3-15-1998

Resist Board Meeting, Mar. 15, 1998

Resist

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Dear Board member:

For this meeting, we have 25 requests to consider which means we’ll have $37,500 for grants ($1,500 x 25).

Please remember the Maximum grants will be $2,000; Partial grants will be between $500-2,000; and Emergency grants will be $300.

AGENDA

1. Finance report
   
   Finances
   Finance Committee

2. Fundraising
   
   General
   Fundraising Committee

3. Newsletter
   
   General
   Newsletter Committee

4. Board Development Issues

5. Board Committees:
   
   Personnel

6. Grants
   
   Grant Committee

7. Select Chair/New Meeting site/Agenda

EMERGENCY GRANTS

We gave 3 Emergency Grants out this cycle. Grantees were:

1) Emergency Committee Against the War in Iraq
   c/o AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140
   Joe Gerson 617/661-6130
   Funding to support a series of actions to oppose any military action against Iraq and to advocate for an end to the economic embargo against the Iraqi people.

2) NH Peace Action Education Fund
   P.O. Box 771, Concord, NH 03302
   Sean Donohue 603/228-0559
   Funding to support a series of actions to oppose any military action against Iraq and to advocate for an end to the economic embargo against the Iraqi people.
3) Central Brooklyn Financial Freedom Campaign

$300*

662 Fulton Street, Suite 139, Brooklyn, NY 11216  Sarah Ludwig  718/636-6082

Funding to organize a meeting aimed at creating a plan to return the Central Brooklyn Federal Credit Union to community control before the National Credit Union Administration moves to dismantle the organization.

GRANT REQUESTS

Please consider giving out Cohen and Salzman endowment grants. We also received 4 additional requests which are not on the agenda.

GUIDELINES FOR AN ARTHUR R. COHEN MEMORIAL GRANT

An Arthur Raymond Cohen Memorial Endowment "is designed to support the causes to which Arthur Cohen (1918-1986) was committed: opposition to the arms race, the cold war, and American intervention abroad; and support for civil liberties, the fight against racism, and the struggle of workers and unions at home."

SALZMAN GRANT GUIDELINES

The Freda Friedman Salzman Memorial Endowment Fund "is dedicated to the purpose of supporting organized resistance to the institutions and practices that rob people of their dignity as full human beings... (giving) a high priority to the efforts of Native American peoples to resist cultural as well as actual genocide."

PLEASE REMEMBER TO SEND IN YOUR PROXY IF YOU WILL NOT BE ABLE TO ATTEND THE MEETING!!!!
Board Meeting - DATE, 1998 - 11:00 a.m.
Place: Kay Mathew’s apartment
47 Iroquois Street
Roxbury, MA 02120
(617) 739-6806

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MARCH 1998
GRANT REQUESTS AND PROXY

Central, Latin America and the Caribbean

1. Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America $2000
1105 Sapling Place, Raleigh, NC 27615 Gail Phares 919/856-9468
Funding for the Media Alert Project which educates activists and provides tools for them to take action on a variety of issues, including labor issues, and SOA activism.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

2. Chiapas Schools Construction Teams/San Diegans for Peace in Mexico $2,000
3903 Center Street, San Diego CA 92103 Peter Brown 619/232-2841
Funding for group which seeks to create schools led by indigenous people and to organize for peaceful, political solutions to the conflict in Chiapas.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

3. Inter Religious Task Force on Central America $2,000
3606 Bridge Avenue, Cleveland, OH 44113 Tony Vento 216/961-0003
Funding to upgrade computer equipment to support advocacy and organizing related to a range of activities in Central America, including: declassification of documents related to Guatemala and Honduras, opposition to sweatshops, SOA and NAFTA.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

4. Tonantzin: Boston Committee to Support the Native Peoples of Mexico $1,210
31 Chester Street, #2F, Somerville, MA 02144 Anna Utech 617/629-2449
Funding for a campaign in response to the massacre of indigenous people in Chiapas and the increased militarization and paramilitary violence in the area.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:
Community Organizing/Anti-Racism

5. Cape Codders Against Racism $1,000
P.O. Box 1053, East Dennis, MA 02641 David E. Lilienthal, Jr. 508/385-8654
Funding for the newsletter In Other Words which examines issues of racism on Cape Cod.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments: 

6. Collective Seeds of Peace $2,000
P.O. Box 31076, Flagstaff, AZ 86003 Rachel Wams 520/774-3645
Funding to bring together representative of all Big Mountain support groups for a three day conference to build a national network.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments: 

7. Organization for Black Struggle $2,000
1401 Rowan, St. Louis, MO 63112 314/367-5959
Funding to prepare fifty people to attend the Black Radical Congress which will attempt to build a left political movement in the Black community.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments: 

8. Progressive Resource Action Cooperative $2,000
Box 2600 Station A, Champaign, IL 61824 Patrick Oray 217/352-9782
Funding for the Conference for the Elimination of Racist Mascots which hopes to unite activists fighting for eradication of all racist depictions of Native Americans which appear in the form of mascots.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments: 

9. Rogers Park Community Action Network $2,000
1545 W. Morse, Chicago, IL 60626 Fran Tobin 773/973-7888
Funding to purchase a high quality/volume photocopier for groups involved in organizing around tenants' rights, affordable housing, jobs and sustainable communities.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments: 

10. Rural Organizing Project
P.O. Box 1350, Scappoose, OR 97056  Kelley Weigel  603/397-5453
Funding for a conference entitled *Organizing for Power: Rural Caucus and Strategizing 1998* to develop social and economic justice campaigns for the upcoming year.

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided
Comments:

11. Speak Out
P.O. Box 99096, Emeryville, CA 94662  Felicia Gustin  510/601-0182
Funding to counter right wing activism on college campuses and to assist students participating in progressive activism.

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided
Comments:

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**Economic Justice**

12. End Corporate Domination Alliance
HCR-82, Fossil, OR 97830  Karen Coulter  541/468-2028
Funding for a regional conference to address the need to dismantle the mechanism of corporate control over communities and ecosystems.

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided
Comments:

13. Neighborhood Economic Development and Advocacy Project
126 University place, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10003  Hilary Botein  212/633-8585
Funding for the New York City Community Reinvestment Task Force which works for economic justice in low income communities and neighborhoods of color.

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided
Comments:
Environmental

14. Citizens for Alternatives to Radioactive Dumping (CARD) $2,000
144 Harvard SE, Albuquerque, NM 87106 Maria Santelli 505/266-2663
To fund three regional Nonviolent Civil Resistance workshops in communities along the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) transport routes to oppose the movement of radioactive waste through their communities.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

15. Gateway Green Alliance $2,000
P.O. Box 8094, St. Louis, MO 63156 Barbara Chicherio 314/727-8554
Funding for a conference on the health dangers of biotechnology entitled First Grassroots Gathering on Biodevastation: Genetic Engineering.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

16. People Organized in Defense of Earth and Her Resources (PODER) $2,000
55 North IH 35, #205B, Austin, TX 78702 Susana Almanza 512/472-9921
Funding for the Land Use and Sustainability Campaign which trains members of grassroots organizations and neighborhood associations how to access information and governmental entities in order to protect their health and environment.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:

17. Student Environmental Action Coalition $2,000
P.O. Box 31909, Philadelphia, PA 19104 Liz Abercrombie 215/222-471
Funding to support a membership drive and to pay student organizers a stipend.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____
Comments:
Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual

18. Trans Action $1,000
P.O. Box 632954, San Diego, CA 92163  Delores Dickerson  619/298-2477
Funding to organize opposition to the San Diego crossdressing law which allows transsexuals to be arrested for the feminine cut of their clothing.

Decision:  Full _____  Partial _____  No _____  Undecided _____
Comments:  

Health/AIDS/Disability

19. ADAPT $2,000
1319 Lamar Square Drive, #101, Austin, Texas 78704  Bob Kafka  512/442-0252
Funding for general support for rally and press event surrounding first annual ADAPT ranking of ten worst states providing home and community based attendant care services.

Decision:  Full _____  Partial _____  No _____  Undecided _____
Comments:  

20. Support Coalition $2,000
454 Willamette, #216, P.O. Box 11284, Eugene, OR 97440-3484  David Oaks  541-345-9106
Funding for literature, organizing activities and direct actions in the Campaign to RESIST Forced Outpatient Psychiatric Drugging.

Decision:  Full _____  Partial _____  No _____  Undecided _____
Comments:  

Labor

21. Black Workers for Justice $2,000
P.O. Box 1863, Rocky Mount, NC 27802  Ashaki M. Binta  404/768-8801
Funding for the newsletter Justice Speaks which looks at the emerging southern labor movement and the struggle for justice in the South.

Decision:  Full _____  Partial _____  No _____  Undecided _____
Comments:  

22. **Black Workers for Justice**

P.O. Box 1863, Rocky Mount, NC 27802  
Ashaki M. Binta 404-768-8801  
A loan to conduct a direct mail campaign to raise funds for the first International Worker's School.

**Decision:** Full ______  Partial ______  No ______  Undecided ______  
**Comments:**

**Native American**

23. **Inter-Tribal Council of Tolba Menahan**

P.O. Box 440384, Somerville, MA 02144  
Jacqueline "Firewoman" Emerton 617/623-7302  
Funding to coordinate an event designed to bring together representatives and leaders from indigenous organizations to address a range of issues related to civil and human rights violations experienced by native peoples.

**Decision:** Full ______  Partial ______  No ______  Undecided ______  
**Comments:**

24. **Wakina Sky/Helena Indian Alliance**

436 North Jackson, Helena, MT 59601  
Marcia Dias 406/442-9244 x20  
Funding for the Wakina Sky Learning Circle, a youth program aimed at empowering Native American youth and their parents to take control of children's education.

**Decision:** Full ______  Partial ______  No ______  Undecided ______  
**Comments:**

**Prisoners**

25. **Utah CURE**

6061 Woodsborough Way, Salt Lake City, UT 84118  
Paula Jones 801/956-2112  
Funding for general support for organization which seeks to create changes in the state prison system, particularly in respect to the treatment of mentally ill prisoners.

**Decision:** Full ______  Partial ______  No ______  Undecided ______  
**Comments:**
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Parameter</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Number of Grants:</td>
<td>25 +4 not on Agenda; +4 Emergency Grants; +1 loan</td>
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<tr>
<td>Total Amount Requested:</td>
<td>$45,560</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Allocation for Cycle:</td>
<td>$37,500; +$1,200 for Emergency Grants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Allocated:</td>
<td>$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
NOT ON AGENDA

1. **Let's Start**
   
   St. Vincent's Church, 1408 S. 10th Street, St. Louis, MO 63104 Jackie Toben 314/231-9328
   
   Funding for *Stories of Hope* which is a compilation of women's experiences in prison.
   **Reason:** Social services focused on women making the transition from prison. No real organizing or attempts to affect outsiders.

2. **National Whistleblower Center**
   
   P.O. Box 3768, Washington, DC 20007 Stephen Kohn 202/667-7515
   
   Funding for a newsletter which looks at the legal rights of whistleblowers.
   **Reason:** Budget is over $200,000. Most of work is lawsuit or legal issues.

3. **Prison Action Committee**
   
   661 E. 79th Street, Chicago, IL 60619 Barbara Echols 773/874-7390
   
   Funding for newsletter *Inside/Out* which looks at a range of prison and criminal justice issues.
   **Reason:** Budget is over $175,000.

4. **San Francisco Bay Area Friendshipment**
   
   3181 Mission Street, #14, San Francisco, CA 94110 Alicia Jrapko 510/273-9199
   
   Funding to purchase a bookmobile to travel around the San Francisco Bay area to discuss the effects of the US blockade in Cuba and then on to Cuba with Pastors for Peace.
   **Reason:** No real domestic organizing. Mostly a material aid campaign. Could come back if doing local organizing.
March 11, 1998

Robin Carton
Resist
259 Elm St.
Somerville, MA 02144

Dear Ms. Carton:

I am a member of the Coordinating Committee of Mobilization for Survival. Wells Wilkinson has shared with us your letter of February 17, explaining why the Resist Board chose not to fund our recent proposal. I am responding to you today as an individual. Neither Wells nor any member of the Committee has seen this letter in advance.

I appreciate that the members of the Resist Board are volunteers, who give freely of their time and must struggle with difficult decisions. All of us are grateful for their contributions of time and the serious way in which they approach their responsibility. That said, I must in all honesty tell you that I find your letter very perplexing and disappointing on a number of grounds.

Although I was not directly involved in writing our proposal, I did have the chance to read it before submission. I don't remember it in detail, but I am certain that the proposal I read is not the same one that all of you have apparently read. Mobilization for Survival is not proposing to "expand" into the communities of Somerville, Cambridge, Allston-Brighton and Jamaica Plain; nor are these communities in which we "do not have a traditional base of support." (I quote from your letter.) On the contrary, these are precisely communities in which we do have a traditional base of support. That is why we chose them for our local chapters, as our proposal clearly and directly states. We are not planning to "begin [our] organizing activities" in those four communities: we have been organizing in them for twenty years.

I am also surprised to learn that there are "local decision makers" in these communities who have the right to "request [our] collaboration" or, by implication, reject it; and that "there are currently many other multi-issue groups that are currently active there." I have lived in Jamaica Plain for more than 10 years. I have never heard of a single multi-issue, progressive organization with interests in any way comparable to those of Mobilization for Survival that has established a chapter in Jamaica Plain.
If such a group exists, it has never revealed itself to me. They have never knocked on my door, never called me, never written to me, I have never seen a single flyer or poster from such a group, never seen or heard of any public events sponsored by such an organization. That these invisible organizations employ “decision makers,” without whose invitation I may not legitimately form an association with my neighbors, is quite a disturbing idea. Two members of our coordinating committee live in Somerville, two of them live in Cambridge, and an ex officio member, Wells Wilkinson, lives in Brighton. They all tell me that they also are unaware of the organizations and individuals to which you may refer in their own communities. Perhaps if you indeed have specific organizations and people in mind, you will let us know who they are.

Of course, it has always been our intention to introduce our organization to local organizations which may not already be very familiar with us. That is fundamental to our philosophy of movement building. Accordingly, we already work with other organizations and activists as part of our chapter-building activities. We met last year with a representative of the Boston Health Access Project in Jamaica Plain at a Jamaica Plain Chapter meeting, to discuss our work in health care reform, and how it is both different in emphasis and complementary. Our public meetings in the Jamaica Plain area (which we actually held at Roxbury Community College because of its excellent and accessible facilities) have featured speakers from the Massachusetts Coalition of Citizens with Disabilities, AIDS Action Committee, Dimock Community Health Center, Haitian-American Public Health Initiatives, and my employer, Latino Health Institute, among others. Our Somerville Chapter has recently been active in local labor union issues, along with faith-based activists. Mobilization for Survival, historically and currently, is distinguished by its consistent record of collaborative movement building, as I would hope the members of the Resist Board are aware.

To clarify, again, we are not proposing to “expand” into these communities. We have organized in all of them for 20 years, and the bulk of our membership lives in them today. Rather, we have chosen to reorganize Mobilization for Survival to allow for local chapters as a basis of membership, in contrast to our former structure in which activists participated in committees based on specific issue areas. We hope that this will have a number of benefits, among them increased cultural and economic diversity in our membership. Our rationale includes the expectation that many people will find it more convenient to attend meetings and events that are near their homes; and that local chapters will focus on issues of particular local interest, when they are relevant to the organization’s mission and connected with its ongoing campaigns for peace and justice. We also believe that the local chapter structure will facilitate organization building and recruitment by making person-to-person outreach more efficient and effective. I should hope this all is evident from a careful reading of our proposal.
What the proposal perhaps fails to make clear is that the essence of our proposal is to "restructure [our] decision making bodies" as you suggest we must do. We did not discuss the structure and by-laws of MfS in as much detail as perhaps we should have in our proposal, but it did not occur to us that this would be such a focus of your interest. MfS been around for quite a long time and has at times been involved in a very complex mix of activities. Accordingly it has a rather elaborate formal structure.

I should explain now that in the past, issue committees and other committees of the membership (such as finance or personnel) elected members of the Coordinating Committee, along with the Annual Meeting which elects at-large members. In the new structure, the local chapters will also elect their own representatives to the CC. In other words, the chapter-based organizing is not a case of outsiders coming into a community and purporting to speak for its residents; rather, it is an effort to make it possible for people to participate in Mobilization for Survival on the basis of their residence in a community, and to give their local concerns a voice within our governance structure. We are beginning in precisely those communities in which we already have a substantial base of support. We are beginning with our current membership, and expecting it to grow.

I hope that this addresses the concerns and answers the questions of the Resist Board, and that you will now reconsider our application on the basis of accurate information. My personal feeling is that MfS is making a respectable and creative effort to change with the times, to reinvent itself to be relevant and effective in the very different political environment from that in which it originated and once flourished. I would hope that Resist would support us in that effort, rather than deny us because we have not already completed it. Is it really logical or fair to refuse to support an organization because it has not already finished doing precisely what it is asking you to help it do? If that were truly your policy, you would not be able to make many grants.

I will be happy to discuss these matters with you further, by correspondence or in person; or you may speak with Wells. I am best reached during working hours at 617-350-6900, x142.

Sincerely,

Bart Laws

cc: Wells Wilkinson
Present: Eileen Bolinsky (minutes), Robin Carton, Pam Chamberlain, Louis Kampf, Kay Mathew, Marc Miller (chair), Wayne O’Neil, and Carol Schachet. Proxy: June Lee.

AGENDA

1. Finance report

Resist is ahead on finances compared to 1997 by about 10-15%. No current Financial Statements, since Ellie Rozinsky has not finished the audit and all financials for 1997 are not yet closed. The Finance Committee will meet next month and is keeping track of current expenditures.

2. Fundraising

Carol will be sending the pledge drive fundraising letter 1st class so it arrives before tax time. The Fundraising Committee will meet to select prospects lists for another upcoming mailing. The last outreach push went well. People were encouraged that we doubled our grant size. Some doubled their donations in response.

In an article in the Sunday Boston Globe, Pat Maher from Haymarket People’s Fund was quoted as saying that they were the original funding organization for progressive/radical groups in the area. There was a similar article in a Rhode Island paper that quoted a member of the Haymarket Rhode Island funding board who said that Haymarket is the only organization that does this kind of funding in the region. Members suggested that a discussion with Pat might help clarify questions and concerns.

Marc suggests sending out a press release regarding our 30th anniversary (now 31st).

Fundraising Committee: Hasn’t met yet.

3. Newsletter

Next issue: Marlene Fried will write an article on the 25th anniversary of Roe v. Wade. Disability activism will be the focus of the May issue.

Carol is still looking for book reviews. Pam Chamberlain suggested Sara Freedman write a review about books addressing the issue of privatization of schools. She will approach her. Louis Kampf suggests David Rubin from U Mass.
Carol is getting lots of requests for reprints of Newsletter articles. Boston Women’s Fund liked the look of our newsletter and is going to re-think/re-design their newsletter using some ideas that Carmen Chan got from a conversation with Carol.

**Website Issues**

The Website is getting closer to being on line. Carol would like board biographies to put on the site ASAP. Once the website is up, the Ad Hoc Committee would love feedback from everyone. This won’t be a final product or stagnant. We’ll be looking for someone to work on website. Robert Morrison, a donor/volunteer from Chicago has been doing a great job.

The question was raised whether we want our full Newsletter on the website? Wayne O’Neil suggested we should put table of contents or selections on the site, but not put the full Newsletter because a lot of our funds come from subscribers. Louis Kampf agreed. Marc Miller noted that he doesn’t think it would interfere with our fundraising. He didn’t think people would see the on-line version as a substitute for subscribing. Pam Chamberlain felt that websites are gold mines for potential political education. Substance is important. She would prefer being more complete on the site. Carol agreed with Marc.

The website address is now on the prospecting mailing. Currently we don’t have credit card possibilities and Carol is receiving more requests from people who would like to donate that way. Two issues were raised: credit cards in general, and credit cards on the web. There has been some opposition to the use of credit cards in the past from Board members, staff and donors who see it as supporting the economic tyrants at issuing banks or institutions. In addition, credit card companies take from 1 - 7% of all donations made that way. It is not clear that we can adequately safeguard donations taken over the web. There is also concern about the extra work created for staff. Fundraising committee should discuss this issues.

4. **Board Development Issues:**

Board Development Committee hasn’t met. The Committee needs to talk about a range of issues, including: whether to continue to hold meetings in New York; who is on the letterhead, if there should be an advisory board; the need for more Board recruitment and a decision on the two people who have requested to join the Board; the diversity of the Board.

5. **Personnel Committee**

Pam Chamberlain reported that there is a third person in the office on three days a week. Margarita Fernandez is working two days a week in the part time paid staff position. Colleen Ferguson is volunteering one day a week while she looks for full time work. This arrangement is going well but it is only a short term solution to staffing issues.

The Committee looked into retirement plans as requested. They looked at the National Organizers Alliance plan +TIAA-CREF. Cheryl Smith has provided some information on retirement plans in general. The Committee hopes to make a recommendation soon.

The Committee has been discussing the Board proposal for additional staff. The Committee has come up with three scenarios that it would like each Board Committee to address and make recommendations about. The three scenarios (see chart attached) include:

1. **What we have now.** A part time staff person who works a maximum of twenty hours a week. This person is support staff and helps Robin and Carol both cut down on over time and do some program development.
2. *Moderate growth.* A full time support staff person who also takes on some basic grant and fundraising projects. They would also have responsibility for maintenance of the web site.

3. *Substantial growth.* This is a new full-time position that would re-configure the existing jobs.

Questions raised include: Will adding staff also increase revenues? Would a new person pay for him/herself? Louis Kampf wanted information on how additional staff would affect the ratio of overhead to program expenditures. The Board requested that the Finance Committee look at the recommendations. Carol reminded everyone that as we get more grant applications and more donors, there will be more work created. Marc Miller said that it is clear that we need a third staff person. The issue is should the staffing be hierarchical or a peer situation. Pam Chamberlain asked that each Board committee discuss the third person as part of their agenda.

Robin and Marc requested that this issue be put on the agenda for the New York meeting. A report back from each committee should occur at that time.

6. **Grants**

The Grant Committee is looking at clarifying the guidelines for groups whose budgets are between $100,000 and $250,000. The Committee is also looking at the issue of multi-year grants. There is also a suggestion that Resist consider having one cycle a year (out of the eight) in which larger grants would be given out.

7. **Select Chair/New Meeting Site/Agenda**

The next Board meeting will be held on **May 2 in New York at Paul Lauter's** house. Paul’s address is 500 E. 77th Street, New York, NY 10162. 203/297-2303 (w). Please call the office to discuss travel arrangements. If no more than two people from New York are able to attend this meeting, the location will be changed back to Boston. Carol and Robin will try to let people know the meeting status as soon as possible in order to ensure everyone has time to make their arrangements.
Request for Reconsideration

Mobilization for Survival
11 Garden Street, Cambridge, MA 02138 Wells Wilkinson 617/354-0008
NO. Bart Laws, a Mobe Coordinating Committee member, sent a letter asking for reconsideration. He indicated that he was doing so independently and not at Mobe's request. Louis and Carol indicated that they stand by the original Board decision. Write a basic letter saying no.

EMERGENCY GRANTS

1) Emergency Committee Against the War in Iraq $300*
c/o AFSC, 2161 Massachusetts Avenue, Cambridge, MA 02140 Joe Gerson 617/661-6130
Funding to support a series of actions to oppose any military action against Iraq and to advocate for an end to the economic embargo against the Iraqi people.

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Central, Latin America and the Caribbean

1. Carolina Interfaith Task Force on Central America $2000
1105 Sapling Place, Raleigh, NC 27615 Gail Phares 919/856-9468
Funding for the Media Alert Project which educates activists and provides tools for them to take action on a variety of issues, including labor issues, and SOA activism.

Decision: Full X Partial No Undecided

Comments: Lack of position on women's rights and reproduction-abortion rights is a problem. Weak answers to #10. This is basically a one-person organization. Send a "yes, but" letter. Ask them to articulate positions know they take.
Resist Personnel Planning Discussion 3/15/98

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Staffing Scenario</th>
<th>Job Description</th>
<th>Cost</th>
<th>Benefit</th>
<th>Questions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. What We Have Now</td>
<td>data entry • telephone • mail • special projects</td>
<td>at $8-10/hr, max 20 hours/wk=$10,000/yr</td>
<td>staff freed up to complete their own work • some program development possible</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>part time, entry level, subordinate, no benefits</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Moderate Growth</td>
<td>office support work • bookkeeping, files, etc. • web page maintenance • volunteer and donor correspondence • basic grant outreach, maintenance, processing • pledge development • board packet prep • newsletter tasks</td>
<td>somewhere between $18-25,000 plus benefit package</td>
<td>all work done more efficiently • more time for existing staff to work with program, board, and vision development • more revenue</td>
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<td>C. Substantial Growth</td>
<td>all 3 positions redefined to include such activities as:</td>
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<td>full time, new job descriptions, peer status, benefits</td>
<td>• creating grantee networks</td>
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<td>• targeting additional resources and referring to others</td>
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<td>• technical assistance to grantees</td>
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<td>• new program development</td>
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<td>• new fundraising goals and strategies</td>
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<td>• travelling rep</td>
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<td>50% increase in staff salaries and benefits ($35,000 +)</td>
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<td>• substantial increase in revenues due to more fundraising</td>
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<td>• increased visibility and impact for Resist</td>
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<td>• room to try on new directions for org.</td>
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Finance Committee Minutes
3/30/98

Present: Robin Carton, Carol Schachet, Cheryl Smith.

1. Review of the current expenditures in relation to budgeted amounts

   Looks on target at this time.

2. Discussion of the audited financial statements.

   No significant differences from unaudited year ends reviewed in February.

3. Analysis of our current investments

   Current distribution: 40% $145,000 Stocks (Calvert, Domini & F’s Equity)
   34% $124,000 Bonds (Calvert)
   26% $92,200 Cash (Calvert, Cambridge Trust Company)
   100% $361,200

   Current distribution looks good. The question is raised as to whether Resist should continue its investments at Calvert. Robin has had administrative problems with Calvert regarding the handling of the accounts and their ability to move money appropriately from one account to the next. Cheryl will look into other bond funds to see if there might be another course of action to take. She will at minimum look at Parnassus and Citizens, although there may be others. She also suggested that Resist consider having Charles Schwab manage the accounts and provide unified statements.

3. Personnel Committee Requests

   a. Retirement Packages

      Cheryl will take a first look at the TIAA-CREF package.
Eileen Bolinsky
25 Ballard Street
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(617) 522-0345 (h)
(617) 520-6865 (w)
eileenbo@juno.com

Hans Koning
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(203) 255-1914 (h)

Paul Lauter
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or: c/o WOLA
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(516) 329-5490 (h)
amner@worldnet.att.net
Finance Committee Minutes
3/30/98

Present: Robin Carton, Carol Schachet, Cheryl Smith.

1. Review of the current expenditures in relation to budgeted amounts

Looks on target at this time.

2. Discussion of the audited financial statements.

No significant differences from unaudited year ends reviewed in February.

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Current distribution:  
40% $145,000 Stocks (Calvert, Domini & ‘s Equity)  
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Current distribution looks good. The question is raised as to whether Resist should continue its investments at Calvert. Robin has had administrative problems with Calvert regarding the handling of the accounts and their ability to move money appropriately from one account to the next. Cheryl will look into other bond funds to see if there might be another course of action to take. She will at minimum look at Parnassus and Citizens, although there may be others. She also suggested that Resist consider having Charles Schwab manage the accounts and provide unified statements.

3. Personnel Committee Requests

a. Retirement Packages

Cheryl will take a first look at the TIAA-CREF package.
b. Proposal for additional staff.

1) *What we have now.*

A part time staff person who works a maximum of twenty hours a week. This person is support staff and helps Robin and Carol both cut down on overtime and do some program development.

In direct impact on ability to produce revenue. Would probably cover him/herself. If didn’t cover their own costs, overhead will increase in relation to program costs. Probably will not affect overhead to program ration significantly.

2) *Moderate growth.*

A full time support staff person who also takes on some basic grant and fundraising projects. They would also have responsibility for maintenance of the web site.

Would enable more pledge work/revenue, create web revenue, Carol could engage in more fundraising activities (e.g. house parties, major donor visits, research on fundraising strategies). Would probably cover him/herself. If didn’t cover their own costs, overhead will increase in relation to program costs. Probably will not affect overhead to program ration significantly. Would be doing some program work.

3) *Substantial growth.*

This is a new full-time position that would re-configure the existing jobs.

Would probably offset any costs, depending on their skills. Would be engaged in program work.

4) Should the staffing be hierarchical or a peer situation?

If this were to be a peer relationship, there would need to be significant attention paid to whether staff would be able to work together well. In three person offices, studies and anecdotal data show that relationship may be more difficult to maintain on a peer level. There are less concerns when the relationship is hierarchical. The process needs to be thorough with more attention paid to interpersonal skills than to demonstrated ability at tasks.

Cheryl and Robin noted a preference for Scenario 2, followed by the addition of a part-time fundraiser after analysis of performance of three person office. Carol noted preference for hiring both a support person and a part-time fundraiser immediately. No one noted a preference for only Scenario 1 or only Scenario 3.

The next **Finance Committee meeting** will be held on **Monday, June 1 at 12:30**. The meeting will be on the second floor of One Financial Center at the Atrium Cafeteria (presumably over lunch- bring your own!).
To: Debra Kay Jefferson, Carol Schachet, Cheryl Smith, and Nancy Wechsler

From: Robin Carton

Re: Finance Committee Meeting

Date: March 30, 1998

This is just a brief reminder that we will have a Finance Committee meeting on Monday, March 30 at 12:30. The meeting will be at South Station, in the second floor seating at the Food Court (presumably over lunch- bring your own!).

I have enclosed a copy of the most recent Balance Sheet, Income State and Subsidiary Schedule for your review. I have also enclosed the audited 1997 year end statements.

The Agenda includes:

1) a review of the current expenditures in relation to budgeted amounts;
2) a discussion about the audited financial statements;
3) an analysis of our current investments; and
3) a review of the Personnel Committee requests.

Personnel Committee Requests

1. The Committee looked into retirement plans as requested. They looked at the National Organizers Alliance plan +TIAA-CREF. The Personnel Committee requested that the Finance Committee look over the TIAA-CREF package.

2. The Committee has been discussing the Board proposal for additional staff. The Committee has come up with three scenarios that it would like the Finance Committee to address and make recommendations about. The three scenarios (see chart attached) include:

1. What we have now. A part time staff person who works a maximum of twenty hours a week. This person is support staff and helps Robin and Carol both cut down on overtime and do some program development.

2. Moderate growth. A full time support staff person who also takes on some basic grant and fundraising projects. They would also have responsibility for maintenance of the web site.
3. Substantial growth. This is a new full-time position that would re-configure the existing jobs.

Questions raised include:

a. Will adding staff also increase revenues?

b. Would a new person pay for him/herself?

c. How would additional staff affect the ratio of overhead to program expenditures.

d. Should the staffing be hierarchical or a peer situation?

Comments included: As we get more grant applications and more donors, there will be more work created.
2. Chiapas Schools Construction Teams/San Diegans for Peace in Mexico

Defer

3903 Center Street, San Diego CA 92103 Peter Brown 619/232-2841

Funding for group which seeks to create schools led by indigenous people and to organize for peaceful, political solutions to the conflict in Chiapas.

Decision: Full _____ Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____

Comments:

Not clear if they are doing education/local work. Conflict in information from application and reference. Seem like they are mostly providing material aid. Postpone for clarification and ask for additional references.

3. Inter Religious Task Force on Central America

$2,000

3606 Bridge Avenue, Cleveland, OH 44113 Tony Vento 216/961-0003

Funding to upgrade computer equipment to support advocacy and organizing related to a range of activities in Central America, including: declassification of documents related to Guatemala and Honduras, opposition to sweatshops, SOA and NAFTA.

Decision: Full X Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____

Comments:

Answers to Question 10 are sparse. No position on rights of older people. Send “yes, but” letter.

4. Tonantzin: Boston Committee to Support the Native Peoples of Mexico

$1,210

31 Chester Street, #2F, Somerville, MA 02144 Anna Utech 617/629-2449

Funding for a campaign in response to the massacre of indigenous people in Chiapas and the increased militarization and paramilitary violence in the area.

Decision: Full X Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____

Comments:

ARTHUR R. COHEN MEMORIAL GRANT

Community Organizing/Anti-Racism

5. Cape Codders Against Racism

$1,000

P.O. Box 1053, East Dennis, MA 02641 David E. Lilienthal, Jr. 508/385-8654

Funding for the newsletter In Other Words which examines issues of racism on Cape Cod.

Decision: Full X Partial _____ No _____ Undecided _____

Comments:

Some concerns about newsletter, but it is an important resource on the Cape.
6. **Collective Seeds of Peace**  
P.O. Box 31076, Flagstaff, AZ 86003  Rachel Warns  520/774-3645  
Funding to bring together representative of all Big Mountain support groups for a three day conference to build a national network.  

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided  
Comments:  
Why is this group taking a lead role with calling Big Mountain groups together?

7. **Organization for Black Struggle**  
1401 Rowan, St. Louis, MO 63112  314/367-5959  
Funding to prepare fifty people to attend the Black Radical Congress which will attempt to build a left political movement in the Black community.  

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided  
Comments:  
Funding Exchange requested that we refer this group to them.

8. **Progressive Resource Action Cooperative**  
Box 2600 Station A, Champaign, IL 61824  Patrick Oray  217/352-9782  
Funding for the Conference for the Elimination of Racist Mascots which hopes to unite activists fighting for eradication of all racist depictions of Native Americans which appear in the form of mascots.  

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided  
Comments:  
A lot of money requested for travel. Are they too narrow? Is liberal money available for this? Merely removing a racist mascot does not necessarily impact institutional racism. Could be an organizing foothold. Work with National Coalition on Racism, Sports and the Media. More effective to fund anti-war activism on campus since a lot of military research goes on there? Need to know long term goals-connections to affirmative action struggles, other strategies for fighting racism. Come back with another proposal- perhaps after conference.

9. **Rogers Park Community Action Network**  
1545 W. Morse, Chicago, IL 60626  Fran Tobin  773/973-7888  
Funding to purchase a high quality/volume photocopier for groups involved in organizing around tenants' rights, affordable housing, jobs and sustainable communities.  

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided  
Comments:  

10. **Rural Organizing Project**  
P.O. Box 1350, Scappoose, OR 97056  Kelley Weigel  603/397-5453  
Funding for a conference entitled *Organizing for Power: Rural Caucus and Strategizing 1998* to develop social and economic justice campaigns for the upcoming year.  

Decision:  Full  Partial  No  Undecided  
Comments:  

11. Speak Out
P.O. Box 99096, Emeryville, CA 94662   Felicia Gustin  510/601-0182
Funding to counter right wing activism on college campuses and to assist students participating in progressive activism.

Decision: Full ___  Partial X ___  No ___  Undecided ___
Comments:
Don't usually fund this work. Are mostly an artists/speakers agency. Do educational work. A good resource to get information out on college campuses. Not a Resist priority, but valuable to support development of resources.

Economic Justice

12. End Corporate Domination Alliance
HCR-82, Fossil, OR 97830   Karen Coulter  541/468-2028
Funding for a regional conference to address the need to dismantle the mechanism of corporate control over communities and ecosystems.

Decision: Full X ___  Partial ___  No ___  Undecided ___
Comments:
New group, but good reference

13. Neighborhood Economic Development and Advocacy Project
126 University place, 5th Floor, New York, NY 10003   Hilary Botein  212/633-8585
Funding for the New York City Community Reinvestment Task Force which works for economic justice in low income communities and neighborhoods of color.

Decision: Full X ___  Partial ___  No ___  Undecided ___
Comments:
Send a strong "yes but" letter. "Sexual orientation is not relevant to the strong work of the task force."

Environmental

14. Citizens for Alternatives to Radioactive Dumping (CARD)
144 Harvard SE, Albuquerque, NM 87106   Maria Santelli  505/266-2663
To fund three regional Nonviolent Civil Resistance workshops in communities along the Waste Isolation Pilot Project (WIPP) transport routes to oppose the movement of radioactive waste through their communities.

Decision: Full X ___  Partial ___  No ___  Undecided ___
Comments:
15. Gateway Green Alliance  
$2,000  
P.O. Box 8094, St. Louis, MO 63156  Barbara Chicherio 314/727-8554  
Funding for a conference on the health dangers of biotechnology entitled First Grassroots Gathering on Biodevastation: Genetic Engineering.  
Decision: Full X Partial ___ No ___ Undecided ___  
Comments: Not clear if their science is correct. Suggest they connect with Committee for Responsible Genetics and Ruth Hubbard.

16. People Organized in Defense of Earth and Her Resources (PODER)  
$2,000  
55 North IH 35, #205B, Austin, TX 78702  Susana Almanza 512/472-9921  
Funding for the Land Use and Sustainability Campaign which trains members of grassroots organizations and neighborhood associations how to access information and governmental entities in order to protect their health and environment.  
Decision: Full X Partial ___ No ___ Undecided ___  
Comments:

17. Student Environmental Action Coalition  
Defer  
P.O. Box 31909, Philadelphia, PA 19104  Liz Abercrombie 215/222-471  
Funding to support a membership drive and to pay student organizers a stipend.  
Decision: Full ____ Partial ____ No ____ Undecided ____  
Comments: Defer.  
Not clear if they have resolved the issues of institutional racism that Resist gave them an emergency grant for. Not clear if they have the capacity to succeed right now. Seem to have leadership issues. No local references. Need more evidence that they’re together.

Gay/Lesbian/Bisexual

18. Trans Action  
P.O. Box 632954, San Diego, CA 92163  Delores Dickerson 619/298-2477  
Funding to organize opposition to the San Diego crossdressing law which allows transsexuals to be arrested for the feminine cut of their clothing.  
Decision: Full ____ Partial ____ No ____ Undecided ____  
Comments: Not great political analysis. No interaction with youth or women. See transgendered people as disabled.
Health/AIDS/Disability

19. ADAPT $2,000
1319 Lamar Square Drive, #101, Austin, Texas 78704  Bob Kafka  512/442-0252
Funding for general support for rally and press event surrounding first annual ADAPT ranking of ten worst states providing home and community based attendant care services.

Decision: Full X  Partial  No  Undecided

Comments:

SALZMAN GRANT

20. Support Coalition $2,000
454 Willamette, #216, P.O. Box 11284, Eugene, OR 97440-3484  David Oaks  541-345-9106
Funding for literature, organizing activities and direct actions in the Campaign to RESIST Forced Outpatient Psychiatric Drugging.

Decision: Full  Partial  No X  Undecided

Comments:
Send general standard “no” letter. NAMI is one of their main targets. This is not a clear-cut issue. Louis suggests contacting Michael Glenn, a founder of a radical therapists group for more insight.

Labor

21. Black Workers for Justice $2,000
P.O. Box 1863, Rocky Mount, NC 27802  Ashaki M. Binta  404/768-8801
Funding for the newsletter Justice Speaks which looks at the emerging southern labor movement and the struggle for justice in the South.

Decision: Full X  Partial  No  Undecided

Comments:

SALZMAN GRANT

22. Black Workers for Justice $1000**
P.O. Box 1863, Rocky Mount, NC 27802  Ashaki M. Binta  404-768-8801
A loan to conduct a direct mail campaign to raise funds for the first International Worker's School.

Decision: Full X  Partial  No  Undecided

Comments:

Native American

23. Inter-Tribal Council of Tolba Menahan $1,000
P.O. Box 440384, Somerville, MA 02144  Jacqueline "Firewoman" Emerton  617/623-7302
Funding to coordinate an event designed to bring together representatives and leaders form indigenous organizations to address a range of issues related to civil and human rights violations experienced by native peoples.

Decision: Full  Partial X  No  Undecided

Comments:
24. Wakina Sky/Helena Indian Alliance
436 North Jackson, Helena, MT 59601 Marcia Dias 406/442-9244 x20
Funding for the Wakina Sky Learning Circle, a youth program aimed at empowering Native American youth and their parents to take control of children's education.

Decision: Full ____ Partial ____ No ___ Undecided ___
Comments:
Looks mostly like social services around school issues. Gay/Lesbian answer troublesome. Letter saying that if you can show us you're doing work that is beyond just empowerment but also organizing to change the system, please re-apply.

25. Utah CURE
6061 Woodsborough Way, Salt Lake City, UT 84118 Paula Jones 801/956-2112
Funding for general support for organization which seeks to create changes in the state prison system, particularly in respect to the treatment of mentally ill prisoners.

Decision: Full ____ Partial ____ No ___ Undecided ___
Comments:
In letter say HIV/AIDS is not just a gay issue.

Total Number of Grants: 25 +4 not on Agenda; +4 Emergency Grants; +1 loan
Total Amount Requested: $45,560
Total Allocation for Cycle: $37,500; +$1,200 for Emergency Grants
Total Allocated: $28,060; + $900 for Emergency Grants; + $1000 for a loan
Total Allocation: $29,960
Total Grants: 17 Grants; 3 Emergency Grants; 1 Loan
Total Grants and Loans: 21
NOT ON AGENDA

1. Let's Start $2,000
St. Vincent's Church, 1408 S. 10th Street, St. Louis, MO 63104 Jackie Toben 314/231-9328
Funding for Stories of Hope which is a compilation of women's experiences in prison.
Reason: Social services focused on women making the transition form prison. No real organizing or attempts to affect outsiders.

2. National Whistleblower Center $1,000
P.O. Box 3768, Washington, DC 20007 Stephen Kohn 202/667-7515
Funding for a newsletter which looks at the legal rights of whistleblowers.
Reason: Budget is over $200,000. Most of work is lawsuit or legal issues.

3. Prison Action Committee $2,000
661 E. 79th Street, Chicago, IL 60619 Barbara Echols 773/874-7390
Funding for newsletter Inside/Out which looks at a range of prison and criminal justice issues.
Reason: Budget is over $175,000.

4. San Francisco Bay Area Friendshipment $2,000
3181 Mission Street, #14, San Francisco, CA 94110 Alicia Jrapko 510/273-9199
Funding to purchase a bookmobile to travel around the San Francisco Bay area to discuss the effects of the US blockade in Cuba and then on to Cuba with Pastors for Peace.
Reason: No real domestic organizing. Mostly a material aid campaign. Could come back if doing local organizing.

5. Grassroots Interconnect $300*
57 South Main Street, Pittsford, NY 14534 Gail/Peter Mott 716/381-5606
Funding for a special issue of Grassroots Interconnect to be used at a meeting of Latin America groups in Washington, D.C. to which will discuss the crisis in Chiapas and decide what strategies to use to oppose the war and US military aid to Mexico.
Reason: Not an emergency. Encouraged them to apply for a regular grant to fund follow up steps from the meeting.
Subject: Jim Forman Appeal
Date: Fri, 19 Jun 1998 17:33:12 -0400
From: Paul Lauter <Paul.Lauter@trincoll.edu>
To: resistinc@igc.apc.org

People might want to think of this on Sunday--where I will not be.
Apologies, but the personal circumstances are a problem. paul

> X-Sender: nadels@hostl.swosu.edu
> Date: Fri, 19 Jun 1998 14:40:49 -0500
> To: "Robert J. S. Bob Ross" <rross@clarku.edu>, Al Haber <OD4Life@aol.com>,
> Allen Young <aaayoung@aol.com>,
> Betty Garman Robinson <brobinso@welchlink.welch.jhu.edu>
begrobinso@erols.com,
> Cathy Wilkerson <cwilker@ix.netcom.com>,
> Clark Kissinger <73447.1527@compuserve.com>,
> David Wellman <WELLMAN@CATS.UCSC.EDU>,
> Dorothy Burlage <burlageD@aol.com>,
> "Goldsmith, Steve" <TOMORROWSG@aol.com>,
> "JAMES W. RUSSELL" <RUSSELLj@ECSUC.CTSTATEU.EDU>,
> Jim Monsonis <monsonis@simons-rock.edu>,
> Jim Russell <russellj@ecsuc.ctstateu.edu>,
> Joan Goldsmith <jgoldsm@aol.com>,
> Jonny Lerner <jonathanlerner@worldnet.att.net>,
> Laura Hammond <lahammond@ucdavis.edu>, Marc Flacks
<flx@cats.ucsc.edu>,
> Marilyn Katz <marilynkatz@aol.com>, Marilyn Webb <marilwebb@aol.com>,
> Mariya Strauss <71112.2765@compuserve.com>,
> Michael James <Fatback@aol.com>, Michael James <Heartway@aol.com>,
> Mike Klonsky <MKlo@aol.com>, Mike Spiegel <Mikespieg@aol.com>,
> Oli Fein <oFein@mail.med.cornell.edu>,
> Paul Lauter <Paul.Lauter@mail.trincoll.edu>,
> Rick Horevitz <horevitz@uic.edu>, Rick Salter <salter@inforamp.net>,
> Robb Burlage <burlage@ncccsa.org>,
> Robert Pardun and Helen Garvy <RPardun@aol.com>,
> Sara Monsonis <noogie@simons-rock.edu>,
> sarah williams <shw8401@redshift.com>, Stan Nadel <NadelS@swosu.edu>,
> Stanley Aronowitz <saronowi@email.gc.cuny.edu>,
> Steve Tappis <tappismail@prodigy.com>,
> Todd Gitlin <gitlin@is.nyu.edu>, Vivian Rothstein <vivroth@aol.com>,
> Sarah Weintraub <sweintraub@clarku.edu>,
> Marci Goede <mgoede@clarku.edu>,
> Illana Lazinger <ilazinger@clarku.edu>,
> Rick Moreno <rmorocco@clarku.edu>,
> Lisa Grandmaison <Lgrandmaison@clarku.edu>,
> Irene Antonellis <Iantonellis@clarku.edu>,
> Peter Doran <pdoran@clarku.edu>, Remi Hoki <rhoki@clarku.edu>
> From: Stan Nadel <nadelS@swosu.edu>
> Subject: Jim Forman Appeal

> 4, URGENT APPEAL FOR JIM FORMAN, former Student Nonviolent Coordinating
Committee (SNCC) Executive Secretary
> From Mike Miller, Organize Training Center, San Francisco (former SNCC
field secretary) June 2, 1998
>
> This is an URGENT REQUEST. Jim needs financial help NOW.
Jim Forman Appeal

He is nearing 70 and has been in a battle with cancer for several years now. A group of New Yorkers is covering Jim's health care plan. But that doesn't pay the rent or put food on the table. THERE IS AN URGENT NEED FOR FUNDS SO JIM CAN PAY HIS RENT, etc. Really, its that close to the edge.

Jim has very little regular income. He teaches a semester here and another there as an adjunct at colleges and universities in the D.C. area.

He occasionally receives honoraria for guest lecturers. That's it! In our romantic youth we didn't think much about pensions, and nonprofit organizations didn't have to contribute to social security in those days.

Please stretch and make as generous a contribution as you can. Jim is probably one of the most unsung heroes of the Southern Civil Rights Movement. His importance to The Movement cannot be overestimated.

Make your check payable to Jim Forman and send it directly to him at:
P.O. Box 21097, Washington, D.C. 20009

Tim Sampson adds: As I reflected on Mike Miller's urgent request I first made the connection that through honoring the work of those who have gone before we are connecting our ongoing work for justice to its roots.

But then I came to feel a different idea: I thought of the vision of the "beloved community" which was part of the Southern Civil Rights Movement.

At first I sorrowed that in today's times we don't seem to have much vision like that. Then I realized that by keeping the faith with Jim and others on whose shoulders we stand we are actually LIVING in a beloved community! That is what caring about brother Jim Forman and sending our money and our love means.

PLEASE SHARE THIS MESSAGE WIDELY WITH FRIENDS & COLLEAGUES IN YOUR BELOVED COMMUNITIES! onward! with love, tim

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*********************************************

"History is an art--like all the other sciences." Veronica Wedgewood

"You don't need a weatherman To know which way the wind blows"
'Checks for the 21st Century'

If the mountain of mail we got in response to Michael H. Shuman’s “Why Do Progressive Foundations Give Too Little to Too Many?” [Jan. 12/19] had been grants instead of letters, the left’s fundraising problems would be over. Grantmakers took issue with some or all of the article; grantseekers reacted with “gratitude, relief and rage,” to quote Kathy Engel of Riptide Communications. A sampling follows.

Calais, Vt.
Michael Shuman’s five classic rejoinders from the foundation world will ring true to everyone who has ever worked to sustain a struggling grassroots organization. But there is one fundamental reality that Shuman overlooks: While the right-wing foundations he cites are all firmly committed to an ideologically rightist agenda, the reverse is rarely true of nominally “leftist” foundations. As long as progressive organizations serve a fragmented, traditionally charitable role, they are deemed worthy of the minimal support Shuman describes. But few of the foundations that will fund progressive social services, legal interventions and organizing for moderate reforms share any commitment to the fundamental restructuring of society. Fundamental social change, even when embraced by sympathetic program officers, is clearly at odds with the ideological proclivities—or class interests—of those foundations’ extravagantly wealthy sponsors.

Brian Tokar
East Lansing, Mich.

The situation is even worse than Michael Shuman wrote, and more systemic. As the author of a report on national foundations told me in the eighties, “There’s a fundamental difference between the founders of the conservative and the progressive foundations. The conservatives made the money themselves. They understand investment. The progressives are the grandchildren of the people who made the money. They are very short-term oriented and thus give grants that are typically small and of short duration.”

I can attest to this, having raised money from progressive foundations from 1975 to 1990. Their staff would tell me that our research and publications were outstanding. Invariably I was told, “You do great work. We see your reports and numbers everywhere. The media attention is outstanding. But we’ve funded you for three years. We gave you seed money. Now that’s enough.” These foundations don’t understand that the seed only begins the process of growth. Plants need further nourishment and tending in order to bear fruit. So our organizations start with a flourish, do good work, get members and then—facing dwindling funding—wither and die. Until progressive foundations become serious about sustained investment, the Heritage Foundations of the world will influence much of the future.

Marion Anderson
Employment Research Associates

New York City
Michael Shuman confuses the making of some grants to progressive groups, like his own, with the purposes of the grantmaking institution as a whole. MacArthur could hardly be called a progressive funder overall because in addition to its support for the Institute for Policy Studies, it made grants the same year to the Hoover Institution and the Olin School of Business. Only some of the Public Welfare Foundation grants Shuman identifies in Table III are progressive, while the Bradley grants listed are all conservative. The conservatives he identifies are consistently ideological—the so-called progressives are not. As a result the total assets of foundations addressing progressive causes dwindles quickly and significantly from the $8 billion he asserts. Shuman is comparing eggs and oranges, especially in the absence of a definition of what constitutes a progressive grant.

Progressive principles argue that we do not have the conservative luxury of making policy from the top down. Real popular participation, something that conservatives need not contend with, is valued by progressives. The voice of experience, as opposed to expertise, is often absent in the shadow of the Capitol.

We at the Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation do fund a few “special issues” areas: toxics, reproductive rights, sustainable agriculture, sustainable communities and environmental activities within the metropolitan New York region. Our funds are limited, and we believe that we can be more effective by being more focused. We di-

(Continued on Page 23)
March 23, 1998

The Nation. 23

"Erika" march, followed by his favorite tune, the old Nazi favorite "Lili Marlene."

An editorial by Cristian Labbe lauding "the vision of a statesman" appears in the leading daily, El Mercurio (a former beneficiary of C.I.A. funding).

At twelve noon, a few dozen student leaders gather in front of the downtown Defense Ministry and unfurl a banner offering Pinochet a one-way ticket to Spain for his birthday. Seconds later, squads of national police attack the students and several journalists, clubbing, tear-gassing and arresting them. No one knows what the charges are.

By 8 P.M., Pinochet has arrived at the army's so-called Rock House, where he is feted by 1,300 guests, including several top industrialists, army officers, TV personalities and a former Miss Universe. The President Pinochet Foundation is transmitting the event by closed-circuit TV to thirty-six thousand other banquets in Pinochet's honor across the country. Three of Chile's private TV networks are also transmitting the entire event. As I head to the airport I hear Pinochet's crackly voice over the radio telling his supporters that he is "perfectly aware" of the "destructive ambitions" harbored by those who criticize the military. Suggesting that any effort to hold him personally responsible for the past would be tantamount to treason, he goes on to warn that "anything that affects a single member of the army affects the whole army."

When my taxi crosses into downtown we are snarled in traffic. Some 5,000 mostly young protesters are in the streets blocking traffic, singing and wishing the general a "very unhappy birthday and all the sorrow in the world." To make my flight I have to dodge the water cannons, the barricades, the bonfires and tear gas. But I do so with pleasure. This evening Chile seems much like the country I knew twenty-five years ago. This demonstration is far different from the skirmishes staged all month by the Social Security sales force. These students are fighting for much more than their narrow personal interest. Those of us who lived through the promise of the Allende period hope they are not the last rattle on the snake of rebellion and liberation, that they are instead—and against the odds—the catalyst that will spur millions of others to remember a future.

EXCHANGE

(Continued From Page 2)

rect our resources to them because they reflect systemic problems whose solutions go beyond the specific issues. STEPHEN VIEDERMAN

Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation

Washington, D.C.

The Public Welfare Foundation was surprised and troubled to be cited by Michael Shuman as an example of "dangerously counterproductive" grantmaking. Anyone who knows our grantmaking knows that we do support multi-issue work and make general support and multi-year grants. Shuman's implication that we don't use the National Network of Grantmakers' Common Grant Application is especially troubling, since we were among the first national foundations to use it—indeed, it was developed when our executive director was part of the leadership of N.N.G.

Shuman and the foundation differ on his view that real change happens only through the work of Washington-based think tanks, including the Institute for Policy Studies, with which he is associated. For fifty years, our foundation has based its grantmaking on the belief that real change starts at the grassroots, supported by regional and national organizations. Shuman failed to disclose that the foundation has turned down several requests for support from I.P.S., a fact that clearly could have influenced his views in this article.

THOMAS J. SCANLON

Public Welfare Foundation

San Diego

When, almost a year ago, I told Michael Shuman that the label "progressive philanthropy" could be misleading and misconstrued, I had no idea that my speculations would only worsen the confusion evident in his Nation article. The goal of the N.N.G. is to move more money to social and economic justice causes of all types. Most of the twelve foundations Shuman labels "progressive" because they are listed in the N.N.G. directory are included there simply because one or two of their staff have chosen to join N.N.G. as individuals, not because the institutions identify with the progressive objectives of the network. Shuman's treatment of community organizing is patronizing. Grantmakers within N.N.G. do tend to fund democratic projects run by everyday people. Why should the academic specialists who staff think tanks be any better suited to be policy-makers than those who work tirelessly on behalf of grassroots projects around the country? Change originates at different levels and places. Foundations must be strategic in their support of community-based, regional and national organizations. No funder or think tank ever made a social movement; to the extent that they act in coalition with the grassroots, the left will be powerfully enhanced.

Shuman has long urged funders to give multi-year, general-support grants. But I differ with Shuman on his definition of multi-issue funding. Take, for example, the environmental justice movement, which addresses the needs of poor communities of color around health, labor, work and welfare with environmental concerns such as toxics. Or, in another case, would Shuman consider the well-being of women and children a "single issue," when nearly every aspect of federal "devolution" and welfare "reform" directly affects this majority?

If Shuman's suggestions for the development of progressive philanthropy are to have the impact he desires, he will have to reassess the evidence on those foundations he labels "progressive."

TERESA J. OSENDAL. The National Network of Grantmakers

Amherst, Mass.

The Peace Development Fund just took the plunge and subjected itself to the kind of feed-back Michael Shuman calls for by launching a "national listening project" to hear out grantees and activists about foundations like ours. Much of what we've learned is echoed in Shuman's critique: We need to focus on institution-building and providing support for the long haul.

My list of top twenty grantees, however, would not be dominated by think tanks. Yes, we need a strong policy apparatus; yes, we need to get smart about media. But not at the expense of movement building. Academics and experts can help shape the message, but it will be dead on arrival in places of power if it doesn't arise from the voices of everyday people. The conservative think tanks were playing a parlor game before the Christian Coalition came along, built a grassroots base and made them political powers. It would be the height of irony if, in trying to learn from the successes of the right, we forgot the lesson they stole from movement politics on the left. My funding list would give high priority to organizations that will pull together the thousands of activist groups under a multi-issue vision—and help break down the class, race and gender barriers that keep them balkanized.

The Peace Development Fund throws out a second challenge, this one to the National Network of Grantmakers. Help us progressive foundations come together as a community and sort this out. Without a forum for building and sustaining a momentum for systemic change, even the most enlightened foundations will still find ourselves writing checks from the margins of the twenty-first century.

LINDA STOUT

Peace Development Fund

San Francisco

Michael Shuman believes that "the left is focusing much of its money on thousands of grass-roots groups disconnected from one another and
from national politics" and that national foundations "should insist that grantees be connected with larger national debates, movements and institutions." Given current practice, the consequences of this strategy are predictable: The thinking and strategizing will be done primarily by white, middle-class males.

The groups based in low-income communities and communities of color that are in fact forging innovative ways to combat the right, organize a base (let's remember, the right has not just churned out ideas—it has organized people) and build coalitions, and that are absolutely committed to building a national progressive social and economic justice movement, will be starved of resources.

Shuman's advice to the local groups cuts the other way: Our few national institutions and think tanks must be accountable to and consulting with the regional and local groups and their grassroots base. Our equivalent of the right's institutions and think tanks should be organized by a consortium of organizations with a base in the working class, people of color and other oppressed communities. Holly Fincke, Northern California Coalition for Immigrant Rights

Freeport, Me.

Michael Shuman has hit the nail on the head in a couple of profound ways—and missed it in one or two other respects. As a twenty-five-year veteran in the foundation philanthropy milieu, with a big foot now in the grantseeker world as well, I can report that giving away money to try to make our democratic system work for the rest of us as well as the rich and well-born is, indeed, a tricky business.

People get corrupted by the appearance of power. Giving away somebody's money should breed humility, but it often breeds the reverse. Some of the best ideas come from our ability to listen well, not from adhering to one grantmaking category or another. Fashions abound, even in the world of philanthropy. These should be resisted; genuine innovation comes from discovering talent and vision in the most unlikely places—military reformers inside the Pentagon, for instance. To recognize creativity when you see it, and at the right moment, and then to put some money into a project that might make a big difference, and sometimes does, can be the most satisfying job in the world.

Shuman is on target when he notes the progressive resistance to multi-issue agendas and the smell of politics, and the need for multiyear development grantmaking. He is less prescient when he fails to note that organizations like N.N.G. are made up of program officers with more or less authority, rather than grantmaking principals. People are often there without the power to make a difference.

Most important, where is the creativity or vision on the part of progressive foundations? There's a lot of handwringing about the right, but few big-picture ideas just now. The federal government is in deep dispute. Small-scale, locally based initiatives currently hold the best hopes for rejuvenating our democracy. If this appears to take us into the realm of the right, so be it. Too much money from too many founda-

SHUMAN REPLIES

Washington, D.C.

Many thanks to the hundred-plus people who've called, e-mailed or sent notes echoing my concerns. I especially appreciate the critical responses from several funders, since my purpose was to engage them in serious dialogue. Surprisingly few take issue with my recommendation that progressive foundations should increasingly support groups and causes that (1) are multi-issue, (2) expand the intellectual horizons of our movement and award (3) multi-year grants (4) for general support.

One exception is Stephen Viederman, who defends his narrow funding categories, arguing that he can be "more effective by being more focused." But as the right has shown, multi-issue funding facilitates greater focus— and more coherence in addressing "systemic problems"—by providing more money to fewer key institutions.

Several writers challenge my assessment that the top twelve progressive foundations have five times more assets than the top twelve conservative ones. They argue that I shouldn't count a foundation like MacArthur as progressive because it doesn't perform with ideological purity. Yet few of the foundations in my comparison, including the conservative ones, meet that standard. The Bradley Foundation, for example, funds the E.F. Schumacher Society's local-currency work and lots of politically neutral civic activities in Milwaukee.

Teresa Odendahl says not to count foundations listed in the N.N.G. directory, because some don't necessarily endorse its progressive agenda. But one reason executive directors join the N.N.G. and their foundations don't is to avoid higher dues. Let's include, for argument's sake, only the top twelve foundations that are institutional members of the N.N.G. and endorse its mission. The left's money advantage over the right shrinks from 5-1 to 3-1. Big deal.

Odendahl seems reluctant to acknowledge the importance of intellectual work, writing: "No funder or think tank ever made a social movement." Apparently, she never heard of the Reagan Revolution, led by the Heritage Foundation and its right-wing philanthropic supporters. Yes, some environmental justice groups are multi-issue. But what I meant by multi-issue groups worthy of greater support are those that assist all progressive issue groups, like TV and radio networks, Op-Ed services, journals, magazines and training centers.

And think tanks. Before urging foundations to reduce their paltry funding for left-leaning policy analysts, Linda Stout should consider that virtually every issue before Congress—from privatization of Social Security to the resolution to bomb Saddam Hussein—bears the fingerprints of right-wing think tanks. I'm happy to join her call that they also fund multi-issue grassroots groups. Truly progressive foundations should give balanced support to both.

Having worked for both local and national groups for the past fifteen years and having tried continually to bridge the gulf between them. I'd like to assure Holly Fincke that my plea for greater collaboration is not a secret plan for hegemony by white men in Washington. I agree that the views of the "working class, people of color and other oppressed communities" must inform such collaboration.

I never said that the Public Welfare Foundation doesn't accept the N.N.G.'s common grant application, only that 75 percent of the N.N.G.-affiliated institutions don't.

When Thomas Scanlon insists that his foundation makes "multi-year" grants, he means renewal is common. Public Welfare, like most progressive foundations, requires renewing grantees to jump through time-exhausting hoops year after year to reapply, remeet and await another agonizing decision. Of the nearly 400 major grants given by P.W. in the year I reviewed, only four guaranteed more than one year of support.

Public Welfare's turnarounds of I.P.S.'s grants exerted no more "influence" on the views I expressed than more than 100 other foundations I've worked with over fifteen years. To clarify my motives: I'd much rather a foundation like Public Welfare change and strengthen the progressive movement than ever receive another penny from it for the wrong reasons.

Anne Zill is right that most progressive grantees—and, to be fair, grantees—lack the "creativity or vision" to put big ideas on the table. Big ideas rarely fit into foundations' single-issue boxes, and if funding remains unavailable for intellectual work, we're likely to continue organizing around ideas that will never win the hearts and minds of most Americans.

I agree with Brian Tokar that progressive foundations are less committed to a "fundamental restructuring of society" than are conservative foundations. My modest recommendations can't revolutionize program officers' thinking—only new and better intellectual work can do that. But such reforms might strengthen key institutions, unify organizers and thinkers, and stop wasting everyone's time with unnecessary meetings and paperwork.

Since I share Viederman's belief in "real popular participation," I'm pleased to invite any reader interested in letting progressive funders know what they think about their practices to e-mail (shuman@igc.org) or call me (202-238-0010). I'll send you a short report card, which I will then summarize and publish in a special report. Maybe this will provide our friends in the funding community with something they've always demanded but rarely experienced—real accountability. Michael H. Shuman

CORRECTION

The author of the poem "And Yet" [Feb. 23] is Peter Kátor, not Michael Blumenthal, who translated it with Eszter Füské. Our apologies.

March 23, 1998

The Nation.
RESIST Personnel Committee Meeting
March 13, 1998 Minutes
3:30 PM

Present: Carol, Robin, Marc and Pam

1. The staff reported that there are two additional people working part time regular hours in the office: Marguerita (H?)Fernandez at 10 hrs/wk, $8/hr, T and Th, and Colleen Ferguson at 1 day/week, W, as a volunteer. They are both working out well and have definitely helped the crunch in office tasks staff were feeling. They have freed staff up for occasional substantive conversations and have forwarded the efforts of the web page development.

Both have been invited to Board meetings. Both will probably be gone soon; Marguerita is a senior at Tufts and will graduate and leave town, and Colleen is actively looking for full time work.

2. We discussed the process for deciding about whether to hire a third staffperson. Grants, Finance and Personnel are all supposed to discuss the issues in their own committees and then bring the discussion to the full Board. We decided to move right along and prepare a sheet for 3/15 meeting to get the discussion going. (See attached.) Marc suggested a comparative scenario approach with three tiers: continue what we have now, grow moderately or grow significantly. This will hopefully move others to react and make some decisions sooner rather than later.

3. Pam reported that Cheryl is researching 403(b) retirement plans by contacting TIAA CREF. They will send packets of info to the office and staff have graciously agreed to get them to committee members. NOA program seems to have little flexibility. At least this one meets our minimum preferences: portable, lots of choice and employer contribution available. We will all review and listen to staff’s reactions, but their initial response was positive.

Meeting ended 5:10.
retrospectively submitted....(tee hee)

Did we set another meeting? I don't recall.

Pam