



**ANNUAL
REPORT
2023**

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INTRO

To the West:

“When you say that we are a cultured people, you actually mean that we understand the subtleties and complexities of your culture. You mean that we should dream your dreams, since you do not have or acknowledge any others, but that we should live our own lives, since we cannot have yours.”

from Ivo Andrić’s Black Notebook, Belgrade 1948

Our name is a paradox. The combination between ‘guerrilla’ (subversion, radicality, manoeuvrability) and ‘foundation’ (basis, fundament, institution) sends a clear message that we are attempting to bridge worlds. The inequitable world of hoarded wealth and the nonconformist world of grassroots community organising. Amid Western-rooted, capitalist decline, neoliberal disillusionment and ecological collapse we bridge the cracks with post-western communitarian ideals.

Ivo Andrić’s commentary on Western domination points to the classist hierarchy and subjugation of non-Western peoples (and the qualities and values they carry) that are hallmarks of colonisation & globalisation—both methods of spreading and consolidating extractive racial capitalism across

ABOLITION DEMANDS IMAGINATION

the planet and thus the foundation for excessive wealth and much of philanthropy. In its dominant form, philanthropy has the same foundations as capitalism, i.e. paternalistic (non participatory), tokenistic (too little, too late) and loaded with extractivist/charitable double-standards (e.g. my stocks are in fossil fuels but I fund climate justice initiatives). Yet, the fluidity of private wealth also contains the power to break some of these inherited oppressions, as a vehicle for grassroots emancipation and liberation. We seek

to distribute private wealth into the hands of grassroots movements for justice while not falling into the trap of philanthrocapitalism.

In our work, we keep imagining and experimenting with more just and tangible antidotes to virtue-signalled giving. We try to build an organisation and mechanisms for the redistribution of private funding into the hands of those most affected by the issues they want to tackle. In doing so, we experiment with decentralised and participatory ways of decision-making, collaboration and collective sensemaking across power differences. In that sense, we are philanthro-abolitionists, at least in terms of philanthropy in its current dominant form.

Currently, we find ourselves in the midst of a transition towards [participatory governance](#) that started two years ago with our move into more participatory grantmaking processes. “We are trying to build something impossible in the current philanthropic system” says our ship captain, Romy Krämer. At the heart of this transition lies the idea of “**Power-Bending**”: a reframing and repositioning of power via the distribution of capital, be it financial, social or creative. Borrowing from Avatar: The Last Airbender, it is key to know your power before you wield it successfully. We know our power as world-bridgers,

between the realms of the heirs of the 1% and the activists of the 99%. But how do we move beyond the good intentions of the uber-wealthy on the one hand and those of the political shapers at ground level on the other? Can we get venture philanthropists and impact investors to sit down with Black feminist community organisers, queer campaigners or lithium mine occupiers and find a narrative of mutual benefit and reciprocity?

We are working with the basics of self-organising: trying to find relational solutions and build processes to hold these. Moving past individualism and contractual relationships (of the capitalocene) into meaningful allyship – we are trying to build something new that is simply not something that can fit into any of the existing legal or administrative moulds (e.g. German charity law not acknowledging social justice as a charitable cause).

It all starts with a critical examination of power.

These efforts contribute to building a **Radical Resource Redistribution movement** that can

address deeply-ingrained power inequities from the bottom up. Such a movement can channel the power of accumulated wealth into politicised communities that, in resisting the oppressions of dominant capitalist culture, are creating fairer alternatives. Via a diverse community of activists, organisers and funders, we are giving shape to an egalitarian decision-making body that moves money into radical and often-overlooked pockets of resistance and rebuilding... so that a new, fairer,

**power tends to corrupt,
absolute power corrupts
absolutely.**

freer, greener Europe can emerge from the ashes of its supremacist, colonial, neoliberal legacy. "Polite art is as revolutionary as an annual budget," writes Irena Haiduk with a splash of irony. But this begs the question: "Can an annual report (actually) be a revolutionary document?"

This is an experiment to see if this is possible. This report serves as a time-capsule for future rebels—it could be making history by inspiring, fueling and sculpting the **Radical Resource Redistribution** movement. It is a tool for future

generations to pick up and shape as they see fit. But we're not just looking at the future: we are trying to build an inter-generational movement, starting from now.

We need to continue holding honest (oftentimes confronting) conversations about overworking, under-resting, egos, fragilities, and other capitalist pathologies; while we reflect on what it means to give up power and how to [break past Founder's syndrome](#); and we won't shy away from addressing the centrality of specific individuals at Guerrilla, appreciating how this recognition moved us into a wider organisational development project on non-hierarchy. All of the above couldn't have emerged without opening up a space for collective, critical reflection.

**MY LOVE
LANGUAGE IS
REMINDING YOU
OF YOUR POWER**

We are here to question legacies, to get out of the norms of philanthrocapitalism and fossilised tropes of the charitable industrial complex that do not serve any Earthlings. Like a tightrope walker, we are building the skills needed to hold tension, to walk a fine line between grassroots action and systems change, bold demands and nuanced perspectives, holding standards and building relationships, supporting organisations and nurturing ecosystems, resisting crises and allowing new futures to emerge.



The members of our Funders Circle reflect the old Confucian adage that “to be wealthy and honoured in an unjust society is a disgrace.” They do not seek glorification, they do not compete with one another, they are here to learn and build mutual accountability, they contribute with different funding amounts, they operate collectively rather than establishing vanity-giving projects that carry their dynastic surnames. They are not shadow figures, nor are they centre stage, they support in funding, in promoting the Radical Resource Redistribution movement within their peer circles, and they willingly hand grant-making power to the Activist Council. This process is not effortless, it is tiresome, complex, with major labour pains, emergent, surprising, sometimes disorienting and definitely unprescriptive. All of the internal power bending takes time and it is precisely this emotional labour that allows us to embody the care we seek to resource in social movements.

Is it good enough to try? Is it good enough for now? Are we still in the groan zone of transition (see page 42)?

Good.

That’s where real change happens.

Stay tuned.

The Guerrilla Team

RADICAL

From the roots.
Addressing the deeper causes of global inequities. Can also mean personal radicality in terms of distributing radically, i.e. every crazy surplus you got. Or can mean political radicality, like honest/transparent politics.

REDISTRIBUTION

Not giving, not donating, not charity. Charity is a joke when considering the oppressive systems we live under. Stats show: the world's poorest give much more than the world's wealthiest - when taken as a percentage of total wealth. So this is not about being benevolent, it is about being just. Acknowledging that the system is rigged to fortune the few. The poor stay poor, the rich get rich is not just a lyric. It's a systemically managed prophecy. What is needed is a redistribution of hoarded wealth, not into status-quo-maintaining charities but into activities and ecosystems that are challenging and re-imagining alternatives to current systems.

RESOURCE

A mark a yen a buck or a pound. Money, money, money. And next to money, social capital, networks, influence, any political lever potentially available to and useful for social movement shapers.

MOVEMENT©

If there is going to be a wide scale shift, in money and power, a narrowing of global inequity gaps, a strengthening of social justice movements accompanied by a radical narrative shift in values of collectivity and transhumanist care, then this goal, and the wider power-shifting vibe needs to coalesce into a larger movement itself. The dynamic, shape-shifting qualities of a movement can allow for a decentralised, scaled-up move towards sharing power and resources radically, proving generation-alpha that the world they'll inherit perhaps ain't so ego-centred and individualistic after all.

Since we believe in the transformative power of grassroots social movements, it only makes sense that we are part of a movement that will abolish our existence, the archaic notion and institution of philanthropy. Philanthropy in 2024 is philanthrocapitalism - we ought to get our terms straight. Philanthropic foundations today stem from neoliberal legacies, colonial ancestry, polluting industries, crony capitalist systems. We are prototyping new ways of distributing resources in as fair a framework as we can build. Ideally a framework that can fine-tune itself, in a participatory, bottom/up, strategically emergent way, while being appealing enough to others to join the ride.



Barbara Kruger (2013)

© can't copyright a movement, silly :) what you can do is join it, amplify it, shape it, or fight it, the choice is yours planetears.

SPOTLIGHT ACTION GRANTS

JESTEM PEDALEM
I
PRACUJE J
SEKSUALNIE



Sex Work Polska | Amount: 21,000€

Self-led advocacy group for sex workers' rights in Poland whose aim is to decriminalise sex work completely, destigmatise it and increase the representation of sex workers by giving them a voice in political debates and the public sphere.



Deviszont Community Space | Amount: 16,000€

A critical pedagogical initiative in the outskirts of Budapest, Hungary, with the aim of democratising access to political education and organising skills for working-class and Rom*nja young adults. The goal of the initiative is to achieve greater participation of Rom*nja youth in the often elitist and upper middle class social movement landscape.



No Name Kitchen (NNK) | Amount: 16,500€

Civil movement from Belgrade, Serbia, promoting the right to free movement of migrants. NNK works in hotspots alongside the Balkan and Mediterranean routes where People on the Move (PoM) face systematic criminalization and violent pushbacks.



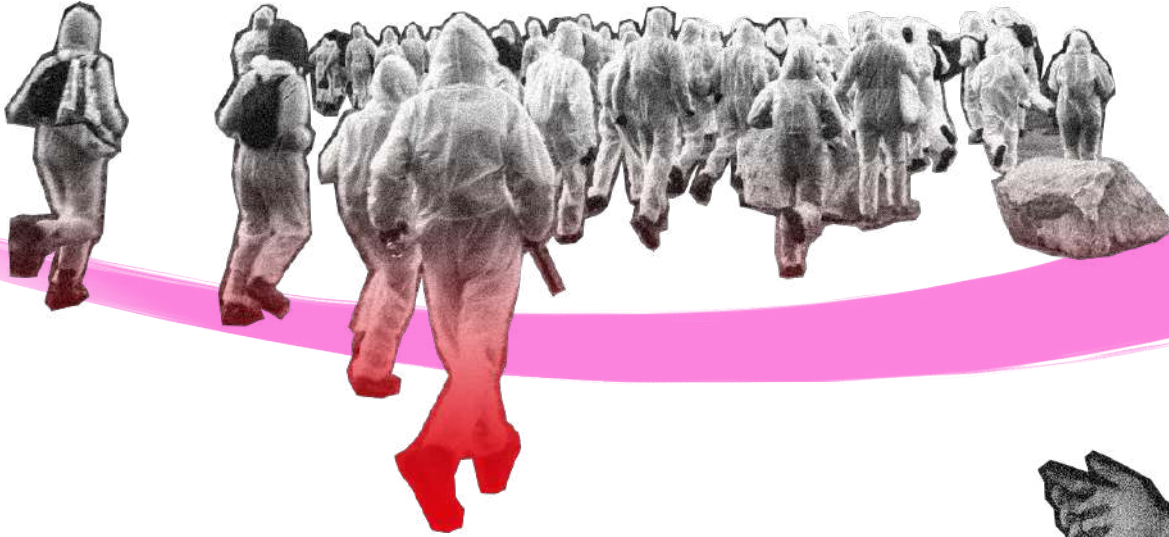
Community Action Tenants' Union (CATU) | Amount: 20,000€

The cost of living - especially unaffordable rents - coupled with insecure housing conditions are some of the main causes for economic insecurity which often relates to voting for protest or right-wing parties. CATU is a grassroots organisation in Ireland who fights alongside its members to win changes in their everyday lives in housing, the provision of community services, council maintenance and the usage of public spaces. Addressing tenants as political subjects, they think that collective organising, not extreme voting behaviour, can provide solutions to people's problems and build the political muscle in the long run.



La Foresta - accademia di comunità | Amount: 19,000€

A co-housing project and activist space based on the principles of common good and inspired by the long history of the commons in Italy. Comprising several members of various different collectives engaged on social and environmental issues, La Foresta is a community resource for activism, working towards building creative and effective modes of practice and resources that support ecological and social justice.



Les Soulèvements de la Terre | Amount: 10,000€

A collective of earth uprisers composed of different groups, organisations and people fighting against agricultural land grabbing, monopolies and soil degradation in France, specifically campaigning against the creation of “mega-basins” that provide water to sustain the agro-industrial complex.



Magacin Cultural Center | Amount: 40,000€
(2-year grant)

Cultural and social centre operating as a commons in Belgrade, Serbia, managed by its user community according to collectively established rules, values and principles. The space is available to hundreds of people from groups across Belgrade and beyond and nourishes a wide range of contemporary creation projects for the public good.



Gegužės 1-osios profesinė sąjunga (G1PS) | Amount: 40,000€
(2-year grant)

May 1st Labour Union (Lithuanian acronym G1PS) stems from a solidarity network led by a group of grassroots labour and feminist activists in Lithuania. Today it undertakes political action that promotes ideas of workplace democracy, sustainable economy and solidarity, especially in sectors with no union representation and with precarious work conditions, focusing on migrant workers.



La Bassa Mar | Amount: 20,000€

Self-organised collective space in rural Spain for and by trans*, inter, non-binary and queer people, particularly for those affected by racism, migration, ableism, and classism. A meeting point for local and international activist groups to network, to learn and share experiences, and develop political (and survival) strategies.

SPOTLIGHT REFLEX GRANTS



Associação Casa T | Amount: 9,000€

Shelter for trans BIPOC migrants in Lisbon, Portugal, in response to the city's overwhelming gentrification that provides housing - that is otherwise not available for trans BIPOC migrants -, a safety net and the container for political organising against transphobia, racism and xenophobia.



Black Activists Rising Against Cuts (BARAC) | Amount: 3,000€

A grassroots organisation campaigning in the UK against racial injustice at its intersections with austerity, enshrined institutional racism (from criminal justice to policing to education systems), migrant/refugee rights and climate justice. Some of the things that this group rises against are the injustices felt by black communities in employment, education, service provision, racist immigration policies, climate displacement, humanitarian aid and solidarity missions to support people who are refugees and those with no recourse to public funds.



CommuBombelki | Amount: 9,000€

Group fighting the dependency on and expansion of fossil gas in Poland, namely by rallying against fossil companies who profit off people's heating needs, speaking up about the climate implications resulting from methane emissions and rendering visible the government and EU climate policies' wrongdoings that further social injustices.



OmniaTV | Amount: 5,000€

A grassroots media platform in Greece, focusing on highlighting perspectives on socio-political issues of those oppressed. The group covered and streamed the trial against four asylum-seekers who were accused of being responsible for the 2020 fire in the Moria camp in Lesvos, Greece.



Istanbul Trans Pride Week | Amount: 4,000€

Bold group of queer and trans activists who are bringing back the Trans Pride Week to the streets in Istanbul, Turkey, after it was forbidden in 2017 by the conservative government. They promote transgender rights by advocating for legal protection, combating stigma, and raising awareness about the issues faced by the transgender community in their daily lives.



Le Next Level | Amount: 7,500€

Anti-racist grassroots collective supporting and developing projects for social and racial justice through community organising, training, consulting and coaching for both those with lived experience of marginalisation as well as those in positions of power who want to build empathy and courage-based leadership structures that fight oppressive systems.



Institute for Radical Imagination | Amount: 9,000€

An assembly of 17 activists from different activist organisations with a common mandate to work towards post-capitalist realities through: the legal recognition of the commons, radical pedagogy, work and labour commoning, rethinking citizenship, spatial justice and the architecture of the commons, and exploring non-hegemonic economic models.



Observatorio Trabajo Algoritmo y Sociedad (Riders x Derechos - Elite Taxi) | Amount: 5,000€

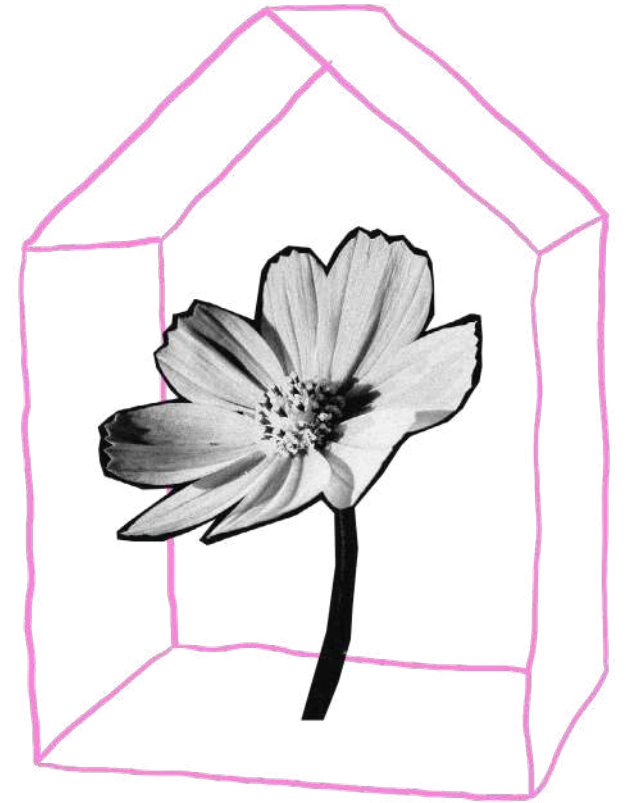
A non-profit association born from the convergence of members from Élite Taxi Barcelona, Riders x Derechos and independent technicians who work to defend the interests and rights of workers in the gig economy. Our funding allowed the group to continue a legal fight against Glovo, one of the biggest Spanish delivery platforms.



Re-set | Amount: 7,500€

A platform providing theoretical and practical support to social movements in the Czech Republic consisting of organisers from various movements who want to deepen the discussion on social change and bring strategic thinking into the politics of social movements. While Re-set works on different systemic questions from climate justice to the solidarity economy, the grant was focused on supporting their work on tenant organising in Ostrava.

“DON’T EVER BE SURPRISED TO SEE A ROSE SHOULDER UP AMONG THE RUINS OF THE HOUSE. THIS IS HOW WE SURVIVED.”



—Mosab Abu Toha,
“A rose shoulders up”

NOTES ON IMPACT



Part of building a participatory governance system and recognising the interdependencies between Activist Council, staff and funders in the Guerrilla Foundation is the ongoing process of surfacing and negotiating our different perspectives on issues relevant to the work we do here. The concept of 'impact' definitely has (and will continue to do so in the future) elicited some of the most divergent perspectives and sparked interesting conversations. Instead of seeking closure on the matter, 2023 was the year where we realised that part of our impact lies in the fact that we are not shying away from these conversations despite power differences. We lean in and create opportunities for engagement that are open to all organisation members and communicate our evolving thinking in The G Blog and our reporting.

"It is impossible for organisations to "demonstrate their impact" if they work in complex environments. Asking them to do so requires them to create a fantasy version of the story of their work. This corruption of data makes doing genuine change work harder because it is difficult to learn and adapt from corrupted data."

-Toby Lowe



Campbell's Law 1976: "The more that any quantitative (and some qualitative) social indicators are used for social decision-making, the more subject they will be to corruption pressures and the more apt they will be to distort and corrupt the social processes that they are intended to monitor."

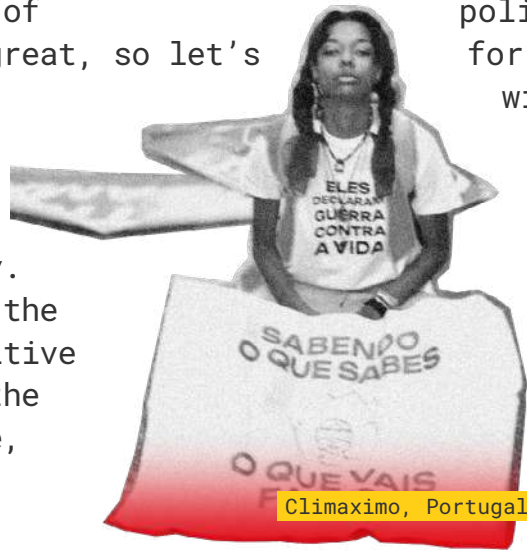
One of the key questions that was raised in a strategic session on "rethinking impact" in the Guerrilla Foundation was:

If we are not asking organizations to demonstrate their impact, how can we create accountability for spending resources well?



This is a core question. Fortunately, it also has a few direct responses.

1. We remember that asking/demanding people/organisations to demonstrate their impact doesn't create accountability – it creates a bunch of fantasy data. So, we don't have accountability right now, we have the performance of accountability. Accountability is great, so let's create some :)
2. We ask people/organisations to be accountable for experimenting and learning together – collaboratively. Create accountability for enabling the healthy systems, which are how positive outcomes are actually achieved in the real world. This involves effective, honest communication, supporting one another to achieve pragmatic goals (mirroring that achievable > unrealistic/idealistic) and potentiating care practices to



improve quality of work experience instead of extractive over-promising.

3. We are constantly trying to develop this new culture/narrative alongside our partners (grantees, funders, allies) and we actively engage on this via P2P sessions, internal strategic check-ins, Deeper Inquiries, as well as inhouse and externally produced content.
4. We acknowledge that developing a new narrative requires shedding an old one, so the key performance indicator approach (aka. reality-oversimplification) from the entrepreneurial sector simply cannot be copy/pasted into political change. [Effective altruism](#) may work for healthcare funding, but it isn't aligned with our social justice redistribution work. Instead [Human Learning Systems](#) are much more closely connected to our approach.
5. We challenge our own biases and linguistic conditioning. We seek to enthuse others in joining our resource redistribution ride, which usually involves spotlighting 'success stories' but that plays to a reductive understanding of 'success', which in political work can often be slow, unglamorous,

invisiblised, door-to-door organising and community care work, that scaffolds a movement that may take a decade to develop. So we try to expand notions of success while acknowledging the immense benefit of failure so long as learning, and relationship building is taking place.

6. We adopt an ecosystemic mindset in our grantmaking, placing value on power sharing, and power-bending between grassroots groups, folks who work intersectionally and strive to make political changes in a collaborative, bottom-up, non-tokenistic, hierarchical-power shifting way.

A strategic tension of course remains:

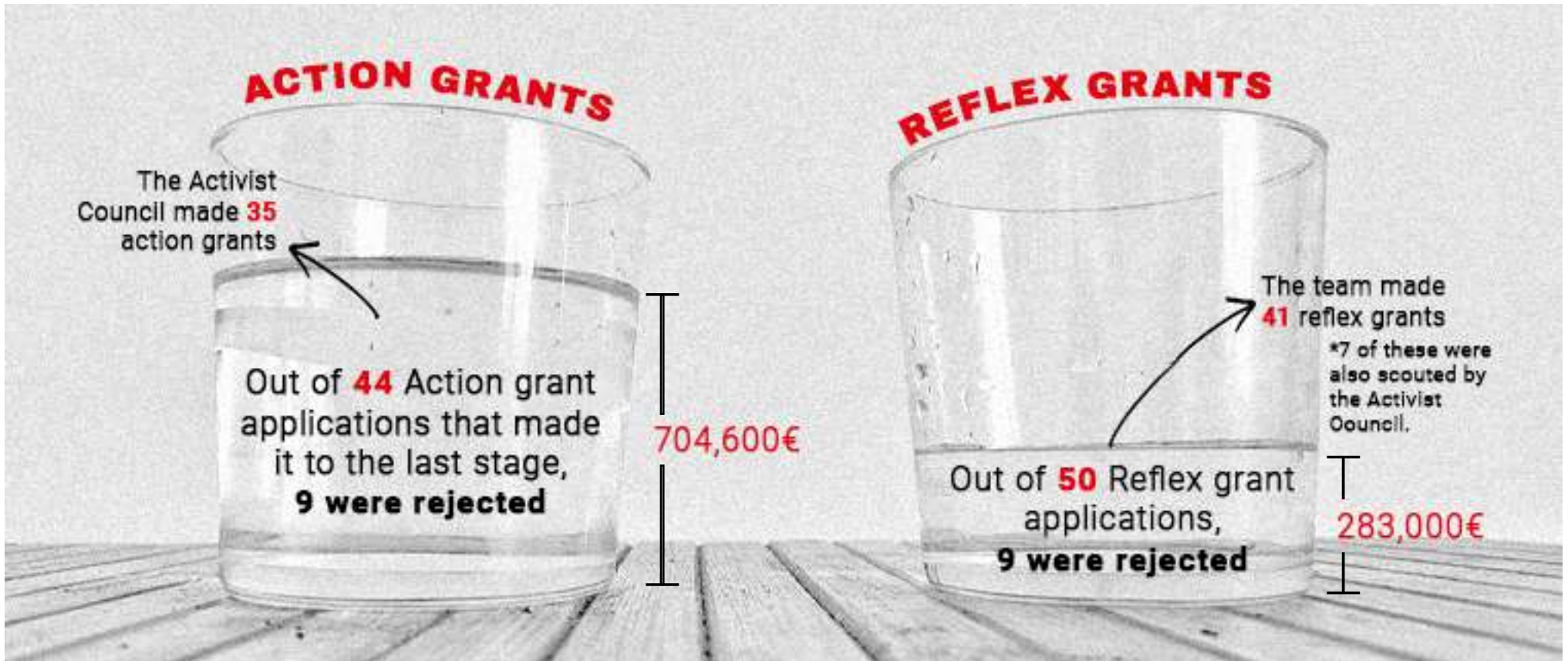
Measuring for Impact <--> Developing a Healthier, Mission-Aligned Evaluation Narrative

How to let go of positivist, extractivist, and neoliberal 'optimisation' thinking, while still ensuring quality of delivered work, an effective learning culture as well as important political, social outcomes within the communities we resource?

[For more elaborate thinking check out A Guerrilla Impact Narrative piece on the G blog](#)



2023 IN NUMBERS



On average, if you applied for a grant at Guerrilla in 2023, the chance of getting accepted was nearly 81%

How did we come across these groups?

There are multiple pathways into our application pipeline: through social media and the hello@ email we receive the majority of proposals and activist inquiries about funding. Besides, our Activist Council (and the team!) are embedded in various change-making ecosystems across Europe which translates into groups scouted from there. The table below shows how our pipeline is being filled:

| | Team scout | Activist Council scout | hello@/Internet search/don't share detailed source | Re-application, at least one person was a previous grantee | Specifically mentioned by comrades in the field or recommended by past grantees |
|----------------------|------------|------------------------|--|--|---|
| Reflex grants | 9 | 7 | 16 | 4 | 5 |
| Action grants | 3 | 10 | 9 | 5 | 8 |

In total, we made
76 grants
with a total amount of
987,600€

We are especially happy that this longer term support is offered to organisations in countries where funding this type of activism is unusual and hard to access!

The Activist Council made a 2-year grant commitment of 20.000€/year to three organisations

- [Rog Embassy](#) (40,000€)
- [Magacin Cultural Centre](#) (40,000€)
- [Gegužės 1-osios profesinė sąj](#) (40.000€)

Guerrilla also kept supporting [FundAction](#) with a **30,000€** solidarity grant.

A solidarity grant outside of our Action/Reflex grantmaking process.

In total, we made grants across **17 countries** in 2023

Number of grants where we gave early-stage funding (among the first 3 institutional donors): 33 (26: Reflex; 7: Action)

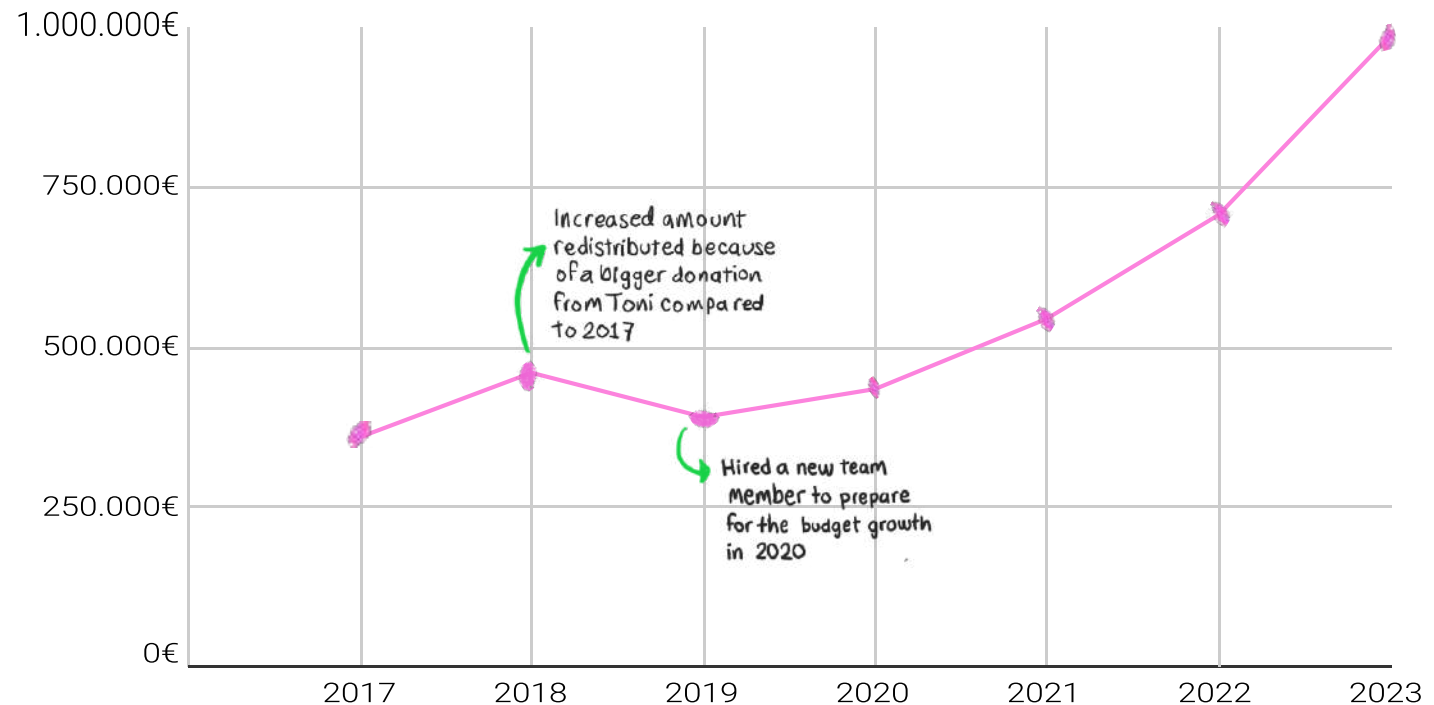


Grantmaking budget & geographic reach evolution 2017-2023

One thing is for sure, the evolution of our grantmaking budget reflects the desire to keep growing the pie for radical resource redistribution - and we intend to keep it that way. That doesn't mean we haven't reckoned with the idea of growth over the years (of course, there's widespread cynicism around the growth paradigm among the Guerriller@s), but if there's one area in this sector that should not have investment deflection, it is the one that funds informal and small, radical, edgy

grassroots movements, as our AC member Joris aptly puts it in the piece "[Why Philanthropy Should Fund Social Movements](#)" (2022).

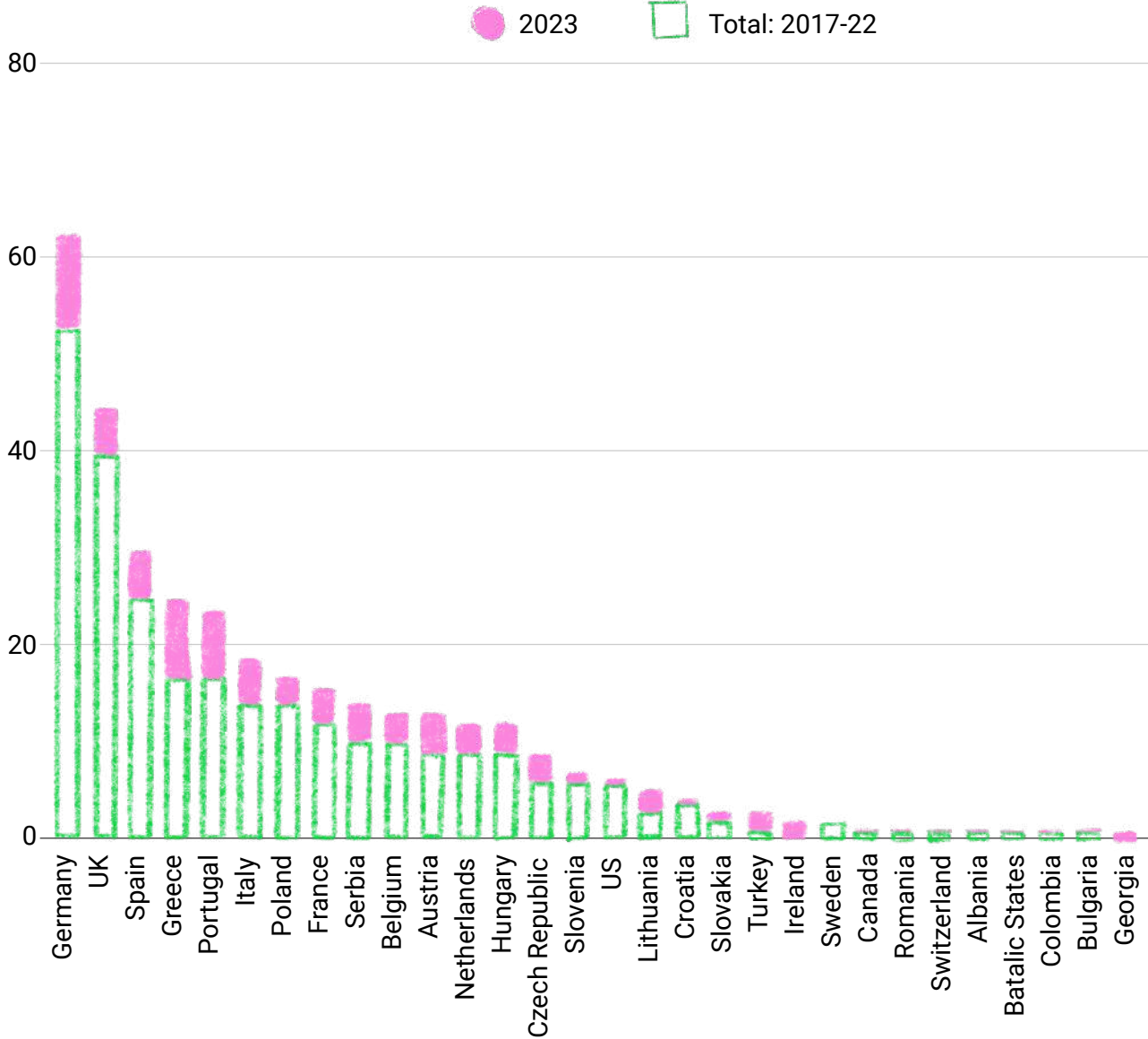
Grantmaking budget 2017-2023



Over the years we've made steps to move away from funding mainly in Germany and the UK and direct most of our funding to southern and eastern Europe where activist grassroots movement funding usually is not so available. In 2023 we even adjusted our selection criteria in discussion with the Activist Council to apply tougher standards to applicants coming from the UK and Germany.

Overall, we still made 15 grants to GER/UK with a value of 142,600€ (14% of our overall grant budget) in 2023. How is this possible? First, we get a disproportionate amount of requests from these countries, because we still have a large part of our personal networks in those two countries and are well known there due

Number of grants per country since 2017 until 2023



to past grantmaking. Many of those groups and proposals are absolutely fantastic and work on relevant issues which makes it very hard to reject their requests. Second, there is more of a culture of 'getting your activism funded' in those places than in other parts of Europe. As a result, people have experience in finding and applying for funding, don't debate internally whether they should even ask for money, and grants are often administratively easier in comparison with first-time applicants that need to find a fiscal sponsor or just need more support getting through the application process.

Looking at the details of the groups from Germany and the UK that did receive funding from us last year, reveals important nuances: some organisations, while located in GER/UK, addressed issues or produced outcomes in other places through media production, strategic litigation or pan-European training and networking activities. Other groups were funded despite their location because as marginalised groups they don't profit from the more developed funding environment in GER/UK because they're self organised migrants, working against police violence, and/or using direct action and grassroots organising far away from urban centres. There are one or two groups where in hindsight we could have been a tad more thorough in applying our tougher selection criteria for GER/UK candidates. This might have resulted in these groups not receiving funding, mainly because we assume that as

rather privileged activists they would have been able to pull off their activities without our support.

We believe it's important to share these reflections here for other grantmakers wanting to diversify their reach. It's not easy, it takes a lot of saying no to great groups that you might know personally but is still worth it to create a little more distributive justice and become less myopic in your perspective.

Les Soulèvements de la Terre, France

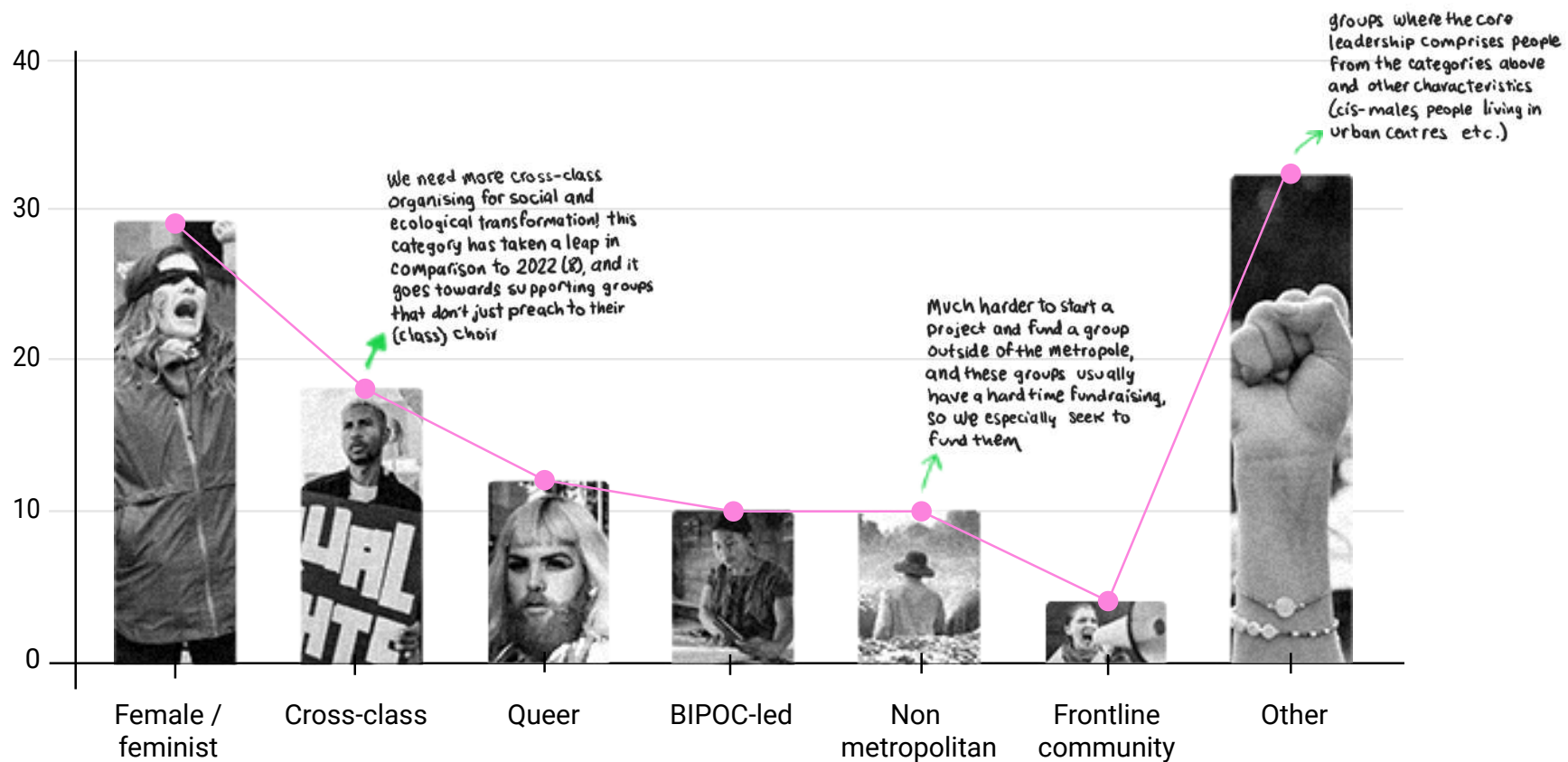
Lützerath Lebt, KIB e.V., Germany



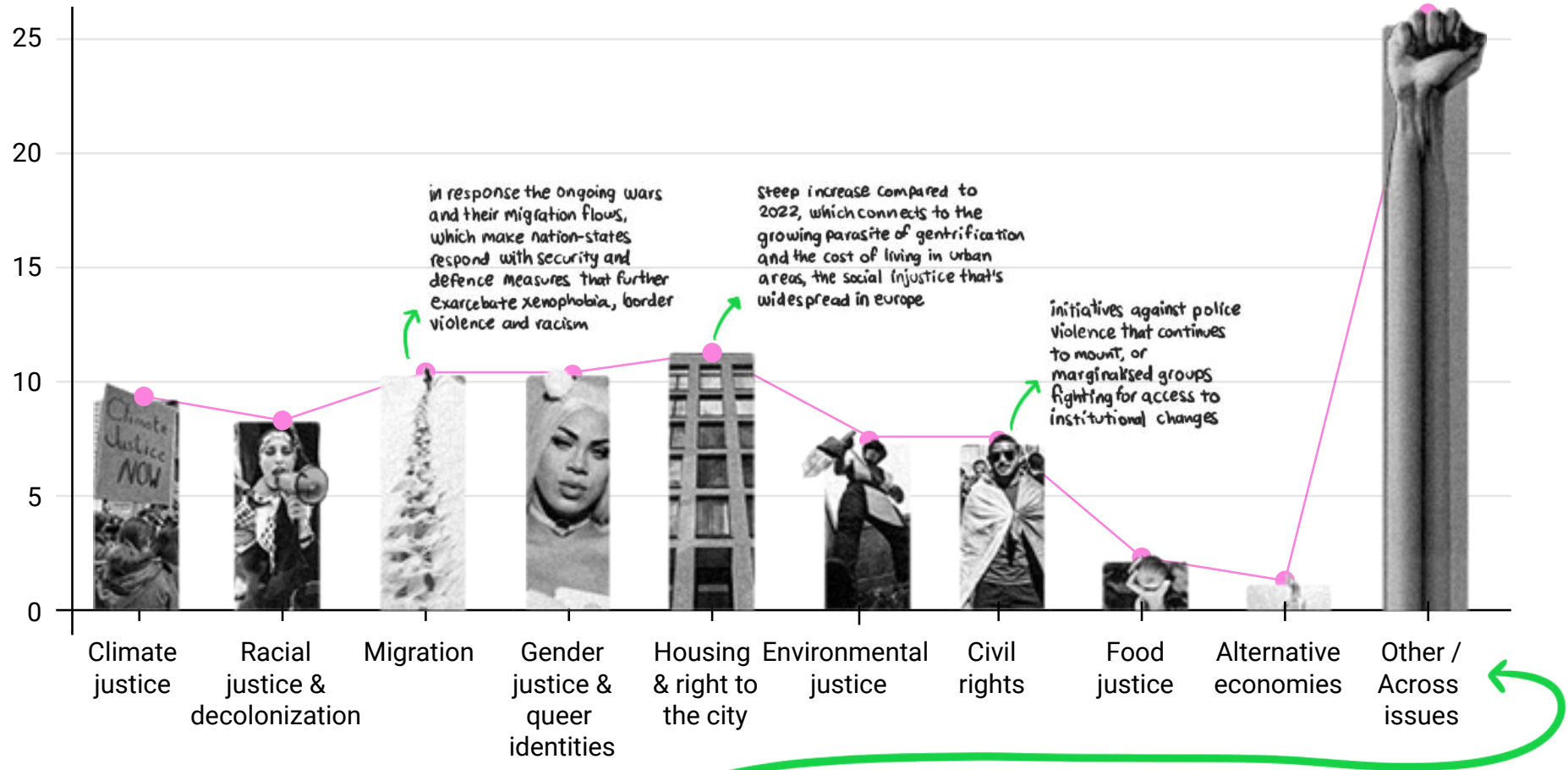
Cordinamento migranti, Italy

GRANTMAKING ANALYSIS

Characteristics of the core leadership of the funded group/organisation (several might apply):



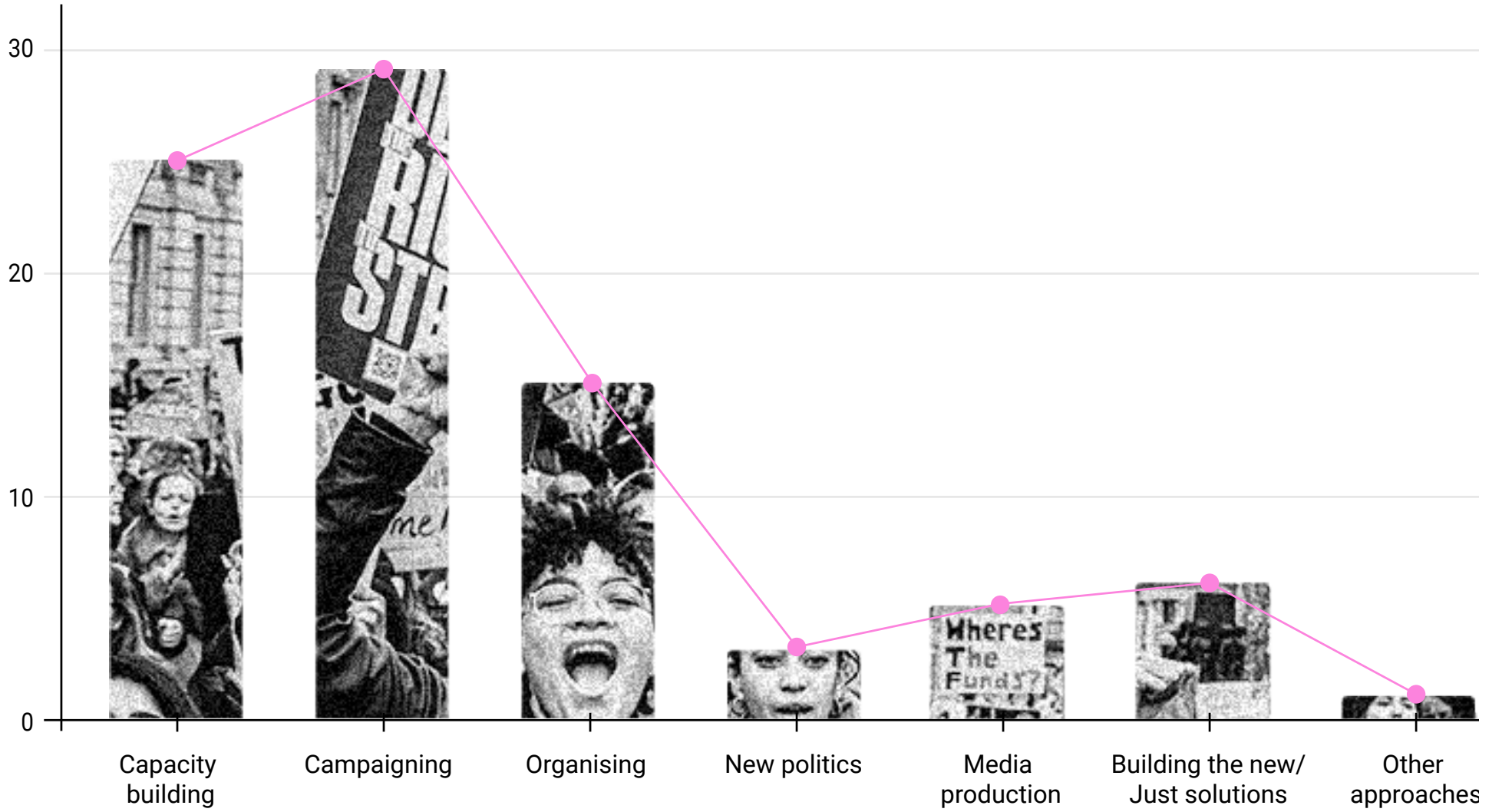
Core issue area of the group/organisation (several might apply):



Why do we have so many groups falling into the "other/across issues" category, you might ask? These are either groups with a strong intersectional perspective (which is something we definitely value) or where the main change-

making vector connects more to 'an approach to achieve change', rather than an issue area - like trainings, capacity building or media projects that aren't issue-specific.

Main approach to achieve change



“NO ONE WAY WORKS. IT WILL TAKE ALL OF US SHOIVING AT THE THINGS FROM ALL SIDES TO BRING IT DOWN”

—Diane Di Prima

Like with issue areas (if you want to support intersectional analysis and activism), it is difficult to put grants into distinct ‘buckets’ when looking at the nature of the activities that are being implemented with the funding. In other words: Where does ‘organising’ stop and turn into ‘capacity building’? Usually, more than one label applies to a grant, and gathering and analysing this information helps us guide future grantmaking as well as our internal conversations about the impact of our funding.

Compared to 2022, we saw a surge in funding going to specific campaigns (up to 29 from 13 in 2022) - be they against the far right, fossil fuel infrastructure, police violence or for protecting rights (of migrants, tenants, Palestinians, etc). Still high (as usual) were our capacity building grants (25) that support the organisation of meetings, conferences and training events. In this category we also fund transnational networks and specific research projects to directly support campaigns. We single out grants (5) that directly fund the production of activist media (podcasts, alternative news platforms, campaign videos) in this analysis, but these could also be subsumed, like research, under capacity building. While not very ‘sexy’, we know that these grants are utterly necessary! Very often we are the only funder of these conferences, gatherings or trainings or

are able to allow a grassroots collective for the first time to go on a strategy retreat. We believe that it is the invisible work behind the scenes, the personal connections and exchange that results from spending time together in conversation that contributes to stronger networks, future collaboration, and more impactful activities.. This is not about funding the NGO-Training-Circuit that benefits professional campaigners but about resourcing networking and sensemaking at the transnational and collective level among grassroots activists.

Next up on the list are grants that go into organising (15) which we distinguish from more short-term oriented campaigns (even though, again, the lines are blurry). Many groups here organise with specific (geographic and issue based) communities (Rom*nja, sex workers, tenants or young people) that are marginalised by traditional politics. Speaking of politics, we also still support some groups (3) that target their work directly at shaping the face of mainstream institutional politics either in the form of municipalist initiatives or other innovative ways of engaging marginalised communities in the institutional political process.

Much of our funding is covering the 'fighting against' as compared to groups who clearly want to

'build the new'. While we wish for every group we fund to prefigure the world they want to see in their own internal organising and activities, six grants went directly to efforts for constructing just solutions at a larger scale (e.g. when it comes to building a counterculture in international justice, discussing alternatives to policing, or collective self organisation of cultural spaces).

“WHAT NEEDED TO CHANGE WAS CHANGED. JUST AS OLD THINGS WERE DESTROYED NOT BY TIME BUT BY FORCE OF HUMAN WILL”

—Rachel Cust Coventry



MONEY IN MOVEMENT

Activist Council Flow Fund

In the words of the Activist Council

Next to participating in the process for scouting and deciding about Action Grants, every member of our Activist Council receives an extra 2,500€ per year to redistribute directly into the activist ecosystems they are embedded in. Whether that money is used to donate it all to a single group or cause; splitting it into smaller amounts distributed among a number of recipients; or simply keeping the money for ourselves to fund our own activist endeavours: the choice is entirely up to us. Having access to this type of no-strings-attached “micro-funding” has allowed us to give much-needed support to groups and individuals in our personal networks. Often, these groups are too small and local to be eligible for more traditional funding resources.

To give a snapshot of where this money ended up, here are two examples from the margins of Europe. Over the past two years in Lithuania and Turkey alone, nearly a dozen groups and organisations working in a variety of fields, ranging from migrant solidarity and sex worker organising, to emergency relief, child care and independent media, were supported in this way. More recently, some members of the Activist Council decided to pool their funds for 2024 and make a collective donation supporting the people of Gaza who are suffering the brutality of the Israeli state. As one AC member put it: “The flow fund reflects the trust the foundation places in us, and it offers a glimpse of what it means to be in the driver’s seat of the radical redistribution train.”

Funds Mobilised for Other Causes Through GF

As usual, it’s very hard to tell exact amounts because you don’t always hear back about exact sums years after the fact. But in 2023 we were able to support the redistribution of around 1 million Euros on top of our own grantmaking budget that went into groups and initiatives we love to see flourish.

For example, we were able to support our dear friends at [DisCo](#) one more time by connecting them to a new funder. Also, [PASSt uns allen](#) received support from the [Schoepflin Foundation](#) following our start-up funding and introduction. Two examples for how our early-stage support for new campaigns and groups helps put them on the radar and give them legitimacy in the eyes of other funders. [Leap](#) and the spin-off [Collective Abundance](#) again received considerable funding from the Bosch Foundation and Romy connected Collective Abundance to several other funders in the climate funding space.

We also mobilised several of our Funders Circle members to support groups and initiatives that Guerrilla does not fund but wanted to see supported (totalling to about 150k EUR).



A TIMELINE OF MISCHIEF

While our guiding mission is getting money out of the door to resource activist groups, there is usually so much more happening that we decided to give you a little peek into our annual logbook covering non-grantmaking related activities.

Jan 2023

- annual planning meeting with team conversation around more internal power sharing
- collective decision to move the GF towards participatory governance and self-organisation <3

Feb/Mar

- Ivan & Romy work on a new course idea together with [Resource Transformation](#) members who're also in the FC - nice informal collab!
- we begin the enquiry into self-organisation/non-hierarchy
- we're busy producing the annual report 2022

April

- Ella from [ULEX](#) joins as a coach for the self organisation journey

- piloting our Strategic Check-ins - a new internal format for year-round strategic consultation with the AC & FC
- we participate in the trial cohort of the [APPT](#) to internally review our participatory model

May

- team workshop with Ella on power, roles and sociocracy
- 12th of May we premiered [The Radicals short doc on Housing Commons in Berlin](#)
- team retreat & first in-person AC meeting around Berlin
- Romy at [Philea Conference](#) in Croatia
to realise that big philanthropy meetings are not for us!
- Romy speaks at the [GER Association of Foundations](#) about 'decolonising philanthropy'



June

- annual strategy meeting, where among other things we decide to move the evaluation of our participatory grantmaking to 2024
- launch of a new visual identity with the Annual Report 2022 *much more funky and true to us!*

July/August

- Saminder attends the JRCT conference in London together with Stefan from the FC
- team session with Ella where we are deeply in the 'groan zone' of our transition into sociocracy

Sept

- Julia returns from maternity leave, Saminder stays with us. *We got a happy grants manager team! 😊*
- kick-ing off the first WG with team & AC to revise the grantmaking process and selection criteria
- beginning of a conversation about building the ecosystem for Radical Philanthropy in France
- Romy at Wasan meeting in Spain on relational approaches to systems change

Oct

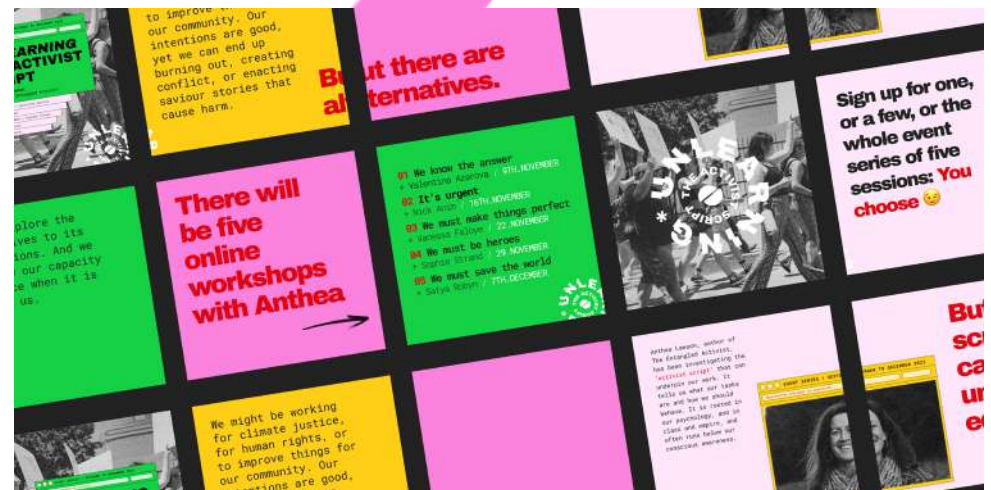
- we have a great Kiki with team, AC and FC members. *Agenda-less time is essential to build relationships!*
- launch of our new event series 'Unlearning the Activist Script' with grantee Anthea Lawson;
- Romy, Nat (AC), Stefan (FC) are at EDGE conference in Berlin. 'The Housing Commons' documentary is screened at the conference

Nov

- the FC has their first in-person meeting. *A rare opportunity for personal connection building and peer learning with a focus on Radical Philanthropy!*
- FC steps up to collectively cover Guerrilla's ideal budget for 2024
- we begin defining elements of our decentralised and participatory governance system and agree on minimum mutual commitments for AC and FC membership

Dec

- We reduce grantmaking to make space for team annual reviews & brainstorm ideas for 2024. *great step to create team alignment & envision 2024 collectively!*
- the team has a mega-productive meeting with Ella where we work out new sociocratic circles and guerrillera domains.
- Romy at Leap retreat in Brussels to make plans for 2024



BEHIND THE RADICAL FUNDING SCENES

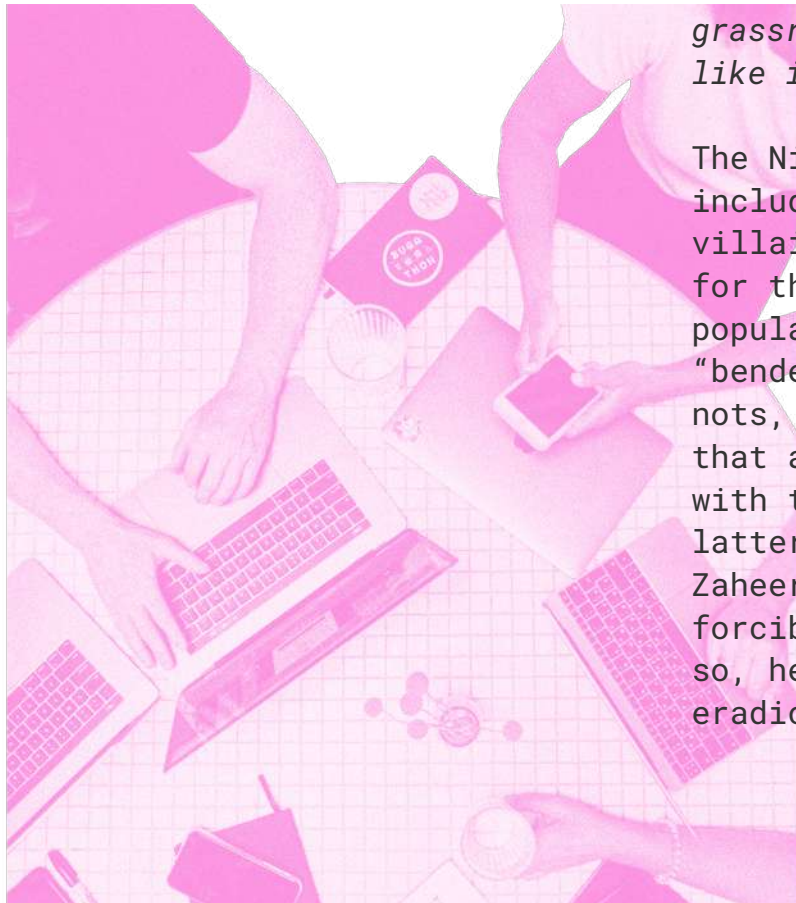


ACTIVIST COUNCIL

With great power comes great responsibility. An account from the AC on how channelling resources to grassroots groups and collective accountability feel like in practice.

The Nickelodeon hit series [Avatar: Legend of Korra](#) includes an interesting plot in which the anarchist villain Zaheer seeks freedom for all and equality for the masses. The fantasy world of Avatar is populated by two kinds of people: the so-called “benders” and “non-benders.” The haves and have-nots, if you will. The former have special powers that allow them to control one of the four elements with their mind and “bend” them to their will. The latter don’t.

Zaheer intends to level the playing field by forcibly taking away the benders’ powers. In doing so, he seeks to create a society of equals by eradicating the benders’ privilege. While Zaheer’s



ultimate goal is a noble one, his methods of achieving it are dubious at best and authoritarian at worst. He correctly identifies the problem but offers the wrong solution.

We live in a world that is increasingly characterised by the widening gap between the haves and have-nots. In our case, we're not talking about the power to bend, but about wealth. There's more inequality in the world today than at any other time in history.

The example of Zaheer invites us to reflect on what a solution to this problem might look like: **is it possible for someone to share a privilege instead of seeking domination through that privilege?**

With a little stretch of the imagination, we could perhaps see a comparison here with our work in the Activist Council and how we're going about addressing this question. Our efforts can be described as a form of "power-bending." To use other peoples' privilege – their wealth, in this case – and bend it in ways that we believe best serve our ultimate goal of systemic change. Over the past two years, we've been part of an experiment in participatory grantmaking, where a group of activists based all over Europe have been given decision-making power in how funders' resources are allocated.



Having control over—even a small part of—another person's wealth comes with certain responsibilities. A responsibility towards the funders to make sure their trust is not betrayed; a responsibility towards the foundation to not abuse the power we were granted in its name; and, most importantly, a responsibility towards our fellow activists and organisers in so many different geographies and spaces whom we are trying to support. Redistributing wealth is not a practice any of us has had much experience in, to say the least. So, the responsibilities that come with it can be a bit daunting at times considering the vast, diverse, and, at times, contradictory nature of our activist environments.

It has also taught us an important lesson about the complex dynamics between power and privilege when it comes to redistributing wealth, which is about so much more than simply giving money away. It has forced us to recognize how power and privilege function for us as individuals and our relationships with each other, and how those dynamics can also come into play within the respective branches of the organisation. When we seek to bend power, we cannot ignore how messy and complicated the practice of radical redistribution can be – but to do this right, we have to dive deep into it and question ourselves.

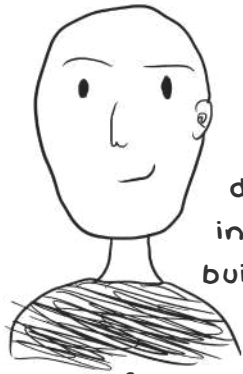
Luckily, this is a challenge that we can face collectively. Thinking through some tough questions as a team; co-writing and co-designing different processes and protocols; meetings, workshops, and brainstorming sessions: altogether, these different processes have instilled in us a strong sense of collective accountability. And as such, we believe that we're setting an example. The redistribution of wealth ought to be a collective praxis in which we share both the burden and the benefit of having (control over) certain privileges.

Like Zaheer, we dream of a world in which the unequal distribution of wealth and access to resources is a thing of the past. Yet, in contrast to him, we believe that the best way to go about this is by questioning and redistributing privileges while at the same time opposing systemic inequities.

FUNDERS CIRCLE

What does responsible power wielding looks like in practice? We hear from our FC members about how their involvement in Guerrilla has contributed to how they share and give up power in the context of grantmaking.

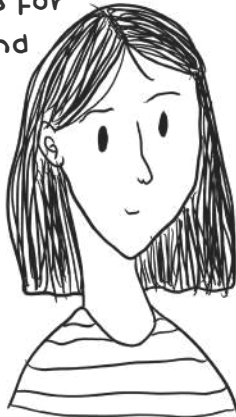
Disclaimer: This text is written by people of wealth on their journey through radical redistribution. While we [the FC] find it important to have an honest conversation about radical redistribution beyond the wealthy, we acknowledge that it can be disturbing to read about the “challenges of having money and wanting to redistribute wealth”. These are, after all, objectively “nice problems to have”. It is not our goal to evoke sympathy for people in our situation with this but to share views and experiences that might help or be interesting to wealthy funders in similar situations. In the best case this is also helpful for non-wealthy people working in philanthropy to better understand some of the motivations and perceptions of more radically attuned wealthy funders.



Stefan

How does one mitigate the power differential of the 'ultimate power move', i.e. funders pulling their funding if they do not agree with a particular decision? The answer lies in proactive relationship-building, where trust lays the groundwork for having difficult conversations like these.

Being part of the funders' circle is for me about living and experiencing what it means to let go of the power and decision-making typically associated with being a funder. How can we introduce more participatory methods in other structures or find alternatives to release control?



Claudia



Toni

I am in a very peculiar situation to be giving large amounts of money without any formal power over what happens with the money. There are moments where I feel uneasy about it (or one can say my class privilege visits me from time to time).



Thomas

I am truly convinced that I am not the right person to take a grantmaking decisions. But I also recognize that there is a part of that power and responsibility that is difficult to share or shed entirely, since ultimately I still have to legally decide about the first redistributive decision, even if it is subject to a participatory process.

It has been relatively easy for me to let go of decision-making power with respect to grants. Activists are best positioned to allocate resources and should be the ones making decisions, not me - just because I'm contributing money (which I haven't earned myself anyway).



Paolo



Simon

Letting go of the decision making power in GF felt to me more as a relief than a challenge, knowing that there's an involved and well informed group of people bringing more knowledge to the process than I could ever gather alone.

Staff



Following the successful introduction of our participatory grantmaking in 2022 we now wanted to address power-sharing or power-bending within the very matrix of our organisation and walk that talk more fully. Like any heroic journey, there are challenges along the way, and 2023 has very much been the “Groan Zone” territory of transformation.

The staff have been steering the whole participatory grantmaking and governance transition trial, upskilling ourselves in sociocratic principles under the guidance of Ella Moore, of [Ulex Project](#).

This journey has involved rebuilding the formal governance architecture of the foundation, adapting and documenting a ton of new processes and trying to capture something as elusive as the GF culture.

However, we are slowly but surely moving to a decentralised and more participatory governance (see above). Especially for our ship captain, Romy, this has been challenging, “less because I can’t let go of power and share responsibilities but more because I have to learn to become a better coach who is able to support others in stepping up. My immediate response (especially under stress) is to

pull things that I see others struggling with or that aren't done to my standards back onto my plate because I'm generally better at 'just quickly doing this one more thing' than at thinking about how to support others in getting to the point where they can get it done themselves."

This recipe for burnout has been mitigated both by external, sage support from Ella, but also asking for help and support and overcoming internalised ideas about 'professionalism' - we are often not even aware of the internalisations we are clinging to. Allyship and support has come from various corners of our ecosystem, the staff, the AC, the FC (and quality, in-person time during our annual Kiki), giving ourselves some more slack by extending the timeline of the Participatory Grantmaking (PGM) trial and a fierce but empowering EDGE conference in Berlin with peer support and validation from fellow, edgy funders.

Moreover, our comms team, Teresa and Ivan, led a deep reflection/learning process through our [Unlearning the Activist Script](#) series that addressed Urgency, Perfectionism, Heroism and Saviourism, different phantoms that haunt and derail political change work if left unheeded.

Power is a multi-headed beast and in its many forms we have been contextualising:

POWER OVER / Direct control over someone or something due to position or dominance.

POWER WITH / Power emerging from sharing power with others and developing mutual responsibility and pooling resources

POWER TO / Generative potential of power, creation of new possibilities. Also passing on of power

POWER WITHIN / sense own capacity and worth, ability to harness or demonstrate empowerment

Under the sociocratic governance, we strive to develop confidence and agency by cultivating power within horizontally. Each circle is responsible for cultivating power with the folks that they work with, and within the circle generating power to ideate, implement and be accountable, thus learn and grow. We try to limit power over while sometimes still acknowledging that in the groan zone it may be necessary to fall back on this in order to get projects done, but slowly bending this form of power out of the organisation.



Team

Other Activities to Transform Philanthropy

Romy moved into the Advisory board of [Collective Abundance](#) which spun off from [Leap](#)'s Climate Justice Experiment and is now its own organisation. Collective Abundance has an exciting country-based participatory grantmaking model that is experimenting with how to use money as a glue for community building rather than as something to divide groups. Through [Leap](#), Romy was also able to weave some of Guerrilla's grantees from the migration field into the consultation calls for Leap's planned Migrant Justice Experiment that is in the hands of former Guerrilla board and AC member Tatiana Garavito <3. Together with Samie from Collective Abundance's secretariat and Eve from the Robert Bosch Foundation, Romy presented the reflections and lessons learned of the Leap experiment at a webinar of the Transparency and Accountability Initiative that reaches well into the more traditional foundation scene with its content.

We strengthened our ties with the Participatory Grantmaking community through an in-person meet-up at the [Philea](#) conference, a gathering of (participatory) regranters at the [EDGE conference](#)

in Berlin and by piloting the trial for the [Advancing Participation in Philanthropy Tool](#) over the spring of 2023. Besides that, there were several invites to participate in webinars and trainings to talk about PGM and radical philanthropy. We also supported a couple of individuals and foundations from France who are exploring what radical resource mobilisation with political intent might look like in their context - with the far-right looming, this might just come in time to get political grassroots organising better funded in France.

Coaching Calls & Peer2Peer Sessions

The comms circle led 8 coaching calls with grantees throughout the year that were all different in scope, but focused on building capacities of collectives in how they do comms work: online tools, campaigning ideas, content creation, audience development, tone, style, dissemination etc. How can design, political typography, metaphor, satire offer new entry points into change-making content that is sexy, approachable and has mobilisation potential? While there's no blueprint to this, grantees lead their sessions based on their needs and we have been lending a hand to improve positioning, break "beyond the

choir” messaging or catalysing narrative flips and untold story uplifts.

Our grantmaking ninjas Saminder & Julia (aka the redistribution circle) also held copious coaching calls throughout the year with grantees. These are mainly about relationship building and group temperature-checks on financial stresses and fundraising efforts, on burnout prevention and most importantly to discuss groups’ goals and strategies for systemic change. As impact at Guerrilla is not necessarily measured using hyper-

rationalist metrics (see page 18), conversations around impact & strategy take very different shapes depending on whether groups are mobilising across class spectra or are creating hubs in working-class districts, or if they are creating safe spaces for marginalised folks..

Last year, the redistribution team coordinated community events by and for grantees, the Peer2Peer sessions: one on community-oriented and non-traditional participatory action research models

with Hungarian grassroots [School of Public Life](#), one on “Successful activist trainings: what works, what doesn’t?” with [Organisez-vous](#), “Limits & Successes of Community Organising” with badass Basquers [ALDA](#), and finally an activist empowerment session on the [Palestinian liberation struggle](#) with the activist extraordinaire Dan Glass. All of these sessions add to collective group processing, build community trust and create opportunities for cross-geographical know-how exchange.



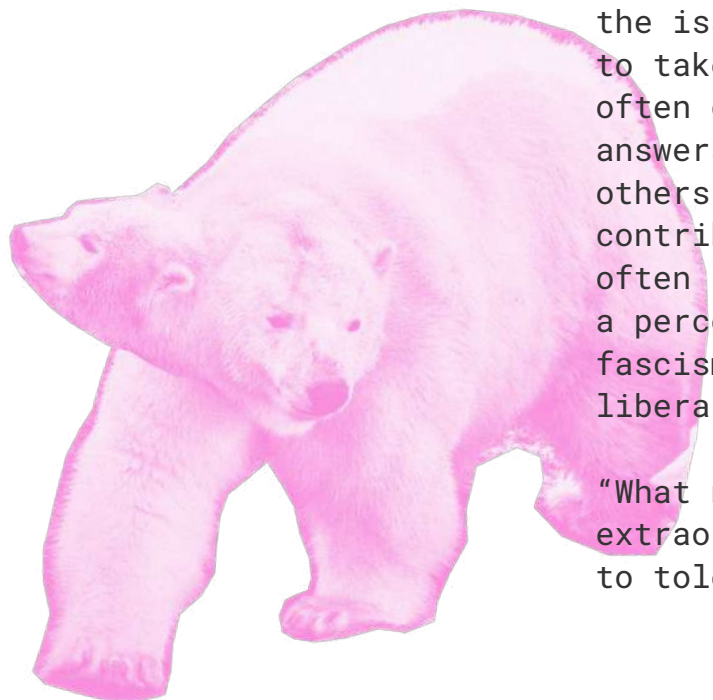
School of Public Life, Hungary

DEEP DIVE INTO KEY ISSUES

Addressing Europe's Bipolar Disorder

Concerningly enough all of the 'Unlearning the Activist Script' sessions whether it was Urgency, Perfectionism, Heroism or Saviourism, touched on the issue of polarisation or fragmentation. Rushing to take a position, being quick to compare (and often compare in binaries), looking to a leader for answers/solutions, thinking you know better than others, all of these urges or behaviours ultimately contribute to division. Movements themselves are often reactionary and come about as opposition to a perceived injustice, there's no ANTIFA without fascism and there's no fascism without Marxism and liberalism.

"What normalization does is transform the morally extraordinary into the ordinary. It makes us able to tolerate what was once intolerable by making



it seem as if this is the way things have always been.” – Jason Stanley. ‘How Fascism Works’ (2018)

Amusingly however, fascismo is derived from fascio, meaning ‘bundle of sticks’, and the symbolism of the fascio suggests strength through unity: a single rod is easily broken, while the bundle is difficult to break - unity being something every movement aspires to no matter the manifesto. Bridging the Us versus Them, narrative however remains an elusive challenge. Some start with space. Synthesis through symbiosis. A community space is a melting pot, bringing people together to work and hang out and process things in a collective hub. [La Casa dels futurs](#) is such a project in Catalunya, they write, “we work on the peripheries of the existing climate justice movement in Barcelona (both thematically and geographically), and see our work as a step towards building more intersectional relationships and community among groups that are directly impacted by the climate crisis and its causes, including those who do not currently organize inside the frame of climate”.

Other groups counter far-righters more frontally. [Golden Dawn Watch](#) is a group that monitored the 5-year-trial against the neo-Nazi organisation Golden Dawn. Through numerous appeals, legal loopholes and a pinch of systemic injustice the

outcomes of such court-cases depend on someone keeping a watchful eye - accountability correlates with scrutiny.

[Fantapolitica](#) comes as a leftie antidote to Meloni’s nationalist, populist cabinet in Italian politics. These folks accompany, facilitate and educate a network of young leftist local councillors and support them in enacting change within their communities once elected. Similarly, the shrinking space for dissent in Germany has led the [ELSC](#) (European Legal Support Center) to “create much-needed pockets of resistance in Germany’s increasingly hostile environment towards Palestinians”. Since there is a crackdown on pro-Palestinian activism in Germany and elsewhere, this group advocates for Palestinian rights across mainland Europe and the UK by legal means. They intervene to end arbitrary restrictions and criminalization of advocacy. They also develop legal tools and engage in strategic litigation to support civil society advocacy and campaigns.

The Palestine/Israel tug of war has been an apotheosis of fragmentation. A couple of Peer-to-Peer learning sessions with activist Dan Glass who has been running screenings and bridging Q&As with ‘[Censoring Palestine: The Weaponisation of Anti-Semitism](#)’, focused on activist empowerment and [preserving the will to resist](#). Dan’s sessions



Dokustelle Austria



ELSC European Legal Support Center, Center, The Netherlands



Rog Embassy action, Slovenia



Associação Unidos em Defesa de Covas do Barroso, Portugal

focused on the question “How can the pro-Palestinian movement be effective and navigate both antisemitism and islamophobia to lead to a world where Palestinian freedom and Jewish safety are no longer pitted against each other.” Frankly, one could substitute Palestine/Israel with a number of alternatives: the green movement, workers’ rights, limits of economic growth, digital security, automation, UBI, Feminist Politics, demilitarisation, and one would be confronted by a tug-of-narrative-war and find a polarity to deal with. The solution? Endurance training, critical self-reflection and modelling of communitarian justice as a viable alternative to the perceived injustice on the other end of the rope.

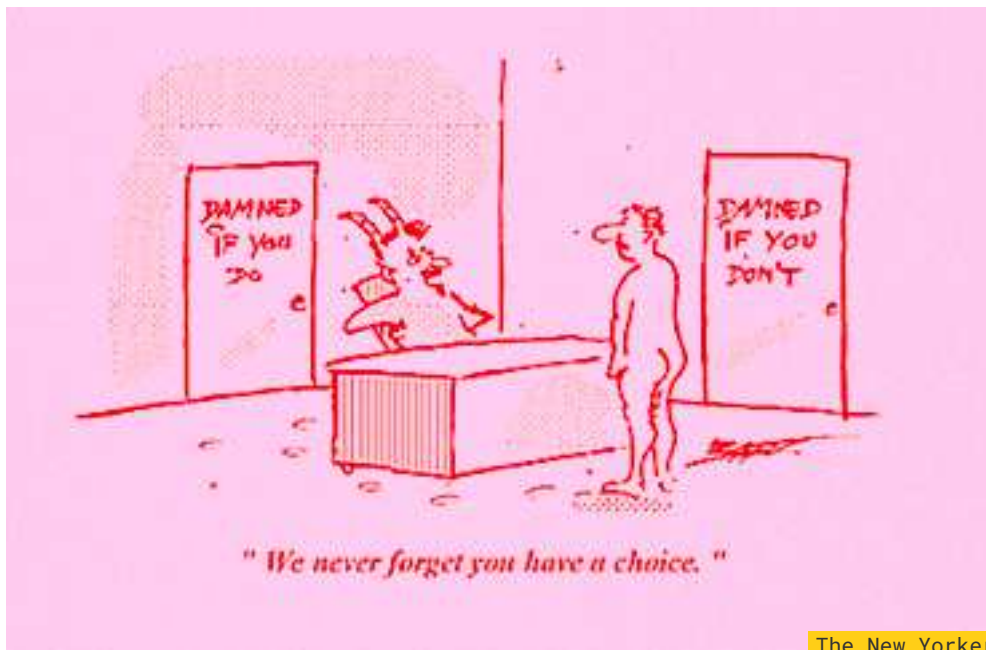
Service Provision or Activism? Limits, nuances, contexts

One of the benefits of beginning to build a participatory governance system on top of our participatory grantmaking practice in 2023 was the first working group we launched with a couple of team and Activist Council members in the second half of the year. The goal of the working group was to take a deeper look at our grantmaking

process and make concrete suggestions about how to improve it with respect to grantmaking goals, selection criteria, reporting requirements and pipeline management. A recurring discussion since the Activist Council began scouting for grantees in 2022 had been around our reticence when it came to funding service provision. When we started the foundation the ‘no relief and service provision’ was added to our list of selection criteria as a way to clarify our systems change orientation and unwillingness to fund activities that would be a mere social bandaid but not actually addressing the underlying root causes of societal cancers. We felt that neither was our grantmaking budget big enough to contribute to relief work in a relevant way nor could we get excited about the idea to ‘sink’ some of our budget in the bottomless pit of regular service provision.

Engaging with our Activist Council members on that question resulted in a more nuanced approach and is a great example for why these collective conversations add so much value.

Now we consider geography and context when debating the political value of service provision. We have therefore refined our grantmaking goals and selection criteria to reflect that nuance and include the *systems change potential* that some relief or service provision work might have, and the specific needs of extremely vulnerable communities like people on the move.



The New Yorker

[La Bassa Mar](#) is a retreat space in Tarragona, Catalunya. It would be a nice burn-out-resistance perk for white, middle class activists, but since they host exclusively trans, inter, non-binary, and queer people, who are centered on those impacted by racism, the space acquires a deeply political character. Not only due to the fact that spaces like this are few and far between but because they provide a system of mutual aid that helps marginalised activists get to a more resourced state from which they can organise in the longer term.

[The Southern Lights](#) organise Greek farmers to offer one another peer-to-peer support and capacity building in sustainable, pesticide-free, regenerative farming practices. They also spread communitarianism

via tool/skill/resource sharing and commoning, all of which might be old news in the UK, but in Greece acquires an important political organising character. It helps conserve what is good about small-scale Greek farming before it gets destroyed by agro-industry, while not being conservative in terms of the progressive values it's built on.

Sometimes, level of risk also equates to heightened politicisation in service provision. [Solomon](#) is a Greek migrant-led-centred press outlet, and [Kuirfest](#) a Queer Film/Arts Festival in Turkey. If either one was operating in Berlin, still they wouldn't be mainstream groups but the level of state interference is incomparable. The founders and workers are often at constant risk of arrest or government surveillance and their very existence is an act of resistance - how the simple service of journalism or film screening becomes an acutely political act.

However, service provision with systems change potential can also be found in the more affluent and politically liberal regions. [Gaudenzdorfer Gürtel, in Vienna](#), increase the pressure on the owners of a house to bring back electricity and to guarantee to the tenants, who are asylum seekers and refugees, access to their living space. We funded legal fees, translations and wintering materials, to essentially extend endurance and thus create a legal precedent that can protect far many

more facing eviction or living in exploitative housing.

[Regularise](#) are another example of organisation (in Western Europe) that combines the provision of psychosocial and or legal support to migrants and undocumented people with advocacy work. Their mission to strengthen undocumented communities lies within a huge blindspot of institutional funding neglectedness, and therefore building power, solidarity and resources for undocumented peoples' rights turns into a political David vs Goliath story, like many of the aforementioned relief work struggles.



Sex Work Polska, Poland

Mašina, Serbia

No Name Kitchen, Serbia (Balkans)

Blindspots, Germany

The Underdog Approach: funding neglectedness & de-marginalisation

*"Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!"*

These words from a sonnet by American poet Emma Lazarus are inscribed on the Statue of Liberty. In a global zeitgeist where the Guardian publishes headlines like "[next generation of billionaires collect more wealth from inheritance than work](#)", then definitely, more than ever, the old adage rings true: 'if it is not for the poor it is not revolutionary'. We can expand poor to marginal, economic exclusion just being one of many means of othering and disenfranchising people. "It's not the size of the dog in the fight, it's the size of the fight in the dog" Twain reminds us, and the underdog approach is how we fund those working in the most adverse conditions - the champs of resilience and endurance. [Mašina](#),

the only openly leftist media outlet in Serbia “intentionally give voice and media space primarily to the underprivileged, the poor, the workers, the oppressed, the voiceless”. They are carving out and claiming narratives that don’t exist in the mainstream, often spotlighting issues or identities that lack recognition entirely in the dominant discourse. Similarly grantees in Turkey such as [Trans Pride Istanbul](#) and [Polen Ekoloji Kolektifi](#) are making space for more diverse representation whether it be for trans or neo-Marxist identities. The political climate in Turkey remains oppressive, and if we consider the civic space for dissent in Germany currently austere, the Turks have been navigating such a climate for years.

Other groups find a niche within the neglectedness, and thus come to fill a vital role in their community. [Self-rooted](#) for instance, works to repair the systemic harm caused by the adoption and foster care system in Germany, especially supporting individuals affected by transracial adoption and foster care. They counter the oppression in these spaces with an antiracist, post-capitalistic and embodied approach, and their wider, ultimate goal beyond building community is to have an impact on



Istanbul Trans Pride, Turkey

how this sector is portrayed and discussed within mainstream culture, media.

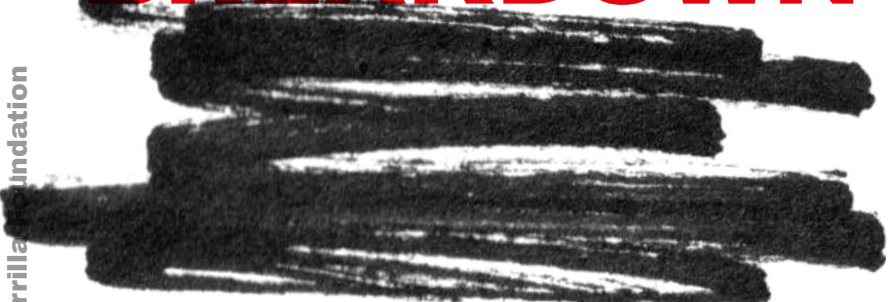
Migrants and sex workers are pretty far down the power pyramid in general. [No Name Kitchen](#) was born spontaneously when people seeking refuge and international activists met in Belgrade, in winter 2017, and decided to start cooking together. Since then, NNK works in hotspots alongside the Balkan and Mediterranean routes where People on the Move (PoM) face systematic criminalization and violent pushbacks. Their vision is to transform the violent, racist and sexist border regime into safe, non-discriminatory and inclusive migratory processes through political action, and the democratization of the access to resources for people’s self-protection. [Sex Work Polska](#) on the other hand is a non-hierarchical, informal collective and the only advocacy group for sex workers’ rights in Poland. Since 2018 they are led by sex workers and their main goal is the recognition of sex work as work and full decriminalisation. Oftentimes, we see that there is only a single group/collective that works on the hyper-marginalised issues, and there we also see the largest, tangible difference made in people’s lives. [Associação CASA T](#) is such a group. The only public-facing, safehouse for

people who are trans and have a migrant background in Portugal, Casa T have created room for those completely shunned by the civic institutions, that make getting a bank account, an address, or even an I.D. card next to impossible. The aptly named [Blindspots](#), is a nonprofit that works with Roma youth in Pristina (Albania) but in general they support people in humanitarian and political crisis areas directly while documenting discrimination and systematic violence in order to draw attention to human rights violations and generate political pressure locally or internationally. The marginal thus become part of wider discourse, and the moral high ground of Europe gets a serious reality check. The underdogs are resilient, loaded with neglected potential and a survivalist instinct and ingenuity that the privileged can only dream of, therefore building genuine solidarity with such communities and abetting them in claiming a stake at the table is fundamental for a thriving, morally just Europe.

**“FOR ME, A
REVOLUTIONARY IS A
MAN OR A WOMAN WHO IS
LEARNING EVERYDAY IN
A PERMANENT PROCESS
OF DOING THINGS IN
ORDER TO KNOW. ONE
OF THE VIRTUES OF
THE REVOLUTIONARY
EDUCATOR IS PRECISELY
HUMILITY. IF WE ARE NOT
HUMBLE WE CANNOT BE
EDUCATORS.”**

—Paulo Freire

FINANCIAL BREAKDOWN



In an effort to be accountable to the ecosystem we support and to our funders, we are transparent about our funding sources and about how we spend our money. At the same time, we want these pages to be accessible and easy to understand.

All numbers about grantmaking and other spending refer to *allocated funding* and not to actual financial flows or audited financial reports. For administrative reasons, there is a difference, because, for example, some grants that were decided by our Activist Council in 2023 will only be *disbursed* in 2024. This report is a communications tool with the intention of creating transparency about where our budget goes instead of an audited financial statement that most of our target audiences wouldn't (want to) read. We are taking this liberty for the sake of clearly communicating how money was allocated last year instead of reporting financial statements from two years ago.

Sources of Funding

Total incoming funding: **1,352,500€**
9 donors with contributions of <50k EUR each (ranging from 50k to 750k per person) and a collated 2,000€ of other donations received via PayPal through a donate now button we used to have on the website.

Expenditure

Program costs



GUERRILLA FOUNDATION

2023

| DESCRIPTION | AMT |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| SALARIES & FREELANCE | 271,000 € |
| OTHER COSTS & INFRASTRUCTURE | 138,000 € |
| PROGRAM COST | 1,071,100 € |

TOTAL 1,480,100 €

*** THANK YOU ***



BRAINFOOD

Reading

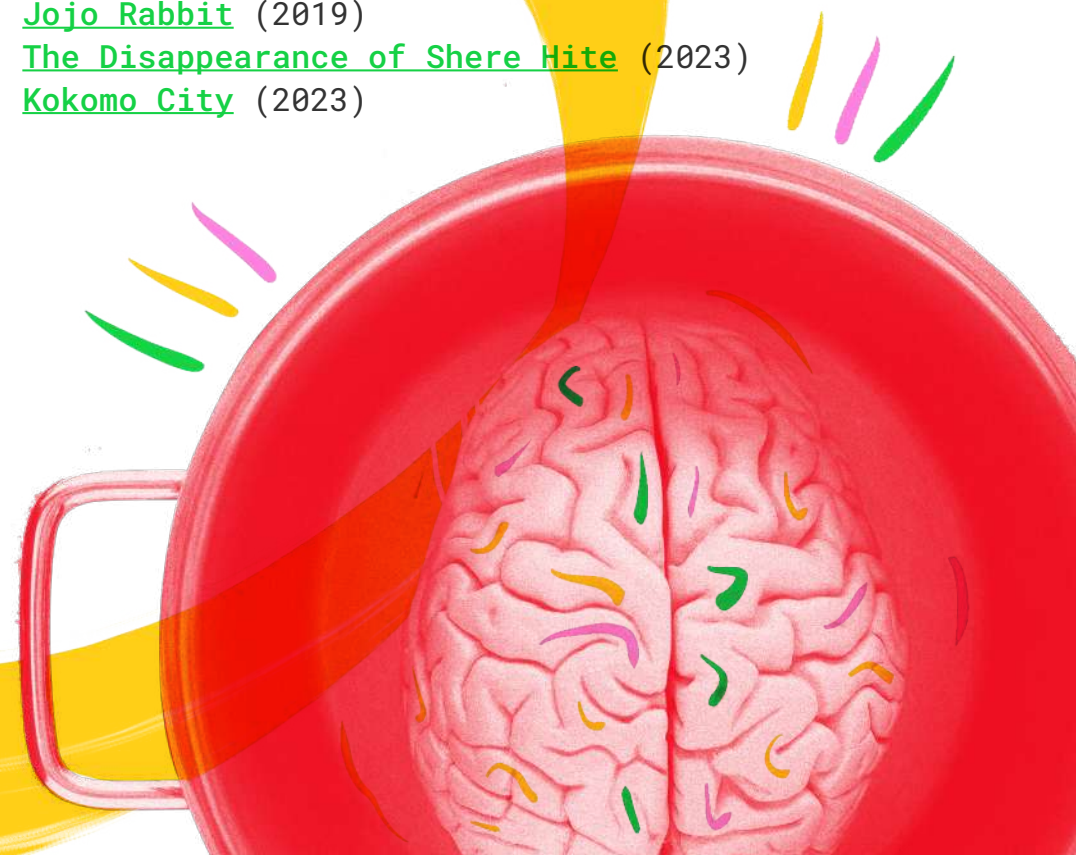
- [Beyond the Wall](#), Katja Hoyer (2023)
- [The Mother of All Questions](#), Rebecca Solnit (2017)
- [The Flowering Wand](#), Sophie Strand (2022)
- [Collective Power](#), Ted Rau (2023)
- [Capital Is Dead: Is This Something Worse?](#), McKenzie Wark (2019)
- [How Fascism Works](#), Jason Stanley (2018)
- [Holding Change](#), adrienne marie brown (2021)
- [Uneasy Street: the Anxieties of Affluence](#), Rachel Sherman (2017)
- [Ways of Being](#), James Bridle (2022)
- [Femmgloss - A Feminist Glossary](#) (2023)

Listening

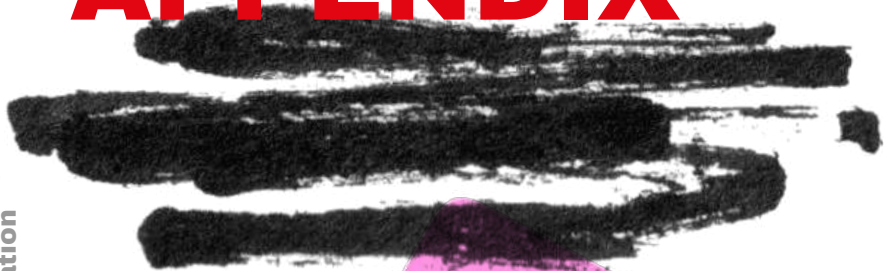
- [If Books Could Kill](#) (podcast)
- [Unlearning the Activist Script](#)
- [A Winter Solstice Celebration for 2023 with Manda Scott and Nathalie Nahai](#) (podcast)

Watching

- [The Curse](#) (2023)
- [Killing Eve](#) (2018-22)
- [The Boy and the Heron](#) (2023)
- [20 Days in Mariupol](#) (2023)
- [Beyond Utopia](#) (2023)
- [Anselm](#) (2023)
- [How to Blow Up A Pipeline](#) (2023)
- [Orlando, My Political Biography](#) (2023)
- [Perfect Days](#) (2023)
- [Dumb Money](#) (2021)
- [The Zone of Interest](#) (2023)
- [Jojo Rabbit](#) (2019)
- [The Disappearance of Shere Hite](#) (2023)
- [Kokomo City](#) (2023)



APPENDIX



[Click here to see the full list of groups funded by the Guerrilla Foundation in 2023.](#)



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THE PEOPLE IS
STRONGER THAN
THE PEOPLE
IN POWER





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