

2023 annual report



Vision

**TNI envisages an equitable,
democratic and peaceful world in
which all life may flourish.**

Message from the Director

The world watched in horror as Israel bombed Gaza flat following the Hamas-led break-out in October 2023 from the prison that was Gaza. By the end of the year, at least 16,248 people had been killed in Gaza, 70% of whom were women and children; hundreds of thousands of people globally had taken to the streets demanding a ceasefire, and South Africa had brought a case of genocide against Israel before the International Court of Justice. Western allies, notably the USA and Germany, continued to arm Israel and provide political cover. Meanwhile, the war in Ukraine ground on with no will for peace in sight, Belarus agreed to host Russian tactical nuclear weapons, Finland joined NATO and military budgets increased yet again. At a time that international cooperation has never been more urgently required, we are in an era of permanent war. Governments are spending trillions in public money on arms, even as we are told there are insufficient public resources to address urgent social and environmental problems. Refugees from war, oppression and environmental breakdown are recast as the threat by right-wing populism, justifying ever rising security budgets, and so the pitiless cycle continues.

We are also seeing war by other means in the economic coercion being used in the competition to control resources and markets key to digital capitalism and the energy transition. This is evident in the increasingly stringent trade controls imposed on China by the USA, with geopolitical allies expected to follow suit. Protectionism and industrial policy is back, even as free trade agreements are still weaponised to throw a spanner in Southern development efforts. A case in point is the ongoing EU vs Indonesia dispute at the World Trade Organisation over Indonesia's ban on the export of nickel as part of its strategy to boost national manufacturing. Investor protections also continue to be a much used weapon in the arsenal of corporations. To our immense satisfaction, the dominoes continued to fall as more EU member states in 2023 announced they would leave the Energy Charter Treaty, realising the immense obstacle

that investor protections pose to the costs of an energy transition. Indeed, that legal protection, enshrined in thousands of other such trade and investment treaties, makes any change in the public interest very costly as many countries, particularly in the South, can attest. To remove that lynchpin would free up a lot of policy space to chart new pathways to the kind of vision to which TNI aspires.

What war and competition, rather than peace and cooperation, is producing, however, is a politics that fans the inflammatory discourse of right-wing xenophobic nationalism. As half the world heads to the polls in 2024, the shock election in 2023 of Javier Milei in Argentina and the far-right in The Netherlands may be harbingers of what is to come. The challenge for TNI, and the progressive social movements with which it allies, is to how to win the imaginations of people for more peaceful, cooperative pathways to face the challenges of the future. This was the strategic goal we set ourselves from 2021, hard as it is in the midst of warmongering.

This was the context for much of the work TNI undertook in 2023, which results you can read more about in this report. Please note we are unable to report publicly on our Myanmar work for security reasons.

We worked with 213 organisations in 49 countries around the world undertaking research, feeding campaigns and shaping public debate. A major point of convergence during the year was the Thematic Social Forum on Mining and the Extractive Economy, which TNI co-convened in Indonesia. It was attended by delegates from 53 countries representing a wide array of social movements, trade unions and intellectuals seeking a common basis for taking forward the struggle against new sacrifice zones being created in the name of the energy transition.

We also directly engaged 32 governments and 11 international institutions on policy matters, which included drugs, trade and investment regimes, energy transitions, and reigning in corporate impunity and power.

TNI invested in getting up-to-scratch on the fast changing media landscape this year, learning new ways to attract and hold audiences. The metrics in this report bear testimony to how good we have got at that, with more than one article in influential international media every week and reaching a conservatively estimated potential readership of 223 million people.

TNI welcomed a lot of new colleagues in 2023. We are honoured that zohra moosa and Ferrial Adam agreed to join our Supervisory Board, both bringing a wealth of governance experience. We created three new staff functions, ably filled by Rowan Mataram who joins our Public Alternatives team, Sara Murawski who will work in our new Knowledge Hub, and Twyla Jenner who is our first Fundraising Coordinator. We also introduced paid traineeships for the first time. Alas, we bade a sad farewell to Stephanie Olinga-Shannon, our Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation Officer, who leaves a great system for her successor, Abby Taylor, to build on.

As we approached our 50th birthday, we are delighted that 12 new Research Fellows, and 13 new Associates have agreed to join our fellowship, now a cohort of 53 amazing activist-intellectuals from all over the world, about whom you can read more below. Meanwhile, we thanked those Associates who opted not to remain in the fellowship for their many loyal years with TNI, and know we can always count on them as friends of the Institute.

On 26 July 2023, one of our Associates, Boris Kagarlitsky, a world famous sociologist was arrested in Russia and held for six months before being released with a fine to the great joy of all those who had campaigned

tirelessly for his release. Indeed, Boris proved a focus for unprecedented solidarity across a political spectrum, including many who had had differences with him in the past. Alas, the joy was short-lived as the prosecution appealed his sentence as too light and in February 2024, he was sentenced to 5 years jail. Boris is one of many who have been given draconian sentences for daring to be critical of Russia's war on Ukraine. The campaign for his release continues.

TNI's total income rose considerably in 2023 at 35%. This was mainly due to funds received on behalf of organisations working on Myanmar and the efforts of two new feminist organisations for which TNI agreed to serve as a fiscal host. We were pleased to be part of a research consortium working on the costs of Europe's green transition, and otherwise to see annual grants renewed by foundations that appreciate our work. We ended the year with a positive result, amounting to 3% of total income. This derived from unrestricted income, including interest earned on short-term fixed deposit accounts. This goes towards our continuity fund, whose target is the equivalent of one year's operational costs in the event that we might lose a major grant.

On behalf of the Institute, my heartfelt thanks to everyone who worked with and supported TNI this past year, particularly our funding partners. These are challenging times, and I am confident TNI has done you proud. We look forward to celebrating with you our half century milestone in 2024.

Warmly yours,
Fiona Dove
Executive Director, Transnational Institute

Message from the chair of the Supervisory Board

This is the first time I write this message as the Chair of TNI's Supervisory Board, having taken over this role in 2023 from Pauline Tiffen, whose term came to an end. That TNI is celebrating 50 years of existence, makes this particular report a special one.

The organisation's endurance over five decades is a testimony to its capacity to be a continuously learning and constantly evolving organisation. Even as the arenas and themes may change, TNI has remained relevant to contemporary struggles for justice writ large. The Institute plays such an important role in weaving meaningful connections among activist scholars, public intellectuals, social movements, and emancipatory initiatives across the world. In so doing, TNI encourages collaborations that speak truth to power and advance struggles for social and economic justice.

The half century milestone we are celebrating has been an occasion for me to revisit TNI's history, which I urge you to do too. Even a cursory glance at the origins story of the organisation will reveal an exciting coming together of certain individuals, ideas, the revolutionary and progressive spirit of the sixties, the hope that liberation struggles in different parts of the world engendered, and the drive of those individuals to turn their dreams into a structured, organisational form that came to be TNI. To be associated with this history, and to be aware of the personalities and the struggles out of which TNI was born, makes me very proud to play even a small role in the organisation's continuing journey.

The Supervisory Board, as its name makes clear, is an oversight and governance body. Last year, when we published a call for expressions of interest in serving on the Board, we were overwhelmed by the sheer number and quality of those who applied. This was another testimony to TNI's positive image and the world-wide appreciation of its mission and work. We were fortunate to be able to appoint two new members to the Supervisory Board: zohra moosa and Ferrial Adam, who bring us rich experiences, perspectives and insights. This will be very helpful in ensuring that TNI remains well governed, on mission and able to continue to play the role for which it has earned such respect among social movements world wide.

With the winds of its fifty year legacy behind it, we are confident that TNI is well able to navigate the choppy waters ahead. Indeed, institutions like TNI are critical right now as the world plunges to new depths of crisis – with inequality worsening, war and militarism predominating, climate change remaining unaddressed, the impunity of the powerful still intact, and the space for freedom and democracy shrinking further.

As the Supervisory Board, we thank all those who contributed to the work of the Institute in 2023. We especially thank the generous funders, who believe in TNI and share our confidence in this incredible organisation that has gone from strength to strength over five decades.

Imad Sabi
Chair of the Supervisory Board

Our mission

**TNI's mission is to serve as
a knowledge resource for
progressive social movements.**

Our goals

TNI's external goals for 2021–2025 are:

Construct:

Well-researched proposals meaningfully contribute to an elaboration of viable pathways to transformative change.

Communicate:

Narratives popularising proposals for transformative change prove high impact.

Catalyse:

Strong, united and intersectional social movements constitute a growing counter-power advocating for transformative pathways.

Our internal goals are to remain:



a relevant and effective think tank for progressive social movements.



an effective, sustainable and caring organisation.

These goals are the outcome of an extensive Strategic Planning process, which took stock of contextual conditions for our work, including assessing the current opportunities and threats for TNI. We sought input from over 300 allies and associates, and held online workshops involving our teams as well as members of our Supervisory Board.

TNI's 2023 in numbers

PUBLICATIONS

TNI launched

104

publications, long reads
and articles in

11 languages

PODCASTS

TNI released

7

podcasts, listened to

6,355
times

VIDEOS

TNI published

10

videos viewed

28,083
times

WEB

TNI's web pages
were viewed

921,694
times

NEWSLETTER

Subscriptions to TNI's
e-newsletters grew to

32,105

subscribers in 2023

PRESS

TNI's ideas were mentioned in

89

media stories, reaching a conservatively estimated audience of

223.2 million

This included stories in: Financial Times, Manila Bulletin, Guardian (Nigeria), BBC World, La Jornada, Folha de S Paulo, Al Jazeera, The Economist, The Telegraph, El Tiempo, La Vanguardia, La Repubblica, Der Spiegel, Die Welt, Politico, The Guardian (UK), Le Monde, Il Manifesto, Jacobin, El Salto, The Daily Maverick, Grist, The Syllabus, Arte TV, and The New Internationalist

SOCIAL MEDIA

TNI's ideas reached

3 million

people on social media in 2023

ACADEMIC CITATIONS

TNI associates and staff
were cited

3,324

times in academic
publications

DIALOGUE WITH POLICY MAKERS

TNI was in dialogue with
policy makers from

32

countries and

11

international organisations

How we work

For nearly 50 years, TNI's mission has been to serve emancipatory social movements world-wide. The Institute serves as an activist think tank – providing well-researched analysis, supporting public education, and the development of popular advocacy campaigns.

In all our work, we take as our 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; scientifically social and multi-disciplinary; and thematically broad, while always seeking to connect the dots.

We are not, nor have we ever been, a single issue organisation. We take an holistic, systemic view of the problems we tackle, and in choosing where to focus, we look for the leverage to open up space for change in the longer term.

Our theory of change typically involves a combination of:

- quality knowledge (co)-production;
- strategic framing of the public debate and media outreach;
- coalition-building through continuous and respectful engagement;
- social mobilisation through campaigns;
- and direct engagement with policy-makers, law makers and political representatives.

TNI's success rests on the level of trust and respect achieved over the decades which allows the Institute to play an active role at all these levels.



TNI worked directly with
213 partners in 49 countries,
as well as through 49 global and 39 regional networks.

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, and numerous issue-specific 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. We want to ensure a seat at the table for those being advocated for.

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.

Achievements in 2023

TNI achieved important progress in 2023 toward the equitable, democratic and peaceful world we envision. At the policy level, we celebrated more nails driven into the coffin of one of the biggest barriers to climate action – the Energy Charter Treaty and its investor protections; and put a critique of green colonialism squarely on the public agenda. At the same time, we played a key role in uniting organisations around a shared vision of energy democracy, and provided persuasive arguments for why only public power pathways can really effect the change we need. We continued to publish cutting-edge analyses to challenge the growing menace of digital capitalism, and advocated for ending the moratorium on taxation of transnational e-commerce. In response to the juggernaut of militarism, with a particular focus on the endless war in Ukraine and the Israeli decimation of Palestine, we offered vitally important counter-narratives helping to shift public opinion more in favour of peace. We drew the connections between securitisation and a number of key issues, from drug policy to migration to climate change, and proposed more just and equitable approaches. With our proposals and counter-narratives, we reached impressive audiences around the world.

Towards a just and equitable energy transition



For more than a century, energy corporations have used their power and wealth to influence policy and create a global energy system that puts their profit-making above all else, even life on earth. As temperatures rise and climate change accelerates, the urgent need to transform our energy system has never been clearer. TNI aims to take energy back from the market and put it in the hands of the people. Together with a growing worldwide movement, we are working toward an energy system based on public ownership and participatory, democratic management, with human rights and equality at its heart.

Getting the facts straight for a just and equitable energy transition

In 2023, as energy corporations manoeuvred to profit from the crisis they created, TNI worked to build knowledge and expose false narratives that threaten a truly just and equitable energy transition. A new publication dispelled the most dangerous energy policy myths: in clear language, we picked apart false claims that the private sector, free markets, cheaper prices, decentralisation, intellectual property rights, free trade and investment are the obvious strategies for decarbonising the energy system. National case studies featuring the United Kingdom, Costa Rica, Mexico, Tunisia and the Netherlands provided concrete examples of the disastrous consequences of privatisation of energy systems and the grave risks of public-private partnerships.

The report 'Green' Multinationals Exposed, co-published with our allies in the European Network of Corporate Observatories, scrutinised the business models of 15 multinationals that purport to be 'green'. Our research showed that despite such claims, the companies are still backing dirty energy in one way or the other. Many continue to engage in projects linked to human rights

and environmental abuses, and all continue to manipulate public policy and public finance for private gain. We discussed the findings, as well as the paths toward a decarbonised public power system rooted in justice, solidarity and democracy, in a webinar and an online strategy meeting. The meeting drew some 40 activists from the Public Energy Alliance, an informal network working together promote the public pathways narrative.

Who is the energy transition intended to serve? Energy for what and for whom? These were some of the key questions behind the book, *Dismantling Green Colonialism: Energy and Climate Justice in the Arab Region*, a collection of our recent work on the issue. Using a class-conscious climate justice approach that challenges Eurocentrism, the book analysed the energy transition across diverse countries in the region, featuring new work on green hydrogen in Morocco, the greenwashing of settler colonialism in Palestine and the Jawlan, the role of the Gulf Arab states in the energy transition and the severe socioeconomic impacts of Jordan's shift to renewable energies. Centring the voices of activists, scholars and writers from the Arab region, the book received widespread media attention and was the basis of many workshops and events across universities and public spaces in Morocco, Tunisia, the UK and Germany. In related work, we showed how IMF loans are an obstacle for a just transition in North Africa. An article on the topic, using Egypt as a case study, examined how IMF policies – ending energy subsidies, increasing VAT rates and currency devaluation – have induced inflation and benefited the richest segments of the population.

Building power for a public-led energy transition

TNI's critical insights and analysis have contributed to a stronger narrative and a growing global movement behind public power. At the beginning of the year, we proudly launched the Energy Democracy Declaration, a key outcome of the Our Future is Public conference (2022), held in Chile. Co-published with some 20 organisations worldwide, the declaration outlines the way forward to ensure clean, affordable energy for all. By the end of the year, more than 50 organisations had endorsed it.

Our efforts to link labour and environmental justice movements is bearing fruit. In October, more than 100 climate justice activists, trade union members and representatives, labour organisers, researchers and academics from around 15 countries and 4 continents convened in Amsterdam for The Global Climate Jobs conference. The conference was an important space for alliance-building between climate, labour and social movements. TNI was involved in the coordinating committee and actively participated in a number of sessions and workshops, as well as film screenings of *The Energy of Emptiness* and *Everything Must Change*, co-created by a TNI colleague.

We brought our narrative on an inclusive and just energy transition to key social movement spaces, including the Global Thematic Social Forum (TSF) on Mining and Extractivism in Indonesia, attended by more than 300 people from frontline communities and their allies in 53 countries. TNI was proud to serve on the International Organising Committee and co-organise four workshops during the forum. This included a session with trade unions discussing industrial policy and critical minerals. In other sessions, participants discussed the threats of increased mining for renewable technologies and developed shared positions, reflected in a declaration emphasising affected communities' 'right to say no' and a common action agenda to reclaim the just transition narrative. We also took our messages directly to policymakers. A side event at the UN climate conference COP28, *Towards an effective, equitable and just transition in partnership with women, youth, and communities in Africa*, provided a platform for direct engagement with Ugandan policymakers. The session in the Uganda Pavilion was co-hosted with the Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute (SEATINI) Uganda, among other allies.



'Thanks to the cooperation with TNI, the Working Group for Energy Democracy (trade union activists) was able to access various spaces and form partnerships with other organisations. For example, the Working Group participated in events organised by Tunisian and international organizations, such as the conference "For a Public Future" held in Chile in 2022 and the IFI Counter-Summit in Marrakech in 2023.'

Ilyess Ben Ammar, Working Group for Energy Democracy, Tunisia

A crucial voice for peace and collective security



In a context of escalating conflict worldwide, TNI focuses attention on the need to de-securitise and de-militarise public policies, so that societies truly become safer. We are building a new narrative about the need for collective security which is guided by principles of peace, well-being, care, solidarity, human rights and democracy. In 2023, TNI called for de-militarisation and de-securitisation with respect to a wide range of issues, including climate change, migration and drugs.

Climate and militarisation

Building on our analysis in *Climate Collateral* (2022), we continued to drive home the message that increased military spending accelerates climate breakdown. Not only does militarisation increase carbon emissions, it also diverts resources and attention away from the urgent, existential threat of climate change. A new report, *Climate Crossfire*, showed that if NATO members increase their military spending to 2% GDP, trillions would be siphoned away from climate action, including sorely needed climate adaptation measures for low- and middle-income countries. Major media outlets, including Al Jazeera, the Guardian and Democracy Now, highlighted TNI's analysis. Meanwhile, as part of the Global Days Against Military Spending, activists worldwide took part in some 100 actions to drive home the fact that 'War Costs Us the Earth'. TNI was pleased to serve on the Steering Committee for the campaign, which received more than 40,000 views on social media.



'As our world becomes ever more militarised at a time of climate breakdown, the unity of peace and climate movements is critical if we want to achieve climate justice. That is why TNI's decade-long research and analysis on the intersection of militarism and climate was not only prescient, it has also been invaluable to climate movements worldwide.'

Tasneem Essop, Executive Director, Climate Action Network International

A narrative of demilitarisation and peace in Europe and beyond

TNI provides valuable analysis and support to movements in Europe that are defending the rights of refugees and migrants, and calling for an end to securitisation of borders. At the 'No-Borders Camps' in the Netherlands and Ireland, both attended by some 100 participants, we shared our insights with activists, including in a two-hour workshop on the border security industrial complex. New research in 2023 focused attention on the situation in the Balkans. With the report *Repackaging Imperialism*, we showed how the EU has funded the International Organisation of Migration to develop a transnational security apparatus in the region, and to test and fine-tune Europe's migration policies.

On International Refugee Day, we published a long-read article describing how the EU has used the war in Ukraine to expand its border regime. The piece was shared on social media by several members of the European Parliament, reaching tens of thousands of readers. Given the challenge of addressing and preventing border violence in Europe, we also developed a short communication and messaging guide, *Telling the Story of EU Border Militarisation*. Co-authored with Equinox, EuroMed Rights, Privacy International and Statewatch, the guide describes how to communicate

effectively about the issue. For our part, despite an undeniably difficult context, we managed to influence public discourse in 2023: major media outlets in the Netherlands and Belgium published articles drawing from our work to expose corporate profiteering, brutality and human rights violations on EU borders.

We also made the crucial connection between European militarism and Israel's genocidal war on the Palestinian people in Gaza. A long-read entitled *All roads lead to Jerusalem* looked at the linkages between EU border surveillance and Israeli apartheid. Two opinion pieces, published in the *EU observer* in October and November, drew attention to EU funding and support for Israeli arms companies. The articles were used as the basis for questions in the European Parliament, and caught the attention of parliamentarians in Ireland and Denmark. At the annual meeting of the Danish chapter of Transform! Europe, a network of think tanks linked to European left parties, we presented our research to political leaders from several European countries, as well as European journalists and others.

Thankfully, TNI is not alone in our conviction that a peaceful world is possible. In 2023, we worked together with diverse movements to amplify the call for peace. We were pleased to participate in and moderate the opening panel of the International Summit for Peace in Ukraine, where over 600 people from 32 countries came together to call for peace. We also joined allies at the Future Factory conference in Rome, where we presented our work and discussed proposals for active peace-building, conflict prevention and civilian conflict management. Over 100 people attended the event, which included workshops, discussions, plenaries and performances.

Toppling Big Tech



TNI is working to create a diverse, democratic and inclusive technological world. In 2023, we stepped up our focus on Big Tech, the subject of our flagship State of Power report and companion podcast, which featured an interview with tech/sci-fi writer Cory Doctorow. The report delved into the key challenges and possibilities of the digital world – from the role of finance in Big Tech to the digital defence industry, from data extractivism to people's movements working to regaining power over technology. Well-received by academics, activists and important thought leaders, including The Syllabus, Tactical Tech and the European Association of Development Institutes, the report significantly contributed to knowledge on the topic of digital power. A Spanish version of the report was co-published with and promoted by the Latin American Council of Social Sciences and Fuhem Ecosocial.

Key to toppling Big Tech is building knowledge and awareness among civil society and policymakers, particularly in the Global South. To that end, we engaged with allies to connect the dots between digitalisation and labour rights, environmental justice and feminism. At the Global Youth Forum on Youth Employment and Decent Work, coordinated by young workers' representatives of the Global Union Federations, we discussed the relationship between digitalisation and decent work with some 150 people. And at an expert dialogue, 'Worker Data Rights in the Digital Economy', organised by the Friedrich Ebert Stiftung and IT for Change, we discussed trade union organising and digital economy policy developments in Latin America. The dialogue was attended by EU policymakers, as well as representatives from European trade unions, civil society organisations and researchers. At a hybrid event, Ecologist dialogues, organised by Acción Ecológica and attended by some 50 people, we turned our attention to

the intersection between digital technologies and the environment. A new briefing paper on the topic looked at the environmental impacts of the e-commerce agenda. Finally, we engaged with feminist economists and digital rights activists, including in the online roundtable 'Claiming the Cyborgian dream in the AI Paradigm: Co-constructing an Agenda for Feminist Digital Justice'. The roundtable was organised by our ally ITforChange at RightsCon, the biggest digital human rights event worldwide.

Digital trade

Building on our extensive expertise on trade, TNI sounded the alarm about the threats of current e-commerce negotiations, which aim to liberalise cross-border data trade and create a permanent moratorium on customs duties on electronic transmissions. Proposed digital trade clauses in trade negotiations hinder digital industrialisation, restrict state oversight of corporations, and undermine the rights of people, particularly in developing countries. Such clauses can affect everything from the right to privacy, the nature and functioning of public services, the possibility of economic development and industrialisation, the accountability of government and even the quality of democracy itself.

In 2023, TNI took our analysis and advice directly to policymakers in several key fora. Prior to formal discussion by EU Parliamentarians on the drafting of an EU AI Act, we co-organised a workshop on digital trade in the EU Parliament. In a positive sign, the Parliament subsequently agreed that future legislation should ensure that AI systems are safe, transparent, traceable, non-discriminatory and environmentally friendly.

At the international level, we co-organised a submission on the proposed Global Digital Compact, an initiative of the UN Secretary-General as part of the planned Summit of the Future. The submission was co-authored by our allies in the Global Digital Justice Forum, a multisectoral group of development organisations, digital rights networks, trade unions, feminist groups, corporate watchdogs and communication rights campaigners. In two sessions of the WTO Public Forum, attended by more than 3,000 people from civil society, academia, business, government, international organisations, we

shared our analysis on the implications of trade agreements on AI regulation in the Global South and the EU's Carbon Border Adjustment Mechanism. We followed up on these and other key issues in direct meetings with policymakers, in anticipation of the 2024 WTO ministerial conference. We also responded to the decision by the U.S. government to withdraw its support for WTO digital trade proposals. In an article explaining the significance of the decision, TNI called on other countries to follow suit and reject Big Tech's further accumulation of power in the global economy.

The future of the digital economy was the theme of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development's (UNCTAD) 'eWeek' in Geneva, Switzerland in December. TNI organised a session on the environmental impacts of digitalisation regulations and participated in no less than four other panels. Our contributions touched on a range of topics, including digital public infrastructure strategy, international tax reform to make eCommerce work, addressing the gender divide in e-commerce and the implications of emerging technology regulations on digital trade negotiations. The sessions included a speaker from UNCTAD, among others. Upon invitation, TNI also met several times with the Latin America and the Caribbean department of UNCTAD to discuss developments around digital trade and regulation in the region.

At the national level, TNI participated and spoke in several high-level events in Argentina involving leading government officials and trade union leaders. Our interventions focused on the impact of AI in the world of work and the implications of the digital trade agenda, as well as trends and challenges in international cooperation on personal data protection and artificial intelligence. As a result of our advocacy, the Argentinian government changed its position on the e-commerce customs duties moratorium and invited TNI to advise on its strategies towards the next WTO Ministerial Conference. Meanwhile, some 70 groups from Latin America, signed a letter saying they do not want digital trade rules in the region – the first collective effort in Latin America around the issue of digital trade. TNI co-organised a workshop aimed at building a common agenda among CSOs engaged with digital rights in Latin America, including a focus on digital trade rules.

The path to trade justice



TNI aims to make space for equitable, fair and sustainable economic practices that prioritise people and the planet. Creating such a system requires a complete overhaul of the international trade and investment regime, particularly investor protection regimes that privilege corporate interests above sound public policy, posing an enormous barrier to social, digital, environmental and climate justice.

Pointing the way out of investor protection

In 2023, we worked to show that a future free of investment protection is both possible and essential. Our work in Colombia produced significant results, setting an example for other countries around the world. Early in the year, we collaborated with Colombian CSOs, trade unions and social movements to urge the government to establish a commission to audit its Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs), which include Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS). To further this goal, TNI published an analysis, building on previous work on ISDS cases in Colombia. We also co-organised a strategy meeting with Colombian CSOs to share our experience of Ecuador's audit, which led to Ecuador's termination of numerous BITs. Our research undergirded a CSO statement, signed by more than 200 Colombian, regional and international organisations, asking the Colombian government to review its investment and free trade agreements.

Our collective advocacy was strengthened by another report, published with Public Services International (PSI) and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, which delved into the details of Bilateral Investment Treaties and investment protection in Latin America and the Caribbean, where investors have brought – and won – a huge number of claims against countries. Public services in the Crosshairs focused on the profound negative impacts of investment protection on the public sector, including cases related to water and electricity, waste management, pensions, health care and more. It also showed that another path is possible and called on governments in the region to follow the lead of other countries that have already exited the investment protection system.

In May, TNI took part in an international mission to Colombia to build knowledge about the impact of BITs and ISDS and to catalyse action. Activities included public forums at the Universidad Industrial de Santander and University of Bogotá, a workshop attended by some 130 people from more than 30 CSOs, and a public hearing in the Colombian Congress. During the mission, we celebrated the announcement of the Colombian Minister of Trade that the government would renegotiate its trade agreements. The results of the international mission were shared in a report and presented at a webinar attended by 80 people, including the Director of Foreign Investment in Colombia.



'I became involved in social and political activism because I saw the need to defend the Páramo de Santurbán and its water resources, which are threatened by mining multinationals that want to exploit natural resources. One of the greatest merits of TNI is its ability to link these types of local experiences and struggles with many others at a global level, from the diagnosis and identification of organisational strategies to the technical critique of the mechanisms of international law that promote the neo-colonial logic. TNI's commitment in Colombia to causes such as #FrenemosDemandasInternacionales [Let's Stop International Lawsuits] confirms its work for a more just world.'

Jennifer Pedraza Sandoval, Colombian Member of Congress

Together with allies, we also turned our attention to the Netherlands. A new report, Dutch Bilateral Investment Treaties: 60 years of protecting multinationals, highlighted the Netherlands' pivotal role in facilitating ISDS claims as a major conduit country. The report described how Dutch BITs are

seen by multinationals as the ‘gold standard’ of investment protection, making the country a prime location from which companies can make ISDS claims. We underscored the importance of ending Dutch BITs in order to create equitable, democratic and environmentally sustainable societies.

Our long-term work on investment protection is paying off. Important actors are picking up our narrative and taking action to end ISDS. We were pleased to share our evidence and analysis about the impacts of ISDS in a meeting with the UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and the Environment. His subsequent report to the UN General Assembly carried the potent title: ‘Paying polluters: the catastrophic consequences of investor-State dispute settlement for climate and environment action and human rights’.

Tackling trade barriers to climate action

One treaty in particular is being aggressively used by polluters to block climate action and push the world toward climate catastrophe: the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT). As part of our work toward realising a just and equitable transition, TNI persisted in our vital efforts to rid the world of the ECT. A top priority in 2023 was to raise awareness and prevent ECT expansion in the Global South. Our work with partners in Bangladesh, Nigeria, Tanzania and Uganda helped build momentum against the treaty among civil society actors and policymakers. Together with Ugandan partners, we co-published a paper on the current status of ECT and the risks of accession, and provided clear recommendations for East Africa countries. A webinar on the subject, attended by 50 representatives of civil society organisations in the region, provided in-depth insights into the ECT, its implications for Africa and climate action.

During the workshop, we also discussed lessons from Europe, where the tide is turning away from the ECT, thanks to years of effort by TNI and allies. As part of the European trade justice movement, in 2023 TNI maintained pressure on EU decision-makers to ensure that the EU follows through on a coordinated withdrawal from the Treaty. In July, in a momentous step forward, the European Commission officially declared the ECT and ISDS incompatible with the EU’s energy and climate goals, and the autonomy of EU law, echoing

the narrative of TNI. In a proposal to the European Council, the Commission formally called for the EU’s withdrawal from the ECT, describing it as ‘the only available solution.’



‘ActionAid Bangladesh, with support from TNI and ActionAid Netherlands, embarked on a successful advocacy and campaign to stop accession to the ECT by the government of Bangladesh. With our partners, we developed a position paper on ECT, communication materials for campaigns and organised public events. We reached at least 219,494 people across Bangladesh in 2023. We empowered CSOs, media, youth and activists with knowledge on ECT and its implications. As a result of our relentless advocacy, the State Ministry of Energy expressed a willingness to revisit the ECT matter before making a final decision. During this period, the continuous mentoring role of TNI, Power Shift and ActionAid Netherlands significantly increased our capacities.’

Abul Kalam Azad, ActionAid Bangladesh

Holding the line against free trade and investment agreements

TNI is successfully connecting and strengthening social movements across sectors and geographies to hold the line against harmful free trade and investment agreements. In January, we shared our insights on trade and investment agreements during the Community of Latin American and Caribbean States (CELAC) Social Summit. Organised by trade unions and held in Argentina prior to the CELAC Summit of Heads of State, the Social Summit was attended by over 100 organisations from the region, as well as journalists, academics, and government officials, including the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Venezuela. The Summit concluded in a declaration, prepared and sent to the Presidential Summit of CELAC, with the demand to withdraw from FTAs and BITs.

Later in the year, we joined Members of the European Parliament and more than 50 CSOs from Latin America and the EU in a Counter-Summit in the European Parliament, held in parallel to the EU-CELAC Summit of Heads of State and Government in Brussels. During the half-day conference, we joined representatives of CSOs, social movements, farmers' organisations, workers' unions and MEPs, as well as parliamentarians and governmental representatives from Latin American countries to evaluate lessons learned from decades of activism and experience on the topic of trade relations between the EU and Latin America and the Caribbean and to outline a new trade relationship for the 21st century. We used the opportunity to co-organise two speaker tours. Environmental and trade union activists from Latin America helped to raise awareness in the EU among organisations and policymakers about the potential impacts of the EU-Mercosur deal.

A new report, co-published with allies, helped show the gendered impacts of the Mercosur-EU agreement, with a focus on Brazil, Argentina, Paraguay and Uruguay. TNI facilitated further discussion and action on the topic by co-organising a two-day seminar in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The seminar, which was attended by 50 CSO delegates and two public officials, advanced understanding of economic violence and trade and investment as feminist issues and widened engagement in the Stop EU-Mercosur campaign. In

2023, more than 1.3 million people demanded a stop to the EU-Mercosur agreement.

In Indonesia, TNI helped build knowledge and hold the line against several agreements under negotiation. In the context of increasing demand for key minerals used in renewable and digital technology, Indonesia banned the export of critical raw minerals so as to build its industrial base, prompting the EU to file a lawsuit against the country with the World Trade Organization (WTO). A new report, *Between a mineral and a hard place*, analysed the tensions behind the policy and its implications in relation to the international trade and investment regime in general, and to the Indonesia-EU Comprehensive Economic Partnership Agreement (IEU-CEPA) in particular. We also shared our critique of the US Indo-Pacific Economic Framework through participation in a stakeholder meeting organised by the Office of the United States Trade Representative and a subsequent demonstration involving activists. Finally, we drew the connections between trade and transition minerals in a session at the WTO public forum and in a meeting with the Permanent Mission of Indonesia to the WTO, where we discussed Indonesian civil society concerns regarding the WTO, ongoing trade negotiations and the EU's WTO lawsuit.



‘Through collaboration with TNI, we are strengthening our work with grassroots networks in several sectors in Indonesia. We are strengthening knowledge that helps the network, as well as developing work on issues that arise from below. Connecting grassroots networks at the local level to international networks, and vice versa, provides good value for all parts of the chain of connectivity, both in issue development, as well as campaign and advocacy activities, as we are currently doing with the TNI on digitalisation issues, energy transition/critical minerals and global trade.’

Olisias Gultom, HINTS/Sahita Institute

Democratic global governance



The UN multilateral system is increasingly under threat: under the guise of multistakeholderism, corporations are worming their way into global decision-making spaces to advance their own interests: profit-making at the expense of people and planet. Allowing corporations to determine the shape of global governance risks undoing the multilateral system, further marginalising countries in the Global South and diminishing the power of civil society in global governance.

Fortunately, TNI and our allies in the People's Working Group on Multistakeholderism (PWGM) have made great strides in putting the issue on the agenda and building a powerful cross-sectoral movement to promote a democratic and inclusive State-led global governance system, with a key role for civil society institutions and social movements.

Multistakeholderism in global education, health and food governance

New analysis in 2023 helped expose the threat of multistakeholderism in relation to major global concerns, including health, education and food. A chapter by TNI in the annual Global Health Watch documented the rise and future of multistakeholderism in and beyond the global health sphere, while a new report, Multistakeholderism in global education governance, assessed the link between multistakeholder policymaking and the privatisation of education. Following publication of the latter report, TNI co-organised a two-day international seminar in São Paulo, Brazil, attended by academics, CSOs and trade unions, to discuss the threats that privatisation, digitalisation and current global governance systems pose for access to education.

Our struggle against corporate capture of global food governance continued in 2023. We provided financial and technical support to African partners in the Civil Society and Indigenous Peoples Mechanism (CSIPM) at the UN

Committee on World Food Security for their research on the corporate capture of global food governance spaces. Their subsequent report, which was launched at a side event during the 51st session of the UN Committee on World Food Security, demanded policies to reclaim food sovereignty and the rejection of the multistakeholderism of the United Nations Food Systems Summit. In an online public event co-organised by the CSIPM and the People's Working Group on Multistakeholderism, TNI described the background to the topic of Multilateralism vs Multistakeholderism – The case of food. The programme featured an impressive line-up, including the Chair of the G77 in New York, ambassadors to the UN, a representative of the Brazilian Presidency, the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, academics, peasant organisations and civil society representatives. Panellists discussed the future governance architecture of the UN with a debate on the food domain.

Defending multilateralism in the UN Summit of the Future

Multistakeholderism reared its ugly head during preparations for the UN Summit of the Future (SOTF), to be held in 2024. In response, TNI co-organised a two-day online strategy workshop with civil society representatives involved in the SOTF process and engaged in advocacy towards key actors in the G77. Our analysis caught the attention of the Chair of the G77, who asked TNI to advise the group on textual matters with respect to the scope and elements of SOTF. To that end, TNI organised two briefings on the impacts of multistakeholderism on global governance and the implications for developing countries, first for G77 ambassadors to the UN in New York, and then again in Geneva for all the UN hubs of the G77 group. The latter was attended by about 55 delegates, including heads of missions, and was chaired by Cuba's permanent representative to the UN.

Together with the South Centre, TNI co-published Multistakeholderism: Is it good for developing countries?. Among other things, the report described how multistakeholderism erodes the sovereignty of states, shifts decision-making power out of multilateral spaces, and reduces accountability and

trust in the UN system. Our analysis provided the basis for meetings with delegates to the UN from Argentina, Brazil, Namibia and Bolivia, as well as presentations at a public forum, co-organised in New York with the South Centre, Corporate Accountability and ESCR-Net, entitled Multistakeholderism and the UN 2.0 Challenges and Alternatives for Developing Countries. The Forum was attended by delegates from Pakistan, Cuba and South Africa. In another presentation, to members of the Conference of Non-Government Organisations in Consultation with the UN (CoNGO), we underscored the importance of civil society involvement in the UN.

Our efforts contributed to a major victory for multilateralism in 2023. Thanks to opposition by G77 governments and civil society, references to multistakeholderism in the proposed agenda of the Summit of the Future were removed. The 2024 Summit, which is tasked with adopting an action-oriented Pact for the Future and is likely to address governance of the global commons – including oceans, the atmosphere, outer space, Antarctica and the sea bed – will now be a multilateral space.



‘The South Centre, the intergovernmental organisation for developing countries, has closely collaborated with the Transnational Institute in different projects focused on the social and economic transformation of the South. These initiatives have allowed us to increase our interaction with civil society organisations and people in developing countries while promoting South Intellect and capacities for progress and development among people from the South.’

Daniel Uribe, The South Centre

Board Report

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

1. strengthening the capacity of progressive international social movements to advocate for change
2. acting as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy makers
3. producing rigorous research and analysis
4. organising international conferences; and
5. collaborating with other organisations worldwide

Governance

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 2023

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, approving strategic plans, budgets, annual reports, policies and to discuss operational progress. 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 2023 was as follows:

Imad Sabi, Chairperson	01/03/2021 – 28/02/2025 (1st term)
Frenk van Enckevort, Secretary	15/06/2022 – 14/06/2026 (2nd term)
Ruth Kronenburg, Treasurer	29/10/2022 – 28/10/2026 (2nd term)
zohra moosa	30/10/2023 – 29/10/2027 (1st term)
Ferrial Adam	30/10/2023 – 29/10/2027 (1st term)

In 2023, we expanded the Supervisory Board to five. We are very fortunate to have found two excellent new Board members in zohra moosa and Ferrial Adam. They also assure some continuity beyond 2026.

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 Directors, Communication Coordinator, Evaluation Officer, and Fundraising Coordinator. In addition, the contact point at Jac's Den Boer en Vink, which administers TNI's accounts, reports to her.

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, a Programme Director, a Project Coordinator and the Communication Coordinator, which meets weekly. The gender breakdown for the Management Team in 2023 was 50:50

The Supervisory Board determines the remuneration of the Executive Director. It refers to the guidelines provided by Goede Doelen Nederland and the Dutch Government (Wet Normering Topinkomens) for purposes of comparison.

Remuneration of the Executive Director:

	2023	2022
	€	€
Gross salary	93.820	89.080
Holiday pay	7.506	7.126
End of year payment	500	500
	101.826	96.708
Taxes and premiums paid by TNI	11.915	10.711
Pension contribution from TNI	17.204	16.858
	130.945	124.275

Composition of the International Fellowship

As currently laid down in the Institute's by-laws, Fellows serve a four-year term, renewable once. We had also evolved a looser category of Associates, comprised of former Fellows, Supervisory Board members, and staff, as well as other researchers and scholars who make substantial ongoing contributions to the TNI. Together, they have constituted the 'think tank' dimension of TNI, bringing our institute vision, new ideas, expertise, creativity, guidance and advice that helps us stay ahead of the curve and connects us to the needs of social movements today.

In line with TNI's current five-year Strategic Plan, the definition and role of Fellows and Associates has been reconceptualised within the newly established Knowledge Hub. The whole cohort is now called the Fellowship, and is comprised of Associates and Research Fellows. Associates are defined as internationalist public intellectuals with a track record of progressive activist-scholarship, a passionate commitment to social change and a history of collaboration with TNI. Research Fellows comprise a diverse group of experts, as well as activists and artists, collaborating with specific TNI programmes or the Knowledge Hub. For both categories, the term of office is three years. In 2024, the TNI Articles of Association and By-laws will be amended accordingly.

The process

In May 2023, we invited existing staff and Associates to nominate candidates as Research Fellows and Associates. Meanwhile, 28 existing Associates confirmed that they wished to remain Associates. In July 2023, a committee comprised of an Associate, a senior staff member, a dedicated freelance team member, the Knowledge Hub Coordinator and the Director, then shortlisted candidates. The result is that 13 new Associates, and 12 new Research Fellows have joined the Fellowship, bringing the total complement to 53 people. Of these, 43% are women (up from 31%), 38% are from the South (up from 33%), and the average age has dropped considerably with 29% in their 40s (up from 5%). We will continue to strive for improved gender and North-South balance.

Composition of the International Advisory Board

The International Advisory Board, and its composition, is also under consideration in line with the new five-year Strategic Plan. It was not operational in 2023.

Organisation

TNI puts a lot of effort into ensuring it acts internally in ways consistent with its values. Our internal organisational culture is non-hierarchical and highly consultative. As far as possible, decisions are taken through a process of consensus-building. Monthly staff meetings are held where news is exchanged, and consultations on policy are held.

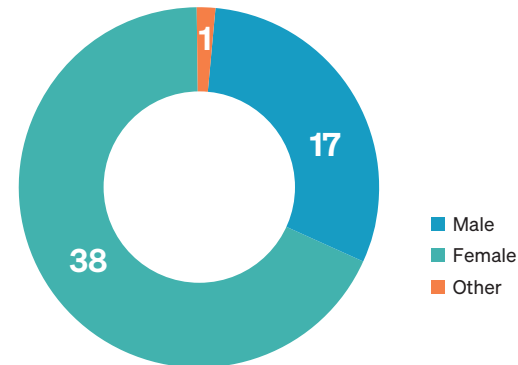
While most staff are expected to be self-steering, there are also clear lines of accountability and recognition of the authority of the team leader to make final decisions. The gender breakdown for senior staff is 59% women, 41% men.

There is no hierarchy in respect of public representation with all team members encouraged to accept public speaking engagements, and to engage with the media.

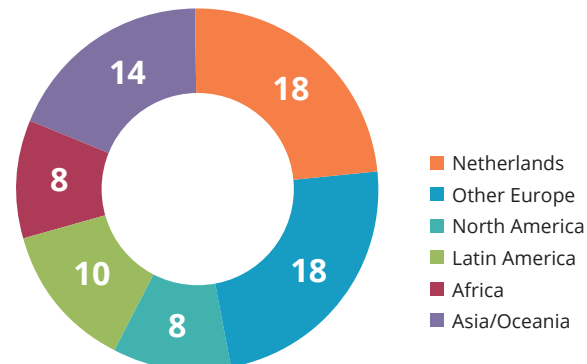
Fair Employer

In line with TNI's vision and values, we are an equal opportunities employer with a strict policy of non-discrimination and a commitment to strive for as much diversity as possible within the organisation. Thirteen nationalities are represented among our total complement of 32 staff, of whom 64.5% are women. 20% of our staff are from the Global South. Of our regular freelance team members, 79% are from the Global South and 68% are women.

Gender breakdown – All TNI workers



Regional diversity – All TNI workers



Staff

TNI is registered as an employer in The Netherlands, Belgium and the United Kingdom. The average number of FTEs over the year was 26.69 (in 2022: 23.94) – representing an increase of 2.75 FTE on the previous year.

By the end of 2023, the foundation had 28.16 full time equivalent (FTE) employees (in 2022: 24.04) on the payroll, representing an increase of 4.12 FTE. This represents 32 individuals (in 2022: 26). The six new staff who came onto the payroll included two people who had previously worked freelance for TNI, three filling new functions, and trainees.

TNI introduced paid traineeships for the first time. These are 0.89 – 1.0 FTE positions at minimum wage for six months each. This year, we prioritised training in communications. We were pleased to receive a Polish artist and a Colombian journalist. Evaluations suggest it was a very mutually satisfactory experience.

TNI takes seriously its value of being a caring organisation. One staff member was granted 2 months additional unpaid parental leave, while TNI continued to pay full pension premiums over this period. Two other staff members were booked off ill for extended periods, with every effort made to support their recovery and gradual reintegration into the workplace.

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, and any salary increases agreed in the CAO. In 2023, staff saw salary increases of 2% from 1 January and an additional 7% from 1 July. The ratio of the highest:lowest gross salary was 1:2 (calculated on the basis of full-time equivalent, and assuming equal years of service).

There is a training budget set at 1% of the personnel budget, and guided by a training policy. In 2023, TNI spent € 14,000 on training. External trainers were brought in for training on campaign content, and on resilience in the face of online hate. A four-person team was trained as office emergency first

responders, as is required by regulation. Eight individuals benefited from training in leadership, messaging, campaigning, writing long reads, EU project proposal design, Spanish language and attendance at an innovation retreat. Staff also self-organised weekly lunch-time accelerator sessions for self-education purposes.

The costs of the employees on the payroll rose by 22% in 2023. This was due to the increase in FTEs, the introduction of traineeships, internal promotions, and salary increases, with concomitant increases in the costs of pension contributions and employers' taxes and social security contributions.

	2023	2022
	€	€
Salaries	1.443.872	1.187.617
Social security	240.265	204.653
Pension premiums	125.049	109.432
Sickness insurance	28.774	14.989
Other personnel costs	53.582	38.879
Total	1.891.542	1.555.570

Volunteers and Interns

Volunteers are paid an honorarium in line with Dutch tax regulations. TNI had 7 volunteers in the course of 2023. Half are retired people who have kindly volunteered to take on such tasks as gardening, handyman, and general office support. Others donate their time to supporting programmes.

Interns, defined as students, are also paid an honorarium in line with Dutch norms. We welcomed 3 interns hailing from Brazil, Italy and the Netherlands. They were studying at Malaga University (Phd), Wageningen (MA) and Maastricht (MA) universities. One was based in Thailand for his internship.

Consultants

TNI contracted a total of 40 consultants in 2023, of whom 58% were women and 73% from the Global South. They worked from Morocco, Tunisia, Egypt, Indonesia, India, Myanmar, Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Uruguay, USA, Germany, Denmark, Spain, France, as well as the UK and the Netherlands. 60% of our consultants are considered to be regular programme team members. They are treated equally with payroll staff, with calculation of their fees pegged to TNI salary policy, compensation added for social security and pension contributions, and then adjusted for local costs of living (source: www.numbeo.com). They are responsible for paying their own taxes.

Staffing of Fiscally Sponsored Projects

TNI serves as the fiscal sponsor for two projects where coordinators are contracted by TNI. These are:

- Handel Anders Network (Netherlands), two coordinators are on TNI's payroll.
- Drug Policy Alternatives Group, with the coordinator and an assistant contracted on a freelance basis.

3. Social Report

BOARD REPORT

TNI strives to establish and uphold ethical standards within the institute, guided by the policies and procedures in place for this. These include integrity policies covering such matters as discrimination, (sexual) harassment, fraud and corruption, whistle-blowing and complaints. Staff elect an Internal Integrity Officer, while the Board appoints an external agency to serve as an External Integrity Officer. TNI convenes monthly staff meetings, and thus complies with Dutch regulations on employee participation.

No inappropriate behaviour, misconduct or any other breaches of TNI's integrity policies were reported in 2023. No disciplinary procedures were required, and no complaints were received on the basis of the Complaints Policy published on the TNI website.

In 2022, TNI developed a Gender Equity and Diversity Plan published on our website. In 2023, we evaluated our indicators positively.

More than 50% of senior positions are held by women, more than 50% of our consultants are women. We have increased the proportion of women within our fellowship to 43%, though there is still room for improvement there. We are pleased to realise how many women-led and feminist organisations we cooperate with; how many explicit gender-focused outputs and events we organised; and that no all-male panels have been organised in TNI's name.

We found a healthy balance of ages among staff and consultants, with most being in their 30s and 40s. Among the fellowship, the average age has dropped from 66 to 56 years old.

The transnational character of TNI is reflected well among team and Board members, who represent 21 nationalities within the cohort of 60 people. The Fellowship is also reflective of the transnational character of the Institute. The proportion of members drawn from the Global South now stands at 40% (up from 27%). Until at least 50% parity is achieved, we will prioritise appointing new members from the Global South, particularly African women.

4. Socially Conscious and Green Office

BOARD REPORT

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 2023, it housed:

- a childcare centre
- a meditation centre
- three non-profit organisations (consumer rights in respect of food; a support organisation for animation filmmakers; and an international women's rights organisation)

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

Up to the end of 2023, solar panels installed on the roof of our building in mid-2017 have enabled us to save 54 tons of CO2 and have generated 77.8 MWh of solar energy. They continue to provide the anticipated third of our electricity

needs annually. The balance is sourced from wind energy supplied by local farmers. We continue to make every effort to reduce our energy consumption. This includes ongoing investment in insulation of the office building, including through maintenance of a "green roof" and a delightful roof garden that attracts birds and bees.

We separate our waste (paper, glass, chemical, batteries, ink cartridges) for responsible recycling purposes. Only recycled or FSC-certified paper is used for printing, with print runs kept to the minimum required, and the default setting for office printers is double-sided.

We encourage staff to consider travelling only where strictly necessary, and to use trains for short distance trips. We have also continued to invest in improving our video conferencing facilities and online facilitation skills to help minimise the necessity for travel. We reimburse travel costs to and from the office on the basis of public transport. None of our staff uses a car to travel to work.

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 and employment 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.
- We use auditing and financial administration companies specifically dedicated to serving the non-profit sector.
- We use a non-profit travel agency specifically dedicated to supporting humanitarian organisations.
- We use local small companies for our catering purposes.
- We source organic and fair trade products as far as possible.
- We publish under a Creative Commons licence.
- We use open source software as our default option.

There were no procurements over Euro 30,000 in 2023 that would require a tender process under TNI's Procurement Policy.

Choice of banks

TNI uses the services of three banks in the Netherlands. In making our choices, we have followed the guidance offered by the Dutch ethical bank guide as well as practical considerations.

The best rated ethical bank is the Volksbank, which includes ASN Bank, where we deposit part of our savings. We also keep savings with Triodos Bank, another highly rated ethical bank. Triodos also holds our mortgage. Indeed, in 2005, it was the only bank prepared to lend us what we needed to buy our offices, seeing support for non-profits with a public interest mission – like TNI – as part of its *raison d'être*.

We use ABN AMRO as our current account, mainly out of practical considerations. The bank is not rated as highly in the ethical bank guide, but it is able to offer the facilities we require as an organisation that does high volumes of primarily international transactions. Recently, TNI has come under the portfolio of the bank's NGO section, which offers a personalised service from staff who do seem to have a strong affinity for our values and mission. As part of a prudent policy to spread risk, following the 2008 financial crisis, we deposit part of our savings with ABN AMRO too.

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 charging and paying VAT, save where clearly commercial activities might be involved. In the latter case, we administer VAT separately – for example, where we accept consultancies – and pay the VAT received over to the tax authorities.

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)3 status in the USA, which status is reconfirmed annually by NGOSource, and which provides a certificate to grant makers who require it.

7. Risk Management

BOARD REPORT

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.

Below the key high probability, high impact risks addressed in 2023, and identified for 2024 are discussed.

1. Financial Sustainability

As a non-profit organization, TNI is primarily dependent on grant income, which is a perennial and priority risk the Institute must manage.

In 2023, TNI's total income increased by 36%. Of this increase, half is due to income received from foundations on behalf of fiscally sponsored projects.

Our goal for 2023 had been to continue to diversify our funding base, with a particular emphasis on raising the proportion of income sourced from

foundations and donations. We are pleased to see that our dependence on the Dutch government dropped to 38% of total income.

The share of income from foundations increased by 18% compared to 2022. Half of this was attributable to TNI's own efforts, and saw two new foundations directly supporting TNI projects. An additional five new foundations supported fiscally sponsored projects.

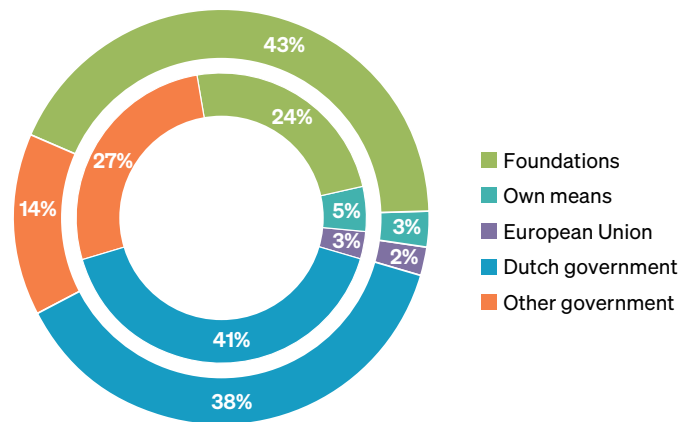
Own sources as a proportion of total income decreased 1%, although the absolute amount was considerably more than in 2022 as is reflected by our result for 2023.

We were very pleased to fill our vacancy for a Fundraising Coordinator towards the end of 2023, whom we are confident will help us progress towards the goal of a more diversified funding base. We also began our own online bookshop in 2023, which we hope will open a modest new stream of own income.

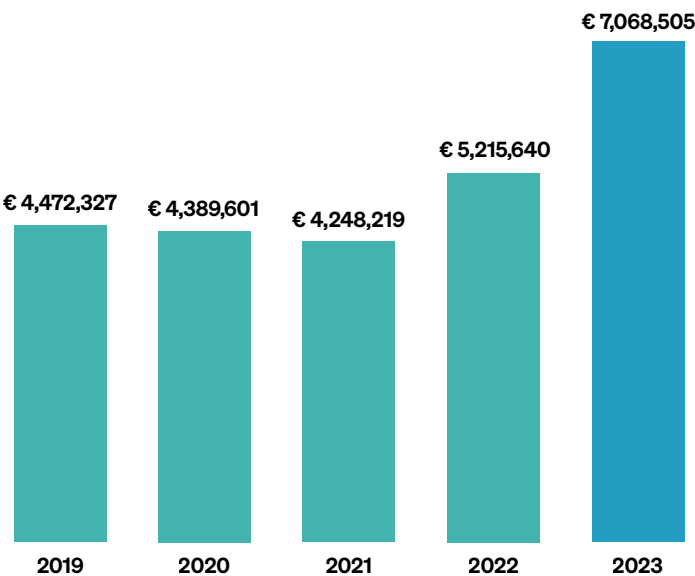
Source	Specification	% of total income in 2023	% of total income in 2022
Dutch government	Netherlands Ministry of Trade & Development	38	42
Other public sources	Swedish International Development Agency; Swiss Development Cooperation; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH	14	27
Philanthropic foundations	Open Society Foundation; Rockefeller Brothers Fund; Climate Emergency Collaboration Group; European Cultural Foundation; Rosa Luxemburg Foundation; Friedrich Ebert Stiftung, Funders for Fair Trade, Thousand Currents, Gower Street, Benevolencia/Porticus, Foundation for a Just Society, Nebula Fund, Wallace Foundation, Movement Support & Covid-19 Relief Fund, Agroecology Fund.	43	24
European Union	Development Education and Awareness-Raising; Justice and Home Affairs; Erasmus+; H2020; EuropeAid	2	3
Own means	book sales, donations, currency gains, interest, consultancies/secondments	3	4

SOURCES OF FUNDING

2023 (outer) vs 2022 (inner)



Annual Income



In 2024, financial sustainability remains the main high priority risk to be managed. The strategy will include further reducing proportional dependence on the Dutch government, particularly in light of the political shifts anticipated following the elections at the end of 2023. This will require a focus on securing core and multi-annual project funding from a diverse range of sources. To this end, TNI will invest in training of staff in project development and fundraising, and we will develop new strategies based on an analysis of the changing funding landscape and TNI prospects.

2. Transitions

Since 2021, in line with our five-year strategy, TNI has been implementing some major organisational changes which have required careful management to prevent the risk of disruption. This has included reorganising projects under a reduced number of programmes, appointing new programme coordinators, and establishing a Knowledge Unit. In 2023, the emphasis was on supporting Programme Coordinators in their new roles, increasing the staff capacity of the Knowledge Hub and completing the process of expanding the international fellowship by welcoming 25 new members to TNI. We also continued to improve induction procedures, and to ensure all staff are well informed about how internal decision-making processes work, including clarifying responsibilities, boundaries of authority, and lines of accountability. We ended the year satisfied that the change management process has been effected smoothly.

In 2024, the emphasis will be on further training in project development and fundraising, integration of the new members of the fellowship, and acquiring ISO 9001 certification.

The next challenge concerns the generational transition which will occur over the next four years as older senior staff retire. We expect two retirements at the end of 2024, one in 2026, one in 2027 and one in 2028. In 2024, we will develop a transition plan to ensure continuity in essential functions.

3. Security and safety

Security and safety continued to be a key risk monitored in 2023, particularly in light of the war in Myanmar, and worsening repression of activists in a number of countries where TNI has team members, fellows and partners. We also continued to keep an eye on adherence to ICT policies and improving security measures in light of the increasing prevalence of cyber-crime and the risk of data breaches.

3.1 Increased repression

Repression was a priority risk to manage for 2023, with a particular concern for Myanmar, as well as team members, fellows, partners and allies in other high-risk countries. One member of our Fellowship was arrested on spurious charges in Russia in 2023, for example, which saw a concerted international campaign for his release. We adhered closely to protocols developed for safe communications, and mobilised international attention and amplified calls for solidarity where necessary. This became increasingly important with the genocidal war waged against Palestinians by the Israeli military from the last quarter of 2023, and the attempts to muzzle or discredit critical voices that has accompanied this.

In 2024, we will remain vigilant with respect to safety under conditions of increased repression.

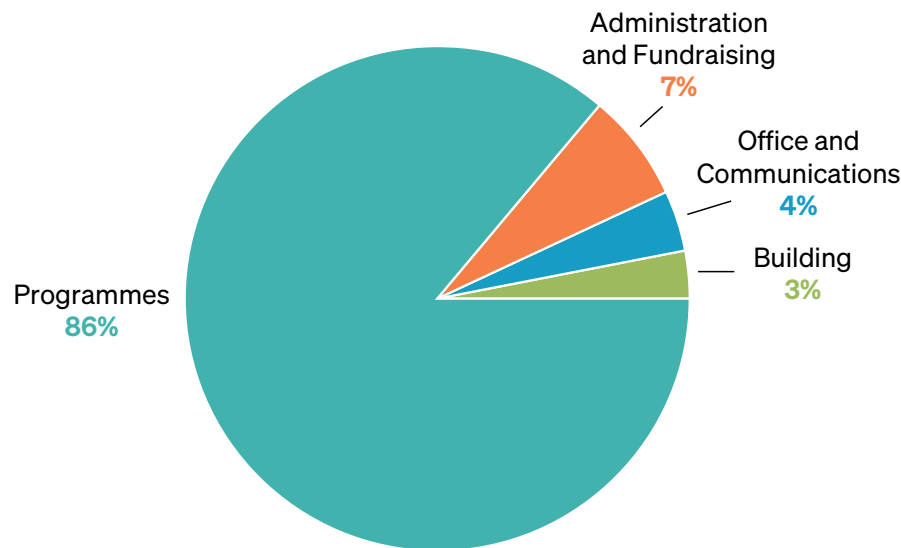
3.2 Data security and safe communications

TNI has had a comprehensive Information & Communication Technology (ICT) policy in place for some years now, including data protection, data security and data breach policies and procedures. Our ICT team conducts regular education of staff in this regard, working one-on-one with staff as required.

In 2023, our auditors again took a close look at our IT systems, confirming we have good systems in place. We completed the process of moving all team members onto a common password manager, and undertook an internal review of our ICT policy. We also did training on collective resilience in the face of online hate.

In 2024, data security and safe communications remained a priority risk area to monitor and regularly upgrade. We will ensure 2FA authentication for all key software, including timesheets, invoice processing and email.

TNI spent 86% of its total expenditure in 2023 on programme implementation, 7% on administration and fundraising, and 7% on infrastructure (office and communications, building). This represents 2% more spent on programme implementation, compared to the previous year.



Financial Result

The result in 2023 was Euro € 211,328 derived from interest, foreign exchange gains, donations, consultancies, and administration fees on fiscally sponsored projects.

The 2023 result is added to TNI's reserves, which therefore, now stands at Euro € 1,603,476. This constitutes 70% of the goal set by the Board of one year's fixed operational costs or a survival rate of 255.5 days, representing 6% progress on the previous year.

The formula used in the Reserves Policy is: liquid reserves / fixed operational costs x 365 days. Liquid reserves are approximately 95% of the amount listed as reserves in our annual accounts, with the remaining 5% requiring the Institute to sell its building.

The ratio of current assets to short-term liabilities remains healthy at 165%.

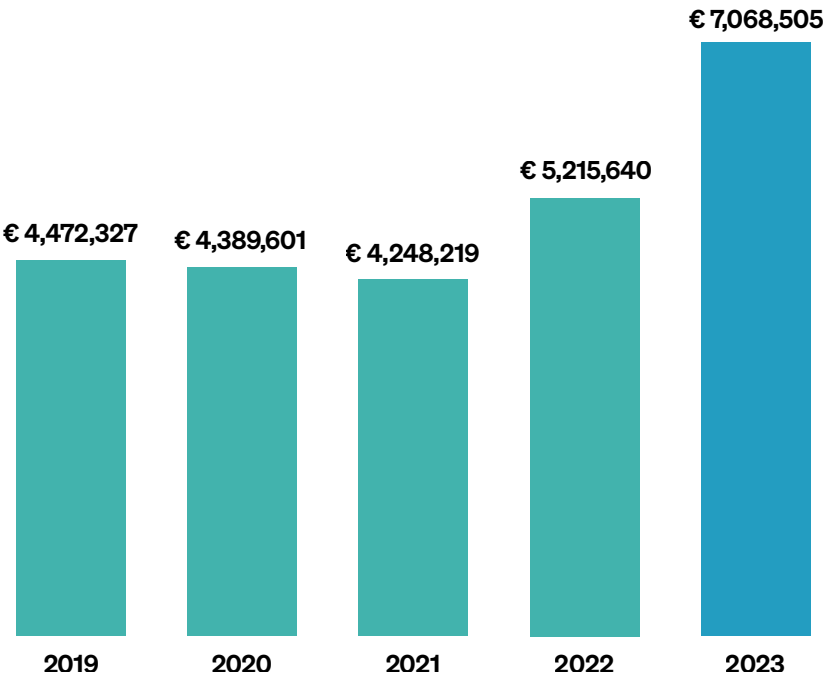
Finances

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 2023

FINANCES

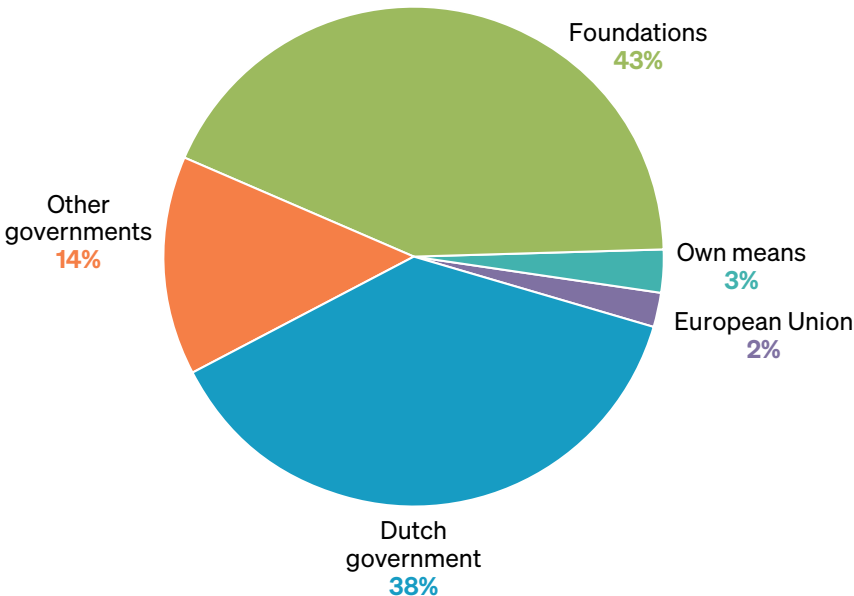
INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS

	in Euros
2023	€ 7,068,505
2022	€ 5,215,640
2021	€ 4,248,219
2020	€ 4,389,601
2019	€ 4,472,327



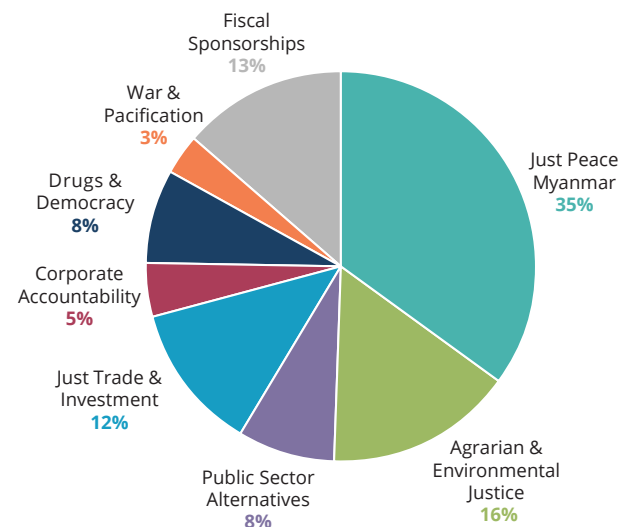
WHERE WE GOT OUR MONEY

	in Euros	percentage
Own means	€ 237,742	3%
Foundations	€ 3,007,900	43%
European Union	€ 153,878	2%
Dutch government	€ 2,691,540	38%
Other government	€ 977,445	14%
TOTAL	€ 7,068,505	100.00%



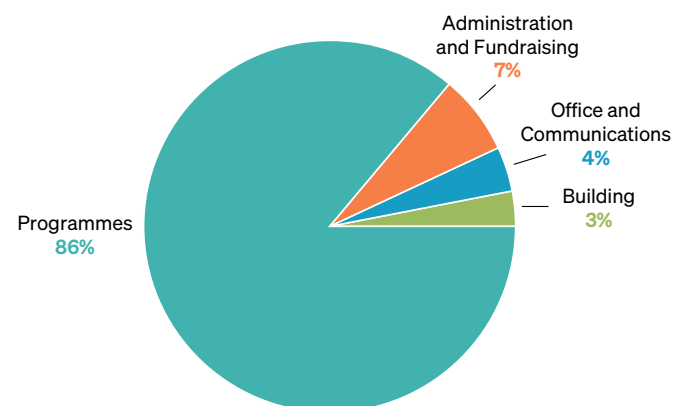
HOW WE SPENT OUR GRANT INCOME

	<i>in Euros</i>	<i>percentage</i>
Corporate Accountability	€ 313,742	5%
Drugs & Democracy	€ 531,728	8%
Just Peace Myanmar	€ 2,396,323	35%
War & Pacification	€ 227,213	3%
Public Alternatives	€ 543,308	8%
Agrarian & Environmental Justice	€ 1,066,112	16%
Just Trade & Investment	€ 836,472	12%
Fiscal Sponsorship projects	€ 915,865	13%
TOTAL	€ 6,830,763	100%



HOW WE SPENT OPERATIONALLY

	<i>in Euros</i>	<i>percentage</i>
Programmes	€ 5,942,343	86%
Administration & Fundraising	€ 473,730	7%
Office & Communications	€ 262,746	4%
Building	€ 192,977	3%
TOTAL	€ 6,871,796	100%



Statement of income and expenditure in budget 2024

	2023	2024
	€	€
Income		
Income from grants	4,306,740	4,817,985
Donations	10,000	10,000
Income from other sources	23,780	0
Total income	4,534,239	4,827,985
Expenditure		
Overhead		
– Personnel costs	423,312	442,670
– Building expenses	–30,964	–53,807
– Office and communication	240,587	243,999
– Financial expenditure	9,000	0
Total overhead	632,935	632,862
Project costs		
– Direct project costs	2,179,603	2,397,962
– Personnel costs charged to projects	1,506,492	1,783,363
Total project costs	3,686,095	4,181,325
Total expenditure	4,319,030	4,814,817
Result	12,490	13,798

Funding agreements active in 2023

Donor	Project name	Start	End	Total budget	Currency
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Fair, Green & Global	01/01/2021	31/12/2025	9,736,420.00	EUR
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Myanmar – Sustainable Rural Areas	09/01/2021	31/05/2022	50,000.00	EUR
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Myanmar – Sustainable Rural Areas	01/08/2022	31/07/2023	250,000.00	EUR
Swedish International Development Agency	Promoting Ethnic Rights in Myanmar	01/01/2022	31/12/2024	19,000,000.00	SEK
Swiss Development Cooperation	Ethnic Conflict in Myanmar	06/01/2017	31/05/2022	1,664,294.00	EUR
Swiss Development Cooperation	Ethnic Conflict in Myanmar	01/06/2022	31/05/2022	1,000,000.00	EUR
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	Global Partnership on Drug Policies & Development	10/01/2021	31/05/2022	50,000.00	EUR
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	Global Partnership on Drug Policies & Development	15/10/2022	14/06/2023	30,000.00	EUR
European Union (H2020)	Municipal Power – mPower	05/01/2018	31/10/2022	255,750.00	EUR
European Union (H2020)	Making Agriculture Trade Sustainable	07/01/2021	31/12/2023	230,240.00	EUR
European Union (EuropeAid)	Ensuring the social-economic rights and decent work conditions for South Africa small-scale fishers	01/01/2020	30/05/2023	75,807.00	EUR
European Union (Erasmus+)	Deck to Dish: Advanced training in Community Supported Fisheries	09/01/2019	30/06/2022	40,125.00	EUR
Found. Open Soc. Policy Center	Drugs & Democracy	04/01/2021	30/06/2023	400,000.00	USD
Found. Open Soc. Policy Center	Securitisation of Health	10/01/2021	31/01/2023	125,000.00	USD
Found. Open Soc. Policy Center	Reclaiming hope: building renewed belief in public services for a just COVID19 recovery	01/01/2021	03/01/2023	244,000.00	USD
Found. Open Soc. Policy Center	Core grant	01/07/2022	30/06/2023	992,500.00	USD
Found. Open Soc. Policy Center	Drug Policy Advocacy Group IV	08/01/2020	31/07/2022	100,000.00	USD
Found. to Promote Open Society	Reclaim public education	01/01/2022	30/06/2023	160,000.00	USD
Found. to Promote Open Society	European Network of Corporate Observatories	01/01/2020	31/07/2023	200,000.00	USD
Found. to Promote Open Society	European Network of Corporate Observatories	30/05/2022	31/07/2023	180,000.00	USD
Rockefeller Foundation	Trade & Investment	23/07/2021	31/10/2023	500,000.00	USD
European Cultural Foundation	Reimagining democracy	12/04/2019	31/05/2022	19,500.00	EUR
European Cultural Foundation	M2M Solidarity	01/01/2020	31/03/2022	23,875.00	EUR
Anonymous donor	Ending the Energy charter treaty	01/11/2021	30/10/2022	40,000.00	GBP
Anonymous donor	Ending the Energy charter treaty	01/12/2022	30/11/2023	40,000.00	GBP
Anonymous donor	Ending the Energy charter treaty	13/03/2021	31/05/2022	60,000.00	EUR
Anonymous donor	Ending the Energy charter treaty	01/06/2022	31/08/2023	60,000.00	EUR
Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung	North Africa	01/01/2021	31/12/2022	42,750.00	EUR
Friedrich Ebert Stiftung	Energetic transition in North Africa	01/01/2021	31/12/2022	45,000.00	EUR
Thousand Currents	North Africa	30/05/2022	30/05/2023	41,000.00	USD
Climate Emergency Collaboration Group	Climate Justice North Africa	01/07/2022	30/06/2023	49,000.00	USD
Commonsopolis	European Municipalist Network	15/06/2022	30/06/2023	14,000.00	EUR
Movement Support & Covid-19 Relief Fund	Fiscal sponsorship Noor	01/02/2022	01/02/2023	100,000.00	USD
Foundation for a Just Society	Fiscal sponsorship Noor	01/11/2022	31/10/2023	50,000.00	USD
New Venture Fund/Nebula Project	Fiscal sponsorship Noor	15/11/2022	15/11/2024	100,000.00	USD
New Venture Fund/Nebula Project	Fiscal sponsorship Institute for Journalism & Social Change	15/11/2022	15/11/2023	100,000.00	USD
Funders for Fair Trade	Fiscal sponsorship Seattle-to-Brussels network	N/A	N/A	110,000.00	EUR

People

TNI Team in 2023

MANAGEMENT TEAM

- Fiona Dove (Executive Director)
- Pietje Vervest (Programmes)
- Denis Burke (Communications)
- John Kerseboom (Personnel)

COMMUNICATIONS

- Ana Maria Ocampo (Trainee)
- Denis Burke (Coordinator)
- Hilde van der Pas (Communications Officer/
Dutch press liaison/social media)
- Jorrit Stoker (Web Officer)
- Marysia Derejko (Trainee)
- Melissa Koutouzis (Communications Officer)
- Mercedes Camps (Spanish translator, USA)
- Shaun Matsheza (Communications Officer/Podcasts)

COMMUNITY-BUILDER

- Niels Jongerius (Dutch movements)

FUNDRAISING

- Jess Graham (Individual giving)
- Twyla Jenner (Fundraising Coordinator)

OFFICE & ADMINISTRATION

- Albi Janssen (ICT)
- Abby Taylor (Planning, Monitoring, Evaluation & Learning)
- John Kerseboom (Personnel Officer/Building Manager)
- Katja Gertman (Bookkeeping)
- Misrak Alayu (Front Office)
- Rin Stellingwerf (ICT)
- Susana Sanz (ICT)

OVERALL PROGRAMMES COORDINATOR

- Pietje Vervest

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- Ernestien Jensema/Tom Kramer (Myanmar)
- Katie Sandwell (Real Utopias)
- Niamh Ni Bhriain/Martin Jelsma (War &
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- Nick Buxton (Knowledge Hub)
- Sol Trumbo Vila (Frontiers of Capital)

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- Carsten Pederson
- Dania Putri
- Daniel Chavez
- Gonzalo Berrón
- Hamza Hamouchene
- Jenny Franco
- Josephine Valeske
- Juliana Rodrigues de Senna
- Lavinia Steinfert
- Lucía Barcéna
- Luciana Ghiotto
- Ouafa Haddioui
- Pien Metaal
- Rachmi Hertanti
- Rowan Mataram
- Sara Murawski
- Sofia Scassera
- Sylvia Kay

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- Juliana Montenegro
- Simone Catalano

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- Rachma Lutfiny Putri (Programme support)
- Sara Caminero (Programme support)
- Susan Medeiros (Front Office)

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TNI collaborations in 2023

TNI gratefully acknowledges the time, labour and expertise of everyone who helped make our 2023 such an effective one – whether that was writing, speaking, editing, illustrating, designing, translating, interpreting, organising, strategising and/or advising. Apologies in advance to anyone who was inadvertently omitted. Some have been deliberately omitted for security reasons, but you know who you are and we thank you.

AFRICA

ALGERIA

- Iman Boukhatem

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- Amr Khairy
- Mohamed Gad
- Mohamed Ramadan
- Osama Diab

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- Eujung Lee
- Hannah Hasenberger
- Ho-Chih Lin
- Ian Scoones
- James Angel
- Jean Baylock
- Jane Kilpatrick
- Jon Cracknel
- Joanna Allan
- Kamil Mahdi
- Keval Bharadia
- Khem Rogaly
- Laura Bannister
- Laura Stegemann
- Mariya Ivancheva
- Martha Myers
- Martin Smith
- Milford Bateman
- Mohga Kamal-Yanni
- Mohammed Elnaiem
- Nils Peters
- Nimer Sultany
- Patrick Bigger
- Pratap Chatterjee
- Sarah Finch
- Shahd Hammouri
- Siraj Ali
- Stuart Parkinson

Organisational Cooperation in 2023

MEDIA PARTNERS

- Africa is a Country
- AISifr
- Jadaliyya
- Middle East Eye
- New Internationalist
- New Arab
- Radio Universidad de Chile
- The Ecologist

GLOBAL

- Action Aid
- Amnesty International
- Corporate Accountability International
- Civil Society and Indigenous People's Mechanism of the UN Committee on World Food Security
- Euromed Rights
- Federación Internacional de Derechos Humanos
- FIAN International
- Friends of the Earth International
- G2H2- Geneva Global Health Hub
- Global Campaign for Education
- Global Campaign on Military Spending
- Global Campaign to Reclaim People's Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power & Stop Impunity
- Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- Global Inter-parliamentary Network
- Global Partnership on Drugs Policy and Development
- Global Platform for the Right to the City
- Global Strategic Communications Council
- Habitat International Coalition
- Harm Reduction International
- International Alliance of Inhabitants
- International Coalition on Drug Policy Reform and Environmental Justice
- International Drug Policy Consortium
- International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty
- International Institute for Sustainable Development
- International Indian Treaty Council
- International Network for Economic Social and Cultural Rights
- International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
- International Transport Federation
- Journal of Peasant Studies
- Just Net Coalition
- La Via Campesina
- Oxfam
- Our World is Not For Sale
- People's Health Movement
- People's Water Forum
- Privacy International
- Privatisation in Education and Human Rights Consortium
- Public Services International
- Red Intercontinental de Promoción de la Economía Social Solidaria
- Scientists for Global Responsibility
- Society for International Development
- South Centre
- Stop the Wall Campaign
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy
- URGENCI
- World Alliance of Mobile Indigenous Peoples
- World Forum of Fisher Peoples
- World Forum of Fisher Harvesters and Fish Workers
- World March of Women

AFRICA

REGIONAL

- East African Centre for Human Rights
- Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
- Rural Womens Assembly
- Siyada, North African Food Sovereignty Network
- Southern Africa Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power
- Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute WoMin African Alliance

CONGO

- Concertation Nationale des Organisations Paysannes du Congo

KENYA

- Action Aid Kenya
- Biodiversity and Biosafety Kenya
- Mazingira Institute

MALI

- Coordination Nationale des Organisations Paysannes

MOROCCO

- Attac Morocco
- Forum de la Modernité et de la Démocratie
- Foundation for the Development of the Rif
- Federation Nationale du Secteur Agricole de l'Union Marocaine du Travail Kounactif

MOZAMBIQUE

- Justica Ambiental/FoE

NIGERIA

- Public Services International Nigeria

SOUTH AFRICA

- Alternative Information & Development Centre
- Center for Applied Legal Studies
- GenderCC
- Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape
- Masifundise
- North West University
- Trust for Community Outreach and Education
- Women on Farms

TANZANIA

- Economic and Social Research Foundation
- Tanzania Trade & Investment Coalition

TUNISIA

- Tunisia Platform of Alternatives
- Working Group for Energy Democracy

UGANDA

- Action Aid Uganda
- Initiative for Social and Economic Rights

ZAMBIA

- Zambia Alliance for Agroecology and Biodiversity (ZAAB)

AMERICAS

REGIONAL

- AIDA Americas
- Amigos de la Tierra de América Latina y Caribe
- Caribbean Network of Fisherfolk Organisations
- Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales
- Coordinadora de Organizaciones de Productores Familiares del Mercosur Ampliado
- Derechos Digitales
- El Movimiento de Mujeres Indígenas por el Buen Vivir
- Internacional de Servicios Públicos-América Latina
- Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el neoliberalismo

- Plataforma América Latina mejor sin TLC
- Plataforma de Acuerdos Públicos Comunitarios de las Américas
- Proyecto sobre Organización, Desarrollo, Educación e Investigación
- Red de Transición Energética Popular
- Trade Union Confederation of the Americas

ARGENTINA

- Asamblea Argentina mejor sin Tratados de Libre Comercio
- ATTAC Argentina
- Fundación Ambiente y Recursos Naturales (FARN)
- Grupo Geopolítica y Bienes Comunes
- Intercambios A.C
- Observatorio Petrolero Sur
- Taller Ecologista

BAHAMAS

- Bahamas Commercial Fishers' Alliance

BOLIVIA

- Accion Andina
- Fundación Solón
- Grupo de Trabajo Cambio Climático y Justicia
- Internet Bolivia
- Terra Justa
- Universidad Mayor De San Simón-Centro De Estudios Superiores Universitarios

BRAZIL

- Amigos da Terra Brasil
- Brazilian Campaign Right to Education
- Data Privacy Brazil
- EQUIT Brazil
- Homa Institute
- Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens
- Movement of Artisanal Fishermen and Fisherwomen
- University of Brasília

CANADA

- Blue Planet Project
- ETC Group
- Noor

CHILE

- Centro de Análisis Socio Ambiental
- Fundación SOL
- Institute for Local Government, Universidad Abierta de Recoleta
- Plataforma Chile mejor sin Tratados de Libre Comercio
- Universidad de Chile

COLOMBIA

- Colectivo de Abogados José Alberto Restrepo
- Comité por la Defensa del Agua y los Páramos de Santurbán
- Corporación Ecológica y Cultural Penca de Sábila
- DeJusticia
- ENDA Colombia
- Fuerza Wayuu Colombia
- IDEAS Corporacion Universitaria de Colombia
- SIEMBRA
- Sindicato de Trabajadores de las Empresas Municipales de Cali
- Solidaridad Wayuu
- VisoMutoy

ECUADOR

- Acción Ecológica
- Ecuador Decide mejor sin Tratados de Libre Comercio
- Unión de Afectados por Texaco/Chevron

GUYANA

- Guyana National Fisherfolk Organisation

HONDURAS

- Comité de Solidaridad con Honduras

MEXICO

- El Colegio de México
- La Sandía Digital
- Project on Organization, Development, Education and Research – PODER
- Unión Nacional de Técnicos y Profesionistas petroleros

PARAGUAY

- Heñói Centro de Estudios

SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

- Cannabis Revival Committee

URUGUAY

- Cooperativa Comuna
- Red de Ecología Social/FOE
- Red de Semillas

USA

- Climate and Community Project
- Columbia Center on Sustainable Investments
- Corporate Accountability
- Friends of the Earth
- Grassroots Global Justice Alliance
- Havens Wright Center for Social Justice, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Institute for Policy Studies
- Public Citizen
- The New School
- Washington Office on Latin America

VENEZUELA

- Observatorio de ecología política de Venezuela

Organisational Cooperation in 2023

ASIA-OCEANIA

REGIONAL

- Asia-Europe People's Forum
- EU-ASEAN FTA network
- Focus on the Global South

BANGLADESH

- Action Aid Bangladesh

CHINA

- Made in China Journal
- INDIA
- BIRSA
- IT for Change
- National Fishworkers Forum
- People's Health Movement
- Pakistani-India Peoples' Forum of Peace and Democracy

INDONESIA

- Auriga Nusantara
- Ekologi Maritim Indonesia
- Federasi Perjuangan Buruh Indonesia
- FIAN Indonesia
- Indonesia AIDS coalition
- Indonesia for Global Justice
- Kaoem Telapak
- Kesatuan Perjuangan Rakyat
- Komunitas Fajara Maluku Utara
- Konfederasi Serikat Buruh Seluruh Indonesia
- Lokataru – Law and Human Rights Office
- Publish what you pay (PWYP)
- Sahita Institute (HINTS)
- Samdhana Institute
- Serikat Petani Indonesia (SPI)
- Solidaritas Perempuan (SP)
- The Institute for Community Studies and Advocacy (ELSAM)
- Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (Walhi)

MYANMAR

- Not named for security purposes

PHILIPPINES

- Asia-Europe Peoples Forum Philippines
- Fridays for Future
- Sentro

WEST ASIA / MIDDLE EAST

REGIONAL

- Arab reform initiative

EUROPE

REGIONAL

- Commons Network
- CommonsPolis
- Corporate Europe Observatory
- Ecolise
- Energy Cities
- Equinox Initiative for Racial Justice
- European Coordination Via Campesina
- European Just Trade Coalition network
- European Network Against the Arms Trade
- European Network of Corporate Observatories
- European Public Services Union
- Friends of the Earth Europe
- Minim – Municipalism Observatory
- Nyéléni Europe and Central Asia
- Transform! Europe

AUSTRIA

- ATTAC

BELGIUM

- Ghent University
- Oxfam Solidarite
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung

CROATIA

- Institute for Political Ecology

FINLAND

- University of Helsinki

FRANCE

- Aitec
- Droit à l'énergie
- l'Observatoire des multinationales
- Veblen Institute

GERMANY

- Berliner Gazette
- Fraunhofer Gesellschaft Zur Foerderung Der Angewandten Forschung
- Friedrich Ebert Stiftung
- org
- Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin
- Karlsruhe Institute of Technology
- PowerShift
- University of Siegen

GREECE

- Geoponiko Panepistimion Athinon
- Scio Ike

IRELAND

- Cloughjordan Ecovillage
- Comhlamh

HUNGARY

- Institut Za Politicku Ekologiju
- Pravo na Grad

ITALY

- Centro Ricerche Produzioni Animali
- Crocevia
- International University College of Turin
- Knowledge SRL
- Risteco La Ville Qui Mange
- Society for International Development

NETHERLANDS

- Action Aid
- Both Ends
- Clean Clothes Campaign
- De Goede Zaak
- Extinction Rebellion
- Federatie Nederlandse Vakbeweging
- Fossielvrij
- Fossil Free Feminists
- Framer Framed
- Fridays For Future
- Gastivists
- Greenpeace
- Handel Anders!
- Institute for Social Studies, Erasmus University
- International Institute for Social History
- Internationale Socialisten Milieudefensie
- PARTOS
- Platform Aarde Boer Consument
- Platform Authentieke Journalistiek
- Platform Stop Racisme
- Re-Peat
- SOMO
- Stop Wapenhandel
- Toekomstboeren
- University of Amsterdam
- University of Maastricht
- Voedsel Anders

PORTUGAL

- Centro de Estudos Sociais

SERBIA

- Zajednicko (Platform for the theory and practice of commons)

SLOVENIA

- Association for Cultural and Research Activities EnaBanda

SPAIN

- Amigos de la Tierra España
- ATTAC
- Campaña No a los Tratados de Comercio e Inversión
- Centre Delàs
- Ecologistas en Acción
- Engineers Without Borders Catalonia
- Entrepueblos
- Fuhem Ecosocial Observatori Desc
- Observatorio de Multinacionales en América Latina
- Observatori del Deute en la Globalització
- Oxfam Intermón
- Taula per Mèxic
- Universidad Politécnica de Madrid
- University of Cantabria

SWITZERLAND

- Centre Europa Tiers Monde
- Centre for International Environmental Law
- University of Bern

UNITED KINGDOM

- Common Wealth
- Global Justice Now
- Global Drug Policy Observatory, Swansea University
- Institute for Journalism and Social Change
- London Mining Network
- Platform London
- Pluto Educational Trust
- Pluto Books
- Public Services International Research Unit
- Statewatch
- Tipping Point North South
- University of Kent
- University of Glasgow
- War on Want

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