

INTO FORMATION

2022 Member Assembly Program Proposals





INTRODUCTION

Membership Assemblies are a crucial component of GGJ's strategy to bring our members together to build relationships, share successes and challenges, participate in trainings, and develop common strategies considering this political moment.

The central question in all of our assemblies is: *Building on our evaluation of our collective practice, our understanding of the current conditions in the world and in our movement, and the reflections from our members and leaders — what is GGJ's best contribution to the movement in the period ahead?* Each Assembly has shaped who we are as an alliance:

Year	Membership Assembly	Key Outcomes	Location
2005	First	GGJ founded as an alliance	San Antonio, Texas
2006	Second	Members affirmed GGJ's leadership in building the U.S. Social Forum	Raleigh, North Carolina
2008	Third	Members adopted a program that pushed us to engage the emerging climate justice and anti-war movements	Flagstaff, Arizona
2010	Fourth	Members discussed the intersecting crises of economy, ecology, and empire and added the fight for a more just economy to the alliance's priorities	South Florida
2011	Fifth	Members birthed our slogan, <i>No War, No Warming: Build an Economy for the People and the Planet</i>	Raleigh, North Carolina
2014	Sixth	Members voted for GGJ to join the World March of Women and launched the Grassroots Feminisms Working Group	Detroit, Michigan
2018	Seventh	Members re-emerged our anti-militarism work through the launching of our demilitaRISE Working Group	Atlanta, Georgia

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CONTENTS

2022 GGJ Member Assembly Program Proposals

1

INTRODUCTION 2

COYUNTURA: THE CURRENT MOMENT OF
CRISIS AND TRANSFORMATIVE OPPORTUNITY 6

SYNTHESIS FROM MEMBERSHIP CONSULTATION 8

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS 11

DIVEST FROM HARM,
INVEST IN CARE:
FARE ECONOMY
CAMPAIGN PROPOSAL 14

2

POLITICAL
FORMATION
SCHOOL 19

3

BLACK
LEADERSHIP
AND ORGANIZING 22

4

UNITED
FRONT
PROPOSAL 25

5

EVOLVING GOVERNANCE
MODEL OF
GGJ ALLIANCE 30

6

MOVE
THE
MONEY 32

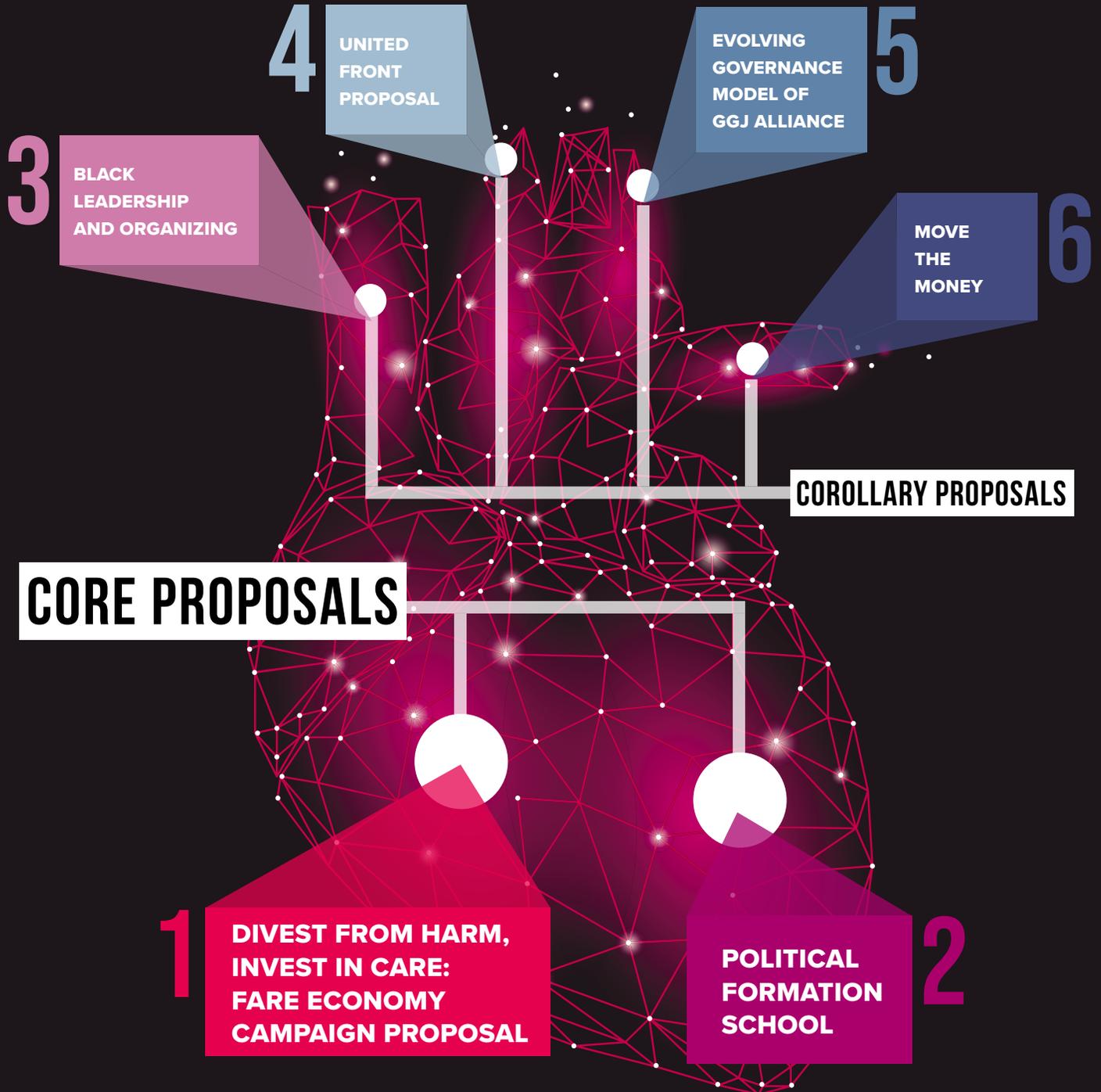
GLOSSARY

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2022 Member Assembly Program Proposals



We offer these proposals together with an analogy: to think about the two core proposals of the Shared Campaign and the Political Formation School as the two chambers of the heart of our shared work as an alliance, and the four supporting proposals as the capillaries or arteries supplying the blood and oxygen that give our alliance strength and wellbeing.



In 2022, our eighth Membership Assembly offers some of the most significant pivots in our development as a national alliance and movement building vehicle. We come into this Assembly having expanded our impact and integrated our collective work across our alliance over the last four years. We have grown our climate justice, antimilitarism, and gender justice programs — and have developed concrete work that brings all of these movements together in a more expansive vision of a Green New Deal based on the values of Just Transition and transformative justice.

The Program Proposal, developed from our member consultation, centers on two central proposals for the next period of GGJ:

- 1. *Advancing a Divest from Harm and Invest in Care Shared Campaign:*** We propose consolidating our membership capacity in shared work around the Green New Deal and a Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy. We propose that GGJ deepen the divest-invest analysis within the frameworks of a Just Transition and the Green New Deal, particularly drawing from our work on demilitarization and grassroots feminism.
- 2. *Launching a Political Formation School for Conscious Organizers:*** We propose the development of a Political Formation School through a collective process of learning, exchange, curriculum development, study, and practice. The School would be a tool that would serve the movement, starting with the membership and in alliance with the organizations of global movements.

In addition to these two core proposals, there are also four supporting proposals to support and strengthen the overall direction of our alliance in the period ahead.

- 3. *Black Organizing and Leadership Proposal:*** To reaffirm our values and commitment as GGJ to Black organizing, leadership, and transformation; visibilize the current work we have been doing internally, uplift the need to continue to address accountability and repair within GGJ; and create a temporary committee to oversee the proposed integration of this priority in our other areas of work.
- 4. *United Front Proposal:*** Offering guidance to focus, streamline, and set intentions for GGJ's role in national and international United Fronts and strategic movement building. GGJ will engage in

strategic partnerships with national and international sister alliances and networks toward advancing our collective programmatic work, implementing our shared vision, and making an impact in the lives of our membership and constituency.

- 5. *Evolving the Governance Model of GGJ Proposal:*** A proposal to reorganize the structure of the elected Coordinating Committee to ensure it is composed of active member leaders engaged in key aspects of GGJ's work. This proposal aims to strengthen the Coordinating Committee (CC) as a strategic leadership team for our alliance as a whole, create a clear relationship between each of the working groups and the CC, and engage more member leaders as GGJ representatives in the key national and international United Fronts we relate to.
- 6. *Move the Money Proposal:*** We propose that our funder organizing enter a new area of work to popularize demilitarization as a core tenet of any Just Transition, and agitate for “Divest from Harm, Invest in Care” within progressive U.S. philanthropy. To do this, we propose that our alliance skill up in the tools and campaigns of divesting and moving public and private monies to reinvest in the regenerative economy vehicles of our movements.

We offer these proposals together with an analogy: to think about the two core proposals of the Shared Campaign and the Political Formation School as the two chambers of the heart of our shared work as an alliance, and the four supporting proposals as the capillaries or arteries supplying the blood and oxygen that give our alliance strength and wellbeing.

Each of the proposals fit together in our vision as shared elements of how we build our collective power as the grassroots sector in Turtle Island. The ideas reflected in these proposals respond to our shared assessments of the current political conditions, and the terrain and balance of forces we are facing both as an alliance and as part of the grassroots and wider internationalist popular movements. They also respond to the critical feedback we received from the consultation process with GGJ members evaluating our collective work since our last assembly in 2018. We look forward to rigorous debate and dynamic evolution of these proposals that will happen over the course of our full Membership Assembly in October 2022 in Ohlone Territory, Oakland, California.

COYUNTURA: THE CURRENT

MOMENT OF CRISIS AND

TRANSFORMATIVE OPPORTUNITY

Massive transition, instability, uncertainty, and crisis at every scale and geography around the world are the dominant qualities of this era. Economic inequality is at its highest levels since before the Great Depression. People's lives are disrupted and displaced by conflict and climate emergency. Corporations exploit these crises by deploying disaster capitalism, accelerating violent resource extraction and exploitation of workers and communities. The police-state perpetuates murder and mass incarceration of Black lives, and the militarization of borders and communities. Right-wing extremists' response to crisis is securing minority rule with rising neofascism and policies that entrench chronic racism, heteropatriarchy, and xenophobia. The global COVID-19 pandemic exposed in stark light the injustices and irrationality of our current economic, social, and ecological systems. These overlapping crises all have systemic roots in colonialism, capitalism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy.

Economic crisis

We are in the middle of an acceleration of the structural crisis of capitalism. Economic crises resulting from decades of deregulation, financial speculation, and austerity politics shrinking the social state have destabilized the globe. The echoes of the 2008 financial crisis are still felt today, and the 2020 COVID pandemic threw the world into a massive economic contraction while elites pressed for workers to return to business-as-usual in the face of medical risk and death. As a result of the pandemic, global supply chains and the flow of goods are rupturing, causing worldwide shortages of goods, rising global starvation, and destabilizing and polarizing economies worldwide. The capitalist class creates these problems, but cannot solve them—it only reaches toward imposing further austerity, violence, and war.

Climate crisis

Centuries of colonial extraction and the exploitation of workers and natural systems has produced the global climate crisis that is devastating the life-giving systems of the earth. Since the industrial revolution, the profit-driven burning of petrochemicals has increased greenhouse gas emissions in the atmosphere to dangerous levels and forced communities of color and poor communities

to be sacrifice zones in the throes of pollution. This mode of production has overtaxed and disrupted many of the cycles that keep ecosystems in balance all over the world.

Ecological disruption manifests in extreme climate events, from droughts and massive wildfires to sea level rise, to more frequent and severe storms and floods. Life itself is being depleted as the sixth great extinction event in the history of our planet is destroying 200 to 2,000 species every year due to climate change, pollution, and habitat loss. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) in its latest global climate assessment report says that the climate crisis is happening faster and more intensely than once predicted, and a total transformation of our economy and societies is the only path to sustain a livable planet.

War, violence, the rise of neofascism

And yet, the response of corporations and states to this crisis is disaster capitalism, militarization of borders, and escalation of fossil-fueled war. In the first years of his presidency, the Biden administration has taken the opposite response of what is required to address the climate crisis, by expanding fossil fuel drilling just as crises are accelerating. As a result of the Russian war against Ukraine, fossil fuel corporations are gouging prices. The U.S. is committing to increasing fossil fuel production, as sanctions restrict oil and gas exports from Russia, and U.S. fossil fuel corporations jockey to increase their share of the global market.

Entrenching authoritarianism, violence, and white supremacy are the response of the right to crisis, demographic transition, and social movement mobilization. The rise of Donald Trump and the transformation of the Republican party from the party of neoliberal conservatism to the party of outright white supremacy and fascism is the result of generations-long right-wing strategy to undo the expansion of civil rights and reconfigure the political system in every branch of government and at every level from the local to the national, to lock in minority rule for decades to come. We are witnessing this now as Republican officials gerrymander state districts, dismantle voting rights, and secure conservative judges all the way to the Supreme Court. The right is leveraging heteropatriarchy, in an all-out war against bodily autonomy and transgender and queer rights, legislating categories of people out of legal existence, and dehumanizing women and gender expansive people, even as feminized labor has sustained the economy through the crises of these recent years. The right is contesting for power with the weapons of xenophobia, fear-mongering, mysogyny, hatred, and war.

Response to crisis

In this period, three responses to crises are rising: (1) right wing fascism and authoritarianism, (2) neoliberal “green” and “multiracial” capitalism, and (3) left popular movements advancing a systemic alternative, a Just Transition that centers life and well-being. In many places, right populist and strong-man governments have arisen, addressing the current chaos by restricting democratic possibilities and strengthening police, military, and other forces of control and repression.

Neoliberal capitalism offers a response that attempts to reform the edges of a broken system without addressing its structural causes. Diversity preempts justice. Centrists hamstring progressive policy victories. False climate solutions like carbon markets, carbon capture, and “net zero” schemes pervade mainstream climate policy discourse as companies respond to unignorable climate crises with public relations, promoting greenwashed techno-fixes that enable continued pollution.

Accelerating crisis, however, has also accelerated the agitation of social movements pushing for radical change. A wide variety of movements have adopted a shared language of system change, arguing only a transformation of our entire social, political, and economic system will undo the reproduction of violence and inequality that pervades society. In recent years, the largest mobilizations worldwide turned millions of people out in the streets in defense of Black lives and for climate action, with several democratic and left social movements demanding — and in some cases winning — a new political order in national governments.

The State of GGJ and the wider Grassroots Left Sector

In the global balance of power, the left faces difficult conditions. For the grassroots sector, our task as organizers is to build the power, critical consciousness, and capacity of impacted people to identify their own interests and to fight for them. In our context, here in the belly of U.S. imperialism, we confront the challenges of history before us, with opportunities to develop and advance shared strategy across sectors: to defend Mother Earth, fight the right, and build people’s power.

To our advantage, we are confronted with newly politicized masses, popular left ideas entering the mainstream political discourse, and concrete advances in the face of enormously resourced and relentless

opponents. The mass mobilizations from the resistance to Trump, to the movement in defense of Black Lives, to youth mobilizing for climate justice, and the growing agitation of workers and new labor sectors reflect growing widespread discontent at the current system’s failures. Left and progressive organizing have developed tactics and strategies bringing electoral victories such as those that tipped the balance of Congress in 2020 due to the organizing of Black, Indigenous, API and Latinx communities in key states like Georgia and Arizona; and policy victories like the Justice40 initiative of the President, aligning with environmental justice principles and commitments to economic redistribution. The Green New Deal, Medicare For All, the Fight for 15, and canceling student debt are now flashpoint ideas that galvanize our bases toward a governing agenda. While the national arena remains politically volatile and at risk of advance from the extreme right, organizing at the state, Tribal, and local levels is building power and establishing some of the most innovative solutions.

The grassroots sector also faces key challenges and ways we need to grow and develop. While mobilizations have activated masses of people, our organizational infrastructures have been unable to meaningfully absorb these masses at scale. Our institutional capacities, coalitional infrastructures, and political formation are underdeveloped across scales. Given the magnitude of the crises at hand, we do not presently have the ability to organize millions — we have been unable to translate the momentum of newly activated people into a mass base, nor build a stronger practice of engaging with mass numbers of grassroots leaders and everyday people. We contest in the political arenas where we are weak and our enemies are strong — for example, we are unable to produce the material crisis that would pose a threat to the capital on the scale of a general strike. Our organizations face gaps in organizer training support, political and policy expertise, and robust and impactful communications. And we do not have governing power, even under a Democratic trifecta, as demonstrated by the prolonged fight against moderate Democrats for climate investments in the Build Back Better Act and the fossil fuel industry-approved Inflation Reduction Act. Our movements must work to build political power at scale, but this is also a strategy many grassroots groups do not have experience with or are reluctant to take on.

We Are the Experts. We Have the Solutions.

Nevertheless, collectively we have been growing a system change vision rooted in the histories of grassroots movements offering systemic alternatives to global capitalism and climate chaos. Drawing from visionary political visions of a Just Transition, *buen vivir*, and a Green New Deal (GND), we draw on the deep work and analysis of our members to advance our shared program of a Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy. We take inspiration from mass mobilizations across the world that have won concrete victories, and even transformed governments and societies, from the year-long farmers strikes in India, to victories and political gains in a rising pink tide of new left and socialist governments across Latin America.

With the upcoming midterm U.S. elections, and the risk that the political conditions will again shift further right, the window to pursue federal policy is closing. More organizations and political formations will turn to state power building as the primary arena for tangible victory. The work at the local level to carry out Just Transition-related projects and policies will likely be what defines the next stage of the fight for a Green New Deal. If we engage on this front with the Just Transition demands our movements have been building for years, that are collected in the People's Orientation to a Regenerative Economy, we could create the sharpest edge of what this work could look like.

The Green New Deal represents a major structural reform tactic that could make a material impact on the lives of our people and the planet over the next 10 years. The fight for GND policies could be our real world testing-ground to materialize some of the demands aligned with our vision of a Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy vision. One set of demands we have been able to integrate into the vision of a GND, that is aligned with the principles of feminist economy, is the idea that "Care Jobs are Green Jobs." We have been able to speak to the need to invest in care work as a part of a Just Transition. Our economy continues to rest on the paid and unpaid labor of care work.

Contests over how social, political, and economic forces structure the economic transitions needed to resolve the contradictions of the present provide opportunities to integrate our grassroots feminist economy principles and a divest-invest framework that speaks to moving away from institutions of harm as we invest into our collective vision of a systemic alternative. The work ahead will require active reshaping of the collective strategies, coalitions, and tactics that our movements organize around to make real the full scope of what is possible.

SYNTHESIS FROM

MEMBERSHIP CONSULTATION

In preparation of our Membership Assembly held every two to three years, GGJ carries out a national membership consultation process. Our Organizing Team seeks to meet with all of our alliance members to better understand the local conditions of each organization. These include strengths as well as urgent challenges organizations are grappling with, where our collective work as GGJ is aligning, and where it can be sharpened and improved to better fulfill our role in the movement.

In fall 2021, we met with 23 GGJ member organizations, discussing a series of questions that are at the forefront of the 2022 Membership Assembly. In these consultations on the road to this Membership Assembly, five key themes emerged:

1. Develop More Political Education and Training
2. Strengthen Black Grassroots Leadership within GGJ
3. Popularize and Translate GGJ for Base Members, and Clarify the Role of GGJ.
4. Align Around Strategies to Win and Build Power
5. Continue Internationalism, Delegations, and Political Exposure as a Strength of GGJ



1. Develop More Political Education and Training

As in nearly all consultas we have held throughout the development of GGJ, one of the most consistent pieces of feedback we heard from members this year is the desire for more political education, leadership development, and member training opportunities. We heard a lot of positive feedback about how powerful the feminist organizing schools have been for members, and an interest in political spaces for study, skill-building, and ideological struggle to strengthen our coherence, coordination, and purpose.

- *“Translate and train: we need political education at a one-on-one and popular level for youth organizing, and also skill development for transformative organizing training.”* —CURYJ
- *“We are interested in the idea of an organizing school.”* —OPAL
- *“Instead of crisis intervention, have political orientation, for staff and members to have those discussions. Having political education related to Indigenous movements is important. They occupy a special place in moving the social movement forward. Also, political ideological struggle about decolonization, reparations, and abolition. Deeper questions would be helpful to build greater levels of coherence, coordination, and purpose.”* —Cooperation Jackson

2. Strengthen Black Grassroots Leadership within GGJ

Consistent support arose across our membership for GGJ to make programmatic shifts to strengthen Black grassroots leadership within our alliance and in all levels of our work. Ideas for what this could look like included intentional building with popular movements across the African diaspora globally, Black specific spaces and programming, and building a commitment to increasing Black leadership in the staff and membership of the alliance.

- *“We are interested in a concerted space for Black staff members to be in a political education process with other Black formations, which would be helpful for GGJ to support.”* —Cooperation Jackson
- *“It would be good to spend more time building with Black leadership globally and building that bridge, including in South America and the Caribbean.”* —UPROSE

- *“There needs to be ongoing work to strengthen visible Black leadership in the organization and do relationship building across people of color-led organizations.”* —EMEAC
- *“We want to see more visible Black staff leadership within GGJ.”* —Ironbound Community Corporation

3. Popularize and Translate GGJ Work to the Base and Clarify GGJ’s Role

Several members reflected that one of the enduring challenges of being part of GGJ is both understanding and explaining to their base members what GGJ’s role is in the movement, and finding a way to clearly share back many of the political ideas that emerge from our work. Recommendations included developing a youth-oriented political education curriculum, generating more materials for on-boarding of members, sharing information with members, and approaching the period ahead with more discernment around the specific work we take on as an alliance in order to have the greatest impact.

- *“The jargon is pretty intense especially for folks who are meeting GGJ’s politics for the first time.”* —CURYJ
- *“The scope of what GGJ is looking at is very large. From the local to the global, it’s big. It’s making me think about what are the cuts that are a little more focused within that large chart where GGJ can have the most impact.”* —Chinese Progressive Association
- *“Onboarding and making more roads for member organizations to understand the work of GGJ is important. We need pamphlets and materials to share with members to keep more of the members up to speed with the work that GGJ is advancing.”* —Garment Workers Center
- *“It feels that sometimes GGJ is creating language for other leftists, but not for the base. For the base, it feels hard to connect. We need education on how these issues affecting us are connected. We do need a long-term vision. And we need the information to be more digestible for the community.”* —Migrant Justice
- *“It is helpful to hear our FARE Economy articulation — and we still would like more clarity around what are the ways GGJ wants to lead in that vision. Clarifying GGJ’s theory of change and where GGJ fits in the social movement ecosystem is important.”* —Asian Pacific Environmental Network

4. Align Around Strategies to Build Power and Win

Reflecting on our shared work on the Green New Deal over the last two years, and GGJ's formulation of the Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy as the systemic alternative we are building toward, we heard a lot of support from across our membership for shared strategies to build power. Members expressed a lot of resonance with and support for the FARE Economy, Green New Deal, and divest-invest-related work. They also raised important questions for greater clarity in the period ahead.

- *"We appreciated the Care and Climate delegation and are generally very invested in the GND work. We found relevance in the THRIVE Act for our base, but wonder how to expand our power and influence to win, especially around care economy funding. In Florida, local work is tense and difficult because of the exacerbation of right wing policies during the pandemic. We are also dealing with connecting GND demands to migrant rights and the crisis with the Haitian population, which is a key segment of our base."* —Miami Workers Center
- *"We are thinking about how to connect garment workers to the Green New Deal campaign. The FARE Economy is compelling, but the translation to the base in the Green New Deal work is the question we would need to answer."* —Garment Workers Center
- *"Love that divestment and investment is clear. That can connect from extraction to anti-police and anti-military struggles. We had similar campaigns at DARE to take money away from police and put those resources into schools. What would it look like to divest from U.S. militarism? Or organize around the demand for ending U.S. military aid to Israel? That demand is likely not going to change Congress' mind in the short-term, but it's important that we keep demanding it. When we divest, how can the investment be localized to where it happens? There could be ways for participatory involvement. This brings up questions like what is our debt to the Global South?"* —Grassroots International
- *"If you are trying to support Black, Brown, Indigenous folks, we live in the Midwest and the South. We would like to see more long-term electoral strategy like what Stacey Abrams has done in Georgia. Focusing on elections cycle to cycle, there is no long-term infrastructure in place. Places like Arizona and Oklahoma, we just get wiped off the map because electoral strategies just focus on the coasts and states that are easy to flip. Then you end up getting*

bad right-wing policies in these states." —Indigenous Environmental Network

- *"Individuals supported many of the left's electoral strategy work around Philly's local election. We definitely have been part of building that ecosystem and winning local seats, like Kendra Brooks for example. We are excited for GGJ's national development of a 501(c)4."* —Movement Alliance Project
- *"Just Transition Alliance would like more support on national pushback and assertion of frontline environmental justice priorities and bottom lines, our FARE Economy values and policy priorities, whether in the Green New Deal Network or grounding national big greens. GGJ has a key role — environmental justice members feel alone in these positioning spaces."* —Just Transition Alliance
- *"Actions GGJ engages are very current and relevant, but we want to dig deeper into connecting with communities long term. We have to fight for something bigger, beyond capitalism. Our work has been from a human rights perspective. This helps us to expand our consciousness."* —Migrant Justice

5. Continue Internationalism, Delegations, and Political Exposure as a strength of GGJ

Many members expressed that while GGJ continues to grow, shift, and change, there is also a desire to not lose one of the more unique and beneficial contributions that GGJ has brought into our grassroots sector ecosystem. Members expressed that participation in delegations with GGJ, especially international delegations, offer really impactful political exposure and leadership development experiences. Members urged GGJ to not lose this strength, while we make other changes and pursue new developments.

- *"The delegations, especially the longer ones like the caravan, have provided deep political grounding for members and staff who have attended."* —Southern Maine Workers Center
- *"We connect to GGJ because of Internationalism and demilitarization."* —Arab Resource and Organizing Center
- *"Thank you for insisting I go to Paris. Meeting the members from Africa and really knowing from being there that Black Lives Matter. Those perspectives are really important to uplift. Those are very powerful spaces that GGJ creates and those change people's perspectives in very real ways. That's what I'd like GGJ to continue to do."* —Chinese Progressive Association

SUMMARY OF PROPOSALS

CORE PROPOSALS

1 ADVANCING A DIVEST FROM HARM AND INVEST IN CARE SHARED CAMPAIGN:

GGJ will consolidate our membership capacity in shared work around the Green New Deal and our vision of a Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy. We propose that GGJ deepen the divest-invest analysis within the frameworks of a Just Transition and the Green New Deal, particularly drawing from our work on demilitarization and grassroots feminism.

DECISIONS

- GGJ will transform from a convening organization to a campaigning organization, taking on a *divest from harm, invest in care* campaign over the next three years.
- If approved, 7–10 member organizations commit to co-lead a campaign development process and 25+ organizations agree to dedicate some staff and member capacity to carrying out the campaign.

2 LAUNCHING A POLITICAL FORMATION SCHOOL FOR CONSCIOUS ORGANIZERS:

GGJ develops a Political Formation School through a collective process of learning, exchange, curriculum development, study, and practice. The School will be a tool that will serve the movement, starting with the membership and in alliance with the organizations of global movements.

DECISION

- GGJ will develop a Political Formation School over the next five years.

COROLLARY PROPOSALS

3 BLACK ORGANIZING AND LEADERSHIP PROPOSAL:

This proposal does three things. First, it calls on us to reaffirm our values and commitment as GGJ to Black organizing, leadership, and transformation. Second, it visibilizes the current work we have been doing internally and uplifts the need to continue to address accountability and repair within GGJ. This work is a given, not an ask. Third, it puts forward the request to create a temporary committee to oversee the proposed integration of this priority in our other areas of work, while defining how it will be held in the organization going forward.

DECISIONS

- GGJ Members reaffirm their commitment to Black liberation and to strengthen Black leadership across all existing GGJ program work.
- GGJ creates a temporary committee of members, staff, and leadership — including people who are engaged in GGJ and the ITR Black Caucus — to support program integration and develop a practice for how the work supporting Black organizing will be held in the organization and in collaboration with other formations.

4 UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL:

GGJ will engage our strategic partnerships with national and international sister alliances and networks towards advancing our collective programmatic work, implementing our shared vision, and making an impact in the lives of our membership and constituency. We will continue to take leadership roles in these national alliances and international alliances, ensure member participation and grassroots protagonism, and bring our politics and organizing approach to United Front efforts. We will periodically assess our need for and participation in tactical alignments and temporary United Fronts.

DECISIONS

- GGJ affirms our leadership in four strategic national alliances and networks: (1) It Takes Roots (ITR), (2) Green New Deal Network (GNDN), (3) Rising Majority (RM), (4) The Feminist Peace Initiative (FPI).
- GGJ affirms our leadership in three strategic international movement partners (1) The World March of Women (WMW), (2) The Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAR), (3) La Jornada Continental for Democracy and Against Neoliberalism (La Jornada).

COROLLARY PROPOSALS

5 EVOLVING THE GOVERNANCE MODEL OF GGJ PROPOSAL:

GGJ will strengthen the Coordinating Committee (CC) as a strategic leadership team for our alliance as a whole, reorganize the structure of the CC to ensure it is composed of active member leaders engaged in key aspects of GGJ's work, create a clear relationship between each of the working groups and the CC, and engage more member leaders as GGJ representatives in the national and international United Fronts we relate to. In alignment with the Black Organizing and Leadership proposal, we will ensure that Black member leadership continues to be reflected in our Coordinating Committee, the Working Groups, and the Board.

DECISIONS

- Affirm our model of member protagonism in leadership of our alliance.
- Determine and implement particular roles within the CC (i.e. Co-Chairs, Working Group liaisons).
- Integrate the GGJ fiscal and legal Board as a subcommittee of the elected Coordinating Committee.

6 MOVE THE MONEY PROPOSAL SUMMARY:

We propose that our funder organizing enter a new area of work to popularize demilitarization as a core tenet of any Just Transition, and agitate for “Divest from Harm, Invest in Care” within progressive U.S. philanthropy. To do this, we propose that our alliance skill up in the tools and campaigns of divesting and moving public and private monies to reinvest in the regenerative economy vehicles of our movements. This includes working directly with our grassroots frontline membership to guide our strategies.

DECISIONS

- GGJ will move more money to the grassroots via the Four Pathways.
- GGJ will create a Resource Mobilizer Working Group to guide alliance strategies of moving the money to the grassroots.
- GGJ will create openings for funder organizing to move money towards divest-invest strategies, focusing on divestment from institutions of militarism as a critical component of climate justice and Just Transition.

DIVEST FROM HARM, INVEST IN CARE: FARE ECONOMY CAMPAIGN PROPOSAL

SUMMARY

Over the next three years, we propose that GGJ develop and initiate a campaign with the frame: **Divest from Harm and Invest in Care**. The main goal of this campaign is to expand popular understanding of climate solutions to include *divesting from harmful institutions such as police, ICE, the military, and extractive industries, and investing in a care and regenerative economy*. We see the Green New Deal offering an opening to link together the three bands of GGJ's work: climate justice, grassroots feminism, and demilitarization. We propose this campaign unfold in two phases:

- Phase 1: Build the Base, Develop the Campaign
- Phase 2: Test, Reassess, Fight for the Win



CAMPAIGN FRAMEWORK

Divest from Harm and Invest in Care

We are at a critical juncture in which polluting extractive economies and institutions of harm are producing intersecting material crises. At the same time, movement forces are resisting on multiple fronts — fighting back against the escalating climate crisis, enduring the COVID-19 pandemic, and defending Black lives. We see this moment as an opportunity to bridge campaigns across the country aiming to stop harm in communities through building new, healthy, regenerative, and democratic institutions and conditions.

We propose that GGJ focus on integrating the divest-invest framework into the frameworks of a Just Transition and the Green New Deal, particularly drawing from our work on grassroots feminism and demilitarization which is reflected in Planks 13 and 15 of the *People's Orientation to a Regenerative Economy*.

One of the major political obstacles to investing in social infrastructure like care work and local alternative energy projects is that massive proportions of public and private funds are diverted to violent institutions like the police, military, and fossil fuel corporations. A campaign to *Divest from Harm and Invest in Care* will link the fights to divest from these institutions to the fights to invest in frontline communities and real grassroots feminist solutions creating institutional pathways to permanently redirect this funding.



THEORY OF CHANGE

By closing and stopping the build-out of institutions of harm and developing narrative and policy vehicles that link divest to invest strategies within broader climate justice demands, we will free up public and private resources to be redistributed to care and regenerative programs, infrastructure, and communities while building a new logic around what keeps us safe and healthy.

OBJECTIVES

1. **Engage GGJ membership in a campaign development process** to determine the specific scale of the campaign, sites of struggle, goals, and targets through member consultation, Working Groups, and People's Movement Assemblies.
2. **GGJ staff provide campaign development and implementation support, training, and organizing** to GGJ members advancing federal and local campaigns under the divest-invest framework.
3. **Conduct research, consultations, and landscape assessments to gather campaign and policy models** that link divest to invest mechanisms.
4. **Develop and deploy policy and campaign models** that link divest to invest strategies.
5. **Win material victories** that close or stop the build-out of institutions of harm, and successfully invest in the care economy as climate justice solutions.

TACTICAL PLAN AND TIMELINE

CAMPAIGN DEVELOPMENT

PHASE 1: Build the Base, Develop the Campaign

Build member leadership at the intersection of climate and care work, and climate and demilitarization/feminist abolition

Present – April 2023 (six months): Develop key demands, narratives, and tactics at these intersections through:

- **Research and landscape assessment:** Conduct research, consultations, and landscape assessments to gather campaign and policy models that link divest to invest.
- **Campaign development and consolidation:** Determine specific scale of the campaign, sites of struggle, goals, and targets. This process could include GGJ Working Group meetings, popular movement assemblies, target identification to determine national or local targets of our national divest-invest campaign, and delegations for care actions or divest actions.
- **Develop communications and messaging:** Begin producing content specific to “end harm, build care” messaging.
- **Explore feminist abolition as a core framework coming out of the Black radical tradition that intersects with the demands and visions of the campaign:** Many of our members, and a broader Black-led movement beyond our membership, have developed political programs and strategies for defunding police, fighting for decarceration, and abolition of the prison-industrial complex. Explore lessons and opportunities to align with these demands and campaign models.

CAMPAIGN EXPERIMENTATION, PRAXIS, AND ITERATION

PHASE 2: Test, Reassess, Fight for the Win

Codify divest from harm and invest in care in the GND/THRIVE/Just Transition work. Test different campaign models. Fight to win material victories at the intersection of divest-invest and climate justice, ensure implementation, and popularize the vision.

2023–2025: Testing and evaluating campaign models

At this stage of this proposal, we are not proposing a specific campaign focus. This document proposes that GGJ staff and members begin a rigorous campaign development process. To inform this decision, here are some examples of potential models for GGJ’s national divest-invest campaign.

Model 1: Translocal Strategic Approach Model — *This approach builds an overarching narrative and invests in local power-building to advance a diversity of frontline community-led strategies with a level of local autonomy, self-determination, and an aligned set of shared values. For example, CJA’s Our Power Communities campaign advances local models of a Just Transition.*

In the case of the GGJ FARE Economy Campaign, this could include:

- Ongoing local divest-invest campaigns connected by a shared narrative.
- For groups working on only one side of divest-invest, this could mean getting support on integrating the other side.
- For example: GGJ could provide a national narrative and organize support to local fights led by members to stop a diverse range of institutions of harm, from fossil fuel infrastructure to prisons and detention centers, and support the integration and implementation of invest demands into such campaigns.

Model 2: National Centralized Campaign Model — A national organization or coalition develops a demand, often at the federal level, and builds local power mobilizing communities to apply pressure to national targets like Congressmembers or the President to win the demand. Examples include the fight for Medicare for All or the Affordable Care Act by healthcare advocates, and the THRIVE Act by the Green New Deal Network and allies.

In the case of the GGJ FARE Economy Campaign, this could include:

- We collectively fight for a specific national demand on divest-invest.
- For example, introducing a national divest-invest bill to advance, organize around, and build power over the next three years. Such a campaign would have to be developed with a strategic assessment of the balance of power at the national level and the possibility for victory, such as building grassroots power with a campaign that may be difficult to win nationally.
- It also might mean taking on a specific corporate target that has a connection to both sides of divest-invest within climate justice which can be targeted from multiple sides and in multiple locations, for example, a retail corporation, bank, or another private institution.



Model 3: National Decentralized Campaign — A shared singular demand arises that aligns and galvanizes many local organizations, which may be fought at the local, state, Tribal, or national levels. Local policies may differ slightly, but local victories can build momentum towards a federal demand. Examples include the Fight for 15, or a Domestic Workers Bill of Rights, in which local coalitions of organizations demand for a version of a Minimum Wage or Domestic Worker Bill of Rights policy that may differ at the local level.

In the case of the GGJ FARE Economy Campaign, this could include:

- Multiple groups work to pass local, municipal, Tribal, and state ordinances that speak to the need to divest from harm and invest in care as a part of a Just Transition or a Green New Deal. GGJ provides highly customized support to diverse local fights.

Model 4: Translocal State, Tribal, and Municipal Locally-led, Nationally Coordinated Campaigns — Combining Models 2 and 3, some campaigns may be nationally coordinated with a shared narrative or demand, but with diverse local iterations. These campaigns combine a diversity of local led fights with national coordination and shared national interventions. Examples include fights to stop oil pipelines that are led at the local level with diverse demands, but which also requires federal intervention.

In the case of the GGJ FARE Economy Campaign, this could include:

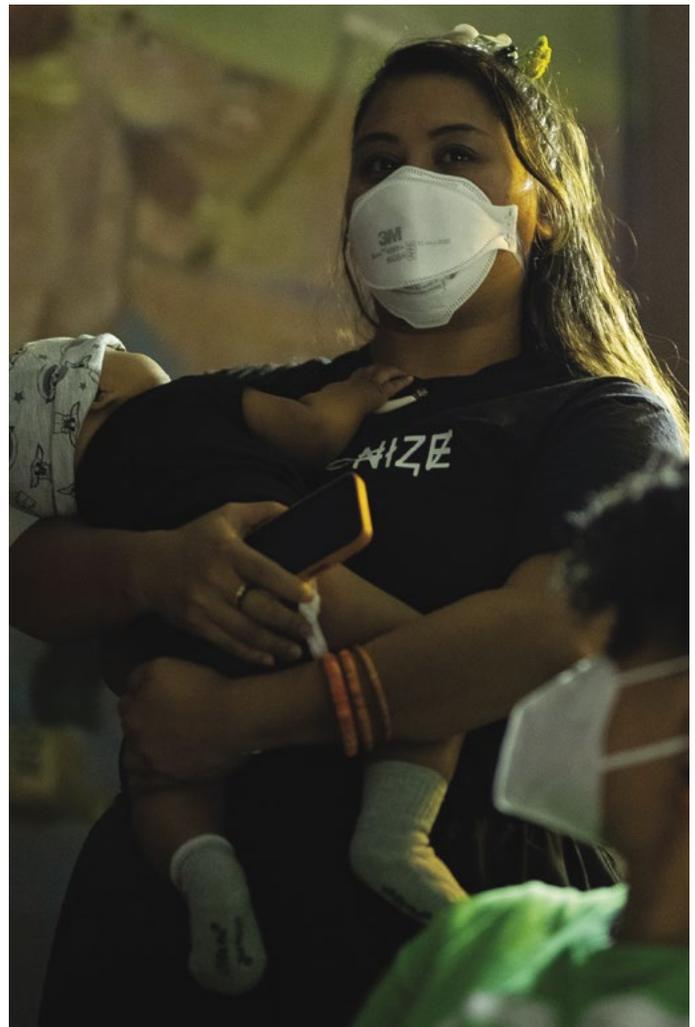
- Organizations working on divest and/or invest join the Green New Deal Network table in their state to advance the *divest from harm and invest in care* demands in climate justice policy locally, tribally, and statewide.
- GGJ continues to push for these frames and demands during interactions at the Green New Deal Network Table.
- On the implementation side, GGJ could coordinate nationally and support members in advancing local campaigns for democratic control of streams of public funds coming from federal legislation.

Integration with Political Formation School. In addition to these potential pathways, GGJ can leverage the Political Formation School in evaluation and adaptation of these models to carry out a process of strategizing, reflection, and reorientation as the praxis portion of the school, iterating strategies to best advance our central frame of *divest from harm and invest in care*.

Internationalism and the Global Levels of the Campaign Work

One of the central roles that GGJ holds in the grassroots sector is strengthening our capacity for internationalism, and building long-term strategic relationships between popular movements in North America with popular movements in the Global South. All of the fronts of struggle that are intersecting in this campaign — climate justice, antimilitarism, and feminist economy — have significant global dimensions. We also know that, as movements of impacted peoples inside the belly of U.S. imperialism, we [assume/shoulder] a strategic responsibility to challenge the U.S. government, corporations, and military around the leading role the U.S. plays in driving extractivism, colonialism, and exploitation globally. Sharpening the demands of a shared GGJ campaign can also help to guide some of the interventions we have been aiming to make on the international fronts of the struggle.

- **Interventions in the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change):** For many years, GGJ played a leadership role, along with the Indigenous Environmental Network, the Climate Justice Alliance, and the Just Transition Alliance, to coordinate a frontline delegation to the UNFCCC Conference of the Parties (COP) meetings. Since 2015, we have focused our strategic interventions around challenging greenwashing and false solutions because the UNFCCC has been a central terrain where corporations and states have advanced smoke and mirror mechanisms such as carbon markets, offsets, and geoengineering. Between these annual delegations, we often face challenges maintaining connections between the interventions at the UNFCCC with the ongoing shared work of our members. This campaign offers an opportunity to clarify, cohere, and focus the objectives and demands we want to elevate to pressure U.S. targets. At the UNFCCC, where U.S. elected and appointed leaders play a visible role, we can leverage international pressure against local, state, national, and global targets.
- **International Popular Movement Building:** GGJ is part of a number of long-term global movement formations that also intersect with the fronts of struggle reflected in this campaign. These United Fronts provide opportunities for political alignment and shared work related to our campaign priorities within our global movement alliances, particularly the Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAR), the World March of Women, the Feminist Peace Initiative, and La Jornada Continental.



DECISION

- GGJ will transform from a convening organization to a campaigning organization, taking on a *divest from harm, invest in care* campaign over the next three years
- If approved, 7–10 member organizations commit to co-lead a campaign development process and 25+ organizations agree to dedicate some staff and member capacity to carrying out the campaign.
 - Campaign development may include: Planning Popular Movement Assemblies (PMAs) on the intersection of care, demilitarization, and climate; conducting research on targets, engaging in conjunctural analysis, and meeting with experienced campaigners.
 - Carrying out the campaign may include: Participating in PMAs, joining a GNDN state table, incorporating *divest from harm, invest in care* policy demands into local campaign strategy, and carrying out a local action tied to a national target.

2

PROPOSAL

POLITICAL FORMATION SCHOOL

OBJECTIVE

Develop a Political Formation Training School for conscious organizers (*en Español, militantes*). The school is a tool that would serve the movement, starting with GGJ membership, then outward in alliance with national partners and global movements.

GGJ will support the formation of conscious forces of committed organizers in relationship with each other whose responsibility is to strengthen grassroots organizations, United Fronts, and the leftist political and social movement in the U.S. These conscious organizers will be trained to promote the radical changes needed to build the emancipatory project informed by the international proposals of the Feminist Economy (Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy), Global Well-being (Buenvivir), and 21st century socialism. This school will be developed in a collective process over five years, through learning, exchange, development of curriculum, study, and practice of the participants.



PHASE 1: Development of the Political Formation School – 2023

- 1. Discussion and approval of the proposal** at the GGJ Membership Assembly in October 2022.
- 2. Organization of the Political Formation School Committee** for the development of the school, composed of people from the GGJ membership, with at least three to five members including Black leadership, those who have experience in training, people from allied organizations at the national level (for example: Grassroots Policy Project, Leftroots, Black Organizing Leadership Development), and international allied organizations (MST — the Landless Workers Movement, CEPIS).

We will explore and map virtual and in-person formative sessions for committed organizers as well as political training schools both in the U.S. and internationally to learn about their various curricula, methodologies, and development processes.

We will develop the first phase of the curriculum that includes proposals for struggle and learning which reflect our diverse and historical roots of struggles including the left-Marxist tradition, feminist traditions, radical Black traditions, U.S. internationalist and Indigenous resistance and worldviews, and the environmental justice and economic justice sectors. At the same time, we will develop and practice mass education such as webinars to disseminate to a wider audience our political thought developed in the Berta Cáceres International Feminist Organizing School (IFOS).

CONTEXT

We find ourselves confronted by the need to respond to the challenges of the current political, economic and cultural moment, and to the projections of coming decades of attenuating crises of capitalism, ecology, and empire.

At the same time, new articulations have developed that have created ruptures with the paradigms of the 20th century left. We find ourselves with new political subjects that bring new ways of thinking, new worldviews, and new contradictions. Newer generations of organizers can experience a lack of formative experiences, infrastructure, and support to be in historical practice, which at times has led to a more individualist expression versus grounded in a collective liberation project.

In this context, we observe a limited existence of left educational grounds that offer deep political formation, training, and development. In our consulta process, our members shared their appreciation of the political education GGJ has historically offered. Our members request more formative programs ranging from practical skills of how to organize to deep socio-ideological development.

The publicity of the Berta Cáceres School is causing many more members and allies to want to participate in our formative programs. At the same time, they encounter constraints regarding their own time commitment, while the limited slots of our School only allow a certain number of members and allies to participate.

So we have three problems:

- (1) How to do Political Education for more members on a shorter time frame,
- (2) Dealing with the popular request to participate in our schools from outside the GGJ membership, and
- (3) An overall need for formative experiences in both the range of skills development (like management, technical, organizing, and communications) and political and conscious development.

We see the need to form conscious organizers for the long term who can deal with the challenges and new understandings of material conditions, who will know how to intervene strategically and offer a route to the systemic alternative we are striving to materialize.

GGJ is promoting the construction of the Political Subject as a strategic vision of our work. This means building, promoting, and articulating a movement of people with

- 3. During this period, we will also develop the formative sessions needed for a divest-invest FARE Economy Campaign.** We will develop this curriculum — which includes basic organizational aspects and political training within the framework of the Plural Political Subject — in coordination between the Campaign Team and the Political Formation School Committee. The Organizing Team will develop the practical skills building and grassroots organizing education, and an education team will develop the political/ideological formative sessions for the school.
- 4. Define and document the Transformative Organizing Model.** Document the local, regional and international organizational and political processes that have already been developed and implemented to learn from their successes, and to identify strengths and weaknesses. This would be a side project that will help inform both the school's coaching model and the policy articulation within which the school provides coaching.
- 5. Develop the curriculum of a pilot school** that, at the same time that it develops political thought, is also a space to support the organizational political practice and policy development of GGJ's campaign work. In this formation process, there could be space for engaging wider sets of our allied organizations who are also engaged in Green New Deal strategy and the intersections reflected in our FARE Economy framework and campaign proposal. We will begin development of a pilot school by the end of 2023 or the beginning of 2024. It will convene members of organizations involved in the national campaign, and can include people from allied organizations, including international allies, to generate learning from shared experiences to inform the school's development and practice.
- 6. We, along with the international alliances of La Jornada Continental, will develop a module of the International Feminist Organizing School** to expand knowledge and deepen the IFOS curriculum in 2023.

PHASE 2: 2024

Based on the experiences of the pilot School, webinars, and the IFOS with allies, we will concretize the curriculum of the Political Training School for implementation in the second semester of 2024.

PHASE 3: 2025 and beyond

Explore and research building an onsite physical school, including exploring with allies who may already own land or training sites.



militancy, conscience, clarity for the common understanding of their reality, and with the commitment to the construction and transition to an alternative to patriarchal and racist neoliberal imperialist capitalism. Currently this alternative framework is reflected in our vision of the Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy (FARE Economy).

Our school will provide formation to people for the dispute over power, the meaning of life and hegemony. Therefore, we need to form people with clear consciences, militancy, strategic thinking, and the ability to participate, organize, train, act, and confront power.

Our long-term strategic objective is to build movements, broaden the base that is already organized, and develop the different organizations with which we share views and common struggles. This would be constructed in a process of at least 10 years, with regular evaluations on our progress.

Some political objectives sought by this strategic vision include:

- Stopping the advance of the right
- Protecting Mother Earth and life systems
- Strengthening popular power
- Advancing the presence of the left as an alternative vehicle to the current system

To achieve these political objectives, we must build a permanent popular social and political movement with the capacity to sustain the work, expand it through important political conjunctures, and capitalize on the results of campaigns and grassroots organizing.

For the construction of this movement we need to develop, organize, and promote formative experiences, organization, and construction processes under a common proposal. Therefore, the formative process is a strategic action that will be enriched by practice in the movements, developing a process of popular education of *praxis-training-praxis*.

DECISION

GGJ will develop a Political Formation School over the next five years.

3

PROPOSAL

BLACK LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZING

Over the last decade, and most recently illustrated in the 2020 uprisings in defense of Black lives, we witnessed a national and global reckoning on the continued devaluation of Black people in our society and the need to recognize and increase space for Black organizing and leadership. From the beginning, GGJ was shaped by the Black Radical tradition, and over time our organization has developed, and been developed by strong Black leaders. At the same time, GGJ also made errors and must continue to grow to fully support Black leadership.

We acknowledge that building a strong movement for Black liberation is a core value of GGJ, and at the same time, we identify the need to reground in this thread of GGJ's history and recommit to this value as an essential first step in our work and practice. We are clear on the importance of Black organizing and leadership in the struggle for a Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative

Economy and believe there is a need for intentionality when it comes to developing our leadership.

We understand the need for further consultation with members beyond the consultas, and the need to identify with whom, and in what spaces, the work to deepen our practice in support of Black leadership and liberation is held. We also recognize that there is ongoing work happening in the CJA Black Caucus and ITR Black Caucus and that it is important to address how we build collectively.

This proposal largely reflects what it would mean for GGJ to return to our values, strengthen current practices, and develop the space to collectively determine our commitment to other ways we can build Black organizing, including with our sister alliances. This proposal is in the early phases of development, and is just the beginning of a longer term process of building up Black organizers, organizing, and organizations as a part of strengthening the larger movement ecosystem.

THE APPROACH

To deepen our capacity to support, increase, appreciate, and further develop Black leadership and organizing in this next period, we propose GGJ:

- Recommit to GGJ's values to uplift the struggle for Black liberation.
- Carry forward current work to build internal staff capacity and strengthen our ongoing practice of developing and supporting Black leadership and liberation with members.
- Create a temporary committee to oversee integration of this priority into other areas of work and to define where it lives going forward.





1. Recommit to GGJ’s values to uplift the struggle for Black liberation

- Affirm and articulate that Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.’s philosophy of the Triple Evils of poverty, racism and militarism is a pillar of the Black Radical Tradition.
- Affirm and articulate that bringing working, poor people, and communities of color into a long-term process of relationship building, political alignment, and transformational leadership development can not be done without Black leadership.
- Develop ongoing Political and Popular Education with a deliberate race, gender, and class framework that centers Blackness.
- Familiarize and heighten our knowledge of historical multicultural U.S. movements to build cross community political power and endurance — a strategy coined through the Black liberation movement in the ‘70s and ‘80s.

2. Carry forward current work to build internal staff capacity and strengthen our ongoing practice with members

Among Staff:

- Continue to develop our practice of courageous conversations (initially introduced to GGJ staff by Holiday Simmons and Raquel Laviña after our 360

organizational evaluation led by Candice Cason and Bill Fletcher in 2020–2021).

- Continue internal political education on Transformative Justice and abolition.
- Ensure resources for Black staff and members to participate in popular education trainings and fellowships.
- Exploring incorporating Black days of healing and rest (similar to COVID-19 management time) with GGJ Human Resources.

With Members:

- Explore and educate ourselves on what Transformative Justice is and how we can use it to facilitate a process where accountability, repair, and healing are the main takeaways.
 - This process may not be exclusive to Black organizing spaces, but a shared tool that Black leaders contribute to the larger alliance with guidance on how to address harm in all organizing spaces.
- We encourage processes of repair and restoration that allow opportunities for Black staff and member organizations to exercise agency based on what repair and restoration means to the group.
- We will work to develop protocols and other formalities in order to directly communicate internally

when conflicts do arise in our alliance, as well as protocols on how to inform and engage member organizations.

- We will keep members updated on where we are in this process.

3. Create a temporary committee of members, staff, and leadership to oversee program integration and think through who holds this work

- The temporary committee reviews integration of this priority in our other areas of work and develops a plan for overseeing implementation. Some proposed areas of program integration include:
 - **Campaign:** Exploring feminist abolition as a part of campaign development with a specific focus on feminist economy and bodily autonomy.
 - **Political Formation School:** Study Black Feminism, partnering with and learning from current and historical Black-led political formations in the U.S. and globally. Recruit Black leadership to development, training, and facilitation teams.
 - **Movement building:** Strengthen and prioritize relationships with Black-led movements at the national and international level, particularly on the African continent.
 - **Governance:** Prioritize retention and recruitment of Black leadership on our Coordinating Committee and in the Working Groups.
 - **Move the Money:** Integrate into the Four Pathways specific criteria for ensuring that we are effectively moving resources to fund Black leadership and organizations across a range of strategies. Ensure

representation from Black-led member organizations in the Resource Mobilizer Working Group.

- **GGJAF:** Targeted consultation with members experienced in developing Black political power to assess learnings and inform the political strategy of GGJAF. Building relationships with organizations that work on Black voter engagement.

- The temporary committee determines a process for developing this work within GGJ, clarifying who holds it and where it lives, including its relationship and shared practice with the ITR Black Caucus, other sister alliance Black Caucus spaces, and Black-led strategic allies.
 - Potential future work could include Black specific programming that supports the growth of Black organizers and members, like collective panels, sessions on principled debate, and recognition of the historic contributions and leadership of Black organizers and organizations to multiracial movements.

DECISION

- Reaffirm our commitment to Black liberation and strengthening Black leadership across all existing GGJ program work.
- GGJ creates a temporary committee of members, staff, and leadership — including people who are engaged in GGJ and ITR's Black Caucus — to support program integration and develop a practice for how the work supporting Black organizing will be held in the organization and in collaboration with other formations.



4 PROPOSAL

UNITED FRONT PROPOSAL

CONTEXT

Given the current assessment of the conjunctural analysis — the level of crisis we are facing and the relative weakness, fragmentation, and lack of a cohered longer-term strategy in left grassroots forces — we have identified three core tasks for this period:

- Building durable, mass-based organizations and their alliances.
- Putting forward a systems-change analysis, with bold demands to protect and advance the work.
- Positioning ourselves to stop the advance of the right.

We can't do this work alone. We need to be in tactical and strategic formations at local, national, and international levels. GGJ has prioritized movement building throughout our nearly 16 years of development at national and international levels. Over time, we have moved from solidarity into relationships of shared strategy and struggle. We are part of an international fabric of grassroots movements of impacted peoples organizing toward system change, and we are in a very strategic location given the impact of the U.S. on movements and the political economy across the world.

While movement building is a strength for GGJ, we are also aware that we have built and participated in so many institutions and organizations that we are spread too thin. Our United Front Proposal for this Assembly aims to offer recommendations for how we can prioritize, consolidate,

and reorganize our relationship to movement building formations in order to be more effective and stronger in our collective impact.

Goals of our United Front work are: (1) To be in shared practice with other forces, particularly in the grassroots sector, and with other multiclass and multiracial sectors across grassroots movements in ways that allow us to aggregate our power and to have an ability to stop the onslaught of attacks on historic movement gains, (2) To position ourselves in this next decade to get on the offensive, (3) to align our platforms, and (4) to work together to identify the north star of where we are trying to head as GGJ, the grassroots sector, and the movement as a whole. In this proposal we will identify the articulations we have been historically building and our proposals for how we move forward in the period ahead.

The core questions related to the United Front work we are looking to resolve in this proposal for the 2022 Member Assembly are:

- Streamlining our alliances to be more effective and impactful, and
- Engaging member leadership more actively in all of our United Front work.

SECTION ONE:

NATIONAL ALLIANCES

Below are descriptions of each alliance or network, the current shared work, and the proposal for how GGJ moves forward in relationship to the period ahead.



1. It Takes Roots (ITR):

Description: ITR is a multiracial, multicultural, intergenerational alliance of alliances representing over 200 organizations and affiliates in over 50

states, provinces, territories, and Native lands on Turtle Island, and is led by women, gender expansive people, people of color, and Black and Indigenous Peoples. It is an outcome of years of organizing and relationship building across the membership of Climate Justice Alliance, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, Indigenous Environmental Network, and Right to the City Alliance. Our four alliances are led by communities on the frontlines fighting for racial, housing, and climate justice, and Indigenous sovereignty. For GGJ, It Takes Roots is our most trusted set of sister alliances with whom we have engaged in shared work, strategy, and alignment across all levels of our alliances from our membership, leadership, and staff. GGJ is active in the leadership in It Takes Roots as a whole, plays a fiscal sponsorship role for ITR, and is an anchor for ITR staff.

Priority Work for It Takes Roots:

- Just Transition strategy
- Advancing the *Peoples Orientation to a Regenerative Economy* as a shared platform of demands
- Frontline Green New Deal (GND) strategy
- Shared delegations and joint strategy around the UNFCCC (United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change)
- Consolidate a member leadership body with representatives from each of the sister alliances
- Collective rapid response as needed

Recommendation:

- Prioritize It Takes Roots as a place of shared Just Transition and frontline Green New Deal strategy.
- Collaborate to move frontline movements into strategic leadership in the Green New Deal United Front spaces.
- Engage GGJ members in the member leadership body of ITR.

GGJ is part of five main national alliances:

1. **It Takes Roots**
2. **United Frontline Table**
3. **Green New Deal Network**
4. **Rising Majority**
5. **Feminist Peace Initiative**



2. United Frontline Table (UFT):

Description: Climate Justice Alliance, It Takes Roots, People's Action, and East

Michigan Environmental Action Council gathered 67 frontline and allied organizations consisting of 80 leaders to participate in the Frontline Green New Deal + Climate and Regenerative Economic Policy Summit in Detroit in 2019. At this summit, we identified green lines (what we want), yellow lines (what we're still questioning), and red lines (what we say no to) for GND policies, from development through implementation. This strategic approach was originally shared by People's Action to workshop in Detroit, which we later adapted during the COVID pandemic into the *Peoples Orientation to a Regenerative Economy* — the United Frontline Table's cornerstone policy and organizing tool to Protect, Repair, Invest, and Transform our communities and the economy. GGJ and all of It Takes Roots play leadership roles in the United Frontline Table.

Priority Work for the United Frontline Table:

- Advancing the *Peoples Orientation to a Regenerative Economy* as a shared platform of demands
- Frontline Green New Deal strategy
- Frontline interventions around J40 (Justice 40) federal funding implementation

Recommendation:

- Merge and/or consolidate ITR and UFT into one vehicle that will focus our grassroots forces to advance frontline demands and provide strategic leadership in Green New Deal United Front spaces.



3. Green New Deal Network (GNDN):

The Green New Deal Network is a coalition of grassroots, labor, climate, and environmental organizations growing a movement to pass local, state, and national

policies that create millions of family-sustaining union jobs, ensure racial and gender equity, and take action on climate at the scale and scope the crisis demands. The Green New Deal Network is a 50-state campaign with a national table of 15 organizations: Center for Popular Democracy, Climate Justice Alliance, Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, Greenpeace,

Indigenous Environmental Network, Indivisible, Movement for Black Lives, MoveOn, People's Action, Right To The City Alliance, Service Employees International Union, Sierra Club, Sunrise Movement, US Climate Action Network, and the Working Families Party. GGJ plays a leadership role with the GNDN, in the state based/Tribal strategy, the policy team, and interventions to reorient the GNDN toward power building from the grassroots.

GGJ Priorities in the Green New Deal Network:

- Consolidate the GND Network Coordinating Team and state tables through the leadership of GGJ and sister alliances, to develop, invest in, and deploy a state-to-federal strategy to advance Green New Deal-related policies that center GGJ's FARE Economy solutions.
- Support and prioritize state tables where there is opportunity to advance leadership of GGJ members to inform state Green New Deal-related policy campaigns.
- Exploring energy and buildings/housing as priority sectors for aligned policy campaigns across state tables, while integrating a divest from harm and invest in care framework across messaging and policy design.

Recommendation:

- Continue to strengthen our feminist, anti-militarism (FARE Economy) articulation in the GNDN vision and demands.
- Consolidate the frontline positions within the United Front to offer leadership to the GNDN and advocate for more grassroots representation in the staffing and leadership of the network.
- Ensure our member organizations play a leadership role within the state-based infrastructure, giving direction to the national legislative strategy.



4. Rising Majority (RM):

Description: The Rising Majority is a national formation that believes that the strength of our movements lie in

organizing for power from the bottom up. RM especially believes it's important to fortify the leadership and organizing of Black people and people of color, Indigenous people, women, LGBTQ people, youth and students, and all frontline communities fighting for life and dignity. RM hopes that creating tools, resources, and ways for people to connect and discuss important issues will help build our collective power across the country toward an anti-racist left for radical democracy. On every level, our communities must come together to struggle, learn, and understand the deep possibilities of collaboration, work that would be impossible to achieve on our own. GGJ is a founding organization of the Rising Majority and we play a role in the Leadership Team and Coordinating Committee.

Priority work of the Rising Majority:

- Creating and cohering a long-term, movement-wide shared vision for 2050 and a decade-long joint strategy with an internal convergence in September 2022 and a mega Convergence in 2023 or early 2024 to ratify the 2050/10-year plan.

Recommendation:

- Continue to play a leadership role in RM.
- Create more space for intentional coordination of GGJ members within the RM to help shape the grassroots organizing sector values, articulation, and demands.
- Strengthen our internationalist framework and our FARE Economy campaign within the work of RM.



5. Feminist Peace Initiative (FPI):

Grassroots Global Justice Alliance, MADRE, and Women Cross DMZ convened a group of 23 women and gender-expansive people from across the United States in 2020, launching the Feminist Peace Initiative. Our multigenerational group included veterans, anti-war activists, Indigenous People, community organizers, migrant justice organizers, political strategists, and scholars — many from diasporic communities whose homelands have been impacted by U.S. militarism and wars. FPI came together because we are connected in our struggles against interlocking systems of power and domination — capitalism, patriarchy, white supremacy, and militarism — within and beyond the borders of the United States. The main work examines, challenges, and reimagines a U.S. foreign policy in the interests of all people. GGJ is a co-anchor of the FPI.

Priority work of the Feminist Peace Initiative:

- Promoting the FPI report and framework with congressional champions, the anti-war/peace movement, and feminist movement.
- Continue gathering support and signs-ons to the No War, No Warming Pledge
- Visibilize feminist solidarity to stop militarization efforts from RIMPAC to occupation and war.

Recommendation:

- Work to create capacity for independent staffing for the FPI.
- Integrate FPI more into our demilitarization and grassroots feminist workgroup, our United Front work with the Rising Majority, and La Jornada Continental.

SECTION TWO:

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCES

Below are descriptions of each alliance or network, the current shared work, and the proposal for how GGJ moves forward in relationship to the period ahead.



1. World March of Women (WMW)

The World March of Women is an international, feminist action movement connecting grassroots groups and organizations working to eliminate the root causes of poverty and violence against women. The WMW is an autonomous, multicultural, multiethnic, pluralist, and independent movement. It is an anti-capitalist, anti-patriarchal, anti-colonial, and anti-racist organization. GGJ is the U.S. Chapter of the World March of Women and participates in the Americas regional articulation. GGJ coordinated deeply with the World March of Women on the IFOS (Berta Cáceres International Feminist Organizing School) and continues to do so with the IFOS Facilitator's School, both virtually and in-person. We also participate annually in the International Women's Day global mobilizations on March 8 as well as the Rana Plaza solidarity actions on April 24.

Priority work for the World March of Women:

- Continue to participate within the Americas region of the WMW where we share experiences, context within each country and territory, and collaborate on actions.
- Continue collaborating on the IFOS and Facilitator's School with the WMW in order to support the creation of regional feminist organizing schools.
- Amplify WMW politics and articulation/organization in allied spaces like La Jornada Continental and other continental and global campaigns.

Recommendation:

- In 2025, there will likely be a massive call for global mobilization. In preparation, we can use the next two to three years to continue to cohere our feminist relationships with other women of color-led formations in the U.S.
- Find ways to expand membership of the World March of Women (U.S. chapter) to organizations led by women of color and gender expansive people beyond GGJ's membership.
- Engage tactically with organizations and movements we are in relationship with, particularly the Women's March, Black Feminist Futures, the Feminist Front, and the National Domestic Workers Alliance as the right continues to wage war on women and LGBTQ communities.
- Increase GGJ member participation in the WMW U.S. chapter, the IFOS, and actions called on by both the WMW Americas and WMW International.

GGJ is part of three primary international alliances:

1. World March of Women

2. Movement of People Affected by Dams

3. La Jornada Continental for Democracy and against Neoliberalism



2. Movement of Peoples Affected by Dams (MAR)

MAR formed in 2016, following 6 years of exchanges and relationship building across 18 organizations from energy impacted communities in Latin America, including the Movement of People Affected by Dams in Brazil, Rios Vivos in Colombia, the Consejo del Pueblo Maya in Guatemala, COPINH in Honduras, and MODATIMA in Chile. The organizations comprising this movement aligned around shared objectives and strategies for the transformation of the capitalist system that developed an energy model based on dispossession. MAR seeks to create a popular energy model that is based on life, in balance with the permanent interests of local territories and the well-being of communities. The core work plan for the MAR is to advance a shared social movement articulation of a popular energy model. This articulation is not limited to hydro-electric dams — particularly in North America, MAR understands that many of our members are fighting other forms of dirty extractive energy, including refineries, pipelines, waste incineration, fracking, and nuclear power. In 2019, GGJ was invited to join as the newest member of the MAR representing our movements in North America. GGJ is part of the provisional coordination body of the MAR.

Priority work for the MAR

- Develop an articulation of a popular energy model coming from grassroots movements. This process will develop in levels from national to regional, and continental to international from 2023–2025.
- Connecting with energy impacted peoples' movements in Africa and supporting regional and continental political formation of these movements in relationship with movements in the Americas.
- Planning an international convening of energy impacted peoples' movements in the Amazon region of Brazil in 2025.
- Internal study and political formation studying capital, state and democracy, strategy and tactics, socialist alternatives, and other core foundational theory to strengthen political alignment across our movements and support the development of a popular energy model.



Recommendation:

- The MAR is one of the most left and politically grounded global movement alliances engaging with a grassroots vision of system change. The MAR will be a very important space for GGJ to strengthen Just Transition strategy. Within GGJ, we can situate the MAR more directly within our Global Well-being work and the Green New Deal Leadership Team.
- While GGJ is deeply committed to the movement building work of MAR, we think that the Climate Justice Alliance is best organized to engage the widest base of energy impacted peoples' movements in North America. In order to deepen our member protagonism in the MAR, we need to work with the Energy Democracy work group members in the Climate Justice Alliance and deepen CJA's capacity to co-anchor the MAR work in North America.



3. La Jornada Continental for Democracy and Against Neoliberalism (La Jornada):

La Jornada Continental is an alignment of organized peoples of different social sectors: trade unions, women's

movements, peasants, environmentalists, regional formations, and organizations. La Jornada developed from decades of movement convergence and organized resistance, struggle, and construction of alternatives for and from the peoples of the Americas. In November 2015, La Jornada convened in Havana to commemorate 10 years since the defeat of the Free Trade Agreement of the Americas (FTAA) and identified a new shared agenda, as part of a process of rearticulation of the popular movements of the continent. We come together collectively to build a new subject of change with multiple expressions, diversity of visions and feelings, different forms of organization and understanding of politics, and individual and collective activities around three key areas: the defense of democracy in the Americas, fighting neoliberal trade agreements and global policies from the UN and World Bank, and fighting the control and impunity of transnational corporations. GGJ is an active member of La Jornada and part of the coordination body.

Priority work for La Jornada Continental:

- Advance the campaign against transnational corporate power and immunity, promoting a binding treaty of regulations and agreements at the UN.
- Visible and immediate solidarity with movements, leaders, and left aligned countries in the hemisphere experiencing crisis, such as attacks by the right and when sovereignty is undermined by U.S., corporate interests, or right wing forces.
- Promote framework around peace, meeting people's basic needs in light of economic crises and defending people's sovereignty.

Recommendation:

- Continue playing a leadership role in the coordination of La Jornada Continental.
- Invite members of La Jornada Continental to participate in the next IFOS.
- Strengthen capacity within our membership to hold joint actions and mobilizations around war, militarization, poverty, and trade and global agreements.

DECISION

- GGJ affirms our leadership in four strategic national alliances and networks: (1) It Takes Roots (ITR), (2) Green New Deal Network (GNDN), (3) Rising Majority (RM), (4) The Feminist Peace Initiative (FPI).
- GGJ affirms our leadership in three strategic international movement partners: (1) World March of Women (WMW), (2) Movement of People Affected by Dams (MAR), (3) La Jornada Continental for Democracy and Against Neoliberalism (La Jornada).

5

PROPOSAL

EVOLVING GOVERNANCE MODEL OF GGJ ALLIANCE

SUMMARY

GGJ operates as a member-run alliance with elected member leadership, built and led by the grassroots organizations who federated and founded this national alliance as a movement vehicle. At this stage of our development, GGJ's three working groups — demilitaRISE, Grassroots Feminisms, and Global Well-being/GND Leadership Team, are active member leader spaces shaping and determining much of our program and work. However, there is a need to strengthen and cohere the relationship between members leading the working groups, members leading the Coordinating Committee (CC), and members on the Board.

CONTEXT

When GGJ was founded between 2002–2005, our mandate from the membership was for the alliance to be led first and foremost by leaders from our grassroots member organizations. The staff of the alliance was intentionally small, and the structure relied on a high level of capacity by active member leaders who were elected by the full membership at regular assemblies. During that time, CC members were most often the GGJ representatives in United Fronts and sister organizations in national and international movements. CC members represented GGJ at the International Council of the World Social Forum, led political education schools and programming tracks for members at U.S. Social Forums, and organized within progressive philanthropy to mobilize resources for the grassroots organizing sector.

Over time, GGJ members called for the alliance to pivot from the convergence model of the social forums toward more concerted campaign organizing and grassroots feminist political education, making our work more visible at the national and international levels. This vision of what we could do as an alliance called for increased staffing through our 501(c)3 nonprofit structure. As GGJ staff grew over the past seven years, movement conditions have brought challenges for the capacity of CC leaders to represent at the national and international level in the same way as before.

- In 2012–2015 we grew to meet the climate justice moment, and co-founded the Climate Justice Alliance (CJA) with a huge cross section of membership.



- In 2017 we grew to fight the era of Trumpism and founded It Takes Roots (ITR) as an alliance of sister alliances (Climate Justice Alliance, Indigenous Environmental Network, and Right to the City Alliance), including fiscally sponsoring and housing ITR staff.
- In 2020, we created a 501(c)4 nonprofit vehicle, Grassroots Global Justice Action Fund (GGJAF), to serve as a sister organization that would tackle a higher level of policy work to build visionary platforms, take more visible stances on confronting the authoritarian right, and endorse left candidates who will bring our policy platform to the national level.

Now, as we develop a campaign to Divest from Harm and Invest in Care, build a Political Formation School, and organize more left candidates to implement the Feminist, Anti-racist, Regenerative Economy platform, we are in a moment to reconsider the right-sized structure for governing the various vehicles built under the GGJ Alliance umbrella.

GGJ's five primary leadership bodies:

- **Membership:** Determines the overall direction of the alliance, carries out work through working groups and committees, and elects the Coordinating Committee. The membership convenes in regular strategy calls and meets face-to-face every few years in Membership Assemblies. See ggjalliance.org/members for a list of GGJ member organizations and ggjalliance.org/get-involved/becomeaggjmember/ for membership criteria.
- **Coordinating Committee:** Elected by the membership to oversee the political direction of the alliance on an ongoing basis between Member Assemblies.
- **Member Working Groups:** Develops, guides, and navigates the program work of GGJ, implementing the organizational strategy in the three areas of our shared work: climate justice, grassroots feminism, and demilitarization.
- **Staff:** Assures the implementation of the political and pragmatic goals of GGJ, in consultation with members and guided by the CC.
- **Board of Directors:** Oversees the fiscal and legal responsibilities of the alliance.

Proposal — Evolving the Governance Model of GGJ Alliance

Reorganize the structure of the elected Coordinating Committee to ensure it is composed of active member leaders engaged in key aspects of GGJ's work. This proposal aims to strengthen the Coordinating Committee as a strategic leadership team for our alliance as a whole, create a clear relationship between each of the working groups and the CC, and engage more member leaders as GGJ representatives in the key national and international United Fronts we relate to. In alignment with the Black Organizing and Leadership proposal, we will ensure that Black member leadership continues to be reflected in our Coordinating Committee, the Working Groups, and the Board.

Summary of Proposed CC and Working Group Leadership and Decision Making Structures in GGJ

- CC makes decisions on organizational strategy and political direction for GGJ and approves new member organizations. A subcommittee serves as the Board on fiscal and personnel matters.
- Working groups develop, guide, and navigate the program work of GGJ, implementing the organizational strategy in the core sectors in our shared work.
- If a working group proposal impacts the overall organizational strategy and political direction of GGJ, a representative from the working group will bring a proposal to the CC for discussion and approval.

DECISIONS

- Affirm our model of member protagonism in leadership of our alliance.
- Determine and implement particular roles within the CC (i.e. Co-Chairs and working group liaisons).
- Integrate the GGJ fiscal and legal Board as a subcommittee of the elected Coordinating Committee.

6

PROPOSAL

MOVE THE MONEY

The COVID-19 pandemic has deepened the historic inequities of colonialism, slavery, and racialized, gendered capitalism. As people like Jeff Bezos become richer than we can conceive, we are now facing the age of billionaires. We must continue to move “twice stolen wealth” back to the grassroots, frontline communities from which it was stolen. To achieve this, we propose that in the next phase of Just Transition work within progressive U.S. philanthropy, GGJ popularizes divesting from demilitarization at home and abroad as a core tenet of any Just Transition. We have seen the impacts of building Just Transition with a climate justice frame. It’s time for our movements to agitate for the Just Transition frame of “Divest from Harm” — specifically from institutions of militarism including police, prisons, and ICE in the U.S., to sanctions, wars, and other U.S. military intervention abroad — and “Invest in Care” and elements of the feminist antiracist regenerative economy. We propose that our alliance skill up in the tools and campaigns of divesting and moving public and private monies to reinvest in the feminist regenerative economy vehicles of our movements. This includes working with our grassroots, frontline membership to determine which funding conditions are acceptable and non-negotiable. Additionally, GGJ staff will work with the newly elected Coordinating Committee to finalize a gift acceptance policy and explore a higher level of regranteeing.

Moving the level of resources required for a Just Transition will take a radical transformation in the ownership of capital. This will necessitate changing the hearts and minds of the wealthy: from giving up their extractive ways that generate endless profits, to returning control of capital to communities with no expectation of returns on their investments. As we call for — and

eventually win — divestment from systems of harm and investment in systems of care, we need to be ready with concrete demands around where and how those funds are moved, and be in relationship with co-conspirators who can amplify the message and organize their peers. We created a progressive philanthropy campaign with our movement peers and funder co-conspirators calling for moving more money to the grassroots through four main pathways. (See [sidebar/box](#)).

Move the Money Proposal Summary:

We propose that our funder organizing enter a new area of work to popularize demilitarization as a core tenet of any Just Transition, and agitate for “Divest from Harm, Invest in Care” within progressive U.S. philanthropy. To do this, we propose that our alliance skill up in the tools and campaigns of divesting and moving public and private monies to reinvest in the regenerative economy vehicles of our movements. This includes working directly with our grassroots, frontline membership to guide our strategies.

PROPOSAL ONE: Prioritize these strategies for moving more money to the grassroots via the Four Pathways.

Pathway 1: Grassroots Organizations. Strengthen mechanisms for lifting up GGJ member organizations within progressive philanthropy and encouraging GGJ funders and donors to give matching contributions to member groups in their region.

Pathway 2: Grassroots-led Alliances and Networks. Explore regranteeing through GGJ — build a more robust regranteeing strategy and practice, with transparency around criteria and decision-making.

Pathway 3: Community-controlled Capital

Infrastructure. Move divested funds that are won by the Divest from Harm, Invest in Care campaign toward investing in Seed Commons, a community cooperative loan fund via non-extractive loans.

Pathway 4: Grassroots-centric Funder Intermediaries.

Mobilize resources toward funds that are governed by and accountable to frontline grassroots sectors, such as the Fund for Frontline Power, BEA Fund, and Grassroots International. Additionally, in line with the Black Leadership and Organizing proposal, the Resource Mobilization team will integrate specific criteria into the Four Pathways to ensure that we are effectively moving resources to fund Black leadership and organizations across a range of strategies.

PROPOSAL TWO: Convene resource mobilizers from GGJ's membership in a working group

to give input and guide how we move funds to the Four Pathways; share strategies, landscape assessments, and connections for collaborative fundraising across our movement; and share resources and skills building across member organizations. We will ensure participation from Black-led member organizations in this Resource Mobilization Working Group.

PROPOSAL THREE: Mobilize funders and donors as co-conspirators to popularize the demilitarization aspects of a Just Transition within progressive philanthropy.

The newly-forming Resource Mobilization Working Group would work with GGJ staff and funder allies to develop an assessment and build a strategy for politicizing progressive philanthropy and increasing funding for demilitarization work.

DECISION

- GGJ will move more money to the grassroots via the Four Pathways.
- GGJ will create a Resource Mobilizer Working Group to guide alliance strategies of moving the money to the grassroots.
- GGJ will create openings for funder organizing to move money toward divest-invest strategies, focusing on divestment from institutions of militarism as a critical component of climate justice and Just Transition.

Four Pathways to Move Money to the Grassroots

GRASSROOTS ORGANIZATIONS

Unrestricted, multiyear, general operating funding granted directly to authentic grassroots and base-building organizations that are of, by, for, and directly accountable to the most impacted communities is always preferred.

GRASSROOTS-LED ALLIANCES AND NETWORKS

Alliances and networks created by grassroots organizations build in resource-sharing and accountability processes for collective impact.

COMMUNITY-CONTROLLED CAPITAL INFRASTRUCTURE

Non-extractive loan funds, community land trusts, and worker-owned cooperatives are examples of community-controlled infrastructure that supports grassroots governance of capital and redistribution of wealth at the community level.

NOTE: GGJ has invested \$200,000 of long-term reserve funds in Seed Commons to be an example of what we're pushing funders to do with their investments.

GRASSROOTS-CENTRIC FUNDER INTERMEDIARIES

Intermediary funders that center grassroots communities are a critical part of movement infrastructure. They fund grassroots organizations with flexible core support, are directly accountable to the frontlines, and engage grassroots leaders in their decision-making processes.

GLOSSARY

CARE ECONOMY is the sector of the economy responsible for performing the work of social reproduction, such as cleaning, caregiving, food preparation, laundry and other everyday activities in the home and outside of it (i.e. in schools and through healthcare) to raise and nurture our current and future generations — including children, people with disabilities, and aging populations.

CONSCIOUS ORGANIZERS - Conscious organizers are those organizers who self-consciously work to build organization and broader movements so that the people will be able to strike back at the roots causes of the problems in the community. To fulfill their task of building organizations and a broader movement, the conscious organizer must be guided in their work by their answers to basic questions: What's the nature of the system? What are the current conditions within this system? And who are the forces that have the interest and the capability to make change? (Source: *Towards Land, Work and Power*, 2005)

DEMILITARIZATION is the process of dismantling the entire systems within the U.S. and abroad that politically, economically, socially and institutionally carry out organized violence to further exploitation, racism and patriarchy; such as the police, the military, ICE, etc. Given the role of the US as the world Superpower, operating domestically and internationally to control the economies and governments of every nation in the world—especially the nations and peoples of the Third World in Asia, Africa, and Latin America, demilitarization is a critical front of struggle to defend the human rights and liberation struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples both internal to the US and globally.

DIVEST-INVEST is a political strategy to reduce, and eventually eliminate, funding for institutions of harm like police, prisons, ICE, the military, as well as fossil fuels and extractivism, while at the same time, transferring these resources and funding to systems that support well-being like care work, homes for all, clean water, renewable energy, and universal healthcare.

EXTRACTIVE ECONOMY is a capitalist system of exploitation and oppression that values consumerism, colonialism, and money over people and the planet. An extractive economy views natural resources as commodities, which places a price on nature and creates new derivative markets that will only increase inequality and expedite the destruction of nature — to dig, burn, and dump with no regard for its impact on communities while using oppressive force to undermine democracy, community, and workers.

FEMINIST ABOLITION means bringing a liberatory vision of a world free from all forms of violence, including those produced by the carceral system, surveillance, colonialism and global militarism. Seeking a world beyond prisons, Feminist Abolition focuses our attention on developing stronger communities and bringing about gender, race and economic justice, from an intersectional lens. (Source: Mariame Kaba, Beth Richie, Angela Y. Davis)

FEMINIST, ANTI-RACIST, REGENERATIVE ECONOMY (FARE ECONOMY) is the name we are using for our systemic alternative to the current system of racial capitalism. Feminist economy focuses on four principles to re-envision our world: ensuring bodily autonomy and self determination as it relates to feminized and gender expansive people, socializing reproductive labor, being in right relationship with people globally, and being in right relationship with nature. An anti-racist economy requires reparations, undoing centuries of violent extractivism founded on the ideology of white supremacy, patriarchy, and colonialism. A regenerative economy upholds the rights of nature and Mother Earth, and our right relationship with all living systems that support collective well-being.

GRASSROOTS FEMINISM is a worldview and political practice rooted in the realities and interests of Black, Indigenous, Latinx, Asian, Arab, Pacific Islanders, and working class white women, queer, trans, and gender expansive people who have been harmed by the intersecting forces of patriarchy, white supremacy, and capitalism. Grassroots feminists fundamentally understand that the liberation of women and gender oppressed peoples is bound to the liberation of all oppressed peoples.

GREEN NEW DEAL is a massive structural reform proposal that asserts that the only way to address the climate crisis is to change the conditions of the economy as a whole. While this bold demand for economic and systemic divestment and investment contains some elements reflecting Just Transition strategy, we hold that a Green New Deal must be more than a resolution or set of policies. It must be a tool for systemic change that builds and sustains grassroots power by supporting and scaling up existing initiatives locally, regionally, and nationally through translocal organizing models that address and repair decades of discrimination associated with the New Deal of the 1940s.

INTERNATIONALISM is a political framework rooted in the shared interests and genuine solidarity between the struggles of any oppressed and exploited peoples to one another. Internationalism was first advanced by Marxist social movements, and had its strongest expression in the aligned popular movements across the Global South in Africa, Latin America, Asia, and the Pacific Islands in shared struggles against colonialism and imperialism, and for the sovereignty, self determination and liberation of all oppressed peoples and nations.

JUST TRANSITION is a systemic transformation, through genuinely democratic means, away from exploitation, extraction, and alienation, and towards systems of production and reproduction that are focused on human well-being and the regeneration of ecosystems. *Just Transition*, as we envision it, is much more than a shift from fossil fuels and towards renewable or green energy sources. It is, rather, a profound transformation of our society that seeks to put humanity into a harmonic balance with the earth, its ecological systems, the multitude of species that we share this fragile planet with — and one another. It would rely on socio-economic systems and practices that emphasize solidarity, cooperation, commoning, sharing and caring. It would shun competition, conflict, privatization, accumulation, and hyper-individualism.

NEOFASCISM is a political ideology that combines authoritarianism, white nationalism, xenophobia, militarism, patriarchy and anti-communism. While essentially the same political framework, *fascism* is often used to describe the rise of a political movement from the early 20th Century through World War II - particularly the Nazis in Germany and Mussolini in Italy, and *neofascism* to describe the expressions of these same extreme rightwing movements after World War II. The principal difference between the Neofascists and historical Fascists is the modernization and honing of this ideology to appeal to the electorate with a far-right ideology cloaked in a democratic veneer.

POLITICAL FORMATION is a model of political training, developed in the Freirian tradition of popular education, to strengthen critical consciousness among impacted peoples and movement cadre to be able to examine, evaluate and analyze the roots causes of the conditions of their lives, and to develop the tools and strategies to advance systemic change.

POLITICAL SUBJECT is a concept that refers to the leading forces capable of advancing system change. Political Subject does not refer to the identification of who people are, but it refers, above all, to the existence of a concrete consciousness of the need to change, to the existence of a will to change, and to the capacity to succeed in building those changes. Cuban political philosopher Isabel Rauber talks about five elements of the political subject: 1) critical consciousness, 2) will to change, 3) ability to reinterpret and resignify reality, 4) formulation of a project, 5) Social collective action to transform reality.

UNITED FRONT is a form of alliance between organizations or forces, that includes allies with strategic alignment towards a collective mid- to long-term vision, to advance a shared political agenda or set of objectives. A United Front can be in the form of a coalition, a confederated national or international network of organizations. This is in contrast to and different from a Popular Front, which can represent a diverse and broad base of actors, some of whom may hold political difference with one another, but together are engaged in tactical allyship, without necessarily a specific long-term political alignment.

