the City Council.

TNI strives to attract tenants which share TNI’s vision and values. In 2019, it housed:

- a childcare centre
- a meditation centre
- four non-profit organisations (concerned with human rights law, consumer rights in respect of food, the right to food, a support organisation for animation filmmakers
- a Dutch streetwear company associated with the hiphop scene of Amsterdam

One of the non-profit human rights law organizations vacated their office in early 2019. An existing tenant is interested to expand and discussions are underway about a reshuffle of office spaces without having to seek new tenants. TNI did, however, suffer a loss on expected rental income in 2019.

TNI is committed to upholding environmental standards and contributing to a just transition to more sustainable economies. We strive to do this in our conduct as an organisation as well as in seeking the structural change we believe necessary through our programmes.

Up to the end of 2019, solar panels installed on the roof of our building in mid-2016 have enabled us to save 22 tons of CO2 and have generated 31,362 KwH of solar energy, providing the anticipated third of our electricity needs annually. The balance is sourced from wind energy supplied by local farmers. In 2019, we replaced all lighting with LED, following analysis that lighting is the single biggest contributor to our electricity consumption. Having insulated the back side of the building some years ago, in 2019 we also insulated windows on the front of the building which effort we hope will show a reduction in gas consumption in 2020.
**Fair and Green Procurement**

TNI follows its Procurement Policy, which privileges small suppliers that share our values, with this being the primary criterion used in procuring supplies and (technical) services. This includes demonstrable commitments to ecological sustainability, fair trade practices and cooperative ownership structures.

Some examples of how TNI puts its values into practice in this regard, include:

- a worker-owned cooperative is contracted for cleaning services
- an informal network of artisans and small companies with strong affinity for TNI’s values are contracted for building maintenance
- contracting auditing, salary and financial administration companies specifically dedicated to serving the non-profit sector
- using a non-profit travel agency dedicated specifically to supporting humanitarian organisations. We have also invested in improving our video conferencing facilities to help minimise the necessity for travel, and encouraging staff wherever possible to travel by train rather than fly or drive. None of our staff uses a car to travel to work.
- using only recycled or FSC-certified paper for printing, printing the minimum required, and always double-sided
- buying tea and coffee supplies from a fair trade company which TNI has supported over many decades, and buying other organic and fairly produced products as far as possible
- separating our waste (paper, glass, chemical, plastic, batteries, ink cartridges) for responsible recycling purposes

There were no procurements over Euro 30,000 in 2019 that would require tender processes.
**Income**

As a non-profit organization TNI is primarily (94%) dependent on grant income. The largest proportion of TNI funding continued to be that received from the Dutch Ministry of Trade and Development, representing nearly half of TNI’s income. The dependence ratio is relatively low for those which receive funding from this source, and well below the ceiling of 75% set by the Ministry. TNI has made major efforts to ensure its funding base is as diverse as possible to spread the risk should one of the major grants not be renewed.

In 2019, we booked some success in increasing foundation support for TNI by 3% on the previous year, now accounting for 21% of TNI’s funding base. We have also sought to increase ‘own income’ through community-building efforts since 2018. We saw a 108% increase in monies raised through these efforts in 2019, as compared to the previous year. TNI also increased the proportion of income coming from European Union grants by 2%, winning three new grants in 2019.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Specification</th>
<th>% of total income in 2018</th>
<th>% of total income in 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch government</td>
<td>Netherlands Ministry of Trade &amp; Development</td>
<td>48%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other public sources</td>
<td>Swedish International Development Agency; Swiss Development Cooperation; GIZ; Irish Research Council</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic foundations</td>
<td>Foundation Open Society Institute (New York &amp; Switzerland); Foundation Open Society Policy Centre; Open Society Initiative for Europe; Open Society Initiative for Southern Africa; Funders for Fair Trade; Rockefeller Bros Fund; Schöpf- lin Stiftung</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>Development Education and Awareness-Raising; Justice and Home Affairs; Erasmus; H2020</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own means</td>
<td>Rental, book sales, donations, currency gains, interest</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income</td>
<td>Sub-contracts</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For tax purposes, TNI operates with fiscal number 0034.74.082. It pays taxes on salaries. TNI is not considered an enterprise and as such is exempt from VAT. TNI is acknowledged by the Dutch tax authorities as an organization that works for the general interest (ANBI: Algemeen Nut Beogende Instelling). This allows those who make donations to TNI to qualify for tax rebates within the European Union.

TNI has long been formally recognized as holding the equivalent of 501 (c) status in the USA, which status is reconfirmed annually with a certificate from NGOSource which may be used by those funders which are members of NGOSource.
In 2019, TNI sought the advice of a fiscalist on whether it would be considered liable for corporate tax on the basis of the surpluses it has generated annually. The conclusion of the fiscalist, subsequently confirmed by the Dutch tax authorities, is that TNI legitimately earns these modest surpluses, relative to total budget, which are not considered profit and are not liable to corporate tax. The sources of these surpluses include donations, contributions to jointly organized activities, book sales, renting of office space, and eventual settlement of longstanding debts owed TNI that had been written off.

**Expenditure 2019**

TNI spent 78% of its income in 2019 on programme implementation, 10% on administration and fundraising, and 12% on infrastructure (office and communications, building).

TNI raises grants for projects developed under our seven programme areas. Myanmar is our largest and only country-focused programme. It is able to draw on the expertise of many of the other programmes. Indeed, there is a lot of collaboration across TNI programmes as many of the issues covered are inter-connected. The programmatic divisions correlate with co-ordination structures and distinguish main umbrella fields.

**Financial result 2019**

The result in 2019 was a modest Euro 649 once funds raised through crowdfunding for a campaign were deducted for reservation in a restricted fund. TNI’s continuity reserves, at the end of 2019, stood at Euro 1.174,321. A major goal set by the Supervisory Board has been to increase TNI’s survival ratio (reserves/fixed costs x 365) to at least 180 days or 6 months. By the end of 2019, this was achieved – with the survival ratio standing at 225 days.

The ratio of current assets to short-term liabilities remains healthy at 153% (compared to 140% in 2018).
FINANCES
TNI is committed to the principles of independence, transparency, and accountability. TNI's financial reporting was rated 5 stars for ‘excellence’ by the Transparify initiative.

*Source: TNI Audited Financial Accounts 2019*

### INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Income (in Euros)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2019</td>
<td>€ 4,477,154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2018</td>
<td>€ 4,668,153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2017</td>
<td>€ 5,688,308</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2016</td>
<td>€ 4,936,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2015</td>
<td>€ 3,744,609</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### WHERE WE GOT OUR MONEY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Income (in Euros)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dutch government</td>
<td>€ 2,196,030</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other governments</td>
<td>€ 868,608</td>
<td>19%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philanthropic foundations</td>
<td>€ 921,692</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European Union</td>
<td>€ 323,964</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own means</td>
<td>€ 145,240</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other income</td>
<td>€ 21,620</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Income in Euros over the last 5 years:**

- 2019: € 4,477,154
- 2018: € 4,668,153
- 2017: € 5,688,308
- 2016: € 4,936,827
- 2015: € 3,744,609

**Where we got our money:**

- Dutch government: € 2,196,030 (49%)
- Other governments: € 868,608 (19%)
- Philanthropic foundations: € 921,692 (21%)
- European Union: € 323,964 (7%)
- Own means: € 145,240 (3%)
- Other income: € 21,620 (1%)
**WHAT PROJECTS OUR MONEY IS SPENT ON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Project</th>
<th>Cost (€)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic Peace Myanmar</td>
<td>853,110</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Just Trade &amp; Investment</td>
<td>789,685</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Sector Alternatives</td>
<td>728,675</td>
<td>17%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agrarian &amp; Environmental Justice</td>
<td>529,505</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs &amp; Democracy</td>
<td>429,643</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corporate Accountability</td>
<td>403,962</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>War &amp; Pacification</td>
<td>382,859</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cross-cutting projects</td>
<td>192,855</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Cost (€)</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Programme Activities</td>
<td>3,500,488</td>
<td>78%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salaries (administrations &amp; fundraising)</td>
<td>447,907</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Office &amp; Communications</td>
<td>350,005</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building</td>
<td>161,936</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,460,336</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Statement of income and expenditure in budget 2020

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Budget 2020</th>
<th>Budget 2019</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>€</td>
<td>€</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Income</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grants</td>
<td>4,393,672</td>
<td>4,630,769</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Donations and contributions</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exchange losses/gains</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Interest</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>6,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total income</strong></td>
<td>4,393,672</td>
<td>4,639,645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Expenditure</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Overhead</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Personnel costs</td>
<td>433,577</td>
<td>425,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Building expenses</td>
<td>23,608</td>
<td>49,870</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Office and communication</td>
<td>304,390</td>
<td>292,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total overhead</strong></td>
<td>761,575</td>
<td>767,876</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Project costs</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Direct project costs</td>
<td>2,562,983</td>
<td>2,810,026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Personnel costs charged to projects</td>
<td>1,069,114</td>
<td>1,014,401</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total project costs</strong></td>
<td>3,632,097</td>
<td>3,824,427</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total expenditure</strong></td>
<td>4,393,672</td>
<td>4,592,303</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balance</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47,342</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Result</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>47,342</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The 2020 budget was discussed with the Audit Committee of the Supervisory Board on 21 November 2019, and formally approved at the Supervisory Board meeting of 6 January 2020.

Budgeted income is based on secured contracts accounting for 92% of the budget. The balance is expected to come from pending funding applications and/or additional fundraising undertaken in the course of 2020. Any funds raised through individual donors are to be reserved for the continuity fund as securing the 2021 budget would depend on the outcome of a renewal of a grant from a major donor, currently accounting for around half TNI’s total budget.

Overhead costs were budgeted at 17.33% of the total budget. These are divided into three categories:

1. **Personnel** – This accounts for 9.87% of total expenditure and concerns the costs of staff time not spent directly on project implementation (e.g., fundraising). It also includes a budget for training, interns and volunteers, and commuting costs of staff members who do not live in Amsterdam where TNI offices are located. TNI expects one staff member to go on maternity leave in 2020. No new employment was envisaged. The budget excluded the cost of salary increases due in July 2020 in line with the industrial wage agreement for the welfare and care sector, which TNI follows. The increase would only be implemented should the income budget be exceeded such that it is sufficient to cover this cost, and subject to approval of a revised budget by the Supervisory Board.

2. **Building** – This accounts for 0.54% of total expenditure. The figure reflects the balance of total costs of the building less rent and contributions to service costs received from tenants. Breakdown costs include depreciation; the mortgage; annual provision for major maintenance; cleaning and minor maintenance; utility costs; insurance, taxes and land lease. Minor maintenance costs were lower than previous years due to the revised maintenance plan. Rental income was budgeted higher than the previous year due to an increase to be effected in May 2020. A major maintenance plan up to 2035 is drawn up by the qualified constructor who advises and supervises building upkeep, and who revised the plan on 21 May 2019. Major maintenance planned for 2020 included replacement of aged boilers, painting of the external front woodwork and maintenance of masonry and joints.

3. **Office and Communication** – This accounts for 6.93% of total expenditure. Additional costs planned for in 2020 include investments in the upgrade of the website and in fundraising. Breakdown costs include office equipment, stationery, and other supplies; communication infrastructure such as the network, software, website, telephone and mailing; audit, financial and salary administration, bank charges; board meetings, fundraising and other organizational costs.

Project costs constitute 83% of the total budget, and are based on budgets agreed with funders. Personnel costs, on average, amount to 29% of total project costs. This is considered by TNI’s funders to be an appropriate proportion, particularly given that TNI is primarily a research and advocacy institute. The balance is spent on the direct costs of project implementation.

Of the project contracts running in 2019, thirteen ended in 2019 (see Results). Most of the remaining projects end in 2020. The project goals or specific deliverables to be achieved are laid down in contracts with funders (See Funding agreements Active in 2019).

TNI's Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation system helps us monitor whether a project is on track to achieve its goals, including quarterly budget monitoring, ongoing assessments of contextual changes so that strategies can be adjust where necessary, and annual outcome harvests.
### OVERVIEW OF GRANT CONTRACTS 2019*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PROJECT NAME</th>
<th>GOALS</th>
<th>TNI ROLE</th>
<th>DURATION</th>
<th>CURRENCY</th>
<th>TOTAL GRANT**</th>
<th>SOURCE</th>
<th>CONTRACT NO.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alternative Development Myanmar</td>
<td>Enable an exchange on best practices, lessons learned and knowledge between government officials, smallholder farmers, and experts from local and international organisation; support appropriate application of the National Drug Control Strategy at local and regional levels; ensure lessons from Colombia are learned.</td>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>1/1/19-31/3/20</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>38,039.91</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</td>
<td>81247430</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10th Informal Drug Policy Dialogue in Asia</td>
<td>Organise 10th Asian policy dialogue and workshop on alternative development, Myanmar</td>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>10/9/18-28/2/19</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>40,000.00</td>
<td>Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit</td>
<td>81229883</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asia-Europe Peoples Forum</td>
<td>Build the Asia-Europe People's Forum for a more inclusive voice, influence and access</td>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>21/12/17-20/12/20</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>109,476.00</td>
<td>EU Devico via 11.11.11 CSO-LA-2017/387-716</td>
<td>2018-1-FR01-KA204-048212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lantsrat</td>
<td>Collaborative learning about innovative land strategies among small agro-ecological farmers in Europe</td>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>1/9/18-31/8/20</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>57,698.00</td>
<td>EU Erasmus via Terre de Liens</td>
<td>2018-1-FR01-KA204-048212</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deck to Dish</td>
<td>Increased awareness of Community-Supported Fisheries initiatives in Europe, new alliances established, and increased capacity of fishing communities to engage decision-makers.</td>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>1/9/19-31/12/21</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>40,125.00</td>
<td>EU Erasmus via Urgency</td>
<td>2019-1-FR01-KA204-062955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Combating the Structural Drivers of Anti-Muslim Hatred and Intolerance: Tools and Practices for Mobilising (CoSDAMHI)</td>
<td>(i) Raise awareness of the structural drivers that normalise anti-Muslim hatred and intolerance (AMHI) and mobilise support for human rights-based alternatives; (ii) Provide new analysis on the impact of policies, laws, political discourse and media (structural drivers) in normalising AMHI, to aid national and EU authorities to adopt human rights-based best practices; (iii) Strengthen civil society's capacity to mobilise for human rights-based alternatives through deepened civil society networks and increased cooperation with Muslim communities; (iv) Increase the general population's awareness of, and resilience to, structural drivers through accessible information and platforms for policy engagement</td>
<td>Lead organisation - 6 partners</td>
<td>1/11/18-31/10/20</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>538,741.00</td>
<td>EU General Justice &amp; Consumers</td>
<td>809440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Approaches to Harm Reduction Policies &amp; Practices</td>
<td>Expand the knowledge base about drug use patterns and innovative harm reduction policies and practices in respect of three problems among public authorities and professionals and civil society stakeholders in Europe: A) the increased use of plant-based NPS without the requisite knowledge to reduce the risk of harm; B) a persistent illicit cannabis market for the still most used drug in the EU; and the impact on the effectiveness of drug and C) policies of austerity measures affecting health and social services, particularly in Southern Europe.</td>
<td>Lead organisation - 3 partners</td>
<td>1/1/17-31/3/19</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>373,725.66</td>
<td>EU Migration &amp; Home Affairs</td>
<td>HOME/2015/DRU/AG/15880</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mPower</td>
<td>In-depth, wide-scale and systematic peer-to-peer learning programme among at least 100 local public authorities with a view to replicate innovative best practice in municipal energy.</td>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>1/5/18-1/5/22</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>255,750.00</td>
<td>EU Research H2020 via University of Glasgow</td>
<td>785171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanitarian migration policy</td>
<td>Promote a more humanitarian approach to migration and refugee policies and border management in Europe.</td>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>1/4/19-31/3/20</td>
<td>US$</td>
<td>99,600.00</td>
<td>Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies</td>
<td>OS12019-53111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alternative development</td>
<td>To map prospects for think tank on alternative development questions for the MENA region</td>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>1/10/17 - 30/6/20</td>
<td>US$</td>
<td>40,000.00</td>
<td>Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies</td>
<td>OR2017-38338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobbywatch.nl</td>
<td>Improved regulation and transparency of lobbying in the Netherlands.</td>
<td>Partner</td>
<td>1/7/17-1/7/19</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>20,553.00</td>
<td>Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies via SOMO</td>
<td>SOMO-10542</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Sovereignty (MENA)</td>
<td>Research and advocacy on food sovereignty in Morocco and Tunisia: interrogate the policy and practice of food and agricultural modernization in North Africa, taking Tunisia and Morocco as case studies</td>
<td>Fiscal sponsor for OSAE in Tunisia</td>
<td>1/10/17-30/9/19</td>
<td>US$</td>
<td>100,000.00</td>
<td>Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies</td>
<td>OR2017-37735</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTIP/PCTEA Alarm (Dutch campaign)</td>
<td>Support development of progressive reform of investment protection in treaties</td>
<td>Sole</td>
<td>1/9/17-31/11/19</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>70,000.00</td>
<td>Funders for Fair Trade</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Investment regime</td>
<td>Advocate for reform of international investment agreements.</td>
<td>Lead organisation + 7 partners</td>
<td>1/11/18-31/12/19</td>
<td>Euro</td>
<td>150,000.00</td>
<td>Funders for Fair Trade</td>
<td>none</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No VIP Rechten voor Multinationals

Improve convergence between the campaigns against ISDS and for a binding treaty on transnational corporations and human rights (12 members in the Netherlands)

Fiscal sponsor for Dutch campaign

1/1/19-31/12/19

Euro

20,000.00

Both Ends (for FGG joint work)

None

Fair, Green and Global

Ensure improved corporate conduct advances social justice, decent work and environmentally sustainable development; and financial systems, tax regimes and public financing practices advance socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development.

Partner

1/116 - 31/12/20

Euro

10,586,519.00

Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs via Both Ends

27534

Alternative Security

Develop proposal and advocacy for alternative security in respect of terrorism.

Sole

1/6/18-31/5/20

US$ 120,000.00

Open Society Institute

Budapest Fund

OR2018-43186

1/1/19-31/12/19

Euro 20,000.00

Both Ends (for FGG joint work)

None

Fair, Green and Global

Ensure improved corporate conduct advances social justice, decent work and environmentally sustainable development; and financial systems, tax regimes and public financing practices advance socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development.

Partner

1/1/19 - 31/12/20

Euro

10,586,519.00

Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs via Both Ends

27534

Fiscal sponsor for Dutch campaign

1/1/19-31/12/19

Euro 20,000.00

Both Ends (for FGG joint work)

None

Drugs and Democracy

Support evidence-based drug policy making

Sole

1/11/18-31/12/20

US$ 285,000.00

Open Society Policy Center

OSI2018-46493

Drugs Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG) III

Promote sustainable drug policies in Myanmar based on public health, human rights and development.

Sole

1/18-31/7/20

US$ 115,000.00

Open Society Policy Center

OSI2018-44438

Energy Charter

To produce report on Energy Charter

Sole

2/15/18-2/5/19

US$ 100,000.00

Rockefeller Bros Fund

18179

Reform of investment agreements

To produce analysis, communications and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements, and to engage networks of public interest & environmental organisations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements.

Lead organisation + 7 partners

1/7/19 - 31/7/21

US$ 300,000.00

Rockefeller Bros Fund

19-45

Investment regime

To produce analysis, communications, and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements; engage networks of public interest and environmental organisations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements.

Lead organisation + 7 partners

2/11/17-29/11/19

US$ 50,000.00

Rockefeller Bros Fund

17331

Investment regime

To produce analysis, communications, and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements; engage networks of public interest and environmental organisations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements.

Lead organisation + 7 partners

1/4/18-28/3/19

Euro 100,000.00

Schoepflin Found

2018-33

COSDAHMI

Co-financing for EU-funded COSDAHMI project

Lead + 1 partner

2/3/19-31/10/20

Euro 41,591.00

Stichting Media & Democratie

2019155

Supporting Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict

To support Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict

Sole

1/6/17-31/5/21

Euro 1,329,875.00

Swiss Development Cooperation

81050388

Supporting Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict

To support Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict and to make the current peace process more inclusive

Sole

1/9/17 - 31/12/20

Swedish Kronen 2,000,000.00

Swedish International Development Agency

20171030

Notes: *This list does not include contracts for specific deliverables or contributions from allies for joint campaigns

**Where TNI is the lead organisation for a consortium the grant reflects that for the consortium as a whole.

CONTRACTS for specific deliverables

PROJECT NAME | GOALS | TNI ROLE | DURATION | CURRENCY | TOTAL GRANT** | SOURCE | CONTRACT NO.
--- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | ---
Global Commission on Drugs & Democracy | Paper on human rights guidelines and drugs | Deliverable | 2019 | Euro | 10,000.00 | Global Commission on Drugs & Democracy | N/A
Asia-Europe Peoples Forum | Event on Transnational Corporations and Human Rights at UNHRC in Geneva | Deliverable | 23/9/19-20/10/19 | Euro | 10,000.00 | N/A
Global Remunicipalisation and the Post-Neoliberal Turn | Develop typology of remunicipalisation | Deliverable | 1/1/19-30/6/20 | Euro | 5,000.00 | University of Glasgow | N/A
Caroline fellowship | Non-academic mentor for post-doc scholar. | Deliverable | 1/10/17-30/9/20 | Euro | 23,674.40 | Dublin University | 201745
Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative | 4 x exchange visit reports, radio programmes, videos, briefing papers, commissioned papers; and 10-12 published journal articles. | Deliverable | 6/9/18-30/6/19 | US$ | 30,000.00 | PLAAS, University of Western Cape, South Africa | EC0200046PL00012018
PEOPLE
TNI STAFF IN 2019

MANAGEMENT TEAM
• Fiona Dove (Executive Director)
• Pietje Vervest & Ernestien Jensema (Programmes)
• Denis Burke (Communications)
• John Kerseboom (Personnel)

COMMUNICATIONS
• Bea Martinez (Spanish translator)
• Denis Burke (Coordinator)
• Hilde van der Pas (Dutch press liaison/social media)
• Jorrit Stoker (Webmaster)
• Shaun Matsheza (Podcasts/writer)

COMMUNITY-BUILDERS
• Jess Graham (Fundraiser)
• Nick Buxton (Think Tank Coordinator)
• Niels Jongerius (Netherlands)

OFFICE & ADMINISTRATION
• Albi Jannssen (Network engineer)
• John Kerseboom (Personnel)
• Katja Gertman (Bookkeeping Assistant)
• Misrak Alayu (Front Office)
• Sasha Trifkovich (Information manager)
• Stephanie Olinga-Shannon (Evaluation)
• Susan Medeiros (Front Office)

VOLUNTEERS
• Mustaffa Habashi (Handyman)
• Santiago Martinez Rivera (Drugs researcher)

INTERNS
• Ella McLaughlin (USA)
• Emma Willems (Netherlands)
• Inês McKechnie Charle (Spain)
• Li Zhiyuan (China)
• Lukas Toedte (Germany)
• Nicolay Penchev (Bulgaria)
• Sophie Rogers (UK)
• Yue Wang (China)

VISITING SCHOLAR
• Siobhan Airey (Ireland)

PROGRAMME DIRECTORS
• Martin Jelsma (Drugs & Democracy)
• Pietje Vervest (Economic Justice)

PROGRAMME COORDINATORS
• Brid Brennan (Corporate Power)
• Cecilia Olivet (Trade & Investment)
• Ernestien Jensema (Drugs & Democracy)
• Lyda Fernanda Torres Forero (Agrarian & Environmental Justice)
• Niamh Ni Bhriain (War & Pacification)
• Satoko Kishimoto (Public Alternatives)
• Tom Kramer (Myanmar Ethnic Peace)

PROGRAMME STAFF
• Benny Kuruvilla (India)
• Dania Putri (Morocco)
• Daniel Chavez (Netherlands)
• Gonzalo Berrón (Brazil)
• Hamza Hamouchene (UK)
• Katie Sandwell (Netherlands)
• Lavinia Steinfort (Netherlands)
• Lucía Barcéna (Spain)
• Melissa Koutouzis (Netherlands)
• Monica Vargas (Spain)
• Pien Metaal (Netherlands)
• Sol Trumbo Vila (Netherlands)
• Sylvia Kay (Netherlands)
• Tom Blickman (Netherlands)

MYANMAR-BASED STAFF
• Do Ra
• Mi Kamoon
• Naw Julie Aye
• Naw Lwin Shee
• Phwe Phyu
• Renaud Cachia
• Thura Myint Lwin

CONTRACTED RESEARCHERS
• Alberto Fradejas
• Alexander Panez Pinto
• Andy Rutherford
• Bas Coenegracht
• Bettina Müller
• Carsten Pederson
• Jenny Franco
• Luciana Ghiotto
• Marcela d’Olivera
• Mariana Gonçalves Villafranca
• Maria-Sol Reindl
• Martin Smith
• Mary Lou Malig
• Min Myo Min OO Sawmon
• Myint Zaw
• Nila Ardhianie
• Tom Decorte
• Zdravka Dimitrova
• Zoe Brent

ASSOCIATES
• Boris Kagarlitsky (Russia)
• David Bewley-Taylor (UK)
• David Sagog (Netherlands)
• Dot Keet (Zimbabwe)
• Francesco Martone (Italy)
• Harris Glickman (USA)
• Hermann von Hatzfeldt (Germany)
• Howard Wachtel (USA)
• James Early (USA)
• Jochen Hippler (Germany)
• Joel Rocamora (Philippines)
• John Cavanagh (USA)
• Kamil Mahdi (Iraq)
• Kees Biekart (Netherlands)
• Manuel Pérez-Rocha (Mexico)
• Marcos Arruda (Brazil)
• Mariano Aguirre (Colombia)
• Myriam Vander Stichele (Netherlands)
• Peter Weiss (USA)
• Ricardo Vargas (Colombia)
• Roger van Zwanenburg (UK)
• Sebastián Torres (Uruguay)
• Tom Reifer (USA)
• Walden Bello (Philippines)

PRESIDENT & SUPERVISORY BOARD
• Susan George – President
• Gisela Dütting – Outgoing Chairperson
• Pauline Tiffen – Incoming Chairperson
• Ruth Kronenburg – Treasurer
• Frenk van Enckevort – Secretary
Achin has dedicated much of his intellectual and activist life to combatting communalism in India. He has been warning of the fascist roots of the Hindutva project for decades, which are now manifest under the increasingly authoritarian Modi regime.

In 2019, Achin was active in condemning attempts to criminalise prominent cultural celebrities for denouncing the government's support for mob lynching, silencing of people's voices and misuse of courts to harass citizens. In an essay in a book celebrating the scholarship of historian Romila Thapar, Achin voiced concerns about knowledge production, democracy, Hindutva and rise of public anti-intellectuals. Achin also wrote the cover story for Caravan Magazine's May edition on the democratic weaknesses and Hindu biases of the Indian Constitution, as well as an article in The Wire on Modi's Hindu Rashtra project, which is attempting to redefine citizenship on exclusivist religious grounds, in much the same way Netanyahu is trying to do in Israel. In August, he called on progressive Indians to oppose governmental violence against Kashmiris in his essay, ‘Hindutva on the March’, for Jacobin magazine. Towards the end of the year, Achin finished his latest book, Nationalist Dangers, Secular Failings: A Compass for an Indian Left (forthcoming Aakar Books, 2020), which follows closely on his previous book The Rise of Hindu Authoritarianism: Secular Claims, Communal Realities (Verso, 2017). Achin spoke on the subject of nationalist authoritarianism, and related subjects, at OP Junkdal Global University at Sonepat, Haryana as well as at Ambedkar University in Delhi in the course of the year, as well as at a forum organised by The Alliance for a Secular and Democratic South Asia, Coalition for a Democratic India, MIT-India, and at an Asia-Europe People's Forum (AEPP) meeting in Malaysia.

Following participation in an international strategic seminar organised by TNI in Soesterberg in June 2019, Achin went on to join the first AEPF working group meeting on China's Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), convened at TNI, helping to develop a framework to guide the bi-regional forum on dealing with BRI projects.

Achin continues to be active in the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), where his work particularly focuses on getting young people to join nuclear advocacy. He is also active in the Indian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (INCACBI), which works to pressure Israel to comply with international law. He is also a founder of the Society for Marxist Studies (SMS) in India, which continues to hold two-week residential summer and winter schools for post-graduate students and social activists from across India.

Read more about Achin here.
Ben Hayes

Independent researcher and consultant on security policies and civil liberties

Ben is a long time civil liberties activist working on human rights, democracy and security in the digital age. He has helped expose much of the cynical disregard for human rights in European security policy and practice, proving a valuable resource for many activist organisations in Europe and further afield as these policies get exported world-wide.

In 2019, he contributed to *Leaving the War on Terror*, published as the output of a TNI project which seeks to provide an alternative security framework that moves beyond the War on Terror frame and the so-called prevention strategies predicated on intrusive surveillance and undercover operations targeting Muslim communities. These ideas were tested by Ben and another participant in the TNI project at a panel on democracy and security organised by the online media platform Open Democracy at the Imagine Belfast Festival. The report was later launched at an event in the UK House of Commons, and Ben presented it at a colloquium of the University of Minnesota Law School at the invitation of the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter-terrorism and Human Rights.

Ben represented TNI in the opening panel of the Gibraltar Garrison Library's symposium on *Borders and Bordering in the 21st Century*. He spoke to Fortress Europe, a focus of another TNI project, in which Ben is providing insights on data ethics in respect of migrants and refugees, and the use of artificial intelligence in border controls. He also represented TNI at the annual conference of Computers, Privacy and Data Protection (CPDP), where he moderated a session on facial recognition, later hooking up with artists at Privacy Salon to talk about ‘hacking’ the system.

On the strength of earlier work with TNI on “shrinking space” for social movements, Ben was invited to collaborate with the Funders Initiative on Civic Space in developing an analysis of the main drivers of the tendency in the context of digital transformation, climate change and intersectional crises. He co-authored a report with the Director, drawing on much of TNI’s analysis. A draft was presented to the 40 philanthropic foundations involved with the initiative. The report is due to be published by FICS in early 2020. Ben will continue to collaborate on the next phase, which concerns strategic directions for FICS members.

Meanwhile, Ben kicked off a new project with human rights and social justice organisations concerning the killing of Dag Hammarskjöld and state failure to cooperate with the UN inquiry. He continues to work for the UN High Commission for Refugees, and in identifying legal cases that might be interesting for the purposes of strategic jurisprudence. And he is busy preparing to turn his data protection consultancy into the UK’s first data rights agency, working with lawyers involved in the litigation against Cambridge Analytica and the UK intelligence services post-Snowden.

Read more about Ben [here](#).
Daniel Chavez

Researcher

Daniel is an activist-scholar who cut his teeth in the housing cooperative movement in Uruguay. He works closely with trade unions around questions of privatisation and democratisation of public companies, and is a keen analyst of Latin American politics.

Daniel is the only TNI staff member who also serves as a Fellow. In 2019, Daniel continued with his comparative international research on public energy utilities. This included a major study, undertaken with a team of economists from the Comuna research cooperative, on Uruguay’s energy transition, from which he has distilled lessons for other countries. Following participation in an international workshop on public ownership of energy organized by CIDOB, a Barcelona-based progressive think tank, Daniel also wrote a chapter on the energy transition, public ownership and the new municipalism in Europe for a CIDOB published book which analyses new models of urban development around the world.

These, and other past studies by Daniel, are feeding into a project in South Africa that he is leading for TNI. The project is aimed at supporting South African progressives with the crisis of their national public utility, Eskom. Daniel participated in workshops held with trade unions and environmentalists in South Africa figuring out how to deal with the threat of privatisation of the ailing national energy company, while also steering the utility towards leading a just transition away from reliance on fossil fuels rather than allowing short term speculation by investors in a privatised renewables market they are bound to abandon when profits inevitably start falling.

Daniel also continued to work with a union in Calí in Colombia that has been battling privatisation of telecommunications. This finally succeeded in 2019, and the company is now pursuing a public-public partnership with a successful counterpart company in Uruguay thanks to Daniel being able to link them up.

Returning to his roots in Uruguay and Latin America, Daniel teamed up with the Latin American Council of Social Sciences (CLACSO) and the Foundation for Latin American Integration (FILA) to organise a conference in Uruguay’s Chamber of Senators to discuss the economic and political challenges facing Latin America. The conference was very well attended by social movements and political activists, as well as political representatives, state and government officials. Daniel subsequently produced an excellent long read for TNI on the eve of the Uruguayan election, and represented TNI in a public debate in Amsterdam the left and the crisis in Venezuela. TNI also produced an interview with him on The Commons, the State and the Public from a Latin American perspective. Daniel spent much of the year working on a major conference on the theme of ‘Democratic Socialism in Global Perspective’, which is scheduled to take place in May 2020 at the Havens Wright Center for Social Justice in Madison, Wisconsin.

Read more about Daniel here.
David Fig

*Independent researcher and consultant*

A TNI Fellow since 2012, David holds a PhD from the London School of Economics. He works as an environmental sociologist and political economist and has been a lifelong critic of the nuclear energy industry. Recent victories in which he participated were the South African court case which made illegal President Zuma’s nuclear ambitions, and the briefing of the Vietnamese congressional committee on science, which led to Vietnam abandoning its reactor orders with Russia and Japan. He recently worked with a coalition of public health practitioners to bring about a sugar tax in South Africa.

David chairs the board of Biowatch South Africa, which he co-founded in 1997 and which is concerned with food sovereignty, agro-ecology and agrarian justice. Biowatch challenged the South African government and the Monsanto corporation in a legal process which took nine years, resulting in a landmark victory in the Constitutional Court.

He is active in a number of energy related struggles, including Earthlife Africa, the Pushing Back Coal and Pushing for Renewable Energy coalition, and the Energy Governance Initiative-South Africa. David is also a member of the Global Working Group Beyond Development working towards systemic emancipatory transformations.

He is an honorary research associate of the Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP) at Wits University, and of the Chair in Bio-Economy at the University of Cape Town. He has taught at UCT and Wits Universities, and engaged in training programmes in a number of Southern African countries. He has consulted widely for NGOs, think tanks and universities. His publications include books, monographs, book chapters and journal articles, some of which have appeared in French, Portuguese, Spanish and German.

Read more about David [here](#).
Edgardo Lander

Professor Emeritus, Central University of Venezuela, Professor at the Universidad Indígena de Venezuela and at the Universidad Andina Simón Bolívar in Quito

Edgardo is a dedicated activist intellectual and eco-socialist working to promote de-growth, decoloniality and systemic change across the South, and particularly in Venezuela. He has long been a strong critic of the oil-dependent development path that has opened territories to destructive transnational mining companies.

Edgardo has been active in the struggle against the Orinoco Mining Arch, covering large bio-diverse territories of several indigenous peoples, where all the country's main rivers are located. A government project, the territories have been opened up to transnational corporations for large scale open-pit mining in violation of the constitution and the main environmental, labour and indigenous peoples' rights laws. In 2019, he was involved with a documentary – partly funded by TNI – on the massive Arco Minero of Orinoco mining project as part of a coalition of activists, indigenous communities, academics and others opposing the project.

In January 2019, an attempted coup saw many Western governments subsequently recognising the self-proclaimed President in exile and fears that a US military intervention was imminent. Since 2017, Edgardo has been a core member of the Citizen’s Platform in Defense of the Constitution, comprised of disillusioned Chavistas critical of Venezuela’s increasingly unpopular government. The Platform has advocated for peaceful, democratic, constitutional, electoral and negotiated alternatives to the threats of US military intervention or a civil war. It proposes a constitutionally-based consultative referendum to ask the population if they want to renew all the main state institutions: Executive, Parliament, Supreme Court and the National Electoral Council. In 2019, it was the Platform, with Edgardo as its main international ambassador, that was able to provide some sober guidance on a progressive response that denounces any attempts at intervention by external military forces while also being clear about the urgent need to reclaim popular sovereignty within the country if civil war was to be avoided. Edgardo spoke to the Venezuelan situation on public platforms across the Americas and Europe, including organised by TNI. He was also in high demand from the media across the world, giving countless interviews over the course of the tumultuous year.

Edgardo has been an active member of TNI’s New Politics project, which has been concerned with learning lessons of the demise of the left in government. He produced two key publications in 2019 – a new book Crisis civilizatoria. Experiencias de los gobiernos progresistas y debates en la izquierda latinoamericana (forthcoming, Calas 2020) and a chapter, ‘The End of Neoliberal Democracy: Inequality in post-democratic capitalist societies’, published in Margaret Abrahams (ed), Sociology and Social Justice (Sage, 2019). He also argued forcefully for concrete utopias, rather than abstractions.

Meanwhile, Edgardo continued to argue for a decoloniality in respect of power in Latin America, and to participate in the Global Working Group on Beyond Development, which is working towards systemic emancipatory transformations and also involves another TNI Fellow, David Fig.

Read more about Edgardo here.
Hilary Wainwright

Independent researcher and editor of Red Pepper magazine

A life-long socialist feminist, Hilary has worked for nearly four decades on the theory and practice of participatory democracy and community wealth-building. She has documented countless examples of resurgent democratic movements from Brazil to Britain and the lessons they provide for progressive politics.

In 2019, she continued to serve as on the UK Labour Party’s ‘Community Wealth Building Commission’, an exploration of how municipalities could use public procurement powers to protect and improve local jobs, assure community well-being and strengthen democratic planning. The Commission included unions, cooperatives, community-based organisations and local governments and used the town of Preston as positive inspiration for what is possible. Hilary contributed to a longread published in The Guardian on this kind of new economic thinking emerging among progressive young economists working transatlantically. She provided input for a proposed handbook on worker and community control over public companies, drawing on research she did on public companies in Uruguay and other TNI research on similar cases. Hilary wrote an article, invoking the inspiration of the Lucas Aerospace workers of the 1970s, in support of Belfast’s Harland and Wolff shipyard workers. Facing retrenchment as their industry goes bankrupt, they have been demanding a state-supported buy-out that would enable workers to put their skills to social and environmental use by converting their industry into a producer of renewable energy. Such knowledge from below being valued in public planning is very much the central subject of Hilary’s latest, well-received book. She continued to give talks explaining A New Politics from the Left, including at the Institute of Development Studies at Sussex University, at the Socialist Theory and Movement seminar series at Glasgow University, and at The World Transformed conference.

In the context of the ongoing Brexit debates in the UK, Hilary also did research on the successful anti-austerity programme of Portugal to demonstrate that this was possible even as a member of the European Union, which TNI co-published as a longread. She took the anti-Brexit position in a debate within the left run by The New Internationalist magazine. She also co-authored a pamphlet on democratic crisis of Britain and the EU prepared for the UK Labour Party, and an article on lessons Syriza in Greece.

While the year ended with the defeat of the Corbynism in the UK elections, Hilary played an energetic role in building a politics from below and feeding the new democratic economic thinking that has informed a new generation of activists.

Read more about Hilary here.
Jun has been dedicated to emancipatory rural politics since his youthful formation in the struggles for agrarian justice in the Philippines in the 1980s and his pioneering role in the 1993 founding of La Via Campesina, the international small farmers’ movement with which TNI cooperates closely.

Jun has collaborated with the TNI Myanmar team and other Myanmar CSOs in designing and conducting a hugely successful, and still ongoing, activist course in political economy. He has collaborated with the TNI Myanmar-based team in a research project concerning crop booms and migrant farm workers in Southeast Asia (Myanmar, Vietnam) and inside China (Yunnan and Guangxi). It is part of a project looking at the links between these societies in terms of natural resource flows, labour regimes, investments, infrastructures, technology. The project is being undertaken with the College of Humanities and Development Studies at China Agricultural University, Beijing; the University of Hanoi; as well as TNI. Jun and TNI’s Agrarian and Environmental Programme often collaborate in joint initiatives, including the ongoing research being undertaken under the rubric of Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiatives (ERPI) – looking at authoritarianism and emancipatory counters in rural contexts; and the BRICS Initiative in Critical Agrarian Studies (BICAS) which looks at the agrarian politics of BRICS countries. As part of the ERPI work, he wrote ‘Agrarian social movements: The absurdly difficult but not impossible agenda of defeating right-wing populism and exploring a socialist future’.

The first edition of the Journal of Peasant Studies (JPS) writeshop was held in Beijing in 2019. Jun is the editor of JPS, which initiated the annual event with the College of Humanities and Development Studies of China Agricultural University in Beijing (where Jun is also an adjunct professor), PLAAS, Young African Researchers in Agriculture (YARA), and the Future Agricultures Consortium. The writeshops are aimed at supporting the next generation of activist-scholars from the Global South.

Meanwhile, Jun won one a prestigious advanced grant for top researchers from the European Research Council. Jun will be using the grant to build on his long-standing work on land politics, and to widen it to examine how it reshapes the geopolitics in Africa, Asia and Latin America and four spheres of global social life: food, climate change politics, labour, nation-state/citizenship. He was also cited for the second consecutive year as one of the top 1% cited researchers in his field.

Jun is also part of an ongoing research project in Mali (with Via Campesina’s CNOP) and Nigeria (with Friends of the Earth’s ERA) on conflict and political contestations at the intersection between resource grabbing and climate change politics. Anchored by FIAN International, the research will be concluded by the end of 2020. He co-wrote an article problematising land grabbing in the context of climate change politics, dubbed ‘green grabbing’, drawing on a previous project looking at the same phenomenon in Asia which was undertaken with TNI, among other partners.

Inspired by the experience of his own pilgrimage a few years ago, Jun also initiated an action research project in collaboration with Paul Nicholson (one of the founding leaders of La Via Campesina) and with community activists on the political economy of the increasing popularity of the Camino de Santiago and its implications for the local communities across the pilgrimage trail.

Read more about Jun here.
Phyllis Bennis

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

A life-long peace activist, Phyllis has worked tirelessly for decades to oppose US military interventions across the world and to champion Palestinian rights.

She serves on the Board of Jewish Voices for Peace, and is active in the Boycott, Divest, Sanctions (BDS) campaign aimed at pressuring Israel into respecting international law. Throughout 2019, Phyllis wrote numerous articles on relations between the US and Israel, particularly in light of Israel’s settlement expansion in the West Bank, siege of Gaza, and US recognition of Israel’s annexation of Syria’s Golan Heights. As Phyllis has regularly observed, the stronger the BDS campaign becomes, the more virulent become the efforts of the Israeli government and its supporters to paint all criticism of Israel as ‘anti-semitic’. Phyllis also wrote numerous articles about the dangers of false accusations of anti-semitism against progressives in the US. She pointed out that the real anti-semitic threat is clearly linked to the white supremacism unleashed in recent years, which also suggested a strong basis for unity with people of colour who are bearing the brunt of this. She gave talks to students at Hostra and Brandeis universities on Palestinian rights and US policy in the Middle East.

Phyllis also continued her work with the Poor People’s Campaign (PPC), which aims to tackle racism, poverty, militarism and climate change. Phyllis has been part of an IPS team helping PCC develop a Moral Budget, which includes calls for massive cuts in the U.S. military budget with the funds redirected to addressing social needs and climate change. Phyllis and one of PPC’s main leaders, the Reverend Dr William Barber II, also co-authored an article to this effect. Phyllis followed up with a talk at the PPC’s Freedom School for student activists. On the issue of linking war and militarism with climate, and particularly the need to cut the military budget to fund a Green New Deal and other efforts to protect the planet, she wrote further pieces for Jacobin and The Nation, and spoke at both the teach-in and rally of the Fire Drill Fridays climate protests in Washington DC, initiated by actor-activist Jane Fonda with Greenpeace, and spoke at a New Energy Economy event in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Phyllis joined Rev. Barber, IPS Executive Director John Cavanagh, Noam Chomsky and 100 other artists, intellectuals and activists in signing a petition to “strongly condemn President Trump's efforts to vilify, intimidate, and use force against refugees and asylum seekers at and approaching the U.S. border.”

She continued to comment on the toll of US wars across the world, the threat of a new war with Iran and US hypocrisy on nuclear disarmament, prospects for the end of war in Afghanistan and Nato’s legacy after 70 years.

Read more about Phyllis here.
We would like to thank all those individuals who cooperated with TNI in 2019, whose time, labour and expertise is much appreciated. Apologies in advance to anyone who was inadvertently omitted.
ORGANISATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN 2019

Netherlands 84
Southern/ Eastern Europe 56
Africa 34
Asia-Oceania 76
Southern America 44
North America 22

MÉDIA PARTNERS
- Alai (Ecuador)
- Amandla (South Africa)
- Follow the Money (Netherlands)
- La Diaria (Uruguay)
- Laura Flanders Show (USA)
- Noor Images (Netherlands)
- Open Democracy (UK)
- Platform voor Authentieke Journalistiek (Netherlands)
- Real World Radio (Uruguay)
- Red Pepper (UK)
- ROAR (Netherlands)
- The Correspondent (Netherlands)

AFRICA
(SUB)REGIONAL
- African Biodiversity Network
- Centre de Recherches et d’Appui pour les Alternatives de Développement – Océan Indien
- North African Food Sovereignty Network
- Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l’Afrique de l’Ouest
- Southern Africa Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power
- Third World Network
- Women in Mining (WOMIN)

GAMBIA
- National Coordinating Organisation of Farmer Associations

KENYA
- Dajopen Waste Management Project from Kitale

MAURITIUS
- Centre for Alternative Research and Studies

MOROCCO
- Attac Morocco
- Adrar Nouh Cooperative
- Association Senhaja

MOZAMBIQUE
- Justica Ambiental/FoE

NIGERIA
- Environmental Rights Action/FoE
- Nigeria Labour Congress
- United Action for Democracy

SOUTH AFRICA
- Alternative Information & Development Centre
- Amadiba Crisis Committee
- Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
- Groundwork/FoE
- Masifundise
- National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
- National Union of Mineworkers
- Rural Women’s Assembly
- Trust for Community Outreach & Education

TOGO
- Friends of the Earth

TUNISIA
- Al Warcha Media Collective
- Observatoire de la Souveraineté Alimentaire et de l’Environnement
- OxyGen Foundation
- Tunisian Association of Sustainable Agriculture
- Tunisian Observatory of Economy
- Tunisian Working Group on Food Sovereignty

TANZANIA
- Tanzania for Human Rights

UGANDA
- Kiwonnongo Foundation
- Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute
- National Association of Professional Environmentalists/FoE

ZAMBIAM
- Mouvement International de la Jeunesse Agricole et Rurale Catholique (MIJARC)

ZIMBABWE
- Centre for Natural Resources

WEST ASIA/MIDDLE EAST
IRAQ
- Al-Haq
- Friends of the Earth Palestine
- Gaza Urban Agriculture Platform
- Union of Agricultural Works Committees

PALESTINE
- Al-Haq
- Friends of the Earth Palestine
- Gaza Urban Agriculture Platform
- Union of Agricultural Works Committees

TURKEY
- Association of Istanbul Fishing Cooperatives
- Bogazici University

AMERICAS
REGIONAL
- Amigos de la Tierra de América Latina y Caribe
- Confederación Sindical de las Américas
- Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales
- Drogas y Derecho
- Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el neoliberalismo
- Internacional de Servicios Públicos-América Latina
- Plataforma América Latina mejor sin TLC
- Plataforma de Acuerdos Públicos Comunitarios de las Américas
- Red Intercontinental de Promoción de la Economía Social Solidaria
- Red Latinoamericana por el Acceso a Medicamentos

ARGENTINA
- ATTAC Argentina
- Centro de Estudio Legales y Sociales
- Escuela Política y Gobierno, Universidad Nacional de San Martín
- Instituto de Ciencia y Tecnología Regional
- Intercambios
- Movimiento Agroecológico de América Latina y el Caribe
- Multisectorial Antixtractivista / Campaña Gane Quien Gane
- Observatorio Petrolero del Sur

BOLIVIA
- Acción Andina
- Democracy Center

BRAZIL
- Amigos da Terra Brasil
- Associacao Brasileira Interdisciplinar de AIDs
- Homa Institute
- Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens/LVC
- Vigencia

CANADA
- International Institute for Sustainable Development
- National Farmers’ Union
- Canadian Union of Public Employees
- Municipal Services Project
- Seed Change
- University of Saskatchewan

CHILE
- Central Unitaria de Trabajadores
- Movimiento de Defensa del Agua, la Tierra y la Protección del Medioambiente
- Plataforma Chile mejor sin TLC
- Universidad Abierta de Recoleta

Transnational Institute 2019 annual report
### ORGANISATIONAL COOPERATION

**COLOMBIA**
- CENSAT Agua Viva /FOE
- Central Unitaria de Trabajadores
- Centro de Investigación y Educación Popular
- Dejusticia
- Empresas Municipales de Cali
- Observatorio de Cultivos y Cultivadores Declarados Ilícitos
- Sindicato de Trabajadores de las Empresas Municipales de Cali

**COSTA RICA**
- Asociación Costarricense para el Estudio e Intervención en Drogas
- Ecuador
- Acción Ecológica
- Centro de Derechos Económicos y Social
- Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas
- Unión de Afectados por Texaco
- El Salvador
- Asociación de Desarrollo Económico Social Santa Marta

**MEXICO**
- Asamblea Nacional de Afectado/as Ambientales de México
- Colectivo Multidisciplinario por las Alternativas Locales
- Laboratorio de Investigación en Desarrollo Comunitario y Sustentabilidad
- México Unido Contra la Delincuencia
- Unión de Científicos Comprometidos con la Sociedad

**PERU**
- Cooperación
- Saint Vincent and the Grenadines
- Cannabis Revival Community

**URUGUAY**
- Red de Ecología Social/FOE
- Cooperative Comuna

**USA**
- American Friends Service Committee
- Center for Governance and Sustainability, UMass-Boston
- Columbia Center on Sustainable Investment
- Corporate Accountability
- Democracy Collaborative
- Havens Wright Center for Social Justice, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Institute for Policy Studies
- Intercambios
- International Indian Treaty Council
- Next System Project
- No Más Muertos/No More Deaths
- Northwest Atlantic Marine Alliance
- Soulardarity
- Tellus Institute
- Washington Office on Latin America

**ASIA-OCEANIA**

**REGIONAL**
- Asia-Europe Peoples Forum
- Asian Task Force for a Binning Treaty
- EU-ASEAN FTA network, South East Asia
- Focus on the Global South
- International Indian Treaty Council
- Pacific Network on Globalisation

**AUSTRALIA**
- Australian Food Sovereignty Alliance

**INDIA**
- All India National Life Insurance Employees Federation
- Centre of Indian Trade Unions
- Chemical Mazdoor Panchayat
- Forum Against FTAs India
- Indian AEPF Committee
- ITforChange
- Joint Action Committee Against Foreign Retail and E-commerce
- POSCO Prattroth Sangram Samiti

**INDONESIA**
- Amrita Institute
- Indonesia for Global Justice
- Kesatuan Nelayan Tradisional Indonesia
- Solidarity Perempuan
- Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI/FOE)

**JAPAN**
- All Japan Water Supply Workers Union

**MALAYSIA**
- Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation

**PHILIPPINES**
- Alliance for Progressive Labour / SENTRO
- Asia People’s Movement on Debt and Development
- Institute for Popular Democracy
- Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services

**VIETNAM**
- Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation

**MONGOLIA**
- Mongolia AEPF Committee

**MYANMAR**
- KNU Central Land Committee
- Kayan National Party
- Karenni Legal and Human Right Committee
- Karenni National Progressive Party
- Karenni State Farmer Union
- Karenni Social Welfare and Development Center
- Karenni National Progressive Party
- Karenni Legal and Human Right Center
- Karen Office on Relief and Development
- Kayan National Party
- KNU Central Land Committee

**EUROPE**

**REGIONAL**
- Aqua Publica Europea
- Commons Network
- Energy Cities
- European Coordination Via Campesina
- European Network Against the Arms Trade (ENAA)
- European Public Services Union
- Friends of the Earth Europe
- Green New Deal for Europe
- MOBA Housing Network
- European Network for Community-Led Initiatives on Climate
- Municipalism Observatory
- Platform of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Europe
- Seattle to Brussels network
- Transform Europe!
- Transnational Migrant Platform

**AUSTRIA**
- Attac Austria
- Austrian Federal Chamber of Labour (AK)

**BELGIUM**
- 11.11.11 (Belgium)
- CADTM
- Client Earth (Brussels)
- Corporate Europe Observatory (Brussels)
- Fairfin
- Finance Watch
- Friends of the Earth Europe (Brussels)

**BULGARIA**
- Municipality of Burgas

**CROATIA**
- Institute for Political Ecology (Kroatia)
- Czech Republic
- Charles University

**DENMARK**
- Danish Union of Public Employees
- NOAH/FoE Denmark
ORGANISATIONAL COOPERATION

FRANCE
- Agir pour la Paix
- AITEC
- Association des Femmes Centrafricaines Ingénieurs du Développement Rural délégation Europe
- ATTAC France
- Comité de Justice et Liberté pour Tous
- Veblen Institute
- Eau de Paris
- FoE France
- France Amérique Latine
- Medicins du Monde
- Multinationals Observatory
- Pleine Mer
- Union syndicale Solidaires

GERMANY
- Asienhaus
- ATTAC Germany
- Berlin State Government
- BUND/FoE Germany
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
- Fair Oceans
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Ethnobotanical Education, Research Unit
- Berlin State Government
- ATTAC Germany
- Asienhaus
- Union syndicale Solidaires

NETHERLANDS
- Actiekeuken Rampenplan
- Action Aid
- Algemene Centrale der Openbare Diensten
- Amnesty International NL
- Amsterdam Wredeinitiatief
- ASKV/ Steunpunt Vluchtelingen
- Bijstandsbond
- Black Queer & Trans Resistance NL
- Both Ends
- Clean Clothes Campaign
- Climate Liberation Bloc
- CNV
- Code Rood
- Collectief Tegen Islamofobie en Discriminatie,
- Comité 21 Maart
- Comité 21 March
- Cordaid
- Ctrl-Alt-Delete
- De 99 van Amsterdam
- De Beovengrondse
- De Goede Zaak
- de Nieuwe Meent
- Dokters van de Wereld
- Dutch Dairymen Board
- Earthstrike
- Euro-Mediterranean Centrum Migratie & Ontwikkeling
- European Cultural Foundation
- Extinction Rebellion
- Federatie van Democratische Verenigingen van Arbeiders uit Turkije in Nederland
- FNV
- FNV Amsterdam
- Foodwatch NL
- Fossielvrij
- Fossil Free Feminists
- Foundation Max van der Stoel
- Friday's For Future
- Future Beyond Shell
- Gasteins
- Greenpeace
- Greenpeace Nederland
- Groenfront: Earthfirst
- Handel Anders
- Institute for Social Studies, Erasmus University
- Internationale Socialisten
- IZI-solutions
- Jongeren Milieu Actief
- Komitee Marokkaanse Arbeiders in Nederland
- La Benevolencia
- Maastricht for Climate
- Mainline
- Trimbos
- Health Action International
- Milieudefensie
- Nederland Wordt Beter
- NEDERLANDS
- IGO
- ROMANIA
- Ecoruralis/LVC
- SERBIA
- Center for Politics of Emancipation
- SPAIN
- PROAMAR
- ATTAC España
- Bizlur, Association for Cooperation and Development of the people
- Caravana Abriendo Fronteras
- Caravana Abrindo Fronteras
- Cátedra Tierra Ciudadana
- Centro Delás
- CommonsPolis
- Ecologistas en Acción
- Ekologiskat Marxan
- Engineers Without Borders Catalonia
- Entrepuertos
- FoE Spain
- FUHEM Ecosocial
- Fundación Al Fanar
- Fundación APY/Universidad de Sevilla
- GoiEner Cooperative
- International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research and Service
- Justice i Pau Barcelona
- Municipality of Barcelona
- Municipality of Cadiz
- Municipality of Pamplona
- Network for Energy Sovereignty Catalonia
- Novact
- Observatorio de Multinacionales en América Latina
- SETEM Catalunya
- Sindicato LAB
- SOC-SAT Trade Union
- Universidad de Cantabria
- University of Basque Country
- University of Cordoba
- Urgenci

SWEDEN
- FoE Sweden

SWITZERLAND
- Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance, World Council of Churches
- Global Commission on Drug Policy
- ProNatura/FoE Switzerland
- Society for Threatened Peoples

UKRAINE
- Commons Journal of Social Criticism
- Ukrainian Rural Development Network
- Ukrainian Small Farmers Organisation

UNITED KINGDOM
- CAGE
- Carbon Coop
- Global Drug Policy Observatory
- Global Justice Now
- International Drug Policy Consortium
- Manchester Museum Youth Collective
- Municipality of Plymouth
- New Economics Foundation
- Platform London
- Public Services International Research Unit
- Spinwatch
- Statewatch
- Trade Justice Movement
- University of Glasgow
- War on Want
- We Own It
REMEMBERING THURA MYINT LWIN (1976-2019)

The year 2019 began on a sad note with news that Thura, our colleague in Myanmar, had passed away. Thura was a pioneer and very active member of self-help groups that campaigned for greater access to ART treatment in the country. He worked tirelessly to end the discrimination and stigmatisation of people living with HIV, drug users and other marginalised groups such as sex workers and men having sex with men. He was involved in establishing the Greater Involvement of People Living with HIV/AIDS (GIPA) group in 2005, and was also one of the founders of the self-help group “Oasis” and the Myanmar Positive Group, the largest network of people living with HIV in the country. We are privileged to have worked with him since 2009, and he will always remain in our hearts.