

**US PROGRAMS
National Security and Human Rights Campaign**

2009 Docket I - Financial Summary

National Security and Human Rights Campaign

2008 Total Grantmaking (T1:21095)	\$	8,647,784
2009 Approved Grantmaking Budget (T1:21095)	\$	7,000,000
2009 Out of Docket	\$	(75,000)
2009 Docket I	\$	(1,290,000)
Total 2009 Available Grantmaking Budget:	\$	5,635,000

Organization	Grants Totals	T1 Code	2008	2009	2010
American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation	100,000	21095		100,000	
Asian American Justice Center (Rights Working Group)	60,000	21095		60,000	
Center for Victims of Torture	80,000	21095		80,000	
Government Accountability Project	150,000	21095		75,000	75,000
National Security Institute	175,000	21095		100,000	75,000
National Whistleblower Center	225,000	21095		100,000	125,000
New America Foundation	300,000	21095		200,000	100,000
Proteus Fund (American Environmental)	200,000	21095		200,000	
Total Recommended:	\$ 1,290,000		\$ -	\$ 915,000	\$ 375,000

GRANTMAKING TOTAL THIS DOCKET: \$ 1,290,000

7,000,000 G.N.

Total 2009 Available Grantmaking Budget:	\$	7,000,000
Total Recommendations This Docket:	\$	(1,290,000)
Total 2009 Grantmaking Budget Remaining Upon Approval of This Docket:	\$	5,710,000

Amel Neis
Approval Signature

March 20, 2009
Date

MEMORANDUM

To: Aryeh Neier
From: Ann Beeson, Nancy Chang, Sophia Conroy, and Hyon Seo Kwon
Date: March 16, 2009
Subject: National Security and Human Rights Campaign's Grant Recommendations for Docket I of 2009

The National Security and Human Rights Campaign recommends eight grants on its first docket of 2009.

In promoting the Campaign's goal of shifting away from the Bush era "war on terror" paradigm, we are excited to recommend a set of grants to organizations that are working to replace this paradigm with a national security framework that is progressive, based on a realistic threat assessment, respects the rule of law, and resonates with policymakers and the public. Four groups are prepared to tackle this challenge, each from a different angle – the New America Foundation, the National Security Institute, American Environics, and the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation – and the groups are eager to share knowledge and strategies with one another. The **New America Foundation** requests support for its new project, *Leaving the Dark Side: Shaping a New U.S. Counterterrorism Narrative*, which will establish a "college of experts" that will work with New America Foundation staff to review and reframe the counterterrorism policy debate. The **National Security Institute** proposes to bridge its network of foreign policy, national security, intelligence, and military experts to the national security and human rights field and foster strategic collaborations between the two communities. **American Environics** is ready to pursue the next phase of its research initiative on fear as a political motivator, the *Real Security to Overcome Fear Project*. The **American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation's** National Security Project will develop strategic working relationships between progressive organizations across the United States and the 77-member Congressional Progressive Caucus.

To support the Campaign's goal of building a broad constituency of credible messengers to oppose and demand accountability for torture, we are recommending renewed support for the **Center for Victims of Torture** as it works with credible and non-traditional human rights validators, including retired high-ranking military officers, former high level officials in the areas of intelligence, diplomacy, and defense, and former judges, prosecutors, and interrogators, to urge the Obama administration to firmly close the door to torture and seek accountability for past acts of torture. This grant will complement three rapid response grants approved by Ann Beeson in February and March of 2009. Two of these grants support the communications capacity of **Human Rights First**. The first grant of these grants will allow Human Rights First to place in the media retired military officers and former prosecutors and interrogators who support President Obama's January 22 executive orders closing Guantanamo, ending torture, and requiring reviews of U.S. detention and interrogation policies. The second grant of these grants will allow Human Rights First to hold a D.C.-based convening in April directed at policy makers and the press on the questions left open by President Obama's January 22 executive orders. Human Right First will work to ensure that media coverage on the first 100 days of the Obama administration features these highly credible national security validators who speak with

authority on the efficacy of maintaining human rights standards in national security policy. The third rapid response grant is allowing **Link Media, Inc.** to create a half-hour feature video program on accountability for torture for broadcast on satellite television and for viewing on its website and by DVD in April 2009, and to maintain a webpage to educate the public on this issue.

In pursuing the Campaign's goals of reducing excessive government secrecy in national security policy, strengthening the capacity of watchdog organizations, and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of the law, we are recommending two grants. The **Government Accountability Project's** Homeland Security Program will advocate on behalf of national security whistleblowers and pursue policy reforms in the areas of detention and interrogation policy, illegal surveillance, excessive government secrecy, and politically based discrimination. Similarly, the **National Whistleblower Center's** Protecting National Security Whistleblowers Campaign will promote human rights and civil liberties through the representation of national security whistleblowers. The Government Accountability Project and the National Whistleblower Center are recognized experts in whistleblower protection law and have been playing lead roles, along with the Project on Government Oversight and the ACLU, in efforts to secure protections for national security whistleblowers.

To advance the Campaign goal of combating racial profiling against Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians, we recommend a grant to the **Rights Working Group** to plan and implement the first phase of the End Racial Profiling Campaign. The Rights Working Group is building a collaborative campaign that will unite the traditional civil rights organizations that have been leading the fight against racial profiling for decades, and which are largely D.C.-based, with newer human rights, immigrants' rights, and Muslim, Arab, and South Asian organizations that have joined this effort more recently, and which are often rooted in state and local communities.

The total grant amount for the eight grants on the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's first docket of 2009 is \$1,290,000. Our grant write ups and financial summary are attached.

National Security and Human Rights Campaign

Docket I of 2009

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Name of Organization: American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support the National Security Program

Previous OSI Support: None

Organization Budget: \$1,153,407

Project Budget: \$269,043

Major Sources of Support: Stewart R. Mott Charitable Trust \$15,000; Cynda Arsenault \$10,000; Carnegie Foundation \$50,000 (in discussion); Women's Donor Network \$40,000 (pending)

Amount Requested: \$100,000

Amount Recommended: \$100,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: One year (January 1, 2009 – December 31, 2009)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 2005, the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation (APCPF) is a Washington, D.C.-based, nonpartisan 501(c)(3) organization, the mission of which is to bring together the collective wisdom of progressives inside and outside of Congress toward the promotion of peace and global security, energy independence, environmental sustainability, human rights, civil liberties, health, and economic well-being. APCPF was largely inactive in the years following its founding. However, in late 2008, with the recent resurgence of progressive power in the Congress and White House, the group made the decision to step up its level of activity. It hopes to serve as a communications, fact-finding, research, and educational center for progressive leaders, policymakers, issue advocates, the media, and the general public on its core issue areas.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The goal of the National Security Program (NSP) of the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation is to create strategic working relationships between the 77-member Congressional Progressive Caucus¹ (CPC) and progressive organizations and experts working to move the national

¹ The CPC, which was founded in 1990 with five members of the House of Representatives, has grown to become one of the largest and most diverse caucuses in Congress with members who also sit on the Black, Hispanic, Asian-American, and Native American caucuses. CPC members hold House Committee Chairmanships on committees that play an important role in national security agenda setting: the Armed Services Committee, the Judiciary Committee, the Financial Services Committee, the Veterans Affairs Committee, the Rules Committee, and the Homeland Security Committee. In addition, CPC members chair the following subcommittees: the National

security policy framework from a “war on terror” to one based on legitimacy, the rule of law, human rights, transparency, accountability, and robust oversight. The NSP will coordinate communications and educational exchanges between these two communities and work to increase Congressional knowledge of, leadership on, and oversight over national security policy.

The NSP is mapping out, in consultation with Members of Congress and their staffs, NGOs, national security experts, and media experts, areas in which it can play a productive role in advancing a progressive national security agenda. The NSP will create a database that includes: Members’ biographical information, leanings on national security policies, committee assignments and caucus memberships; whether she/he is a veteran or studied abroad; legislation she/he has authored or co-authored; floor speeches and statements at public meetings; the composition of the district represented; staff members; and allies and mentors. The database will be shared with the national security and human rights field and will serve as a reservoir of tailored knowledge on each Member’s national security and foreign policy interests.

The NSP will also provide Members of Congress and their staffs on a timely basis, keyed to the congressional calendar, with resources on national security and foreign policy matters and ways to champion progressive responses to the threat of terrorism. From now through June 2009, one of the NSP’s priorities is to work with Members on reducing the defense budget.² During the defense appropriations season, the NSP will meet with the Defense Budget Working Group of the House of Representatives and build alliances between fiscal conservatives and progressive organizations that share an interest in increasing transparency and accountability in defense spending.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of supporting the development of strategies to shift the paradigm away from the “war on terror” and supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy.

With Newt Gingrich’s ascension to Speaker of the House in 1995, the new conservative majority consolidated its power and marginalized those holding divergent views by implementing a set of institutional changes that significantly diminished the legislative branch’s power and oversight function. These rule changes made it difficult for caucuses to hire staff and prohibited the funding of legislative service organizations that had earlier provided key strategic, organizational, and informational support to members of Congress. Among the casualties of the Gingrich era was the Arms Control and Foreign Policy Caucus, a bicameral and bipartisan convening that created policy tools such as the Arms Control Impact Statement and analyzed multilateral developments on treaty obligations. The downgrading of support in the Congress for centers of issue expertise and rigorous policy analysis contributed to the body’s failure to stand up to the Bush administration’s unprecedented assertions of executive powers over the last eight years.

Security and Foreign Affairs Subcommittee of the Oversight Committee, the Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee of the Intelligence Committee, the Europe Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee, and the Africa and Global Human Rights Subcommittee of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

² APCPF has provided OSI with a bifurcated project budget.

The present is an auspicious moment for progressives in Congress to reverse the institutional damage from the Gingrich years, exercise oversight authority, and assert the Congress as a co-equal branch of government. Not only has the composition of Congress and the executive branch changed dramatically, but the financial crisis has initiated a re-examination of defense spending and priorities, which in turn may open the door to progressive national security policy reforms.

The challenge of mobilizing a critical mass of progressive elected leaders to champion a comprehensive and compelling alternative vision of American security remains daunting, however. APCPF has the ability to advance such a vision through its functions of connecting progressives inside and outside of Congress, planning educational events, working with the media, and holding strategic planning meetings. APCPF can serve as a policy incubator for progressive ideas in Congress and as a translator of think tank papers into workable policy proposals and talking points that Members of Congress can use. APCPF can also provide a critical bridge between this vital institution of government and the progressive national security and human rights community.

Because APCPF has been largely dormant until recently, it is in many respects a start-up organization with all of the challenges of a young organization that is still hiring staff and raising a budget. But the APCPF hired its first staff member, National Security Program Director Lorelei Kelly, in January 2009, and the Board is close to hiring an Executive Director after having interviewed several excellent candidates.

One of APCPF's key assets is an active Board of Directors that is committed to strengthening progressive voices in the Congress. The Board is comprised of three co-chairs of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, the Honorable Representatives Lynn Woolsey (D-CA), Raul Grijalva (D-AZ), and Barbara Lee (D-CA). Also on the Board are leaders from the fields of civic engagement, progressive media, policy advocacy, and philanthropy who have sensed that this is a historical moment in which to engage with and support the progressive members of Congress, including: Robert Borosage, Co-Director of the Campaign for America's Future; John Cavanagh, Executive Director of the Institute for Policy Studies; Bill Fletcher, Founder and Executive Director of The Aurora Project; Joan Blades and Wes Boyd, co-founders of Moveon.org; and Katrina vanden Heuvel, publisher of *The Nation*. Bill Gould, the staff director of the Congressional Progressive Caucus and a former aide to Senator Tom Harkin (D-IA), is working closely with the ACPCF and its staff.

Conrad Martin, Executive Director of the Fund for Constitutional Government, is the Treasurer of the APCPF and has generously made himself available to respond to the due diligence inquiries of OSI staff. Since late 2008, Martin has been devoting a substantial amount of his time to fundraising for APCPF, hiring staff, and ensuring that APCPF is run in a fully professional manner. Martin and other Board members are well aware of the restrictions on lobbying for 501(c)(3) organizations and are committed to ensuring that staff understands these restrictions. Martin and the Board plan to arrange for an organization such as the Alliance for Justice or the Center for Lobbying in the Public Interest to train staff on compliance with the tax laws regarding lobbying.

Lorelei Kelly, the director of the National Security Program, is a national security specialist who is highly regarded for her energy, creativity, collaborative spirit, and issue expertise by the

progressive foreign policy community in Washington, D.C. Kelly has extensively worked on Capitol Hill and has worked on national security at the White House Project. She is the author of *Policy Matters: Educating Congress on Peace and Security* (2004) and *A Woman's Guide to Talking about War and Peace* (2008). Kelly attended the Air Command and Staff College program of the U.S. Air Force and continuing education programs at National Defense University and Army War College. She has developed solid working relationships with creative thinkers in the U.S. military and has longstanding relationships with members of the Obama administration's national security team.

Kelly is keenly interested in the goals of OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign and participated in the Campaign's two 2008 field convenings. She is committed to consulting with and engaging groups active in the Campaign as she works to reframe the national security and human rights debate for members of Congress. She has already reached out to a number of current and potential OSI grantees, including the New America Foundation, the National Security Initiative, and American Environics, also recommended in this docket, to share strategies and research with these groups, and to facilitate exchanges between these groups and Members of Congress.

With positive changes in Congress and the administration comes the possibility of moving away from the "war on terror" paradigm to the promotion of human rights values in national security policy. If ACPCF is able to get off to a strong start, it will be able to play an important intermediary role in this regard, by connecting Congressional members and their staff with outside advocacy organizations and experts supportive of the goals of the National Security and Human Rights Campaign.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$100,000 over one year to support the National Security Program of the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation.

Name of Organization: Asian American Justice Center, fiscal sponsor for Rights Working Group

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support Phase One of the Rights Working Group's End Racial Profiling Campaign

Previous OSI Support: \$400,000 from USP Immigrants' Rights (2007, 2008)

Organization Budget: \$1,153,407

Project Budget: \$269,043

Major Sources of Support: Atlantic Philanthropies \$500,000; Ford Foundations \$200,000; Open Society Institute \$100,000; Mertz Gilmore Foundation \$100,000 (anticipated); U.S. Human Rights Fund \$75,000; Four Freedoms Fund \$60,000; Arca Foundation \$50,000 (pending); MacArthur Foundation \$50,000 (anticipated); Libra Foundation \$50,000 (in discussion); Wallace Global Fund \$50,000 (in discussion)

Amount Requested: \$60,000

Amount Recommended: \$60,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: Eight months (January 1, 2009 – August 31, 2009)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 2004, the Rights Working Group (RWG) is a Washington, D.C.-based national coalition of more than 250 civil liberties, national security, immigrants' rights, and human rights member organizations. RWG is committed to protecting the rights of all people in the U.S., particularly those in Muslim, Arab, and South Asian (MASA) and immigrant communities that have become the targets of profiling by law enforcement agencies after 9/11. Core to RWG's mission is ensuring that everyone in the U.S. is guaranteed human rights protections, regardless of citizenship status, race, national origin, religion, ethnicity, or belief. RWG operates with a staff of five full-time employees.

The Asian American Justice Center (AAJC) serves as RWG's fiscal sponsor. Founded in 1991, the AAJC's mission is to advance the human and civil rights of Asian Americans through advocacy, public education, and litigation. AAJC works to build strong and safe communities by promoting civic engagement and inclusivity at the local level.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

RWG seeks funding for Phase One of the End Racial Profiling Campaign, which is currently in the planning stage and will be formally launched in September 2009. RWG's envisions a campaign that is built on collaboration between traditional civil rights groups that have long been leading the fight against racial profiling in law enforcement (most of which inhabit the D.C. policy world), and emerging groups representing the Muslim, Arab, and South Asian and immigrant communities that have become targets of profiling since 9/11 (most of which engage in grassroots work at the state and local level). The campaign will work to educate policymakers, the media, and the public on the importance of ending racial, ethnic, and religious profiling by federal, state, and local law enforcement agencies, and to mobilize affected communities and their allies to push for concrete policy reforms.

As one of its first steps during Phase One of the campaign, which will run for the eight months from January through August 2009, RWG convened a strategic planning meeting on February 6, 2009 that brought together 40 groups representing the civil rights, MASA, immigrants' rights, and human rights advocacy communities. The groups shared information and ideas and considered the implications of launching a campaign against profiling that has, as its core organizing principle, a partnership between all of the communities represented at the table. The meeting attendees—which included such players as the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, the NAACP, the National Council of La Raza, the ACLU, Muslim Advocates, the American Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, South Asian Americans Leading Together, and the American Immigration Lawyers Association – were uniformly enthusiastic about working together on the End Racial Profiling Campaign. In addition, RWG's network of field coordinators in California, Illinois, Maryland, Michigan, Tennessee, Texas, and Washington were eager to take the lead in mobilizing activists on the ground to support the campaign. Currently, community conference calls are planned for March and April 2009.

During the remainder of Phase One of the campaign, RWG will conduct dozens of interviews of key stakeholders, including member and allied organizations and policymakers, in order to map out where, how, and by whom profiling is taking place, and which groups are working to fight profiling at the local, state, and national levels. RWG plans to convene a second strategic planning meeting in May 2009 that will reconvene groups that attended the first meeting in February 2009 as well as additional groups of which it learns in the course of its research. The goals of the May meeting will be to set short, medium, and long term campaign objectives and goals, prepare a campaign work plan and timeline, outline the roles and responsibilities of coalition members, and identify the campaign's target audiences. By June 2009, RWG will develop a proposal and work to secure funding for the next phase of the campaign.

The list of policy goals identified by the campaign starts with the elimination of the Department of Justice exception for terrorism investigation in its otherwise helpful 2003 *Guidance Banning Racial Profiling by Federal Law Enforcement*. Similarly, the campaign will seek the elimination of language in the 2008 Attorney General's guidelines for domestic FBI operations that permits the FBI to engage in overbroad and intrusive scrutiny and discriminatory profiling of First Amendment-protected religious and political activities. In addition, the campaign will work to require all federal agencies with law enforcement or domestic intelligence operations, including the Immigration and Customs Enforcement, to collect data that will permit the public to ascertain the extent to which measures are disproportionately deployed based on racial, ethnic, or religious

identity. To end the overbroad searches and invasive interrogations by Customs and Border Protection (CBP) focused on MASA travelers, the campaign will seek regulations requiring CBP agents to have reasonable suspicion before searching electronic devices, and probable cause before seizing electronic devices or copying data in them. And the End Racial Profiling Act, which came close to passage right before the 9/11 attacks, may be reintroduced later this year.³

Over the summer, RWG hopes to develop a campaign website to disseminate resources, information, and policy updates to its members and allies. If additional funding is secured during Phase One, RWG will commission messaging research and development of a messaging guide around racial profiling and train RWG members on the campaign message frame.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of combating racial and religious profiling of Muslim, Arab, and South Asians in the name of national security; and building the capacity of Muslim, Arab, and South Asian (MASA) organizations to fight abusive national security policies that are disproportionately directed at them. In addition, this grant will advance the priorities of the Equality and Opportunity Fund and the Criminal Justice Fund in combating racial and ethnic profiling in law enforcement and immigration enforcement.⁴

This is an opportune time to revive what had been an energized and vibrant movement to end racial profiling in the U.S. until it was set back by the 9/11 attacks. Never before has the U.S. had a President and Attorney General so sensitive to the issue of profiling and so capable of understanding it in its larger context. On March 8, 2009 at Brown Chapel AME Church in Selma, Alabama, Attorney General Eric Holder vowed, “Under my leadership, the Civil Rights Division will fight discrimination and inequality just as hard as the Criminal Division fights crime.” He then pointed to the need to “relentlessly pursue an end to the scourge of racial profiling of African-Americans, Muslims, and other Americans that alienates citizens from their own communities.”

The Rights Working Group has shown itself to be a savvy and effective coalition-builder. It has a diverse membership⁵, and its decisions to link national security and human rights organizations with civil liberties, civil rights, and immigration advocates, and to give state and local organizations a place at the table with national players, are strategic. RWG recognizes that while

³ RWG will be working primarily on non-lobbying activities, including public education and advocacy before the executive branch. However, it has provided OSI with a bifurcated project budget.

⁴ The National Security and Human Rights Campaign will be working collaboratively with the Equal and Opportunity Fund and the Criminal Justice Fund on funding the next phase of the End Racial Profiling Campaign.

⁵ The diversity of RWG’s constituencies is reflected in the wide range of groups that make up the RWG Steering Committee: the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee; the ACLU, the American Immigration Lawyers Association; the Arab American Institute; the Arab Community Center for Economic and Social Services; the Asian American Justice Center; the Bill of Rights Defense Committee; Breakthrough; the Center for National Security Studies; the Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles; Human Rights First; Human Rights Watch; the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights; the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights; the Muslim Public Affairs Council; the National Council of La Raza; the National Immigration Forum; the National Immigration Law Center; the New Jersey Immigration Policy Network; the New York Immigration Coalition; OneAmerica; the Open Society Policy Center; South Asian Americans Leading Together; and the Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition.

national groups can offer policy and legal expertise, it is the local groups that build the momentum for change at the national level and that serve as an echo chamber in support of reforms in D.C.

In addition, RWG values the importance of educating constituents and affected communities and obtaining their buy-in as it plans, and taking the time to consider different perspectives will contribute to the ultimate success of the End Racial Profiling Campaign. Among the attendees of the February 2009 meeting who presented on the history of the movement to end racial profiling, the political lay of the land, and the adverse consequences that proposals for administrative detention of terrorism suspects and national security courts could have for MASA and non-citizen communities were: Julie Fernandes of The Raben Group (and formerly the Leadership Council for Civil Rights); Hilary O. Shelton of the NAACP; Wendy Patten of the Open Society Policy Center; Kate Martin of the Center for National Security Studies; Deepa Iyer of South Asian Americans Leading Together; and Rebecca Headen of the ACLU of North Carolina.

RWG's Policy Director, Jumana Musa, who implements the policy agenda for the coalition, will take the lead in staffing the campaign during Phase One. Executive Director Margaret Huang will also be closely involved in the early stages of this campaign to ensure it is given a firm foundation.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$60,000 over eight months to support Phase One of the End Racial Profiling Campaign of the Rights Working Group.

Name of Organization: The Center for Victims of Torture

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support the Strengthening Key Validator Voices Against Torture Project

Previous OSI Support: \$205,000
\$155,000 from NSHR Campaign (2008)
\$50,000 from Emma Lazarus Fund (1998)

Organization Budget: \$9,271,718

Project Budget: \$203,211

Major Sources of Support: Project: Unrestricted Funds \$51,954; John Merck Fund \$35,317; Connect US Fund \$25,940; United Methodist Church \$10,000

Amount Requested: \$80,000

Amount Recommended: \$80,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: One year (January 1, 2009 – December 31, 2009)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 1985, the Center for Victims of Torture (CVT) was the first organization in the U.S. to provide multidisciplinary care and rehabilitative services to survivors of politically motivated torture. CVT trains health care professionals to provide comprehensive care to torture survivors, researches the effects of torture, and conducts public education advocating for an end to the use of torture. Using a client-centered approach to help torture victims, it has launched healing and training centers for torture survivors in Liberia, Sierra Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, in addition to the U.S. Recently, CVT was funded to open a rehabilitation center in Jordan to care for Iraqi torture survivors. Through its New Tactics in Human Rights Project, CVT provides the human rights community with tools, resources, and training opportunities that are made available at www.newtactics.org. With an operating budget of \$9.3 million, it has a staff of 50 in Minnesota, three staff members in Washington, D.C., 15 staff members in Jordan, and nearly 300 staff in Africa.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Center for Victims of Torture is requesting support for its Strengthening Key Validator Voices Against Torture Project to engage prominent leaders from the national security, military, foreign policy, and intelligence sectors in efforts to bring to a permanent end to, and seek accountability for past instances of, U.S.-sponsored torture and extraordinary rendition.

On January 22, 2009, two days after he was sworn in as the 46th President of the United States, President Obama reversed key components of the Bush administration's counterterrorism strategy by issuing a set of executive orders banning the use of torture, establishing special interagency task forces to examine and make recommendations on U.S. interrogation and detention policies, and ordering the closure of Guantanamo within one year.

CVT played an important role in the successful campaign to secure these executive orders. In 2008, with funding from OSI, CVT and its partners, the National Religious Campaign Against Torture (NRCAT) and Evangelicals for Human Rights (EHR), promoted a "Declaration of Principles for a Presidential Executive Order on Prisoner Treatment, Torture and Cruelty." CVT secured more than 100 endorsements for the Declaration from high level former national security, military, foreign policy, and intelligence officials, as well as from faith leaders, and its text formed the framework for the executive order on torture.

Having realized the power of these spokespersons to convey the message that torture is an ineffective counterterrorism strategy and that the information that flows from it is neither reliable nor actionable, CVT now plans to re-engage this community of validators. Through its new Strengthening Key Validator Voices Against Torture Project, CVT seeks to defuse the organized opposition to Obama's January 22 executive orders, while it encourages President Obama's interagency task force on interrogation policy to adopt a single interrogation standard for all U.S. personnel, oppose the practice of extraordinary rendition to ensure that detainees are not tortured, and advocate that U.S. use of torture and cruel and inhuman treatment of detainees in the "war on terror" be investigated and that individual and state accountability be imposed where appropriate.

Through discussions with these validators and by mapping out their professional networks, CVT hopes to engage an even broader swath of the intelligence community than it has been able to involve to date. CVT will use all available channels to ensure that senior military and intelligence professionals opposed to the use of torture testify publicly or privately before the interagency task force on interrogation. CVT also intends to leverage the authority, national security expertise, and integrity of these non-traditional messengers to advance positive changes in U.S. counterterrorism strategy by placing them in the media spotlight and at public events. In February 2009, CVT successfully placed an op-ed piece authored by former Ambassador Donald Gregg in the *New York Times* in which Gregg traces his opposition to torture back to his CIA service during the Vietnam War.

CVT takes a strictly nonpartisan approach to its work and has gained the support of, and hopes to continue to work with, many high-ranking officials of both parties, including Senator John McCain, former Secretary of State George Schultz, former Defense Secretary William Cohen, former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Ambassador Richard Armitage, former Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor Lorne Craner, and former NATO Ambassador William Taft.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy; restoring

an absolute prohibition against torture and ending extraordinary rendition; and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of the law.

For CVT and the other human rights organizations that had championed them, President Obama's executive orders ending torture and closing Guantanamo were the culmination of years of hard work. But these orders leave critical questions unresolved. And from the moment they were signed, they have been under attack. Former Vice President Cheney and former Attorney General Gonzales made special press appearances in which they sought to portray President Obama as naïve and the executive orders as placing the nation in danger of a terrorist attack, and right-wing talk radio hosts contributed to the hysteria.

The present is a critical time for the human rights community to support the President, applaud him for his early and courageous steps, and encourage him to make lasting and permanent changes in U.S. counterterrorism strategy. As a highly respected, professional, and non-partisan organization of physicians, psychiatrists, nurses and social workers who come into direct contact with survivors of torture, CVT is an excellent organization for this task. CVT's work organizing non-traditional human rights actors such as retired military leaders, experienced interrogators, intelligence experts, and diplomats has made it a critical partner in the coalition of organizations working in the national security and human rights arena. Its grounding in real-life care and support of torture victims and its ability to amplify the voices of torture victims make CVT an important ally.

CVT is keenly aware of its core competencies and will not stray from them. On the issue of accountability for torture, CVT maintains that those who authorized and ordered torture and cruel and inhuman treatment should be held accountable. CVT has expressed support for either a bipartisan Presidential investigatory commission or a Congressional commission of inquiry with subpoena power, and has deferred on legal questions to experts within the human right community. However, it speaks forcefully on behalf of the victims of U.S. torture who deserve care and rehabilitative services in compliance with the Convention Against Torture.

Douglas Johnson, the Executive Director of CVT, will be actively involved in this project. He has managed the organization's impressive growth from a fledgling non-profit to an international NGO with a budget of \$9.3 million and operations in five countries. Johnson is an experienced and sophisticated advocate who knows how to build bipartisan support for the effort to end torture and make a convincing case that torture damages our nation's moral authority and national security.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$80,000 over one year to support the Strengthening Key Validator Voices Against Torture Project of the Center for Victims of Torture.

Name of Organization: Government Accountability Project

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To provide for the Homeland Security Program’s Campaign Against Torture, Illegal Surveillance, Excessive Secrecy, and Political Discrimination

Previous OSI Support: \$750,000
\$500,000 from Transparency & Integrity (2008)
\$250,000 from Strategic Opportunities (2006, 2007)

Organization Budget: \$2,615,175

Project Budget: \$273,784 (2009)

Major Sources of Support: Jewish Communal Fund \$410,000; Schwab Charitable Fund \$410,000; Ford Foundation \$175,000; Nathan Cummings Foundation \$150,000; Carnegie Corporation of New York \$75,000; CS Fund \$75,000; New York Community Trust \$75,000; Fund for Constitutional Government \$52,250

Amount Requested: \$150,000 over two years

Amount Recommended: \$150,000 over two years [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: Two years (January 1, 2009 – December 31, 2010)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 1977, the Government Accountability Project (GAP) is a leading defender of government and corporate whistleblowers. GAP's mission is to ensure government and corporate accountability by advancing occupational free speech, litigating whistleblower cases, publicizing whistleblower concerns, and developing policy, legal, and legislative reforms to protect whistleblowers.

GAP advances its mission by: providing legal representation and expert advice to public and corporate employees seeking to raise concerns about fraud, waste, and abuse within their agencies or companies; organizing national communications campaigns to publicize charges brought by whistleblowers and push for accountability for wrongdoing⁶; drafting model and actual legislation on transparency and whistleblower protections that apply to federal, state, and local governments; assisting government agencies, corporations, and international NGOs develop and implement whistleblower policies; and serving as experts on occupational free speech. GAP staff members regularly publish articles in academic and non-academic

⁶ Where appropriate, GAP first tries to resolve problems within the institution that is the focus of concern.

publications and on blogs, teach continuing legal education courses for lawyers, and annually conduct accredited legal clinics for law students on whistleblower protection.

GAP's major program initiatives focus on government and corporate accountability in the areas of worker health and safety, nuclear oversight, environmental oversight, food and drug safety, international anti-corruption reform, and national security. GAP is located in Washington D.C. and has a staff of 19, of which 10 are attorneys.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Government Accountability Project is requesting support for a new Campaign Against Torture, Illegal Surveillance, Excessive Secrecy, and Political Discrimination within the organization's Homeland Security Program.⁷

The Campaign plans to advise and provide legal representation to whistleblowers whose disclosures or experiences will shed light on national security and human rights concerns, such as surveillance, excessive secrecy, politically motivated discrimination, illegal rendition, and torture. The Campaign staff will investigate and attempt to substantiate charges raised by national security whistleblowers; advise whistleblowers regarding disclosure and job retention strategies and provide legal representation when required; and advocate for national security whistleblower protections and enforce them once implemented. Current clients include current and former defense contractors, a former Department of Homeland Security employee, and a citizen activist who disclosed telecommunications misconduct regarding unlawful domestic surveillance. The requested grant would allow GAP to hire a full-time, experienced staff attorney dedicated to this Program, to enable the organization to broaden and deepen this work.

Some of the Homeland Security Program's activities under this Campaign will include:

- Representation of a federal air marshal who was fired after information he disclosed was retroactively labeled Sensitive Security Information (SSI). GAP is challenging his dismissal as a violation of the Whistleblower Protection Act and Anti-Gag Statute. Through this case, the Program is attempting to establish that post-9/11 "quasi and hybrid" secrecy categories such as SSI, "Sensitive, but Unclassified," and "For Official Use Only," are not bound by the same restrictions on disclosure that apply to classified information.
- Seeking and analyzing Department of Justice Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) memos justifying controversial Bush Administration policies. In conjunction with other advocates, GAP has submitted Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests for 34 identified but still secret OLC memos, as well as for additional memos which they have reason to believe exist on extraordinary rendition, the evaluation of the Supreme Court's "enemy combatant" decisions, and the interpretation of agreements such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the U.N. Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners. At the request of the *New York Times*, Campaign staff is drafting an explanation of the state bar

⁷ The Homeland Security Program works also on issues that will not be addressed by the Campaign, including nuclear and chemical weapons vulnerability, airport and airline insecurity, and government contract fraud.

ethics rules that may have been violated by OLC lawyers who wrote controversial memos justifying the use of torture and eavesdropping.

- Filing FOIA requests for government watch lists, which often target political activists and Arab American men, and testing “redress procedures,” which have often involved the victim having to turn over even more personal information (unlisted telephone numbers, private internet addresses) to the Department of Homeland Security.
- Public education and legislative advocacy to win support for Whistleblower Protection Act amendments and other legislation to further the rights of federal whistleblowers, and particularly those from national security agencies or with national security concerns.⁸

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of strengthening the capacity of watchdog organizations to document government abuses; reducing excessive government secrecy in national security policy; and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of the law. It will also advance the Transparency and Integrity Fund priority of expanding government transparency.

National security whistleblowers have played a vital role in bringing to light the Bush Administration’s deeply entrenched disregard for the rule of law in running its “war on terror” and building support for reforms. Their disclosures have exposed, for example, the CIA’s use of Eastern European “black sites” in its program of extraordinary rendition of terror suspects, the torture of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib, the misuse of Combatant Status Review Tribunals to rubber-stamp enemy combatant designations, and the involvement of telecommunications companies in an extra-legal National Security Administration program of warrantless domestic surveillance. But many more abuses remain to be uncovered.

Under current law, over 100,000 national security employees are exempt from many of the statutory provisions that protect other whistleblowers.⁹ This has resulted in significant hardship for national security whistleblowers and has severely restricted the public’s right to know about national security abuses. However, after more than a decade of hard work on the part of GAP and its allies, Congress may be close to putting national security whistleblowers on an equal footing with other whistleblowers by protecting them from retaliation and to ensuring their access to the federal courts, jury trials, and compensatory damages.¹⁰ These protections were

⁸ Much of this work will consist of public education and other non-lobbying activities, and GAP has submitted a bifurcated project budget.

⁹ In 1978 and 1989, Congress explicitly excluded national security employees, including those working for the FBI, CIA, and NSA, from coverage under the Civil Service Reform Act and the Whistleblower Protection Act.

¹⁰ A bill to protect national security whistleblowers (H.R. 985) passed the House in 2007 by a vote of 331-94, which included the support of 102 Republicans. Despite strenuous opposition from Administration insiders such as Defense Secretary Robert Gates, then-Senator Obama supported these protections in his presidential campaign. The Senate passed a more modest version (without protections for intelligence agency employees), but a final bill was not passed by both chambers prior to the adjournment of the 110th Congress. In February 2009, the House attached these protections to the economic stimulus legislation, which passed. But the bill’s key provisions to protect national security whistleblowers and other federal employees were stripped February 17, 2009, after Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) and other Republicans objected to their inclusion. The economic stimulus legislation does include whistleblower protections for all government contractors, including those who work for national security agencies –

included under a January 2009 amendment to the stimulus package which passed the House but got stripped in the Senate. In March, a bill to protect national security whistleblowers was reintroduced in the House. Advocates are continuing to work hard to seize this current political opportunity to significantly expand whistleblower protections and, if successful, expect to see a sharp rise in disclosures.

GAP and the National Whistleblower Center (the Center), also recommended in this docket, along with OSI grantees the Project on Government Oversight and the ACLU, are leaders in the fight to defend whistleblowers and secure expanded whistleblower protections through public education and legislative advocacy.¹¹ Confidential consultations with field advocates and funding colleagues have confirmed that OSI support for both organizations at this moment of opportunity could lead to important breakthroughs for national security whistleblowers and on OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities. GAP and the Center both bring considerable legal and policy expertise to the table, and each has developed a niche within the larger community of national security whistleblowers. GAP is advocating on behalf of Department of Homeland Security employees and military contractors, while the Center has gained the trust of FBI and intelligence whistleblowers since it aggressively and successfully defended FBI Supervisory Special Agent Dr. Fredric Whitehurst in 1993.

GAP's work to defend and empower whistleblowers has long been a critical antidote to government and corporate abuses of power. GAP's effective communications campaigns bring public attention to the problems exposed by whistleblowers and help turn scandals into reform. When Congress is in session, GAP clients or staff members have testified at least once a month throughout 2007 and 2008. This grant would build on current support from the Transparency & Integrity Fund and enable GAP to expand those aspects of its Homeland Security Program that focus on our Campaign issues.

The Campaign will be directed by Jesselyn Radack, Director of GAP's Homeland Security Program, herself an attorney and former whistleblower. A former Department of Justice ethics advisor, she blew the whistle on her superiors when they erroneously maintained that John Walker Lindh, the "American Taliban" who was captured in Afghanistan in 2001 and subsequently criminally charged, had not asked for an attorney before he was interrogated by the FBI. She has published in academic journals, the mainstream media, and the blogosphere on legal ethics, national security, and civil rights and liberties in the struggle against terrorism.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$150,000 over two years to support the Campaign Against Torture, Illegal Surveillance, Excessive Secrecy, and Political Discrimination of the Government Accountability Project's Homeland Security Program.

an important step. More recently, on March 12, 2009, Rep. Van Hollen (D-MD) introduced amendments to the Whistleblower Protection Act to expand protections to national security employees.

¹¹ As noted above, much of this work will consist of public education and other non-lobbying activities, and GAP has submitted a bifurcated project budget.

Name of Organization: National Security Initiative

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project

Previous OSI Support: None

Organization Budget: \$1,146,844

Project Budget: \$269,630

Major Sources of Support: Project: Peter Lewis \$80,000; Ploughshares \$50,000; HKH Foundation \$10,000

Amount Requested: \$150,000

Amount Recommended: \$175,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: Eighteen months (April 1, 2009 – September 30, 2010)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 2005, the National Security Initiative (NSI) – the 501(c)(3) arm of the National Security Network (NSN) – is a network of more than 2,000 progressive national security and foreign policy experts, many of whom are emerging policy leaders. NSI promotes effective, pragmatic, and principled national security solutions that reject over-reliance on military tools in favor of the use of diplomatic, humanitarian, economic, and cultural tools. While NSI is not itself a think tank, it coordinates closely with dozens of progressive think tanks working on foreign policy and moves their ideas into the media, the policymaker arena, and public discourse.

NSN is based in Washington, D.C., and has a staff of nine full-time employees. NSI maintains state affiliates in twelve states – Colorado, Connecticut, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Nevada, New Mexico, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia, and Washington. The state affiliates regularly host progressive speakers on national security, military, and foreign policy issues for local audiences.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

In April 2009, the National Security Initiative will launch the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project (Paradigm Project), an 18-month effort to bridge NSI's network of national security experts to OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign's grantees, and to foster strategic collaborations between the two communities. The ultimate aim of the Paradigm Project is to promote a shift away from the problematic "war on terror" paradigm to an alternate foreign policy paradigm that is based on the values of due process of law and human rights.

During the proposed grant period, a number of events will bring national security policy into the spotlight, including twists and turns along the path to implementation of President Obama's January 22, 2009 executive order closing the Guantanamo Detention Center by January 2010, the anticipated release in July 2009 of interagency task force recommendations on U.S. detention and interrogation policy and Inspector General reports on warrantless surveillance, the marking of the eighth anniversary of 9/11, and the withdrawal of troops from Iraq and the build up of troops in Afghanistan, as well as fears of another terrorist attack.

As these events unfold, the Paradigm Project will produce at least one policy brief per month on a major national security and human rights issue that will support progressive foreign policies and build the case for an alternate foreign policy paradigm in plain terms that can be understood by non-experts. These policy briefs will be sent to NSI's listserv of thousands of policymakers, issue experts, advocacy groups, members of the media, and interested members of the public from across the nation. In the past two months alone, NSI has drafted and disseminated policy briefs entitled, "Facts and Myths about Guantanamo and Torture"; "Upholding Values, Securing America"; "Conservatives Bankrupt on Defense"; "Principles for an Afghanistan Strategy"; and "The Extent of Bush's Detainee Debacle."

Additionally, throughout the term of the Paradigm Project, as developments unfold, NSI will convene leaders from the military, national security, and human rights fields for policy and media strategy discussions to explore areas of difference and congruence, and attempt to reach consensus. NSI also plans to host educational briefings for Members and Hill staff and provide them with timely policy analysis.

One of the Paradigm Project's first endeavors will be to develop a rapid response mechanism that takes advantage of old and new media outlets as well as NSI's foreign policy blog, DemocracyArsenal.org, to reach critical audiences, including policymakers, media influencers, and grassroots leaders. Currently, NSI is exploring with its partners ways to inoculate the Obama administration against the charge that America has been kept safe from a post-9/11 terrorist attack because of rigid adherence to Bush "war on terror" policies and that President Obama's reversal of these policies will place Americans in danger. As other opportunities and threats arise, NSI will develop messaging that supports a progressive counterterrorism narrative and will make available a roster of spokespersons¹² from the security and human rights communities to handle media requests and produce content for the blogosphere. NSI staff will also engage the public and policymakers directly through contributions to NSI's blog, the Huffington Post, Bloggingheads.tv, and other sites.

¹² NSN maintains a roster of several hundred experts, including: (1) human rights, civil rights and privacy rights experts such as: Tom Malinowski, Washington Advocacy Director, Human Rights Watch; Kate Martin, Director, Center for National Security Studies; and Eric Schwartz, Executive Director, Connect US; (2) counterterrorism experts such as: Richard Clarke, former chief counterterrorism advisor, National Security Council; and Roger Cressey, former Director of Transnational Threats, National Security Council; and (3) retired military officials who have spoken out against Bush administration "war on terror" policies, including: former Lt. Col. Stephen Abraham, the first officer to serve in the Office for the Administrative Review of the Detention of Enemy Combatants to publicly criticize the operations of the Combatant Status Review Tribunals; and Lt. Col. Stuart Couch, a former prosecutor who withdrew from the prosecution of a Guantanamo detainee based on his objection to the use of evidence obtained under harsh interrogation techniques.

Throughout the term of the Paradigm Project, NSI and its state affiliates will also host forums both inside and outside the Beltway that will be designed to spark debate, generate media coverage of progressive national security and human rights experts in the NSI community, and build demand for an alternate national security framework.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of supporting the development of sophisticated messaging and communications strategies that advocates, experts, and elected officials can utilize to shift away from the “war on terror” paradigm.

The national security and human rights field enters 2009 with significant advantages, including a strong infrastructure of organizations and experts, the friendliest political landscape from the White House to the Congress in a generation, and a public that has flatly rejected Bush-era policies. Serious challenges remain, however, including the lack of a comprehensive alternate paradigm to the “war on terror” around which progressives can organize and through which policymakers, the media, and the public can make sense of U.S. counterterrorism policy in an increasingly complex and interdependent world. As President Obama’s decision to close Guantanamo comes under attack by opponents, there is an urgent need for foreign policy experts and the national security and human rights field to join forces to develop and promote a new and effective national security framework that will value due process under law and respect for human rights.

NSI is an excellent organization to convene conversations on replacing the “war on terror” paradigm given its broad network of progressive foreign policy, intelligence, counterterrorism, and military experts, its commitment to engaging with experts who bring different experiences and perspectives to the table, and its proven ability to work quickly and nimbly. NSI has already taken clear stands in opposition to the creation of a system of national security courts, and the Bush Administration’s fear-mongering and policies on torture, rendition, and arbitrary detention. And it has established strong working relationships with a number of OSI grantees and proposed grantees, including American Enviroics, the New American Foundation, the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation, and U.S. in the World, a project of Demos which NSI’s Executive Director helped found and for which she continues to serve as Senior Advisor. With funding from OSI, U.S. in the World and NSN are currently engaged in a research project that explores how progressive leaders can counter the political use of fear.

NSI has a highly experienced and well regarded Board of Directors and Advisory Board. The NSI Board Treasurer is Rosa Brooks, Professor at Georgetown University Center of Law. Leslie Gelb, President Emeritus of the Council on Foreign Relations, chairs NSI’s Advisory Board, on which retired General Wesley Clark, Samuel Berger, former National Security Advisor, and Theodore Sorensen are all current members.

NSN’s founder and president Rand Beers, who served on the National Security Council under Presidents Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, Bill Clinton, and George W. Bush, but resigned in protest from the NSC in March 2003, five days before the U.S. invasion of Iraq, was tapped by the Obama administration to serve as Counselor to Secretary of Homeland Security, Janet Napolitano, and has resigned from the organization. And several members of the Advisory

Board have accepted positions in the Obama administration and will be replaced at NSI's March 18th Board meeting, including Richard Holbrooke, former U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Anne-Marie Slaughter, Dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University, and Rose Gottemoeller, Director of the Carnegie Moscow Center.

The organization remains under the able leadership of NSN Executive Director Heather Hurlburt. Hurlburt served in the Clinton White House as Special Assistant and speechwriter to the President and speechwriter for Secretaries of State Albright and Christopher, and has held positions with the U.S. Helsinki Commission, the State Department's Office of Policy Planning, and the International Crisis Group.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$175,000 over eighteen months to support the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project of the National Security Initiative.

Name of Organization: National Whistleblower Center

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To provide support for its Protecting National Security Whistleblowers Campaign to promote human rights and civil liberties through the defense of intelligence agency whistleblowers

Previous OSI Support: \$50,000 from U.S. Programs General Fund (2003)

Organization Budget: \$403,925

Project Budget: \$212,250 year one; \$252,916 year two

Major Sources of Support: Individuals \$110,000; Herb Block Foundation \$25,000; Publications \$10,000; Combined Federal Campaign \$10,000; In-kind support

Amount Requested: \$225,000

Amount Recommended: \$225,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: 21 months (April 1, 2009 – December 31, 2010)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The National Whistleblower Center (the Center) was founded in 1988 to champion and protect the rights of whistleblowers to expose government and corporate misconduct and promote transparency and accountability without fear of retaliation. The Center sponsors educational and legal assistance programs, including an online resource center on whistleblower rights, a speakers bureau of whistleblowers and experts on the rights of whistleblowers, and a national attorney referral service with lawyers in forty-one states that is run by the Center's sister organization, the National Whistleblower Legal Defense and Education Fund.

The Center is based in Washington, D.C., and is governed by a board of directors that includes human rights activists, national experts on whistleblower rights, and former whistleblowers. The Center's staff includes two full-time employees, three part-time employees, five part-time consulting attorneys, and numerous interns and volunteers.

The Center relies on substantial pro-bono and volunteer support from lawyers and other professionals, and extensive contributions from student interns. Its student internship program trains law student and undergraduate volunteer interns, averaging 10-12 interns per semester who volunteer for 35 hours per week, 48 weeks a year. The Center also utilizes a group of about 25

citizen volunteers, primarily current and former federal employees¹³, in advancing its legislative agenda.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The National Whistleblower Center is requesting support to deepen and expand its Protecting National Security Whistleblowers Campaign to promote human rights and civil liberties through the defense of intelligence agency whistleblowers.

The Campaign provides legal representation to national security whistleblowers; helps secure agency permission for whistleblowers to alert the public to the abuses they have witnessed; and protects the right of national security employees to blow the whistle to members of Congress. The requested grant would allow the Center to hire a full-time attorney to advocate on behalf of national security whistleblowers, which would enable the Center to increase its work with FBI whistleblowers and expand the reach of its work to include whistleblowers from other national security agencies.

Over the proposed grant period of 21 months, with OSI support, the Campaign will:

- Expand its existing website materials and develop a new national security whistleblower “Know Your Rights” section on the Center’s website to enable national security employees to anonymously obtain information about the unique constraints that apply to whistleblowing on matters of national security and to confidentially seek legal advice from attorneys working with the Center.
- Host at least three CLE-approved seminars on whistleblower laws and protections that are tailored to the special needs of national security whistleblowers and their attorneys.
- Through the National Whistleblower Center’s referral service, provide on a *pro bono* basis initial case consultations between national security whistleblowers and attorneys associated with the Center and the National Whistleblower Center Legal Defense and Education Fund. The Center expects dozens whistleblowers with credible national security cases to contact its referral network during the proposed grant period.
- Provide direct representation to whistleblowers with information that is of national significance. As an example, the Center will continue to represent Supervisory Special Agent Bassem Youssef, the highest ranking Arab American agent employed in the FBI’s counterterrorism division, who has charged that the FBI has abused its authority to obtain private records without judicial review through the National Security Letters and has discriminated against its Arab American employees.
- Assist national security whistleblowers in making lawful disclosures to members of Congress, and in securing agency permission for whistleblowers to appear on national

¹³ The current co-chairs and most active members of this group include retired staff from the Department of Labor and Federal Energy Regulatory Commission, a former state Democratic Party leader, and a current employee of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration.

television and radio and address conferences to alert the public to the wrongdoing they have witnessed.

- Advocate for expanded legal protections for all federal government whistleblowers, with a focus on the two groups that now have the least protection amongst whistleblowers – employees of national security agencies and individuals with information on national security related wrongdoing.¹⁴ As an executive member of the Make It Safe Coalition, a national coalition of approximately 50 public interest organizations advocating for stronger whistleblower protections, the Center will continue to work closely with other NGOs to expand policymaker and public support for these reforms.
- Strengthen its organizational capacity to undertake public education and outreach on national security whistleblower concerns. OSI's grant will allow the Campaign to expand its Speakers Bureau and online action network, post more pieces on the Center's Whistleblower Protection Blog and other online networking sites, and scale up its national media work.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of strengthening the capacity of watchdog organizations to document government abuses; reducing excessive government secrecy in national security policy; and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of the law. It will also advance the Transparency and Integrity Fund priority of expanding government transparency.

National security whistleblowers have played a vital role in bringing to light the Bush Administration's deeply entrenched disregard for the rule of law in running its "war on terror" and building support for reforms. Their disclosures have exposed, for example, the CIA's use of Eastern European "black sites" in its program of extraordinary rendition of terror suspects, the torture of Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib, the misuse of Combatant Status Review Tribunals to rubber-stamp enemy combatant designations, and the involvement of telecommunications companies in an extra-legal National Security Administration program of warrantless domestic surveillance. But many more abuses remain to be uncovered.

Under current law, over 100,000 national security employees are exempt from many of the statutory provisions that protect other whistleblowers.¹⁵ This has resulted in significant hardship for national security whistleblowers and has severely restricted the public's right to know about national security abuses. However, after more than a decade of hard work on the part of the National Whistleblower Center and its allies, Congress may be close to putting national security whistleblowers on an equal footing with other whistleblowers by protecting them from retaliation and to ensuring their access to the federal courts, jury trials, and compensatory damages.¹⁶

¹⁴ Much of this work will consist of public education and other non-lobbying activities, and the Center has submitted a bifurcated project budget.

¹⁵ In 1978 and 1989, Congress explicitly excluded national security employees, including those working for the FBI, CIA, and NSA, from coverage under the Civil Service Reform Act and the Whistleblower Protection Act.

¹⁶ A bill to protect national security whistleblowers (H.R. 985) passed the House in 2007 by a vote of 331-94, which included the support of 102 Republicans. Despite strenuous opposition from Administration insiders such as Defense Secretary Robert Gates, then-Senator Obama supported these protections in his presidential campaign. The

These protections were included under a January 2009 amendment to the stimulus package which passed the House but got stripped in the Senate. In March, a bill to protect national security whistleblowers was reintroduced in the House. Advocates are continuing to work hard to seize this current political opportunity to significantly expand whistleblower protections and, if successful, expect to see a sharp rise in disclosures.

The National Whistleblower Center and the Government Accountability Project (GAP), also recommended in this docket, along with OSI grantees the Project on Government Oversight and the ACLU, are leaders in the fight to defend whistleblowers and secure expanded whistleblower protections through public education and legislative advocacy.¹⁷ Confidential consultations with field advocates and funding colleagues have confirmed that OSI support for both organizations at this moment of opportunity could lead to important breakthroughs for national security whistleblowers and on OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities. The Center and GAP both bring considerable legal and policy expertise to the table, and each has developed a niche within the larger community of national security whistleblowers. The Center has gained the trust of FBI and intelligence whistleblowers since it aggressively and successfully defended FBI Supervisory Special Agent Dr. Fredric Whitehurst¹⁸ in 1993, while GAP is advocating on behalf of Department of Homeland Security employees and military contractors.

The Center has had a long and successful track record of advocating on behalf of national security whistleblowers before Congress, in litigation, and in Inspector General investigations, and placing its whistleblowers in the national media. Its national security whistleblowers have appeared in national media outlets including *60 Minutes*, *Prime Time Live*, *NBC Nightly News*, *Larry King Live*, NPR, C-SPAN, and BBC Radio, and its recent advocacy to extend whistleblower protections was highlighted in the *Washington Post*, *Associated Press*, *Bloomberg News*, *Washington Independent*, and *Federal Times*. Its attorneys are widely regarded as the leading experts on the intricacies of whistleblower law. Stephen Kohn, the Center's President, has co-authored the most widely consulted textbook on the subject, and Kohn and his staff have regularly provide presentations and trainings. Former FBI Supervisory Agent Dr. Frederic Whitehurst, works with the Center to evaluate the merits of national security whistleblower cases and conducts outreach. An OSI grant will provide the Center with the additional capacity it needs to expand its work with national security whistleblowers at this critical time.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$225,000 over 21 months to support the Protecting National Security Whistleblowers campaign of the National Whistleblower Center.

Senate passed a more modest version (without protections for intelligence agency employees), but a final bill was not passed by both chambers prior to the adjournment of the 110th Congress. In February 2009, the House attached these protections to the economic stimulus legislation, which passed. But the bill's key provisions to protect national security whistleblowers and other federal employees were stripped February 17, 2009, after Sen. Susan Collins (R-ME) and other Republicans objected to their inclusion. The economic stimulus legislation does include whistleblower protections for all government contractors, including those who work for national security agencies – an important step. More recently, on March 12, 2009, Rep. Van Hollen (D-MD) introduced amendments to the Whistleblower Protection Act to expand protections to national security employees.

¹⁷ As noted above, much of this work will consist of public education and other non-lobbying activities, and the Center has submitted a bifurcated project budget.

¹⁸ Whitehurst was responsible for securing the crime scene following the first World Trade Center bombing. In 1995, with FBI approval secured by the Center, Whitehurst appeared on ABC's *Prime Time Live*, where he charged that the due process rights of suspected terrorists were being violated and explosives evidence had been falsified.

Name of Organization: New America Foundation

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support the project, Leaving the Dark Side: Shaping a New Counterterrorism Narrative

Previous OSI Support: \$3,331,875
\$575,000 from Chairman's Grants Overseas (2007-09)
\$500,000 from USP Democracy & Power Fund (2008)
\$1,431,875 from SOF (2004-2008)
\$575,000 from Progressive Infrastructure (2006)
\$150,000 from Governance and Public Policy (2002)
\$100,000 from U.S. General (2001)

Organization Budget: \$14,600,000

Project Budget: \$642,000

Major Sources of Support: Bernard and Irene Schwartz Foundation \$1,505,000; James Irvine Foundation \$1,200,000; Rockefeller Foundation \$1,150,000; Eric Schmidt \$1,000,000; Ford Foundation \$830,000; Peterson Foundation \$594,000; Blue Shield Foundation \$550,000; Sloan Foundation \$537,500; Wal-Mart Foundation \$525,000

Amount Requested: \$300,000

Amount Recommended: \$300,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: 18 months (April 1, 2009 – September 30, 2010)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The New America Foundation (NAF) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy institute launched in 1999 whose mission is to bring new thinkers and new ideas to address changing conditions and challenges. With an emphasis on big ideas, impartial analysis, and pragmatic solutions, NAF invests in outstanding individuals whose ability to communicate to wide and influential audiences can change the country's policy discourse in critical areas and bring promising new ideas and debates to the fore. Through fellowships and issue-specific programs, NAF sponsors a wide range of research, writing, conferences, and public outreach on some of the most important global and domestic issues of our time, including national security, human rights, health care, education, climate change, and fiscal and tax policy.

NAF was guided through a period of rapid growth by founding President Ted Halstead and underwent a leadership transition in 2007. The institute is now led by President and CEO Steve Coll and an outstanding Board of Directors, chaired by Eric Schmidt, Chairman and CEO of

Google, Inc. New America is headquartered in Washington D.C. and also has a significant presence in California. NAF currently has a quality roster of fellows, ranging from policymakers and journalists to academics, who work on a variety of domestic and international issues.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The New America Foundation's Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency Initiative (CCI) is requesting OSI support to launch a new project, Leaving the Dark Side: Shaping a New Counterterrorism Narrative (Leaving the Dark Side Project) to develop an alternate counterterrorism narrative that will promote human rights and civil liberties and reinstate the democratic values that have been eroded by the Bush administration's "war on terror" paradigm. The project will be led by the two co-directors of NAF's Counterterrorism and Counterinsurgency Initiative, Steve Coll, President and CEO, and Peter Bergen, New America Foundation Senior Fellow.

The principles that will inform the project center on the core concept of "strategic patience," which NAF likens to George Kennan's Cold War strategy of containment, and by which NAF refers to our nation's ability to stay true to its founding values, refrain from the use of military force unless faced with no policy alternative, and avoid being drawn into a strategy of provocation. In applying the concept of strategic patience, NAF will: 1) hold true to the principles of justice and democratic participation that define the character of our democracy and serve as an example for other nations; 2) shift long-term foreign policy towards the broad concept of human security by building a network of regional collective security mechanisms and using a more objective and transparent set of criteria for intervention; 3) work to prevent the conditions that give rise to threats, including poverty and a lack of political freedom, and commit to a strategy that does not sacrifice the long-term project of development for short-term tactical military objectives; 4) disaggregate the enemy by focusing specifically on al Qaeda Central and its strategic affiliates and thereby "lower the temperature" in the larger Muslim world; 5) look for political solutions that are regional in scope, involve all stakeholders, and have the validation of the international community; 6) resolve structural obstacles to sustainable economic development; and 7) develop "resilience" to attack by shifting political discourse away from a debate over zero tolerance for worst case scenarios to a more accurate picture of the threat and vigilant oversight of the agencies responsible counterterrorism.

The primary objectives of the Leaving the Dark Side Project are to:

Establish a college of experts comprised of leading counterterrorism practitioners and analysts outside the U.S. government, as well as grantees and associates of OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign that are committed to human rights in national security policy. The college of experts and the NAF staff will conduct evidence-based research and analysis on a range of issues.

Create a new counterterrorism narrative that will be based on: a more circumscribed threat assessment analysis that understands America's enemies and their motivations, goals, resources, strategies, and capabilities; a comprehensive review of possibilities for regional partnering; an intense focus on critical policy issues such as rendition, detention, targeted killing, civilian casualties, de-radicalization, and counter-sanctuary strategy; and a counterterrorism strategy that is set in the wider context of U.S. foreign policy.

Produce a report for policymakers and a book. In September 2010, NAF will launch its new counterterrorism narrative through a policy report that includes a road map for policymakers and an engaging and accessible book for the general American audience. To promote the report and book, NAF will conduct a multi-media outreach plan.

Host a set of convenings that will culminate in a major convening in September 2010 aimed at policy makers. Throughout the project, NAF will host brown bag issue briefings, panel discussions, press conferences, major policy conferences, and briefings in NAF's new conference space that can accommodate up to 150 people while broadcasting live over the internet and accommodating the recordings and transmission needs of national news organizations.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of supporting policy research to shift the counter-terrorism paradigm away from the "war on terror"; developing progressive counterterrorism policy that protects national security while respecting human rights; supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy; and cultivating persuasive messengers and thought leaders to challenge and dismantle the flawed "war on terror" paradigm.

The Bush Administration's "global war on terror" (GWOT) not only failed to achieve many of its objectives, but has violated our nation's commitment to the rule of law and damaged America's moral standing in the world. Extra-legal searches, non-judicial detention, warrantless wiretaps, the unchecked aggregation of executive authority, an unprecedented level of secrecy, and a myriad of other abuses of power and public trust have threatened the very fabric of American democracy. The damage to the American values of the rule of law, transparency, pluralism, and human rights that have followed the GWOT framing is severe and must be reversed before it becomes permanent.

The task of reframing the American counterterrorism narrative is urgent, and NAF is especially well positioned for this critical task. NAF is a highly respected public policy institute with proven abilities in research, analysis, and policy reform, and it has excellent access to key officials in the Obama administration and leading journalists and media outlets.

The Leaving the Dark Side Project will be led by a stellar staff, including CCI co-directors Steve Coll and Peter Bergen. Coll is a winner of two Pulitzer Prizes and has spent 20 years as a foreign correspondent, senior editor, and managing editor at *The Washington Post*. Coll currently serves as a staff writer at *The New Yorker* magazine and is a frequent guest on NPR and PBS. Peter Bergen is a print and television journalist and the author of *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama bin Laden* (2001) and *The Osama bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's Leader* (2006). Bergen is CNN's national security analyst and a regular contributor to *The New Republic* and op-ed pages across the country. Coll and Bergen are constantly called upon for their expert advice by high level policy makers and the press. In the past month, Coll participated in strategy meetings convened by Vice President Biden and by U.S. Special Envoy for Afghanistan and Pakistan Richard Holbrooke.

The New America Foundation is committed to working with other key allies of OSI's National Security and Human Rights Campaign, including the National Security Network, the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation, American Environics, Human Rights Watch, Human Rights First, the Brennan Center, and U.S. in the World to take advantage of the opportunities that the Obama administration is opening up to replace the tired GWOT paradigm with a new narrative.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$300,000 over two years to support the New America Foundation project, Leaving the Dark Side: Shaping a New Counterterrorism Narrative.

Name of Organization: Proteus Fund, Inc., as fiscal agent for American Environics

Tax Status: 501(c)(3) public charity

Purpose of Grant: To support American Environics' Real Security to Overcome Fear Project

Previous OSI Support: \$11,110,000
 \$245,000 from USP Subprime Grants (2009)
 \$2,250,000 from USP NSHR Campaign (2008)
 \$650,000 from USP Transparency & Integrity Fund (2008)
 \$1,100,000 from Progressive Infrastructure (2005-2008)
 \$2,925,000 from Strategic Opportunities Fund (2004-2008)
 \$1,250,000 from US Justice Fund (2004-2008)
 \$2,540,000 from Governance & Public Policy (1998-2003)
 \$50,000 from Law & Society (2004)
 \$100,000 from Political Campaign Reform (1997-1998)

Organization Budget: \$8,695,317

Project Budget: \$536,000

Major Sources of Support: Project: Anonymous Funder \$300,000 (anticipated); Lotus Fund \$100,000 (anticipated)

Amount Requested: \$200,000

Amount Recommended: \$200,000 over six months [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: Six months (April 1, 2009 – September 30, 2009)

Matching Requirements: \$200,000 in funds must be raised specifically for American Environics' Real Security to Overcome Fear Project before the OSI grant of \$200,000 may be released.

Description of Organization:

Based in Oakland and founded in 2004, American Environics (AE) is a research and strategy firm that uses cutting edge social values and psychological research to evaluate the underlying and unconscious cognitive models, narratives, and worldviews that shape the way Americans reason about the world. AE has a staff of seven full-time employees.

American Environic's fiscal sponsor is the Proteus Fund, a public foundation that is based in Amherst, Massachusetts that was established in 1994. The mission of the Proteus Fund is to promote philanthropic strategies that will revitalize democracy, expand civil society, and build and strengthen social justice movements. The Proteus Fund operates a Peace and Security Program, in addition to innovative grantmaking programs in which OSI has played a key role,

including the National Security and Human Rights Pooled Fund, the Piper Fund, the State Strategies Fund, the Media Democracy Fund, and the Civil Marriage Collaborative Fund.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

In April 2009, American Environics will launch the Real Security to Overcome Fear Project (Real Security Project), the next phase in an American Environics initiative to develop an affirmative national security agenda that changes how Americans think about national security and advances concrete progressive policy proposals.

The Real Security Project will build directly on the psychological and social values research conducted by American Environics in 2008 under the Putting Fear to Work Project, the previous phase of this initiative. With funding from OSI, the Putting Fear to Work Project studied the relationship between fear and political behavior in the context of the “global war on terror” by analyzing responses to an 800-question American Values Survey conducted on a sample of 2,000 Americans in 2007. AE correlated survey responses to questions on national security, civil liberties, and peace and security issues with survey responses to questions designed to elicit core psychological values and motivators. The survey analysis pointed to several distinct subpopulations in the “movable middle” that might be persuaded to support a progressive national security policy agenda. AE conducted focus groups in Atlanta and Chicago in the spring of 2008 to explore how people from the two most promising of these subpopulations – the “Town Square Faithfuls” and the “Reluctant Fearfuls” – reason when it comes to national security.

In addition to the survey analysis and focus groups, AE employed three research methodologies – an academic literature review; a cognitive linguistic analysis of the focus group transcripts; and an internet survey of 2,000 Americans that primed half the responders to a high threat of terrorist attack and the other half to a low threat, and then introduced to each subgroup arguments for progressive policies based on morality, effectiveness, or both. American Environics found that the two swing subpopulations that were the subject of its focus groups tend to employ the following core logic when asked to consider security in the post-9/11 world:

1. The terrorist threat is perceived to be fanatical, suicidal, and bent on the destruction of the U.S.
2. Military, diplomatic, and law enforcement strategies are perceived to be insufficient to protect American lives when faced with an enemy that cannot be negotiated with and cannot be deterred from attacking America.
3. Extra-legal “security” measures, including the use of torture, preventive detention, surveillance, and profiling, are perceived to be necessary to prevent attacks on America and American citizens.
4. Extra-legal “security” measures appear to have worked since there have been no attacks on American soil since 9/11.
5. Security is seen as being in balance against rights, and rights are seen as having to be sacrificed for greater security.
6. Sacrificing rights in the name of security through the use of extra-legal “security” measures is seen as moral because doing so is necessary to preserve American lives from an enemy that cannot be contained or deterred through other means.

AE's research indicates that this core logic has held firm with members of these swing subpopulations since the time of the 9/11 attacks. However, as the salience of the terrorist threat has declined with the passage of time, they have become more open to hearing that their understanding of the terrorist threat may be overblown, and to reconsidering the need for and wisdom of taking extra-legal "security" measures in response to the threat. Recognizing that in order to transform public opinion and institute positive reforms in national security policy, it will be critical to change how these subpopulations think about the terrorist threat and what responses are effective, AE proposes to continue its research through the Real Security Project.

Through a close reading of the expert literature and by interviewing security experts, the Real Security Project will create an inventory of the range of available counterterrorism tactics and security options. AE will then craft a set of progressive national security policies and strategic initiatives that protect both security and rights and test them to determine whether they appeal to the core values of the movable middle. AE will first conduct eight focus groups with the same two swing segments examined in the earlier research phase to explore how they respond to effectiveness and rights-based arguments against extra-legal policies. Security experts and rights advocates will be invited to evaluate the focus group protocols and observe the focus groups. The focus groups will be followed by quantitative surveys of the general population. Based on this research, AE will write and distribute a white paper and present a series of workshops on its findings and recommendations for policy makers, communications strategists, and the national security and human rights field. In the course of this project, AE hopes to gain a more realistic understanding of the threat posed by terrorism; examine what is effective in keeping Americans safe and what is not; and help political leaders, the media, and the public understand that progressive national security policies need not trade off security and rights against one another.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of supporting paradigm-shifting research; supporting the development of sophisticated messaging and communications strategies that advocates can utilize to shift the paradigm away from the "war on terror"; and increasing communications capacity and coordination among advocacy organizations.

The election of Barack Obama presents a historic opportunity for national security and human rights advocates to shift public understanding of the threat of terrorism and the effectiveness of responses to it and to push for policy change. Addressing the challenge of helping the public gain a more accurate view of the threat is particularly critical as efforts to implement a progressive counterterrorism agenda could face a potentially powerful political backlash if the public's understanding of the terrorist threat does not evolve. A strategic public reframing of America's extra-legal responses to terrorism as motivated by overblown fears and counterproductive measures could help both the public and policymakers gain a more nuanced understanding of the terrorist threat and the need for solutions that respect human rights.

American Enviro-nics' Putting Fear to Work Project, conducted in 2008, raises important questions that merit this next phase of research. AE's earlier findings point to the importance of making effectiveness arguments, rather than relying solely on moral or rights-based arguments, to reach the American public outside of the progressive base. In its focus groups, AE observed that cognitive dissonance between preventing terrorism and respecting rights was often resolved

by more forcefully supporting extra-legal “security” measures, which participants saw as necessary to preserve American lives and therefore “moral.” These findings have already sparked debate among human rights organizations that almost exclusively present rights-based arguments and have encouraged them to reach out to and build alliances with progressive-minded national security experts to advance an alternative national security agenda.

In this critical phase of the initiative, American Environics will consult regularly with the organizations that are working with OSI’s National Security and Human Rights Campaign to develop an affirmative national security paradigm for the post-Bush era, including the New America Foundation, the National Security Initiative, U.S. in the World, the American Progressive Caucus Policy Foundation, and the Cato Institute.

If sufficient funding can be raised through a 1:1 match of OSI’s grant, Lisa Graves will join AE to lead the Real Security Project. Currently Deputy Director of the Center for National Security Studies and a long-time civil liberties advocate with experience working at the Justice Department, in the Senate, and at the ACLU, Lisa would bring to the Project a strong background in national security and human rights, the respect of her peers, and solid working relationships with many of the thought leaders in the national security and human rights field. In close partnership with Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus, AE’s Managing Partners, Lisa would oversee all aspects of the project, including the testing of public opinion through focus groups and surveys, creating a policy inventory and developing a policy agenda, convening advocates to describe the research findings and seek their buy-in for the policy agenda, and helping ensure that both the research and agenda are useful to and promoted by the advocacy community.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a project support grant to the Proteus Fund, as fiscal sponsor to American Environics, of \$200,000 over six months to support American Environics’ Real Security to Overcome Fear Project, subject to the matching restrictions stated above.