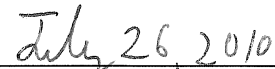


US PROGRAMS
National Security and Human Rights Campaign
2010 Docket II - Financial Summary of Recommended Grants
July 26, 2010

National Security and Human Rights Campaign (T1: 21095)

Organization	Grant Code	Recommended	Term	2010	2011
New America Foundation	T1: 21095	300,000	16 months	300,000	
Center for National Policy	T1: 21095	250,000	18 months	125,000	125,000
National Security Initiative	T1: 21095	300,000	20 months	150,000	150,000
Human Rights First ¹	T1: 21095 T1: 59959	800,000	2 years	550,000	250,000
Center for International Policy	T1: 21095	150,000	14 months	150,000	
Proteus Fund	T1: 21095	750,000	1 year	750,000	
Focus Project, Inc.	T1: 21095	150,000	14 months	150,000	
Federation of American Scientists ²	T1: 21095 T1: 21093	180,000	2 years	90,000	90,000
Total Recommended:		\$ 2,880,000		\$ 2,265,000	\$ 615,000
GRANTMAKING TOTAL THIS DOCKET:		\$ 2,880,000			


Approval Signature


Date

¹ The grant of \$800,000 to Human Rights First is co-funded by the National Security and Human Rights Campaign and the JEHT Foundation Emergency Fund. NSHR (T1: 21095) will contribute \$550,000, and the JEHT Foundation Emergency Fund (T1: 59959) will contribute \$250,000.

² The grant of \$180,000 to the Federation of American Scientists is co-funded by the National Security and Human Rights Campaign and the Transparency and Integrity Fund. NSHR (T1: 21095) will contribute \$140,000, and TIF (T1: 21093) will contribute \$40,000.

MEMORANDUM

To: Aryeh Neier
From: Ann Beeson, Nancy Chang, Sophia Conroy, and Hyon Seo Kwon
Date: July 16, 2010
Subject: National Security and Human Rights Campaign Grant Recommendations for Docket II of 2010

For the July 26, 2010 docket, the National Security and Human Rights Campaign recommends eight grants.

Four of these grants will support a cohort of organizations – the **New America Foundation**, the **Center for National Policy**, the **National Security Initiative**, and **Human Rights First** – as they jointly plan, coordinate, and provide issue area expertise to a new Resilience Working Group that will be composed of approximately 20 thought leaders from the national security and human rights communities.¹ These grants will additionally allow each of the four groups to pursue a project that falls within its individual areas of interest and expertise and that is independent from their collaborative work on the Resilience Working Group. A grant to the Center for National Policy would be NSHR Campaign's first grant to this organization; the other three organizations are current NSHR Campaign grantees.

The precise scope of the Resilience Working Group's mandate has not yet been set. However its top priorities will include bridging the gap between the national security and human rights communities, and replacing the negative counterterrorism frame of fear with a positive frame of national resilience and adherence to core constitutional values. The Obama administration's formal endorsements of resilience in the February 2010 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review and the May 2010 National Security Strategy have opened up a window of opportunity for progressives to claim, define, and shape this term in the context of homeland and national security.

The groundwork for the Resilience Working Group was laid last winter and spring by the New America Foundation under a consultancy agreement with the NSHR Campaign. This work culminated in a convening on April 14, 2010 of more than 40 experts selected from the fields of national security, homeland security, counterterrorism, intelligence, law enforcement, defense, emergency preparedness, strategic communications, law, civil liberties, human rights, and the rights of Muslims, Arabs and South Asians. The convening participants recognized that exchanges between the security and rights communities were too infrequent and recommended setting up a structure to support dialogue, coordination, and collaboration between the two communities. The convening participants also saw promise in resilience as a framework for supporting smart and effective national security policies that can hold true to American

¹ Please note that grant recommendations have been arranged in the order they are listed in this memo, rather than in alphabetical order. The New America Foundation grant recommendation, which is at the top of the line up, should be read first as it provides background information on the Resilience Working Group that is not repeated in the grant recommendations for the Center for National Policy, the National Security Initiative, or Human Rights First.

constitutional values and break the destructive cycle of fear and overreaction that have characterized the post-9/11 period.

In furtherance of the Campaign's goals of ending arbitrary and indefinite detention and strengthening the capacity of grassroots organizations to advocate against abusive counterterrorism policies and for a progressive national security policy that respects civil liberties, human rights, and the rule of law, the Campaign recommends renewed funding to two organizations that we funded on a rapid response basis in July 2009 to hold President Obama to his promise to close Guantanamo by the January 22, 2010 deadline set in his Executive Order – **Human Rights First** (discussed above in the context of the Resilience Working Group) and the **Center for International Policy**. These organizations, in close coordination with other Campaign grantees, continue to perform critically important work but have been forced to adjust their agendas in the face of fierce opposition, the recent spate of attempted terrorist attacks on the U.S., and the weakening of presidential resolve to stand by human rights principles in the face of these challenges. Human Rights First remains one of the Campaign's core grantees and will continue its impressive work with a coalition of national security validators, including retired military officers and former interrogators, judges, prosecutors, and law enforcement officials, to advocate for compliance with human rights standards on a range of national security policies.

In addition, the Campaign recommends two grants that support its priority of promoting collaboration within the national security and human rights field. The **Proteus Fund** seeks renewed support for its **Security and Rights Collaborative**, a pooled donor fund established by OSI and Atlantic Philanthropies in 2008. And **OMB Watch** seeks renewed support for its **Charity and Security Network**, a network of civil liberties organizations, civil rights organizations, grantmakers, charities, and foundations that seeks the overhaul of a set of draconian U.S. counterterrorism measures that are exerting a chilling effect on U.S.-based organizations engaged in international peacebuilding, humanitarian aid, and development efforts, as well as on charities and nonprofits that engage in international activities and Muslim-American donors and charities.

Lastly, a renewal grant to the **Federation of American Scientists** to support the **Project on Government Secrecy** will advance the Campaign's priorities of strengthening the capacity of watchdog organizations to document government abuses and reduce excessive government secrecy in national security policy. The grant will be co-funded with the Transparency and Integrity Fund and will further the fund's priority of supporting watchdog organizations.

The total amount for these eight grants is \$2,880,000. Grant recommendations and a financial summary are attached.

National Security and Human Rights Campaign

Docket II of 2010

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Name of Organization: New America Foundation

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

Purpose of Grant: To provide renewed support to the New America Foundation to support the Promoting Resilience, Preserving Liberties Project

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will support the New America Foundation (NAF) Promoting Resilience, Preserving Liberties Project, which will allow NAF to continue its Resilience Working Group. NAF, a nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy institute, was formed in 1999.

Previous OSI Support: \$4,031,875
\$775,000 from Chairman's Grants Overseas (2007-10)
\$200,000 from USP Transparency & Integrity (2010)
\$300,000 from NSHR Campaign (2009)
\$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 Fund (2001)

Organization Budget: \$16,200,000

Project Budget: \$300,000

Major Sources of Support: Ford Foundation \$1,200,000; Bernard and Irene Schwartz Foundation \$850,000; New York Community Trust \$850,000; Pew Charitable Trusts \$627,500; Gates Foundation \$602,000; James Irvine Foundation \$565,000;

Amount Requested: \$300,000

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

Term: 16 months (July 1, 2010 – October 31, 2011)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Launched in 1999, the New America Foundation (NAF) is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, public policy institute that is headquartered in Washington, D.C. With an emphasis on innovation, impartial analysis, and pragmatic solutions, NAF invests in individuals whose ability to communicate to wide and influential audiences can change the country's policy discourse and bring promising new ideas and debates to the fore. Through issue-specific policy programs and fellowships, NAF

sponsors research, writing, conferences, and public outreach on important global and domestic issues, including national security, human rights, health care, education, climate change, and fiscal and tax policy. NAF's staff of more than 80 and its pool of fellows are led by President and CEO Steve Coll.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The New America Foundation Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative seeks a renewal grant to support a two-part project, Promoting Resilience, Preserving Liberties.

1. Leaving the Dark Side II: The New America Foundation first proposes to continue its Leaving the Dark Side Project, which was launched in 2009 with OSI support, and which is currently scheduled to end in September 2010. This project examines U.S. counterterrorism policies that contravene human rights norms through the introduction of research, open-source data, analysis, and policy recommendations that are not subject to partisan politics, as it strives to build an informed and progressive American approach to counterterrorism that takes the high moral ground.

NAF will build on the high profile work it has commenced with its first round of OSI funding, which has included sponsoring several major policy briefings, reporting in the mainstream media and through new media sources such as NAF's online collaboration with *Foreign Policy*, the *AfPak Channel*, testifying before Congress, and developing a cadre of professional counterterrorism and homeland security experts to peer review research papers and present at panel discussions. Among the areas NAF is exploring are: the civilian casualties that have resulted from drone attacks; the extent and nature of the terrorist threat and ways to diminish that threat, the impact of America's actions in the Muslim world; and the reaction provoked by terrorist attempts on the U.S. NAF is in the process of compiling a comprehensive and open-source database on terrorism incidents in the U.S. And it has plans to develop an "Open Source Intelligence Estimate" that will offer security professionals a useful dataset for assessing the level of threat posed by al-Qaeda and its affiliates and the likely vectors of that threat. Additionally, NAF plans to hold a major policy conference to highlight the 10th anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks and review the effectiveness of U.S. counterterrorism policy in the intervening decade.

2. Resilience Working Group: In addition, in close collaboration with other OSI grantees,² NAF will plan and convene a new Resilience Working Group, which will meet regularly over the course of the coming year. This group will be comprised of approximately 10 human rights activists and approximately 10 national security experts who share the belief that the rights and security communities, which have traditionally eyed each other warily, could benefit from an ongoing exchange of ideas. Working group members will be asked to advance the frame of American resilience in the face of danger as an alternative to the "keep America safe at any cost"

²The Resilience Working Group planning committee will include, in addition to the New America Foundation, the Center for National Policy, the National Security Initiative, and Human Rights First. OSI grantees who will be invited to participate in the Resilience Working Group include Amnesty International, the American Civil Liberties Union, Muslim Advocates, the Sikh Coalition, the Center for National Security Studies, the Center for Media and Democracy, and the Constitution Project.

frame that dominates the domestic counterterrorism conversation and is responsible for the implementation of extreme and often extra-legal counterterrorism measures.

In support– and under the guidance – of the Resilience Working Group, NAF intends to complete a set of discrete research projects, and it will have a modest research budget at its disposal to retain expert consultants where necessary. NAF has expressed interest in analyzing al Qaeda’s tactical adaptations in light of the flustered responses of top U.S. officials in the wake of the failed Christmas Day bombing attempt. NAF has also expressed interest in testing its hypothesis that the U.S. signaled weakness to al Qaeda and rendered the U.S. an even more attractive target for the type of small scale attack that was attempted in Times Square four months later. To obtain data for such an analysis, NAF has suggested conducting a survey of surveys on foreign attitudes toward U.S. homeland security policies, studying jihadi websites and chatrooms, and examining the personal motivations of the individuals who have sought to attack the U.S. with an eye toward whether U.S. overseas operations that have had a “blowback” effect.

NAF is also interested in developing with other Resilience Working Group members a set of communications tools for the President and other high ranking federal officials, governors, mayors, first responders, police commissioners, community leaders, and the press to use before a serious terrorist attack to encourage a societal spirit of resilience, and after a serious terrorist attack to encourage a calm and measured response. NAF is committed to using its influence with top level policymakers, journalists, and opinion leaders to promote the use of the communications guidance developed by the working group.

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 policies that protect national security while respecting human rights; and promoting collaboration within the national security and human rights field.

On this docket, the NSHR Campaign recommends grants to four organizations – the New America Foundation, the Center for National Policy, the National Security Initiative, and Human Rights First – to provide these organizations resources to jointly plan, coordinate, and provide issue area expertise to a new Resilience Working Group, while the organizations simultaneously and independently pursue projects on their own. The precise contours of the Resilience Working Group’s mandate have yet to be set. However, the group’s top priorities will include bridging the gap between the national security and human rights communities, and developing resilience as a frame for implementing homeland and national security policies that do not come at the price of sacrificing civil liberties and human rights. The Obama administration’s formal endorsements of resilience in the February 2010 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review and the May 2010 National Security Strategy have opened up a window of opportunity for progressives to claim, define, and shape this term in the context of homeland and national security. But this window would likely close in the event of a significant terrorist attack, and opposition efforts to co-opt this term are expected.

Each of these four organizations stands out for the vision, sophistication, and quality it brings to its work, as well as for the respect it commands from high ranking administration officials, Members of Congress, the national press corps, and issue experts. Moreover, these organizations bring to the table different but complementary interests, expertise, and goals. Two of the groups will assume responsibility for convening and facilitating the Resilience Working Group's meetings – on the security side, the National Security Initiative, which has worked closely with rights groups since early 2009 to close Guantanamo in a rights respecting manner, and on the rights side, Human Rights First, which had the foresight to understand the power and authority with which retired military officers, interrogators, and prosecutors speak when they oppose the use of torture in the interrogation of terrorism suspects. The other two groups – the New America Foundation and the Center for National Policy – will contribute substantive expertise on national security and homeland security, respectively, and will support the working group by undertaking research and writing projects under the working group's guidance and by calling upon their extensive and influential network of contacts inside and outside of government to promote the working group's aims.

NAF laid the groundwork for the Resilience Working Group last winter and spring, pursuant to a consultancy agreement with the NSHR Campaign. NAF first conducted in-depth interviews of more than two dozen current and former high level government officials, national security experts, human rights experts, academics, attorneys, and advocates from the Muslim, Arab and South Asian communities. Next, NAF drafted a paper, *Homeland Security, Counterterrorism and Strategic Resilience: A Preliminary Report*, that assessed the threats posed by terrorists to the U.S., America's preparedness to address them, and how civil liberties and human rights might best be preserved given their presence. Then on April 14, 2010, NAF convened more than 40 experts selected from the fields of national security, homeland security, counterterrorism, intelligence, law enforcement, defense, emergency preparedness, strategic communications, law, civil liberties, human rights, and the rights of Muslims, Arabs and South Asians, to discuss these subjects.

The convening participants recognized that exchanges between the rights and security communities were too few and too far between and recommended dialogue, coordination, and collaboration between the two communities. The convening participants also saw promise in resilience as a framework for supporting smart and effective national security policies that can hold true to American constitutional values and break the destructive cycle of fear and overreaction that have characterized the post-9/11 period.

Renewed funding to the New America Foundation will allow the impressive team of Steve Coll, Peter Bergen, Patrick Doherty, and Brian Fishman to guide and support the new Resilience Working Group while they continue and expand their work on the Leaving the Dark Side Project on which they began working in 2009.

For these reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$300,000 over 16 months to the New America Foundation to support the Promoting Resilience, Preserving Liberties Project.

Name of Organization: Center for National Policy

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the project, Building a Resilient America: Informing and Advancing Resilience as a National Security and Civil Liberties Imperative

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will support the project, Building a Resilient America: Informing and Advancing Resilience as a National Security and Civil Liberties Imperative, a key component of which will involve work with a new Resilience Working Group.

Previous OSI Support: None

Organization Budget: \$1,584,120

Project Budget: \$300,000

Major Sources of Support: Kovler Fund-The Community Foundation for the Capital Region \$150,000; The Bernard & Irene Schwartz Foundation, Inc. \$125,000; BLS Investments \$125,000; Individuals \$132,000

Amount Requested: \$250,000

Amount Recommended: \$250,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

Term: 18 months (July 1, 2010 – December 31, 2011)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 1981, the Center for National Policy (CNP) is a nonprofit, non-partisan public policy organization located in Washington, D.C. that brings together decision makers, policy experts, and opinion leaders to encourage innovative and pragmatic policy solutions on challenging issues facing the nation with a focus on homeland and national security. CNP benefits from the significant involvement from a number of leaders in domestic and international public policy. Cyrus Vance, Edmund Muskie, and Leon Panetta have served as past Board Chairs, and Madeleine Albright and former Congressman and 9/11 Commissioner Tim Roemer have served as past Presidents.

In January 2010, Dr. Stephen Flynn was appointed President of CNP. Flynn has refocused the organization's mission on "charting a secure, prosperous, and resilient future." CNP is committed to: understanding emerging global threats and adapting America's tools for responding to these threats; strengthening national resilience so that Americans are better able to

withstand, recover from, and adapt to risk and catastrophe; and channeling America's innovative spirit to the building of next-generation infrastructure that promotes economic growth, sustainability, and resilience.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Center for National Policy seeks funding to launch a new project, "Building a Resilient America: Informing and Advancing Resilience as a National Security and Civil Liberties Imperative." The project has two closely integrated components:

1. Resilience Working Group: As described in greater detail in the attached New America Foundation grant recommendation, CNP will work in close coordination with other National Security and Human Rights Campaign grantees to plan, coordinate, and provide issue area expertise to a new Resilience Working Group that will consist of approximately 20 thought leaders from the national security and human rights communities. The precise scope of the Resilience Working Group's mandate has not yet been determined. However, the group's top priorities will include bridging the gap between the national security and human rights communities, and developing resilience as a frame for implementing homeland and national security policies that do not come at the price of sacrificing civil liberties and human rights.

CNP will be represented at these meetings by its President, Dr. Stephen Flynn, who is one of the nation's foremost advocates for a resilient America that can withstand, recover from, and adapt to risk and catastrophe. Flynn's views on this subject are actively sought after by the White House and the Department of Homeland Security, and he was influential in persuading the Obama administration to adopt the concept of resilience in the February 2010 Quadrennial Homeland Security Review and the May 2010 National Security Strategy.

Flynn holds the view that the most effective way to protect our liberties in a time of crisis is for everyday Americans to have confidence in our nation's ability to manage adversity and bounce back better and stronger. When Americans are sure about their ability to cope with disaster, they are far better positioned to resist the "politics of fear" that arise in times of uncertainty and crisis. Central to Flynn's concept of resilience is adherence to the American traditions of respect for civil liberties and the democratic values of open dialogue and civic engagement. Flynn points to the deterrence value in empowering Americans to withstand acts of terrorism without succumbing to the false premise that improvements in safety can only be gained by sacrificing civil liberties because resilience rejects use of extreme and extra-legal counterterrorism measures that al Qaeda can point to as evidence that the U.S. is at war with Muslims. Thus by embracing resilience as a strategic imperative, Flynn argues that terrorists will be deprived of their desired outcome of provoking mayhem and disorder. In short, Flynn contends that if Americans consistently demonstrate their ability to withstand and rapidly recover from acts of terrorism without undermining the sanctity of the rule of law, the inevitable result will be to undermine the incentive for adversaries to engage in terrorism on U.S. soil.

With input and guidance from the working group, Flynn will flesh out these arguments and present them to high level contacts in the White House, the Department of Homeland Security, Congress, and the security community. He will also incorporate these arguments in a report to

be released when he testifies before Congress on September 10, 2010, to observe the ninth anniversary of 9/11, in his capacity as a member of the National Security Preparedness Group. Led by former 9/11 Commission co-chairs Governor Tom Kean and Congressman Lee Hamilton, this bipartisan group also includes former DHS Secretary Tom Ridge, former White House Homeland Security Advisor Fran Townsend, former Attorneys General Ed Meese and Richard Thornburgh, and other distinguished former government officials.

Additionally, Flynn will develop, with other Resilience Working Group members, a strategic communications plan for broadly disseminating the message of resilience within the national security, homeland security, civil liberties and human rights communities, and produce a set of practical, action-oriented products:

- **A Platform on Resilience:** As the nation moves towards the 2012 elections, a white paper that addresses the importance of preserving civil liberties as a key element of resilience will be provided to incumbents, potential candidates, and the media.
- **Talking Points for Officials in Times of Crisis:** Federal, state, and local officials and community leaders will be provided with guidance on how to speak to the public in times of crisis by pushing back against a climate of fear without appearing to be naive or weak.
- **Media Training and Toolkits:** Reporters and producers reflexively report terrorist events in ways that amplify a sense of fear and foreboding. Training sessions and toolkits will help them inform and empower their audiences on how to manage risks as terrorist events unfold.
- **Media products:** The Resilience Working Group participants and their networks will be mobilized to draft op-eds, journal articles, blogs, and other media products both before and in response to traumatic events to reinforce the resilience message.

2. CNP-Specific Initiatives: Additionally, CNP will complement its work with the Resilience Working Group by independently pursuing initiatives that are designed to build and strengthen a national culture of resilience.

Toward the goal of communicating the values of resilience and adherence to civil liberties to broad, diverse, and youthful audiences, CNP will establish a Media-New Media Resilience Outreach Working Group composed of individuals from the fields of advertising, public relations, public opinion polling, market research, entertainment, and mainstream and new media. These individuals will be asked to volunteer their time, their expertise, and access to their professional networks and prepare a report on innovative uses of the media to gain support for the concept of resilience.

CNP will also feature on its new Resilient.America.org website an ongoing series of articles, video features, and blog posts that emphasize the importance of civil liberties in homeland security and emergency preparedness. The website will facilitate knowledge sharing and – by highlighting the common ground between the various communities promoting the theme of resilience to help foster collaboration.

In addition, in September 2011, around the tenth anniversary of the September 11 attacks, CNP plans to co-sponsor with such widely admired groups as the Voices of September 11, the American Red Cross, and the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, an ideas summit on

the theme of America as a resilient nation that is able to withstand and recover from disastrous events and adapt to future threats without sacrificing civil liberties. Flynn has invited President Obama to present the keynote address and will time the release of a major report on these themes so that it can be showcased at the summit.

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;” supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy; supporting the development of sophisticated messaging and communications strategies that shift the paradigm away from the “war on terror;” and promoting collaboration within the national security and human rights field.

The attached New America Foundation grant recommendation sets out the NSHR Campaign’s reasons for recommending on this docket a slate of grants to four organizations, including the Center for National Policy, to jointly coordinate and support a new Resilience Working Group. Placing CNP’s President, Dr. Stephen Flynn, at the heart of this effort is critical to its success. Flynn has been invited to testify before Senate and House Committees and Subcommittees on more than 25 occasions since 9/11 on homeland and national security matters, and he commands respect at the highest levels of the security community – including top staff at the Department of Homeland Security and the White House National Security Council – for his pathbreaking work on resilience. Once Flynn – with input from the human rights groups represented on the Resilience Working Group, and with a strategic communications plan in hand – presents his argument that America’s adherence to its constitutional values makes the U.S. a less attractive target for terrorists and enhances its security, he will be a noteworthy figure in the push to shift America from a fear frame to a resilience frame. Given the harsh reality that this very same argument, when presented by rights-based organizations, is unlikely to be persuasive beyond a narrow base of progressives who, standing alone, are powerless to effect this shift in frame, the Campaign welcomes the opportunity to work with Flynn and CNP.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a grant of \$250,000 over 18 months to support the Building a Resilient America Project of the Center for National Policy.

Name of Organization: National Security Initiative

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the project, Terror, Resilience, and Rights: Next Steps

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will support Terror, Resilience, and Rights: Next Steps, a project that will convene and facilitate a new Resilience Working Group of national security experts and human rights advocates and that will leverage the expertise of national security experts to build public and policymaker support for the view that resilience and the observance of civil liberties are essential to national security.

Previous OSI Support: \$175,000 from NSHR Campaign (2009)

Organization Budget: \$1,100,000

Project Budget: \$300,000

Major Sources of Support: Hewlett Foundation \$120,000; Ploughshares \$103,000; Individuals \$150,000; ConnectUS \$50,000

Amount Requested: \$300,000

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

Term: 20 months (August 1, 2010 – March 31, 2012)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

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. Not itself a think tank, NSI coordinates closely with think tanks, national security experts, and opinion leaders to build media, policymaker, and public support for 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. NSI has a small and agile staff of eight and is located in Washington, D.C.

NSI employs four key strategies: (1) it regularly brings progressive national security policy experts together to develop focused, layperson-friendly briefings and press backgrounds on pressing issues, which it disseminates broadly through press calls, editorial board meetings, expert media appearances, and blogging on its foreign policy blog, DemocracyArsenal.org and other blogs; (2) it operates an around the clock rapid response operation that preempts and pushes back on conservative attacks on progressive national security policies in both mainstream

and new media; (3) it builds state and local networks with a focus on affiliates in 12 states – Iowa, Florida, Ohio, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Connecticut, Michigan, Virginia, North Carolina, New Mexico, and Washington – and on communities that have been underserved by the progressive national security establishment (such as veterans and military families, Muslims, Arabs, and South Asians, African-Americans, people of faith) to build a strong drumbeat of demand from outside the Beltway for a progressive national security agenda; and (4) when appropriate, it convenes unlikely partners within the progressive community to develop shared and reinforcing messaging and to defuse conflict.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The National Security Initiative requests a renewal grant to fund Terror, Resilience, and Rights: Next Steps, a project with two closely integrated parts: (1) the continuation and expansion of the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project, which NSI launched in 2009 with OSI support, and (2) co-facilitation with Human Rights First of a new Resilience Working Group.

1. Continuing and Expanding the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project: During the proposed grant period, NSI will continue and expand its rapid response messaging and blogging operations under its Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project. The Project actively engages in outreach to administration officials, Congress,³ opinion leaders, and journalists, to preempt and push back against opposition messaging, and to present a progressive national security agenda that respects civil liberties and the rule of law.

Over the course of the past year, the Creating a Progressive Paradigm Project has worked in close coordination with other OSI grantees for the closure of the Guantanamo detention center in keeping with human rights principles, trying terrorism suspects in Article III courts rather than in military commissions, and opposing indefinite detention. As the Resilience Working Group gears up, NSI will also serve a vital messaging and communications function for this group.

New activities planned for the proposed grant period include:

- Holding a regular briefing series over meals for reporters and bloggers, both well-established and next-generation, to meet with NSI's impressive roster of experts;
- Holding messaging briefings and substantive discussions on Capitol Hill; and
- Partnering with professional and campus organizations, as well as human rights organizations, to introduce a national security paradigm shift to scholars, civic leaders and next-generation leaders around the country.

2. Resilience Working Group: As described in greater detail in the attached New America Foundation grant recommendation, NSI will work in close coordination with other National Security and Human Rights Campaign grantees to plan, coordinate, and support a new Resilience Working Group that will consist of approximately 20 thought leaders from the national security and human rights communities. While the precise scope of the Resilience Working Group's mandate has not yet been set, the group's top priorities will include bridging the gap between the national security and human rights communities, and developing resilience as a frame for

³ NSI has provided OSI with a signed project budget that attests to the fact that the proposed project does not include any lobbying activities.

implementing homeland and national security policies that adhere to civil liberties and human rights principles.

NSI is one of two groups that will assume responsibility for facilitating the Resilience Working Group's meetings. NSI was selected to represent the security community side because it has worked closely for the past year with human rights groups to close Guantanamo in a rights respecting manner and has gained the respect and trust of sectors of the rights community. And Human Rights First was selected to represent the rights community because it has worked for years with retired military officers, interrogators, and prosecutors in opposing torture, and in doing so has gained the respect and trust of sectors of the security community.

NSI will participate in the Working Group through its Executive Director, Heather Hurlburt, and consultant, Major General Paul Eaton. NSI plans to play a major role in the development of what it terms a "Day After Tool Kit" to help guide policy makers and opinion leaders craft responses to traumatic events that heighten resilience and dampen fear.

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; and promoting collaboration within the national security and human rights field.

The attached New America Foundation grant recommendation sets out the NSHR Campaign's reasons for recommending on this docket a slate of grants to four organizations, including the National Security Initiative, to jointly coordinate and support a new Resilience Working Group.

The gap between the security and rights communities – two communities that have traditionally been wary of one another – is wide, and bridging this gap will require a meeting facilitator who is known to and trusted by both sides. NSI fits this bill perfectly. It works closely with the universe of progressive foreign policy think tanks and homeland and national security experts as it disseminates their ideas through rapid response messaging, pitching stories and arranging for media placements, and blogging, and as it convenes experts for timely analysis of fast-breaking issues. It has also been working closely for the past year with NSHR Campaign grantees working to close Guantanamo in a manner consistent with human rights principles. Additionally, NSI's media expertise, strong connections with high level national security reporters and experts, and its state and local outreach program will make it an invaluable resource to the Resilience Working Group as it develops messaging guidance, provides trainings to journalists, and disseminates its ideas to government officials, opinion leaders, and the media.

NSI is a highly respected player in the foreign policy world, and its input and opinions are actively sought by high ranking Obama administration officials. NSI was founded in 2005 by Rand Beers, currently the Department of Homeland Security Under Secretary for the National Protection and Programs Directorate, and it is advised by top national security thinkers, including Sandy Berger and Richard Clarke, and a board of directors comprised of the best of the rising generation of progressive policy thinkers.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant to the National Security Initiative of \$300,000 over 20 months to support the project, Terror, Resilience, and Rights: Next Steps.

Name of Organization: Human Rights First

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the Law and Security Program

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will support Human Rights First’s Law and Security Program as it works to restore respect for human rights in U.S. national security policy. The Program will utilize policy advocacy, litigation, public education, and popular culture in its work to end and seek accountability for torture, and end the indefinite and secret detention of terrorism suspects. The grant will also support the continued mobilization of retired military leaders in public and policymaker education efforts on these issues. Founded in 1978, the organization promotes making human rights standards relevant, enforceable, and permanent.

Previous OSI Support: \$2,581,127
\$300,000 from JEHT Emergency Fund (2009)
\$825,000 from NSHR Campaign (2008-2009)
\$528,000 from US Programs, post 9/11 (2002-2007)
\$19,277 from Civil Society (2009)
\$350 from Central Eurasia Project (2008)
\$285,000 from Chairman’s Grants (1996-2008)
\$10,000 from Charitable Events Fund (2007)
\$310,477 from Presidential Grants (1995-2003)
\$2,902 from Latin America Program (2003)
\$9,950 from Medicine as a Profession (2001)
\$167,500 from U.S. Charities (1995-2001)
\$72,671 from International Program (1999)

Organization Budget: \$9,317,572

Project Budget: \$2,936,885

Major Sources of Support: *Project:* Atlantic Philanthropies \$500,000; Open Society Policy Center \$125,000; Lazzard LLC \$175,000; Overbrook Foundation \$50,000; Libra Foundation \$25,000

Amount Requested: \$750,000 over two years

Amount Recommended: \$800,000
\$550,000 NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095
\$250,000 JEHT Foundation Emergency Fund, T1:59959

Term: Two years (October 1, 2010 – September 30, 2012)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Human Rights First (HRF) was founded in 1978 as the Lawyers Committee for International Human Rights with the mission of advancing justice, human dignity, and respect for the rule of law. HRF works to promote concrete measures for making human rights standards relevant, enforceable, and permanent in order to close the gap between global legal standards and their realization. HRF cultivates alliances across the political spectrum, advises policymakers, litigates, engages in public education, and mobilizes activists. HRF is based in New York City, maintains a policy office in Washington, D.C., and has 49 staff members.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

Human Rights First seeks renewed core support for its Law and Security Program (Program) and renewed supplemental funding for the Program's Validators' Initiative. The Law and Security Program, established in 2002, works to bring government counterterrorism and related national security efforts into compliance with international humanitarian law and human rights law and has five full-time and one part-time staff members. Over the next two years, the Program will utilize policy advocacy,⁴ litigation, public education, and popular culture to:

1. End torture and seek accountability. In August 2009, President Obama created the High Value Detainee Interrogation Group (HIG) to centralize government expertise in enhanced interrogation techniques and to extract information from terrorism suspects promptly after arrest. Though operational, HIG is still developing a set of interrogation methods which the President has ordered must have been proven effective and be in compliance with the Army Field Manual. The Program will press HIG to implement best practices and provide training to ensure that interrogators do not engage in torture, and will engage former interrogators in a public and policymaker education campaign on how non-coercive, rapport-based interviewing approaches provide the best possibility for obtaining accurate and complete intelligence. The Program will also monitor agencies to ensure the application of a single interrogation standard, and will advocate for revisions to the 2006 Army Field Manual, including restoration of explicit bans on torture techniques and the deletion of the portions of Appendix M that permit prolonged isolation, sleep deprivation, and sensory deprivation.

The Project will work on several fronts to push for accountability for torture. The Project will advocate for state secrets privilege reform to remove civil litigation barriers, and it will advocate for a nonpartisan Commission of Inquiry. To advance private contractor accountability, the Project will participate in an initiative led by the Swiss government to create a global code of conduct with strong enforcement mechanisms for private military and security contractors, advocate for passage of the newly introduced Civilian Extraterritorial Jurisdiction Act, and file amicus briefs in contractor accountability cases making their way through the courts.

⁴ Human Rights First has submitted a bifurcated project budget.

2. Ensure fair trials, due process, and the end of arbitrary detention. The Project will work to defeat legislative efforts to block the prosecution in federal courts of accused 9/11 terrorists and those accused of terrorist acts on U.S. soil, strip terrorism suspects of citizenship, and weaken *Miranda* protections in terrorism cases. The Project will also continue to seek the closure of the Guantanamo Bay detention center, and will oppose legislative and policy efforts to codify detention without the possibility of trial, monitor and report on all military commissions held at Guantanamo, publish an analysis of the April 2010 rules governing military commissions, push for an Executive Order or legislation mandating a biannual status review of remaining detainees, and develop a public education campaign that includes petitions and video messages and is targeted at the web, military classrooms, and possibly broadcast television. The Project will also release a report on how the Classified Information Procedures Act adequately protects confidential information in federal court trials and on how to manage the risk of releasing Guantanamo detainees through effective reintegration programs.⁵ Finally, Project staff will monitor Detention Review Board hearings in Afghanistan and continue advocacy to ensure due process and fair trials for detainees held in Afghanistan.

3. Integrate human rights into the resilience framework. As described in greater detail in the attached New America Foundation grant recommendation, HRF will assume responsibility for co-facilitating, with the National Security Initiative, a new Resilience Working Group, which will meet regularly over the course of the coming year. The working group will be comprised of human rights activists and national security experts who will jointly promote resilience rather than fear in addressing the threat of terrorism, and stress the importance of staying true civil liberties and human rights values in times of crisis.

4. Expand its Validator's Initiative. Finally, the Program seeks continued supplemental funding for its Validator's Initiative, which the NSHR Campaign supported with a rapid response grant in July 2009. This funding will allow HRF to continue and expand its mobilization of a coalition of retired military leaders, former interrogators, judges, and prosecutors, and law enforcement officers in time-sensitive public and policymaker educational efforts to build the case for national security policies on interrogation, detention, and accountability that respect the rule of law and human rights. In June 2010, HRF ran a highly successful summit in Philadelphia at which thirteen retired generals and admirals met with eleven candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania and Delaware. HRF hopes to replicate this model for educating 2010 political candidates in a non-partisan manner⁶ in other states, including,

⁵ The Program has issued a number of significant reports over the past several years, including: *Habeas Works: Federal Courts' Proven Capacity to Handle Guantanamo Cases* (June 2010) (released in conjunction with the Constitution Project); *Fixing Bagram: Strengthening Detention Reforms to Align with U.S. Strategic Priorities* (Nov. 2009); *In Pursuit of Justice: Prosecuting Terrorism Cases in the Federal Courts* (May 2006; updated July 2009); *Tortured Justice: Using Coerced Evidence to Prosecute Terrorist Suspects* (Aug. 2008); *Private Security Contractors at War: Ending the Culture of Impunity* (Jan. 2008); and *Command's Responsibility: Detainee Deaths in U.S. Custody in Iraq and Afghanistan* (Feb. 2006). Over the proposed grant period the Project plans to update several of these reports, including *Fixing Bagram* and, if warranted by newly obtained Freedom of Information Act data, *Command's Responsibility*.

⁶ All candidates will be invited to meet with the military leaders in order to hear fact-based information they can consider when formulating their policy positions, and all participating candidates will be assured that details of the meetings will remain private and no endorsements will be based on the discussions.

potentially, Illinois, Florida, New York, New Hampshire, and California, and to engage in extensive communications efforts to expand the reach of these summits.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of: supporting core organizations working to challenge human rights abuses committed in the name of national security; restoring an absolute prohibition against torture; ending arbitrary and indefinite detention domestically and internationally; holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of the law; and supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy.

The Executive Orders to end torture and close Guantanamo signed by President Obama on January 22, 2009 are a testament to the hard and effective work of national security and human rights organizations. However, a series of setbacks, including the attempted Christmas Day and Times Square attacks, have added fuel to the opposition's fire and have weakened the Obama administration's resolve to keep its promises. The Guantanamo Bay detention center remains open six months after the scheduled closure date, and grantees are fighting to prevent legislation blocking funds for federal trials of its detainees, codifying preventive detention, weakening *Miranda* protections, and stripping terrorism suspects of U.S. citizenship. Reports indicate U.S. personnel overseas may still be applying torture, high ranking individuals within the Administration are vacillating on an absolute prohibition against torture, and, following the deluge of media commentary after the Christmas Day bombing attempt, a Rasmussen poll found 58% of Americans favored using "waterboarding or other aggressive techniques" on attempted Christmas Day bomber Umar Farouk Abdulmutallab.

Throughout these battles, HRF has employed an impressively effective combination of high-level D.C. advocacy, reliable research and high-caliber reports, innovative work with national security validators, public education, and communications outreach that has brought human rights issues into the pop culture arena. As a savvy and trusted inside player that is willing to engage in difficult policy discussions, the organization continues to play a vital role in advancing human rights in the Obama administration.

HRF had the foresight in 2004 to understand the power of having retired military officers to speak out against torture, and it has painstakingly cultivated and mobilized these validators to attest to the fact that a successful counterterrorism strategy requires a measured approach that respects human rights and the rule of law. As a human rights organization that earned the respect of the national security and human rights field, HRF is especially well positioned to co-convene and co-facilitate the new Resilience Working Group.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$800,000 over two years to support the Law and Security Program of Human Rights First.

Name of Organization: Center for International Policy

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the Rule of Law Campaign

FPOS Grant Description: To renew support to the Rule of Law Campaign, which aims to build the political environment necessary to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay in a rights-respecting manner and build support for a progressive human rights and national security agenda.

Previous OSI Support: \$863,500
\$125,000 NSHR Campaign (2009)
\$398,500 LA, Support of Open Society (2006, 2009)
\$100,000 LA, Budget & Revenue Monitoring (2008)
\$240,000 LA, Strengthen Democratic Gov (2007-2008)

Organization Budget: \$3,609,954

Project Budget: \$250,000

Major Sources of Support: *Project:* New Security Action \$100,000

Amount Requested: \$150,000

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

Term: 14 months (August 1, 2010 – September 30, 2011)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The Center for International Policy (CIP) was founded in 1975, in the wake of the Vietnam War, by former diplomats and peace activists to promote a U.S. foreign policy based on international cooperation, demilitarization, and respect for human rights. In the 1970s and early 1980s, CIP worked with Senator Tom Harkin and former Representative Don Fraser, both of whom became co-chairs of CIP's Board of Directors in 1989, to ensure that a government's human rights record would be considered when allocating U.S. foreign aid. In the 1980s, CIP promoted, with Costa Rica's current president, Oscar Arias, a peace plan for Central America. In the 1990s, a number of senior diplomats and intelligence experts joined CIP's staff, including Robert E. White, former U.S. ambassador to Paraguay and El Salvador, Melvin Goodman, former director of the Soviet division of the CIA, and Asia specialist Selig Harrison, and CIP began work to reform the nation's intelligence agencies. Today, CIP continues to play a role in Central America's post-conflict reconciliation process, while also working to counter nuclear proliferation, enhance

global development and security, and oppose the militarization of U.S. foreign policy. CIP is located in Washington, D.C., and has 35 staff members.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Center for International Policy seeks renewed support for its Rule of Law Campaign (Campaign). Launched with OSI support in July 2009 as the National Campaign to Close Guantanamo and Defend American Values under the leadership of former Representative Tom Andrews of Maine, the Campaign will continue its efforts to counter fear-mongering and mobilize grassroots activism to build the political environment necessary to close the prison at Guantanamo Bay in a rights-respecting manner, try terrorism suspects in Article III courts rather than in military commissions, oppose indefinite detention, and build public and policymaker support for a progressive human rights and national security agenda.⁷

Public opinion research conducted by Lake Research Partners in the summer of 2009 and commissioned by the Campaign highlighted a highly contentious political environment in which support for the closure of Guantanamo had diminished significantly even amongst progressives and indicated that engaging in public debate on this issue could be counterproductive. These findings led CIP to focus its efforts on coalition building and grassroots activism within the progressive base and to coordinate this work with a targeted direct outreach strategy to key Congressional allies. In October 2009, the Campaign secured the endorsements of over 20 prominent musicians and bands, including R.E.M, Pearl Jam, Trent Reznor of Nine Inch Nails, Tom Morello of Rage Against the Machine, and Roseanne Cash. On behalf of the Campaign, the National Security Archive filed a Freedom of Information Act request seeking documents to find out whether their recorded music was played at high volumes as “an enhanced interrogation technique.” The Campaign has also cultivated and mobilized – often on a rapid response basis as new developments that call for a strong public response have unfolded – an important foundation of grassroots partners to support the closure of Guantanamo in a way that respects human rights, oppose trials of Guantanamo detainees in military commissions, and oppose indefinite detention. Among the Campaign’s partners are MoveOn.org, USAction/TrueMajority, VoteVets, Common Cause, and Progressive Democrats of America.

Over the proposed grant period, the Campaign will continue to provide a strong, rapid-response defense against the continued politicization of national security issues by the right wing in the halls of Congress and on the 2010 election campaign trail. The Campaign will notify its grassroots partners of opportunities and threats in real time, and will provide messaging for these organizations to share with their members. CIP will also continue to energize grassroots activists to oppose right-wing attacks and legislative proposals, and will encourage grassroots activists to meet with their Congressional representatives during the August 2010 recess to discuss national security and human rights policies.

⁷CIP has submitted to OSI a bifurcated project budget for the Rule of Law Project that reflects the fact that the income and staff time on this project will be provided by two sister organizations: the Center for International Policy and New Security Action, a 501(c)(4) organization that Tom Andrews established in late 2009 to address national security and human rights issues. The Open Society Policy Center provided funding to New Security Action in 2009 and will be recommending a renewal grant to the organization.

During the fall, with the approach of the mid-term elections, the Campaign will step up its rapid-response media and direct action grassroots activity to respond to right-wing campaign attacks, fear-mongering, and calls for extreme national security measures. The Campaign will also continue to engage reporters, editors, and political pundits on the importance of holding to the rule of law. Campaign spokespersons will include Tom Andrews, Jon Soltz of VoteVets, and musicians who have endorsed the Campaign's efforts to close Guantanamo.

In addition, the Campaign will expand its network of partners to include more progressive multi-issue grassroots organizations that understand the fight for a progressive national security and human rights agenda as essential to expanding and amplifying the progressive community's political agenda. CIP is making inroads with CREDO Action, Brave New Films, Democracy for America, and ProgressNow, and will increase its coordination with progressive religious networks such as Sojourners, the National Council of Churches, and the Network of Spiritual Progressives. The Campaign will also continue to coordinate with OSI grantees with grassroots connections, including Amnesty International USA, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Bill of Rights Defense Committee, the National Religious Campaign Against Torture, and 9/11 Families for Peaceful Tomorrows. Through weekly "Gitmo Allies" calls with Human Rights First, the Constitution Project, Human Rights Watch, the National Security Network, and the Center for National Security Studies, CIP will continue to ensure that its activities are informed by the policy expertise that these organizations bring.

At the end of 2010, the Campaign plans to consult with its allies to undertake a post-election analysis and develop a comprehensive grassroots and earned media strategy for its next phase that will include plans for leveraging the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks. Campaign activities around the anniversary could include a national day of action to provide a public venue to reflect on the series of missteps in national security policy in the decade since 9/11 and promote a rule of law-based approach moving forward.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of: ending arbitrary and indefinite detention, and supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy.

While both major party candidates for President supported closing Guantanamo in 2008 with no significant public opposition, political conservative opposition grew sharply in the months after President Obama signed his January 2009 Executive Order to close Guantanamo within one year. And the attempted Christmas Day and Times Square bombings have added fuel to the opposition's fire, diminished public support for a progressive national security agenda, and weakened President Obama's resolve to hold to his earlier commitments. Public opinion on closing Guantanamo, which was fairly evenly split in May 2009 according to a Gotham Research poll, has since fallen dramatically.⁸ The Guantanamo detention center remains open and the prospects of its closure in the foreseeable future remain dim. Attorney General Holder is

⁸As of March 2010, according to an Economist/YouGov poll, only 29% of the public supported the use of criminal courts in trying Guantanamo suspects, and according to a CNN/Opinion Research poll, only 39% thought Guantanamo should close, a 12% drop from the time when President Obama took office.

waffling on his 2009 decision to try Khalid Sheikh Mohammed and his co-defendants in a federal court in New York City and could well decide to try them before a military commission in Guantanamo. In addition, the Obama administration has announced that it plans to subject 48 Guantanamo detainees to indefinite detention and has expressed support for legislation to create a national security exception for *Miranda* warnings.

These developments suggest that political considerations are taking precedence over principle. National security is expected to be a major issue in the 2010 election cycle, and some read Scott Brown's victory in the Massachusetts special election to fill Senator Ted Kennedy's seat to suggest that voters favor a hard-line, conservative stance on terrorism that rejects constitutional values. In this contentious political environment, support for progressive national security policies has been significantly degraded even among progressives.

The Campaign is making important headway in building a broad and informed nationwide progressive grassroots constituency that is fighting for civil liberties and human rights in national security policy. The Campaign has a highly motivated and engaged base of more than 25,000 supporters and allied organizations, including MoveOn, USAction, and CREDO Action, which collectively reach millions of progressives across the country. In light of recent events, this work remains essential.

Through its work last year with musician spokespersons, the Campaign received tremendous media coverage in outlets with a wide reach, including CNN, MSNBC, Fox News, *Rolling Stone*, *NME*, and *Variety*, in addition to 50 local stations across the U.S. from New York to Mobile, Alabama and three AP wire stories that were picked up by over 350 print, radio, TV, and internet outlets. The Campaign's outreach featuring musician endorsements culminated in Rosanne Cash's October 2009 appearance on *The Colbert Report* to discuss the use of loud music in the interrogation detainees, during which Stephen Colbert signed the Campaign's petition calling on Congress to close Guantanamo in front of 1.4 million viewers, the majority of whom were in the Campaign's target audience: young, liberal, and politically engaged.

Campaign Director Tom Andrews brings decades of experience in progressive political and nonprofit advocacy at the local, state, national, and international levels, as well as strong personal relationships with key policymakers built on trust. Andrews led a national campaign that was at the forefront of opposition to the Bush Administration's invasion of Iraq, Win Without War.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$150,000 over 14 months to support the Rule of Law Campaign of the Center for International Policy.

Name of Organization: Proteus Fund, Inc.

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the Security and Rights Collaborative

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will renew support for the Proteus Fund’s Security and Rights Collaborative. The Collaborative was launched with OSI support in May 2008 to advance National Security and Human Rights Campaign strategies that are particularly suited for joint funder grantmaking and to leverage funds from other donors. The Collaborative focuses its grantmaking on: building the capacity of Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian advocacy organizations; building communications capacity for the broader field of advocates working on national security and human rights in the U.S.; and rapid response grantmaking to support communications work. In addition to OSI, current members include Atlantic Philanthropies, the Oak Foundation, and an anonymous donor. The Collaborative is actively soliciting additional partners.

Previous OSI Support: \$11,610,000
 \$245,000 from EOF (2010)
 \$2,250,000 from NSHR(2008-2010)
 \$1,150,000 from TIF (2008-2010)
 \$1,100,000 from Progressive Infrast.(2005-2008)
 \$2,925,000 from SOF (2004-2008)
 \$1,250,000 from USJF (2004-2008)
 \$2,540,000 from Gov & Public Policy (1998-2005)
 \$50,000 from Law & Society (2004)
 \$100,000 from Political Campaign Reform (1997-98)

Organization Budget: \$7,986,838 (2010)

Project Budget: \$2,359,184 (2010)

Major Sources of Support: Project: Atlantic Philanthropies \$1,154,551⁹; Oak Foundation \$400,000; Anonymous Foundation \$250,000

Amount Requested: \$750,000 over one year

Amount Recommended: \$750,000 [NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095]

⁹Atlantic Philanthropies and the Oak Foundation contribute to the Proteus Fund’s (c)(4) affiliate, the Proteus Action League’s Security and Rights Action Fund. A portion of these funds are transferred over to the Security and Rights Collaborative to support 501(c)(3) work. The Open Society Policy Center provided support to the Action Fund in 2008.

Term: One year (June 1, 2010 – May 31, 2011)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 1994, the Proteus Fund is a 501(c)(3) organization based in Amherst, Massachusetts. Its mission is to promote philanthropic strategies that will revitalize democracy, expand civil society, and build and strengthen social justice movements. Proteus serves as an intermediary grantmaking entity, as well as a vehicle for educating donors and increasing philanthropy for progressive causes. Since 1997, Proteus has administered a number of donor collaborative structures in which OSI has participated, including the Piper Fund, the Media Democracy Fund, the State Strategies Fund, and the Civil Marriage Collaborative Fund. Proteus also operates a Peace and Security Program and manages family foundations and projects in the broader peace and security arena. Proteus re-grants between \$5 million and \$10 million per year.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

Established in 2008, the Security and Rights Collaborative¹⁰ re-grants funds from participating foundations to advance progressive national security policies in the U.S. The Collaborative was initiated by OSI and Atlantic Philanthropies to support targeted Campaign strategies that are particularly suited for joint funder grantmaking, and to leverage funds from other donors in support of this work.

The Collaborative's grantmaking will continue to focus on the following areas: (1) building the field, with a particular focus on building the capacity of Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian (AMEMSA) communities; (2) building and supporting the implementation of collaborative communications capacity for the field; and (3) providing rapid response grants to support communications work.

Since its inception, the Collaborative has distributed \$2,793,176 in grants.¹¹ These include \$1.5 million in grants to strengthen the capacity of 12 AMEMSA organizations to engage in advocacy on national security and human rights issues, and to support a leadership program to educate Muslim organization leaders on a range of matters, including national security and human rights issues and advocacy strategies. Through the Collaborative, OSI has also supported the establishment of a web-based communications hub that is run by a communications firm, ReThink Media, to provide a centralized set of state-of-the-art media tools, communications skills trainings, and resources for the coordination of communications strategies, and rapid response communications capability to the field of national security and human rights organizations.

The Collaborative also supported the April 2010 launch of a year-long Rockwood Fellowship for National Security and Human Rights Leaders. This program is working with 19 field leaders to

¹⁰ The Collaborative was originally named the National Security and Human Rights Pooled Fund.

¹¹ The Security and Rights Action Fund has granted \$560,000 in (c)(4) funds since its inception.

increase their organizational leadership capacity and foster collaboration on policy advocacy across the boundaries of issue area, race and ethnicity, organizational size, and geography.

The Collaborative's Steering Committee members meet twice a year, and educational portions of meetings are open to all interested funders. In addition, the Collaborative has taken on the role of managing logistics for the NSHR Campaign's field convenings.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance a number of the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities, including: increasing communications capacity and coordination among advocacy organizations; and building the capacity of AMEMSA organizations to fight abusive national security policies that are disproportionately directed at them and to promote the acceptance of their communities in American society.

The Collaborative was initiated by OSI and Atlantic Philanthropies in 2008, the first year of the National Security and Human Rights Campaign, to help promote coordination and collaboration between advocates and funders toward the goal of optimizing the field's effectiveness. The Collaborative offers a structure for pooling resources, attracting new donors, sharing knowledge, and pursuing comprehensive grantmaking strategies such as field-building. The Collaborative also provides a learning table for funders and allows new funders to support this work with minimal expenditure of program staff time.

After a slow start, the Collaborative is in large part functioning well. The Collaborative's program officer, Dimple Abichandani, has developed a thoughtful grantmaking docket to build AMEMSA organizations' capacity and has invested substantial time in providing assistance to the AMEMSA applicants and nurturing leadership within that cohort. The communications hub has made important strides in building the communications capacity of the field, especially in the case of the field's least well resourced organizations. The Collaborative has also provided a valuable convening function. While OSI staff members spend a significant amount of time developing the substantive agendas for the field convenings, Proteus has handled responsibility for logistics. OSI staff also offer guidance on grants and serve on the advisory committee for the communications hub. Despite the significant level of overlap in function and in grantees, OSI staff support continued participation in the Collaborative in the coming year. With the departure of the JEHT Foundation in 2008 and the more recent departure of several other funders from this arena, there are only a handful of organizations with dedicated funding for this field.

After the investment of significant time and energy, the Sigrid Rausing Trust reversed its decision to fund the Collaborative, citing declining investment portfolios, concerns about some AMEMSA organizations that the Collaborative recommended for funding on its January 2009 docket, and a desire to fund European efforts in the human rights arena. This was a significant setback for the Collaborative. But the Collaborative did bring in several other significant funders, and Atlantic Philanthropies remains enthusiastic in its support. The Collaborative's program officer has developed sound relationships with the Collaborative's funding partners and is energetic in her efforts to expand the pool of funders through one-on-one contacts and through presentations at philanthropic affinity groups and conferences.

The Proteus Fund remains an appropriate home for the Collaborative. While the Collaborative got off to a slow start, its efficiency has improved now that it has passed the start up phase. Proteus has a proven capacity to manage a pooled fund with a communications rapid response component as well as an affiliated (c)(4) fund. Proteus' board and staff include long-time leaders in the field of social change philanthropy. The Collaborative staff are gaining solid knowledge of the advocates, organizations, and funders in the national security and human rights field and the issues with which the field is grappling, and are carving out their role.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$750,000 over one year to support the Security and Rights Collaborative of the Proteus Fund.

Name of Organization: Focus Project, Inc. (operating as OMB Watch)

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the Charity and Security Network Project

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will renew support for OMB Watch’s Charity and Security Network, a collaboration launched with OSI support in 2008 between civil liberties organizations, civil rights organizations, grantmakers, charities, and foundations. The Network seeks the overhaul of a set of draconian U.S. counterterrorism measures that are creating a chilling effect on U.S.-based humanitarian aid and development organizations, charities, and nonprofits that engage in international activities.

Previous OSI Support: \$1,650,000
 \$375,000 from Seize the Day (2009)
 \$450,000 from NSHR Campaign (2008-2009)
 \$650,000 from Transparency & Integ. (2008-2009)
 \$175,000 from Strategic Opportunities (2003, 2006)

Organization Budget: \$2,674,668

Project Budget: \$324,570

Major Sources of Support: *Project:* Cordaid \$40,000; Proteus Fund \$15,000; Civicus \$6,000; ConnectUS Fund \$5,500; Global Fund for Women \$5,000; Muslim Legal Fund of America \$5,000; Stewart R. Mott \$1,000

Amount Requested: \$150,000 over 14 months

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

Term: Fourteen months (September 1, 2010–November 30, 2011)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Founded in 1983 under the name Focus Project, Inc., OMB Watch was formed to: increase government transparency and accountability; ensure sound and equitable regulatory and budgetary policies; and protect and promote active citizen participation in our democracy. Initially created to monitor and expose activities of the White House Office of Management and Budget, OMB Watch is now one of the leading nonprofit research and advocacy organizations dedicated to promoting government accountability and citizen participation in public policy. OMB Watch's involvement in counterterrorism and civil society issues arose from concerns that

the Patriot Act's sweeping surveillance provisions and the shutting down of three Muslim-American charities in 2001 would have a chilling effect on civic participation and dissent. Based in Washington, D.C., OMB Watch has 24 full-time and two part-time staff members.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Charity and Security Network (CSN), launched with OSI support in 2008, is a network of U.S. civil liberties organizations, civil rights organizations, grantmakers, charities, and foundations¹² that seeks the overhaul of a set of draconian U.S. counterterrorism measures that are having a chilling effect on U.S.-based humanitarian aid and development organizations, charities, and nonprofits that engage in international activities. CSN members contribute time and expertise to the initiative, and Program Manager Kay Guinane coordinates the network's education and advocacy activities.¹³

A primary focus of CSN's activities in its first year and a half was the development and dissemination of a platform of policy reform proposals published in January 2010, *Model National Security Standards and Procedures for Government and Charities Vol. I: Policy Recommendations*. This white paper recommends concrete reforms to counterterrorism measures that place U.S.-based organizations at risk of criminal prosecution for providing "material support" for terrorism when providing humanitarian aid and peacemaking support in regions under the *de facto* control of designated terrorist groups. The platform was informed by a series of meetings in 2009 to vet reform proposals that CSN held with stakeholders as well as Obama administration officials, including the Director of Stability Operations at the National Security Council and the Assistant Secretary for Terrorist Financing. CSN also engaged in outreach to Congress and, in May 2010, Program Manager Kay Guinane was invited to testify at the House Financial Services Committee on Oversight and Investigation's first oversight hearing on the Department of Treasury's regulatory and enforcement policies on charitable groups since 9/11.

During the proposed grant period, CSN will continue to pursue its core policy goal of replacing the current regime with a system of oversight that protects national security while it also protects the First Amendment rights of American organizations and individuals that provide charity and humanitarian assistance abroad, and provides due process protections to charities subjected to seizure of their funds by the Department of Treasury. Specifically, CSN will seek reforms that expand the humanitarian aid exception, now narrowly limited to the provision of medical and religious items, and provide charities with basic due process rights in civil sanction proceedings, including prior written notice of the charges against them; the right to an administrative hearing to contest the charges, present and cross-examine witnesses, and submit evidence; and the right to judicial review of Department of Treasury decisions.

¹² Active CSN members include the Alliance for Peacebuilding, American Civil Liberties Union, Arab American Anti-Discrimination Committee, Council on Foundations, Friends of Charity Association, Grassroots International, Grantmakers Without Borders, InterAction, International Center for Not for Profit Law, Muslim Advocates, Muslim Public Affairs Council, and Urgent Action Fund.

¹³ OMB Watch has submitted a bifurcated budget for the Charities and Security Network Project.

In addition, CSN will produce Volumes II and III of its *Model National Security Standards and Procedures for Government and Charities* reform proposals. Volume II, scheduled to be published in the fall of 2010, will present hypothetical fact scenarios based on common nonprofit experiences and explain how these situations would be treated under the proposed policies. Volume III will contain specific legislative, regulatory, and other proposals for official action by government and will be completed by the end of the year. CSN will work to coordinate an advocacy campaign for adoption of these policies. CSN will complete this work with the assistance of its six working groups, which will cover the areas of: setting due diligence standards for charities; protecting due process; expanding the humanitarian aid exemption; fair procedures for frozen funds; loosening the intent requirement to require specific intent to further unlawful ends; and regulatory and licensing reform.

CSN will also monitor reforms and continue to respond as needed to developing challenges and opportunities. CSN plans to build on a report it submitted in April 2010 in conjunction with the UN Human Rights Council's Universal Period Review (UPR) of the U.S. and use the November 2010 UPR review of the U.S. to push the State Department to bring U.S. practices in line with human rights standards and the State Department's 2006 Guiding Principles on Non-Governmental Organizations. CSN will also continue to coordinate information sharing and strategy for nonprofits that are opposed to the U.S. Agency for International Development's onerous Partner Vetting System, which the Department of Treasury is promoting as a model that should be extended beyond USAID to privately funded and operated programs. And CSN will continue to participate in the CIVICUS: World Alliance for Citizen Participation's Early Warning System Project, a citizen action effort to share information and respond to threats to civil society at the national, regional, and international levels.

CSN's primary means of disseminating educational materials is through its website, www.charityandsecurity.org, a one-stop resource that in its first year was viewed from 133 countries/territories. CSN distributes an electronic newsletter every two weeks to nearly 700 nonprofits, journalists, government officials, think tanks, and academics in the U.S. and abroad, which includes news excerpts, analysis, and commentary.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign priorities of: protecting freedom of speech and association; strengthening the capacity of watchdog organizations to document government abuses; and promoting collaboration within the national security and human rights field.

Since 9/11, nonprofit organizations have faced crippling obstacles in carrying out their charitable and philanthropic missions due to a web of U.S. national security laws, executive orders, and agency regulations and rules that subject them to the risk of steep criminal and civil sanctions for providing "material support" to a group designated by the Secretary of State as a foreign terrorist organization, or for supporting or associating with a Department of Treasury Specially Designated Global Terrorist. These rules operate even when the donor lacks specific intent to further unlawful ends.

And as the Supreme Court declared on June 21, 2010, in *Holder v. Humanitarian Law Project (HLP)*, in a 6-3 opinion, the act of engaging with a designated foreign terrorist group for the constructive purposes of turning the organization away from violence and toward peacebuilding, conflict resolution, and human rights advocacy, can subject the NGO to a criminal conviction for providing material support to terrorism, a crime punishable by a sentence of 15 years. The *HLP* ruling has sent shock waves through the NGO and foundation communities, as well as the diplomatic community, all of which point to numerous historical examples where private intermediaries played a critical role in bringing groups in from the cold to the negotiating table and brokering peace settlements. The ruling has also generated strong public outcry in mainstream circles, including the pages of the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, and countless other outlets.

Moreover, these draconian counterterrorism measures are disproportionately targeted at Muslim American donors and charities. In his June 2009 speech in Cairo, President Obama acknowledged that U.S. counterterrorism measures are having a chilling effect on Muslims who observe the religious obligation of zakat, or tithing. Obama pledged to the Muslim world that his administration would loosen the restrictions on charitable giving. But change has been slow, and CSN's discussions with the Department of Treasury have hit a brick wall. Moreover, the department has been adamant in its refusal to transfer the charitable funds it has frozen to other organizations so that funds are spent in a timely manner for the donors' intended purposes.

At a funder briefing sponsored by the NSHR Campaign on July 1, 2010, a number of leaders from NGOs adversely impacted by U.S. counterterrorism measures attested to the critical role CSN plays by providing a much needed a structure for U.S. nonprofits to pool knowledge, coordinate advocacy efforts, and build relationships with advocacy organizations working on other human rights and national security issues. Currently, CSN plans to end this campaign at the end of three years, in October 2011. But it will re-examine this plan in light of the Supreme Court's ruling in *HLP* – which calls out for an aggressive and broad-based rebuttal – and the failure of the Obama administration to make the reforms promised in Cairo.

The project is very ably led by Kay Guinane, formerly OMB Watch Nonprofit Speech Rights Director, who has led work on these issues for the past nine years. In March 2010, Kay was selected for the NSHR Campaign-supported Rockwood Fellowship for National Security and Human Rights Leaders. CSN's active Advisory Committee provides significant input and regular oversight, and Dr. Gary Bass, Executive Director of OMB Watch, provides supervision.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$150,000 over fourteen months to support the Charity and Security Network Project of the Focus Project.

Name of Organization: Federation of American Scientists

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

Purpose of Grant: To support the Project on Government Secrecy

FPOS Grant Description: This grant will support the Federation of American Scientists' Project on Government Secrecy. The Project challenges excessive government secrecy and promotes public access to government information, particularly in the controversial areas of intelligence, national security, and foreign policy, with a goal of invigorating public deliberation and oversight. The Federation of American Scientists was formed in 1945 and operates research and education programs in the areas of biosecurity, earth systems, educational technology, and strategic security.

Previous OSI Support: \$200,000
\$150,000 from NSHR Campaign & TIF (2008)
\$50,000 from Strategic Opportunities (2006-2007)

Organization Budget: \$3,045,300

Project Budget: \$251,858

Major Sources of Support: *Project:* HKH Fund \$75,000; CS Fund \$60,000; Charles Stewart Mott Foundation \$20,000; individuals \$10,000

Amount Requested: \$150,000

Amount Recommended: \$180,000
\$140,000 NSHR Campaign, T1: 21095
\$40,000 Transparency & Integrity Fund, T1: 21093

Term: Two years (July 1, 2010 – June 30, 2012)

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The Federation of American Scientists was formed in 1945 by atomic scientists from the Manhattan Project to promote humanitarian uses of science and technology. The Federation currently operates research and education projects under four main program areas: (1) the Biosecurity Program, which focuses on minimizing bioterrorism threats while maximizing life science research; (2) The Earth Systems Program, which focuses on the Earth's resilience and adaptive capabilities, and the interrelated challenges of climate change, environmental degradation, population growth, and increasing resource and energy demands; (3) the

Educational Technology Program, which focuses on ways to use technology to improve how people teach and learn; and (4) the Strategic Security Program, which focuses on enhancing national security and houses several projects, including the Project on Government Secrecy. The organization is based in Washington, D.C. and has 19 staff members and a Board of Sponsors that includes nearly half of the nation's living Nobel Laureates.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Project on Government Secrecy challenges excessive government secrecy and promotes public access to government information, particularly in the controversial areas of intelligence, national security, and foreign policy, with the goal of invigorating public deliberation and oversight.

The Project on Government Secrecy serves three primary functions:

- The Project publishes original reports several times per week on new developments involving government secrecy and national security in its email newsletter and blog, *Secrecy News*. The newsletter is distributed over a listserv that reaches an influential audience of over 13,500 policymakers, journalists, and advocates from across the political spectrum.
- The Project acquires and reviews government documents daily through its ongoing research that includes the pursuit of Freedom of Information Act requests. It publishes government documents that have been suppressed, withdrawn, or are otherwise hard to find, on its on-line library, www.fas.org/sgp, and in *Secrecy News*. The Project frequently receives valuable unsolicited documents from anonymous sources.
- On a daily basis, the Project provides information and assistance to journalists who report on intelligence policy and on public access to government information.

The Project advocates for classification policy reform, an area that has shown potential for systematic reform under the Obama Administration. In May 2009, President Obama issued a Memorandum on Classified Information and Controlled Unclassified Information that established an interagency task force to review existing requirements on classified and controlled information and recommend open government reforms. In December 2009, President Obama signed an Executive Order on National Security Information to limit classification to records that genuinely require it.¹⁴ An Executive Order on Controlled Unclassified Information is expected soon.

Over the next two years, the Project will direct its education and advocacy activities on the following:

(1) **Classification:** The Project helped devise the above-mentioned Fundamental Classification Guidance Review and plans to engage in an advocacy campaign to maximize the extent to which it

¹⁴ The Executive Order: (1) requires agencies to complete a Fundamental Classification Guidance Review with a public report in the next two years in order to eliminate obsolete and unnecessary classification requirements; (2) eliminates the 2003 Bush Administration rule allowing agency heads to veto decisions made by an interagency panel to declassify information; (3) mandates that no information may remain classified indefinitely; and (4) establishes a National Declassification Center at the National Archives to centralize and expedite the process of declassifying historic documents.

can serve as a vehicle for reform.¹⁵ The Project will continue to provide its expert advice to, and prod, its Administration contacts with potential to influence the process, and to encourage agencies to do a serious job on their reviews and provide, to the extent appropriate, an opportunity for public input. The Project will also submit periodic Freedom of Information Act requests to major national security agencies to monitor their participation in the reviews, and it may advocate for Congressional hearings that can serve to further raise expectations of Agency performance and output through the review process. In addition, the Project will monitor the use of Controlled Unclassified Information to ensure that such controls do not become a new pretext for, or instrument of, illegitimate secrecy.

(2) **Declassification:** The Project will monitor the progress of the newly established National Declassification Center and work to facilitate its success. The Project has already reached out to the Public Interest Declassification Board¹⁶ to advocate for a fundamental transformation of the current system for the declassification of documents.

(3) **Additional Areas:** The Project will monitor troubling cases of government prosecution of “leaks” of classified information – such as the recent indictment of whistleblower Thomas Drake and subpoena issued to *New York Times* reporter James Risen – with the goal of preserving press freedom to report on classified matters. The Project will also advocate for reforms so that individuals are not inappropriately denied judicial review of an injury claim because of the government’s assertion of the state secrets privilege and that, at a minimum, they be permitted to seek an alternate form of remedy. Finally, the Project will monitor the Administration’s Open Government Initiative to improve public access to government information with a focus on the Initiative’s approach to improving access to records held by national security agencies.

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; and reducing excessive government secrecy in national security policy. The grant will also advance the Transparency and Integrity Fund priority of supporting watchdog organizations.

President Obama came into office committed to advancing open government and transparency. On his first day in Office, Obama signed a Memorandum on Transparency and Open Government; in May 2009, Attorney General Holder issued Freedom of Information Act

¹⁵The Project was successful in urging the President to direct “each agency that classifies information to conduct a detailed public review of its classification policies with the objective of reducing secrecy to the essential minimum and declassifying everything that does not meet the standard for classification.” The Project urged that the process be modeled on the Fundamental Classification Policy Review undertaken by the Department of Energy in 1995 in the spirit of modernizing and curtailing classification activity, as part of which the Department actively solicited public input on needed classification reforms and invited public review of the resulting recommendations prior to completion.

¹⁶ The Public Interest Declassification Board (PIDB) is an advisory committee established by Congress to promote public access to the documentary record of significant U.S. national security actions and decisions. The PIDB was established by the Public Interest Declassification Act of 2000, which was extended and modified by the Intelligence Reform and Terrorism Prevention Act of 2004.

guidelines reinforcing the presumption of disclosure for open records requests; and in December 2009, the Administration released its Open Government Directive instructing agencies to take specific actions to open their operations to the public and promote transparency, participation, and collaboration. It is critical that the Project and other OSI grantees actively monitor the implementation of these important new open government initiatives to ensure that have “teeth.”

In the narrower arena of national security information, the Administration’s performance has been mixed. After ordering a review of all pending litigation in which the Bush Administration had invoked the state secrets privilege, Attorney General Holder issued rules in September 2009 stating that the Attorney General would maintain the ultimate authority to invoke the state secrets privilege, and the Administration continues to assert the privilege to derail legal challenges to government policies on surveillance, detention, interrogation, and torture. Also of concern are the prosecutions and official investigations of “leakers” of classified information that are currently underway. That said, President Obama’s May 2009 Memorandum on Classified and Controlled Unclassified Information and December 2009 Executive Order on classification present tremendous opportunities for reform. The Fundamental Classification Guidance Review process set out in that Executive Order may turn out to be the best vehicle in the foreseeable future for “fixing” the classification system.

The Project on Government Secrecy will play a central and critical role in pushing forward Obama Administration reforms on national security information policy. Steven Aftergood has directed the Project since 1991 and is highly respected for his issue expertise, tireless advocacy, and collegiality. He is frequently invited to provide Congressional testimony, make presentations before agencies, and engage in private conversations with high level officials. The Project is playing a lead role in monitoring the classification reviews, and it has been careful to involve other OSI grantees in this process, including the National Security Archive, OpentheGovernment.org, the Project on Government Oversight, the Electronic Frontier Foundation, the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Reporters Committee for Freedom of the Press. *Secrecy News* provides the Project with an effective platform for articulating its views and concerns, which are heard within the recesses of government.

For the above reasons, OSI staff recommends a renewal grant of \$180,000 over two years to support the Project on Government Secrecy of the Federation of American Scientists.