# NetworkNews Issue 1 • 2003

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## Peace, Justice & Movement Building

s we put this **Network**News to bed, the bombs drop in Iraq and George W. Bush succeeds in his goal to pound Iraq and conquer another territory. The United States, the world's richest country, the one that holds the most nuclear arms, claims to be protecting U.S. citizens from the "unknown," and creating "freedom" for Iraq as it sees fit. Like any good strain of totalitarianism, the Bush Administration spouts the need to protect "us" by seeding fear and hate, as it strips away civil liberties and diverts resources from needed social services. While most of the world watches and solidly denounces Bush's actions, he charges on demonstrating the worst kind of inhumanity – misuse of power to destroy instead of create.



While the answers are not clear and it's hard to say what good can be taken from this, there is opportunity here. Many constituents of the peace movement are asserting the intersections between local and global movements, demonstrating the impact on people of color in the United States and the Global South and laying the groundwork to sustain the movement for justice beyond the war. This time has also demanded that we be clearer about our values and intentions, and yes, that we enter new relationships with more depth.

This is the time to work more closely with grantees. Instead of retracting, grantmakers need to break out and ask, exchange, challenge and be challenged about how to fund more effectively in partnership with those most affected by the problems funding seeks to address. It is the time to



insist that you, your institutions and other grant-makers articulate how your grantmaking truly helps to build a movement. It is the time to answer whether or not funders are simply "money movers," or whether our community is willing to exercise the power and influence we have beyond our checkbook. Times like these demand that we strengthen our ability to be a stronger and more effective network of social justice grantmakers.

At NNG, the dramatic shift in our social, political and economic realities has demanded that we strengthen our own foundation to address membership needs. Here, in our first **Network**News in 2003, we give you a clearer picture of NNG's work ahead. We also want to offer some hope through the outstanding work done by grassroots organizers and grantmakers to build a stronger social justice movement.

Peace march New York City, March 22

## Inside

Peace Abroad ,
Justice at Home

Educating Funders & Supporting Movements

Grantmaker Reflections

/ Co-chair Letter

8 Membership Report



## Hello NNG Members!

We wanted to tell you that it has been fabulous working with our members. Thank you for your support of NNG. We are working hard to make sure it continues to be a strong voice for progressive philanthropy. We urge you to continue to call us with your ideas and helping hands.

—Nicole M. Trombley & Júlio C. Dantas



**Racial Justice 911** 

(RJ911) is a national network

of Racial Justice organizations

that seeks to build the power

of people of color

communities during a

time of war.

www.rj911.org

# Peace Abroad Must be Joined to the Righteous Demand for Racial Justice at Home

Linda Burnham Women of Color Resource Center • Jane Sung E Bai CAAAV: Organizing Asian Communities

RASSROOTS peace activism is more vibrant today than at any time since the height of the Vietnam war. And for good reason. U.S. foreign policy has been hijacked by hard right militarists whose arrogant unilateralism and doctrine of pre-emption pose an imminent threat to world peace. Though congressional opposition to the Bush-Cheney-Rumsfeld axis is, with a few noble exceptions, weak and muted, a multifaceted, rapidly growing anti-war movement has become the main oppositional voice to the Bush Administration's pursuit of naked, imperial adventures.

A critical question was posed when the antiglobalization movement was surging: "Where was the color in Seattle?" No such question can be raised about the mass anti-war movement. From its earliest stirrings in the days immediately following the Twin Towers disaster, activists, artists and organizations representing communities of color have been among the most articulate, impassioned voices speaking out in opposition to the permanent "war on terrorism" abroad and the clamp down on immigrant communities here at home.

Racial Justice 911 (RJ911), a national network born in the wake of the unconscionable September 11th attacks, has become a critical player in the burgeoning peace movement. As its name implies, RJ911 brings focus to the fact that the current foreign policy crisis is, simultaneously, a racial justice emergency. Not only has the country been placed on an aggressive war footing, but ultra-right forces have deemed it the most appropriate time to assault immigrant communities, roll back affirma-

continued on page 4

RJ911 builds on a rich tradition in communities of color of opposition to U.S. military adventures abroad and the trampling of civil liberties and constitutional rights on the domestic front.

Historically, the perspectives of communities of color have been critical to the peace movement.

They are no less so today. The traditional, predominately white peace movement needs

That war and racism fuel each other, the vilification of Arabs as uncivilized, misogynistic terrorists being only the starkest current example.

continual reminding of a few key realities:

- That there is an ongoing "low-intensity war" in communities of color, in the form of criminalization, incarceration and the perpetuation of social conditions that foster despair.
- That in wartime immigrant communities face special vulnerabilities – witness the detentions and summary deportations of Arab, Muslim and South Asian men – and merit special measures of defense.
- That, patently, massive budget deficits fueled by ballooning military expenditures – have the greatest impact on the poor and, given their socio-economic profile, cutbacks in social spending on healthcare, childcare, welfare, education, housing, etc. will unfairly burden communities of color.
- That the military culture of violence, heightened during wartime, permeates our society, especially

- endangering women of color and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered communities of color, which are exposed to increased physical and sexual violence.
- That the issue of the Israeli occupation of Palestine, a perpetual source of violence in the Middle East, with all the earmarks of a racist, colonial project, cannot be ignored by a peace movement worthy of the name.
- That the repeatedly emergent tendency toward making war on peoples of color in the name of the defense of western civilization is a deeply embedded feature of U.S. history and politics, and that expunging this tendency will require deeply transformational social change.
- That the peace movement gains strength to the degree that it incorporates the energies and perspectives of those constituencies brought into the movement through on-the-ground community-based organizing.

### 2 **Network**News

### ANG

# A Groundswell: Educating Funders & Supporting Movements

"The conditions we

face require a

radical reckoning

with routine social

change work."



**Anannya Bhattacharjee** Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock Steering Committee, Funders Network on Trade and Globalization

THE POLITICAL CONDITIONS we face today are historic, at least in recent decades. But I have to confess there is a voice in me that says, "What is new about this?" Unilateralism, imperial-

ism – whatever name describes current affairs – were there before 9-11 and continue, only with greater fervor. As an immigrant from a Third World country that cannot afford to relegate U.S. foreign policy to polite dinner conversations but faces it daily, part of me resists giving credence to "The world has changed since 9-11." In any case, whether or not the world has changed funda-

mentally, we are increasingly aware of living in a state of war with global implications.

The conditions we face require a radical reckoning with routine social change work. How can we grapple with the enormous tasks ahead even as our social change work has become more challenging? How can we face new challenges when our other fights – legalization of immigrants, TANF reauthorization, universal healthcare, quality public education, reform of the criminal *injustice* system, blockage of trade agreements, secure and family-supporting jobs, and renewal of the labor movement – are still with us and growing more urgent?

How do we answer the "big" question of *political* power when we are still stuck on old questions of who gets funding for what?

I have arrived at two conclusions in my relatively short tenure as a grantmaker. One conclusion is that quantification of funds "moved" or "leveraged" for a particular purpose is extremely difficult – the favorite preoccupation of most grantmakers. Certain targeted collaborations have occasionally taken place (some of them led by NNG members), but more often than not grantmakers are a singularly independent group. The other conclusion is that creative education efforts among grantmakers do work and are extremely important. I believe in

spending energy on the latter with a view to doing the former, humbly knowing the limitations of such leveraging.

Educating grantmakers is no small challenge

since they are usually well-resourced, information-drenched, highly intelligent and often highly motivated people. How, then, can creative education best serve this community towards the larger goal of building a movement for political power? I have benefited most from educational activities that have crossed as many boundaries as possible: boundaries such as national borders, disciplines or

programs, primary strategies and political intent.

I have learned the most when education took place at a civil society/activist gathering or action. A site such as the World Social Forum or the People's Summit at the FTAA Summit of the Americas in Quebec, where social movements, not-for-profit or non-governmental organizations, trade unions, intellectuals, artists, elected officials and journalists gather and funders are only a small, though significant part, can be eye-opening. Grantmakers who are mostly acquainted with the not-for-profit model within the United States or primarily with policy and advocacy work or with only grassroots organizing or are issue-based are challenged to widen their thinking. The richness of the social justice world speaks for itself, instead of grantmakers showcasing organizations or trying to convince each other.

I have learned a great deal about meaningful and respectful diversity through my work within the Funders Network on Trade and Globalization (FNTG), and its Local-Global Working Group. I have found that the best way to convince colleagues is not through espousing my theories but through making visible the work of organizations that have

continued on page 5



### Peace Abroad continued from page 2

tive action, resurrect the Confederate flag and cut back on social programs benefiting people of color – all the while feeding the rich a steady diet of tax cuts.

RJ911 organizations work on a wide range of issues, including immigrant rights, economic justice, welfare rights, Indigenous environmental issues, LGBT rights, issues facing young people of color and domestic and sexual violence. All agree on the need to lift up the racial justice issues embedded in the current political crisis and to develop coordinated actions and campaigns among racial justice organizations.

RJ911 and its constituent organizations lift up these views both in local communities and at the national level, giving strong voice to the complex interplay between the politics of their communities in the United States and U.S. policy in their homelands.

RJ911 member groups are leaders in the fight for racial justice and immigrant rights in the United States, a fight which started long before the war on terrorism was launched. Our peace and justice agenda is defined by the interests of those who are most directly impacted by U.S. foreign and domestic policies, and our organizing strategies center on bringing forward the power of the marginalized, overlooked and despised. RJ911 enables us to respond to the immediate crises while building the relations that will strengthen and sustain our movement when the war is "over," and the anti-war protestors go home. Our organizations, our communities have no choice but to continue the fight for racial justice. How we and others struggle now

will shape U.S. democracy well into the future. RJ911 has grown and developed in large measure on the basis of the organizational, logistical and analytical skills of women of color.

RJ911 faces multiple challenges: Finding staff time and resources to pursue anti-war work in organizations that were already feeling the pinch of the recession has not been easy. Finding common language and strategies among organizations that represent different racial/ethnic/national communities, different approaches to social change work and different organizational cultures has required lots of patience and creativity. Constituency-based organizations face the challenge of remaining accountable and doing the careful educational work in their communities while fielding the demands of a rapidly moving mass peace movement.

But, despite these challenges, RJ911 is making its mark. The massive turn out of people of color at the mobilizations have not been by accident. Outreach to youth groups, social service agencies, mosques, churches and neighborhood associations tapped deep into communities of color. People of color contingents gave shape and direction to scattered anti-war constituencies. In New York City, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Chicago and other areas, local RJ911 organizers coordinated the mobilization of individuals and members of community-based groups, and worked to ensure that the rally programs reflected the leadership and issues of communities of color.

Communities of color were present and their numbers will grow. They are the most consistent advocates of the view that the passionate call for peace abroad must be joined to the righteous demand for racial justice at home.

## Building **Power** for Social **Justice**

#### NNG's 2003 Conference

Tucson, Arizona

**October 13-15** 

Conference Committee

**Shannon Cain** Southern Arizona Fund for Social Change **John Vaughn** Peace Development Fund

Jen Allen Border Action Network/FEX Saguaro Fund • Bookda Gheisar A Territory Resource Foundation • Christine Lipat Astraea Lesbian Action Foundation • Chris Peters Seventh Generation Fund • Christine Sartor Winds of Peace Foundation

• Daniel Wells Schreck Abelard Foundation-West • Michael Warsh C.S. Fund • Kolu Zigbi Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation



## Groundswell continued from page 3

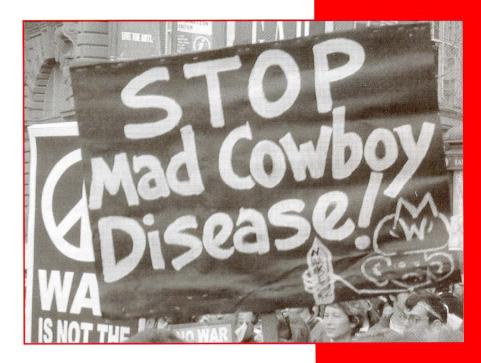
the capacity to bridge the differences between my grantmaking strategies and those of others. Our theories and differences, and our ability to bridge them are only as convincing as the work out there.

For example, I am often asked my favorite question: "Why is Veatch in FNTG, aren't you a domestic funder?" I believe, like many others, that it is imperative for ordinary Americans to understand their conditions in the context of corporate-led globalization: without this understanding, all struggles, local or global, will reach a plateau and falter. Who can best build this movement? Local organizing that links local conditions to global directives in policy-making. By extension, domestic funders are extremely relevant to the debate on globalization. Placing local organizing in the heart of the discourse on globalization, then, does not come out of a sense of duty or inclusion ("let us be diverse") but rather out of self-interest and necessity.

Funders are still faced with the inconsolable fact that during 1980-1999 grantmaking for racial and ethnic minorities decreased from 9.9% to 7.9%. Funding people of color cannot stem from a sense of duty or inclusion. People of color, immigrants, poor people, workers and people from the Global South – the main targets of the Big "Policing" Government – bring the most lively debates and strategies to the table of social change. They are the future of this country, and of this world.

As individual funders, we need to know how our work fits into the global movement for justice. We need to share how our individual grantmaking builds the global movement, and start to fully understand and articulate a vision that takes into account the power of philanthropy and what it can really do to support social justice struggles worldwide, a movement currently being led by those most impacted by unilateralism.

As the global justice movement has repeatedly learned, the best antidote to unilateralism and brute force is a groundswell of people's organizations that have visions for a better world. This is the place of reckoning that is most frightening to politicians. It is the court of public opinion displayed not through sound bites and white papers which are easy to neutralize and short-lived. Well organized people stand firmly with their feet on the ground, holding alternative and visionary proposals for "Another World is Possible," refusing to



be silenced or moved not just for a minute but for months, years and decades. This is the stuff of social change that will ultimately answer the "big" question, that elephant that will not leave the room. To continue underfunding such communities, is to not look our own future in the eye.

Anti-war demonstration
San Francisco, February 15.

## **Regional** Gatherings

New York City

#### Tuesday, May 13th 2-5pm Rockefeller Foundation

NNG is convening members to strategize as a community of funders. In response to members' requests, this gathering aims to increase the impact and effectiveness of grantmakers as catalysts for social change. It is the time to discuss whether or not funders are simply "money movers," or whether our community is willing to exercise the power and influence we have beyond our checkbook. At the session, key grantmakers and political thinkers will help frame the political moment by discussing the Bush agenda and the war on Iraq, and relevant topics in the region. Presenters will lay out implications for funders, and participants will share and explore strategies to build power for social justice.

San Francisco

#### Tuesday, June 17

See the NNG website www.nng.org or contact NNG at julio@nng.org for details.



## Reflections of an Insider

"Until people start waging

their power to represent

progressive issues in

conservative spaces, things

like Florida 2000 and the

**Bush Administration will** 

continue to happen

to all of us."

Cynthia Renfro Fonda Family Foundation

Association Retreat in fall 2002, I attended ad hoc discussions about Bush's war against Iraq, which resulted in the Iraq Peace Fund (IPF). Currently in hiatus, IPF raised and distributed over

tember and mid-November 2002. Other gifts from environmental grantmakers to peace and security groups during that time amounted to an additional \$700,000.

At EGA, I became part of the IPF grantmaking committee, and I was exhilarated and conflicted by this effort. Funders ability to make "emergency grants" succeeded in quickly bringing visibil-

ity and capacity to the anti-war movement. However, the decision-making process was the opposite of democratic, one group made off with a lion's share of the money, and people of color led antiwar work received token support.

As a black funder it was a conflicting experience. On the one hand, I was frustrated by my inability to connect with anti-war work led by people of color and thus could not bring them to the table for consideration (my background is environmental philanthropy). On the other hand, I was conflicted because I was relied on as a person of color to represent across sectors because of my ethnic identity, not my expertise. Yet, my presence, my identity was a key factor in two people of color led groups receiving money to do outstanding social justice work. What is going on? I thought.

As a result of IPF, I began to really think about Power. Clearly there is money – IPF raised and spent a half million dollars in seven weeks. But only certain people have access to that money. This black woman does not. Until people start waging their power to represent progressive issues in conservative spaces, things like Florida 2000 and the Bush Administration will continue to happen to all of us.

I am looking to where people of color funders do have power (access, visibility, other people of color funders) versus places we do not (control of money, institutional history, board inhibitions). What resources can we develop that are not

> dependent on traditional philanthropy? How do I support my emotional and psychological stamina to continue to use my access and visibility to move resources to communities that need them? And where are the people of color with wealth?

> This time of war pushes us all to state more clearly what our core values are. Does it suffice to fund the people of color"grantees"? What

places do each of us create in our community of funders that build the power and ability of people of color philanthropists to make social justice happen with influential white counterparts?

URING THE Environmental Grantmakers \$500,000 between Sep-

#### NNG'S PEOPLE OF COLOR CAUCUS (POCC)

## JOIN US!

The POCC is a 'community' for people of color in progressive philanthropy. We seek to increase the decision-making and influence of people of color through networking, issues analysis, new idea exchanges and best practices. We help educate philanthropy about the critical issues affecting POC and their impact on organizing in communities of color.

POCC is dynamic and diverse. Our members represent public and private foundations and support organizations.

Contact digitdeva@yahoo.com, or kolu@igc.org to join us, to share your interests and skills, to increase the voices and participation of people of color in social change philanthropy.

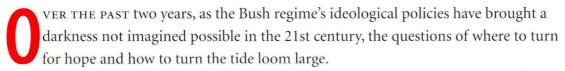


Renew your membership

### ANG

# The Time is Ripe!

Joy Palmer & Joe Wilson Co-chairs of the NNG Board of Directors



While the average consumer of mainstream media in this country may not easily be able to see it, we as NNG members know that hope resides in the on-going efforts of grassroots activists around the world working to build movements for justice and peace.

There is hope in poor and low-income communities organizing for access to healthcare, housing and a living wage. There is hope in immigrant communities and communities of color working to counter government efforts to silence dissent, stifle debate and curtail civil liberties. There is hope in Native communities continuing to struggle for autonomy and self-determination despite centuries of genocide and repression. There is hope in the voices of the tens of thousands of people who attended the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil to declare that there are viable alternatives to the brutality of the corporatedominated global economic system. And there is hope in the hearts of the millions of people around the world who have taken to the streets to say YES to peace and NO to a preemptive war on the people of Iraq.

As grantmakers, we have the unusual privilege of witnessing such work up close. As members of a network that believes in the possibility of a more just and humane world, we have the obligation to ensure that this work is supported, and encouraged to deepen and expand.

As monied and other powerful interests try to instill fear, diminish democracy and push for war, we must heed the forty-year-old call of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in his "Letter from a Birmingham Jail" to raise our voices and act now for justice and peace:

#### Letter from a Birmingham Jail

I am coming to feel that the people of ill will have used time much more effectively than the people of good will. We will have to repent in this generation not merely for the vitriolic words and actions of the bad people, but for the appalling silence of the good people. We must come to see that human progress never rolls in on wheels of inevitability. It comes through ... tireless efforts and ... persistent work ... and without this hard work time itself becomes an ally of the forces of social stagnation. We must use time creatively, and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right.

—Martin Luther King Jr.

NNG will always work to break the silence and raise the voices of those struggling for justice and peace. We hope that you will continue to stand with us as we strive to do right in the present, as well as for future generations. The time is ripe!

#### Mark **Your** Calendars

- NY Regional Gathering
  May 13
- San Francisco Regional Gathering June 17
- National Conference in Tucson, AZ October 13-15

For more information visit www.nng.org



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Designer Small World Productions. San Francisco

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We welcome feedback and story ideas. Contact julio@nng.org

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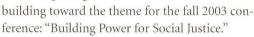




# Membership Report

AST NOVEMBER almost 40 NNG members gathered at the Public Welfare Foundation in Washington, D.C. Hungry for political conversation, NNG members asserted the need for NNG

to convene social change funders to respond to the difficulties we are facing in the current political context. In 2003 all of NNG's programming will be centered on engaging the membership in strategy conversations, deepening and



Rev. John Vaughn

and Laurie Emrich



The left is under-funded, unprepared, fragmented and not strategic. Members shared strong concerns that the 2002 November elections and changes ushered in with the Bush Administration were not newly invented, but had been in the works for years. The Right has been much more strategic and conservative funders have played a key role in this. As a community of progressive funders, we have no real sense of who is funding which issues and how we can more strategically partner to give our work more impact.



■ The contracting economy is hitting the social justice funding community hard. The consensus from participants' own experiences and stories of colleagues in the field was that staff cut backs and

> shrinking grantmaking budgets were widespread. NNG members were very concerned that these changes are happening at individual foundations in isolation from other changes, raising key

> > questions: If a foundation is cutting a

program area, is somebody else picking up those pieces? Are some communities Zelermeyer and Tracy Gary impacted more than

others by cut backs? If the social justice community was under-funded before, how can we be more strategic with fewer resources? If private foundations are cutting back on grants, what other strategies are there to ensure a stable and enduring funding base for social and economic justice work?

NNG needs to be the convenor of the social justice funding community and foster the development of movement strategy conversations. In the context of these widespread changes, members

> asked, "What can we do with NNG? Is there a unified agenda or platform for action? Not just about what we are against but about what we are for? This is what we are all hungry for... Is there a place at NNG where we can take this on?" Members articulated the need for more spaces and opportunities to discuss debate and develop strategies to move resources for social and economic justice.

For a full report, visit www.nng.org.