

ANNUAL REPORT 2024



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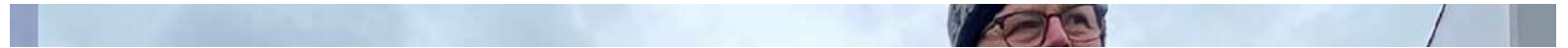
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Constellations in the Cracks: Building Beyond the Charity-Industrial Complex





A concept is a brick. It can be used to build a courthouse of reason. Or it can be thrown through the window”*
- radical resource redistribution (RRR) is such a concept.

**A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia (1980)
Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari*

The world's 10 richest men now possess – and largely hoard – more wealth than the 3.1 billion poorest people. In this dystopian reality, ecological collapse simply will be the cherry on the apocalypse cake.

With Guerrilla we build an alternative structure and practices for radical redistribution. We are replacing grand, visionary, top-down strategies with decentralisation, attention to culture and intentional daily practices. A healthier planet without billionaires as well as abject poverty seems visionary enough for now. We are actively defying the philanthro-capitalist complex so that more people with immense wealth and power can tip the scales towards egalitarian sharing of wealth to create more emancipatory opportunities for the many. The Guerrilla Foundation operates not as a benefactor but as an accomplice in the dismantling of hoarding logics, redistributing resources as

material acts of insurgency. This is not charity, it is the active cultivation of counterpower.

In 2024 we collectively began imagining the future of the Guerrilla Foundation and sowed the seeds of an idea: to move from an until then rather organic, organisational growth into a

more conscious growth trajectory that acknowledges our role in the field of European grassroots funding and the intense demand we see daily.

With our grantmaking, we respond to the demand we see from the European grassroots activist scene and frontline communities. Climate justice, right to the city and strengthening marginalised identity groups continue to be important themes in our funding. There seems to be a growing need for sanctuaries – be they physical spaces for meetings, activities and service provision or temporarily created islands of sanity, connection and freedom (gatherings, retreats, courses). [You can read more about our grantmaking on page 24.](#)

Grantees keep building power and form constellations, often in the face of strong repression. [Trans Mreža Balkan](#) organizes trans solidarity networks and autonomous care structures

across the region, resisting both state neglect and NGO co-optation. [Pembe Hayat KuirFest](#) asserts queer liberation in Turkey, where repression demands radical cultural production as survival. [CATU Ireland's](#) tenant organising directly

exploitation in Spain's agricultural heartland, and [No Name Kitchen](#) sustains border abolitionist praxis along Balkan migration routes. [Dokustelle Austria](#) legally challenges police impunity, weaponizing the courts against their intended

Planetary precarity cannot wait for trickle-down pocket money from the Charity-Industrial Complex. Philanthrocapitalism needs a more invasive surgery than a palatable facelift. Time flies.

confronts financialized housing regimes, while G1PS Lithuania unionises especially precarious migrant workers. These efforts fracture the myth of incremental progress, instead prefiguring worlds beyond extraction. Meanwhile, Golden Dawn Watch documents fascist violence in Greece, transforming surveillance into collective defense. Jornaleras de Huelva en Lucha organizes migrant farmworkers against racialized

purpose. Each project repurposes the tools of oppression into instruments of emancipation.

The work is neither hopeful nor hopeless - it is absolutely necessary. Redistribution here is a tactical undermining of capital's temporality, an insistence that another world is not only possible but already being built in the cracks. The streets, the courtroom, the abandoned building: all are reclaimed as sites of struggle. This is the granular labor of

building alternatives in times of collapse.

As a tiny organisation within the philanthropic sector that funds grassroots groups, we deeply believe in the possibility for larger scale change through 'fractals' - small spaces, where new ideas and values are being intentionally lived**. Internally, the last year was - again - intense,

**Emergent Strategy: Shaping change, changing worlds (2017) Adrienne Maree Brown.

marked by transitions and growth. We welcomed two new team members and laboured through letting go of one of them. We added three funders and four new Activist Council members to our growing sociocratic governance structure of 30 people ([more on that on page 48](#)). This is an ongoing journey in which we are learning about the space we need to make for good onboarding, high-quality meetings and effective internal information flow as antidotes to alienation and siloisation. What we're gaining in the process is crowd wisdom and collective

intelligence. Aspects that, ultimately, inoculate us against risk aversion in grantmaking, narrative work and organisational development.

The theme of last year's annual report 'power bending' still rings true. Given the diverse groups (activists, funders, staff) we bring together in one decentralised governance system, the work of handling power differences and establishing mutual accountability continues.

Many questions keep being asked: How bold can we be with our demands to funders and in donor organising? What are the individual and collective conditionings of late stage capitalism that are holding us back? What is the balance between internal and external impact that feels right?

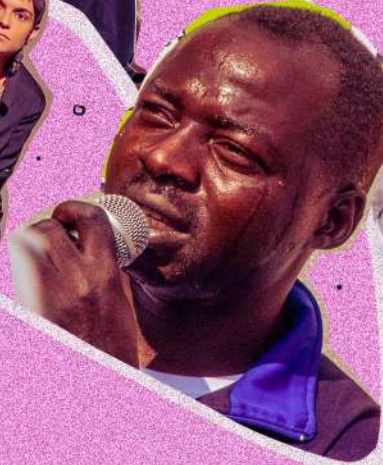
Our new theme 'constellations' helps us to work through and with our personal and organisational challenges in confronting power. Constellations move our thinking towards varying assemblages of roles and actors, depending on the time and space. Sometimes it's about being in the room and showing solidarity, sometimes leading, other times following. If all that feels exciting, we are always happy to hear from you:

hello@guerrillafoundation.org



POWER
POWER

Radical Resource Redistribution Movement



The Guerrilla Foundation exists in a constellation of many others that are resourcing activist ecosystems. Ecosystemic considerations were at the top of mind since our involvement in setting up [FundAction](#) in 2017. Our work of radicalising funders and growing Guerrilla has always been about increasing the overall 'size of the pie' of grassroots activist funding. The new radical resource redistribution ecosystem will need a multitude of nimble alternative structures, experiments, and bold individuals that collectively will help build a systemic alternative to philanthrocapitalism. That's what we are building towards. ✨

In 2024, this meant that we were actively involved in [Collective Abundance](#), an activist-led climate justice funder with an exciting country-level ecosystemic funding model and [Arising Quo](#), a radical redistribution initiative in the making. Also, our former FC member Marlene Engelhorn successfully redistributed most of her wealth in 2024 and we happily contributed our expertise to the her [Guter Rat für Rückverteilung](#).

As always, we regularly shared our organisational

Guerrilla Foundation, by which I mean the people active within as well as the organisational structure and, frankly, the whole Guerrilla cosmos, was without a doubt the centerpiece of my reflection on my wealth and power. They helped me own my role and dance my way towards redistribution, sunset style. Thank you for de-radicalising me out of wealth accumulation and welcoming me in the world of radical systems change activism.

- Marlene Engelhorn

**YOU ARE
PERSONALLY
RESPONSIBLE
FOR BECOMING
MORE ETHICAL
THAN THE
SOCIETY YOU
GREW UP IN.**

lessons learned, governance documents and guidelines with whoever was interested to support other philanthropic organisations in radically questioning their values, sharing power and interrogating their raison d'être.

Beyond serving on its European Steering group, Romy also was part of a working group to revamp the [EDGE Funders Alliance](#) governance. We engage in EDGE and other funder networks because this is where funders could make experiences that help them change their own internal practices and where they might be held accountable for not walking their talk. Yet, until now, funder networks mostly don't do either, not living up to their transformative potential.

We are also supporting developments in Europe towards better organising individuals with access to wealth and power. While [Resource Generation](#) in the US has over 1000 members and can mobilise over 100 million USD in donations to social justice organisations annually, Europe needs a stronger redistribution movement led by people with wealth. There is amazing potential in [Resource Justice](#), [Resource Transformation](#) and other emergent European sister organisations!

A growing pipeline of progressive individual funders who directly resource the European grassroots activist ecosystem will be essential

for all the amazing participatory regranteeing activist funders in Europe ([FundAction](#), [Collective Abundance](#), [Foundation Marius Jacob](#), [Femfund](#), [Mycelium](#) to name a few). These and the many other intermediary funds globally are essential social movement infrastructure and often struggle with reliably resourcing their work. Talking about radical redistribution also means interrogating the raison d'être of the many new private foundations that are still being set up every year. Especially when comparatively small funding budgets are met with high expenses for start-up, strategy-making and ongoing operations, channeling funding into existing intermediary structures is the wiser choice - albeit one that requires some ego-work on the side of funders.

It's a long, windy and manifold set of paths towards liberating wealth and putting it to transformative use. [The psychology of wealth](#) is another lever to affect the 'why' and 'how' of moving money into redistribution. A solid community of peers, as can be found in our [Funders Circle](#) or programs such as the one offered by our friends at the [Good Ancestor Movement](#) are essential. We are constantly exploring where Guerrilla Foundation members can give orientation or just provide community to those traveling these paths. Get in touch if you want to travel with us (romy@guerrillafoundation.org).

2024 in numbers



GRANTS 2024

ACTION REFLEX

Decided by the
Activist Council

Decided by
the team

On average, if you
passed the pre-screening
and were invited to apply
for a grant with us in 2024,
the chance of getting
accepted was 86%

applications that
made it to the
last stage

50

53

accepted/rejected

42

8

47

6

total amount

€846,500

€346,200

We funded
collectives and
organisations
in 23 countries

overall amount
distributed

Total Grants: 89

€1,192,700

Btw

*We did 3 other grants
that do not fall under the
action/reflex category
consisting of solidarity
grants to FundAction &
CWFD and flow fund.

How groups end up in our pipeline

Potential grantees enter our grantmaking pipeline through one of three channels: we regularly receive repeat grant requests and hear about new groups we could fund through our existing network of (former) grantees. The [Activist Council](#) (AC) scouts candidates from the grassroots activist ecosystems they are connected to. And we are open to any group that wants to reach us via our website.

The fact that we are open to cold-contacts sets us apart from many other funders. It also creates a high workload for the team to process the about 20 requests per week that we currently receive. In 2024 we moved from our hello@guerrillafoundation.org to a more structured [webform](#) in order to allow for faster processing of requests while still remaining accessible throughout the year to anyone who fits our basic eligibility criteria.

All requests are screened by the team, everyone receives a reply. This still often takes too long but that's the best balance we currently found between openness and ability to process. On top of this, we regularly need to reject groups that theoretically would be eligible for our funding due to our capacity/financial restraints. These often

are the hardest decisions, and the criteria the team applies mainly evolve around availability of other funding and urgency of the request.

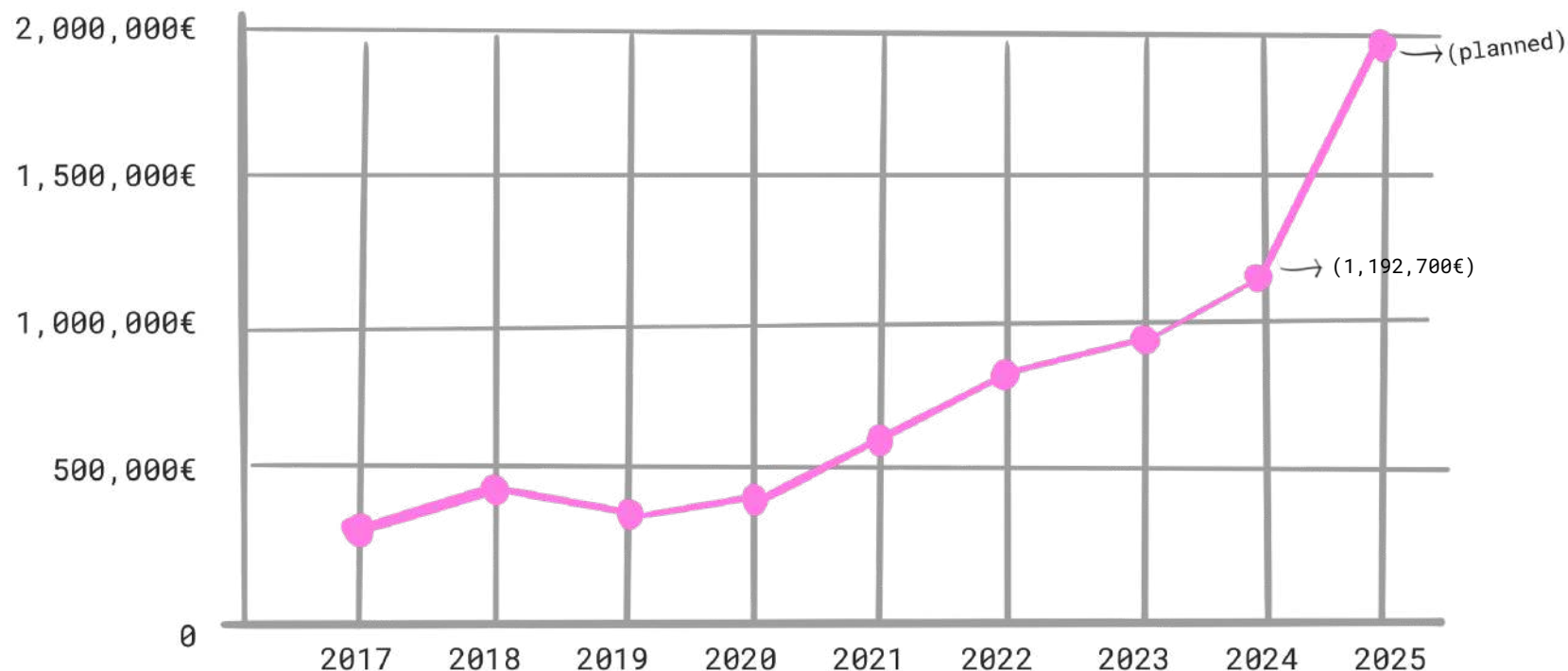
That's why we are going to grow our budget because we do see overwhelming demand for our kind of funding (see next section).

Grantmaking budget growth

Today, we are the only pan-European funder of systemic grassroots activism that is supporting groups and collectives working on multiple intersecting issue areas that is open to be contacted by activist groups. We see an enormous demand for funding in the ecosystem. Our grantee pipeline is filled with eligible requests that we are unable to process due to budget constraints. Therefore, our aspiration is to grow our budget, fast-track more groups into ongoing funding and generally move towards resourcing movement ecosystems with a systemic long-term funding approach. We also keep our commitment to growing the overall amounts flowing into European grassroots movements by building the radical resource redistribution movement ([see page 8](#)).

Why is multi-year funding so important? You might ask. It's simple: One year funding periods are

Grantmaking budget evolution

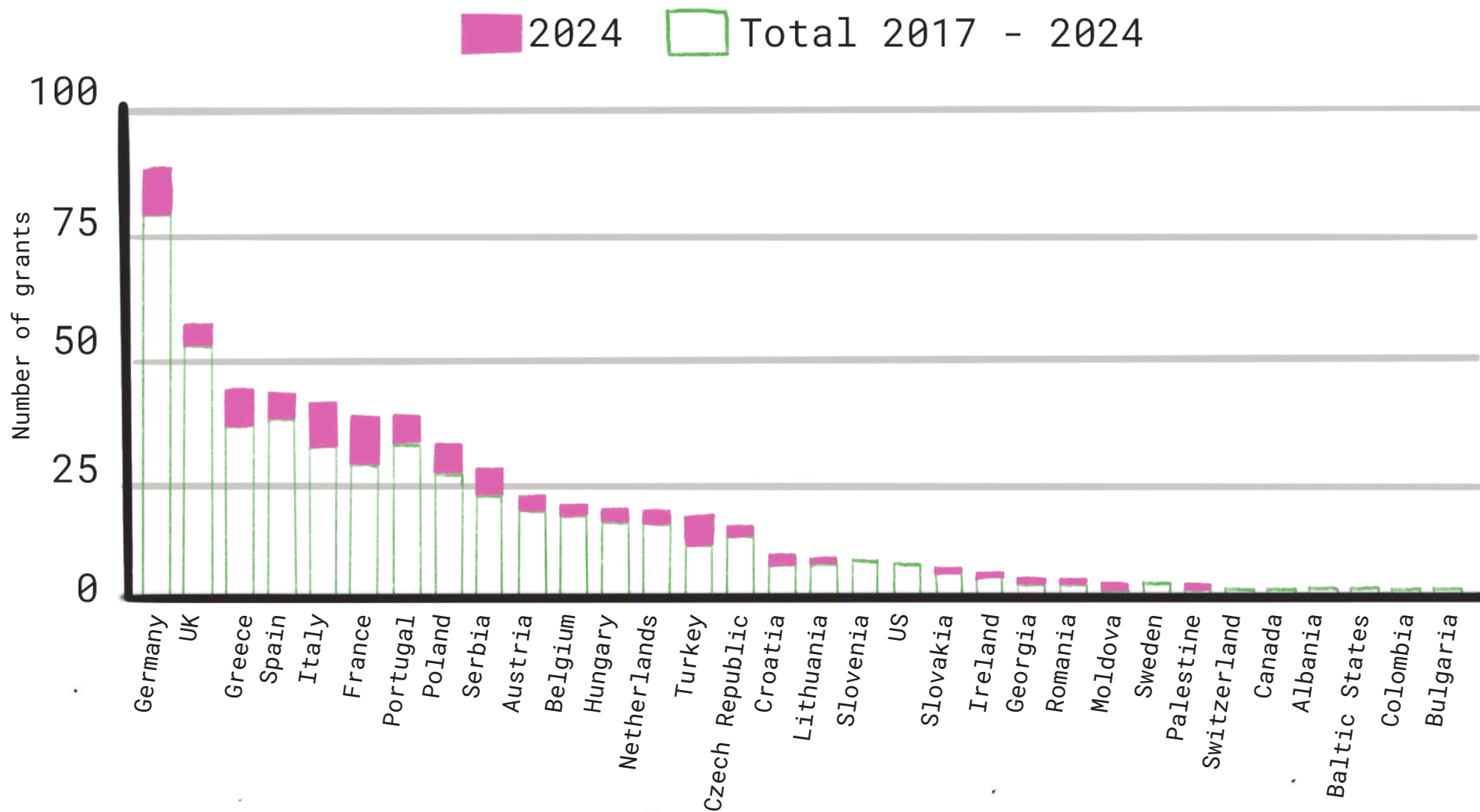


exhausting for groups. Financial insecurity results in constant hustling and project-thinking and is a main contributor to activist burnout. As a non-endowed intermediary funder, we are working on gathering large enough and reliable funding commitments from current and future funders to be able to offer multi-year grants while remaining open to new groups at the same time.

Following an initiative of the AC, we now at least

have a process for fast-tracking the applications of some groups that have previously received an Action Grant from us. We piloted this in 2024 and fast-tracked five applications based on a very short form to assess funding needs and a review of their one-year grant report. That way we assure ongoing funding with minimal effort at least for some grantees. It's an intermediary solution that we will continue in 2025 until our budget and processes are set up for genuine longer-term support.

Geographic reach evolution 2017-2024



A core tenet of our redistribution strategy is to direct resources toward underfunded movements, particularly informal or grassroots groups operating in regions where access to funding is scarce. While our early grantmaking was influenced by existing networks in Germany and the UK, we've consciously diversified our geographic focus in recent years, prioritising Southern and Eastern Europe, where systemic underfunding persists.

In 2024, we revised our [selection criteria](#) to further align with this goal: grants to comparatively well-resourced countries are now the exception and reserved only for niche projects with no viable funding alternatives, led by BiPoC or other marginalised folks. That said, as neoconservatism rises and civil space shrinks across Europe, we maintain strategic support for North/West-based groups facing existential threats - such as Palestine solidarity activists in Germany, where state repression has intensified.

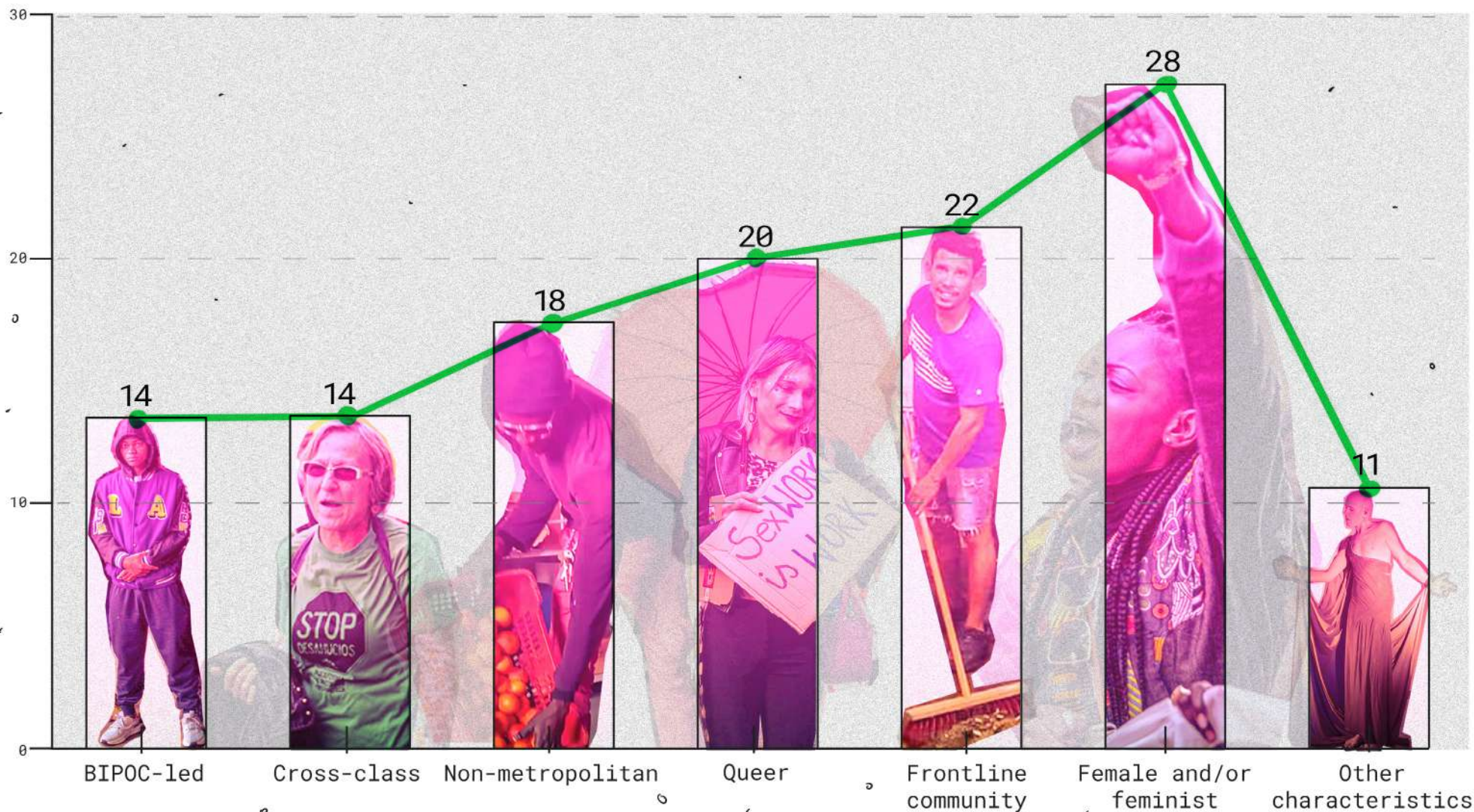
This dual approach allows us to address both long-standing resource imbalances and urgent crises, ensuring our funding remains responsive to the most marginalised fronts of struggle.



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

Guerrilla Foundation

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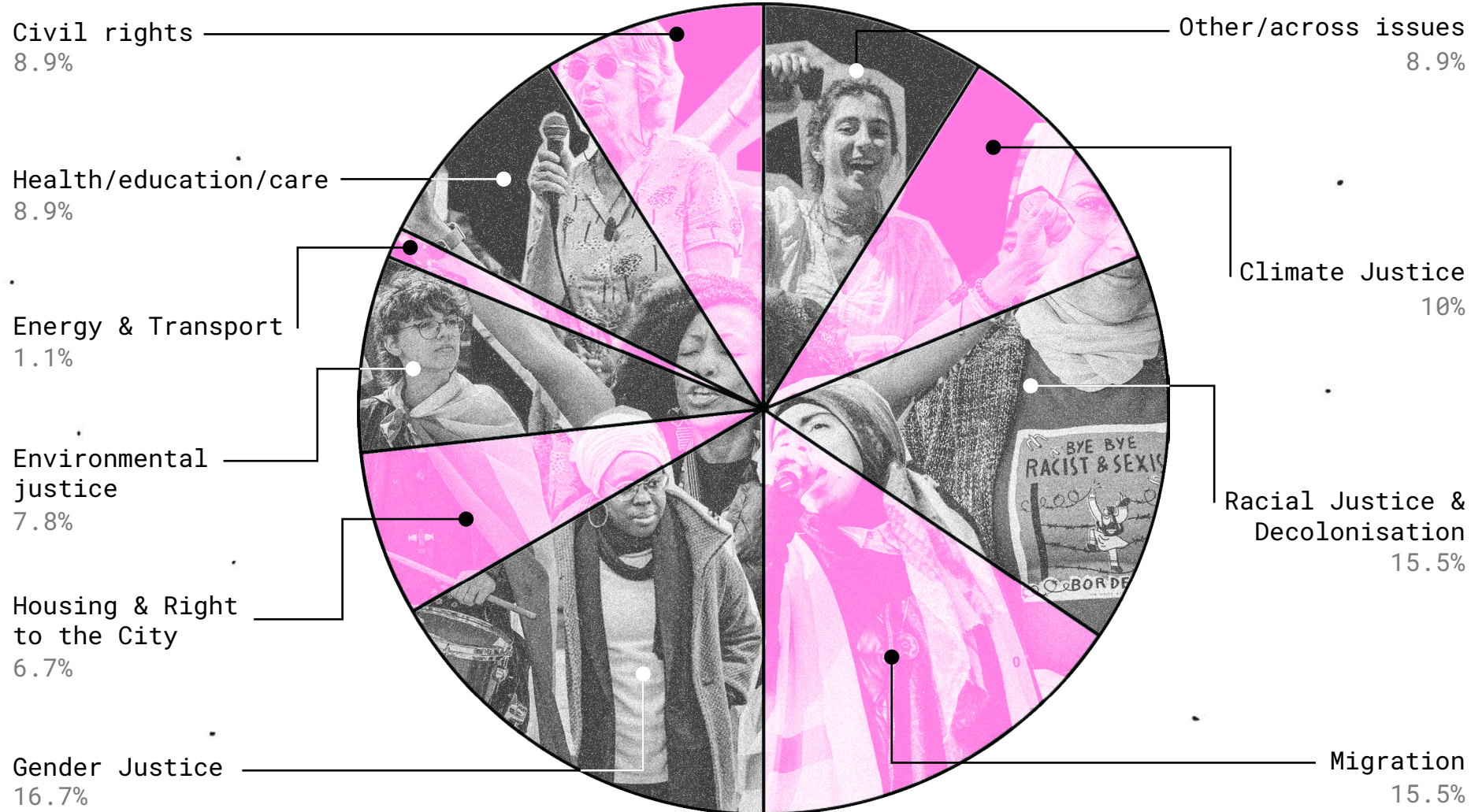




In 2024, a significant portion of our grants went to feminist and female-led groups, a trend that reflects both the realities of grassroots organising in under-resourced regions and our deliberate commitment to redistributing power. Across Europe, women, trans, and non-binary activists are at the forefront of the most urgent struggles, yet they remain systematically underfunded. From an abortion collective in Poland facing dire conditions to provide basic care, to queers & feminists organising against state violence in Turkey, these groups exemplify

the resilience of movements operating with little institutional support. By prioritising feminist leadership, we address this systemic gap while supporting groups that employ feminist strategies by linking gender justice with anti-fascism, -racism, climate justice or queer liberation. Thus this skew is not accidental: by resourcing feminist movements, we pour resources into ecosystems of care and solidarity - values & practices that usher in the new, alternative system we want to contribute to.

Key issue areas



Approaches to achieving change

Community care/retreats
3.5%

Media production
8.1%

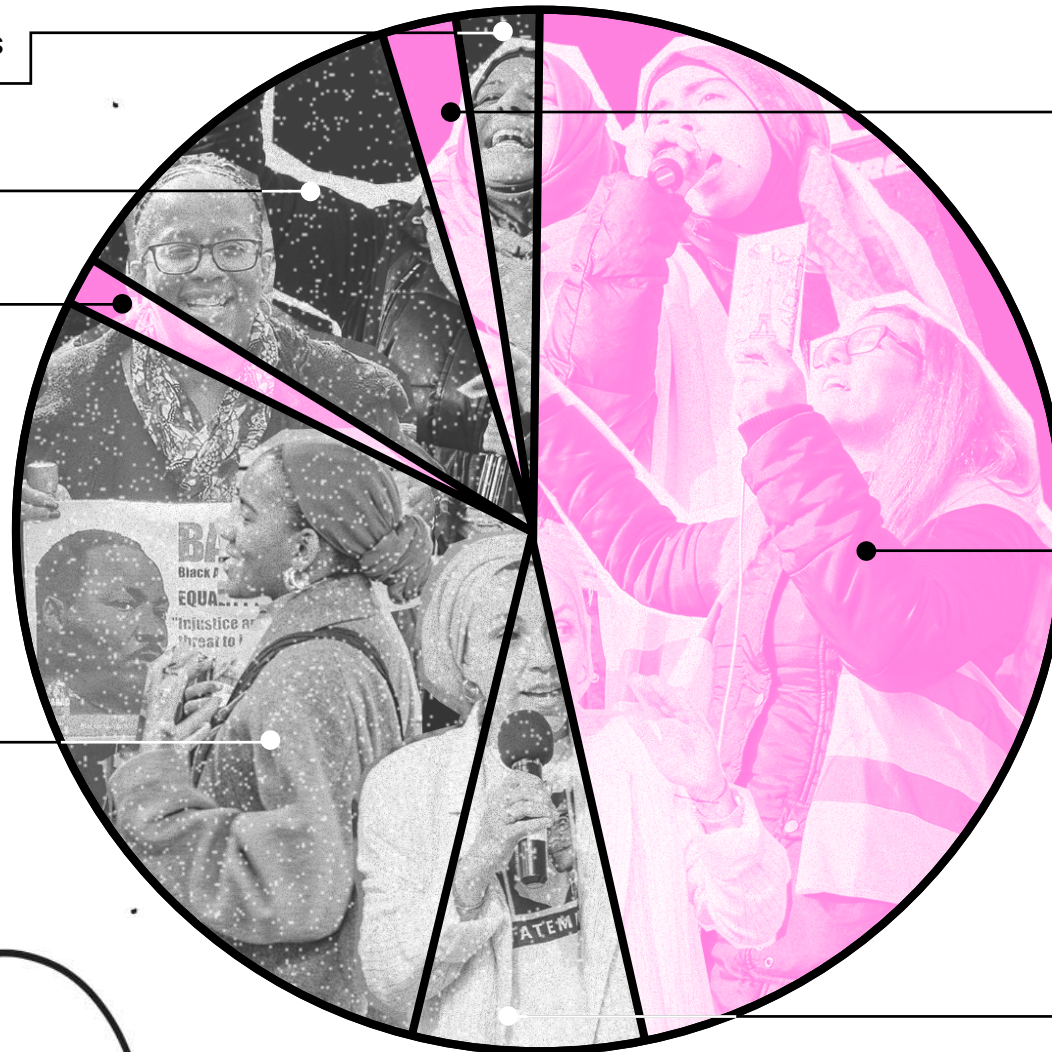
New Politics
2.3%

Campaigning
30.2%

Building the new,
Just solutions
2.4%

Capacity building
46.5%

Organising
7.0%

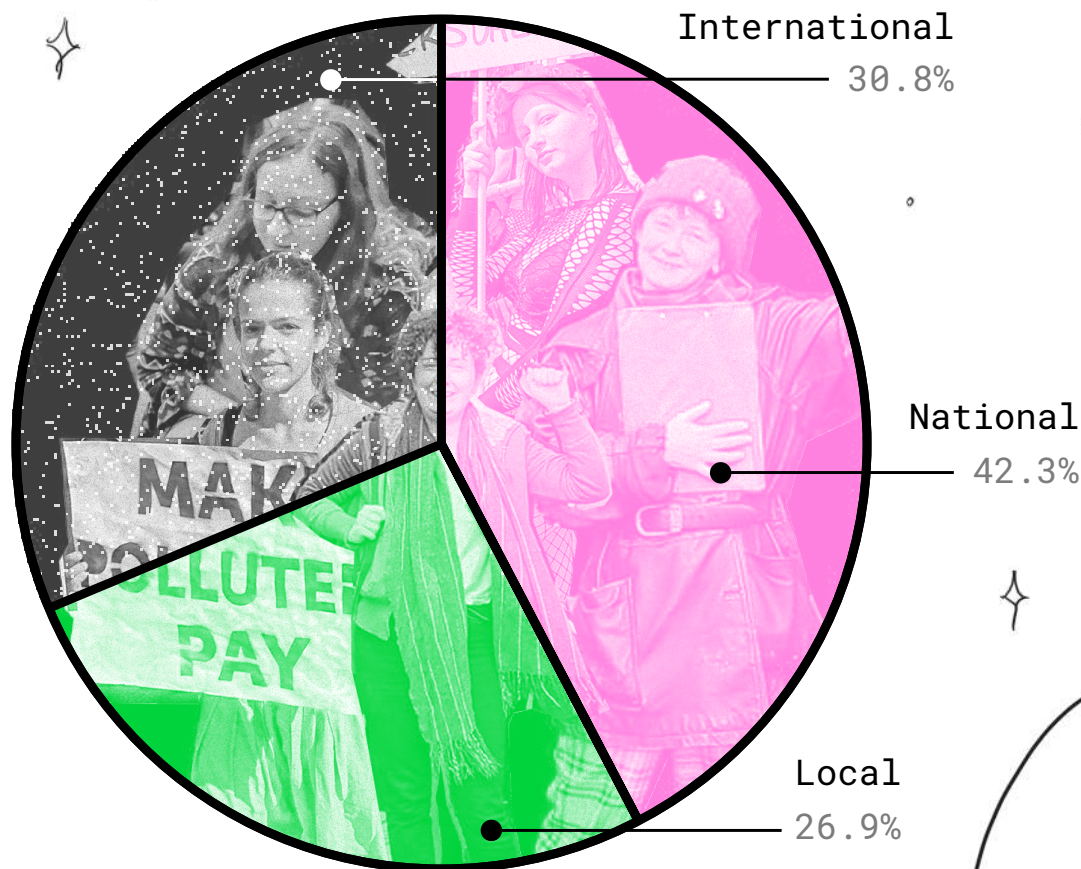


The distribution of our 2024 grants reflects what fundamentally sustains grassroots movements: capacity building (46.5%) and campaigning (30.2%) emerged as clear priorities among our grantees.

Nearly half of our funding fuelled capacity building, something that allows movements to grow and endure. This includes core funding for organisational infrastructure and spaces, trainings and the many events, camps and other opportunities for getting together to connect and strategise. All of this helps groups withstand funding precarity and political pressures.

Campaigning accounted for nearly a third of grants, funding strategic efforts to challenge unjust systems and policies. Grantees are using these resources for everything, from resisting draconian legislation that is on the rise with widespread conservative ruling in Europe to building transnational solidarity networks. What unites these diverse efforts is their focus on creating tangible change through coordinated and direct action. This year for the first time we're tracking grants towards community care in an effort to make the need for this more visible in funding circles. We could keep summarising those in 'capacity building' but chose to give those grants the extra attention they deserve.

Reach of the grant activity



Our 2024 grants supported work at national (42.3%), international (30.8%), and local (26.9%) levels. International grants primarily operate within Europe, with exceptions for media projects that transcend borders.

Fiscal sponsorships sometimes mean funds are administered in one country but directed to struggles elsewhere, a practical necessity for groups without legal form (as is the case for many of the informal grassroots groups we resource), as well as for transnational groups. Collectives like [The Peoples Want](#) exemplify this: by linking local struggles through translocal action, they bridge grassroots organising with international solidarity from below. Similarly, grants like the one to the Migrant Justice experiment show how “international” work often means building power across interconnected fronts: they organise a gathering in Morocco to eventually establish a transnational legal aid network to safeguard the human right to safe migration, operating on either side of the EU border.

National and local grants remain vital, proving that effective change requires both hyper-local grounding and broader alliances.

“The most basic activism we can have in our lives is to live consciously in a nation living in fantasies.”

♡ – bell hooks

Grant-Making Analysis



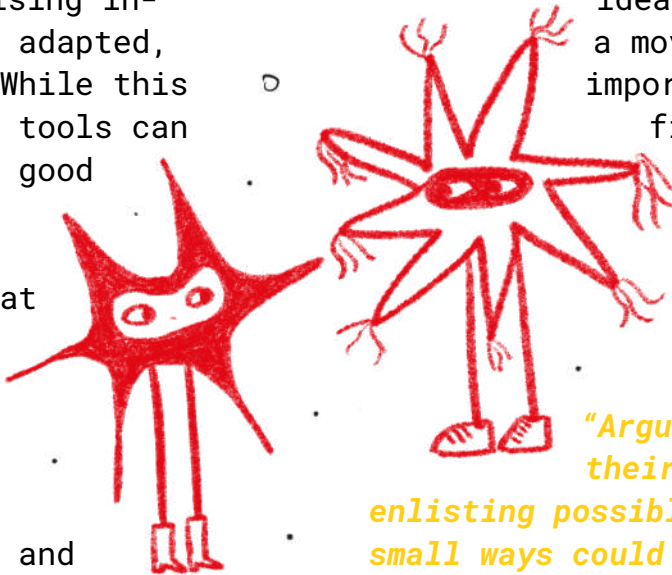
Where movements take root: space as an emerging grantmaking theme

The COVID-19 pandemic abruptly took away the possibility of meeting and organising in-person. In response, we collectively adapted, shifting activism to online spaces. While this transition demonstrated that digital tools can facilitate remote work and reinforce good activist digital infrastructure, it also underscored the irreplaceable value of in-person gatherings and that activism is, after all, about coming together to process hardships and oppression and metabolise them into different forms of resistance.

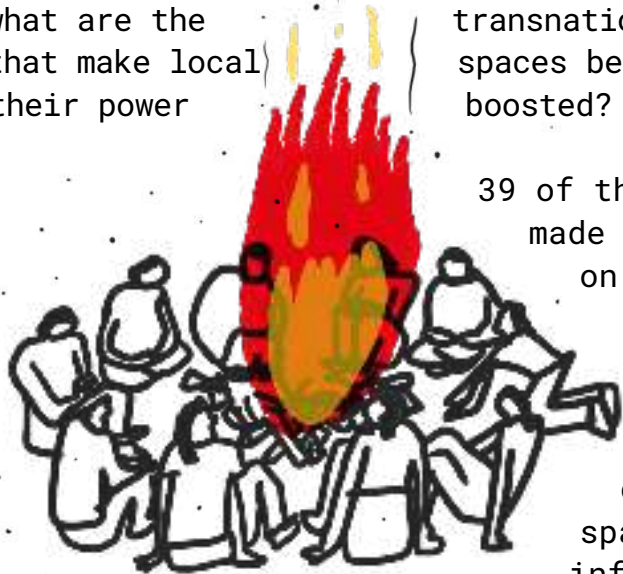
Digital spaces potentiate loneliness and exacerbate feelings that our rigged systems have left us with. If we want to break past eco-chamber thinking and individualism, sharing time and space and doing stuff together is paramount. To scaffold our movements with the right set of revolutionary tools, we need to meet, talk, organise and struggle together. Processing

viewpoint divergence and tension is an inevitable part of collaboration, but it is also where movements ultimately build collective strength. The speakers from our event on "breaking through ideology, cognitive dissonance and hopelessness" strongly emphasise this in their research. Their provocation goes: do we change hearts and minds through never ending discussions where we try to "win" each other with arguments and abstract ideas? Is that galvanising to build a movement? Talking about politics is important, but acting together comes first. When people get together for a small or big action, to mutually help each other, cook together or do guerrilla permaculture - that is when and where change happens.

"Arguing with people in order to change their views is rarely effective. But enlisting possible supporters to join a movement in small ways could lead to a relatively large shift in their views and commitment to a cause. Remember: people's beliefs tend to follow their actions. If we can get people involved in a small way ("hey, you don't have to stand on the front lines or speak at the press conference, but can you help me prepare and serve the lunch?"), they will tend to justify it to themselves and a virtuous circle can emerge."



As space is increasingly commodified and institutions become hostile to civil dissent, we need to harness the power of physical, collective spaces where people can come together. How? By funding and thus supporting the maintenance, creation, or protection of the spaces and commons that are left. What is the centre and periphery of space discourse? What does physical space at the margins mean? How do groups experience government crackdown on dissent & how are they resisting police violence in public space? And ultimately, what are the transnational approaches that make local spaces be connected to see their power boosted?



39 of the 89 grants we made in 2024 focused on bringing activists together, whether by supporting community spaces as physical infrastructure or

funding coalition-building gatherings and events with issue-specific or intersectional approaches. Other grants also went to retreats for activists' well-being and care. Coming together is life-affirming, so in the following section we want to show how our

funding has contributed to this ecosystemic impact throughout this year.

Community spaces in a commodified landscape

Wherever we look, the transformation of public space is appalling. Gentrification and the steep rise of the cost of living make our streets ever-more segregated by class and rank, and those living at the margins often face challenging situations to remain open to community. This is due to resource scarcity but also because activist work is not always in the character of public space. We wish there were less examples of community spaces closing due to rent increase or conservative politics.

As civic space continues to shrink across Europe, the heaviest burden falls on activists working in migrant justice, women's rights, queer and trans rights, racial justice and decolonisation - those who have historically been most oppressed and least funded. Marginalised communities are expressing a clear need for safer spaces, places where they can gather, heal, and organise. In a community space one learns from and with each other on how to talk about issues, practice self and community care and defence. These are the same spaces that bolster activists' capacity and energy to make loud demands.

In 2024, we made 11 grants to support radical community spaces, namely:

Manas Safer Space (Portugal)

A mutual-aid collective of women and queer people who use drugs, many of whom are sex workers, unhoused and have precarious work situations. They build community to find ways of collectively addressing the inaccessible and hyper-masculinised drug, sexual and reproductive healthcare system in Portugal. Drugs are a systemic consequence of oppression, so this community has built a space to connect the dots between individual experience and systemic violence through community organising and self-coming together in organisation. For them, means processing hardship creative ways and upskill themselves in public speaking, which massively helps them be the tellers of their stories and talk with state representatives who can leverage and create better conditions for their community in the streets.



International Women Space (Germany)

A self-organised feminist and anti-racist space by and for refugee and migrant women in Kreuzberg, Berlin. Their space emphasises mutual aid and organising for women with experience of racism, war and abuse. With this space they weather stories of individual aggression and become equipped to know their rights and face the systemic challenges that affect them in Germany.



"It is important to support, recognize, and invest in civic cultural centers as meeting places for citizens because they nurture and develop individuals, as well as values that visitors carry with them into the broader society. This type of center—where free community programs are organised, and the community is actively involved in co-creating them—is a rare phenomenon in Serbia."

– Klara i Rosa

Porco Rosso (Italy)

An activist center in Palermo that is strongly rooted in the local community but that organises also with other migrant community spaces in Italy. They serve as an activist center, cultural hub and legal advice point for people with migration background and

others working on migration issues.



Tęczowy Tarnów (Poland)

A community center for LGBTQI+ people in Tarnów, a non-urban area where stigmatisation against queer people runs deep. This space is open for free art exhibitions, film screenings, lectures, workshops and also support groups for queer and trans people and their parents, thus providing support in often neglected parts of this work.



CK13 (Serbia)

An independent youth center in Novi Sad, Serbia that has been working for 17 years in its local community. The organisers aim to strengthen political consciousness, self-organisation and the social and cultural engagement of citizens, particularly the youth so that they have a community and are better equipped to face the dire impacts of institutional degradation that Serbia is witnessing.



Kopacze Diggers (Poland)

Providing space for retreats and rest in the Polish woods for climate justice activists and those who are affected by systemic injustices. In this polyvalent space they harness collective power and use it for coalition-building and unlearning capitalist patterns through retreats, trainings, workshops and campaigns.



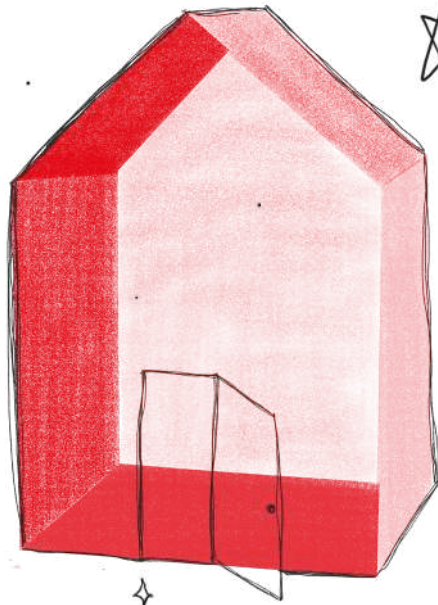
Kazan Community House (Hungary)

The building of Gólya and Kazán in Budapest is a 1000-square-meter multipurpose space on the edge of a previously industrial site in an underprivileged and very diverse area of the city with the aim to bring together and organise the tenants from the neighbourhood.



“Funding our space [...] gives us the chance to consolidate how much we’ve learned collectively from so many people and crises, and apply that in an organised way. It means not just fighting the fires, but actually building an organisation that can support people consistently and respectfully. Many government agencies and charities won’t support the work we do because of its controversial, and often conflictual, nature. Independent funding means having the freedom to concentrate on what we decide matters collectively.”

- [Porco Rosso](#) activists



Coming together is life-affirming

In 2024 we made 25 grants for physical gatherings, some of which focused on care and well-being. Those at the margins, especially those fighting against increasingly populist right-wing governments, often lack opportunities to pause and focus on their personal well-being. These retreats provided much-needed moments of rest and reflection.

We believe that supporting spaces for care and well-being is political and critical to

build new and just solutions that usher in new cultural values. Activists across Europe face extreme pressures and the risk of burnout is alarmingly high - no wonder that '[activist burnout](#)' is a term. This time and space allows activists to step out of work and into prioritising their mental health, while coming up with ways to face the productivity wheelhouse inherited from the system.

Among the seven grants awarded for care-focused retreats are:

Queers Against Racism and Colonialism- QuARC (Germany)

We funded their strategy retreat, which included time to rest so that they could gather their strength to collectively work on their tireless pro-Palestine solidarity organising in Germany. In a country that is practising a severe crackdown on the palestinian resistance movement, rest is also a form to resist, to renew strength to combat the strong pinkwashing campaign spread across mainstream as well as lefty queer german spaces.

In Our Bodies On the Streets (Balkan countries)

A growing collective committed to popularise generative somatics practices for activists throughout Central and Eastern Europe and the Caucasus (CEE). Their gathering helped to support the health and lives of individuals and collectives in climate and social justice movements through evidence-based practices that decrease stress, support trauma healing and connect people deeply to themselves and each other.



Additionally, we funded 18 gatherings where activists came together to strategise and organise around specific or intersecting issues, including:

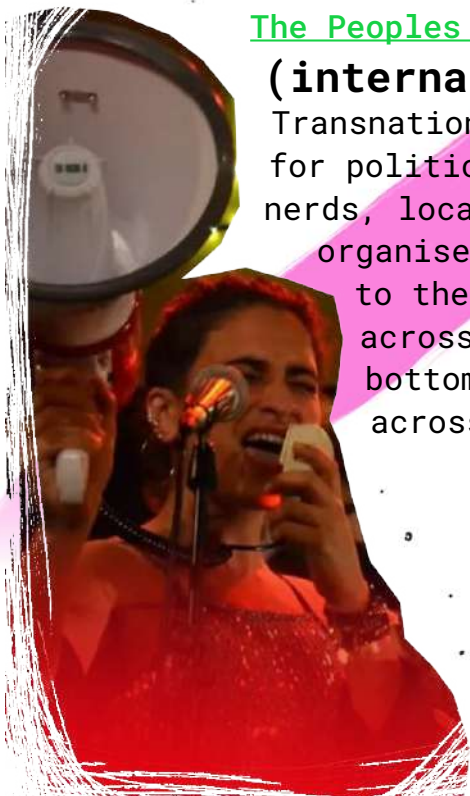
The Peoples Want **(international)**

Transnational mutual aid network for political exiles, movement nerds, local activists and organisers who have contributed to the popular uprisings across geographies led by bottom-up organisations across the Mediterranean.



BIPOC Climate Justice Conference **(Germany)**

Organising and hosting a gathering for BIPOC climate justice activists spread across Europe to strategise around bringing more racialised folks into the movement as well as more broadly bringing race to the climate and environmental justice organising tactics and discourse.



Associação Unidos em Defesa de Covas do Barroso (Portugal)

A group of local residents & activists that are land and community defenders coming together against the largest planned open-pit lithium mine in Europe located in Covas do Barroso, north Portugal. With their long-term organising, popular support and organised resistance, this natural oasis has become the first Zone à Défendre in Portugal.



The Class Work Project (UK)

A narrative project by working-class folks that brings social and class issues to the fore of media. Their gathering consisted of a storytelling workshop looking at the crossroads of migration and social class, offering a tantalising glimpse into classism, colonialism and racism. What are the narrative entry points that spotlight lived experience of these systemic biases?



“We see Guerrilla’s support as a way of creating social conditions of possibilities for these islands to persist and hopefully connect into building the archipelago of islands where understanding, empathy, and solidarity are no abstractions but existential needs - and they are not only desirable but indispensable in the present situation in Serbia, in Europe, and worldwide.” v

National assembly of working-class neighborhoods (France)

A broad coalition of activists and tenants rising against police violence, racism, against exclusion, involved in popular education and activism, to yield the ability of affected working-class

communities to work in a networked fashion.



– Activists from [CK13](#)

Space at the margins

Populist and right-wing regimes are actively targeting activists and civil society through space surveillance and tightening freedom of movement. There's increased police presence in the streets, border violence, and investigations & smear campaigns are carried out to organisations and individuals on the basis of their *raison d'être* being deemed "too radical". This is the case [in Germany](#), [the UK](#), [Serbia](#) and [Georgia](#) and many other European countries. These are the same governments that portray activists' direct actions as violent and a threat to the status quo. All this makes access to funding increasingly difficult for certain movements. More and more donors are shifting away from supporting issues seemingly too "sensitive", "divisive" or "polarising" and instead channeling money into already well-funded areas.

This funding gap is deeply concerning. The very groups that have always struggled to secure funding are now being pushed even further out of public space and discourse. Meanwhile, topics like democracy, digital rights, and environmental issues remain central in the funding landscape.

Our guiding mission at Guerrilla has always been to support the underfunded and with a shifting

funding landscape, we see a massive demand for the informal grassroots groups we resource. In 2024, we awarded 7 grants for decolonial work and 4 grants to combat state violence. For example:

[Black\(n\)ess Fest \(Italy\)](#)

A podcast and a festival taking place in Milan since 2021 where they normalise and collectivise conversations among racialised folks about the racist nature of our dominant systems. They celebrate blackness and hammer at the complexity of the individual experience when dealing with a particularly racist culture in Italy.





Selfrooted (Germany)

A space for adopted and fostered people in Germany birthed through sharing experiences of growing up as Black people in white adoptive and foster families. Selfrooted offers a glimpse of what it means to grow up in this context while politicising some of the sticky parts that inherently lifted trauma. They talk about the grief of the unseen as well as the unspoken aspects of isolation.

Solidaria Association (Italy)

Solidaria Association is a collective of migrants fighting for the right to documents and housing, alongside precarious and unemployed young Italians who have supported asylum seekers and migrants since 2008. They create support networks of solidarity through free Italian language classes, self-organised union and health support, and advocacy for dignified reception and legal status.



However, the activists facing the harshest exclusion from civic spaces are undoubtedly those speaking out for Palestine and against the ongoing genocide in Gaza. Across Europe, we have witnessed states actively repressing activists organising around Palestine. Organisations have lost funding simply for expressing solidarity. Individual people are being targeted and even deported without legal basis. Nowhere is this form of state repression as extreme as it is in [Germany](#). We are in active solidarity as private individuals and were also able to make some grants related to the ongoing genocide:

[Shado mag](#) (UK)

Shado is a lived-experience-led platform and community of artists, activists and writers working towards social justice and collective liberation. They write, share, organise and produce actions and content that connects the dots of injustice and uncover stories masked at the imperial core. We funded an investigative journalist project they carried out about the involvement of British Petroleum (BP) in fuelling the genocide on the Palestinians through their interest in investing in the territories of Palestine for the expansion of their oil and gas extraction.



[CopwatchGR](#) (Greece)

With the right ruling in Greece, the need for independent police scrutiny is paramount. Groups and individuals are far too often affected by structural racism, making state protection illusory for those who are already living at the margins. CopwatchGR is a police violence observatory based in Athens with the goal to hold law enforcement accountable, document incidents of police violence, and advocate for community safety without relying on the police.

“In Bratislava, finding a space that’s actually affordable, safe, and doesn’t feel weird or corporate is almost impossible. We were constantly like “where do we even go?” and “is this place going to be okay for queer folks or for people without money?” So we made BUNT. It’s not perfect, but it’s ours. And it’s growing into something collective, somewhat autonomous, and really alive. With your support, we can focus on what matters.”

– Spolok LIGHT*/ Bunt

The Culture and Free Thought Association (CFTA) (Palestinian Territories)

CFTA is one of Gaza’s largest and most active human rights networks, providing both development and emergency humanitarian support. For over 30 years, it has created safe, interactive spaces in central and southern Gaza to foster learning, skill-building, and community connection.



Voices for Gaza (International)

An international media campaign that gathered celebrities to read out testimonies from civilians,

humanitarians and caregivers who are witnesses to and victims of the Gaza tragedy.



Exposing and linking local struggles: The Peoples Want

One of the central spatial themes in our work is the shifting nature of Europe's borders. Certainly, these borders hardly exist for global capital, nor do the rich transnational elite have to worry about being hindered in their free movement. Longitude and latitude are not useful in themselves to understand what this thing we call "Europe" actually is. Borders are no longer transfixed in space. Those of Fortress Europe are moving further and further away from us as they are outsourced to militias and slave-traders in northern Africa. The Brits would even like their border to start as far as Rwanda. For revolutionary exiles neither home nor Europe are a place. Once one is in exile, one is forever banished from both. Nothing will ever be the same.

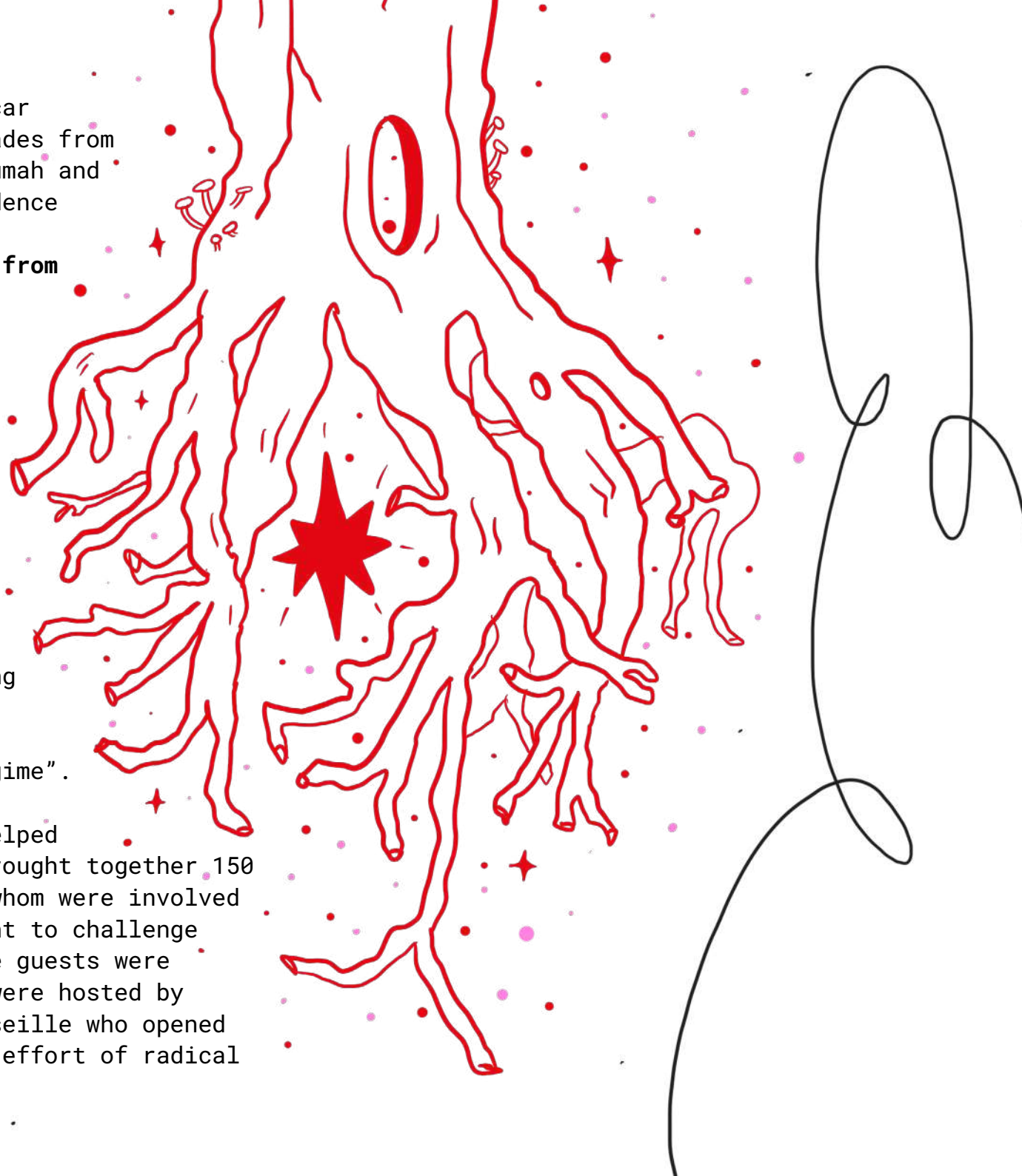
As a space of exile, Europe was and is the meeting ground for radical transnational strategising. It's the ironic birthplace of many of the anti-colonial and clandestine organisations that led entire countries to independence. Anton de Kom of Suriname was radicalised alongside Indonesians in the Netherlands, the Nardal Sisters and Suzanne

- Césaire were radicalised in Paris; Amílcar Cabral conspired with Angolans and comrades from Mozambique in Lisbon; Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah and India's Nehru were plotting for independence in London. Today we are in a new era of decolonisation – that of **decolonisation from below**.

Europe – as a space of exile – still plays an important role in the construction of liberation infrastructure, including that which transcends the boundaries of Europe.

[The Peoples Want](#) (LPV), a 2024 grantee, write in their manifesto: "Paris is a colonial metropolis, but it is also a crossroads, a place where for many centuries exiles have gathered. The name we gave to our meeting was intended as a tribute to a cry that shook the world for more than a decade: "The People Want the Downfall of the Regime".

On the 26th and 27th October 2024, we helped support the fifth LPV gathering which brought together 150 participants from 30 countries, all of whom were involved in anti-authoritarian revolts that sought to challenge the global imperialist status quo. These guests were invited through contacts in exile, and were hosted by a strong network of progressives in Marseille who opened up their homes. It was a cross-movement effort of radical



hospitality. After meeting for over a week, the program evolved into a two-day public festival which involved around 1,500 radicals (from Marseille and other French and European cities). The program included discussions, exhibitions, concerts, workshops and radio debates but also the wireframe for a more permanent and formal transnational network was drawn.

"From places of exile, from sites of struggle, North, South, East and West," they write in their manifesto, "our words have been enriched by contributions from participants in the revolutions in Egypt, Sudan and Iraq, the peasant revolts in India, the feminist wave in Latin America, the movement for George Floyd in the United States, the uprising in Sri Lanka, the Palestinian and Ukrainian resistance, and many others." LPV is aware of the fact that the uprisings we have been seeing, intensifying especially since 2011, have left martyrs, prisoners and exiles in their wake. But they don't wallow in defeat. One problem of these revolts is how spatially and temporally bound they have been within the framing of the "national". Les Peuples Veluent is seeking to transcend this. They recognise the importance

of transnational organising spaces and channels for the dissemination of information, tools and strategies in their territories, collectives and struggles. LPV are also aspiring to build 'Mujawara' (which comes from Arabic and means becoming neighbours), an interconnected network of autonomous physical places around Europe and the world for their global network.

**"To survive the
Borderlands
you must
live in
fronteras be a
crossroads."**

- Gloria Anzaldúa

Fliplanthropy

STÉPHANIE BROBBEY
02.10 UnLEARNING WEALTH-CLASS Narratives

IRIS BRILLIANT
08.10 The Psychology of WEALTH

LYNN MURPHY
23.10 Embodying Post-CAPITALIST PhilAnthropy

ROMY KRAEMER & LISL SCHÖTTELIN
06.11 MONEY in MOVEMENT

MARLENE ENGELHORN & FARHAD EGBRAHIM
20.11 PathWAYS to Philanthro-RADICALISATION

► **FLIPLANTHROPY**
EVENT SERIES

OCT 02 - NOV 20 2024

An online event series for radical funders & their friends, flipping philanthropy on its head to build the radical resource redistribution movement.



Unlearning wealth-class narratives with Stephanie Brobbey

Together with human-rights lawyer Stephanie Brobbey we dug into the hows of challenging normative philanthropy by accompanying donors in their process of "coming out" in belief and ability alignment for redistribution. How can we steward accumulated money using justice as a redistribution north star? How to ensure that philanthropy is not where "social justice comes to die" but rather a place for radical new possibilities and constellations?

The psychology of wealth with Iris Brilliant

"Do you ever feel haunted by the fear that giving away "too much" money could lead to disaster?" starts the [worksheet for funders](#) by wealth-enoughness coach Iris Brilliant. Psychological blockages are at the root of wealth gatekeeping. Under saviorist donor personas lie deep-seated fears that block redistribution. This episode explores how humanizing these paradoxes can unlock bolder resource flows for social and political transformation.



Embodying post-capitalist philanthropy with Lynn Murphy

Philanthropy must break free from capitalist productivity metrics and tap into wider cosmological movement. Instead of treating money as a finite resource to be optimised, we dive into how it can be understood as part of an interconnected web of relationships - animate and inanimate. Can we shift from ego-driven, glorification-inducing redistribution toward an embodied practice of reparative justice that reimagines wealth beyond ownership and accumulation?



Money in movement with Lisl Schöpflin and Romy Krämer ☆

What are the models, values & practices that make the recipe for just redistribution? A tête-a-tête between a progressive Guerrilla funder and a team member on how to make money flow into the pockets of grassroots groups and away from the Charitable-Industrial-Complex. In this episode we also unpack Guerrilla's participatory approach, what we've learned in the journey of becoming sociocratic and how we've dealt with power bending.



Pathways to Philantho-Radicalisation with Marlene Engelhorn

Some donors struggle to walk the talk of radical redistribution. Others move significant wealth but remain silent due to personal or family constraints. And then there are those willing to challenge the status quo. In this episode, we hear from radical wealth-sunsetter Marlene Engelhorn on her journey of reckoning with dynastic wealth and redistributing 90% of it - placing decision-making power in the hands of 50 Austrians to determine which social justice organisations it should support.

“In the midst of crises, there’s information in the ethers that’s bringing us out of separation and individualism into a collective, relational tissue”

– Lynn Murphy

Timeline of Mischief

January

- Annual planning meeting with the team to kick the year off
- Romy at collaborative leadership retreat by The Hum

February

- In-person team workshop to develop our new, circles-based, governance structure
- We hire a new team member

March

- We have a mega cute team retreat <3
- AC renewal process kicks off - led by the AC
- We start developing internal guidelines to support our new governance structure with input from the AC and FC
- Kick-off of our PGM evaluation with Rose Longhurst as external evaluator, supported by an internal working group

April

- Saminder goes on maternity leave, new activist in the making ;)
- The AC finalises our updated selection criteria which will then live on the website

May

- Teresa attends the MDMA gathering (MayDay Movement Academy) from Sense & Solidarity
- We're knee deep into the Annual Report writing
- More internal governance structure and guideline work behind the scenes

June

- New governance becomes operative. Much team time going into discussing all that this transition involves
- Four new AC members are being onboarded. Welcome Jovan, Melike, Mohammed and Sidorela!
- Romy at Next Frontiers Conference in London

September

- Release of the Annual Report, which brought the theme power bending to the fore
- First projects kick off to address some of the PGM evaluation lessons learned
- Launch of the Transform Philanthropy circle

August

- Internal team development work
- Recharging melatonin levels to power us through the rest of the year ;)

July

- We had another probing Deeper Inquiry event "Breaking Through Ideology, Cognitive Dissonance and Hopelessness".
- The working group internally presents the lessons learned from our Participatory Grantmaking (PGM) evaluation

October

- Fliplanthropy public event series kicks-off
- Hiring process to add capacity to the Redistribution Circle & needing to let go of a team member
- Romy at the Edge Funders Alliance conference & Collective Abundance strategy retreat

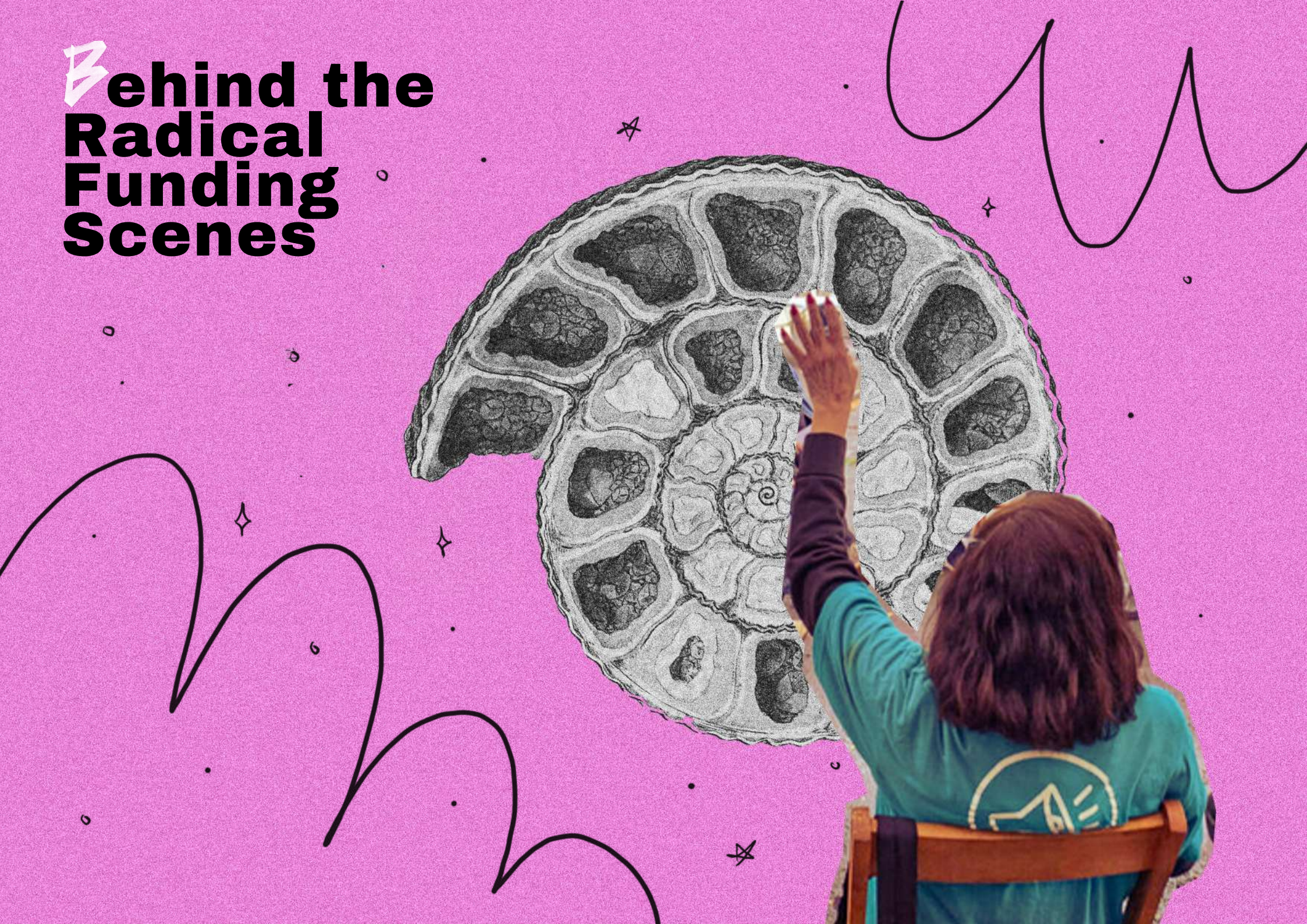
December

- Saminder comes back from maternity leave ♥
- W'qaas joins the team!
- Decision-making, Conflict prevention & resolution and other internal guidelines are ready for feedback and approval by all members of the governance system
- Launch of an internal Wiki for better onboarding of new org. Members
- Collective online annual check-out meeting for all Guerrilla members

November

- Epic Guerrilla kiki where we had the chance to meet some new AC members & hang out with funders. Some of us had never met in person 😊

Behind the Radical Funding Scenes

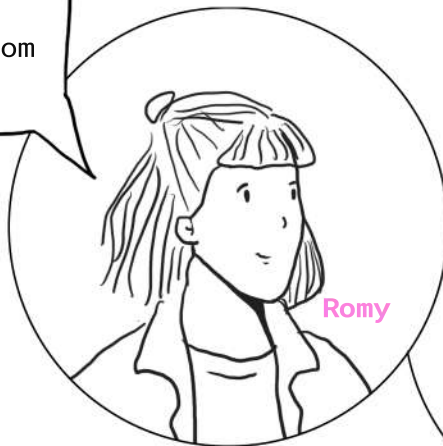


The annual report is a good time for a check-in on how we are doing with our organisation development, especially the transition into participatory governance (read more about the background [here](#), [here](#) and [here](#)). We took the opportunity for a written conversation between Joris ([Activist Council](#)), Thomas ([Funders Circle](#)) and Romy ([team](#)) about how this transition felt and about the tensions and questions that inevitably arose. In the second part we share some specific lessons learned from the evaluation of our participatory grantmaking program. Because we're all avid talkers of participation and can easily get tangled in talking about how we're running it internally, this section became too lengthy for the report, so we are sharing a few conversation bites below and linking two extensive pieces on [Reflections on our Participatory-ness](#) and "[How Participatory is our Grantmaking?](#)" (respectively about sections 1 and 2) in the G Blog.

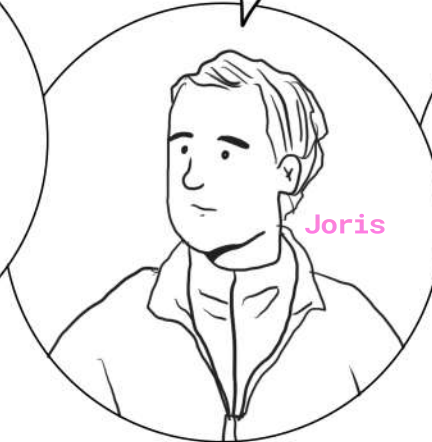


1. Participatory governance - reflections and lessons learned

How did the journey of becoming sociocratic at Guerrilla feel from the inside your circles?



In all honesty, I believe the entire process of joining the Guerrilla governance has been quite overwhelming and confusing for many of us in the AC. Many of us were not prepared for the deep involvement with the organisational restructuring of the entire foundation and moving to a model of sociocracy that requires active and dedicated input from all those involved to give that process meaning and direction.



We have grappled with similar challenges in the FC, especially because many of us had very little experience with having to self-organise.

now, the FC is important for us in terms of honing our shared understanding of what the role of funders in philanthropy should be.

What I like about the participatory approach at Guerrilla is that while we are very clear that funders don't take funding decisions, we do have a role to play: in fundraising, sharing networks and access, holding others with wealth accountable and supporting each other in starting redistribution conversations in their families, for example. Building that awareness and supporting funders to step up to these responsibilities is an important function of the Funders Circle.

We worked from the intention that activists should increasingly be involved in our work and that also funders have important roles to play, but, we were (and still are) making sense of things as we go.

All these structural changes to increase participation need to be matched by an evolution of internal communication, feedback and conflict resolution processes.

One of the most intense discussions that we've had in the FC was around the Palestine solidarity statement. Emotions were rather high. Was going public the right move or should we silently fund and support Palestinian solidarity?

Many wealthy people are socialised to solve problems with money and power moves. "I am uncomfortable with this, if this isn't changed I am pulling my funding," which is a very harmful, but far too common practice. At Guerrilla we're trying to do this differently by engaging in constructive conversations and relationship building instead of silently (by not voicing any concerns) or violently (by pulling funding) disengaging when we face discomfort or disagreement.

Sharing power more horizontally means that all Guerrilla members need to keep an eye on our organisational mission, and help each other in disentangling the basis of tensions that will inevitably arise: are they personal, interpersonal or organisational?

In the AC, I think the deeper learning processes we had to navigate were the different levels of availability, experience, and capacity to make sure that everyone has equal opportunity to learn and engage while also holding one another to account.

How do we prevent certain people with more time on their hands from dominating the space on the one hand, while on the other understanding the limits of democratic decision-making structures that rely on everyone's input when not everyone is always available to engage?

In both the AC and the FC it proved helpful to clearly define the minimum level of contribution that is considered necessary for circle membership so that people don't always walk around feeling they're falling short, not living up to expectations.

In 2025, our focus in the FC will be to strengthen our self-organisation and find FC members who have some capacity to actively contribute to the work funders should take on within Guerrilla."

We want to avoid catering to the service culture that many wealthy people are socialised into, that other people do all the organisational work for them, and that they can just show up for the interesting and fun parts.

Romy

Joris

Thomas

2. Participatory grantmaking (PGM) evaluation

In 2024 we wanted to know how we had been doing in the first full year of running the PGM program and understand how we might improve it.

We wanted to learn how candidates and grantees perceived our decision-making process but also how the new practice felt on the inside, for AC members, funders and staff. We were also interested in a first indication of whether our grantmaking was changing in the direction we had intended: reaching more diverse grassroots and frontline communities in a wider geography.

Our funders were especially interested in whether our grants had more social impact than those made previously by the team which surfaced internally a variety of partly conflicting notions about impact and the feasibility of assessing it while looking at such short periods of time. This ongoing internal conversation later resulted in the planning of two Deeper Inquiry sessions on impact that have now been published in our [Youtube](#) channel.

What did we do?



We set up a working group of 2 AC members, one FC member which was led by our external evaluator. The evaluation began in March 2024 and results were presented in July before everyone went on summer break. The working group interviewed 24 people, surveyed 99 and analysed 540 grants that were made before and after the introduction of the PGM process.

What did we learn?



This is only a selection, there were many more lessons learned, contact us if you want to know more.

More consistent data. We need better and more consistent data collection to be able to understand how our grantmaking evolves over time and whether we are achieving our grantmaking goals.

Our move to PGM was a shift but not a quantum shift. We onboarded the Activist Council into our existing grantmaking process, selection criteria and grantmaking goals. This tremendously eased the transition, but it also meant that there was

“We are not fighting to simply have a seat at the same table that has been killing us and ours. We are fighting to build a whole new table, in a whole new house, where we can all decide together.”

– Mia Mingus

no massive shift noticeable in the evaluation in terms of who was receiving funding. For most other foundations, where staff are less close to the ecosystem being funded, moving to PGM might imply a much more fundamental change in grantmaking.

Raising standards and equalising access. While we very much value relationships and love to receive recommendations for potential grantees from trusted connections, we do not want to be a grantmaker where you need to be ‘buddies’ in order to receive funding. We learned that we needed to streamline who ends up in our grantmaking pipeline how and that we need to more closely monitor a consistent application of the selection criteria throughout.

Towards funding more frontline communities in South/East Europe and less in advantaged funding environments (especially UK & DE). While not always statistically significant, we did see an ongoing positive trend towards these grantmaking goals which had already been formulated before the introduction of the AC but are now carried forward by it.

Some things get harder with more participation. We learned that we need to improve the quality of feedback given to and the communication flow with candidates. All communication with candidates still is channeled through staff which makes

it difficult at times to transfer AC feedback swiftly and precisely. The more people are involved in the grantmaking, the more complicated these processes become.

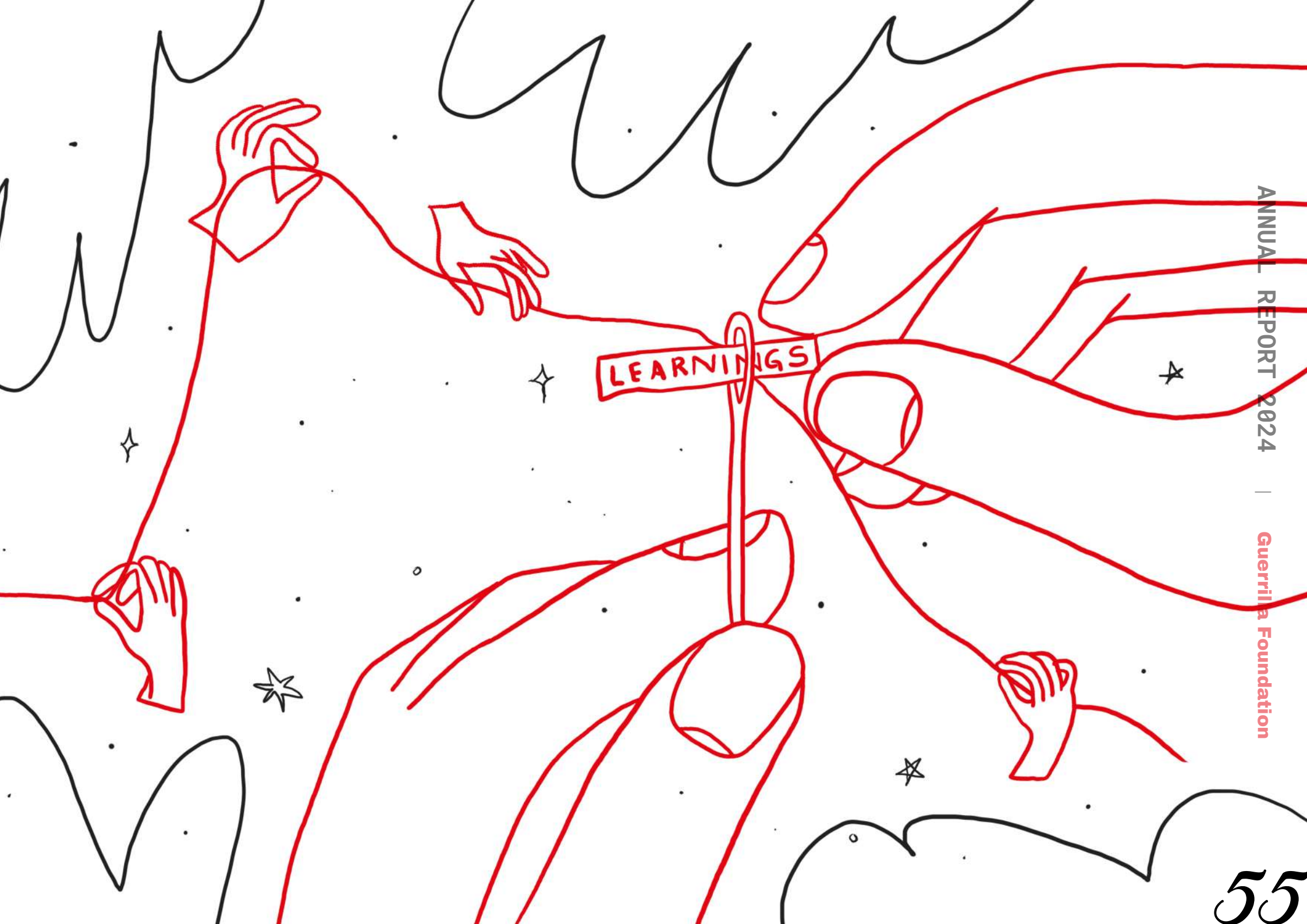
Keep moving power. Staff still hold a lot of power in our current process, mainly because they decide which of the groups actually enter our application and selection process. A lot has already changed since the evaluation. AC members have refined our selection criteria and grantmaking goals via specific working groups. The AC singlehandedly runs its own renewal process, bringing more and new European activists into a decision-making position. We have a number of ideas floating around for growing the pool of reviewers and experimenting with new PGM processes and we are in the process of trying out ways for involving the AC more in our current processes. We have a system now that's more fair, transparent and participatory than what we had before moving to PGM but we'll definitely keep working on improving it. ✨

Move from interpersonal trust to trust in the process. As we grow, the Guerrilla Foundation needs to move from a tiny grantmaker, where interpersonal trust was the main organising principle, towards establishing systems of accountability, internally and towards the ecosystem we want to support.

Was the evaluation worth it?

Yes. But maybe if we were to do it again, we would do it a little later, with a better base in terms of quantitative data, and with more time to digest the information internally. However, we learned a ton and are still busy implementing changes that were decided based on the evaluation. The evaluation taught us a lot in terms of running internal participatory projects. If done well, these increase engagement and learning for everyone involved and help to build common ground across funders, activists and staff members within the Guerrilla Foundation and they might even restore someone's hope in philanthropy (see our evaluator's [blogpost](#)).





Financial Breakdown

Open
process



2
Not-only-money
POWER



Team cost breakdown

In 2024 we had 5 staff members and one freelancer working with us. Our highest paid team member received 2,3 times the salary of the team member with the lowest pay. There is full transparency among the team about who earns how much. Staff worked between 20-32 hours/week. In 2024, we made an effort to move towards more time-input equality among team members to reduce power imbalances and prepare for the introduction of the 4-day work-week in the future.

Note: We believe in financial transparency and in the need for accessibility of such information. If you are looking for detailed audited financial statements, you can find these on our [website](#). In this report we are communicating how we allocated our annual grants budget (i.e. decision-making) and what other costs we incurred for supporting our grantmaking operations and other strategic activities in a given year. The numbers above (and the grants in [our table](#)) might therefore include grants that were only transferred in 2025 but were decided in 2024. If you'd like more details, we're happy to chat!

GUERRILLA FOUNDATION 2024

Cost Category	Actual closing budget	% of total budget	Explainer
REDISTRIBUTION	€1,269,999	75,85%	Activist compensation is not part of our regular grantmaking but it serves the activist ecosystem, so we consider it redistribution
Action grants	€846,500	49,77%	Decision-making by Activist Council
Reflex grants	€346,200	21,53%	Decided by the staff
Activist compensation	€77,299	4,55%	This includes a 2,5k flow fund for each activist council member
OTHER	€46,193	2,72%	Hard- and software, co-working space, legal advice, external personnel & tax admin, organisational development
WORKING CIRCLES	€36,178	2,13%	External input into strategic comms work, memberships, conferences, travel & entertainment, retreats, training & education, grantee network building, evaluation of our participatory grantmaking
TEAM	€328,296	19,30%	Grant admin, management of our participatory grantmaking process and governance, strategic comms, influencing philanthropy and mobilising funds for our target group outside the foundation

Sum €1,680,666

*** THANK YOU ***



Brainfood

Reading

Becoming Abolitionists, Derecka Purnell (2021)

Holding Change, adrienne maree brown (2021)

Hospicing Modernity, Vanessa Machado de Oliveira (2021)

Loving Corrections, adrienne-maree-brown (2024)

Restoring the Kinship Worldview, Wahinkpe Topa and Darcia Narvaez (2022)

Strangers Drowning, Larissa MacFarquhar (2015)

The Feminist Killjoy Handbook, Sara Ahmed (2023)

The Revolutions of Our Times, The Peoples Want (2024)

What It Takes to Heal, Prentis Hemphill (2024)

Decolonizing Wealth, Edgar Villanueva - 2nd Edition is out!



Watching ✨

[The Divide](#), Katharine Round (2015)
[Capital in the Twenty-First Century](#), Justin Pemberton (2019) ✨
[Park Avenue: Money, Power & the American Dream](#), Alex Gibney (2012)
[The Spider's Web: Britain's Second Empire](#), Michael Oswald (2017)
[Bad Boy Billionaires: India \(TV Series 2020\)](#)
[Requiem for the American Dream](#), (2015)
[The Shock Doctrine](#), (2009)
Austerity: The Rise of a Bad Idea (2021)
[The Billionaires' Pledge](#) (2022)
[The New Corporation: The Unfortunately Necessary Sequel](#) (2020)
[Years and Years](#) (2019)
[Sorry to Bother You](#) (2018)

Listening ✨

[Dissens Podcast](#), Lukas Ondreka
[The Dig](#), Daniel Denvir
[A Modest Story About Moving Cash](#), Resource Generation
[The Taxcast](#) by Tax Justice Network
[China Pt. 1: A Socialist Introduction with Jason Hickel](#), Upstream Podcast



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