THE NETWORK

The National Network of Grantmakers

Conference Issue

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NNG Challenged To Build Our Own Constituency

In her closing remarks to the conference, Youth Project Executive Director Andrea Kydd challenged the NNG to take seriously the goal of constituency building and leadership development and apply it directly to our own constituency – that of progressive grantmakers.

She encouraged conferees to see themselves as organizers in their role as funders, and to understand that they can make a greater contribution if their work flows from a political vision.

"If we as grantmakers expect our grantee organizations to demonstrate how their work reflects a particular vision, then we should expect the same of ourselves," she said.

Like many of our grantee organizations, we need to develop our capacity to promote a vision. We need to engage in leadership development among ourselves, and provide a means by which we can expand our own constituent base, for the purpose of making more financial and technical assistance resources available for economic justice and peace.

Andrea expressed her hope that NNG members will use the conference as an

Panel Discussion

NNG invites you to a panel discussion on: Hunger: a global problem affecting farmers and communities.

Tuesday, April 15, 1986 from 6 until 7 p.m. at the Annual Conference of the Council on Foundations in Kansas City.

Meeting in the Nation's breadbasket at a time of crisis in American agriculture. What can foundations contribute to resolving the paradox of surplus food production, family farm foreclosures, national and international hunger and malnutrition.

Frances Moore Lappe, author of *Diet* for a Small Planet; director of Institute for Food and Development Policy.

Baldemar Velasquez, president of Farm Labor Organizing Committee, Ohio.

Reception follows from 7 until 8 p.m. with music and refreshments. Location will be posted.

opportunity to learn from each ther better ways to do our jobs as grantmakers. Part of the job, in her opinion, is to find resources, and the conference enables grantmakers to learn about each other's ideas and interests and explore new ways to put them to work.

Andrea also spoke of the need for grantmakers to be more creative about supporting groups and to find ways to effectively communicate with people, especially through the media. Andrea proposed that NNG use some of the time at conferences to conduct leadership development and skills training for participants, as a means of enabling all of us to act more confidently in the role as organizer and leader.

1986 Conference Dates Set

1986 Conference Committee Chairs Dana Alston Alexander and Lael Stegall have already been hard at work planning next year's conference and have reserved the dates November 14-16, 1986 at the Illinois Beach Resort Conference Center outside Chicago. We hope you will mark your calendars now and plan to attend.

The Conference Committee is being formed, and people are needed to help. Contact either Co-Chair to volunteer.

Citizen Involvement In Foreign Policy Encouraged

With a focus on the conflicts in Central America and South Africa, participants in the panel on Foreign Policy stressed the importance of increased public education to enable Americans to understand the relationship between U.S. foreign policy and domestic policy. In her opening remarks panel moderator Dana Alston stated that we no longer accept the notion that foreign policy issues are outside the realm of concerns of Black people, and we must figure out how to make the relationships between foreign and domestic policy real to people in their everyday lives.

Dana then introduced Bob Borosage,
Director of the Institute for Policy Studies in
Washington, D.C. who described the
existence of two policies in this country on
Central America – the one promoted by the
Reagan administration and the one promoted
by peace activists. In Bob's view there has
been an extraordinary anti-intervention
citizen movement involving people from
churches, unions, academicians, and
grassroots citizens groups which can take
credit for preventing Reagan from achieving
his goals in Central America.

Borosage reminded the audience that Central America is very important to Reagan because it stands as a metaphor he wants to promote – that the USSR is behind all the evils in the world and the USA must not allow them to take over the region lest we be seen as weak. The administration has effectively succeeded in changing Reagan's image as pursuing war and supporting death squads, to one of protector of democracy against communism. It is our challenge to crystalize the symbols of America as peace builders and unravel Reagan's erroneous world view.

Jean Sindab of the Washington Office on Africa began her remarks with the historical perspective that until very recently, the United States has not taken that much interest in Africa, and there is still tremendous national ignorance about South Africa and the U.S. role there. Again, the Reagan administration has used fear of Russian expansionism to bolster the course of support for South Africa. Jean believes that the development of the broad-based antiapartheid coalition and accompanying media attention has increased public education and helped the American people to see that the U.S. policy of constructive engagement was actually blatant support of apartheid. In response to the concern over U.S. divestment hurting South African Blacks more than helping them, Jean stated that out of 24 million Blacks in South Africa, fewer than 1% are employed by U.S. corporations

For the remainderr of the session, participants broke into two small strategy groups, one dealing with Central America and the other dealing with South Africa. In the Central America group, in response to funders who saw obstacles to funding work on this issue becasue international issues are not in their

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1986 NNG Management Committee Elected

by Patricia Hewitt and Susan K. Kinoy, Co-Convenors of the NNG Management Committee

The 1986 NNG Management Committee was selected at Kanuga and is listed to the left. The Committee is first rate and we are proud to be working with them. We urge you to call any of the members and volunteer to help with NNG work. Don't wait to be asked. And, if you are asked, please say "yes".

Two activities have already been planned. Please set the time aside and join us.

The NNG meeting and reception is scheduled for April 15, from 6 until 8 p.m. during the Conference of the Council on Foundations in Kansas City, Missouri.

The NNG 1986 Annual Conference will be held November 14-16 at the Illinois Beach Conference Center outside Chicago.

We pledge, with your help, to work hard to make this an effective & exciting year for NNG.

NNG Constituency Building Session

"Our common bond is not the differences we have but the common concerns of being poor or middle income people."

- Inez Myles

North Carolina Senior Citizens Federation

The common thread that ties one issue to another or one group of people to a seemingly disparate counterpart isn't always obvious. But, the process of making and developing these connections is a key ingredient in building a progressive majority. This was the dominant theme in the opening plenary of this year's NNG meeting.

Participants in the "Funding Constituency Building" session included: Pat Bryant, Southern Organizing Committee for Economic and Social Justice; Maureen O'Connell, Save Our Cumberland Mountains; Linda Stout, Piedmont Peace Project; Inez Myles, North Carolina Senior Citizen Federation; and Susan Gross, Management Assistance Group.

In addressing the conference theme of "Building a Progressive Majority," each of the panelists spoke of the critical need to broaden the grassroots base of social activists by bringing new constituencies into existing coalitions. There was unanimous agreement that a precondition for this expansion was continued foundation support for basic community organizing efforts at the local level.

Pat Bryant of the Southern Organizing Committee offered his own work as a case in point. The long term goal of the Committee is to involve low income, Gulf Coast tenants in the peace movement. This process began, however, by organizing public housing residents around economic survival issues. Once local groups were established and their leadership/organizing skills enhanced, educational workshops were begun that linked public housing issues to increases in the defense budget and broader foreign policy questions.

Members are now active in various peace groups but without foundation support for their initial work these connections would not have been made.

The very real possibilities for building and uniting different grassroots constituencies was further illustrated by Linda Stout of the Piedmont Peace Project. Linda took on the

difficult task of building a peace organization in an area where Jessie Helms won eighty percent of the popular vote in 1984.

Recognizing the importance of the church in the region, Linda used the institution as a forum to discuss the local impact of the arms build-up on various constituencies.

Eventually, she built a coalition of farmers, seniors, textile workers and low income residents that successfully organized North Carolina's first nuclear-free zone. According to Linda, the key to their effort was the fact that she could take the time to nurture an understanding of the common problems that people shared, including the roots of their troubles and the need to work together.

The project's potential for statewide work is great but, again, they wouldn't have reached this stage without initial support for what appeared to be a modest and risky endeavor.

After breaking down into smaller strategy groups for further discussion, NNG members reconvened to share their ideas on funding priorities. There was overwhelming agreement on the importance of supporting projects that link various constituency groups around key social and economic issues. This would include funding for networking, educational activity and leadership development.

A second area of common concern was the need for funders to acknowledge that no one has all of the answers regarding the methods and issues for organizing poeple. All judgement and experience should not be suspended but there must be some flexibility for organizations to choose their own issues and to explore new, strategic directions.

Finally, there was recognition of the need for progressives to develop a cohesive value framework that would more explicitly detail the interconnections between our various issues and organizations. Central to this discussion was the belief that many people could be won back or converted to progressive ideals if we – like the New Right – were clearer on the values underlying our work.

"Women of Color" Session Draws 80 NNG Participants

A special "Women of Color" session that involved 10 women leaders mesmerized over 80 funders during a unique "pre-conference" workshop at the NNG conference in Kanuga.

The speakers came from across the United States and beyond – from Tahlequah, Oklahoma; San Jose and Oakland, California; Geogia, Alabama, Washington state; Texas; Washington, D.C.; and Puerto Rico. They came to share their organizing experiences in their diverse Native American, Afro-American, Chicano and Puerto Rican, and Asian communities. They brought to the pre-conference "Women of Color: Building Bridges Between Resources and Needs II" the strength, energy, and power of their work. They generated a feeling of sisterhood that will go far beyond the Kanuga conference site.

This National Network of Grantmakers' preconference was held on October 15 and 16 1985. Summertime and spring work by the conference planning committee of Adisa Douglas-Reese of Joint Foundation Support, Sasha Hohri of the Ms. Foundation for Women, Helen Hunt of the Hunt Alternatives Fund, and Paulette Walther of Rockefeller Family Associates paid off as the focus and attention of over 80 funders was placed on a remarkable group of ten grassroots women of color leaders. Video documentation by a team from the Highlander Center has insured that the words and experiences shared will not be lost.

The resource women were:

Nancy Shippentower of the Northwest Indians Womens' Circle, a native American women's organization which provides mutual support and small scale economic development for women and organizes traditional cultural gatherings;

Sima Wali, director of the Refugee Women in Development project of the Overseas Education Fund;

Rose Sanders, a founding member of Mothers of Many (MOM), a self-help community organization providing small scale economic development projects for women and services for youth, as well as cultural activities;

Young Hai Shin; director of the Asian Immigrant Women's Advocates, which works with Chinese, Vietnamese, and Korean immigrant women workers in the hotel, garment and restaurant industries;

Julie Hatta, administrator of the Asian Law Alliance and activist on community issues from redress and reparations for Japanese Americans to voter education;

Cecilia Rodriguez, director of La Mujer Obrera/the Woman Worker, a project which builds mutual support networks among Mexican and Mexican-American community women to address workplace and community issues:

Esther Vincente, staff attorney for Instituto de Derechos Civiles and coordinator of the Women's Rights project;



Rose Sanders, Mothers of Many, Alabama; Wilma Mankiller, Chief of Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma; Sima Wali, Refugee Women's Project of theOverseas Education Fund, D.C.; Sasha Hohri, Ms. Foundation for Women; Adissa Douglas-Reese, Joint Foundation Support; Esther Vincente, Women's Rights Project of the Instituto Puertorigueno de Derechos Civiles. (Photo by Candi Carawan)

Willie Fae Daniels, founding member of Concerned Citizens for Calvary Arms, an organization of women trying to create jobs and provide support for older displaced workers and young women;



Nancy Shippentower, Northwest Indian Women's Circle, Washington State; Willie Fae Daniels, Concerned Citizens for Calvary Arms, Dallas. (Photo by Candi Carawan)

Wilma Mankiller, newly named chief of 'the Cherokee nation and board member of the Seventh Generation Fund;

Lillie Allen, workshop coordinator for the National Black Women's Health Project, an organization that identifies and addresses health issues of specific concern to Black women and provides assistance to urban and rural women nationally to implement local self-help groups.

The candor and courage of these women was evident to all. They discussed literally moving houses to maintain their communities. and stated their goal not as "taking over the world," but controlling their own lives. Needs were pinpointed as they spoke to the need for

travel money to continue to meet with each other and develop their networks, and for technical expertise that is respectful, helpful and free. Together the resource women reinforced the critical nature of local organizing and the need for support for women of color organizing on a local level.

Conference participants were also privledged to share in the feeling generated from the songs adn peotry the resource women brought with them which reflected their different communities' struggles and culture.

Follow-up plans for the session include a publication based on the presentations made by the resource women, to be available this spring. Other funders felt the sessions emboldened them to make similar educational efforts in their local areas.

Equally important to the conference goal of increasing the pool of support for women of color organizing was the bringing together of these women – all of whom work under difficult conditions, characterized as constant crisis – to support and share with each other. This was accomplished through a special workshop for resource women only. The discovery of commonalities in culture, issues, and conditions and problems as women of color leaders created bonds and widened a circle that will have ripples into the future.

For further information on the conference or publication, contact Adisa Douglas-Reese, Joint Foudnation Support, 212/661-4080.

Civil Rights Fight Continues

Veda Cannon, the moderator of the panel on civil rights at the Kanuga conference, started the session by noting that civil rights struggles in this country date back at least to the abolitionists and the slave revolts, and that this country has been continuously struggling over civil rights. The Reagan Administration's attitude to civil rights is so scandalous that even Supreme Court justices publically rebuke the Attorney General for his personal interpretations of the law.

The panel members took us beyond those stories to give us a sense of the painful reality of the continuing struggles for basic civil rights today.

Rural west Tennesee is one of "the little places where civil rights never came in," as William King put it. King is one of the leaders of JONAH, an organization which over the last five years has organized community groups in that area. Their starting point is that "when people get together, they realize they don't have to live like this."

The people working on JONAH have been fighting for basic necessities such as running water in their houses and decent schools, but are now moving from such issues to demands for political power as well. Recently William King was elected to the county commission; the Democratic candidate for governor wants to meet with them; and JONAH mobilized for Jesse Jackson and he carried Haywood Country.

Some twenty-five years ago Edward R. Morrow produced "Harvest of Shame," about the lives of migrant workers. Karen Woodall from Florida IMPACT described how little has changed for the migrant workers she works with on the East Coast. Farmworkers continue to be excluded from basic civil rights. Perhaps the most stark illustration is that there have been ten separate criminal convictions for slavery in North Carolina in the last five years.

Among the factors affecting the daily lives of migrant farmworkers is that they are not covered under the National Labor Relations Act or by the Occupational Safety and Health Act. In addition, many of the migrant workers are undocumented aliens, and the growers and the INS use their vulnerability to pit them against other workers and to undermine union organizing drives.

Lewis Pitts, a lawyer from the southern office of the Christic Institute, spoke of the ways in which the federal government has attacked civil rights, from affirmative action at home to constructive engagement abroad. This is reflected in his work on cases involving women arrested for protesting bad housing or black local officials in Alabama arrested for vote fraud.

In the latter case the prosecutors stated publically that there was no "criminal intent," and they said privately that the cases were filed becasue of pressure from Washington.



Unidentified Klan Family, Atlanta.

This is an example of what Pitts called "trickle-down racism," and he presented other examples dealing with union busting, encouragement of violence against blacks and against gays and lesbians, and the FBI COINTEL program.

The problem of violence was highlighted by Lynn Wells, from the Center for Democratic Renewal, formerly the National Anti-Klan Network. She described the far-right groups in the South and in agricultural areas of the Midwest. Their current growth is due to the economic problems people there face – farm foreclosures and unemployment – and to the atmosphere and encouraging signals coming from the Reagan Administration.

Lynn stated that when the KKK gets a base in a small town, "everything changes" – who votes and how they vote, who people can associate with, and other aspects of daily life. She talked about the fight against the KKK in Cedertown, Georgia. Two Mexican workers were killed there by Klan members or associates. Subsequently a "Multi-Racial Coalition" emerged that has begun to challenge the Klan and to campaign in the white community against bigotry and hatred.



William King, JONAH, West Tennessee.

Each of the presentations was a sharp reminder of how central the struggle for civil rights is. Perhaps more than with any other issue, the struggle for civil rights is an indicator of the recognition of our common humanity and of our ability to work together for a better world. Current attacks on civil rights represent the denial of that commonality; it divides one from another and stops all of us from moving forward.

My Mississippi Reunion

by Susan K. Kinoy

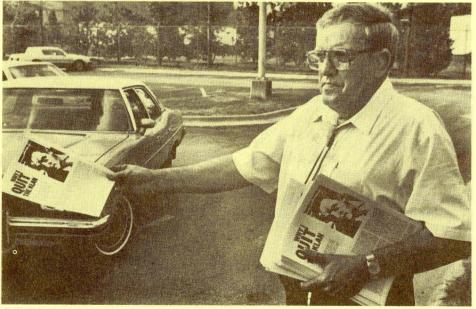
During the weekend of November 8-10, 1985, with much singing, hugs of reacquaintance, and intense discussions, over 200 civil rights "alumni" gathered at Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi to celebrate 20 years later, the historic Congressional Challenge of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

It was fitting that the reunion took place at Tougaloo – one of the very few places in Mississippi during the civil rights movement in the 60s where black and white people could meet together in safety. In fact, as we were singing on Saturday night "This Little Light of Mine, Let It Shine, Let It Shine", in the college chapel, I whispered to the person sitting in the pew next to me: "Why does all this singing feel so much happier and freer than it did 20 years ago?" She answered:

are running?" So these five women (two of whom were at the reunion, Annie Devine and Victoria Gray), gave leadership to a new process and a new political party. They said to blacks and poor white people throughout the state: "Before you risk your lives to register to vote, make sure your vote counts and that you are voting for your interests. Join the MFDP which calls for: Office for Economic Opportunity funds in Mississippi; increased money for day care and health care services; forty acres and a tractor; and a foreign policy plan – bringing black soldiers back from overseas who are fighting against other minority persons.

A shadow election was held in 1964 through which the five black women candidates of MFDP received a much larger number of votes than those cast through the usual voting process for the regular Democratic slate.

Then, in the summer of 1964, the MFDP candidates, along with many of their supporters, including myself, went to the Democratic Party Convention in Atlantic



C.P. Ellis, former Klansman passing out reprints of his story "Why I Quit the Klan".

"It's pretty obvious. Don't you remember how frightened we were the entire time in those days? We never knew if we'd be ambushed on a lonely road as we visited activists in isolated communities."

Yes, I remembered. I recalled how five courageous black women, led by Fannie Lou Hamer of Sunflower County, agreed to become the leaders of that aspect of the civil rights movement which focused on the use of the electoral system. Yes, these women had the audacity to run for the United States Senate. They noted that the struggles up to 1962 had brought Federal Registrars to protect blacks from being lynched or severely beaten when they attempted to register to vote. But they said: "Why risk our lives to vote when there is no real choice and no one but white reactionary southern Democrats

City and attempted to be seated. We marched with them to the convention on the boardwalk behind a huge banner bearing the pictures of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney – three young civil rights workers who had recently been murdered, their bodies buried in a Mississippi swamp.

Failing to persuade the Democratic Party Convention, these audacious black women then went to Congress and attempted, through Parliamentary means, to be seated on the floor of the House of Representatives. A national campaign to challenge the seating of the "regular" Congresspersons and to seat the MFDP slate was conducted. It ended when the House of Representatives failed to seat them by less than 90 votes. They didn't become Congresspersons, but they opened up the understanding of many Americans to



C. T. Vivian, Chr. Nat. Anti-Klan Network

the conditions of the South, and the desparate need for education, health care, and one-man, one-vote political system that permitted blacks to be elected.

Twenty-years later, back in Tougaloo, workshops focused on today's conditions. One panel noted how some black churches, which had given intense leadership to the movement in the 60s were not now giving that type of direction. Another workshop stressed the need for women, especially older women, to once again give leadership. A third discussed the relationship between the South African and local civil rights struggles.

The two discussions that were most disturbing to me focused on reports of harassment, indictments and even some jailing of persons involved in the 1984. Southern registration and voting drives, and the persecution and prosecution of newly elected black officials on trumped-up charges in several southern states. One black mayor said: "It's just like post-Reconstruction."

Many black people gasped, when after his banquet address, Marion Barry, the black mayor of Washington, D.C., introduced the bodyguard assigned to him by the District of Columbia – a white man from Mississippi. . .

On Sunday, a memorial service commemorated persons killed in the civil rights struggle in the 60s. After the speaker read the roll call, several persons in the audience rose and listed additional names. And many sobs accompanied the singing of "We Shall Overcome."

The "Where Do We Go From Here" session was fragmented. It was filled with anger about the recent assaults on voting rights, attacks on new black elected officials and recent cutbacks in services to the poor under the current federal administration, and anguish that a support movement for these people was not in place. It also noted that civil rights and voting problems are no longer focused only in southern states. Nor were persons assembled aware of cohesive political movements focused on these problems.

And wouldn't you know – it was one of the original MFDP candidates, Annie Devine – who stood up and said: "We will have to work out a careful plan and strategy. We know the problems that must be addressed. We now must build a new "something". Let's call it "The Freedom Network". It will link our work wherever we are. It was on that positive and uniting note that our reunion ended, with attendees reactivated, recharged and pledging to participate in the development of this nebulous but needed Freedom Network.

Walk A Mile In Their Shoes

by Barbara Portee

Put yourself in the grantmakers' place; understand how they feel, and operate accordingly. That was the predominant theme this writer heard throughout the Kanuga session on procedural aspects of grantmaking: processing proposals, technical assistance, networking and grantee relations.

Processing Proposals

Leah Brummer, Abelard Foundation

Leah stressed attentiveness and efficiency in relation to both grantee and Board. Having information ready and accessible facilitates effective monitoring and demonstrates to applicants that their project is receiving the proper attention. Leah recommends a numbered log in a binder with notes about actions taken.

It is important for the Board to have confidence in your adminsitrative abilities. Charted presentations of data, decisions and trends on where Foundation money is going and where it is not going are very helpful.

Personal correspondence after the Board meeting is Leah's way of handling rejections. Her rejection letters do not discuss the merits of proposals, but explain that the Board took a different focus, "I hope it's easier to live with." Susan Kinoy added that her rejection letters list sources of Foundation possibilities, in the hopes they won't "feel so bad."

Technical Assistance

Renee Brereton,

Campaign for Human Development

Honest non-threatening communication between grantor and grantee appears to be key. Campaign for Human Development requires prospective grantees to describe the technical assistance they need, estimate its cost, and state who from the organization will utilize it. Fundraising is the number one request.

Participants agreed many small groups are desperate for help but often try to hide their problems from Foundations, Additional suggestions included developing a good relationship with the grantee before the site visit, and requiring the proposal to contain a fundraising plan.

Networking and Outreach

Susan Kinoy, Villers Foundation

Susan posed the questions, is it appropriate to discuss grant proposals you receive with other Foundations, and does contact between Foundations facilitate or prejudice decision making? The answer was a resounding ves to networking, particularly with NNG contacts. Comments like, "I wouldn't have stayed sane," and "you get very honest feedback from grantors as well as grantees" prevailed.

Grantee Relations

Pat Hewitt, Joint Foundation Support

Be sensitive to who the grantees are, see them in their most beneficial setting, maintain predictable relationships. Make time for grantees; avoid the arrogance associated with knowing people will take your calls, wait if you're late, and laugh at your jokes.

A former grantee pointed out Vanguard Foundation's two boards, one made up of community people and the other of donors, treated prospective grantees very differently. The Community Board asked tough questions, coming out of real experiences. "We didn't mind that, what we minded was to be treated with arrogance, like, when the Donor Board asked us if we could keep books."

The question of whether personal friendship can or should exist between grantee and grantor produced a wide range of replies. The pressures grantors feel on this issue was perhaps best captured when Pat Hewett informed the group that she had received a grant proposal from her father. .

Another declaration brought a prompt, affirmative response from participants: "you must acknowledge receipt of someone else's blood," referring to the absolute necessity of telling applicants that their proposal had been received.

Peace Movement Caucus Held At Kanuga

by Kathy King

As the NNG meeting at Kanuga drew to a close, over 25 funders who support peace and disarmament groups gathered to talk about the health of the Peace Movement. A frank and productive conversation took place that centered upon how funders can best stimulate and nuture the Peace Movement.

Since the next NNG annual meeting will be in Chicago, several activities were considered: trips to the Peace Museum, special reading materials to be sent to participants before the NNG meeting, and perhaps an effort to coordinate a preconference meeting with the Caribbean Basin Working Group. Peace funders were also encouraged to become part of the NNG program committee.

Two new developments were discussed: the Samantha Smith Foundation (which honors the young girl who attracted national attention by traveling as a peace ambassador to the Soviet Unon) is in a development stage; the plans of Pro Peace for a 5000person march across the country was presented and discussed.

The meeting ended with the reaffirmation of our role as peace advocates.

Summary: Economic Policy Plenary Session

Noting that conservative and right-wing ideas seem to predominate in the debate over economic policy, Joellen Lambiotte of Joint Foundation Support introduced the Kanuga session on economic policy. She challenged the audience to learn more about the issues and to support the development of progressive strategies that address the needs of the unemployed and of working people.

The panel members included Bonnie Wright, Center for Community Self-Help, and Leah Wise, Southerners for Economic

Wright identified several flaws in current thinking about community economic development, and proposed an alternative strategy for funders working in this area. Her premise is that community economic development must give workers and communities genuine control over workplace decisions and conditions.

Today's approach to development tends to stress job creation and protection, and fails to note how limited those goals can be. She cited examples of workers' wages being used to pay a company's debts as evidence of the inadequacy of using "employment" as the sole criterion for evaluating an economic development strategy. Second, many economic development plans include industrial recruitment and the provision of tax breaks and other financial incentives to attract new business. Many analysts have concluded that such jobs are merely "stolen" from other communities.

Such an approach tends to benefit urban areas. Communities which have relied on this strategy now see local jobs going to workers overseas, as companies relocate out as quickly as they came in. Finally, she does not see employee ownership alone as an adequate long-term strategy because it does not necessarily provide a management role for workers.

Wright believes that worker cooperatives can inspire both commitment and production, and that they can address a community's real needs. This strategy:

- can save jobs,
- can allow workers to make important decisions regarding layoffs, use of chemicals in the workplace, or plant closures,
- can eliminate the outside control that permits a corporate owner to close a plant because profits are not high enough to satisfy stockholders, and
- can benefit directly those workers hardest hit by plant closings and least helped by other development strategies.

Wright strongly endorses local cooperative efforts linked by a state network. She recognizes that foundations often seek impacts beyond individual communities, but finds that locally-based efforts are attuned to local cultural and political traditions which often determine a project's success. For example,

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Western Funders Meet In Portland

Western funders affiliated with NNG met in Portland, Oregon on December 9 and agreed unanimously to organize more formally, to develop a brief mission statement, and to begin plans for inviting NNG to hold its 1987 NNG meeting in the Northwest.

The Western Funders group began meeting two years ago on an informal basis. At Kanuga this year, the group decided to hold regular meetings.

The one day meeting in Portland attracted representatives from 12 foundations and several individual donors. Much of the day was spent in sharing information and ideas about activities in the West. More and more funders briefings and trips are being scheduled for Western funders, including a reproductive rights briefing in Denver, Hawaiian site visits, a tour of Central American refugee communities in the Southwestern states, special sessions on Native American projects in the Northwest and Northern Rockies, and media training sessions for funders.

A special report on the status of non-profit progressive groups in the Northwest was given by Michael Clark, a consultant to A Terriroty Resource. He has completed a survey of ATR grantees in five states and found most were facing severe financial pressures, high staff and board turn-over. Many are also undergoing a political and strategic reassessment as a result of the cumulative impact of the Reagan years. His report is available from ATR.

A steering committee was appointed with Howard Shapiro and Leah Brumer as cochairs. Other members are: Mary Brumder, Deborah Tuck, Lorraine Honig and Maya Miller.

Communications Committee Seeks Newsletter Articles

The Communications Committee hopes to publish four issues of the newsletter in 1986: this January issue, one in May after the Council on Foundations meeting, one in August, and one in November just before our conference. Co-Chairs Tricia Rubacky and Deborah Tuck welcome the submission of articles, short news "blurbs", feature stories, etc. from members.

March 15th is the next deadline for submission of articles. They should be approximately 500 words in length, typed double-spaced and if an accompanying photo is available, send it as well and it will be returned. Contact Tricia at The Youth Project (202) 483-0030 about articles for the May issue – again the deadline is March 15th. Thanks!

Ford Looks At Community Participation

by Doug Lawson

The Ford Foundation has awarded \$390,000.00 to the Lincoln Filene Center of Tufts University to conduct a three year research and agenda building effort.

The goals of the project are to identify the best participation programs and find out how and why they work – and when they don't; to develop a cost-effective research and evaluation model; to increase public, governmental, and academic recognition of the importance of citizen participation; and to stimulate other scholars and activists to sharpen their own conceptions of participation goals, potential, and measures of "success." Sounds like something we are all interested in, doesn't it?

The project will include a national survey to identify the full range of citizen participation programs currently in operation; establishment of a small working group of scholars and practioners to help select six sites for community research. Also planned is a national

conference; development of a series of articles for the Citizen Participation Newsmagazine; and the production and distribution of a casebook of effective models, research results, and current literature and resources for citizen groups and government officials.

The first task is to develop a comprehensive listing of participation efforts which can serve as a basis for the survey, community research and future publications. The survey form is included in Volume 6 Number 4 of the Fall 1985 Citizens Participation Newsmagazine.

I urge all of us who are supporting citizen participation efforts to ensure that our projects are included in the study. For further information on the project, contact Stuart Langton or Ken Thomspon at the Lincoln Filene Center for Citizenship and Public Affairs of the Civic Education Foundation, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts 02155 (617) 381-3449.

NNG Grantseekers Guide Now Available

With apologies to all who have waited so patiently through the several months of publication delays, we are very proud to announce the new, revised edition of the Grantseekers Guide is now in print and available for order.

Distribution and marketing are being handled by the publisher, Moyer Bell Ltd. Books can be ordered directly from them, or can be purchased from local bookstores around the country. Write to Moyer Bell Ltd., Colonial Hill RFD #1, Mt. Kisco, New York 10549. The postage paid cost is \$16.95/each for paperbound and \$19.95/each for hardbound. Discounts are available for orders of 25 copies or more.

For those of you who placed orders in the last few months, Moyer Bell is filling them and you should have received them by the time you read this.

Moyer Bell has also printed brochures and order forms which can be requested in quantity for resource libraries, conferences, etc. The NNG office in Washington D.C. is not handling book sales or brochure distribution.

NNG would again like to thank Jill Shellow for committing so many painstaking hours to the project and for her dedication to the completion of the book.

Economic Policy

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in the communities in which she works, labor unions are not relevant actors, but churches are critical. National organizations are not always aware of or sensitive to such factors. The need for a network is particularly important becuase many local cooperatives exist in a hostile environment, and need support and resources that are not available at the local level.

Like Wright, Leah Wise emphasized control and the exercise of rights at the workplace as fundamental to a democratic system. The work of Southerners for Economic Justice is based on the recognition that the political gains of the civil rights movement cannot be implemented without economic protections. How, Wise asked, can a worker truly exercise political rights if threatened with job loss, or otherwise intimidated at the workplace?

Wise described the transformation of the debate over workers' rights that has occurred in recent years, and the factors responsible for the change. Workers have always organized because they want control over their work environments, but those issues are usually lost by the time a strike is settled. The public hears only about "bread and butter" issues.

Today, however, job security and job opportunities override the control issues because technology, capital mobility and the "ideology of competition" have changed the context of workers' struggles dramatically. Investors can move capital and equipment quickly across state and national borders.

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Economic Policy

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Workers are very vulnerable to those shifts, New technology can contribute to job loss and exporting of jobs to other countries. Without a clear understanding of the impact of these forces, workers may be pitted against one another. Racism and sexism can flourish when victims blame each other.

Wise believes that this transformation has important implications for organizing. First, the internationalization of markets and capital investments requires progressives to understand their local work in a broader context. Progressive constituencies need to understand the connections between their issues and to build new coalitions. She cautioned funders that coalitions must be constructed from an effective and solid constituency base, and urged that building the base remain a funding priority.

Foreign Policy

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guidelines, suggestions were offered as to how they should see Central America as a way to link domestic and foreign poicy issues. Funding community projects addressing the needs of Central American refugees, encouraging funders to go on tours of the region, focusing on the tragedy of the children of war, and supporting media projects to increase press coverage through mainstream media were among the options funders could pursue. For example, as a result of a tour Lutheran bishops took to Central America they decided to change their church fund's policy and are now funding anti-intervention peace activism in the United States.

Bob Borosage offered his idea to develop a national Citizen's Peace Corps as a means of giving people a positive role to go to the region, help build schools, health clinics, etc. and help transform the current debate about the role of the United States in helping achieve peace in the region.

In the small group on South Africa, funders discussed the importance of

supporting efforts to get both state governments, private foundations and church pension funds to divest of corporate interests in South Africa. Helping small local groups with fundraising, technical assistance and networking is critical, as is support for production and distribution of educational materials.

There were several requests from funders for information on what needs funding, and at the end of the session, lists were circulated so funders could commit to networking and putting together a docket, and to directly fund South Africa work. Mfundi Vundla of The Funding Exchange is coordinating the docket preparation, and the list of funders interested in supporting South Africa work was given to Jean Sindab.

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The National Network of Grantmakers 2000 "P" Street, NW, Suite 410, Washington, D.C. 20036





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