Grassroots Fundraising Journal

VOLUME 36 NUMBER 2 • MARCH–APRIL 2017

A PUBLICATION OF
GIFT Grassroots Institute for Fundraising Training

- Fundraising Under 45
- Weathering the Storms for Grassroots Fundraisers
- Funding the Japanese American Movement for Redress

Contents

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FEATURE

ON OUR COVER

Wanto Co. was a store selling groceries and Japanese goods located on the corner of 8th and Franklin Streets in Oakland, CA. Store owner Tatsuro Masuda put up the "I am an American" sign on Dec. 8, 1941, following the attack on Pearl Harbor. Masuda, a University of California graduate, was forced to close the store following internment orders for all people of Japanese descent. He was taken to the Gila River, Relocation Center on Aug. 7, 1942. Rona Fernandez and Stan Yogi document the grassroots fundraising efforts that supported the Japanese American movement for redress in part one of their article, "Funding the Impossible Dream."

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Ordinary Courage From All of Us

IN THIS MOMENT, we are living through one of the most tumultuous social and political eras of my lifetime. Our current political situation is radically disturbing for us all and particularly fraught with real risk and danger to the livelihoods of several specifically targeted communities. The conditions we're living in and our resistance work has suddenly become exponentially more taxing on our already limited structural capacities, perceptions of resource scarcities, and our individual and collective psyches.

To be sure, some of us have sustained a strategic outlook on post-presidential election organizing. But many of us have struggled to gain our bearings in what might feel like a whole new world order. And still others of us find ourselves oscillating daily, back and forth within the vast space between these two positions.

An emerging social climate, steeped in hate, resentment and intolerance, threatens to erode progress reaped from generations of organizing. And projected cuts to grassroots programming and related funding under the new administration threatens our sense of stability. And yet, the fight for justice, as a matter of movement organizing and historical legacy, has always triggered backlash.

Given the extreme unpredictability of our current political climate, using our own faculties to frame and develop a sense of security can fortify the organizing potential of people power. The steady, guiding light of internal security empowers and calls us to action from a deep faith in our own abilities to resource our communities' liberation, regardless of external conditions.

These times call on us to practice trusting ourselves, our skills, and our relationships with one another, across generations of movement building for justice and equity. We must not be distracted from the visions of positive change we've already seeded and nursed, despite the enormous challenges that loom ahead. We must now hold each other to a higher standard in reaching for the impossible, dreaming of the unimaginable. A real win this time demands ordinary courage from us all instead of supernatural heroics from just a few.

This issue of the *Journal* brings you inspiration, technical know-how, and critical analysis to help navigate these challenging times. Kim Klein shares important perspective on the times we're living in as well as tips for fundraising under 45's regime. Rachel Herzing follows with a helpful guide for fortifying our systems and protocols against potential threats to our organizations. We close out the issue with part one of "Funding the Impossible Dream"—Rona Fernandez and Stan Yogi's examination of the grassroots fundraising that was the primary driver of the Japanese American movement for redress.

As always, please don't hesitate to reach out if you have any feedback or suggestions for topics to cover in future issues. We always appreciate hearing from you.

Veronica Garcia

How Do We Fundraise Now?

By Kim Klein

AT THE WOMEN'S MARCH IN WASHINGTON on Jan. 21, Gloria Steinem pointed out that one of the advantages of being old is that you can remember when things were worse. Although Steinem is older than I am, I found myself completely agreeing. Since Trump was selected by the Electoral College, liberals and leftists have run around with their hair on fire, acting like this is the absolutely worst thing that ever happened to our country. While there is no doubt he is bad, it is important to step back and remember there have been other bad times. From the Civil War to the Great Depression, the rise of McCarthyism to Jim Crow segregation, Japanese internment to assassinations of major civil rights icons, we have no shortage of examples of repression, state-sanctioned racism, and violence in our country's history.

And, in the lifetime of many of us, the USA PATRIOT ACT (Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) in 2001, which brought all the anti-Islam rhetoric as well as repression and a profoundly anti-immigrant climate—very much like today's—with one enormous difference: passed just after 9/11, the PATRIOT ACT was supported by some 65 percent of Americans.

The effects all of these times had on fundraising is not terribly well documented. Describing them in detail is far beyond the scope of this article. But here are some relevant relationships: The Community Chests, and later the United Way, began in the Great Depression, as people discovered that aggregating small gifts could lead to big change. Fundraising for humanitarian and arts-related causes became much more difficult during the McCarthy era because people who donated to these endeavors were afraid of being labeled as communists, causing some small arts organizations to go out of business. The death of Martin Luther King temporarily stalled fundraising for a number of poor people's movements, And of course the PATRIOT ACT reverberates to this day with many Muslim charities closed by government agencies or otherwise attacked and vilified. The leaders of the formerly largest Muslim charity in the U.S., the Holy Land Foundation, were convicted on evidence that has been widely discredited.[1]

1 aljazeera.com/programmes/aljazeeraworld/2016/10/holy-land-foundation-hamas-161004083025906.html

Finally, it is important to remember that the Obama Administration, either because its hands were tied or because Obama was truly a centrist, did not act as progressives might have wished on a lot of issues that Trump is simply worse on. The Obama administration had the dubious distinction of deporting more people than any other, earning him the moniker, "Deporter-in-Chief." (His administration deported 2.5 million people—more than all U.S. presidents of the 20th century combined). During the Obama administration, asset and income inequality increased to heights exceeding the Gilded Age that preceded the Great Depression. And whereas President George W. Bush authorized approximately 50 drone strikes that killed 296 terrorists and 195 civilians in Yemen, Pakistan and Somalia, President Obama authorized 10 times that many—506 strikes—that killed 3,040 terrorists and 391 civilians in his eight years in office.

DONATIONS ARE REFLECTING THE NEW PRIORITIES OF THE COUNTRY.

That said, the disapproval rating—after one month in office—of the current president is the highest of any president at this time in their presidency. In simple terms, the vast majority of us do not approve of the current administration's actions and rhetoric, and many in that majority are engaging in a variety of resistance and opposition strategies.

In terms of fundraising, donations are reflecting the new priorities of the country. A large number of organizations have received more donations from people who have never given to them before in a shorter period than ever before, garnering anywhere from dozens to thousands of new donors. Beyond the current outpouring of support to the ACLU and Planned Parenthood, even far less well-known organizations have experienced a dramatic surge in giving. Organizations working most directly for

immigration rights or reproductive justice are, for the most part, doing very well. Of course, they will need all the money they can get to counter what is coming out of Washington.

On the other hand, some donors to the arts or to direct service organizations are cutting back their giving to those organizations in order to give more to advocacy groups. Similarly, some donors to local efforts are scaling back in order to provide more support to national organizations.

So, how should grassroots and other nonprofit organizations think about their fundraising over the next four years? What changes should they make? What should stay the same?

Let's look at groups in the nonprofit sector in four segments, depending on their funding sources. I will offer suggestions for fundraising now for all segments, followed by ideas for fundraising for each segment.

Four Organizational Types by Funding Sources

A. Organizations whose issues are likely to be, or are already being, targeted by this administration: climate change, immigration, health care, labor, reproductive justice and LGBTQ.
B. Organizations that never had much government or foundation funding and that mostly work at a local level on issues that are not terribly controversial: feral cat rescues, historical societies, after-school programs, respite care, and so on.
C. Organizations that are heavily funded by the government, have some foundation or corporate funding, and have few individual donors such as social service agencies.
D. Organizations that are funded mostly by foundations that are now seeing shifts in foundation priorities in light of the current political climate.

Many organizations in Category A will rapidly move to Category D or to an as-yet unnamed category if federal funding is seriously recalibrated. A larger segment consists of organizations with income largely derived from fees for service or from a small business. Most of these will be fine unless the fees in their fee for service are reimbursements from government programs.

I will describe first what all organizations should be doing, followed by some specifics for each segment of organizations.

What All Organizations Should Be Doing

Thank your donors. There is an old saying in fundraising, "Thank before you bank." The one thing you know for sure that donors read is the thank you note, and yet it often gets very little attention or creativity from the nonprofit. Research published recently by DonorSearch shows that, on average, organizations that don't focus on thank-yous lose 81 percent of all first-time donors and 54 percent of all ongoing donors. Development directors sometimes feel bogged down by having to send thank you notes, but there is no reason for that. Thank you notes are a good task for reliable volunteers, and better yet, board members.

ON AVERAGE, ORGANIZATIONS THAT DON'T FOCUS ON THANK-YOUS LOSE 81 PERCENT OF ALL FIRST-TIME DONORS.

Segment your donors. Separate your donor lists into new donors and current donors, and treat new donors differently from how you treat your long-time donors. Within two months of their first gift, ask new donors for a second gift. Be sure to thank them for the gift they already gave and tell them something else about your organization. The first-time donors need to feel that their gift made a big difference and that you are very grateful that they have joined you. The content of the appeal will educate and deepen their understanding of your work.

Ask your *current donors* for another gift. The content of this appeal needs to make donors who have been giving for a while feel that in part, because of them, your organization is able to continue to do important work. Ideally, they already have a deeper understanding of what you do, and you are building on that.

Ask your donors to take action in addition to giving money. These actions need to be real. There should be no shortage of time-limited tasks to ask donors to do: attend demonstrations, sign petitions, forward information to friends, call legislators, and so on. These are all obvious actions they can take. In the longer term, asking donors to become involved in ongoing projects or campaigns and to reach out to their own networks to inform people or encourage them to become active are other ways to expand how we engage the people who support our work.

Fundraising has always been and will always be about building relationships, whether with individual donors or corporate donors, with foundation funders or government officials. When we lose sight of this fact and treat our donors like ATMs, we are

TAKE THE TIME WITH YOUR BOARD, STAFF AND CLOSE VOLUNTEERS TO DISCUSS HOW YOUR ORGANIZATION SHOULD BE FUNDED.

in danger not only of losing them, but of moving our organizations off mission.

Particular Advice for Each Segment

Segment A: Your issue is in the sight lines of the Trump administration

If you are swamped with donations, then send a generic thank you explaining that you will be in touch later. Post a thank you on your website and on social media.

Let people know what you are doing with the money you are raising. Send brief e-news updates and post information on your website. Post short updates frequently, particularly if you are working on an issue with a lot of moving parts. Social media, particularly Twitter, provide an easy way to give very brief real-time updates, but your email list should be used for this as well. You can give donors an option to get summaries less frequently (every two weeks or every month) if they don't want to hear from you as often, but for now, communicate as frequently as things are happening.

Have a place (such as a blog) where people can comment or ask questions. You may have to seed it with a couple of questions or comments to get that feature going, but people like to be able to interact with staff and other organizational leaders in times such as these.

Figure out how to use all the volunteers who are showing up. An organization that should know better recently complained about the number of people calling to volunteer. "They should just give money and let us get on with the work," sniffed one beleaguered staff person. But we should not be turning down people who want to give their time. If your organization truly cannot use volunteers, then find organizations who can and refer people to them. And remember, people who volunteer and give money to your organization are more likely to keep giving over a longer period of time (and some will even volunteer to raise money for you).

Segment B: Local grassroots organizations that never had much government or foundation funding

Repeat to yourself every morning: "We did important work before Nov. 8, and we are still doing it." Your work doesn't have to be covered by the media or attracting thousands of new donors in order to be a useful and critical component of the common good. Resist the temptation to link your work to national issues unless the link is obvious, but also don't be tone deaf to what is going on around you. Simple actions such as posting a "Black Lives Matter," "Standing Against Islamophobia," or even "All Are Welcome Here" sign on the door to your office and on your Facebook page will indicate that you are in touch with what's happening nationally. When volunteers or donors say that they are giving to other organizations, thank them for being so engaged and tell them you hope they will continue to support your group as well.

Be in touch with your donors as personally as possible. Segment your donors and work with each segment. For example, people who have been giving for five years should get an appeal that starts, "You have been giving for five years, and here are some of the accomplishments you have helped make possible."

Start or expand your monthly donor program: If you get your donors to make one decision, which is to give monthly, then you

IF WE ARE TO BUILD A MOVEMENT FOR CHANGE, IT CANNOT BE BUILT BY PAID STAFF ALONE.

will have good cash flow and you will not have to worry about what else is going on in the world every time you ask your donors for an extra gift.

Segment C: Organizations mostly supported by government funding

If you haven't already, take the time with your board, staff and close volunteers to discuss how your organization should be funded. If you believe your work should be funded by the government and it has been funded that way for some time, know that trying to build an individual donor or foundation-funded program is going to be very hard, and it may not work. Band together with other organizations and engage in advocacy. If your state has an association of nonprofits, ask it to help with advocacy and even lobbying. As of this writing, the Corporation for Public Broadcasting, AmeriCorps, and the National Endowments for the Arts and Humanities are all on the chopping block in Washington. There is also talk of cutting the funding enabled by the Violence Against Women Act. Some of these programs may be saved by the largesse of a few wealthy and generous donors, but this begs a more important question: What is the role of government? The issue of what is funded publicly, what privately, and what with some kind of hybrid is one some of us have been discussing since President Reagan was in office cutting government support for social programs, including school-lunch programs and payments for people with disabilities. With each administration since Reagan's, some things have gotten worse. Now, with iconic programs such as the ones named earlier in danger of being closed altogether, we need to ratchet up the pressure on the legislators that should be accountable to (and serving) our communities.

Individuals and foundations will be drawn to organizations that are making a larger case for government funding. I suggest forming a team of three to five people who focus on opening doors to people who understand advocacy and lobbying and may be willing to fund those efforts. Also, everyone on staff is going to have to help with fundraising and advocacy, and everyone will need to stay "on message" about the role of public funding in your work.

Meanwhile, you may want to consider merging with another organization. Spending most of your time trying to raise money just to stay open may not be as mission driven as bringing your work and the work of a similar organization into alignment. Remember, only your work is important. The organization itself is not important—it is simply the vessel holding the work.

Segment D: Organizations funded mostly by foundations

Have you been reading the *Journal* long? How did you get yourself into this pickle? If you're a new *Journal* reader, here's a prime lesson: Foundations do not have much money to begin with and, for the most part, they have little staying power. They move from one issue to another, and organizations that think they can rely on them for steady year in and year out funding are misguided in the best of times. The role of foundations is to get things started, to call attention to pressing social issues, to help organizations develop new models and new paradigms, and to create a body of knowledge around issues that concern their staff or their donors. Any honest foundation funder will tell you that it is not the job of foundations to be the ongoing source of support for their grantees.

USE THIS TIME TO DO WHAT YOU SHOULD HAVE BEEN DOING FOR YEARS, WHICH IS TO DIVERSIFY.

They will help a grantee get going so that the grantee can build other sources of funding that will make them sustainable.

Use this time to do what you should have been doing for years, which is to diversify. There are dozens of articles in the *Journal* to help you figure out how to do that. See the box above to get started.

Advice for All Times

There are two things to note about the advice I am giving to all the segments:

1. It describes work you should have been doing all along.

2. It describes work that can benefit from the involvement and leadership of volunteers.

I am amazed at the ways organizations are "staffing up" when they are also turning away offers from people who want to volunteer. If we are to build a movement for change, it cannot be built by paid staff alone. Volunteers can be trained to do all of the tasks described above, and even more.

Let's make this "movement moment" one in which we truly engage people in an ongoing movement to make the long-term changes we want. The majority of the American people do not agree with the demagoguery coming out of the White House, and many of them will look to nonprofits to counter it effectively. Let's not disappoint them. ■

Kim Klein is co-founder and publisher emerita of the *Grassroots Fundraising Journal*.

Weathering the Storms

What Do Grassroots Fundraisers Need to Know?

By Rachel Herzing

THE CURRENT POLITICAL CLIMATE HAS US SCRAMBLING. Trump's inauguration address signaled the beginning of a period of isolationism and authoritarianism for the United States. During the first week of his presidency, he signed executive orders including ones restricting organizations' abilities to even discuss abortion, enacting a Muslim travel ban, cutting funding to sanctuary cities, advancing plans for increased border wall on the US-Mexico border and authorizing the hiring of 5,000 new border enforcement agents, reauthorization of the Keystone and Dakota Access pipeline projects, and dismantling the Affordable Care Act. For organizations on the front lines of fights for social change including reproductive health, rights and justice, immigrant and migrant justice, workers' rights, racial justice, environmental justice, and similar issues, the political climate comes with tensions and fears about opposition attacks from both the private sector and the state. Groups need to remain vigilant about managing areas of their organizations and work, which may make them vulnerable to infiltration, undermining and direct attacks.

The groundswell of protest we have already witnessed in response to Trump's actions as president is encouraging. Rather than being frozen with fear, people are joining forces, raising their voices, and taking to the streets. Organizations are assessing and fortifying their strategies, collaborating with their allies, and establishing new networks and alliances. Taking steps to strengthen organizational policies and practices and tighten up digital security are additional ways that groups are steeling themselves for the fights ahead.

Generating the resources necessary to keep organizations functioning is also essential during a period of so much uncertainty. Fundraisers know that building and maintaining trust with funders and donors is fundamental to a strong development program. Organizational fundraisers have important roles to play in ensuring that not only is donor information protected, but that donors feel confident that the organizations they support are not likely to fall prey to surveillance, infiltration and politically motivated attacks.

Weathering the Storms

For the past four years, RoadMap has been helping social justice organizations prepare for these sorts of situations through its Weathering the Storms program (roadmapconsulting.org/wts), which includes an overview report, webinars, tool kits, and cus-

tomized technical assistance to implement best practices and develop crisis response plans. RoadMap understands that preparing for attacks strengthens organizational capacity in communications and administration, and is crucial to skillful campaign strategy. Preparation and prevention are key: Weathering the Storms can help organizations prevent and deflect attacks, keeping staff and volunteers safe and focused on winning their campaigns. The program offers tools that integrate crisis planning, crisis communications and digital security, strengthening capacity across all aspects of an organization.

PREPARATION FOR ATTACKS SHOULD BE CENTRAL TO ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY BUILDING AND CAMPAIGN STRATEGY.

The Weathering the Storms approach is based on two key principles: Preparation for attacks should be central to organizational capacity building and campaign strategy; and responses must be integrated to include communications, technology, organizational development and compliance systems. This integrated approach increases resilience and helps turn attacks into opportunities to advance organizational values and goals. For organizations concerned about potential areas of vulnerability, it may be helpful to begin looking at a handful of key organizational elements. Often, straightforward, common sense steps can go a long way. The following are ideas about how to get started.

Know the rules for political activities and comply fully. Train and remind all your staff, board and volunteers. Check out Alliance for Justice's Bolder Advocacy (bolderadvocacy.org) for excellent resources in this area.

Have a written policy about which political activities are allowed and not allowed. Use it to train all staff, board and volunteers. This should include use of the organizations' equipment and a social media policy. Ask everyone to sign and date the policy document to indicate that they received, understand and agree to comply with the policy. Keep copies. You can view a sample policy on RoadMap's website roadmapconsulting.org/resources.

Use disclaimer statements. Here is a sample of disclaimer language: *Organization X is recognized as a nonprofit public charity under Section 501(c) 3 of the IRS Code and, as such does not support, endorse or oppose any candidates for elected public office or political party.*

Know which "hat" you are wearing. If your 501(c) 3 organization has an affiliated C4 organization, be very careful to separate and track your time and activities. You should have a strong cost sharing agreement. Train and remind everyone about compliance. Always be clear about which "hat" you are wearing—the C3 or the C4.

Be mindful of what you say and put in writing/email. Never say or write anything that you would not want to be public, land in the papers, or want your mother to hear.

Be thoughtful about using volunteers and interns. Screen volunteers carefully. Limit their access to sensitive files, databases, and other sensitive information, and never say anything to them you wouldn't want shared publicly.

Create a crisis response team and a crisis response plan. Assemble a team together for crisis management and to respond to media inquiries. Create a plan for managing a crisis that clearly designates delegation of responsibilities, notification protocols, responding to inquiries, and messaging guidelines.

Improving Digital Security

Some fundraisers have expressed particular concerns about digital security in this period. From managing donor contacts, to online newsletters and portals, to file sharing and email communication, shoring up digital security practices is on many of our minds. These concerns have increased with the installation of the Trump administration. Key Trump associates including Steve Bannon, James O'Keefe, and Roger Stone are well known for their attack operations and nasty tactics. Further, the new administration favors government mass surveillance programs including the PRISM and Upstream Collection programs exposed by Edward Snowden. These programs collect data from servers of major communications providers including Google, Facebook, Hotmail, Yahoo, Apple, Skype, Youtube and AOL. If your organization relies on these services to conduct organizational business, now may be an opportune time to begin moving away from them.

While making organizational changes requires planning and time to implement new policies and practices, it is time well spent to prevent losing information. It is important to understand integrating digital security practices into organizational culture as a holistic, ongoing process rather than a one-time event. Developing habits that become fully integrated into an organization's culture will help them stick and become common sense. Don't wait for a crisis—the best preparation happens before a crisis hits. As you begin bolstering your digital security, it is worth taking the time to build consensus among everyone in the organization to follow protocols and commit to implementing plans. If possible, integrate a digital security approach into the organization's strategic plan and organizational culture to avoid it feeling like an extraneous addition. You may find it useful to dedicate staff time or hire consulting staff to ensure that digital security measures

YOUR ORGANIZATION'S STRUCTURE, CULTURE AND MISSION WILL ALL INFLUENCE WHICH PRACTICES AND TOOLS WILL PROVIDE YOU WITH THE BEST DEFENSE AGAINST POLITICALLY MOTIVATED ATTACKS.

are maintained and integrated well throughout all aspects of the organizational process.

Like the best organizational development practices, the process for assessing which digital security protocols and practices for a group will vary from organization to organization based on their needs. Here are just a few tips to consider in improving your digital security practices.

Threat Modeling. It will be important to assess what kinds of threats your organization is most likely to face and which adversaries pose the greatest threats to your assets—relationships with donors, information in your databases, work products, etc.—as well as the likelihood of those assets being targeted. Start your planning with the areas of greatest risk.

Compartmentalization. Once you're clear on where your organization may be most vulnerable, consider making a plan to protect your assets. What is public (e.g., appeals, newsletters)? What do you want to keep internal to your organization (e.g., your fundraising plan or email)? What needs to be kept secure (e.g., donor information)? Ensure that everyone understands and follows the different levels of security and who has access to information in each level.

Encryption. Use open source, end-to-end encryption for sending and receiving information securely. This can help ensure that only the intended recipient is able to read a message, that the recipient may accurately verify the message's origin, and that the message hasn't been altered.

Passphrases (versus passwords). Good passphrases contain at least four random words, ideally including words not in the English dictionary. A good passphrase is also one that is easy for a human to remember, but difficult for a machine to guess (imagine

Table 1: Seven Top Tools

Application	Description	URL	OS
KeePaasX	Password manager	keepassx.org	Mac/Win/Linux
Signal	Private messenger for texts and phone calls.	iTunes Google Play	iOS Android
Tor Browser	Web browser that makes your internet use anonymous	torproject.org	Mac/Win/Linux
pad.riseup.net	A way to write collectively as an alternate for Google docs. If all the users use Tor Browser to write, then all the content will be anonymous.	pad.riseup.net	Web-based
Jitsi	A web conference/video chat platform that can accommodate 15 to 20 people.	jitsi.org	Mac/Win/Linux
PGP	Email encryption that will take about 30 minutes to set up. Both the sender and recipient must use it to ensure the messages' security	openpgp.org	Mac/Win/Linux Android/iOS
Mailvelope	A tool to implement PGP in webmail.	mailvelope.com	Chrome/Firefox

a scrambled phrase or poem). Do not share passphrases by email. Only share through means that support open source end-to-end encryption on a need-to-know basis.

While donor platforms such as Salsalabs and Salesforce are generally secure against corporate attacks, they are not immune to government attacks. To increase security, ensure that the credentials you use to access the platform are well managed and encrypt the connection to them. You may also want to make sure the platform is not attached to your website so should your website be attacked, you don't also lose your data.

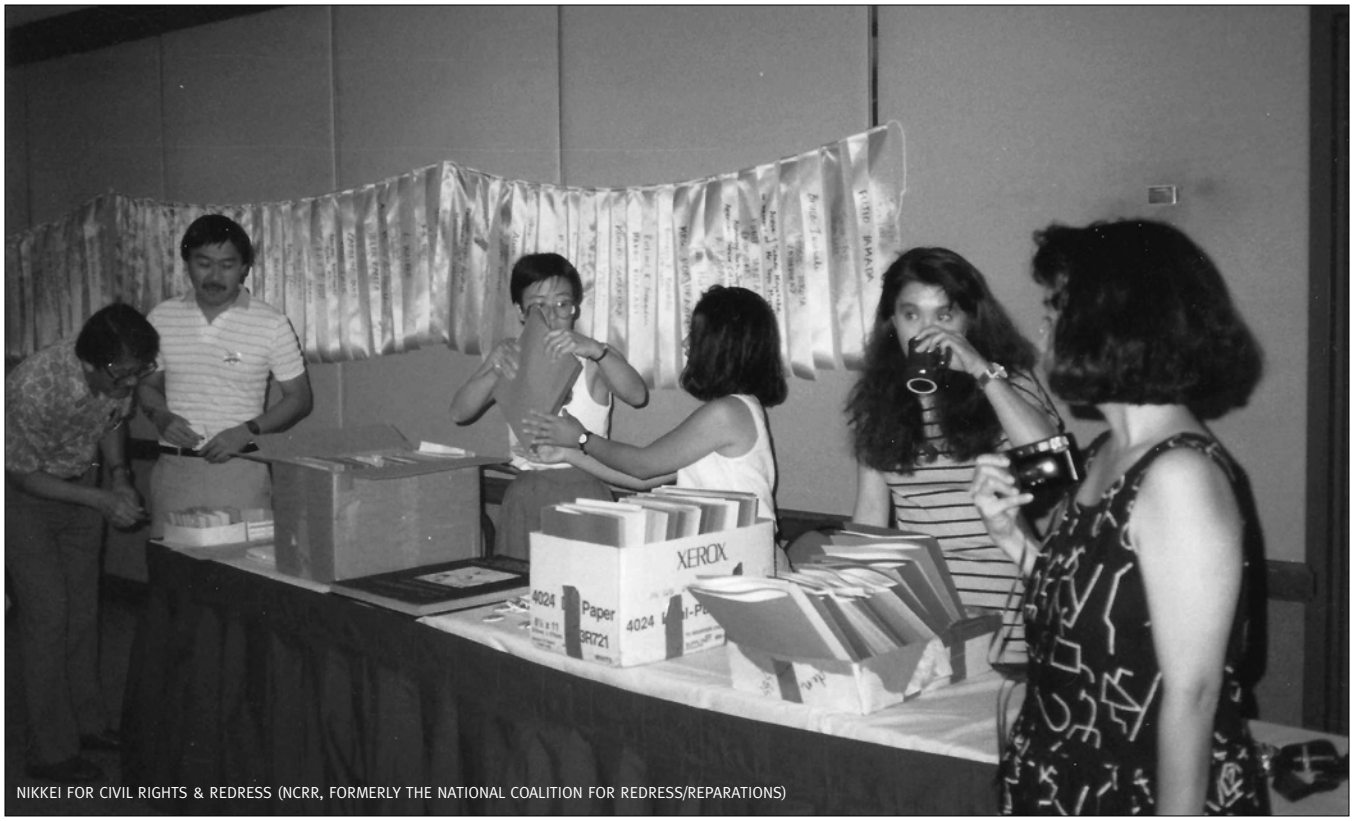
While these basic steps can be taken by any organization, making changes that will have lasting impacts takes time, planning, preparation, and dedicated resources (financial, staff labor, and infrastructural). One size will not fit all. Your organization's structure, culture and mission will all influence which practices and tools will provide you with the best defense against politically motivated attacks. You may need to try out different things and give it enough time for the people in your organization to adapt. Be flexible enough to meet people's needs so that they will adopt the practices, even as you maintain security as the overriding concern. You may also want to dedicate a line item in the budget for backups and technology updates, to provide training on digital security and compartmentalize donor databases, human resources documents, passphrases, and strategic planning information. Earmarking financial resources for these purposes can help ensure that digital security practices become fully integrated into your organization's structure and culture.

The good news is that the best tools are free. Digital security professionals generally recommend open source tools that will not increase costs for organizations to begin to take steps to shore up their digital security infrastructure and practices. Table I above includes seven top tools you may want to explore that have been recommended by Jonathan Stribling-Uss of RoadMap's Weathering the Storms team and Constitutional Communications (constitutionalcommunications.org). All have selected in part because they offer open source end-to-end encryption.

Preparing to Be Bold

The best time to begin getting your organization prepared for potential attacks is during periods of calm. Do not wait for a crisis to figure out how to manage a crisis. Make a commitment as an organization, and implement a plan that involves everyone. Most important, take these steps as a means to make you bolder and more powerful in your work. Threats of attacks, surveillance or disruption are designed to put a chill on social change work. We offer these tips as encouragement to be active and courageous in uncertain times. We hope they help you gain confidence in communicating within your organization, and with your donors and allies. If you're interested in learning more about RoadMap's Weathering the Storms program, please contact us at weather@roadmapconsulting.org. ■

Rachel Herzing is codirector of The Center for Political Education, a resource for political organizations on the Left, progressive social movements, the working class, and people of color in the San Francisco Bay Area. She is also RoadMap's communications coordinator.



NIKKEI FOR CIVIL RIGHTS & REDRESS (NCRR, FORMERLY THE NATIONAL COALITION FOR REDRESS/REPARATIONS)

NCRR members setting up for the gathering of the delegates. From left: Bert Nakano, National Spokesperson; Alan Nishio, NCRR- LA Chapter Chair; Kathy Masaoka, Sherry Miyashiro, Kimberly Ha, Evelyn Yoshimura. About 140 traveled from Los Angeles, San Francisco and New York to lobby in Washington DC for redress in 1987.

Funding the Impossible Dream

The Movement for Japanese American Redress

By Rona Fernandez & Stan Yogi

"When I was my oldest daughter's age, I was already in 'prison.' And I knew that I was there for no crime other than the color of my skin and the shape of my eyes. I knew, too, that the excuse my captors gave—that I was there for my own protection—was sheer hypocrisy, that there was some deeper and more sinister reason for my incarceration...

Perhaps some of us were ashamed that it had ever happened. We were like the victim of a rape—we could not bear to speak of the assault, of the unspeakable crime. Thus for many years we had not even spoken of our imprisonment. And when we did speak of it, we were guarded. We dared not fully reveal the depth of our feelings about it."

—Edison Uno, on the incarceration of Japanese Americans during World War II, 1971

IN 1970, EDISON UNO, a Nisei (second generation Japanese American) activist with the civil rights group the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL) proposed something audacious: The JACL should champion an effort to secure monetary redress from the U.S. government for the 120,000 Japanese Americans who had been imprisoned without charges, trials or evidence of wrongdoing during World War II.

It was a bold idea not only because Japanese Americans (or Nikkei, a term used more broadly to refer to all generations of Japanese Americans) were a small minority (constituting only 0.01 percent of the population) with little political clout, but also because most Americans did not distinguish between United States citizens of Japanese descent and citizens of Japan, the nation that 25 years earlier had been the enemy.

Intracommunity dynamics also made the prospect of redress difficult to envision: Japanese immigrants (Issei) had to liquidate their farms and businesses within days after the government ordered them to leave their west coast homes in 1942. Most never

regained their economic grounding. Nisei, who were youth or young adults during the war, harbored lingering but often unarticulated emotional and psychological scars from their wartime incarceration. By 1970, Japanese Americans were just beginning to get economic and social footholds after the trauma of the war. Their wartime incarceration was not a subject that most Nikkei wanted to revisit.

The JACL's leadership, in addition, posed a challenge. During the war, the JACL advised Nikkei that cooperating with the government was the most effective way to demonstrate loyalty. Many Japanese Americans, however, believed that the JACL had betrayed Issei leaders and dissenters by reporting them to the government.

GRASSROOTS FUNDRAISING WAS NECESSARY FOR THE MOVEMENT'S SURVIVAL, SINCE THE ISSUE WAS INITIALLY CONTROVERSIAL AT BEST, TABOO AT WORST.

Despite these obstacles, the moral urge to right this decades-old civil liberties violation motivated Uno and a handful of advocates—including young Sansei (third-generation Japanese Americans) activists influenced by the civil rights and anti-war movements—to build community support for redress.

They eventually focused their efforts through groups that worked for redress, a few of which are profiled here. Each fundraised in its own way, targeting their membership bases and sectors of influence. Grassroots fundraising was necessary for the movement's survival, since the issue was initially controversial at best, taboo at worst. The people most affected by the unjust World War II incarceration—Issei and Nisei who had been imprisoned in the camps and their children—would need to support the movement financially and politically to right this great wrong.

The Legislative Strategy

In the mid-1970s, JACL leaders approached supportive Japanese American congressional representatives—Senators Daniel Inouye and Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii, and Representative Norman Mineta of San Jose—about redress legislation. These Congress members advised the JACL to advocate first for a federal commission to investigate the incarceration and issue a government report. Such a document, they counseled, would be crucial for future legislative advocacy.

Many Japanese American activists, though, believed that a commission would delay redress even further. After all, Issei elders, who bore the brunt of economic losses caused by the wartime incarceration, were dying daily. Most had to rebuild their lives after the war with few if any assets in a country that remained hostile towards them. Redress for that generation would be very meaningful. But the JACL ultimately decided to follow the Congress members' advice and push for a commission in order to move forward on the legislative front.

Warriors for Justice

Not all JACL members, however, supported the idea of a commission. Dissenting members of the Seattle JACL chapter formed another group, the National Council for Japanese American Redress (NCJAR), initially to directly pursue redress legislation. Chicago-based activist William Hohri led NCJAR, which eventually focused on obtaining redress through a class action lawsuit. Believing that the judicial branch was the appropriate avenue to address reparations for the constitutional violations Nikkei suffered, NCJAR secured a Washington, D.C. law firm to represent former incarcerees. To retain the firm, NCJAR had to raise $75,000—the equivalent of $236,080 in 2017 dollars. Hohri devised an ambitious, culturally-rooted campaign to raise the money needed to cover these costs.

In their book, *Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese-Americans Obtained Redress,* Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H.L. Kitano and S. Megan Berthold write:

> *First, the [fundraising campaign] openly described its lawsuit as being risky. Hohri thought that this, along with asking for money only when it really needed to, helped establish the NCJAR's credibility and build a solid basis of support. Second, the NCJAR did not solicit foundations or attempt to retain a pro bono law firm. Hohri was convinced that the members of the Japanese American community who were affected had to be the ones to finance the effort. If he could not raise the money from them, then the lawsuit would be dropped.*[1]

NCJAR invoked Japanese culture in its fundraising campaign: "We came up with the idea of using the classic Japanese story of the '47 Ronin,'" recounted Hohri. "Ronin are masterless samurai. In the story, 47 ronin avenge the injustice which led to their master's death." NCJAR recognized donors who contributed $1,000 or more as "ronin." "NCJAR's contributors were 'masterless' citizens seeking to right a past wrong."[2]

[1] Mitchell T. Maki, Harry H.L. Kitano and S. Megan Berthold. Achieving the Impossible Dream: How Japanese Americans Obtained Redress. (Board of Trustees of the University of Illinois, 1999), 123.

[2] Ibid.

Gary Fujimoto, delegate from Asian Pacific Student Union

NCJAR fundraised primarily via mail (meaning snail mail, as email did not exist). Building on the Christmas card mailing list that he and his wife had developed over the years, Hohri eventually expanded the list to include 3,500 people. The campaign was successful: 65 "ronin" contributed, and NCJAR raised over $400,000."[3] That amount is the equivalent to nearly $1 million in today's dollars.

The Grassroots Movement Grows

As NCJAR focused on a class action lawsuit and the JACL centered attention on the establishment of a federal commission, a grassroots group led by former incarcerees and younger Sansei activists in Los Angeles' Little Tokyo neighborhood formed to organize Japanese Americans and other Asian Americans around redress. Through organizing community education programs about reparations, they also sought to link the effort to other groups who had suffered because of United States government policies. The group became known as the National Coalition for Redress and Reparations (NCRR) and explicitly called for monetary redress.

Meanwhile, the idea of an investigative body transformed from idea to reality. In 1980, President Jimmy Carter signed legislation creating the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians (CWRIC) whose mandate was to review the forced relocation and detention of Japanese Americans and to recommend appropriate remedies.

Between July and December 1981, the CWRIC conducted 11 hearings in 10 cities throughout the United States. NCRR members took the lead in recruiting and preparing former incarcerees to testify. Most Nikkei who had been incarcerated during the war had not talked much, if at all, even to their children and grandchildren, about this traumatic event. In addition, few Issei and Nisei were accustomed to public speaking, let alone about such an emotionally charged subject. NCRR activists helped former incarcerees prepare testimony for the CWRIC hearings, which became public forums for Nikkei to acknowledge the injustice of their wartime incarceration and to articulate, often for the first time, their anger.

Emi Somekawa, a founding member of NCJAR, was a nurse living in Portland at the time of the war. She recounted in her testimony the conditions at the Portland Assembly Center, a quickly-built camp at the Pacific International Livestock and Exposition Center:

[3] Ibid.

The Portland Assembly Center was terrible. It's just amazing how people can think of putting another group of human beings into a place like that. There was so much horse and cow manure around. We were put into a cubicle that just had plywood walls and it was a horse stall with planks on the floor with about an inch of space between them. You'd find grass growing through the planks already… We lived in a horse stall from May to September [1942], and my son was born in a horse stall. It was terrible, and that stench that came up from the ground, you know, was just terrible.

The hearings changed the dynamics of the budding redress movement because they allowed Japanese Americans to share pent-up emotions about their imprisonment and losses. Before the hearings, redress was a cause championed mainly by Sansei activists. After the hearings, a groundswell of Japanese American community support for redress developed. Soon after the hearings, the Rafu Shimpo, a Nikkei community newspaper in Los Angeles, conducted a survey regarding redress. Ninety percent of respondents said they favored monetary compensation.

Activists Raise Money from the Community

NCRR consisted of committed and passionate volunteer activists who carried out the bulk of the organization's work, including its fundraising, immediately directing all available resources to its organizing and community education efforts.

"We never had staff, so our financial needs were limited," said NCRR's Alan Nishio. "We would meet in office space that others had available. We would use resources of members who were employed. Our main costs were mailing and printing, things like that."

Another NCRR activist, Kathy Masaoka, recalls, "[The group] relied a lot on the generosity of organizations. We met at Little Tokyo Service Center and the Japanese American Community and Cultural Center a lot. They never charged us. We even used computers there to do some of the work…on our mailing list."

NCRR organizers also paid out of pocket for expenses as needed. "We kind of covered whatever costs arose; we were used to doing that," explained Nishio. "That was probably the way we handled things until the redress commission hearings."

For the most part, NCRR only solicited people by mail about once a year, usually around the annual "Day of Remembrance" events, held to commemorate the February 19 anniversary when President Franklin Roosevelt issued the executive order that set the mass incarceration into motion. While the event was free, the invitation mailed to NCRR supporters was formal-looking, reflecting the solemnity and importance of the occasion, and included a donation envelope. People often sent donations even if they did not attend the event. NCRR's treasurer, Jim Matsuoka, sent thank you notes to donors as well as updates on the campaign. "And then they would donate again," says Masaoka, demonstrating that communication was key to staying connected to donors and deepening their investment in the cause.

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Fundraising Without Saying What You're Raising Money For

At the same time the redress movement was gaining community traction in the early 1980s, a group of mainly young Sansei lawyers was working, initially in secret, on a parallel effort to re-open the legal cases of three Nisei men—Fred Korematsu, Gordon Hirabayashi and Min Yasui—who were convicted during World War II for defying the government's orders targeting Japanese Americans.

Nearly 40 years after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the men's convictions and validated singling out a group for imprisonment only because of its ethnic background, Aiko Herzig Yoshinanga, a researcher for the CWRIC, and Peter Irons, an attorney and professor writing a book about the wartime Japanese American Supreme Court cases, uncovered explosive documents in the National Archives. They found proof that during World War II, government attorneys intentionally suppressed evidence favorable to Japanese Americans and argued to the Supreme Court that Japanese Americans' loyalty to the United States was suspect, even when they knew that was false.

Based on this newly uncovered evidence, Korematsu, Hirabayashi and Yasui, backed by teams of young largely Japanese American attorneys, re-opened their decades-old cases.

Several of the mass incarceration's architects were politically powerful in the early 1980s. They were unrepentant and outraged by the growing redress effort. If news spread about these new lawsuits resurrecting the government's flimsy justifications for the wartime incarceration, the young attorneys feared that critical evidence implicating these individuals might disappear from the National Archives. So the lawyers had to keep their efforts secret before filing their cases.

Ribbons hanging in the front of the conference room in Washington DC - 1987 delegation

The legal teams that represented Korematsu, Hirabayashi and Yasui worked pro bono, but still had administrative and travel expenses. One of Korematsu's volunteer attorneys, Don Tamaki, was at the time the executive director of the Asian Law Caucus, a legal service and advocacy group in San Francisco. He led the lawyers' fundraising efforts with the added challenge of not being able to reveal why they needed money.

Tamaki did not have extensive individual donor fundraising background, but he took the common sense approach of first approaching an inner circle before asking strangers.

"We had lots of friends and family who trusted us—reputations mattered. They knew that we weren't going to run off to have a Hawaiian vacation with their money," recounts Tamaki. "We would just say, 'We can't tell you what this is about but it's really big.'" Because of their strong relationships with potential donors, they succeeded in raising critical initial funding, even though the donors did not know exactly what the lawyers were doing.

Once the cases were public, the news media disseminated stories more broadly about the litigation, as well as information about the wartime incarceration. Fundraising continued. The team used letters, telephone calls and mass mailings to generate donations, most coming from contributors in the San Francisco Bay Area, though the legal cases were filed in San Francisco, Seattle and Portland. The attorneys returned to donors who gave during the "secret" phase, asking them to contribute again. Many of them did. Overall, contributions were not huge—many were between $50 and $500. Nevertheless, Tamaki estimates that the legal team raised about $50,000 in total.

"The Japanese-American community really funded it," says Tamaki of the legal work to overturn Korematsu, Hirabayashi and Yasui's convictions, showing again that the people who were most affected by the wartime incarceration were at the forefront of financing the effort to obtain justice. ■

Rona Fernandez has worked with social justice nonprofits for the past 20 years, always with fundraising as a part of her work. Stan Yogi has more than 26 years of experience with non-profit organizations in fundraising and grantmaking. Both are senior consultants with Klein & Roth Consulting.

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