

**U.S. PROGRAMS
National Security and Human Rights Campaign
Summary of Recommended Grants
Early Docket - March 1, 2012**

Program Area/Organization

Organization	Grant Code	Recommended	Term	2011	2012
Challenge Profiling and Discrimination					
Islamic Society of North America	T1: 21132	250,000	2 years	125,000	125,000
Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors	T1: 21132	185,000	1 year	185,000	
Shift the National Security Paradigm					
National Security Initiative	T1: 21134	310,000	2 years	130,000	180,000
Total Recommended:		\$ 745,000		\$ 440,000	\$ 305,000
GRANTMAKING TOTAL THIS DOCKET:		\$ 745,000			

Approval Signature

Date

Angel Weir

3/1/12

National Security and Human Rights Campaign Grant Recommendations
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Grant ID: 20035490

Legal Name of Organization: Islamic Society of North America

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

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: To renew support for the Shoulder-to-Shoulder Campaign

Grant Description: A grant to the Islamic Society of North America will renew support for the Shoulder-to-Shoulder Campaign, an interfaith coalition of national religious organizations dedicated to ending anti-Muslim sentiment in the U.S. Although administratively housed at the Society, Shoulder-to-Shoulder is governed by a steering committee that represents 27 Christian, Jewish, Muslim and interfaith groups. Since its inception in late 2010, the campaign has shared its message of tolerance with policymakers, the press and the general public, and has engaged 150 local faith communities and congregations in its efforts. Renewed support will enable the coalition to expand its national media presence, deepen its collaboration with grassroots groups and local faith communities, and continue urging policymakers to denounce intolerance. This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of combatting racial and religious profiling against Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian individuals and communities, promoting the acceptance of these communities in American society, and supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy.

Previous OSI Support: \$125,000
\$70,000 from USP Seize the Day Fund
\$30,000 from NSHR Campaign
\$50,000 from OSI-DC

Organization Budget: \$4,000,000

Project Budget: \$177,000

Major Sources of Project Support:

Membership dues from 27 organizations \$54,000

Amount Requested: \$250,000 over two years

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$250,000 (T1: 21132)

Term: 2 years, beginning May 1, 2012

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The Islamic Society of North America (ISNA) was founded in 1982 as an association of Muslim organizations and individuals in North America. ISNA provides a common platform for its member organizations as they work to contribute to the betterment of their communities and American society at large. It also seeks to build bridges of understanding and cooperation within the diversity of organizations that represent Islam in America. ISNA offers educational, social, and outreach programs in the American Muslim community, which include imam training, leadership development, and youth programs. It also works with a broad range of allies and partners to address the challenges faced by Muslims in the West, engages in interfaith outreach efforts in the U.S. and internationally, and provides humanitarian relief to those in need. The organization has offices in Washington, D.C. and Plainfield, Indiana, and a staff of 25.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

The Islamic Society of North America seeks renewed support for “Shoulder-to-Shoulder: Standing with American Muslims; Upholding American Values,” an interfaith campaign to counter anti-Muslim bigotry in the U.S. The campaign was born out of an emergency interfaith summit convened by ISNA on September 7, 2010, amidst a raging controversy around the so-called “Ground Zero Mosque.” Religious leaders from multiple faith traditions stood in solidarity with American Muslims at a press conference that yielded 200 national and international news stories and was attended by White House staff.

Propelled by the momentum generated from the summit, ISNA and several of the event’s co-sponsors—including the National Religious Campaign Against Torture, Religious Action Center of Reform Judaism, New Evangelical Partnership for the Common Good, American Baptist Churches, and the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops—decided to form a campaign to promote their joint message of tolerance. In the face of anti-Muslim attitudes that show no sign of abatement and continue to threaten America’s commitment to religious freedom, Shoulder-to-Shoulder works to affirm the rights and dignity of people from all religious traditions.

Shoulder-to-Shoulder is composed of 27 Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and interfaith organizations, each of which has a representative on the campaign’s Steering Committee. Committee members meet bi-monthly and contribute yearly membership dues of \$2,000 per organization. Members with specific expertise and interest participate in task forces to plan and implement the campaign’s strategies. These task forces focus on national advocacy, media and messaging, grassroots involvement and opposition to state anti-Sharia legislation. In addition, the campaign has selected seven Steering Committee members to serve on an Executive Committee, which meets regularly and is able to respond quickly when new instances of anti-Muslim bigotry arise. In October 2011, Shoulder-to-Shoulder hired a full-time campaign director, Christina Warner.

During the proposed grant period, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will pursue the following objectives:

1. Reach Out to Congress, the White House and Federal Agencies

Shoulder-to-Shoulder will engage with government officials as it promotes a positive message of religious tolerance and unity, and it will speak out against those officials who fan anti-Muslim flames. As an example, Shoulder-to-Shoulder has been a prominent force of opposition as Rep. Peter King (R-NY), Chairman of the Homeland Security Committee, has convened a series of controversial congressional hearings challenging the loyalties of American Muslims. In addition, Shoulder-to-Shoulder leaders have met with the FBI Director, Robert Mueller, and Office of Public Affairs and Office on Countering Violent Extremism to condemn biased and discriminatory materials on Islam and Muslims that they use in counterterrorism trainings. In addition, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will participate in an upcoming interagency meeting with the civil rights teams of the Department of Justice and the Department of Homeland Security to address issues of concern to American Muslims.

2. Amplify a National Religious Voice for Tolerance through a Comprehensive Media Strategy

With assistance from Rabinowitz/Dorf Communications, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will continue to maintain a strong and strategic media presence. The campaign's communications strategy will include placing op-eds by groups of senior religious leaders from different faiths in newspapers with international, national, and local audiences, garnering widespread television, radio, print, and online media coverage of campaign activities and events, and maximizing Shoulder-to-Shoulder's social media presence. The campaign will also continue to work closely with Hattaway Communications to stay up to date on its research and messaging guidance for improving perceptions of American Muslims.

3. Deepen and Expand the Network of Local and State Religious Organizations Working to End Anti-Muslim Bigotry

Last year, Shoulder-to-Shoulder identified 150 faith groups across the U.S. engaged in local efforts to counter anti-Muslim bigotry. These groups are based both in red and blue states and in urban and rural areas. At its commemoration of the tenth anniversary of 9/11, which celebrated religious diversity in America, the campaign honored leaders of four of these groups for their work to promote interfaith solidarity in their communities. Shoulder-to-Shoulder plans to increase its collaboration with local organizations, engaging them in national initiatives and events. It will also aim to address the needs of these groups and connect them to one another via conference calls and webinars. Its website will serve as a hub for sharing educational resources, ideas and strategies. Finally, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will continue to seek out new local partners committed to its cause, including campus ministries and university chaplains.

4. Educate People of Faith and Others on Why Efforts to Ban Sharia Law Are Misguided¹

Shoulder-to-Shoulder will work with local congregations, faith groups, and others in three states to counter the Islamophobic rhetoric that drives efforts to ban Sharia law. The campaign is currently investigating opportunities and potential strategies in Alabama, Georgia and Florida.

¹ Shoulder-to-Shoulder has provided a bifurcated budget for this project.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of combatting racial and religious profiling against Arab, Middle Eastern, Muslim, and South Asian individuals and communities, promoting the acceptance of these communities in American society, and supporting credible voices in the movement for a progressive national security policy.

Since Islamophobic opposition to the Park51 cultural center spurred Shoulder-to-Shoulder into existence in 2010, the need for moral leadership against anti-Muslim sentiment has only grown. Recent events suggest that anti-Muslim bigotry threatens not only America's commitment to religious freedom but also its promise to protect civil liberties. In February, the NYPD admitted to showing a film, *The Third Jihad*, to its officers that depicts American Muslims as extremists and Islam as a militant political movement bent on overthrowing the U.S. government. This revelation follows on the heels of reports that the NYPD's intelligence division has been singling out mosques and Muslim communities for intrusive surveillance. Likewise, the FBI used anti-Muslim propaganda in training its agents and spied on American Muslims. And, although the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals recently struck down the ban Oklahoma imposed in 2010 on Sharia law, legislators in 23 states have kicked up clouds of fear and bigotry by introducing similar bills.

In a cultural and political climate that has proven too amenable to such anti-Muslim sentiment, Shoulder-to-Shoulder is in a unique position to weed out misinformation and educate the public about Islam in America. As an alliance of Christian, Jewish and Muslim organizations, it is a morally persuasive and influential proponent of tolerance. Moreover, the esteemed religious leaders at the center of Shoulder-to-Shoulder bring volumes of experience and expertise to their work. Reverend Richard Killmer has led the National Religious Campaign Against Torture since its inception in 2006, skillfully building relationships between and elevating the voices of religious leaders from multiple faiths who, by standing united, capture the attention of key policymakers, the media, and the public. ISNA President Imam Mohamed Magid, who first convened the interfaith alliance that would become Shoulder-to-Shoulder, holds the respect of both other religious leaders and the White House. In a speech at the All Dulles Area Muslim Society Center in March, 2011, Deputy National Security Advisor Denis McDonough lauded Imam Magid and ISNA's dedication to promoting religious freedom and cultivating understanding among different faiths.

During the proposed grant period, Shoulder-to-Shoulder will build on its impressive track record of bringing its message to influential policymakers. In March 2011, Shoulder-to-Shoulder members met with U.S. House Democratic Leader Nancy Pelosi and the office of U.S. Senate Republican Leader Mitch McConnell to discuss their concerns following Rep. King's opening hearing on the radicalization of American Muslims. A follow-up hearing chaired by Senator Dick Durbin (D-IL) on the civil rights of American Muslims featured testimony from a Shoulder-to-Shoulder representative, Cardinal Theodore McCarrick of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. In February 2012, five representatives of the campaign attended a meeting hosted by FBI staff and officials, including Director Robert Mueller, on the agency's progress in confronting the damage caused by its past anti-Muslim trainings. When Shoulder-to-Shoulder

speaks to policymakers and other audiences, its voice is a powerful reminder that support for American Muslims cuts across religious and political lines.

For the above reasons, OSF staff recommends a renewal project support grant of \$250,000 over two years to support the Shoulder-to-Shoulder Campaign of the Islamic Society of North America.

Grant ID: 20035489

Legal Name of Organization: Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, Inc.

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

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: To support the Improving Perceptions of American Muslims Project

Grant Description: Renewed funding to Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors would support the next phase of the Improving Perceptions of American Muslims Project. In 2011, the Woodcock Foundation established a donor advised fund at Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors to launch this project. During the first phase of this work, the Washington, D.C.-based firm Hattaway Communications conducted public opinion research and developed a set of messages designed to propel a positive narrative of Muslims in America. Phase one will conclude in March 2012, when Hattaway will complete a series of messaging trainings for a broad range of organizations that are fighting anti-Muslim bigotry. Renewed support will enable Hattaway to build upon the research, analysis and messaging insights yielded by the first phase of this work. During phase two, Hattaway will create and disseminate a more targeted and nuanced set of messages that speak directly to ongoing and anticipated events and controversies focused on American Muslims. To ensure that these messages gain traction in current debates, Hattaway will engage and provide direct rapid response support to a broad range of organizations working to end anti-Muslim bigotry. In addition, it will arm compelling messengers such as government leaders and military officers with research findings and tested messages and encourage them to speak out against intolerance. Finally, it will build the communications capacity of Muslim Advocates, an organization poised to become a leading voice on civil liberties. This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of building the capacity of Muslim, Arab and South Asian organizations to fight abusive national security policies that are directed at them and of promoting the acceptance of these communities in American society.

Previous OSI Support: \$1,330,000
\$150,000 from NSHR (2011)
\$600,000 from Climate Change Initiative (2011)
\$580,000 from SOF (2010)

Organization Budget: \$7,898,000

Project Budget: \$469,000

Major Sources of Project Support:

Woodcock Foundation (anticipated) \$185,000

Amount Requested: \$185,000 over one year

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$185,000 (T1: 21132)

Term: 1 year, beginning March 1, 2012

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

Headquartered in New York City, Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors (RPA) is a nonprofit organization that provides research and counsel on charitable giving, develops philanthropic programs and offers complete program, administrative and management services for foundations and trusts. RPA also operates a Charitable Giving Fund, through which clients can make gifts outside the United States, participate in funding consortia and operate nonprofit initiatives. RPA has a full-time staff of 40 in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles and San Francisco and a group of carefully selected expert affiliates.

Hattaway Communications is a strategic communications firm based in Washington, D.C. that uses innovative tools and research methods to create messages informed by social psychology, cognitive studies, and consumer market research. Hattaway's staff of 14 brings more than two decades of experience developing messages and implementing campaigns for high-profile leaders and organizations around the world.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors seeks renewed support for messaging research to improve perceptions of American Muslims. The project will be financed through a donor advised fund and carried out by Hattaway Communications. The Woodcock Foundation, which spearheaded the launch of this project last year, is enthusiastic about this work and has informed OSF staff that it is prepared to match an OSF renewal grant.

Renewed support will enable Hattaway to build upon and extend the reach of the research, analysis and messaging insights yielded by the first phase of this work. The messages Hattaway has already tested will offer it guidance in phase two of this project as it creates nuanced messages that speak directly to ongoing and anticipated events and controversies focused on American Muslims. To ensure that these messages gain traction in current debates, Hattaway

will engage and provide direct rapid response support to a broad range of organizations working to end anti-Muslim bigotry. In addition, it will arm compelling messengers such as elected leaders and military officers with research findings and tested messages and encourage them to speak out against intolerance. Finally, it will build the communications capacity of Muslim Advocates, an organization poised to become a leading voice on civil liberties. Hattaway will pursue each of these endeavors as follows:

1. Rapid Response Message Research and Development

In phase one of this project, Hattaway conducted a national survey and focus group research that revealed effective narratives and messages to help mainstream Americans view American Muslims not as foreign terrorists but as neighbors with shared values and an equal stake in keeping America safe and strong. The American Muslim, civil liberties, human rights and interfaith organizations that are working together to combat anti-Muslim bigotry have benefited from Hattaway's insightful body of research and recommendations. These groups are now asking for tested rapid-response messaging that will address challenges specific to ongoing and anticipated controversies. The proposed grant will enable Hattaway to respond to these requests by pursuing a second track of messaging research, development and dissemination.

Hattaway's first task in phase two of this project will be to consult with multiple advocates and thought leaders to identify the most critical rapid response needs of American Muslim communities. Hattaway then proposes to conduct a second round of national research in which it will apply—and refine—the messaging insights gleaned in phase one. In collaboration with the Public Religion Research Institute, Hattaway will conduct a 1,200 person national survey which will aim to identify messages that can impact public opinion when high profile events and controversies erupt. The survey will likely focus on ballot initiatives to ban Sharia law, charges of domestic “homegrown terrorism,” intrusive surveillance and infiltration of Muslim communities, hateful speech and acts directed at Muslims, debates around the legal rights of terrorism suspects, scapegoating of Muslims for political gain during the 2012 election cycle, and cultural discussions on the place of Muslims in America. In addition, when unexpected issues arise for which existing research does not offer an effective response, Hattaway will conduct snap polls, or brief surveys given to a national sample of voters, and use the data to guide messages on breaking news. It will conduct monthly meetings with a set of advisors to ensure that its work remains responsive to and informed by stakeholders. Based on its research and analysis, Hattaway will produce a rapid response guide that will include key messages and scripts for crisis response scenarios, both ongoing and anticipated.

2. Message Coordination and Rapid Response Support for Organizations

To help disseminate the research findings and the messages that flow from them, Hattaway will conduct two in-depth trainings with American Muslim organizations and their allies. In addition, Hattaway will consult with these groups throughout the grant period and provide them with rapid response message memos and talking points as needed so that groups can deliver a consistent, research-based message on timely topics.

3. Outreach to High-Level Leaders

Hattaway will conduct six briefings for influential leaders, including elected officials, executive branch officials and military officers, to share its research findings and provide compelling

spokespersons with tested messages to counter anti-Muslim bigotry. Hattaway plans to continue collaborating on outreach efforts with the National Security Network (NSN), as it did during the first phase of this project, and it will invite NSN's impressive network of national security experts from inside and outside of government to these briefings.

4. *Communications Capacity Building*

The proposed grant would also enable Hattaway to provide communications capacity building services to Muslim Advocates, an OSF grantee that is poised to become a leading voice for adhering to civil liberties in countering terrorism. In response to Muslim Advocates' request, readiness and demonstrated need, Hattaway proposes to offer "BeHeard" services to the organization. "BeHeard" is a program Hattaway developed with the Woodcock and Ford Foundations to help a broad range of NGOs advance their social justice, civil liberties or human rights missions by improving the reach and impact of their communications. Under this program, Muslim Advocates would receive in-depth strategic communications training, an audit of its communications to date, guidance on executing a tailored communications strategy, and a draft brand message. Muslim Advocates stands out among NSHR's grantees as the most promising candidate for this high level training and its staff is committed to taking advantage of this learning opportunity.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of building the capacity of Muslim, Arab and South Asian organizations to fight abusive national security policies that are directed at them and of promoting the acceptance of these communities in American society.

In the first phase of the Improving Perceptions of American Muslims Project, Hattaway tested a range of messages to learn how to tell stories about American Muslims that elicit positive feelings. Its research also explored how best to convey that unfairly targeting American Muslims is an ineffective approach to combatting terrorism, and actually makes us less secure. The messages Hattaway crafted based on this research are designed to remain potent in a persistent, long-term campaign to improve perceptions of American Muslims. Multiple stakeholders, including American Muslim and interfaith organizations, human rights advocates, and national security experts, have eagerly embraced Hattaway's messaging guidance and have already applied it toward communications with policymakers and the public. For example, the Muslim Public Affairs Council is using Hattaway's tested language in a report it is producing on the role American Muslims play in preventing terrorism. The report emphasizes that American Muslims are "working with" the FBI to "prevent" terrorism and avoids using words that trigger suspicion such as "alerted" or "tipped off"—which can imply that American Muslims have special knowledge of terrorism. In addition, OSF grantee Faith in Public Life incorporated themes offered by phase one research in written testimony submitted before the House Homeland Security Committee on "homegrown terrorism's threat to military communities inside the United States." At Hattaway's suggestion, the organization used carefully crafted language on the value of religious freedom to American heritage and conveyed that Muslims share American values.

Since this project began last year, the volume and temperature of the media's coverage of American Muslims have risen. The organizations that benefited from Hattaway's first round of research and messaging recommendations have requested additional guidance on rapid response messaging to help them react nimbly, strategically and in a coordinated manner to specific challenges. The overarching frames identified in the prior research will remain a critical resource for organizations as they confront anti-Muslim attitudes, but further research will enable Hattaway to test and develop nuanced messages that specifically address new and ongoing debates. Input from the American Muslim community will play a crucial role in this next phase of research, allowing Hattaway to identify messages that groups believe have been or could be effective and to obtain empirical data on their effectiveness among targeted segments of the American public.

Hattaway's newest research will focus on a number of challenging issues. The cynical efforts of the Islamophobia movement to inflame fears by promoting ballot initiatives that would ban Sharia law need to be countered through effective messaging. Against the backdrop of a 2012 presidential election, Republican candidates are going unchallenged when they boast that they would impose loyalty oaths on American Muslims before allowing them to serve on their cabinets. American Muslim groups need to understand how the public reacted to their call for a boycott of Lowe's after the company, spooked by the Islamophobic rants of a fringe Christian group, pulled ads from TLC's *All American Muslim*. Rep. Peter King (R-NY) is scheduled to hold more hearings that aim to portray American Muslim communities as "radicalized" and as national security threats. American Muslims will continue to be arrested, prosecuted and tried on terrorism charges, and the anticipated Guantanamo military commission trials of the perpetrators of the U.S.S. Cole and 9/11 terrorist attacks are certain to stir up frightening memories and provide the Islamophobia industry with opportunities to associate Islam with terrorism. As information on intrusive surveillance of mosques has surfaced, tension has mounted between the New York City Police Department and the city's Muslim communities, prompting an urgent need for thoughtful messaging guidance.

The gravity of these challenges demands a smart, coordinated response from American Muslim organizations and leaders, interfaith coalitions, national security experts and government officials to prevent intolerance and bigotry from driving public debates. In the past year, Hattaway Communications has demonstrated an outstanding ability to listen to and work with American Muslim communities and their allies as it has developed an indispensable base of research and messaging guidance. Hattaway Communications' president, Doug Hattaway, has more than 20 years of experience providing message and media consulting to high-profile organizations and to leaders in politics, government and advocacy, including Hillary Clinton, Al Gore and Tom Daschle. The project is under the expert leadership of Hattaway's vice president, Alex Cole, who has developed communications and advocacy strategies for national nonprofits and foundations such as the Gay and Lesbian Alliance Against Defamation and the Ford Foundation.

For the above reasons, OSF staff recommends a grant of \$185,000 over one year to renew support for the Improving Perceptions of American Muslims Project of Rockefeller Philanthropy Advisors, Inc.

Grant ID: 20035491

Legal Name of Organization: National Security Initiative

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

Name of Fiscal Sponsor: n/a

Purpose of Grant: To support the project, Liberty in Security: An Effective Partnership

Grant Description: This grant will provide renewed support to the National Security Initiative (NSI) for its project, Liberty in Security: An Effective Partnership. Based in Washington, D.C., NSI is the 501(c)(3) arm of the National Security Network, which has a membership of hundreds of foreign policy, security and counterterrorism experts. NSI engages closely with its members as it works to advance national security solutions that favor diplomacy, the effective use of alliances, and an unwavering commitment to America's basic values over the use of military force. As security threats emerge, NSI disseminates smart messaging, policy updates, and background papers outlining principled and progressive responses to administration and congressional officials, the media and influential leaders at the national, state and local levels. Through its Liberty in Security project, NSI will foster strategic alliances among security experts and civil liberties, human rights, interfaith, and Muslim, Arab, and South Asian advocates who share the conviction that the U.S. must maintain its commitment to human rights as it addresses the challenges posed by terrorism. By skillfully leveraging the complementary strengths of this unlikely set of allies and NSI's media and outreach team, NSI will shape a new national discourse which recognizes that U.S. counterterrorism measures are most effective when they respect rights. This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of shifting the national security paradigm away from the "war on terror" framework; promoting the voices of unusual allies who are advancing progressive national security policies; combating anti-Muslim bigotry; stopping the arbitrary and indefinite detention of terrorism suspects; and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of law, including the use of torture.

Previous OSI Support: \$725,000 from the NSHR Campaign (2009-11)

Organization Budget: \$1,100,000

Project Budget: \$360,000 over two years

Major Sources of Organizational Support:

Hewlett Foundation	\$100,000
Colombe Foundation	\$100,000
Ploughshares Fund	\$ 75,000
Connect U.S. Fund	\$ 50,000
New America Foundation	\$ 50,000
Board Members	\$ 6,000

Amount Requested: \$310,000 over two years

Is this a contingent grant? No

Amount Recommended: \$310,000 (T1: 21134)

Term: Two years, beginning April 1, 2012

Matching Requirements: None

Description of Organization:

The National Security Initiative (NSI) is the 501(c)(3) arm of the National Security Network, whose membership includes hundreds of foreign policy, security and counterterrorism experts with a wealth of experience in government service, academia, and the private and non-profit sectors. NSI develops pragmatic national security solutions that favor the best traditions of American foreign policy, namely, shrewd diplomacy and the effective use of alliances and an unwavering commitment to America's basic values, over the use of military force. Based in Washington, D.C. and founded in 2005, NSI is led by Executive Director Heather Hurlburt and Senior Advisor Major General Paul Eaton (retired), and has eight staff members.

NSI engages its broad network of experts as it pursues four central strategies: (1) as pressing foreign policy matters unfold, it convenes experts to develop focused, layperson-friendly briefings and background papers for policymakers and journalists, places these experts in the media spotlight, and maintains an online presence on its own foreign policy blog, DemocracyArsenal.org, and leading national security blogs; (2) it also operates an around-the-clock rapid response operation that preempts and pushes back against conservative attacks on progressive national security policies in both mainstream and new media; (3) to build a strong drumbeat of demand from outside the Beltway for a progressive national security agenda, it works with affiliates in 12 key states – Iowa, Florida, Ohio, Colorado, Pennsylvania, Nevada, Connecticut, Michigan, Virginia, North Carolina, New Mexico and Washington – and with communities that have traditionally been underserved by the progressive national security establishment such as veterans and military families, Muslim, Arab and South Asian (MASA) communities, African-Americans and people of faith; and (4) it convenes unlikely partnerships to develop shared messaging and promote collaboration.

Description of Program for Which Funding Is Sought:

Through its project, Liberty in Security: An Effective Partnership, the National Security Initiative will build on work commenced in 2009 with OSF support. NSI will foster strategic alliances among the foreign policy, security and counterterrorism experts in its network and the civil liberties, human rights, interfaith and MASA advocates in the NSHR Campaign community who share the conviction that the U.S. must maintain its commitment to human rights as it addresses the challenges posed by terrorism. By skillfully leveraging the complementary strengths of this unlikely set of allies and NSI's media and outreach team, the project will shape a new national discourse which: (1) recognizes that U.S. counterterrorism measures are most effective when they respect rights; (2) discredits the exaggeration of terrorist threats and fear-mongering for political ends; (3) demands fair procedures and humane treatment for terrorism suspects, immediate closure of the Guantanamo detention center, criminal trials for Guantanamo detainees in American courts rather military commissions, and accountability for past acts of detainee torture and abuse; and (4) rejects the branding of Muslims as terrorists.

During the proposed grant period, NSI will continue to connect and convene security experts with NSHR Campaign grantees to share information, coordinate on tactics and strategies, develop shared messaging, and pursue the following communications and outreach strategies to advance the NSHR Campaign's policy goals:

- **Messaging and policy guidance:** As issues at the intersection of national security and human rights emerge, NSI's around-the-clock messaging team will identify and seize opportunities to demonstrate how America's security interests are enhanced by compliance with human rights principles. NSI will prepare rapid response messaging bulletins, policy updates and background papers that press home this central point and disseminate these widely to administration officials, congressional members and staff, journalists, and influential leaders at the national, state and local levels.
- **Media work:** As it develops messaging and policy guidance NSI will pitch stories to old and new media outlets, provide informational packets to newspaper editorial boards, seek media placements for its cadre of credentialed security experts, and blog on highly-trafficked websites.
- **Policymaker briefings:** NSI has cultivated an impressive following in the White House, the Department of State, the Department of Defense, the Department of Homeland Security, and Congress that looks to NSI for timely analysis as events unfold. NSI will present briefings to this group on topical security and liberty concerns. Under the previous grant, NSI organized a set of highly valued briefings for influential government officials shortly before the tenth anniversary of 9/11 on Hattaway Communications' research and messaging recommendations for improving perceptions of American Muslims—a project also supported by OSF. NSI hopes to continue its collaboration with Hattaway Communications in the proposed grant period.
- **National Outreach:** NSI will call upon its active chapters in 12 states to build a strong drumbeat of demand from outside the Beltway for a progressive counterterrorism policy agenda that respects human rights. NSI will assist local leaders and experts in authoring and placing op-eds in regional papers, seeking local media placements, and holding

public events that bring together national and local security experts and human rights advocates.

During the proposed grant period, NSI will also continue to participate in, and offer its national security expertise to, an ACLU-led working group that advocates for an end to the indefinite detention of terrorism suspects, a Muslim Advocates-led working group that works to minimize the impact of attempts to demonize America's Muslim communities as "radicalized," and other NSHR community meetings to exchange information, develop strategies and share resources. In addition, General Paul Eaton, NSN's Senior Adviser, will continue his participation on Human Rights First's flag officer advocacy group.

Rationale for Recommendation:

This grant will advance the National Security and Human Rights Campaign's priorities of shifting the national security paradigm away from the "war on terror" framework; promoting the voices of unusual allies who are advancing progressive national security policies; combating anti-Muslim bigotry; stopping the arbitrary and indefinite detention of terrorism suspects; and holding government officials and private actors accountable for past abuses and violations of law, including the use of torture.

When the NSHR Campaign was launched in 2008, its grantees were limited to civil liberties, human rights and MASA organizations. OSF was keenly aware, however, that its overarching goal of shifting the national security paradigm could not be achieved unless values-driven organizations formed strategic and tactical alliances with security experts who could affirm that America's security is strengthened, not weakened, when this nation adheres to its core values.

In that year, OSF undertook a survey of national security think tanks and advocacy organizations that led staff to the impressive National Security Network² and its 501(c)(3) arm, the National Security Initiative. These sister organizations were founded in 2005 by Rand Beers, now the Department of Homeland Security Under Secretary for the National Protection and Programs Directorate. Currently they are led by Heather Hurlburt and General Paul Eaton and advised by top national security thinkers, including Richard Clarke, General Wesley Clark (retired), Sandy Berger, and a rising generation of progressive policy thinkers. The organizations are respected in the foreign policy world and their input and opinions are actively sought out by White House staff members, high ranking Obama administration officials, and members of Congress.

Since 2009, OSF has funded NSI to advance the NSHR Campaign's policy goals by promoting collaboration between its cadre of security experts, government officials and journalists and civil rights, human rights, MASA and interfaith communities. NSI has embraced its role as a bridge between the security community and the rights community – two communities that had previously kept a wary distance from one another – and has gained the trust, respect and appreciation of the Campaign's core grantees.

NSI deserves tremendous credit for organizing under a compressed timeline a highly successful one-day convening in March 2011, shortly before the first of the House hearings chaired by Rep.

² The Open Society Policy Institute funds the National Security Network to oppose counterterrorism legislation that infringes on civil liberties.

King to challenge the loyalty of American Muslims. A group of 50 leading MASA, religious, human rights, civil liberties, and civil rights advocates heard presentations from Robby Jones (CEO of the Public Religion Research Institute), Suhail Khan (Senior Fellow at the Institute for Global Engagement), Ari Rabin-Havt (Executive Vice President of Media Matters), Faiz Shakir (Vice President of the Center for American Progress) and the ReThink media team and jointly developed shared messaging strategies. In addition, a select group of MASA spokespersons received hands-on media coaching from KNP Communications. The event sparked new coalitions and partnerships among participants.

NSI went on to offer a compelling national security argument countering King's message of suspicion against American Muslim communities. NSI tapped New America Foundation Counterterrorism Fellow Brian Fishman to write an op-ed and placed his piece in the LA Times on February 22, 2011. In "[Talking Terrorism](#)", Fishman asserted that the King hearing was a political sideshow that fed into the recruitment message of al Qaeda terrorists such as Anwar al-Awlaki. The op-ed received positive feedback from the White House and the Department of Justice. NSI also succeeded in planting national security arguments against anti-Muslim witch hunting in national and local newspapers, including the [New York Times](#), the Minneapolis/St. Paul [Star Tribune](#), the [Philadelphia Inquirer](#), and [Newsday](#).

The proposed grant period will be ripe with opportunities to shift America's national security agenda in a positive direction. As the 2012 presidential election heats up and as new terrorist threats emerge, the focus on, and desire to learn about, counterterrorism will certainly intensify. The start of a new presidential term in January 2013 will offer a moment for reassessment and adjustment. In addition, the wind-down of U.S. military involvement in Afghanistan will present an opportunity for waging an invigorated campaign to end the "war on terror." At this critical juncture, NSI and its network of security experts have much to offer as partners to the NSHR Campaign community.

For the above reasons, OSF staff recommends a renewed project support grant of \$310,000 over two years to support the National Security Initiative's project, Liberty in Security: An Effective Partnership.