



2020 annual report

VISION

TNI envisions a world of peace, equity and democracy on a sustainable planet brought about and sustained by an informed and engaged people.

MESSAGE FROM THE DIRECTOR

[Solidarity is the cure. Justice is the vaccine.](#) This was TNI's rallying call as the pandemic broke in 2020. We knew that the pandemic impacted on a world already in crisis. Many existing inequities would be amplified – with a disproportionate impact on the most vulnerable people, particularly in the Global South.

The bankruptcy of neoliberalism has been laid bare in this crisis. COVID-19 exposed the catastrophic fallout of decades of privatisation of essential services, such as health and water. The crisis has made clear that there are goods and services that must be placed outside the laws of the market, as they are the cornerstones of healthy and resilient societies.

There has also been widespread moral repugnance at international legal provisions that protect the profits of mega-corporations over the lives of millions of people, for example, intellectual property rights which allow big pharmaceutical companies to monopolise vaccine technologies even in the face of a global pandemic of this magnitude, or investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) mechanisms which allow transnational corporations to sue governments in private courts for obscene amounts of compensation should measures taken – even in the public interest – be deemed to represent a loss of future profits. The behaviour of rich countries in hoarding vaccine supplies even as they block poorer countries accessing the technology that would enable them to produce their own vaccines is necropolitics of the highest order, and requires enforcement of a COVID apartheid if the situation created is not to backfire on rich societies themselves.

TNI pivoted much of its work in 2020 to addressing the politics of the COVID-19 crisis. We played an important role helping to bring the analysis of leading progressive thinkers and movement leaders to a global audience through our COVID Capitalism webinar series. The 58,786 people from more than 138 countries who engaged with the sessions is testimony both to the quality of the programme, as well as the convening power TNI has accumulated over the years. TNI has earned a reputation for providing a bridge between thinkers and activists, and offering an internationalist perspective with resonance for local and national struggles.

In addition to the highly valued, publicly available recordings of the webinars exploring many different angles to the crisis, we published a number of strategic resources aimed at providing social movements with good argumentation, evidence and information to guide struggles. One was a very well received piece on [how to pay both for the pandemic and for a just energy transition](#). Another was a prescient warning that corporations could invoke ISDS clauses in trade and investment treaties to [sue governments](#) should emergency measures impact on their expected profit. TNI also co-published a volume looking at the importance of [access to public water](#) facilities, as well as a much vaunted book on the potential for [post-pandemic global reform](#).

In many ways, 2020 has been a turning point. The pandemic has profoundly impacted the world and provided a mirror to reflect all that needs to change if human society is to flourish. Now is a good moment to reflect on the successes and failures of the recent past and anticipated threats and opportunities for the future. And indeed, as TNI's current five-year strategic plan comes to a close, this is what we have been doing.

We are proud of what we have achieved these past five years, often exceeding our own expectations. For example, the role we have played in delegitimising key mechanisms of corporate power such as the ISDS system, and in catalysing negotiations for a Binding Treaty on Human Rights and Transnational Corporations – now onto its second draft – that has the potential to tackle corporate impunity in a globalised economy. We have also contributed significantly to the remarkable progress on international drugs policy reform, including acknowledgement of human rights obligations and cannabis legalisation which will impact significantly on rates of incarceration and potentially on improved livelihood prospects for small traditional farmers. We are also realistic, however, about the significant obstacles to real systemic transformation that remain. We continue to strategise, experiment and innovate on the best ways to create the cracks in the system that can open space for the change we need.

In our process of developing a new five-year strategic plan, our webinars have helped us clarify the key issues. We have also consulted over 300 stakeholders, including key allies with whom we have a long and trusted relationship of collaboration. The goals we develop will help orient TNI – both programmatically and as an institution - to deliver focused effective work able to respond to the most critical challenges we are facing today. The exercise also includes rethinking the purpose of TNI's fellowship, and more broadly TNI's 'structures of belonging' whereby we can offer a home to a broad transnational network of activist-scholars.

On the financial front, TNI ended the year with a positive result, helping us edge closer to the one-year continuity fund we have been building to secure the future of the Institute. We have now raised 58% towards our target, achieving a survival rate of 212 days. We also secured a major new five-year grant that secures about half TNI's annual budget and provides an excellent basis for leveraging what we still need to meet annual budgets.

At a more personal level, we are sad to report two long-standing Associates passed away in 2020 – Dot Keet and Teodor Shanin. Both leave a remarkable legacy, and we pay tribute to them in this report. We also said a *fond hasta luego* to two staff members on the eve of the pandemic: Bea Martinez and Lyda Fernanda Forero. For twenty years, Bea was our amazing polyglot who translated TNI materials into Spanish. She is now working for the UN in Canada. Lyda coordinated our Agrarian and Environmental Justice Programme for five years, and is now back on her home continent working with the Trade Unions of the Americas. We thank them both for their deep commitment to TNI, and wish them all the best with their next chapters.

We also thank our Supervisory Board members for their ongoing commitment to ensuring TNI operates to the highest standards. And last, but by no means least, heartfelt thanks go to our funders and donors for their generous support. We could not have achieved what we have without you. We trust that this report affirms your confidence that TNI is worth every penny and more!

Yours,

Fiona Dove
Executive Director

OUR MISSION

TNI's mission is to strengthen international social movements with rigorous research, reliable information, sound analysis and constructive proposals that advance progressive, democratic policy change and common solutions to global problems. In so doing, TNI acts as a unique nexus between social movements, engaged scholars and policy makers.

OVERARCHING GOALS

TNI's overarching goals for 2016–2020, consistent with our emancipatory vision for society, remain:

STRATEGIES

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

EMPOWERMENT

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

TRANSFORMATION

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

To these ends, TNI has followed a five-year strategy up to the end of 2020. In this last year of that cycle, we have been reflecting on progress towards the ambitious objectives we set back in 2016. Achievements are elaborated in this report. We are pleased to report that in many instances, we exceeded even our own expectations of what could be achieved.

FORTHCOMING FIVE YEAR PLAN

Reflections on our successes and challenges over the past five years have also contributed to the process of developing a new set of five-year strategic goals for the 2021–2026 period. As part of this process, we have also taken 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. We look forward to sharing the new five-year strategic plan with you in 2021.

TNI'S 2020 IN NUMBERS

RESEARCH OUTPUT

TNI launched
74 publications
in 9 languages

PODCASTS

TNI released
20 podcasts
with an average of
400 listeners
per episode

MEDIA

TNI's ideas were mentioned in
217 media stories
reaching a conservatively
estimated audience of
28.2 million
almost double
that in 2015

TNI'S WEB PAGES

TNI's web pages were
viewed more than
1.7 million times
almost double
that in 2015

SOCIAL MEDIA

TNI's ideas were viewed
275,339 times
through Facebook

TNI's ideas were viewed by
3.4 million people
on Twitter, an average of
15,000 per day

NEWSLETTER

Subscriptions to
TNI's e-newsletters
grew 30% to
35,000
subscribers

WEBINARS

58,786 people
from more than **138 countries**
viewed the **41 webinars**
TNI co-organised

TNI's most popular webinar
(on globalised food systems)
was viewed **4.749 times**
by people in more than
83 countries

SCHOLARLY CITATIONS

TNI fellows and staff
were cited
3,691 times
in scholarly publications,
8% more than last year

DIALOGUE WITH POLICY MAKERS

TNI was in dialogue
with policy makers from
32 countries and **12**
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
246 partners in 48 countries,
as well as through 29 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

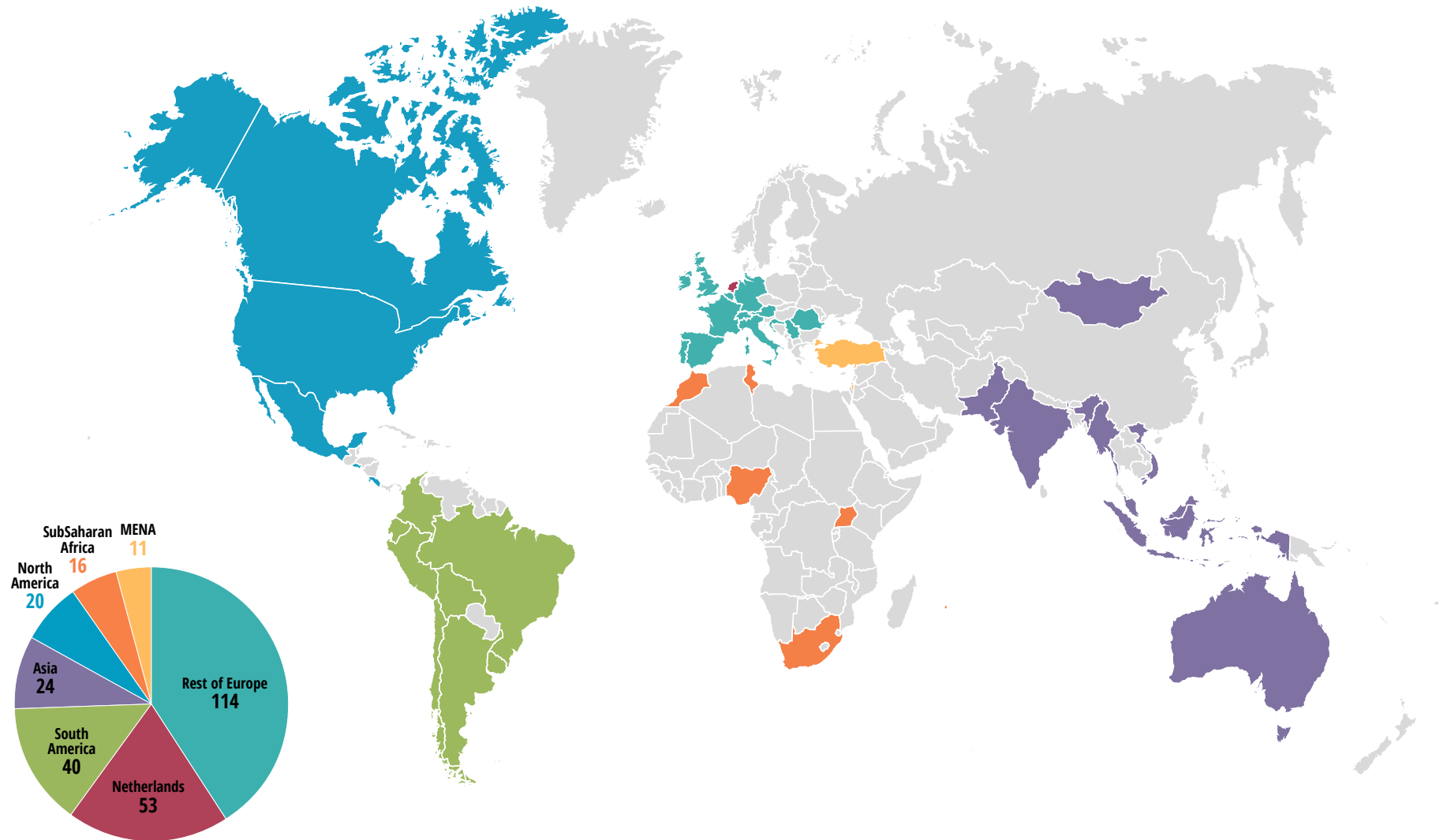
TNI strives to be a useful think tank for social movements. We work with activist-scholars to provide movements with the tools necessary to understand and take on the forces of wealth, power and control; analyses of developments that help movements stay one step ahead; and evidence-based argumentation. 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.

WORKING TRANSNATIONALLY

For a full list of our partners see **ORGANISATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN 2020** on page 74



PROGRAMME ACHIEVEMENTS IN 2020

We began a five-year programme in 2016 in support of our long-term goals. This was organized as seven broad programme areas, each with an ambitious objective to be achieved by the end of 2020. In most instances, these are objectives shared with allies within broader social movements for change and achieved together. TNI's particular role and contributions to successes are elaborated further below. In this last year of the programme, we are very proud to present how far we have come in meeting these objectives, often exceeding our own expectations.



OBJECTIVE 1

Stop Corporate Impunity

Move towards the establishment of a treaty for binding regulations for transnational corporations, which would end impunity, and secure justice for communities affected by corporate violations of human rights.

In the past five years, enormous progress has been made towards a treaty to stop transnational corporations (TNCs) evading accountability for human rights violations. By 2018, a zero draft marked the beginning of negotiations. By 2019, 91 governments were participating in the negotiations, including the EU which had opposed the process till then. In 2020, a second draft treaty text was produced indicating a sustained momentum despite the challenges of the Covid pandemic.

TNI has made a significant contribution to the success in putting the regulation of TNCs back on the international agenda. We were part of the initial agenda-setting efforts among social movements that resulted in the international [Global Campaign to Reclaim People's Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power and Stop Impunity](#) (Campaign) being launched at Rio+20 in 2012. Just two years later, following an initiative of the Ecuador and South African governments, the UNHRC had established an UN Open-Ended Inter-Governmental Working Group (OEIGWG) to develop an international treaty. To accompany this process, TNI among others convened a broad-based [Treaty Alliance](#) of civil society organizations in 2014. The Campaign and the Treaty Alliance have coordinated strategies ever since.

TNI has served as the global facilitator of the Campaign since its inception. The Campaign now has 243 affiliates representing some 260 million people located primarily in the Global South, with regional coordination hubs in Southern Africa, Asia and South America. The Campaign ensures the voices of affected communities are heard and amplified, mobilizing international solidarity and persistently making the case for a treaty. It has sought to involve a range of social actors – including trade unions, farmers' organizations, people's health advocates, environmental activists, feminists and women's organizations. Strategies to broaden support and keep the pressure on governments to negotiate a treaty included catalysing an [international network of parliamentary supporters](#) and, most recently, an [international network of mayors and city councillors](#).

The Campaign has facilitated the collation of proposals for what members would like to see in a prospective treaty and built a supportive network of legal advisors to guide these. Key demands have been fed into the official process through advocacy efforts undertaken by members at national level as well as those aimed at diplomatic missions to the UNHRC in Geneva; the organization of side events; as well as submission of written and oral statements during sessions of the

OEIGWG. In 2020, Covid pandemic conditions required all international processes to go fully online. In the run-up to the OEIGWG's 6th session in October, the Campaign organized virtual [regional preparatory meetings](#) in Africa, Asia and Latin America with 75-100 delegates participating in each. Additionally, the Southern Africa Campaign hosted a [session](#) on how a treaty might be operationalised to enhance affected communities' access to justice. These sessions, along with the input of legal experts, shaped the Campaign's [comments on the second draft](#) of the treaty text. These were submitted to the OEIGWG, further motivated through oral interventions by Campaign representatives at the OEIGWG session.

In line with Campaign demands since 2018, transparency of the process was greatly enhanced in 2020 with agreement that [written positions](#) on the draft treaty would be circulated to all states. Campaign members' advocacy towards supportive states was visible in some of the debate. The African Union strongly favoured negotiations as a bloc, and African states – led by South Africa and Namibia – continued to present a strong unified front in favour of the treaty. Uruguay and Mexico emerged as the treaty's main Latin American champions.

Meanwhile, parliamentarians kept up the pressure for progress on the treaty. The Global Inter-parliamentary Network (GIN) supporting the treaty process organised a [webinar](#) involving the OEIGWG President, and gained members in an additional 25 countries – more than doubling its reach within a year. A high-level joint meeting of Mercosur Parliamentary Human Rights Commissioners from Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil also met with Campaign members to discuss the treaty efforts. At the European Parliament, the 10th resolution in support of the treaty was passed. Debate shifted from a focus on voluntary codes to a binding instrument, and there are now indications that a number of European Union member states would support an international treaty. In Catalonia (Spain), following years of work by a joint working group of parliamentarians and civil society representatives, a majority in the regional parliament supported the creation of a centre on business and human rights to monitor extra-territorial human rights compliance of Catalan companies or companies operating in Catalonia and facilitate access to justice for affected communities.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- The OEIGWG Chair agreed that [texts](#) put forward by governments and civil society will be circulated to all states and not only to the Chair, an important win for transparency of the negotiations.
- Debate on the draft treaty at the OEIGWG reflected advocacy by the Global Campaign towards supportive states, mainly in Africa and Latin America.
- Membership of the [Global Interparliamentary Network](#) (GIN) supportive of a treaty grew to 347 (up 35% on 2019) from 48 countries (up from 23 in 2019).
- A joint high-level meeting of [Mercosur Parliamentary Human Rights](#) Commissioners from Uruguay, Argentina and Brazil engaged with civil society on the Treaty negotiations.
- [58 mayors and city councillors](#), mainly from Europe, join forces in a new Local Authorities network to support a treaty.
- Catalonia votes to create a [Centre on Business and Human Rights](#) which would have the power to investigate extraterritorial human rights compliance of Catalan companies and companies operating in Catalonia.
- 5 new organisations joined the [Global Campaign](#) bringing membership to 243 organisations, representing some 260 million members worldwide.
- 800,000 Spanish-speakers view a Campaign [video on the](#) need for a Treaty.

"We have been active with TNI since 2014 on the Binding Treaty work. I particularly appreciate TNI's efforts to give visibility to our struggles, space and legitimacy for popular organizations. TNI has helped us expand our network of contacts and articulations. We must emphasise that TNI's publications contribute a lot to the construction of our action agenda."

– Tchenna Maso: activist with the Movement of Dam Affected People (MAB)





OBJECTIVE 2

Trade and Investment

To establish the principle that the public interest and the integrity of national judicial systems should not be undermined by international trade and investment rules, particularly the Investor-State-Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanism.

Trade and investment treaties have been a key vehicle for enshrining corporate power. No feature has proved more indefensible – from a public interest perspective – than investor-state dispute settlement (ISDS) mechanisms. ISDS allows corporations to sue states in private courts for actions deemed a threat to future profits. Public outrage has been fuelled by the steep increase in the number of claims; the exorbitant sums draining public coffers; the extraordinary powers over governments vested in a small coterie of arbitrators riddled by conflicts of interest; and parliamentary exclusion from democratic oversight over what governments sign up to in such treaties. In the context of the need for bold efforts to head off climate disaster as well as deal with the COVID-19 pandemic, ISDS is proving untenable.

TNI has been instrumental in putting ISDS on the public agenda in the past decade. We have provided well-researched analysis for social movements on ISDS, supporting public education, and the development of popular advocacy campaigns. The Institute has been well positioned to have an impact through being embedded in powerful alliances of social movements coordinating globally to take on the structures of corporate power.

In the past five years, we have seen protests against ISDS on every continent, threatening to sink some major trade and investment treaties. ISDS was dropped, for example, from the (provisional implementation of the) EU-Canada Treaty (CETA); the renegotiated North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA); and the Asia Pacific Treaty (RCEP). More states cancelled treaties with ISDS clauses – including Ecuador, Poland, India, Tanzania. More parliaments demanded that trade and investment treaties be subject to their approval – with this being won in Indonesia, and on the agenda in Argentina. The European Court of Justice ruled that intra-EU investment treaties were illegal. The International Court of Justice took steps to restrict arbitrators' conflicts of interest. By 2019, 847,000 European citizens had petitioned the European Union (EU) to scrap ISDS. The clamour for change saw the United Nations Commission on International Trade Law (UNCITRAL) tasked with exploring reform.

Meanwhile, TNI and allies started drawing public attention to the dangers of the little known [Energy Charter Treaty](#) (ECT). The ECT has been a major source of ISDS cases in the past decade — many brought by companies investing in dirty

energy. Covering transnational energy markets, the ECT recently sought to expand membership. This presented a perfect opportunity to expose how ISDS obstructs progressive change – in this case, the energy transition – and to connect the dots on climate and corporate power. In 2020, we co-produced a [guide](#) on the ECT, in many languages, for activists, journalists and policymakers. This was accompanied by workshops on various continents; media outreach; and expert advice to government officials and political representatives. TNI and allies then produced a [report](#) exposing the silent expansion of the ECT membership to the Global South. We worked closely with Ugandan partner [SEATINI](#) to [dissuade](#) the East African community from joining the ECT. We argued it would lock states into failed energy privatisations, limit regulation in favour of climate change mitigation, and risk huge costs that states can ill afford. With longstanding ally in this work, the [Corporate Europe Observatory](#), we also [challenged the use of EU funds](#) by the ECT Secretariat to drum up new signatories to a Treaty that the EU itself considers seriously flawed.

By the end of 2020, the ECT was under fire to such an extent that expansion was suspended. Exiting the Treaty had become a real possibility for [several EU member states](#), and even the [EU](#) as a whole, should 'modernisation' fail to align the ECT with the Paris Climate Agreement. There was strong critical coverage in the [media](#): many [parliamentarians](#) supported withdrawal from the ECT, particularly if there was to be any kind of [Green Deal](#) for Europe. [Climate leaders and scientists](#) worldwide echoed that position, calling the ECT "a major obstacle" to the clean energy transition.

Meanwhile, as the COVID-19 crisis broke, TNI and allies sounded the alarm that ISDS claims could be brought against governments taking measures in the context of the pandemic. We co-published [Pandemic Profiteers](#) and [Cashing in on the Pandemic](#), as well as a third report concerning [Latin America](#). Critical articles citing our research were published in [academic journals](#), as well as [major newspapers](#) across Europe. The subsequent furore saw over [600 civil society organisations](#) demand that governments put an end to the ISDS system; [high profile diplomats and policy advisors](#) calling for a permanent moratorium on ISDS cases; and questions being raised in parliaments.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- Expansion of the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT) to the global South was halted.
- The European Union (EU) [called](#) the ECT outdated and presented a [proposal](#) for modernization.
- EU member states, like [France](#) and [Spain](#), as well as the [European Commission](#) (EC) itself, say withdrawal is an option if ECT modernisation cannot conform to the Paris Climate Agreement.
- 282 [parliamentarians](#) (both national and European) called on the EU member states and EC to “explore pathways to jointly withdraw” from the ECT.
- Six political parties (out of 15) [supported a motion](#) in the Dutch Parliament to terminate the ECT, including the Greens and a conservative party.
- The European Renewables Energy Federation joined the [ask for the EU to withdraw](#) from the Energy Charter Treaty.
- Investors across 16 countries and representing over 35 trillion euros in assets [called on members of the EU Council](#) to support the end of fossil investment protection as part of any ECT modernisation effort.
- 502 [climate leaders and scientists](#) called the ECT “a major obstacle” to the clean energy transition.
- Parliamentarians in [Germany](#), the [Netherlands](#) and [Spain](#) raised questions about the threat of ISDS claims due to COVID-19 measures.
- Articles citing our reports on ISDS threats under COVID-19 were published in [Suddeutsche Zeitung](#), [Der Spiegel](#), [Politico](#), [El Pais](#), [The Guardian](#) and [de Volkskrant](#) as well as in [academic journals](#).

“For PSI, it is essential to have an organisation like TNI. They do excellent work on areas important to us, such as remunicipalisation of essential services, or the Energy Charter Treaty and the ISDS system that favors transnational companies. At PSI, we especially appreciate the fact that TNI’s lines of work converge with our global strategies to defend public services and democracy. We observe a strong harmony between the organisations. The constant exchange of agendas and information always results in good work. We thank TNI for such a productive partnership.”

– Jocelio Drummond, Regional Secretary of Public Services International Inter-America region



The background image is a photograph of a harbor scene. In the foreground, a large white fishing boat with a dark hull is docked at a concrete pier. The boat has various equipment on its deck, including what looks like a crane or hoist. In the background, several other smaller boats are visible in the water. The shoreline is lined with buildings, and hills are visible in the distance under a clear sky. The entire image has a teal or cyan color overlay.

OBJECTIVE 3

Agrarian and Environmental Justice

To improve climate, energy and food security policies that would redirect trade and investment towards inclusive food and energy systems that genuinely address climate change challenges.

Small-scale farmers produce more than 70% of the food [produced in the Global South](#) on roughly 30% of agricultural land, while small-scale fishers provide affordable and sustainable protein and livelihoods for communities. Small-scale food producers' productivity is being severely disrupted by policies promoting large-scale, capital-intensive, energy-intensive, and extractive forms of resource appropriation for global trade purposes – with profound consequences for both food security and food sovereignty, as well as broader social and environmental impacts. The subsequent new wave of land “enclosures” are also being extended to oceans under the rubric of the “Blue Economy”, threatening the rights and livelihoods of small-scale fisher communities while doing little to address the climate and environmental crisis. The expansion of corporate-controlled “green” energy has further exacerbated these trends with mineral extraction for renewable technologies, agri-industrial plantations of “flex crops” also used for agrofuels, and competition for land and water resources linked to unsustainable development of renewable energy.

TNI has built the capacity of small-scale food producers to defend their land and resource rights, and to advocate for agroecology to secure [food sovereignty](#), sustainable food systems, and address the climate crisis. We provide information and analysis, undertake participatory action research with communities, support the development of new networks and alliances, and amplify the positions taken by the movements we seek to serve. TNI also works closely with scholar-activists, co-organising [conferences](#) and co-producing [academic journals](#). This builds understanding of the challenges and proposals of rural peoples, thereby shaping both academic knowledge production and the policy processes it feeds.

Over the past five years, successes include the United Nation's (UN) Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) embracing [agroecology](#) and [embedded local markets](#); the adoption by the UN General Assembly of the UN Declaration on the Rights of Peasants and Other People Working in Rural Areas ([UNDROP](#)), and Uruguay adopting a new national plan for agroecology after concerted work by TNI partner REDES. Further, following successful advocacy sustained by [TNI and allies](#), the European Parliament passed a [resolution](#) expressing concern at how EU policies were facilitating damaging land grabs that threatened Europe's small-scale farms, and citing TNI [research](#). Since then, the EU's Farm to Fork Strategy – as part of the European Green Deal effort and the result of long-time pressure from civil society – has been announced, and the [Committee on the Regions](#) has identified agroecology as a key driver of positive change.

In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic exposed the harmful contribution of agri-industry to the emergence of [zoonoses](#), as well as the fragility of globalised food supply chains. TNI organised an extremely popular [webinar](#) (4,749 viewers from 83 countries, run in 4 languages) featuring the author of [Big Farms Make Flu](#), in conversation with small-scale food producers. With respect to the risks for food supply, TNI and allies penned an urgent [letter](#) to the G20 Agriculture Ministers calling on the UN Committee on World Food Security (CFS) to coordinate a coherent global policy response and start building the resilient, sustainable food system the world desperately needs.

The crisis offers a clear opportunity to defend more local and resilient food systems as part of a just transition – from an economic system built around the extraction of resources and the exploitation of people, to one structured instead around the restoration and regeneration of territories and people's rights and dignity. To this end, TNI published a [paper](#) and a [policy brief](#) that was accompanied by an [op-ed](#) in the Dutch newspaper *de Volkskrant*, and cited multiple times in a [report](#) on the COVID crisis by the Civil Society Mechanism (CSM) of the FAO's CFS. We also co-published a set of [principles](#) for a just transition, intended to unify a broad range of social movements, based on a 2019 workshop with environmental and labour activists from Latin America, Africa and Europe. These principles were discussed and embraced at meeting of the [Asia-Europe People's Forum](#) (AEPF) in Pakistan on the eve of the COVID crisis; have informed the Dutch-focused work imagining a [Future beyond Shell](#) and shaped [public debates](#) there; and have contributed to further discussions between unions and small-scale food producers' organizations around the world.

In the course of the year, TNI supported small-scale food producers across the world in coming together in online spaces – often for the first time – to build shared analyses and visions. TNI co-organised events included a [webinar](#) with fisher folk from North Africa and Palestine to discuss the impact of the COVID crisis; a [series](#) of [webinars](#) on just transition and food sovereignty organised through the AEPF involving more than 500 activists from across both regions; and a dozen online meetings for small-scale fishers globally on issues from ocean grabbing to women's struggles involving some 1,200 people communicating in up to 13 languages. We also supported participatory action research in Indonesia on feminist responses to the COVID-19 crisis within fishing communities, led by partner Solidaritas Perempuan (SP); and provided expert testimony to an online series of [Blue Economy Tribunals](#) held for five Asian countries.

On the inspiration front, we recorded the story of a [Turkish fishery cooperative](#) that bloomed under Covid while being exemplary in its practice; and co-published a [handbook](#) of grassroots strategies within Europe for preserving access to land for small-scale agroecological farmers, further disseminated via a [webinar series](#).

Multistakeholderism and Corporate Power

COVID and its fall-out has affirmed the need for radical change. Agroecology has ostensibly been embraced but alas, once mainstreamed, the concept has been reduced to “greening” agri-industry, emptied of its transformative potential and political content. TNI (co)published hard hitting critiques highlighting the role of transnational multi-stakeholder platforms in [co-opting agroecology](#) and [innovating new forms of green-grabbing and dispossession](#).

Indeed, the Food Systems Summit being convened by the UN General Secretary (GS) in 2021 is just such a multi-stakeholder effort. The initiative follows the [highly controversial](#) UN Strategic Partnership with the World Economic Forum of 2019. The GS has been [heavily criticised](#) for bypassing the FAO and members of its CSM, under whose remit the Food Systems Summit should fall, in favour of co-operating with agribusiness (see *Objective 1 in respect of efforts to regulate transnational corporations*).

Results

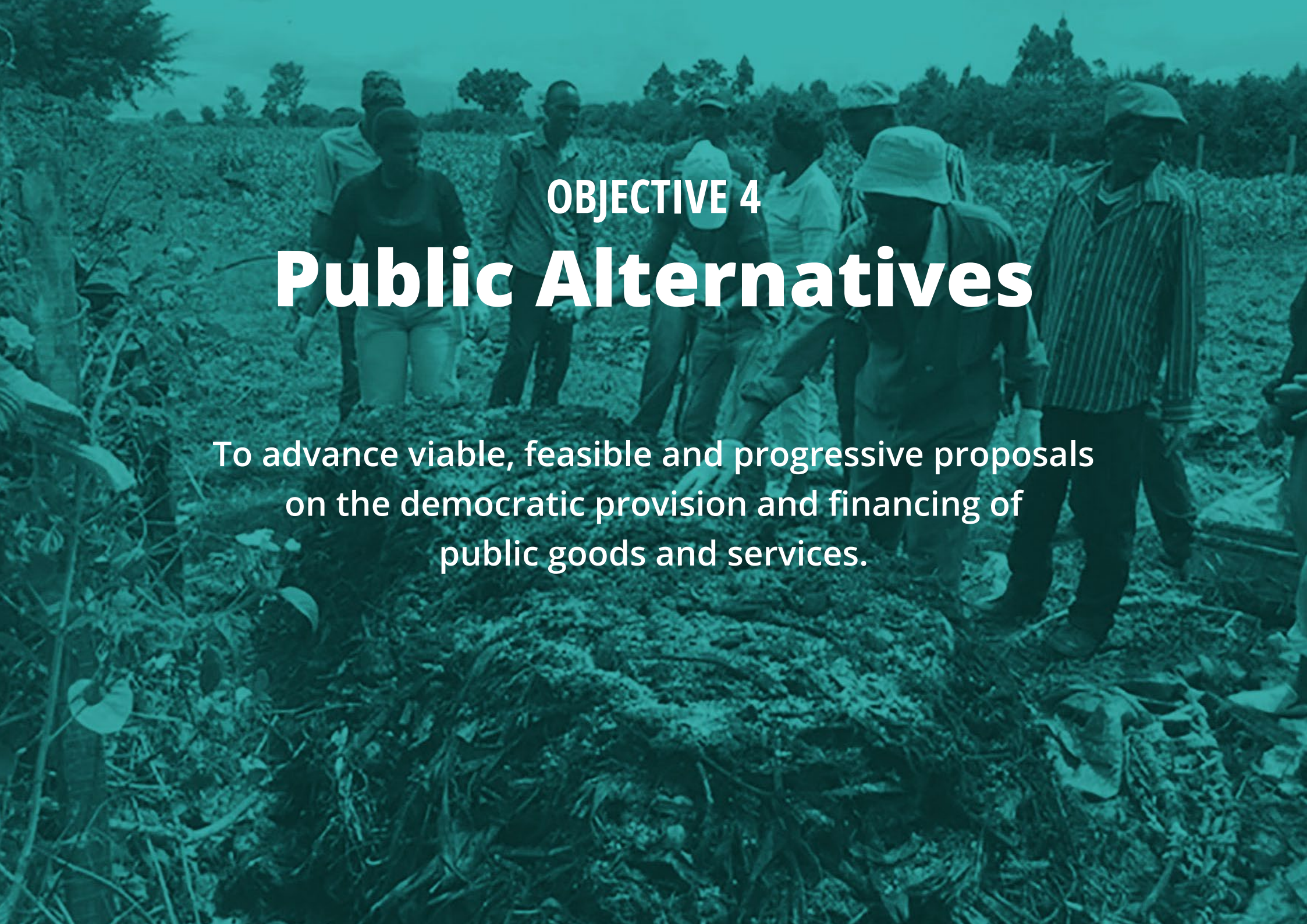
The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- The Civil Society Mechanism (CSM) at FAO's Committee on World Food Security cites TNI multiple times in its [report](#) on responses to the COVID crisis
- 8 months after more than 500 organisations [protest](#) FAO CSM exclusion from the UN Food Systems Summit, including TNI, the [UN Special Envoy](#) for the Food Systems Summit offers the CSM a structural role in the Summit.
- The incoming UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, Michael Fakhri, cites [Sylvia Kay /TNI](#) in his [Vision Report](#) 2020
- 100 delegates to the [Asia-Europe Peoples Forum](#) meeting in Lahore engage with [Just Transition](#)
- 5,284 people from 83 countries viewed two webinars on COVID-19 and food and energy systems
- [Blue Economy](#) tribunals are held for five Indian Ocean countries 6 years after TNI first helped the World Forum of Fisher Peoples unpack the threat of “ocean grabbing”.

“We are happy to be associated with TNI in several forms. TNI has helped our AEPF food cluster with ideological clarity on new narratives necessary for peace, land rights, climate justice and food sovereignty, to mention the few. TNI is one of most respectable institutions in Europe taking up issues of social justice and food sovereignty, anti-racism and refugee rights.”

– Farooq Tariq, General secretary of Pakistan Kissan Rabita Committee (Pakistan Peasants Coordination Committee) / Head of AEPF Asia Focal Point team



A group of people, including men and women, are working in a field. They are wearing various types of clothing, including hats and long-sleeved shirts. The field appears to be a mix of dirt and some vegetation. The image has a teal tint and is overlaid with text.

OBJECTIVE 4

Public Alternatives

To advance viable, feasible and progressive proposals on the democratic provision and financing of public goods and services.

COVID-19 exposed the catastrophic fallout of decades of privatization of essential services. The crisis has made clear to all that there are goods and services that must be placed outside the laws of the market, as they are the corner stones of healthy and resilient societies. As privatisation fails, a growing international movement is choosing (re)municipalisation as a key tool for redefining public ownership for the 21st century.

TNI works to support this movement in advancing proposals for achieving democratic, effective, and universally accessible public services. In the past five years, we have put a lot of effort into documenting the growing trend to bring services back under public control – to date identifying over 1,400 cases in 58 countries. This research provided the basis for collective publications such as [Reclaiming Public Services](#) (out in 12 languages, with more in the pipeline) and [The Future is Public](#). Such resources have stimulated mutual learning, as well as providing inspiration for the movement. TNI has also directly empowered workers and citizens to successfully oppose privatisations concerning water, electricity and telecommunications in Nigeria, Indonesia, South Africa and Colombia. We have sought to give visibility to these and other transformative struggles through [Transformative Cities](#), which attracted applications from local governments for the first time in 2020.

Energy Democracy

TNI connects struggles to bring services under democratised public control with questions of energy democracy and just transitions. Since 2016, we have helped build a strong network for energy democracy – which has grown to 400 organizations and individuals. We have also been part of an effort to support South African trade unions to develop a comprehensive proposal for transforming the beleaguered electricity utility such that it is fit to lead a just energy transition. In 2020, the [proposal](#) was published, accompanied by op-eds in the [South African](#) media that contributed significantly to the public debate. Thus far, the unions have managed to stave off government threats to unbundle the company, and are armed with strong evidence and argumentation supporting their vision.

On the European front, we are part of the [mPower](#) project. Since 2018, we have engaged more than 80 European municipalities in peer-to-peer learning about energy democracy and just transitions, with six subsequently declaring a climate emergency. mPower has played a pioneering role in building social infrastructures committed to just transitions among cities and with CSOs.

New Municipalism

Indeed, building the potential of progressive municipalism – particularly strong in Europe – for driving a democratic renewal and leading a just transition has been a keen focus for TNI. Since 2018, we have been co-organizing annual pan-European conferences with progressive local governments. A major common [struggle](#) has been to stop the European Commission's (EC) plan to introduce a Services Notification Procedure. The Procedure would give the EC veto power over new laws enacted by regional or local governments thereby harming their autonomy, undermining local democracy, squeezing their progressive policy space and right to regulate in the public interest. Meanwhile, as part of the European network of Corporate Observatories (ENCO), TNI co-published [Cities versus Multinationals](#), which looks at the brewing battle in Europe that pits cities and citizens against multinationals and the power of finance. The publication was downloaded over 10,000 times, and further disseminated via media partnerships in Spanish, English and French, reaching over 1.9 million people. By October 2020, the sustained [outcry](#) against the Services Notification Procedure, which exemplified this battle, forced the EC to back down. A month later, the [Municipalize Europe](#) conference took place online. 611 people from 36 countries joined to hear mayors, councillors, parliamentarians, UN Special Rapporteurs, and civil society activists discuss how to ensure social justice is addressed in planning post-pandemic recovery while also addressing climate change.

In April 2020, as the pandemic took hold, TNI co-organized a webinar on struggles around the world for equitable, universal, [public healthcare](#) and the role of privatisation, intellectual property rights, Big Pharma and global health governance in obstructing this. The discussions were viewed by 1,564 people from more than

71 countries. Later in the year, we co-convened another online meeting featuring a rare panel of eight (former) [UN Special Rapporteurs](#) (on poverty, healthcare, water and sanitation, education, housing, food and debt). They spoke to the 1,364-strong audience about how privatisation had left societies defenceless in the face of COVID-19, and the need to rebuild public services as a 'commons'. The event was accompanied by a jointly penned op-ed in [The Guardian](#). #FutureisPublic was the hashtag used by all nine co-organizers for common messaging. This, in itself, was a recognition of the impact of TNI's 2019 international conference, where the hashtag originated. Meanwhile, the event coincided with the publication of the [final report](#) of the UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Water, which cited TNI research on the negative impact of privatisation. Following publication, he came under heavy attack from the private water industry. We helped to quickly mobilise solidarity, with over 100 civil society organisations coming out in his [defence](#). This included some international NGOs, which have embraced public ownership for the first time thereby moving beyond the human rights frame to more structural questions of inequality.

Financing the Future We Want

In 2020, TNI continued to work on how to free up [public finance](#) for the egalitarian and regenerative future we want. We published a new [book](#), which made concrete proposals for how public funds could be mobilised to address both climate change and social justice, while putting democratic control and equitable access to common goods and services at the heart of investment policies. This work proved all the more relevant in the face of the pandemic. These ideas were further discussed in a well-attended [webinar](#) we co-organized, and were supplemented by publication of a [ten-point plan](#). The latter went somewhat viral in making 120,000 impressions on Twitter, thanks in part to the enthusiasm of Thomas Piketty. It also served as the basis for an article in [The Guardian](#), logging an incredible 540 comments and 400 shares.

Results

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

- The European Commission was forced to halt the [Services Notification Procedure](#).
- The UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Water's [final report](#) drew on TNI's work on privatisation of water services.
- 1,564 people (824 live from 71 countries) viewed a webinar explaining the obstacles to equitable, universal [public healthcare](#).
- Eight (former) UN Special Rapporteurs [come together](#) to [speak out](#) against the catastrophic impact of privatisation on societies' ability to cope with the pandemic. 500 joined live, 864 watched later, 1364 combined.
- Some international development [NGOs](#), for the first time, back the privatisation-human rights violation connection, and the importance of putting services back in public hands.
- 804 people (611 live from 36 countries) viewed the proceedings of the [Municipalise Europe](#) conference addressed by mayors, councillors, civil servants, parliamentarians and activists from across Europe.
- TNI's [10 Proposals](#) for paying for the pandemic and a just transition logs more than 120,000 impressions on Twitter, thanks in part to a re-tweet from Thomas Piketty.
- 31 local authorities participated in an [mPower](#) peer learning course on energy democracy, bringing the total since 2018 to 80.
- More than 11,000 people voted in the [Transformative Cities Award](#), 71 media stories mentioned the initiative, and several local governments applied for the Award – for the first time.
- [Cities versus Multinationals](#) was downloaded 10,000 times and reached over 1.9 million people in Europe via (social) media.
- South African unions developed a comprehensive [plan](#) for transforming the national electricity utility and the country's energy transition, and staved off government threats to unbundle the company.

"TNI is always right on the pulse of what are the important cutting edge issues of our times. As a thought leader on social and ecological justice issues, I can trust their scholarship and revolutionary analysis that is crucial in challenging patriarchal, colonial, racialised and capitalist notions on what needs to be prioritized and re-valued. Their public alternatives project, in particular, surfaces well researched and incisive analysis on why our anti-capitalist visions and practices must go together, and provides a credible foundation for our feminist organising and advocacy agendas."

- Felogene Anumo, Lead, Building Feminist Economies, the Association for Women's Rights and Development (AWID)



A close-up photograph of a cannabis plant with serrated leaves, overlaid with a teal color filter. The plant is the central focus, with its leaves and stems clearly visible against a blurred background.

OBJECTIVE 5

Drugs and Democracy

To reassess the conventional repressive drugs policy approaches in favour of pragmatic policies based on harm reduction, human rights, and development principles.

For twenty-five years, TNI has worked closely with rural communities involved in illicit cultivation of coca, opium poppy, and cannabis, including in complicated conflict situations like in Colombia and Myanmar, where TNI has been involved in peace-building efforts for many years. We have helped such small-scale producers across the world find a voice in national and international policy spaces and, most recently, to participate in the legal (medical) market. To support advocacy efforts primarily from the perspective of small-scale producers, TNI has cultivated a strong network of legal experts, convened informal Drug Policy Dialogues facilitating dialogues between government officials from over 30 countries, UN agencies and civil society on better ways forward, and we have worked with local authorities to share best practices in reducing the negative consequences of illicit drug markets on individuals and society. TNI has earned a reputation as one of the most knowledgeable watchdogs of the UN drug control system, and our advice is sought by many governments, UN agencies and NGOs.

Over the last five years, TNI has contributed to major shifts in the global drugs policy process and narrative. The monopoly of the drug control agencies in Vienna has been broken, with an enhanced role now for other UN agencies. Major results include the adoption by the heads of all 31 entities of the UN system of a groundbreaking [UN system common position on drug policy](#) which includes decriminalisation of drug use and the importance of a human rights and development-led drug policy, and is accompanied by a [Task Team](#) to follow through on it; the joint launch by the International Centre on Human Rights and Drug Policy, UNAIDS, WHO and UNDP of '[International Human Rights Guidelines for Drug Policy](#)'; and adoption by the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) of a [recommendation](#) to remove cannabis from Schedule IV of the 1961 Convention, thereby symbolically acknowledging the medicinal usefulness of cannabis. The latter was a direct result of concerted advocacy by TNI towards key countries which subsequently voted in favour of the recommendation. TNI has also played a crucial role in supporting individual states such as Uruguay and Bolivia on their journeys to legalise and regulate cannabis and the traditional use of coca leaf, respectively, as well as work with Canada in exploring the option of an inter se agreement by which a number of progressive states could collectively agree to move beyond the terms of the treaties. By 2020, it was clear that there was a real possibility of an historic rescheduling of cannabis at the UN Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND). The question then would be whether small-scale cannabis farmers, who had long paid the price of illegality, would benefit or whether possible future markets would be captured by big companies.

The CND [vote](#) to change the status of cannabis became a reality in December 2020. This represented an opportunity to further reform and decolonise drug control approaches across the globe and to strengthen the international legal basis for cannabis programmes in different parts of the world. In the lead up to the vote, TNI co-published a series of advocacy notes [on what cannabis rescheduling](#) could mean [for Africa](#) and [the Caribbean](#) and co-hosted multiple online briefings. TNI also supported a new Caribbean Fair Trade Cannabis Working Group to develop a [position paper](#), which addresses cannabis policy developments in the Caribbean region and the need for the inclusion of traditional cannabis farmers in the medical cannabis market. And, in Morocco, TNI and (local) partners started to work towards a pilot project to involve traditional cannabis farmers from the Rif in the medical cannabis market. We co-organized a pioneering workshop on medical cannabis with representatives of the Amazigh people and communities around Mount Tidighin, convened by the Confederation of Associations for Senhaja People's Development in the Rif. Local partners, including women and younger people, met to discuss the possibilities a legal medical cannabis market could bring.

There were also key developments at the European Union. Encouraged by TNI and partners, EU member states approved a new, more progressive [EU Strategy on Drugs](#), including suggestions from civil society. The [strategy](#) includes references to human rights, the UN General Assembly Special Session on Drugs outcome document and the UN Common Position on Drug Policy. It is important that the EU has agreed language defending the importance of human rights in the context of drug control and reinforcing the UN Common Position which can be referred to for purposes of further shifting mindsets at the UN drug control agencies in Vienna. At the CND in March 2020, following concerted advocacy by TNI and partners, the EU, Switzerland, Norway, Mexico, Canada and New Zealand all underlined the importance of the UN Common Position.

Meanwhile, the COVID-19 pandemic led a number of governments to release an unprecedented number of people from prison – often small-time drug offenders – and to curb new admissions. A number of countries took steps to legalise adult use of cannabis, including Mexico, Caribbean countries, and most remarkably the US Federal law – the Marijuana Opportunity, Reinvestment and Expungement (MORE) Act – which placed issues of social justice and reparation for communities most affected by the war on drugs at the centre of the debate. Mass incarcerations have been the consequence of repressive drug policies, with

massive social impact. TNI co-organised a [webinar](#) where activists and researchers from Indonesia, Colombia, the USA and Sierra Leone shared ideas about how the pandemic could serve as a moment of change in the longstanding practice of mass incarceration for drug offences. A total of 970 people from 58 countries registered and received the recording and 556 joined live. TNI and partners also collaborated on a series of [webinars](#) exploring how the so-called 'war on drugs' has undermined progress towards development goals for decades – fuelling violence, conflict and corruption, undermining democracy, and driving poverty, inequality and poor health worldwide, and how a new approach to drugs could prioritise, promote and protect health and well-being, help address poverty and inequality, and contribute to achieving the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Featuring speakers from the development sector, drug policy reform movement, and civil society, we explored how drug policies intersect with some of the most pressing issues facing the Global South today. TNI staff also gave well-attended lectures on agrarian justice and human rights in development-orientated drug control at the first online Brandenburg Academy, organised by the [Global Partnership on Drug Policies and Development](#), in which TNI is a partner. The Academy provides policy makers with in-depth courses on specific drug policy issues.

In Colombia, however, policy was again going in the other direction. The Ministry of Justice published a draft law that would allow the resumption of aerial spraying of coca crops, after it was suspended in 2016 in the context of the peace process. TNI supported partners there in responding to the threat. A meeting was convened at the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in Bogotá, which included representatives of farmers and indigenous peoples, lawyers, representatives of UN agencies and human rights NGOs. TNI is supporting local communities to prepare a collective action should the spraying restart.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- The UN CND approved recommendation 5.1 to [remove cannabis](#) from Schedule IV of the 1961 Convention
- At the CND, Switzerland, Norway, the EU, Mexico, Canada and New Zealand all recognized the importance of the progressive UN Common Position on Drug Policy.
- EU member states rejected the European Commission's Agenda on Drug Policy and, instead, approved a new [EU Strategy on Drugs](#), including references to Human Rights and the UN Common Position on Drugs.
- A new Caribbean Working Group was established and launched [a position paper](#) based on fair trade principles and aimed at CARICOM countries.
- 85 policy makers from different continents attended two sessions of the first online [Brandenburg Academy](#) on drugs and development.
- 970 people from 58 countries joined a [webinar](#) on Covid as a moment to rethink mass incarceration.



OBJECTIVE 6

War and Pacification

To make publicly visible the permanent state of war
and the pacification of resistance.

Over the past five years, TNI has been concerned with analysing and exposing the structural and systemic drivers of the permanent state of war, particularly in the context of the authoritarian trend that is discernibly growing globally and the pacification of resistance including attempts to criminalize dissent and solidarity. Our War and Pacification programme has published high-quality research and reliable analysis on the role of corporations in shaping border and migration policies, the shrinking of civic space for dissent, or the institutionalisation of Islamophobia across Europe in the wake of the “war on terror”. Importantly, the programme has also led the way in proposing workable alternative solutions to challenging counter-terrorism policies and securitised political agendas.

In 2020, TNI focused primarily on two key strands of work: the corporate drivers of militarized border policies and the structural drivers of institutionalized Islamophobia. Our Border Wars research received widespread global media coverage in over 30 countries, including in the *New York Times*, and was referenced by Dutch and Spanish parliamentarians. Moreover, the UN Working Group on Mercenaries relied on much of TNI’s research for its 2020 thematic [report](#), which focused on the use of private military and security companies in providing border security. The report questioned the role and motives of private for-profit security actors, hired by states to provide border security. The UN Working Group considered that such companies fall within the category of mercenaries, casting a wide net that examined several of the companies involved and the function they played in militarising borders – from those who carry arms and implement security functions to those that, for example, supply uniforms. The premise is that regardless of their role, they all play a part in the border security apparatus and profit from it. Their focus on the role of corporations in border management brought the issue to the attention of UN member states, particularly those on the Human Rights Council. In recognition of TNI’s expertise in this area, TNI was then invited to give a key note address at the [virtual side event](#) that accompanied the presentation of the report to the UN Human Rights Council. UN Special Rapporteur on the Human Rights of Migrants, Felipe Gonzalez, also participated in the virtual event.

TNI was frequently sought out to provide input on border politics in webinars throughout 2020, particularly since the onset of COVID-19. TNI published a paper titled [COVID-19 and Border Politics](#) that examined the worsening situation for those on the move in corona times, as a result of a doubling down on deadly border policies in response to the pandemic. TNI co-published [A Walled World – Towards a Global Apartheid](#), which was praised by many online during its launch and on social media for providing a comprehensive overview of the walls going up around the world and for breaking new ground by analyzing border politics through the lens of apartheid. We organized three webinars, attracting a total of 2,097 views on the question of borders, with a particular focus on Europe in the wake of the ongoing travesty taking place in the Mediterranean sea.

Mid-year, in the wake of the police murder of George Floyd in the US, protesters took to the streets demanding justice and that policing structures be de-funded and abolished. They drew parallels between the racialised violence of police today and the oppression that dates from the colonial periods. Black Lives Matter quickly became a global phenomenon. As calls to de-fund or abolish the police grew, TNI published a piece in [ROAR magazine](#) that looked at both policing and borders and their role in upholding an oppressive system of power, joining the dots between borders, colonialism and racism. Building on the momentum of the movement for Black Lives, TNI critically analysed the trends emerging in anti-racism movements and set out practical steps towards re-politicising anti-racism debates and actions in the report [‘Recovering antiracism: Reflections on collectivity and solidarity in antiracist organising’](#). TNI also hosted a [webinar](#) on the topic bringing in activist voices from Morocco, the Netherlands, the UK, the USA, and Brazil.

The [Stop Islamophobia](#) project – a European consortium coordinated by TNI – drew to a close at the end of 2020. Overall, TNI’s work on Islamophobia has been commended for framing Islamophobia as a structural question, exposing the institutional and political drivers of anti-Muslim racism that scapegoats Muslims and indiscriminately targets them through counter-terrorism policies. As part of the project, TNI published several well-received reports.

Stranger than fiction provided a comparative analysis of countering violent extremism policies from three European countries – France, the Netherlands and Britain. The report was well received by the UN Special Rapporteur on Protecting Human Rights while Countering Terrorism. There was considerable social media interest in the report with our associated video receiving over 9,500 views in English. An associated article in [Open Democracy](#) reached a wide audience and was picked up by Islamophobia watch networks, including Bridge, a Georgetown University initiative. We also published a report on how counter-terrorism measures restrict [freedom of expression](#) and impact particularly on the arts.

TNI also published a report on the [permanence of the state of emergency in France](#), which was much welcomed by our French-speaking audience, receiving significant engagement on social media. The UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Counter Terrorism also commended this report for its important contribution to understanding the complex situation in France, as well as for providing an insight into how temporary emergency measures often become permanent. This subject was particularly relevant in 2020 in the context of the global pandemic, which saw many governments impose states of emergency, increase police and military presence, expand their rules of engagement to implement lockdowns, increase their reliance on digital surveillance technology, moving to rule by decree, and shutting their borders or restricting movement. As part of TNI's COVID webinar series, we organized a very popular session on the [darker side of pandemic politics](#), with *inter alia* Arun Kundnani and Fionnuala Ní Aoláin, UN Special Rapporteur on Human Rights and Counter Terrorism. It attracted 1,630 participants from 76 countries and was viewed later by a further 2,081 people.

Finally, we published [Muslim Women don't need saving – Gendered Islamophobia in Europe](#), which addresses the highly gendered nature of Islamophobia. This includes discriminatory legislation that disproportionately impacts Muslim women in Europe. Courts rarely find in favour of Muslim women when anti-discrimination cases have been brought. Islamophobic narratives of political leaders also often focus on women, ostensibly framed as emancipatory even as they deny Muslim women rights to religious freedom, freedom of expression, equality and non-discrimination. This was the main theme of a [photo exhibition](#) mounted in Amsterdam, designed for easy replication in other European capitals, put together by a team of acclaimed photo journalists from Noor Images who accompanied the project over three years.

TNI also [co-published a book](#) on the recent wave of mass protest movements across North Africa and West Asia, including Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran. The book identified commonalities – including shrinking civic space, opposition to authoritarian regimes and worsening economic situations – and demands for radical changes in social relations. The book identified lessons learned for future civil society-driven struggles in the region. It provided the basis for a webinar with 324 people from 37 countries and drew media attention in prominent Middle Eastern media outlets the [Middle East Eye](#) and [Jadaliyaa](#), as well as [Open Democracy](#) and the [Review of African Political Economy](#).

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- The UN Working Group on Mercenaries published a [report](#) drawing on TNI's research criticizing the role of private companies in border management.
- Our Border Wars research received widespread global media coverage in over 30 countries, including in the *New York Times*, and was referenced by Dutch and Spanish parliamentarians.
- The UN Special Rapporteur on Protecting Human Rights while Countering Terrorism praised TNI's report on the prolongation and permanence of the state of emergency in France
- The [Stranger than fiction](#) report video clocked 9,500 views on social media
- 1,630 people from 76 countries attended a TNI webinar on [States of Control](#) – The Dark side of Pandemic Politics with Arun Kundnani and the UN Special Rapporteur on Counter Terrorism and Human Rights and a total of 3,721 people eventually viewed the discussion.
- More than 8000 people from more than 80 countries viewed discussions organized by TNI on programme themes.
- Good media attention, including in West Asia, for a [TNI book](#) on the recent uprisings in North Africa and West Asia.

"TNI's research and webinars have been a critical resource for us as a philanthropic initiative for understanding the systemic drivers of closing civic space and democratic erosion, and the political and economic alternatives that could lead to genuine shifts in power and new and deeper forms of democracy. We have hugely benefitted from their expertise and generosity as thought-partners while developing our work on abuse of state security power and closing civic space. TNI's thought-leadership is informed by its long-standing and deep collaboration with grassroots movements - its webinars in response to the COVID 19 pandemic were exceptional in bringing the analysis of movement leaders and their allies to a global audience."

– Poonam Joshi, Director, Funders' Initiative for Civil Society



The background image is a photograph of a rural landscape in Myanmar. It shows a person in the foreground, wearing a dark long-sleeved shirt and a dark skirt, using a traditional wooden plow to till the soil. The person is walking barefoot. The field is a mix of brown earth and green grass. In the background, there are rolling hills under a cloudy sky. The entire image has a teal/cyan color overlay.

OBJECTIVE 7

Just Peace in Myanmar

To support civil society organisations in Myanmar in addressing ethnic conflict to make the peace and political and economic reform process more inclusive.

TNI works to strengthen ethnic-based CSOs' engagement with policy developments in respect to land and related natural resources, investment and drugs policy and in the context of a fragile ethnic peace. We help to build the capacity of opium farmers and other rural working people (including fishers) – with an emphasis on women, youth and internally displaced people (IDPs) – to develop their own policy positions; to normalize dialogues with Ethnic Armed Organisations (EAOs) towards achieving a social compact; and to facilitate people-to-people exchanges between different regions to collectively strengthen their engagements with the Myanmar national state on common policy areas. TNI works in Karen, Kachin, Karenni, Mon, Shan and Kayah States and Tanintharyi Region, and at the national level. It brings international context and experiences to bear on the process, and helps CSOs to analyse national legal proposals and understand their implications for grassroots communities while encouraging them to develop their own positions and articulate their own perspectives.

Over the last 5 years, TNI has supported the formation or strengthening of nine local networks of farmers and activists working on drugs policy, land and natural resources, and investment. We have facilitated the active participation of farmers and local activists in many policy development meetings convened by ethnic armed organisations (EAOs), political parties and the government. This includes the establishment of five platforms for informal dialogues, as well as active participation in meetings of the UN, with diplomats and with European parliamentarians. As a result, there have been three changes in national policies on drugs and land which reflect civil society proposals; eight policies of EAOs and ethnic political parties that reflect CSO proposals; and two joint positions endorsed by ethnic CSOs, EAOs and political parties. TNI's ideas, analysis and voices on Myanmar were also sought by key media in Myanmar as well as internationally, including in the *Myanmar Times*, *The Irrawaddy*, *Mizzima*, *DVB*, *BBC*, *VOA*, *Time*, *Economist*, *New York Times*. Activists, internally displaced persons (IDPs), drug users and opium farmers all published their own analysis and positions in commentaries on TNI's website. CSOs, EAOs, political parties, diplomats, and government officials have requested copies of TNI's publications and/or briefings on their content. TNI has also contributed to a broader understanding of the ethnic conflict in Myanmar with briefing papers and commentaries, involving many local voices.

In 2020, TNI continued to support ethnic-based CSOs to develop their own proposals for improved and more inclusive land policies; drug policies consistent with human

rights and development principles; and stimulated informed public debate on mega infrastructure projects funded as part of the Belt and Road Initiative. At the same time, we worked to build greater cooperation and solidarity among the various ethnic groups in the context of a fragile peace and the impending national election, and to prepare CSOs for the potential impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

Land and natural resources

After several years support from TNI, local partners finalised a joint position paper on customary land tenure, addressing the fact that Myanmar's current national land policies do not take into account customary land practices in ethnic areas which results in land losses for communities. 90 farmers, activists and members of political parties and EAOs benefited from a five-part online course on 'Political Structures and Federalism' organised by TNI. This helped participants to better understand how alternative land and natural resources might be formulated under a federal arrangement. TNI also facilitated multiple ethnic groups coming together to identify key elements for a federal land policy, resulting in a draft joint federal land discussion paper – a significant first step in the process of developing a proposed Federal Land Law.

Meanwhile, the Salween Peace Park in Karen State, developed by local communities and CSOs with TNI support, won the UNDP's prestigious [Equator Prize](#). An innovative people-centred alternative for forest conservation and livelihood development managed on the basis of self-determination and ecological sustainability, it provides an alternative model to top-down, militarized development and conservation.

On the investment front, TNI's 2019 briefing on the [BRI in Myanmar](#) proved a useful contribution to public debate following President Xi Jinping's visit in January 2020. During Xi's visit, media including from [The Irrawaddy](#), [Myanmar Times](#) and BBC Chinese, cited TNI's report. TNI co-organized workshops on the report in several regions for Myanmar CSOs to better understand the implications of the BRI projects and to jointly develop advocacy strategies.

We continued to research links between drugs and conflict, and the changing drugs market in the region. TNI co-organised workshops on the subject with civil society groups, including opium farmers, drug users, youth and development organisations. TNI also co-organised a drug policy workshop with the Myanmar

Central Committee for Drug Abuse Control (CCDAC). Including questions of alternative development, the dialogue provided a rare opportunity for members of the Myanmar Opium Farmers' Forum and other CSOs to have informal discussions with representatives from various government departments. In April, the Drugs Policy Advocacy Group (DPAG) issued a [Joint Call for Action](#) concerning the need to protect prisoners from COVID-19, which was supported by TNI and many other groups. Soon thereafter, the government released [25,000 prisoners](#) – the largest release in recent years.

When COVID-19 broke globally, TNI sought to help CSOs understand the global challenges and impact. We published several commentaries and a [critical review](#) of the government's COVID-19 Economic Recovery Plan. We also facilitated two workshops on COVID-19 for seven EAOs to provide them with reliable information about the potential impact of the pandemic; government policies; options for testing, treatment and vaccination; as well as possible policy responses in their respective areas. These online workshops also served as an informal platform for participants to share experiences and responses.

With the support of 20 local civil society groups in the Dry Zone, Mon State and Shan State, TNI researched the impact of COVID-19 on migrants and their families. We interviewed over 100 people, recently returned to Myanmar from China and Thailand due to the pandemic. The subsequent [report](#), co-published with many local organisations, describes who the cross-border migrant workers are, the conditions that led them to become migrant workers, and how they perceive their situation. The research will help social movements in Myanmar to understand better what kind of action is needed to address the issues confronting migrant workers today.

Meanwhile, TNI's [report](#) on the history of armed and political Buddhist and Muslim organisations in Arakan State continued to draw attention. In December 2020, we co-organised an online seminar with the embassies of the Netherlands and Sweden to discuss the report. It is among the first to put forward an inclusive history of Arakan State and helps to build bridges between the different religious and ethnic groups that live there. TNI also published a [briefing](#) on ethnic politics and the 2020 national elections, looking at the faltering of the ethnic peace process; the freezing of the constitutional reform process; and escalation of armed conflict in several parts of the country under five years of the NLD government. The briefing received good press attention and was quoted in *The Economist*.

Results

The key results to which TNI contributed significantly in 2020 include:

- Representatives from multiple ethnic groups developed a draft joint federal land discussion paper, a significant first step in the process for a Federal Land Law.
- Multiple ethnic CSOs finalised a joint position paper on customary land tenure.
- 25,000 prisoners are released following a broadly supported [Call](#) to improve conditions in Myanmar prisons and detention facilities in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic.
- Representatives from seven EAOs joined two TNI workshops on COVID-19 to receive reliable information on prevention, treatment, testing and vaccination options in their areas, and to be able to share experiences.
- TNI's [analysis](#) on the 2020 Myanmar National Election received strong media attention, including from *The Economist* print edition.
- Local [media](#) use TNI's report on [BRI in Myanmar](#) during President Xi's visit to the country.

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

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

The governance structure of TNI is set up as follows:

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

The structure is set out below:



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

Composition of the Supervisory Board in 2020

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

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

Susan George has served as President of TNI since 2015, which is an honorary position.

The composition of the Supervisory Board in 2020 was as follows:

Pauline Tiffen, Chairperson	12/12/2014 – 11/12/2022 (2nd term)
Frenk van Enckevort, Secretary	15/06/2018 – 14/06/2022 (1st term)
Ruth Kronenburg, Treasurer	29/10/2018 – 28/10/2022 (1st term)

There were no changes to the Supervisory Board in 2020. A process to seek additional members was undertaken, however. One new member will be formally appointed in March 2021, with a fifth member to be chosen hereafter.

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 Community Builder.

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

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

Remuneration of the Executive Director:

	2020	2019
	€	€
Gross salary	86,384	82,713
Holiday pay	6,670	6,520
End of year payment	500	500
Brutto Income	93,554	90,733
Taxes and premiums paid by TNI	10,090	10,402
Pension contribution from TNI	12,808	10,354
	116,452	110,489

Composition of the International Fellowship

Fellows support the TNI programmes closest to their specific areas of expertise, producing relevant analyses and commentaries. They link TNI to broader activist-scholar communities as well as relevant social movement networks in their countries or regions. Fellows meet together at least once a year for the annual Fellows' Meeting. These meetings take stock of the implications of recent global developments, enabling TNI to assess the context in which it is working. We also explore emerging questions, bringing in additional expertise where necessary. Fellows' meetings help TNI 'stay ahead of the curve', and to think openly and critically about the big issues, while also enriching Fellows' own work and thinking.

Fellows serve a four-year term, renewable once. Detailed information about the current Fellowship can be found on the TNI [website](#).

The current composition of the Fellowship is as follows:

Achin Vanaik (India)	3 December 2015	31 December 2020
Ben Hayes (UK)	30 September 2015	31 December 2020
David Fig (South Africa)	21 September 2015	31 December 2020
Phyllis Bennis (USA)	15 April 2015	31 December 2020
Hilary Wainwright (UK)	15 April 2015	31 December 2020
Daniel Chavez (Uruguay)	15 April 2015	31 December 2020
Edgardo Lander (Venezuela)	15 April 2015	31 December 2020
Jun Borrás (Philippines)	15 April 2015	31 December 2020

Former Fellows join the ranks of TNI Associates, which may also include other researchers and scholars who make substantial ongoing contributions to the TNI community.

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

The current term of office of the Fellowship expired at the end of 2019, and was extended by the Director to the end of 2020. TNI has been undertaking an extensive process of evaluation and consultation with a view to reconstituting the various structures of TNI, including the future role of Fellows and Associates. In 2020, due to COVID, no annual fellows' meeting took place.

Composition of the International Advisory Board

In 2020, the Supervisory Board decided to disband the existing International Advisory Board, which has not been operational for some years. The form and composition of the structure is being reconsidered with a view to reflecting contemporary needs and networks of TNI. The most active of existing international advisors were invited to become Associates of TNI.

Personnel

TNI's internal organisational culture is non-hierarchical and highly consultative. As far as possible, decisions are taken through a process of consensus-building. While most staff are expected to be self-steering, there are also clear lines of accountability and recognition of the authority of the team leader to make final decisions. There is no hierarchy in respect of public representation with all staff encouraged to accept public speaking engagements, and to engage with the media.

A total of 72 people were contracted to work for TNI in various capacities and under various conditions in 2020.

Staff

By the end of 2020, the foundation had 23,71 full time equivalent (FTE) employees (in 2019: 25,29) on the payroll. The average number of FTE over the year was 24,16 (in 2019: 25,26) — representing a decrease of 1,1 FTE. At the end of the year, these figures represented 27 individuals (in 2019: 29). In 2020, one staff member resigned and one staff member retired, while one other increased their hours slightly. Two staff members were medically boarded part-time, with every effort made to support their recovery and gradual reintegration into the workplace on a full-time basis.

TNI uses as its guideline the Collective Bargaining Agreement (CAO) for the Care and Welfare Sector in The Netherlands. Staff receive an incremental increase for each year of service. In addition, and in line with the CAO, staff were awarded a salary increase in July 2020 of 3,25%.

The ratio of the highest:median salary was 1,9 and the highest:lowest was 3,3 (on the basis of full-time equivalent). These figures do not take account of years of service or income tax differentials, which would bring the ratio down.

According to benchmarks established in 2018 by Partos, the umbrella body for non-governmental organisations operating within the Dutch development cooperation sector, TNI salaries are within the norm for the sector. In respect of benchmarks for the charitable sector more broadly, established by Goede Doel Nederland, TNI salaries are slightly below the norm.

There is a training budget set at 1% of the personnel budget, and guided by a training policy. 8 staff benefited from training courses in 2020 at a cost of Euro 3,745. These included foreign language skills (English), foundation fundraising, video footage, editing, event management, first response (medical emergencies). In addition, weekly lunch-time accelerator sessions were organised online for self-education purposes.

New disciplinary and grievance policies and procedures were introduced following workshops with staff, and subsequently approved by the Supervisory Board. An internal integrity officer was nominated by the staff and then appointed by the Director.

The costs of the employees on the payroll were:

	2020	2019
	€	€
Salaries	1,118,789	1,176,836
Social security	202,371	200,900
Pension premiums	92,453	83,102
Sickness insurance	19,013	17,565
Other personnel costs	28,867	40,315
	1,461,493	1,518,718

Volunteers, Interns and Visiting Scholars

TNI had 3 volunteers in the course of 2020, and welcomed 10 interns hailing from China, Canada, Egypt, Germany, Spain, UK and the Netherlands. Most were students at Dutch universities. They are paid an honorarium in line with Dutch norms. We had no visiting scholars in 2020.

External Staff

TNI is registered as an employer only in The Netherlands and Belgium. Where staff members are located in other countries, they are employed on freelance contracts and expected to pay their own taxes and make provisions for their own social security. They are treated equally with payroll staff, with their salaries pegged to TNI salary policy and compensation for taxes, social security and pension contributions built into the calculations, adjusted for domestic tax rates and costs of living. In 2020, TNI contracted 16 such staff, located in Brazil, Morocco, USA, UK, Spain (2) and Myanmar (10).

Consultants

A further 16 people were contracted on a freelance basis for specific deliverables in the course of 2020, including in Myanmar (2), Bolivia, Argentina (2), Germany, Denmark, Netherlands (5), Spain, UK (2), and USA. They set their own fees and are responsible for paying their own taxes.

Staffing of Fiscally Sponsored Projects

In addition, TNI serves as the fiscal sponsor for two projects where staff are contracted by TNI. These are:

- Handel Anders Network (Netherlands), the coordinator is on TNI's payroll.
- Drug Policy Alternatives Group (Myanmar), with the coordinator and an assistant contracted on a consultant basis.

TNI strives to establish and uphold ethical standards within its organization. In 2020, TNI's Integrity Policies were reviewed and updated, including a longstanding policy on sexual harassment. New policies finalised included a Whistle-Blower Policy and a Code of Conduct.

No inappropriate behaviour, misconduct or any other breaches of TNI's integrity policies were reported in 2020. No grievances nor disciplinary procedures were required, and no complaints were received on the basis of the Complaints Policy published on the TNI website.

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 2020, it housed:

- a childcare centre
- a meditation centre
- a non-profit food consumer rights organisations
- a non-profit support organisation for animation filmmaker
- a Dutch streetwear company associated with the hiphop scene of Amsterdam

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 2020, solar panels installed on the roof of our building in mid-2017 have enabled us to save 30 tons of CO2 and have generated 43,272 kWh of solar energy, continuing to provide the anticipated third of our electricity needs annually. The balance is sourced from wind energy supplied by local farmers.

In addition, we continue to invest in insulation of the office building, and make every effort to reduce our energy consumption. Of course, in 2020, with the office closed for most of the year, energy consumption went down dramatically.

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

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

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

There were no procurements over Euro 30,000 in 2020 that would require a tender processes under TNI's Procurement Policy.

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. TNI did not undertake any such activities in 2020.

TNI is acknowledged by the Dutch tax authorities (RSIN: 3474082) as an organization that works for the common interest (ANBI: Algemeen Nut Beogende Instelling). This allows those who make donations to TNI to qualify for tax rebates within the European Union.

TNI has long been formally recognized as holding the equivalent of 501 (c) status in the USA, which status is reconfirmed annually with a certificate and which may be used by members of NGOSource.

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 are put in place where necessary. An inventory is under development, which will provide the organisation with a comprehensive matrix for monitoring purposes.

Below the key high probability, high impact risks addressed in 2020, and identified for 2021 are discussed.

COVID-19

The outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic was a major risk identified in 2020. This was anticipated to impact on staff physically, on operations, and on priorities.

Initial mitigation measures taken to ensure the safety of staff included closing the office on 13 March 2020, allowing staff to work from home, lending equipment as required, and arranging regular online team/staff meetings until it was deemed officially safe to reopen the office. Meanwhile, for those who needed to come into the office, measures to minimize contact risk were put in place, including registration in an online roster to ensure not too many people were in the office at the same time; provision of appropriate equipment, such as shields between desks, the availability of sanitisers, gloves and masks; and agreement on safety protocols. As temperatures dropped and it became apparent that pandemic conditions would prevail for the foreseeable future, staff who did not normally work from home were compensated in line with the recommendations of the [National Institute for Budget Information](#).

Five of our staff contracted COVID-19, though fortunately mostly mildly and none required hospitalisation. Care became a major theme within the

Institute. Over time, everyone developed an acute awareness of the mental well-being of others. This was particularly important with a very international staff without strong social networks outside of work and unable to travel to be with their families, sometimes in places particularly hard hit by the pandemic. We had parents struggling to work with children at home, single people feeling isolated, special needs people losing the structure needed for focus, colleagues dealing with long-distance bereavement and familial illness, many struggling with home-work balances, and most missing normal social contact. Resolving misunderstandings or grievances or just getting to know each other better was that much harder virtually. Interns had a much more restricted experience than would be normal. Despite all the difficulties, in many ways, the crisis pulled staff closer, brought the best out in everyone, and reinforced mutual care as a core ethic of the Institute.

Operationally, TNI managed to adapt well. Our administration was already fully digitised and there were no disruptions to normal administrative procedures. Being an international institute, most staff were used to operating virtually. Every effort was made to minimize the financial impact on TNI, its staff – including consultants, and partners. Programmatic plans were adapted as required, with all international travel cancelled and all activities going online. Where necessary, no-cost extensions and/or permission for budget reallocations were sought from funders, all of whom were exceedingly considerate and cooperative.

The pandemic has had clear consequences for the context in which TNI works programmatically too. New threats and new opportunities emerge from this. Much effort went into analysing the transformations underway and what this might mean for our programmatic priorities, and those of our funders.

Going into 2021, it is clear that COVID-19 remains a physical risk until everyone is vaccinated, and provided this happens quickly enough that mutations do not render vaccinations ineffective. Meanwhile, TNI will continue to follow the same mitigation strategies it did in 2020 and will prepare for a future in which home work is likely more the norm than the exception. A staff survey showed that most would prefer never to return full-time to the office, indicating that COVID-19 has impacted significantly on office culture. This may have implications for the office space TNI requires for its operations, as it may for other organisations who rent space from TNI. This may hold some risk for TNI in terms of finding new tenants and the implications for the costs of the building.

Security and safety

Security and safety continued to be a key risk monitored in 2020, particularly in the context of a growing climate of repression against progressive activists discernible across the world, including against partner organizations, potentially worsening in places under cover of the pandemic.

Myanmar

Our Myanmar programme involves people from conflict zones in a deteriorating political context. TNI had developed a thorough matrix of risks – along with concomitant mitigation strategies – assessed annually and updated for probability and severity. The political climate worsened in 2020 and, as planned, for each activity staff assessed risk and made mitigation plans.

With the pending 2021 elections, further trouble was anticipated and preparations duly made. In February 2021, the military coup confirmed worst fears, and mitigation plans were activated. Funders have been very supportive of the local staff and partners, also offering embassy support.

Data security and safe communications

TNI had fully digitised its financial and other administration some years back. This, along with the introduction of new laws on data privacy and growing concern about safe communications, particularly under repressive circumstances such as in Myanmar, prompted TNI in 2018 to identify data security and safe communications as a priority risk. The result was a comprehensive Information & Communication Technology (ICT) policy put in place by 2019 – including data protection, data security and data breach policies and procedures – as well as ongoing education of staff by TNI's Computer Support team on data security and safe communications. This stood TNI in good stead in 2020.

In 2020, particularly with staff working from home during the pandemic, every effort was made to ensure that staff continued to adhere to the ICT policy and were conscious of the need for safe communications. We are happy to report there were no data breaches or other ICT incidents in 2020, aside from the odd phishing expedition which were fortunately recognised as such by staff. With the shift to online activities, special care was taken to adhere to GDPR privacy laws in collecting participant registration information and guidelines developed to safeguard events from trolls.

We did have a few connected minor incidents whereby our bank details – published on our website's donation page – were used by strangers to make unauthorised online purchases. The incidents were quickly noticed, the companies concerned informed, and the payments reversed so no losses were incurred by TNI. The bank details were removed from our site to prevent this happening again.

In 2021, data security and safe communications will remain a priority risk area to monitor as operations will continue to take place mainly online and the situation in Myanmar is expected to deteriorate further.

Financial Sustainability

As a non-profit organization TNI is primarily dependent on grant income. Of this, nearly half derives from one source: the Dutch Ministry of Trade and Development via the Fair, Green and Global Alliance (FGG) in which TNI is a member. The single biggest risk identified for 2020 was the possibility that a new five-year grant would not be forthcoming. Fundraising for 2021 onwards was a key priority for the year.

Fortunately, we heard in June 2020 that the Fair, Green and Global Alliance (FGG) was awarded a new grant, albeit at lower rate than in the previous grant. This provides welcome security for around half TNI's annual budget up to the end of 2025, and a strong basis from which to leverage co-financing. Additional efforts at fundraising – including investments in training of staff – paid off. Three new foundations are now supporting our work, which helps to further spread risk by diversifying our funding base. Meanwhile, we also managed to sustain the level of donations to the Institute, largely through concerted effort during online events for which we attracted big audiences in 2020.

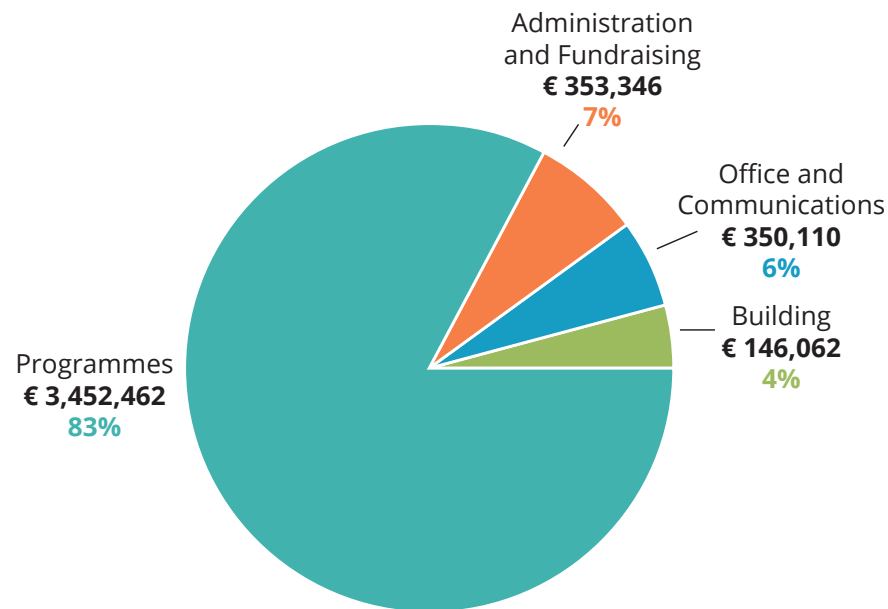
For 2021, we foresee risks to our programme in Myanmar in light of the coup that has taken place there. Considerable adaptation of the programme is now required. We are working closely with funders to figure out new priorities and *modus operandii* given current conditions.

More generally, there is a perennial risk that TNI is not able to raise sufficient funds to sustain current operations. On average, TNI does manage to raise 90% of its budget before the end of the previous financial year, with the balance secured by the end of the first quarter. We monitor multi-annual projections closely, constantly scan for opportunities while staying on mission, invest in funder relations, and actively seek to diversify our funding base and sources of independent income. This does require ongoing investment of time, enhancement of staff skills and clear fundraising guidelines.

Income as a % of total grant income		
	2020	2019
Dutch government	50%	51%
Other public sources	20%	20%
Philanthropic foundations	16%	21%
European Union	14%	8%

In addition to grant income, TNI raised € 172,508 in unearmarked funds. These consist of rental income (80%), donations (6%) and consultancies and book sales (14%).

TNI spent 80% of its income in 2020 on programme implementation, 8% on administration and fundraising, 12% on infrastructure (office and communications, building).



TNI raises grants for projects developed by our seven programme themes. Myanmar is our largest and only country-focused programme. It is able to draw on the expertise of many of the other programmes. Indeed, there is a lot of collaboration across TNI programmes as many of the issues covered are inter-connected. The programmatic divisions correlate with co-ordination structures and distinguish main umbrella fields. The change to proportional expenditure year-on-year depends on where fundraising has proved most successful, and where TNI leads consortia whose entire budget is included in our bookkeeping – as was the case with a project of our War & Pacification programme in 2020.

The result in 2020 was 76,253, which amount has been added to the reserves for continuity purposes. The sources for this surplus were as follows:

- Unrestricted income
- Restitution of reserved staff vacation days
- Lower costs (due to COVID)
- Rounding of the tariff rate

TNI's reserves, at the end of 2020, stood at Euro 1,250,574. Towards the end of the year, the Management and Supervisory Boards reviewed the reserve policy and the method of calculating this. It was agreed that the target is one year's operating costs. The formula to be used is: liquid reserves/fixed operational costs x 365 days. Liquid reserves are approximately 86% of the amount listed as reserves in our annual accounts, with the remaining 14% requiring the Institute to sell its building. By this method of calculation, we reached 58% of our goal or a survival rate of 212 days at the end of 2020.

The ratio of current assets to short-term liabilities remains healthy at 138% (compared to 153% in 2019).

FINANCES

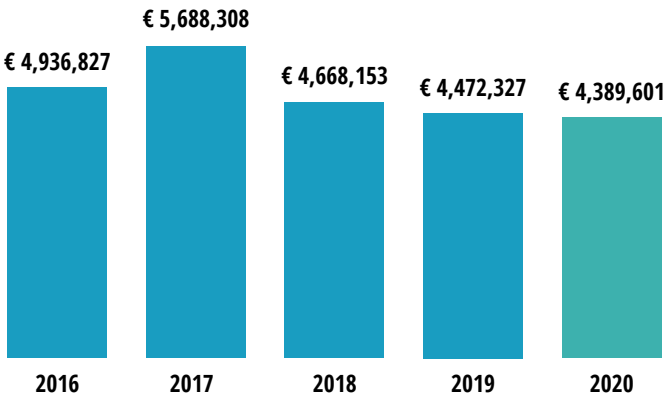
TNI is committed to the principles of independence, transparency, and accountability.
 TNI's financial reporting was rated 5 stars for 'excellence' by the Transparify initiative.

Source: TNI Audited Financial Accounts 2020

FINANCES

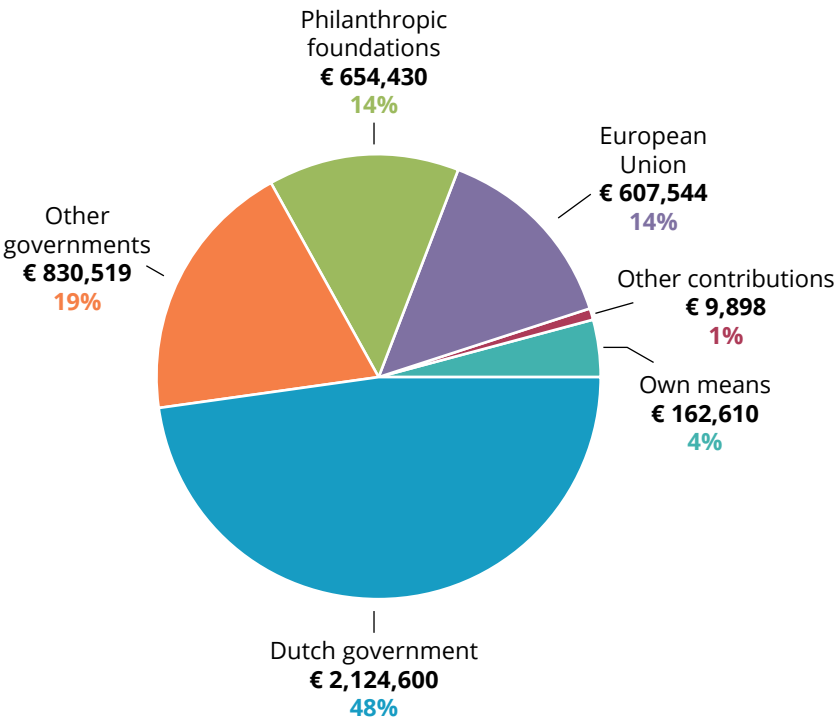
INCOME OVER THE LAST 5 YEARS

	<i>in Euros</i>
2020	€ 4,389,601
2019	€ 4,472,327
2018	€ 4,668,153
2017	€ 5,688,308
2016	€ 4,936,827



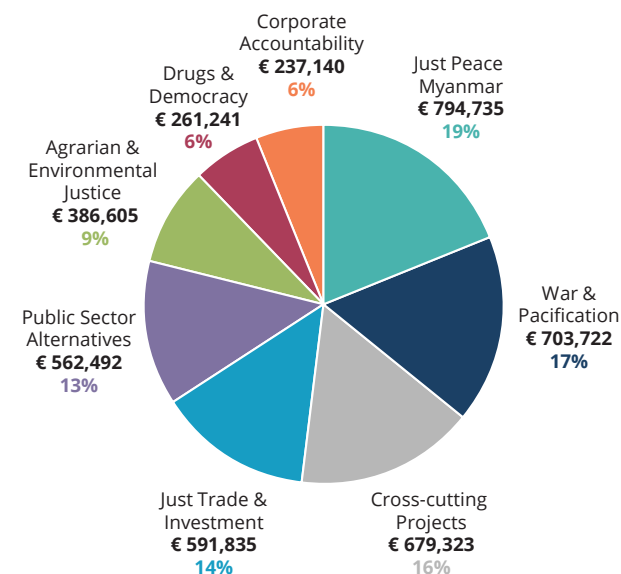
WHERE WE GOT OUR MONEY

	<i>in Euros</i>	<i>percentage</i>
Dutch government	€ 2,124,600	48%
Other governments	€ 830,519	19%
Philanthropic foundations	€ 654,430	14%
European Union	€ 607,544	14%
Own means	€ 162,610	4%
Other income	€ 9,898	1%



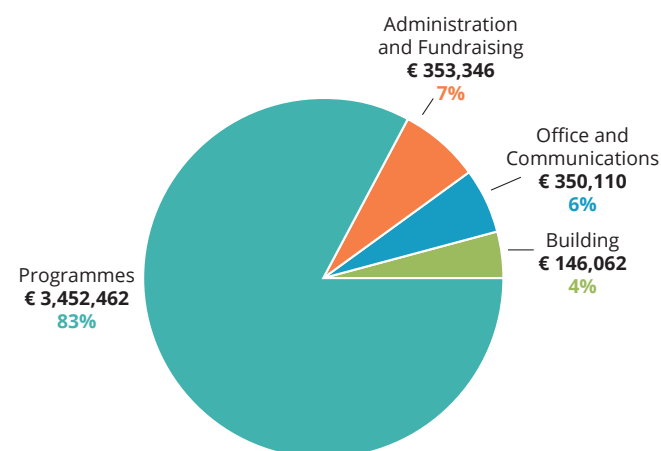
WHAT PROJECTS OUR MONEY IS SPENT ON

	<i>in Euros</i>	<i>percentage</i>
Just Peace Myanmar	€ 794,735	19%
War & Pacification	€ 703,722	17%
Cross-cutting Projects	€ 679,323	16%
Just Trade & Investment	€ 591,835	14%
Public Sector Alternatives	€ 562,492	13%
Agrarian & Environmental Justice	€ 386,605	9%
Drugs & Democracy	€ 261,241	6%
Corporate Accountability	€ 237,140	6%



HOW WE SPEND OUR MONEY

	<i>in Euros</i>	<i>percentage</i>
Programme Activities	€ 3,452,462	83%
Salaries (administrations & fundraising)	€ 353,346	7%
Office & Communications	€ 350,110	6%
Building	€ 146,062	4%
TOTAL	€ 4,301,980	100%



	Budget 2021 €
Income	
Grants	4,789,275
Other Income	159,400
Total income	4,948,675
Expenditure	
Overhead	
- Personnel costs	361,427
- Building expenses	178,370
- Office and communication	319,055
Total overhead	858,852
Project costs	
- Direct project costs	2,883,051
- Personnel costs charged to projects	1,200,102
Total project costs	4,083,153
Total expenditure	4,942,005
Balance of income and expenditure	6,670
Financial income and expenditure	-/- 6,000
Result	670

The 2021 budget was discussed and formally approved by the Supervisory Board on 30 October 2020. Budgeted income is based on secured contracts accounting for 90% of the budget. The balance is expected to come from pending funding applications and/or additional fundraising undertaken in the course of 2021.

Overhead costs were budgeted at 17,38% of the total budget. These are divided into three categories:

- 1. Personnel** – This accounts for 7% of total expenditure and concerns the costs of staff time not spent directly on project implementation (eg. Fundraising). It also includes a budget for training, interns and volunteers, and commuting costs of staff members who do not live in Amsterdam where TNI offices are located. TNI expects one staff member to go on maternity leave, and two staff to take parental leave in 2021. No new employment was envisaged. The budget includes salary increases due in July 2021 should there be an industrial wage agreement for the welfare and care sector, which TNI follows, and provided TNI has met the full budgeted income by then.
- 2. Building** – This accounts for 4% of total expenditure. The figure reflects the balance of total costs of the building less rent and contributions to service costs received from tenants. Costs include depreciation; the mortgage; an annual provision for major maintenance; cleaning and minor maintenance; utility costs; insurance, taxes and land lease. Minor maintenance costs are budgeted higher than the previous years due to postponement to 2021 of work that could not be done under COVID-19 conditions in 2020. Major maintenance planned for 2021 includes painting of the external front woodwork postponed from 2020. Rental income is budgeted higher than last year as we now have a full house again after suffering some losses due to being unable to earn off one space for much of 2020.
- 3. Office and Communication** – This accounts for 6% of total expenditure. Significant additional costs planned for in 2021 include investments in the upgrade of the website, in a new digital project management system, and consultants to help TNI reorganise in light of its new five year programme beginning in 2021. Breakdown costs include office equipment, stationery, and other supplies; communication infrastructure such as the network, software, website, telephone and mailing; audit, financial and salary administration; board meetings, fundraising and other organizational development costs.
- 4. Project costs** constitute 83% of the total budget, and are based on budgets agreed with funders. The budget is based on 19 contracts and one grant without a contract that will fund projects in 2021, and a further 4 where there are verbal promises though these have been put into the budget at less than the full expected value to hedge risk. Personnel costs are budgeted at 29% of total project costs. This is considered by TNI's funders to be an appropriate proportion, particularly given that TNI is primarily a research and advocacy institute. The balance is spent on the direct costs of project implementation. The project goals or specific deliverables to be achieved are laid down in contracts with funders (See Funding agreements Active in 2020). TNI's Planning, Monitoring and Evaluation system helps us monitor whether a project is on track to achieve its goals, including quarterly budget monitoring, ongoing assessments of contextual changes so that strategies can be adjusted where necessary, and annual outcome harvests.
- 5. Fundraising targets** – the budget sets a target of Euro 250.000 still to be raised to ensure salary and overhead coverage in 2021. On average over recent years, TNI secures 90% of its budget by the last quarter of the previous year and the balance by the end of the first quarter of the following year. Based on this pattern, verbal agreements for pending contracts, and a satisfactory number of grant applications in the pipeline, the target was deemed reasonable by the Management and Supervisory Boards.

Funding agreements active in 2020

FINANCES

Donor/Funder	Project Name	TNI Role	Purpose	Duration	Currency	Total Grant	Contract no.
Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Fair, Green & Global 2016-2020	Partner	Ensure improved corporate conduct advances social justice, decent work and environmental sustainability; trade and investment advances socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development; and financial systems, tax regimes and public financing practices advance socially just, inclusive and environmentally sustainable development.	1/1/2016-31/12/2020	EUR	10,586,519.00	27534
Swedish International Development Agency	Supporting Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict	Sole	To support Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict	1/9/2017-31/05/2021	SEK	21,000,000.00	20171030
Swiss Development Cooperation	Supporting Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict	Sole	To support Civil Society in Myanmar to Promote Inclusive Political Processes and Address Ethnic Conflict	1/6/2017-31/05/2021	EUR	1,329,875.00	81050388
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	Global Partnership on Drug Policies and Development Phase II	Sole	Promote drug policies aligned with human rights compliance, harm reduction, sustainable development and peace-building	1/11/2019-31/3/2020	EUR	38,039.91	81245195
Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit	Alternative Development GIZ	Sole	Enable an exchange on best practices, lessons learned and knowledge between government officials, smallholder farmers, and experts from local and international organisation; support appropriate application of the National Drug Control Strategy at local and regional levels; ensure lessons from Colombia are learned	1/9/2019-30/11/2020	EUR	99,998.78	81247430
European Union Research Horizon2020 (via University of Glasgow)	mPower	Partner	In-depth, wide-scale and systematic peer-to-peer learning programme among at least 100 local public authorities with a view to replicate innovative best practice in municipal energy.	1/5/2018-1/5/2022	EUR	255,750.00	785171
European Union General Justice & Consumers	Combating the Structural Drivers of Anti-Muslim Hatred and Intolerance: Tools and Practices for Mobilising (CoSDAMHI)	Lead organisation - 6 partners	(i) Raise awareness of the structural drivers that normalise anti-Muslim hatred and intolerance (AMHI) and mobilise support for human rights-based alternatives; (ii) Provide new analysis on the impact of policies, laws, political discourse and media (structural drivers) in normalising AMHI, to aid national and EU authorities to adopt human rights-based best practices; (iii) Strengthen civil society's capacity to mobilise for human rights-based alternatives through deepened civil society networks and increased cooperation with Muslim communities; (iv) Increase the general population's awareness of, and resilience to, structural drivers through accessible information and platforms for policy engagement	1/11/2018-31/10/2020	EUR	538,741.00	809440
European Union	Ensuring the socio-economic rights and decent work conditions for South African small scale fisheries	Partner	Ensuring the socio-economic rights and decent work conditions for South African small-scale fisheries	1/1/2020-28/2/2023	EUR	75,807.00	EIDHR 2019/412-470
European Union DEVCO (via 11.11.11.)	Asia-Europe Peoples Forum	Partner	Build the Asia-Europe People's Forum for a more inclusive voice, influence and access	21/12/2017-20/12/2020	EUR	109,476.00	CSO-LA-2017/387-716
European Union Erasmus+ (via Terre de Liens)	Landstrat	Partner	Collaborative learning about innovative land strategies among small agro-ecological farmers in Europe	1/9/2018-31/8/2020	EUR	57,698.00	2018-1-FR01-KA204-048212
European Union Erasmus+ (via Urgenci)	Deck to Dish	Partner	Increased awareness of Community-Supported Fisheries initiatives in Europe, new alliances established, and increased capacity of fishing communities to engage decision-makers.	1/9/2019-31/12/2021	EUR	40,125.00	2019-1-FR01-KA204-06955
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	MENA Alternative Development	Sole	To map prospects for think tank on alternative development questions for the MENA region	1/10/2017-30/6/2020	USD	40,000.00	OR2017-38338
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Humanitarian migration policy	Sole	Promote a more humanitarian approach to migration and refugee policies and border management in Europe.	1/4/2019-31/3/2020	USD	99,600.00	OSI2019-53111

Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Drugs & Democracy	Sole	Support evidence-based drug policy making	1/11/2018-31/1/2020	USD	285,000.00	OSI2018
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Drugs & Democracy 2020-2021	Sole	Support evidence-based drug policy making	1/2/2020-1/2/2021	USD	225,000.00	OR2020-67721
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	COVID-19 core grant	Sole	Develop a comprehensive framework that provides progressive arguments and alternative policy solutions to the global civil society.	1/6/2020-31/12/2021	USD	100,000.00	OR2020-70821
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Right to breath	Sole	Support the production of a transnational analysis on the securitisation of health in the wake of the Covid19 pandemic, that will benefit civil society organizations and social movements around the globe by informing their work on rethinking national security narratives and by mobilizing them to collectively push back against the repressive dimension of pandemic politics	1/10/2020-31/1/2022	USD	125,000.00	OR2020-74867
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Drug Policy Advocacy Group III	Sole	Promote sustainable drug policies in Myanmar based on public health, human rights and development.	1/8/2018-31/07/2020	USD	115,000.00	OR2018-44438
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Drug Policy Advocacy Group VI	Sole	Promote sustainable drug policies in Myanmar based on public health, human rights and development.	1/8/2020-31/07/2021	USD	100,000.00	OR2020-72668
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	DPAG Decarceration	Sole	Support Drug Policy Advocacy Group in decarceration efforts to prevent and mitigate COVID-19 in Myanmar prisons and detention facilities	1/5/2020-31/12/2020	USD	15,000.00	OR2020-70708
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	Alternative Security	Sole	Develop proposals and advocacy for alternative security in respect of terrorism.	1/6/2018-30/4/2021	USD	120,000.00	OR2018-43186
Foundation for the Promotion of Open Societies	ENCO	Sole	Support research and advocacy to limit the ability of multinationals to shape public policies and decision-making to serve their interests, prevent alternatives, and escape accountability for their impacts	1/1/2020-31/12/2022	USD	200,000.00	OR2019-65062
Funders for Fair Trade, Shöpfli and Rockefeller Foundation	Reform of investment agreements	Lead organisation - 7 partners	Produce analysis, communications, and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements; engage networks of public interest and environmental organizations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements.	1/4/2018-31/5/2020	EUR	292,340.00	Multiple
Rockefeller Foundation	ISDS	Sole	Produce analysis, communications and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements, and to engage networks of public interest & environmental organisations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements	1/7/2019-31/7/2021	USD	300,000.00	19-45
Rockefeller Foundation	Advance Democratic Practices	Sole	Strengthen transatlantic trade advocacy networks	16/3/2020-16/3/2021	USD	55,000.00	20-285
European Cultural Foundation	Reimagining democracy	Sole	Cross-fertilisation and dissemination of new emancipatory perspectives from leading thinkers from across Europe	4/12/2019-1/12/2021	EUR	19,500.00	DNI19-75
The Asia Foundation	Conflict, Stability and Security	Sole	Understanding Why Conflict Persists in Myanmar's Eastern Borderlands Research	6/11/2020-15/3/2021	MMK	32,720,927.00	TAF209
Anonymous donor	Energy Charter Treaty	Sole	Produce analysis, communications, and monitoring of the evolution of international investment agreements; engage networks of public interest and environmental organizations to understand and advocate for reform of international investment agreements.	1/1/2020-31/3/2021	EUR	60,000.00	P2020-0484

Contracts for specific deliverables

Donor/Funder	Project Name	TNI Role	Goals	Duration	Currency	Total Grant	Contract no.
Global Partnership on Drugs Policies & Development	Urban Drug Policies	Deliverable	Paper on human rights guidelines and drugs	1/1/2019-31/12/2020	EUR	10,000.00	N/A
PLAAS, Univ. of Western Cape	Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative	Deliverable	4 x exchange visit reports, radio programmes, videos, briefing papers, commissioned papers; and 10-12 published journal articles.	6/9/2018-31/12/2020	EUR	5,000.00	N/A
PLAAS, Univ. of Western Cape	Webinars	Deliverable	Agrarian Justice	1/1/2020-31/12/2021	EUR	4,800.00	N/A

Ideas into movement

Webinars – COVID capitalism series

In response to the COVID-19 pandemic, under the banner of ‘Solidarity is the cure. Justice is the vaccine’, TNI staff developed a clear analysis and set of propositions for how to mobilise for a just response. We then quickly organised a 12-week series of webinars, [COVID Capitalism](#), between April and July on the international dimensions of the crisis. The webinars examined the impacts of the pandemic on many key social systems, such as health or public services, as well as the prospects for new public policy approaches embedded in social and environmental justice. The webinars were incredibly successful – attracting 9,000 live participants from nearly 140 countries, with almost half attending more than one webinar, and a total of 34,000 viewers. The most popular were the sessions on feminist responses, food systems and state repression.

The webinars were widely praised for providing a unique internationalist angle on COVID-19’s impacts and for educating and orienting activists and movements at a pivotal time. TNI worked very hard to ensure diversity, with a preference for women and speakers from the Global South, identifying insightful experts and briefing them thoroughly to ensure high-quality inputs. We sought to balance different perspectives – the big picture analysis, the on-the-ground case-study, the activist perspective. This helped our webinars stand out in the crowd as more and more organisations moved their events online. They also showed that TNI has great convening capacity worldwide and that switching online for events enables TNI to share its research and to provide a global platform for key thinkers and activists.

We co-hosted the overall series with partner organisations – the Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC) in South Africa and Focus on the Global South in Asia – and pulled in other co-convenors where appropriate. A number of spin-off products such as [podcasts](#) and a [Youtube video playlist](#), as well as graphic summaries of the discussions, accompanied the webinar series. We also published a [summary report](#) of the webinars, working with journalist K. Biswas who drew out ten key takeaways.

In addition, we co-hosted three other webinar series with Global Dialogue, Rosa Luxemburg Foundation (mainly focused on Europe) and CLACSO (Latin American Social Science Council). In October, TNI started a new webinar series ‘Ideas into Movement’ which continued the internationalist focus and focused on transformative solutions to today’s crises.

The recognition we received for quality webinars has seen the format becoming an integral part of TNI’s outreach work across all its projects and programmes. Highlights in 2020 included a pan-European conference on municipalism and a series of Dutch climate campaign evening events, with music and poetry.

Future labs

TNI's future labs are where forward-looking analysis is developed on emerging challenges and opportunities to social movements. In 2016, TNI identified three priority issues on which we planned to deepen our analysis and thinking: The global role of China, multistakeholder governance, and the Fourth Industrial Revolution/digital transformation. In addition, we have a longstanding focus on New Politics, reflecting on the political theory and practice of progressive forces as it has been evolving in the era of authoritarian neoliberalism.

With regards to China, TNI has published papers concerning the Belt and Road Initiative and Chinese investments in mega-infrastructure around the world as part of the globalisation of Chinese capital. In 2020, we continued to draw on academic researchers following developments, and published [Beyond China Inc](#). In 2021, we hope to extend our analysis and draw in more Chinese expertise.

Multistakeholder governance (or multistakeholderism) is a global trend in which key international governance arenas are being steadily privatised, supplanting multilateralism without any democratic mandate. In 2020, TNI succeeded in pulling together a coalition to start to strategise on how to roll this back. This drew on TNI's analysis and [report](#) from 2019 as well as the research of TNI Associate Harris Gleckman, author of *Multistakeholder Governance and Democracy: A Global Challenge* (Routledge 2018). With TNI's support and facilitation, activists in many different sectors – health, food, IT and others – started to collectively map how the corporate takeover of global governance structures is being repeated across many diverse sectors. The mapping was finished in 2020, ready for a major educational launch for January 2021. As a complement to this work, and that of our Corporate Power programme, we also focused on 'The Corporation' in this year's [State of Power Report](#).

TNI also started to roll out a series of essays in 2020 with ROAR, an online magazine, to explore the implications and possibilities of **digital transformation** for social movements. The first, '[The Intelligent Corporation](#)', looked at the challenges posed by digital and platform corporations to social justice and democracy, and was written by Anita Gurmurthy and Nandini Chami of ItforChange in India. It was followed up with an essay by Hannes Gerhardt on the [progressive potential of BlockChain](#) for rethinking capitalist understandings of value. We also published a number of articles on the topic in the 2020 State of Power, including on the impact on [urban space](#) of city efforts to attract the next Silicon Valley. Future essays will include analysis on digital extractivism and data, digital corporations and trade, organising labour in Silicon Valley, digital commons, geoengineering, tech and agriculture, and smart cities. TNI has also been mainstreaming digitalisation and technological change into all its work. This includes initiating research in 2020 on EU's positions on digital commerce (to be published in 2021), and on how artificial intelligence is being used for border control purposes.

On the **new politics** front, TNI supported La Diaria an online magazine based in Uruguay to investigate the root causes of the uprisings in Chile, which resulted in the dossier [Otro Chile](#). We also collaborated with the Latin American Social Science Council in hosting webinars on [international responses to the pandemic](#) (3.407 viewings), giving voice to the new generation of [young radicals](#) in Latin America (440 participants), held a special session on the pending [US elections](#). In 2020, TNI and CLACSO also launched a new small book series, Masa Crítica. Aimed at a non-academic audience, the series plans to disseminate critical thinking about emancipatory politics, facilitate the translation and exchange of ideas between the English and Spanish-speaking worlds. In 2020, four books were published in the series. This included an interview with [David Harvey](#) on reasons to be an anti-capitalist; [Boaventura de Sousa Santos](#) on the cruel pedagogy of the virus; [Naomi Klein](#) on the pandemic as amplifying the need to repair the damage of authoritarian neoliberalism; [Yanis Varoufakis](#) on post-capitalism; and [Noam Chomsky](#) on Internationalism or Extinction. The latter three books were co-published with [Progressive International](#). We also worked towards a major conference on prospects for democratic socialism in the Americas. co-hosted with the Wright-Haven's Centre at the University of Wisconsin, Madison in the USA. Unfortunately, this conference had to be postponed to 2021 given the pandemic.

The project is developing a North Africa/West Asian dimension too. In 2020, we [co-published a book](#) on the recent wave of mass protest movements across North Africa and West Asia, including Sudan, Algeria, Iraq, Lebanon and Iran. The effort consolidated a new network of activist-scholars collaborating with TNI in the region. The book identified commonalities sparking rebellion across the region, including shrinking civic space, opposition to authoritarian regimes, worsening economic situations and demanding radical changes in social relations. The authors identified lessons learned for future civil society-driven struggles in the region. It provided the basis for a webinar with 324 people from 37 countries, and drew media attention in prominent Middle Eastern media outlets the [Middle East Eye](#) and [Jadaliyaa](#), as well as [Open Democracy](#) and the [Review of African Political Economy](#).

And in Europe, TNI is supporting a project focused on left political imaginations among the post-1989 generation in Eastern Europe. Various outputs are expected in 2021, including a book and a webinar series.

"Last year, PMH collaborated with TNI on undertaking analysis and action around the corporate capture of global governance and the impact of capitalism on people's health -- especially as seen during the pandemic. Our collaborations have not only been in terms of putting forward critiques, but also in thinking through more public, pro-people and equitable alternatives. PHM greatly appreciates TNI's initiative to document cases of remunicipalisation and de-privatisation of public services. We look forward to continuing our joint efforts towards Health For All."

– Sulakshana Nandi, Co-chair, People's Health Movement (PHM), Global Steering Council



Notable Publications

Change Finance, not the Climate

The Future is Public

Towards Democratic Ownership of Public Services

Growing back stronger

Choosing resilient food systems in the wake of Covid-19

Cashing in on the Pandemic

How lawyers are preparing to sue states over COVID-19 response measures

State of Power 2020: The Corporation

Paying for the Pandemic and a Just Transition

Cannabis rescheduling: A global introduction

Busting the myths around the Energy Charter Treaty

A guide for concerned citizens, activists, journalists and policymakers

Recovering antiracism

Reflections on collectivity and solidarity in antiracist organising

A Walled World

Towards a global apartheid

PEOPLE

TNI STAFF IN 2020

MANAGEMENT TEAM

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

COMMUNICATIONS

- Denis Burke (Coordinator)
- Mercedes Camps (Spanish translator)
- Shaun Matsheza (Podcasts/writer)
- Hilde van der Pas (Dutch press liaison/social media)
- Jorrit Stoker (Webmaster)

COMMUNITY-BUILDERS

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- Jess Graham (Fundraiser)
- Niels Jongerius (Netherlands)

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- Josephine Valeske (Germany)
- Yue Wang (China)
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- Martin Jelsma (Drugs & Democracy)
- Pietje Vervest (Economic Justice)

PROGRAMME COORDINATORS

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- Lyda Fernanda Forrero Torres (Agrarian & Environmental Justice)
- Ernestien Jensema (Drugs & Democracy)
- Satoko Kishimoto (Public Alternatives)
- Niamh Ni Bhriain (War & Pacification)
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- Andy Rutherford
- Marcela d'Olivera
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- Martin Smith
- Maria-Sol Reindl

FELLOWS

- Jun Borrás (Philippines)
- Daniel Chavez (Uruguay)
- David Fig (South Africa)
- Ben Hayes (UK)
- Edgardo Lander (Venezuela)
- Hilary Wainwright (UK)
- Achin Vanaik (India)

ASSOCIATES

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

2020 FELLOWS

Achin Vanaik

Retired Professor of International Relations and Global Politics, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, India

Achin has dedicated much of his intellectual and activist life to combatting communalism in India. He has been warning of the fascist roots of the Hindutva project for decades, which are now manifest under the increasingly authoritarian Modi regime.

In 2020, Achin's latest book was published, *Nationalist Dangers, Secular Failings: A Compass for an Indian Left* (Aakar Books), which follows closely on his previous book *The Rise of Hindu Authoritarianism: Secular Claims, Communal Realities* (Verso, 2017). He continued to write and speak throughout the year to the question of Hindu authoritarianism following the popular uprisings against the [Citizen's Amendment Act \(CAA\)](#) and its associated National Citizens Register (NRC) over the course of the previous year, ongoing incidents of [communal violence](#), scapegoating of [Muslims](#), and [repression](#) of [critical](#) voices. Achin is part of a support group for the historic and ongoing Farmers Struggle in India against laws aiming to corporatise agriculture, polarise landholdings which if implemented can throw out tens of millions into the informal sector. He had been invited to serve as the Indo-American Community Lecturer in residence at the Institute for South Asia Studies at UC Berkeley in April, but unfortunately had to cancel due to the outbreak of the pandemic.

Achin is a member of the Peace and Security Cluster of the Asia-Europe People's Forum. He continues to be active in the Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace (CNDP), where his work particularly focuses on getting young people to join nuclear advocacy. For the Journal for Peace and Nuclear Disarmament, he wrote a [review](#) of a new book on the Indo-Russian nuclear power station. He also published a [commentary](#) for Jacobin magazine on the Indo-China border skirmish that saw fatalities on both sides in June, giving subsequent [interviews](#) on the subject and being [cited](#) in the Indian media. And he remains [active](#) in the Indian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel (INCACBI), which works to [pressure](#) Israel to comply with international law.

Achin wrote an important piece on how Exclusive Economic Zones have encouraged the process of [privatising the seas](#), at the cost of protecting the oceanic environment.

He is a founder of the Society for Marxist Studies (SMS) in India, which holds two-week residential summer and winter schools for post-graduate students and social activists from across India, though not in 2020 alas due to the pandemic.

Read more about Achin [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Ben Hayes

Expert on security policies and human rights

Ben has 20 years' experience working at the intersection of human rights, technology and security policy. He has conducted ground-breaking research on inter/national security, counter-terrorism, surveillance, border control, technology transfer, financial regulation and climate change. He has helped expose much of the cynical disregard for human rights in European security policy and practice, proving a valuable resource for many activist organisations in Europe and further afield as these policies get exported world-wide.

In the past few years, Ben has focused more on data rights, setting up his own consultancy and serving as a mentor at the Environmental Futures and Big Data Impact Lab, a multi-partner incubator working across the southwest of the UK. In 2020, he co-founded and became Strategy Director for AWO, a data rights agency set up to ensure "we can trust technology and those who wield it in a time of digital transformation". Ben spoke in a TNI [webinar](#) to how COVID-19 has crystallized the intersection between corporate power, state power, technology and rights.

AWO's law firm is challenging 'surveillance capitalism' with ground-breaking cases against the profiling practices of the 'ad-tech industry' and the online [gambling](#) industry, among others. Through AWO's consultancy arm, Ben is supporting the work of UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights work on artificial intelligence (AI) and human rights. AWO has also partnered with [Reset](#) and digital rights organisations across Europe to support and shape ground-breaking draft EU legislation on AI and the Digital Service Act, which will regulate large technology platforms.

He has also worked for some years with the International Committee of the Red Cross on developing ethical uses of biometrics and addressing data protection challenges. He wrote up this experience as a [chapter](#) in a book published by the [AI Now Institute](#).

On the strength of earlier work with TNI on "shrinking space" for social movements, Ben was invited to collaborate with the [Funders Initiative on Civic Space](#) in developing an analysis of the main drivers of the tendency in the context of corporate power, digital transformation, climate change, the rise of the far right/religious right and intersectional crises. He co-authored a [report](#) with the Director, aimed at philanthropic funders and drawing on much of TNI's analysis. Ben also co-authored a new [book](#) for civil society organisations on the impact of the EU General Data Protection Regulation on civil society.

See more on Ben [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Daniel Chavez

Researcher, Transnational Institute

Daniel is the only TNI staff member who also serves as a Fellow. He is an activist-scholar who works closely with trade unions and progressive academics around questions of alternatives to privatisation, mainly in the energy and water sector. He is also an active researcher in the area of emancipatory politics in Latin America and other regions of the world.

In 2020, Daniel refocused much of his work towards analysing the [impacts](#) of and the responses to the COVID-19 pandemic. This included his role as co-convenor of a rapid response research team on [Public Water and Covid-19](#), which led to the production of a book co-edited by Daniel and co-published by TNI, the Municipal Services Project (MSP) and the Latin American Council of Social Sciences, in English and Spanish (forthcoming 2021). He also co-edited a book-length report, [Eskom Transformed: Achieving a Just Energy Transition for South Africa](#), which included a comprehensive strategy for reclaiming and restructuring the national energy company, accompanied by a [podcast](#) discussion. This was the result of a number of years work with trade unions in South, alongside Trade Unions for Energy Democracy (TUED) and the Alternative Information and Development Centre (AIDC).

Daniel worked with several Latin American organisations – the Comuna research cooperative in Uruguay, the Sintraemcali union in Colombia, and the University of Costa Rica, on research initiatives and a series of eight [webinars](#) on ownership and management of state-owned enterprises in Latin America. The proceedings of the webinars will be published in two books in 2021. Daniel also co-designed, with experts from CLACSO and EMCALI (the municipal public services enterprises of Cali, Colombia), an ambitious [post-graduate training programme](#) on how to run public enterprises professionally and from a public, rather than commercial, perspective – aimed at senior staff of such enterprises in Latin America. It was announced at a seminar in December, and the programme will begin in 2021. He also spoke to the importance of defending public enterprises at an [Americas trade union forum](#), the [University of Cantabria](#) in Spain, and at the Global Assembly of [Public Services International](#).

Daniel anchors the Latin American dimension of TNI's Futures Lab on New Politics, working closely with CLACSO. In 2020, this included joint webinars and the launch of a new book series, Mas Critica, aimed at facilitating translation between the English and Spanish-speaking worlds of critical thinking about emancipatory politics. He spoke to a large academic audience on the occasion of the 4th Erasmus Mundus Global Studies MA programme on the [challenges for a new politics](#), and organised a major conference on the same topic, originally scheduled for 2020 at the University of Wisconsin's Havens Wright Center for Social Justice but postponed to 2021 due to the pandemic.

See more on Daniel [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

David Fig

Independent researcher and consultant

A TNI Fellow since 2012, David holds a PhD from the London School of Economics. He works as an environmental sociologist and political economist and has been a lifelong critic of the nuclear energy industry.

David chairs the board of [Biowatch](#) South Africa, which he co-founded in 1997 and which is concerned with food sovereignty, agro-ecology and agrarian justice. He is also active in a number of energy related struggles, including [Earthlife Africa](#), the Pushing Back Coal and Pushing for Renewable Energy coalition, and the [Energy Governance Initiative-South Africa](#). David has also been involved in efforts to transform the South African national energy utility, Eskom, in which TNI has been more broadly involved. A long-standing and critical nuclear industry watcher, David also has much to say about the sorry state of [national nuclear authority](#) tasked with research on nuclear energy and the processing and storage of nuclear material.

David is a member of the [Global Working Group Beyond Development](#) working towards systemic emancipatory transformations, alongside another TNI Fellow, Edgardo Lander. He is an honorary research associate of the Society, Work and Politics Institute (SWOP) at Wits University, and of the [Chair in Bio-Economy](#) at the University of Cape Town. He has taught at UCT and Wits Universities, and engaged in training programmes in a number of Southern African countries. He has consulted widely for NGOS, think tanks and universities. His publications include books, monographs, book chapters and journal articles, some of which have appeared in French, Portuguese, Spanish and German.

Read more about David [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Edgardo Lander

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

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

Edgardo has been active in the struggle against the Orinoco Mining Arch, covering large bio-diverse territories of several indigenous peoples, where all the country's main rivers are located. A government project, the territories have been opened up to transnational corporations for large scale open-pit mining in violation of the constitution and the main environmental, labour and indigenous peoples' rights laws. In 2020, continued this work in helping to organise the [Global Assembly for the Amazon](#) which attracted hundreds of participant organisations from across the region, and beyond. Edgardo was also an initiator of the inspiring [Eco-social Pact for the Americas](#) setting out a clear [vision](#) for the future, endorsed by many supporters across the region.

He published his latest book in 2020: [Crisis civilizatoria. Experiencias de los gobiernos progresistas y debates en la izquierda latinoamericana](#) (Calas). In it, Edgardo presents an [analysis](#) of the profound civilizational crisis that humanity is experiencing and the devastating impacts of the various manifestations of socio-environmental crises, and is highly critical of the role played by so-called progressive governments and the traditional left in Latin America.

Since 2017, Edgardo has been a core member of the Citizen's Platform in Defense of the Constitution, comprised of disillusioned Chavistas critical of Venezuela's increasingly unpopular government. The Platform has advocated for peaceful, democratic, constitutional, electoral and negotiated alternatives to the threats of US military intervention or a civil war. It proposes a constitutionally-based consultative referendum to ask the population if they want to renew all the main state institutions. In 2020, things went from bad to worse in Venezuela with the devastation of the pandemic, exacerbated by US sanctions. The Citizen's Platform did its best to mobilise people to vote in the elections, but abstention by a citizenry which has lost faith in politics altogether was unfortunately the order of the day. Thereafter, and ostensibly in response to the US sanctions, the government rushed through a law giving extraordinary powers of discretion to the executive and effectively ushering in a permanent state of emergency. The Platform [protested](#) vehemently, and also took up the issue of the [heavy-handed policing](#) during the pandemic.

Meanwhile, Edgardo worked closely with the [Global Dialogue for Systemic Change](#) in organising webinars, including with TNI, to discuss ways out of the myriad crises facing the world.

Read more about Edgardo [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Hilary Wainwright

Independent researcher and editor of Red Pepper magazine

A life-long socialist feminist, Hilary is the founding editor of [Red Pepper](#) magazine in the United Kingdom. She also works as an independent researcher, mainly focused on the theory and practice of participatory democracy and community wealth-building. Over the years, she has documented countless examples of resurgent democratic movements from Brazil to Britain and the lessons they provide for progressive politics.

2020 was an eventful time in the UK, following the election of a Conservative government, Brexit taking effect, and then the pandemic hitting hard and being very poorly managed.

Hilary did an important [interview](#) with the chair of Independent SAGE (Scientific Advisory Group on Emergencies), set up as a counter to the much criticised official SAGE that was advising the government on handling the COVID-29 crisis, following up with [additional articles](#) in Red Pepper. She undertook research into how a speedy switch in production from airplane wings to ventilator parts at a north Wales factory holds out hope for a transition to a low-carbon economy. This resulted in a well-received piece [article](#) for the European left journal, Transform and a [talk](#) for Socialist Project in Canada.

Meanwhile, she participated in [reflections](#) by the movement that had been supporting a Labour victory under Jeremy Corbyn's leadership, and publicly [intervened](#) on his behalf – successfully – when he was suspended from the Party as part of an ongoing smear campaign from within his own party.

Hilary also co-hosted a high-level discussion of a new book Beyond Digital Capitalism, published by Socialist Register, and co-edited with good friend Leo Panitch, with whom she was working to shape a TNI co-organised New Politics conference, and who sadly passed away soon after.

Read more about Hilary [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Jun Borras

Professor of Agrarian Studies at the International Institute for Social Studies (ISS), Erasmus University Rotterdam

Jun has been dedicated to emancipatory rural politics since his youthful formation in the struggles for agrarian justice in the Philippines in the 1980s and his pioneering role in the 1993 founding of La Vía Campesina, the international small farmers' movement with which TNI cooperates.

Now an activist-scholar, he is researching land politics and how it reshapes geopolitics in the Global South and four spheres of global social life: food, climate change politics, labour, nation-state/citizenship. He is also the editor of the highly ranked [Journal of Peasant Studies](#), originally founded by another one-time TNI Fellow, Teodor Shanin, who sadly passed away in 2020.

Jun and TNI often collaborate in joint initiatives, including the ongoing research being undertaken under the rubric of [Emancipatory Rural Politics Initiative](#) (ERPI) – looking at authoritarianism and emancipatory counters in rural contexts; and the [BRICS Initiative in Critical Agrarian Studies](#) (BICAS) which looks at the agrarian politics of BRICS countries.

Jun has worked with the TNI Myanmar team and other Myanmar CSOs in designing and conducting a very successful activist course in political economy. He has also worked with the TNI Myanmar team in a research project concerning crop booms and migrant farm workers in Southeast Asia (Myanmar, Vietnam) and inside China (Yunnan and Guangxi). It is part of a project looking at the links between these societies in terms of natural resource flows, labour regimes, investments,

infrastructures, technology. The project is being undertaken with the [College of Humanities and Development Studies](#) at China Agricultural University, Beijing (where Jun also serves as Adjunct Professor); the University of Hanoi; as well as TNI.

Jun is also part of an ongoing research project in Mali (with Via Campesina's CNOP) and Nigeria (with Friends of the Earth's ERA) on conflict and political contestations at the intersection between resource grabbing and climate change politics. Anchored by FIAN International, the research was to be concluded by the end of 2020 but has been delayed due to the pandemic.

Jun is a co-organizer of the Annual Writeshop in critical agrarian studies and scholar-activism aimed at training young activist researchers in/from the Global South (mostly doctoral and post-doctoral researchers). The first Writeshop was in 2019. There are, on average, 60 participants coming from 45 countries in the South every year. The Annual Writeshop participants have organised their own [global network](#), "Collective of Agrarian Scholar-Activists in the South" (CASAS), set up their own website: www.casasouth.org, and have produced an important global [manifesto](#).

Read more about Jun [here](#).

2020 FELLOWS

Phyllis Bennis

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

A life-long peace activist, Phyllis has worked tirelessly for decades to oppose US military interventions across the world with a particular focus on the Middle East. She is a prolific writer and respected foreign policy analyst within the US and abroad. 2020 saw her in high demand during a tumultuous year in the United States – from Trump's forays into the Middle East, to the pandemic that ripped through US society clocking up the worst death toll in the world, to the national uprising in protest against the killing of George Floyd that made Black Lives Matter an international phenomenon, to the policy debates aimed at influencing the anticipated incoming Biden Administration.

Phyllis is a champion of Palestinian rights. She serves on the Board of Jewish Voice for Peace, and is active in the Boycott, Divest, Sanctions (BDS) campaign aimed at building non-violent pressure on Israel to end its violations of international law. In 2020, it was clear that the Trump Administration was building a regional coalition against Iran with Israel and Saudi Arabia at the centre. Phyllis spoke to the [implications](#), particularly for [Palestinians](#). She also denounced the US government-imposed sanctions on [Iran](#) in the midst of the [pandemic](#), and the murder of Iran's General [Soleimani](#) in Baghdad, which she warned could lead to a renewal of civil war in [Iraq](#) and war in the [region](#) more broadly. She also drew attention to the devastating impact on [Yemen](#) of US arms sales to Saudi Arabia.

Phyllis also works closely with the [Poor People's Campaign](#) (PPC) which aims to tackle racism, poverty, militarism and climate change. In particular, she has been [supporting](#) the PPC in promoting its 'moral budget' which takes aim at US military spending and sought to [influence](#) the anticipated incoming Biden Administration in this regard.

Phyllis [wrote numerous articles to this end](#), and was a challenging voice in a [panel](#) with Democratic candidates. She also exposed how the Trump Administration had diverted stimulus funds – intended for corona protective equipment – to [weapon](#) purchases, and interrogated the much vaunted [troop withdrawal](#) from [Afghanistan](#) announced by President Trump early in the year.

Phyllis was in high demand all year on US foreign policy questions, globally as well as in the US. She spoke on numerous webinars, among them the [Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament](#) in the UK, a panel on current US wars sponsored by the Global Dialogue for Systemic Change, and a discussion of ["Power, Empire & US Elections"](#) sponsored by TNI.

Read more about Phyllis [here](#).

TNI COLLABORATIONS IN 2020

TNI would like to thank all those individuals who cooperated with us in 2020. Your time, labour and expertise has been much appreciated. Apologies in advance to anyone who was inadvertently omitted. There are many, in Myanmar particularly, who cannot be named for reasons of safety but know that we thank you too.

AFRICA

ALGERIA

- Brahim Rouabah
- Samir Larabi

BURKINA FASO

- Koumbou Boly Barry

EGYPT

- Mohamed Ramadan

GAMBIA

- Alagie Jinkang

GHANA

- Clement Bofa-Oppong
- Daniel Oberko

KENYA

- Agnes Midi-Keita
- Alvin Mosioma
- Awino Okech
- Felogene Anumo
- Nanjala Nabola
- Nanjira Sambuli

MAURITANIA

- Mohamed Yahia Mohmeden
- Nedwa Moctar Nech

MOROCCO

- Abdellatif Adebibe
- Atika Al Fazazi
- Brahim Mounassir
- Fatima-Zahra El Belghiti
- Omar Aziki
- Shadia El Brahimi

MOZAMBIQUE

- Ilham Rawoot

NIGERIA

- Aderonke Ige
- Akinbode Oluwafemi
- Baba Aye

SOUTH AFRICA

- Anastasya Eliseeva
- Brian Ashley
- Dominic Brown
- Kea Seipato
- Lebohang Liepollo Pheko
- Mark Heywood
- Mark Swilling

- Mazibuko Jara
- Naseegh Jaffer
- Philasande Mahlakata
- Richard Worthington
- Ruth Hall
- Sandra van Niekerk
- Tlaleng Mofokeng
- Vahini Naidu
- Zwelinzima Vavi

SENEGAL

- Hakima Abbas
- Koumbou Boly Barry

SIERRA LEONE

- Sabrina Mahtani

SUDAN

- Muzan Alneel

TUNISIA

- Layla Riahi
- Torkia Chaibi

UGANDA

- Faith Lumonya

AMERICAS

ANTIGUA AND BARBUDA

- Franklin Lennox Francis/Ras Franki Tafari
- Taswan Ras Milla

ARGENTINA

- Juan Pablo Bohoslavsky
- Mabel Thwaites Rey
- Marcelo Saguier
- Maria Chevalier
- Nicolás Arata
- Ofelia Fernández
- Pablo Bertinat
- Romina Urfeig

BELIZE

- Susan Fuller

BOLIVIA

- Diego Giacoman
- Maria Lohman
- Maryann Manahan
- Patricia Chulver Benítez
- Roberto Calzadilla
- Rose Marie Achá
- Sara Shields

BRAZIL

- Ana Carolina Lourenço
- Gabriel Casnati
- Jocelio Drummond
- Juliana Borges
- Léo Heller
- Martin Dietrich Brauch
- Tchenna Maso

CANADA

- Alain Deneault
- Arthur Bull
- David McDonald
- Filipa Pajević
- Firoze Manji
- Harsha Walia
- Jade Saab
- Joel Bakan
- Leilani Farha
- Naomi Klein
- Nazlee Maghsoudi
- Petra Molnar
- Quinn Slobodian
- Sonia Shah
- Susan Spronk
- Vasanthi Venkatesh

CHILE

- Magdalena Sepúlveda
- María Paz Canales
- Víctor Chanfreau

COLOMBIA

- Alejandro Salazar
- Andres Lopez
- Isabel Pereira
- Jaime Diaz
- Jhoni Trejos
- Julian Caicedo
- Pedro Arenas
- Sergio Mauricio Zamora

COSTA RICA

- Alberto Cortés Ramos
- Ernesto Cortés Amador

ECUADOR

- Pablo Fajardo

GUATEMALA

- Briseida Milán Lemus

JAMAICA

- Annette Henry
- Ryan 'Kush' Morrison
- Ras Iyah V
- Vicky Hanson

MEXICO

- Fernanda Justo Hernández
- Luis Ortiz Hernandez

PARAGUAY

- Francisco Larrea

PERU

- Ana Romero
- Hugo Cabieses
- Ricardo Soberón

ST VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

- Alvin Collin / Bufa
- Junior Spirit Cottle
- Ackly Olto

TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO

- Rose Marie Antoine

UNITED STATES

- Alan McPherson
- Allen White
- Andrea James
- Arun Kundnani
- Ben Tarnoff
- Bill Fletcher, Jr
- Carlos Marentes
- Cathy Feingold
- Dana Brown
- Dov Baum
- Fionnuala Ni Aolain
- Frieda Afary
- Gerardo Reyes Chavez
- Johanna Bozuwa
- John Feffer
- John Treat
- Justine Moore
- Khara Jabola-Carolus
- Khury Petersen-Smith
- Larissa J. Maier
- Laura Flanders
- Liz Niarhos
- Marjorie Kelly
- Meena Jagganath
- Mildred E. Warner
- Noam Chomsky
- Nomi Prins
- Patrick Barrett
- Peter Ramand
- Rob Wallace
- Richard Kozul-Wright
- Sean Sweeney
- Thenjiwe McHarris
- Tithi Bhattacharya
- Todd Miller

URUGUAY

- Alberto Villareal
- Damian Osta
- Danilo Urrea
- Guillermo Garat
- Karin Nansen
- Karina Bathhyányi
- Martín Sanguinetti
- Natalia Carrau
- Natalie Uval
- Pablo Messina

ASIA-OCEANIA

AUSTRALIA

- David Legge
- Nick Crofts
- Philip Alston
- Sam Cossar-Gilbert

INDIA

- Anita Gurumurthy
- Anuradha Chenoy
- Benny Kuruvilla
- Jayati Ghosh
- Kajal Bhardwaj
- Kavita Krishnan
- Nandini Chami
- Orijit Sen
- Parminder Singh
- Romesh Bhattacharji
- Sulakshana Nandi
- Tripti Tandon
- Vrinda Grover

INDONESIA

- Arie Kurniawaty
- Maidina Rahmawati
- Marthin Hadiwinata
- Rachmi Hertanti

JAPAN

- Evan Clayburg

MALAYSIA

- Charles Santiago
- Umyra Ahmad

PAKISTAN

- Farooq Tariq

PHILIPPINES

- Joseph Purugganan
- Josua Mata
- Tina Ebro
- Walden Bello

TNI COLLABORATIONS IN 2020

EUROPE

AUSTRIA

- Martin Konecny

BELGIUM

- Bram Michielsen
- David Dessers
- Hans van Scharen
- Izabella Majcher
- Jill Alpes
- Martin Pigeon
- Meera Ghani
- Michaela Kauer
- Olivier De Schutter
- Olivier Hoedeman
- Tomaso Ferrando

CROATIA

- Mladen Domazet
- Vedran Horvat

CZECH REPUBLIC

- Ondřej Slacálek

DENMARK

- Chenchen Zhang
- Erick Gonzalo Palomares Rodríguez
- Kenneth Haar
- Mads Barbesgaard
- Mathias Hein Jensen

FRANCE

- Anne Sophie Olmos
- Benedicte Kurzen
- Charlene Jouanneau
- David Gallar
- Deborah Eade
- Eric Piolle
- Fatima-Zahra El Belghiti
- Olivier Petitjean
- Selma Oumari
- Thibault Josse
- Yasser Louati

GERMANY

- Anna Cavazzini
- Fabian Flues
- Paula Gioia
- Pia Eberhardt

GREECE

- Andreas Pottakis
- Apostolis Fotiadis
- Christos Giovanopoulos
- Yanis Varoufakis

HUNGARY

- Agnes Gagy
- Imres Szucs
- Tessza Udvarhelyi

IRELAND

- Carla Maria Kayanan
- Fleachta Phelan
- Siobhan Airey

ITALY

- Alagie Jinkang
- Delphine Ortega-Espes
- Francesco Alfonso Leccese
- Nora McKeon
- Rosa Pavanelli

NETHERLANDS

- Alberto Alonso Fradejas
- Aleks Hupli
- Alexander Beunder
- Anna Bissila
- Bas Coenegracht
- Bas van Beek
- Caitlin Schaap
- Caroline Nevejan
- Chihiro Geuzenbroek
- Damian Zaitch
- Dionne Abdoelhafiez Khan
- Eveline Lubbers
- Faiza Oulahsen

- Femke Slegers
- Florian Wolff
- Guido Jelsma
- Hannes Gerhardt
- Harriet Bergman
- Has Cornelissen
- Hilde Anna de Vries
- Jan Douwe van der Ploeg
- Janneke Prins
- Jelle Klaas
- Jille Belisario
- Jilles Mast
- John van Mullem
- Jurjen van De Bergh
- Karen Paalman
- Kauthar Bouchallikht
- Kees Stad
- Keimpe van der Heide
- Kim van Sparrentak
- Kirstie Crail
- Kitty Jong
- Laura Basu
- Laurie van Der Burg
- Lena Hartog
- Linder van den Heerik
- Liset Meddens
- Lynn van Leersum
- Maina van der Zwan
- Mariana Gkliati
- Marie-Sol Reindl
- Mark Akkerman
- Merel de Buck
- Miriyam Aouragh
- Natasja van den Berg
- Nawal Mustafa
- Nina Ciadella
- Noor Blokhuis
- Paolo Demas
- Raki Ap Rene Danen

- Robin Bruijsje
- Rutger Groot Wassink
- Sinde de Strijcker
- Suzanne Dhaliwal
- Tatiana Lukman
- Tineke Strik
- Tjalling Postma
- Tuur Elzinga
- Wouter van der Klippe

PORTUGAL

- Boaventura de Sousa Santos
- Giovanni Allegretti
- Sheila Holtz

ROMANIA

- Attila Szocs

SERBIA

- Andras Juhasz

SPAIN

- Adoración Guamán
- Ainhua Ruiz Benedicto
- Blanca Bayas Fernández
- Daniel Díaz-Fuentes
- David Gallar
- Ernest Urtaşun
- Eva Garcia Chueca
- Felipe Daza Sierra
- Janet Sanz
- Joan Herrera
- Jordi Calvo Rufanges
- Laura Roth
- Lucia Martín
- María Eugenia Rodríguez Palop
- Mikel Otero
- Nuria del Viso
- Oscar Reyes
- Pedro Rojo
- Pere Brunet
- Stacco Troncaso

SWEDEN

- Natalia Mamonova
- Zeidon Alkinani

SWITZERLAND

- Emilie Ferreira
- Frank Zobel
- Joey Ayoub
- Lynn Fries
- Nathalie Bernasconi-Osterwalder

UNITED KINGDOM

- Adam Winstock
- Andrew Cumbers
- Ann Pettifor
- Asim Qureshi
- Awino Okech
- Azfar Shafi
- Ben Tippet
- Bridget Henderson
- Chris Jones
- David Miller
- Grietje Baars
- Hafsa Aneela Bashir
- Ilyas Nagdee
- James Angel
- Jane Kilpatrick
- Jean Blaylock
- K. Biswas
- Laura Roddy
- Manoj Dias-Abey
- Mariana Gkliati
- Narzanin Massoumi
- Neil Woods
- Niovi Vavoula
- Olivia Rope
- Rafeef Ziadah
- Shelagh Smith
- Suzanne Jeffery
- Tatiana Garavito
- Waqas Tufail

WEST ASIA

TURKEY

- Irmak Ertor
- Joris Leverink

IRAQ

- Zahra Ali

LEBANON

- Rima Majed

PALESTINE

- Moayyad Bsharat
- Saad Ziada

ORGANISATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN 2020

MEDIA PARTNERS

- La Diaria (Uruguay)
- Laura Flanders Show (USA)
- Noor Images (Netherlands)
- Open Democracy (UK)
- Platform voor Authentieke Journalistiek (Netherlands)
- Real World Radio (Uruguay)
- ROAR (Netherlands)

GLOBAL

- Articulação Internacional de Atingidas e Atingidos pela Vale
- Association for Women's Rights in Development
- Corporate Accountability International
- Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era
- FIAN International
- Friends of the Earth International
- G2H2- Geneva Global Health Hub
- Global Campaign for Education
- Global Campaign to Reclaim People's Sovereignty, Dismantle Corporate Power & Stop Impunity
- Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- Global Drug Survey
- Global Partnership on Drugs Policy and Development
- Global Platform for the Right to the City
- Habitat International Coalition
- International Drug Policy Consortium
- International Planning Committee for Food Sovereignty
- Just Net Coalition
- La Via Campesina
- Oxfam International
- Penal Reform International
- People's Health Movement
- People's Sovereignty Network
- Public Services International
- Red Intercontinental de Promoción de la Economía Social Solidaria
- Stop the Wall Campaign
- Trade Unions for Energy Democracy
- World Forum of Fisher Peoples
- World Forum of Fisher Harvesters and Fish Workers
- World March of Women

AFRICA

REGIONAL

- Centre de Recherches et d'Appui pour les Alternatives de Développement – Océan Indien
- North African Food Sovereignty Network
- Réseau des organisations paysannes et de producteurs de l'Afrique de l'Ouest
- Southern Africa Campaign to Dismantle Corporate Power

KENYA

- Global Initiative for Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

MAURITIUS

- Centre for Alternative Research and Studies

MOROCCO

- Adrar Nough Cooperative
- Association Senhaja
- Attac Morocco
- National Union of Fishers – Coastal and Offshore fishing

MOZAMBIQUE

- Justica Ambiental/FoE

NIGERIA

- Corporate Accountability

SOUTH AFRICA

- Alternative Information & Development Centre
- Groundwork/FoE
- Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape
- Masifundise
- National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa
- National Union of Mineworkers

TUNISIA

- Observatoire de la Souveraineté Alimentaire et de l'Environnement
- Tunisian Observatory of Economy
- Tunisian Platform of Alternatives

UGANDA

- Initiative for Social and Economic Rights
- Southern and Eastern Africa Trade Information and Negotiations Institute

AMERICAS

REGIONAL

- Amigos de la Tierra de América Latina y Caribe
- Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales
- Drogas y Derecho
- Jornada Continental por la Democracia y contra el neoliberalismo
- Internacional de Servicios Públicos- América Latina
- Plataforma América Latina mejor sin TLC
- Plataforma de Acuerdos Públicos Comunitarios de las Américas
- Red Intercontinental de Promoción de la Economía Social Solidaria
- Trade Union Congress of the Americas
- University of the West Indies

ARGENTINA

- ATTAC Argentina
- Centro de Estudio Legales y Sociales
- Escuela Política y Gobierno, Universidad Nacional de San Martín

BOLIVIA

- Acción Andina Democracy Center
- CEDIB

BRAZIL

- Homa Institute
- Movimento dos Atingidos por Barragens (MAB)

CANADA

- Canada Caribbean Institute
- Brock University and University of West Indies
- International Institute for Sustainable Development
- ETC Group
- Justice for Migrant Workers
- Municipal Services Project

CHILE

- Plataforma Chile mejor sin TLCs
- Universidad Abierta de Recoleta

COLOMBIA

- Dejusticia
- Empresas Municipales de Cali
- Integration de Educacion Ambiental y Social – IDEAS
- Observatorio de Cultivos y Cultivadores Declarados Ilícitos
- Sindicato de Trabajadores de las Empresas Municipales de Cali

COSTA RICA

- Asociación Costarricense para el Estudio e Intervención en Drogas
- University of Costa Rica

ECUADOR

- Acción Ecológica
- Centro de Derechos Económicos y Sociales
- Coordinadora Andina de Organizaciones Indígenas
- Unión de Afectados por Texaco (UDAPT)

EL SALVADOR

- Asociación de Desarrollo Económico Social Santa Marta

MEXICO

- Asamblea Nacional de Afectado/as Ambientales de México
- Unión de Científicos Comprometidos con la Sociedad
- Universidad Iberoamericana – Programa de Asuntos Migratorios

PERU

- Cooperación

SAINT VINCENT AND THE GRENADINES

- Cannabis Revival Community

URUGUAY

- Cooperative Comuna
- Red de Ecología Social/FOE
- Red de Semillas
- REDES FOE Uruguay

USA

- American Friends Service Committee
- Coalition of Immokalee Workers
- The Democracy Collaborative
- Grassroots Global Justice Alliance
- Havens Wright Center for Social Justice, University of Wisconsin-Madison
- Institute for Policy Studies
- Intercambios
- International Indian Treaty Council
- Mijente
- MSI Integrity
- Next System Project
- No Más Muertos/No More Deaths
- Northwest Atlantic Marine Alliance
- USA Community-supported Fisheries Network
- Washington Office on Latin America

ASIA-OCEANIA

REGIONAL

- Asia-Europe People's Forum
- Asian Task Force for a Binding Treaty
- EU-ASEAN FTA network
- Focus on the Global South

AUSTRALIA

- Centre for Law Enforcement and Public Health

INDIA

- ActionAid India
- Forum Against FTAs India
- ItforChange

INDONESIA

- Eko Marine
- Indonesia for Global Justice
- Kesatuan Nelayan Tradisional Indonesia
- Solidarity Perempuan
- Wahana Lingkungan Hidup

MALAYSIA

- Monitoring Sustainability of Globalisation

MONGOLIA

- Mongolia AEPF Committee

MYANMAR

- They know who they are but we will not name for security purposes.

PAKISTAN

- Crofter Foundation
- Pakistan Kissan Rabita Committee

PHILIPPINES

- Alliance for Progressive Labour
- Asia People's Movement on Debt and Development
- Institute for Popular Democracy
- Initiatives for Dialogue and Empowerment through Alternative Legal Services
- SENTRO Trade Union Federation
- World March of Women – Philippines

VIETNAM

- Vietnam Peace and Development Foundation

WEST ASIA/MIDDLE EAST

PALESTINE

- Union of Agricultural Works Committees

TURKEY

- Association of Istanbul Fishing Cooperatives
- Birlik Fisheries Cooperative
- Bogazici University

ORGANISATIONAL COLLABORATIONS IN 2020

EUROPE

REGIONAL

- Aqua Publica Europea
- Centre Europe Tiers Monde
- Commons Network
- Corporate Europe Observatory
- Ecolise
- Energy Cities
- European Coordination Via Campesina
- European Network Against the Arms Trade
- European Network of Corporate Observatories
- European Public Services Union
- Friends of the Earth Europe
- Green New Deal for Europe
- Greens/EFA
- International Federation of Organic Agricultural Movements – Europe
- Minim – Municipalism Observatory
- Nyeleni Europe and Central Asia
- Platform of Filipino Migrant Organisations in Europe
- Rosa Luxemburg Stiftung
- Seattle to Brussels network
- Transform Europe!
- Transnational Migrant Platform-Europe

AUSTRIA

- Attac Austria
- Austrian Federal Chamber of Labour

BELGIUM

- 11.11.11
- CADTM
- Client Earth
- European network on Debt and Development
- Fairfin
- Finance Watch
- Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp

BULGARIA

- Municipality of Burgas

CROATIA

- Institute for Political Ecology

FRANCE

- Agir pour la Paix
- AITEC
- Association des Femmes Centrafricaines Ingénieursdu Développement Rural délégation Europe
- ATTAC France
- Comité Justice et Libertés Pour Tous
- Eau de Paris
- Friends of the Earth
- France Amérique Latine
- Mediciens du Monde
- Multinationals Observatory
- Pleine Mer
- Terre de Liens
- Union syndicale Solidaires
- Urgenci
- Veblen Institute

GERMANY

- Asienhaus
- ATTAC Germany
- Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit
- Forum Umwelt und Entwicklung
- Global Partnership on Drug Policy and Development
- International Federation of Organic Agriculture Movements
- Mexico via Berlin
- Ökumenisches Büro für Frieden und Gerechtigkeit
- Rosa Luxemburg Foundation
- Zentrum für Entwicklungsbezogene Bildung

IRELAND

- Irish Broad Left

ITALY

- ARCI
- Crocevia
- Forum Droghe
- Ikenga
- International University College Turin
- Crocevia
- Re-Common
- Society for International Development
- Terra Nuova
- Un Ponte Per

NETHERLANDS

- Action Aid
- Aralez
- Belangenvereniging MDHG
- Black Queer & Trans Resistance NL
- Both Ends
- Clean Clothes Campaign
- CNV
- Code Rood
- Collectief Tegen Islamofobie en Discriminatie
- Comité 21 Maart
- Commission For Filipino Migrant Workers
- De 99 van Amsterdam
- De Bovengrondse
- De Goede Zaak
- de Nieuwe Meent
- Dutch Dairymen Board
- Engage-TV!
- Euro-Mediterraan Centrum Migratie & Ontwikkeling
- European Cultural Foundation
- Extinction Rebellion
- FNV
- Foodwatch NL
- Fossilvrij
- Fossil Free Feminists
- Friday's For Future
- Gastivists
- Greenpeace
- Handel Anders!
- Institute for Social Studies, Erasmus University
- Internationale Socialisten
- IZI-solutions
- Jongeren Milieu Actief
- Maastricht for Climate
- Mainline
- Trimbos

- Legalize Nederland
- Lobbywatch NL!
- Milieudéfense
- Nederlandse Akkerbouw Vakbond
- PARTOS
- PAX
- Platform Aarde Boer Consument
- Public Interest Litigation Project
- Queers for Climate
- Shell Must Fall
- S.P.E.A.K
- SOMO
- Stichting Meld Islamofobie
- Stop Wapenhandel
- Theaterstraat
- Toekomstboeren
- Voedsel Anders
- Wise

PORTUGAL

- TROCA

ROMANIA

- Ecoruralis

SERBIA

- Masina

SPAIN

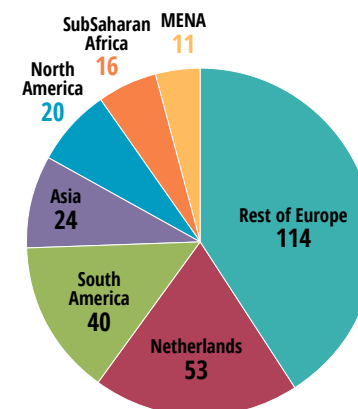
- APROAMAR
- Barcelona En Comú
- Basque University
- Bizilur, Association for Cooperation and Development of the people
- Catalunya En Comú
- Centro Delás
- Ecologistas en Acción
- Ekologistak Martxan
- Engineers Without Borders Catalonia
- Entrepueblos
- Friends of the Earth
- Fundación Al Fanar
- International Center for Ethnobotanical Education, Research and Service
- Municipality of Barcelona
- Network for Energy Sovereignty Catalonia
- Novact
- Observatorio de Multinacionales en América Latina
- OPSUR Podemos
- SUDS
- Taula per Mèxic
- Tradener

SWITZERLAND

- Global Commission on Drug Policy
- Society for Threatened Peoples

UNITED KINGDOM

- CAGE
- Carbon Co-op
- Global Drug Policy Observatory
- Global Drug Survey
- Global Justice Now
- Health Poverty Action
- International Drug Policy Consortium
- MENA Solidarity Network
- Real Farming Trust
- Platform London
- Public Services International Research Unit
- Shoal Collective
- Spinwatch
- Statewatch
- UNITE
- University of Glasgow
- University of Bristol Law School
- University of York
- War on Want
- We Own It



FALLEN COMRADES

TNI was deeply saddened at the passing away of two Associates in February 2020, both after a long bout of ill health.



Dot Keet (b. Bulawayo, 1942) passed away in London. She had been a Fellow for a decade from 2001 during which time she played a pioneering role in the establishment of the Southern African Peoples Solidarity Network and had a long association with the African Trade Network and the Alternative Information and Development Centre in Cape Town. With a background in the liberation movements of Southern Africa, Dot was a passionate socialist who dedicated her entire life to serving this cause. More [here](#) can be found about the incredible life of Dot.



Photo: [Luna duna](#)

Teodor Shanin (b. Vilnius, 1930) passed away in Moscow. He had been one of TNI's original batch of Fellows, appointed in 1974 and serving for almost a decade, reconnecting from the 2000s. He had been a founder of the Journal of Peasant Studies in 1973, which published all his writings as a tribute to him in 2020. Teodor's other legacy is a post-graduate school in Moscow, fondly known as Shaninka, and for which effort he was recognised with an O.B.E in England. [Hear](#) Teodor memorably speaking to the political significance of La Via Campesina, and telling his amazing [life story](#).

We will cherish the memory of Dot and Teodor's association with TNI and give them both a place of honour in our history so future generations can come to know them too.

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