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A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority
November 2002

Illustrating the Labor Movement
Cartoonists Draw on Workers’ History

MIKE KONOPACKI

The typical cartoon in today’s mainstream press is essentially the artist’s take on the headline du jour. Usually, that means illustrating some aspect of the liberal vs. conservative debate. At Huck/Konopacki Labor Cartoons, Gary Huck and I have found that labor cartoons can do much more. By going to the root of working-class struggle, labor cartoonists are “radical” in their expression of workers’ challenges, outrage, and, ultimately, empowerment. Labor cartoons are radical even in the sense that they acknowledge the existence of a working class, a concept that has all but disappeared off the media’s screen, replaced by the amorphous, nearly all-encompassing “middle class.”

Even as labor cartoons skewer the scornful, smite the mighty, and milk the sacred cows for all they’re worth, they also help us understand that the elite are not invincible. They assure us that bosses, politicians, corporate raiders, and the stinking rich are people, too (though just barely), and that’s an encouraging and powerful message for all workers, unionized or not.

Labor Cartoon History
The Industrial Workers of the World, a.k.a. the Wobblies, were perhaps the first workers to understand the power of labor cartoons. In 1918 their newspaper, Industrial Worker, announced: “WORKER NEEDS CARTOONS” with an emphasis on “industrial union or revolutionary subjects.” The Wobblies also effectively used “silent agitators,” stickers glued around workplaces bearing pro-worker messages or symbols. The Wobblies understood perfectly the purpose of labor cartoons: to educate, agitate, and organize.

Even 150 years before the Wobblies and the labor movement came along, Benjamin Franklin knew the power of a good cartoon. His 1754 “Join or Die” cartoon of a severed snake, representing eight disjointed colonies, was used for the same purpose, and very effectively at that. Its symbolism was so compelling that the image, time and again, came to represent all kinds of issues: the Stamp Act crisis in 1765, the American Revolution in 1776, and so on. For workers, that message is especially relevant.

Just like Franklin’s snake and the Wobblies “silent agitators,” today’s labor cartoons can stimulate interest, spark discussion, and spur folks to action. Nothing happens if nothing happens, the saying goes; and while labor cartoons aren’t the fuel of the labor movement, they certainly can be (and have been) the match.

Labor Cartoons as Activist Tools
When General Electric wanted to institute drug testing in 1990, UE responded with a workplace campaign that included Gary’s cartoon, captioned “How to promote drug testing . . . put the bosses’ picture in . . .”

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the bottom of the cup.”

In 1992, New York’s Local 1199 of the Hospital and Healthcare Workers Union commissioned a series of cartoons for its newsletter during an organizing campaign. For the workers, who won a first contract, the cartoons proved to be a valuable tool for both spreading their message and bolstering spirits.

During the Detroit newspaper strike of 1995, the Teamsters made a billboard out of a cartoon showing the Statue of Liberty wearing a gag labeled “Detroit Free Press” and a blindfold labeled “Detroit News.” Who needed a caption??

In Connecticut, our billboard lampooned Miller’s Red Dog beer. We created a very ugly, very stupid-looking red dog, flies buzzing around it, with the message: “Red Dog bites. Connecticut drivers canned. Don’t buy Miller products.” That was my personal favorite. The cartoon ended up on posters all over town, especially at local watering holes.

In Providence, Rhode Island, we used the Budweiser frogs to get our message across. We showed a worker’s feet sticking out of a swamp and a frog croaking, “No Bud.” The caption: “Budweiser croaks Rhode Island jobs.” The billboard companies balked, so the Teamsters painted our ad on the side of a semi and drove it all over town. It became a mobile billboard that reached even more people (see photo on page three). The local media picked up the story while the Teamsters met with people over town, especially at local watering holes.

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Taking pot shots at the big shots is pretty popular with workers, who, even with union contracts, are generally at the mercy of management. Consequently, “barbecuing the boss,” as we like to call it, has become our favorite pastime. Bosses derive their power from fear. That’s how all kinds of dictators rule, and, in capitalism, the boss is the dictator. When you ridicule the dictator, you diminish his power, you diminish the fear factor. In doing so, you—the worker—take on at least a little of the power he’s lost; you reverse the fear factor.

Bosses hate being caricatured. They’re not like politicians, who, from time immemorial, have weathered the jabs of political cartoons. Bosses are used to being clois-
Illustrating the Labor Movement

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To explain the issue, the history of it, where it’s at now, and how people are fighting back.

Whether targeting public policy or private employers, the sad fact is that labor cartoonists are a vanishing breed in this country. That’s due to a lot of factors: the decline in union membership; the almost total disappearance of the “labor beat” in daily newspapers; and ignorance, skittishness, or outright resistance among union leaders. Of the labor cartoonists who remain, we have some real stars: Rick Flores, now retired, who was a member of the United Auto Workers; Estelle Carol and Bob Simpson, who syndicate their cartoons as Carol*Simpson; California’s feminist/labor cartoonist “bulbul,” who uses a pen name to protect herself from retribution; Bill Yund, a Pittsburgh asbestos worker who occasionally does work for the Labor Party; and new kid on the block Samuel Rodriguez, whose ’zine, Silicon Valley Debug, uses tagging and graffiti art to appeal to the Valley’s legions of temp workers. Yet for every one of them, the movement to which they have dedicated themselves underutilizes them.

Chicana muralist Juana Alicia, sharing her experience, summed it up when I spoke with her some months ago: “Our society continues to push the idea that art is an elite form, separate from life itself. What the movement needs to understand is that artists are organizers. If there is one thing this movement needs it is more organizers.”

Mike Konopacki is a labor cartoonist. He and Gary Huck publish Huck/Konopacki Labor Cartoons monthly. For more information, contact H/K, PO Box 1917, Madison, WI 53701; huckkono@solidarity.com; www.solidarity.com/hkcartoons.

USA PATRIOT Art

MIKE KONOPACKI

Sometimes you just gotta raise a little hell. That’s what some of my fellow cartoonists and I decided to do when we learned that a member of the Association of American Editorial Cartoonists (AAEC), who, not coincidentally, works at the Pentagon, was calling for a show of anti-terrorist cartoons at the Association’s June convention in Washington, DC.

As members of the AAEC, we thought, “Hey, what about our point of view? Why not a show about the first amendment and how the Bush Administration has been trying to gut it in the name of ‘patriotism’ and ‘national security’?” After dozens of phone calls and endless logistical gymnastics, cartoonist Matt Wuerker, my partner Gary Huck, and I succeeded in getting a show to coincide with the AAEC convention.

We had lots to work with. Under the guise of the USA PATRIOT Act—an acronym for the ludicrously named “Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism” Act—Bush et al. were poking holes the size of Texas in the Constitution in an all-out effort to stifle dissent and criminalize otherwise innocuous behavior. Administration puff daddy Ari Fleischer issued the warning: “You need to watch what you say.” The mainstream media (i.e. kept press) snapped to attention.

For cartoonists, questioning the government as it marches off to war is a dicey proposition. If you freelance, nobody will print your work. If you’re on staff, you tussle with editors and readers and risk getting fired. In either case, you can end up a victim of your own self-censorship, fearful of repercussions if you don’t.

Happily, there are still enough cartoonists who aren’t afraid to get a little blood on their brush. Some 50 cartoonists supplied us with copies of their work, critical of everything from Bush’s “war on terrorism” to privatization of Social Security and more. Damn the torpedoes, full speed ahead. These folks don’t fool around.

The show includes works from some high profile staff and freelance cartoonists—Aaron McGruder, Tom Tomorrow, Clay Bennett, Ted Rall and others. We also have the “censored” cartoons that got Todd Persche of the Baraboo, WI News Republic abruptly fired and Mike Marland of Concord, NH Monitor verbally flogged by Ari Fleischer for being “as wrong as wrong can be.”

So far the show has been exhibited by the Institute for Policy Studies in Washington, DC, the City University of New York, and the Community Folk Art Center in Syracuse, NY. With time and financial support, we can keep it on the road, bringing it to communities and college campuses in conjunction with panel discussions about what the government is doing in our name.

The Bush Administration is flexing its military muscle abroad and shredding the Constitution at home. Whether out of fear, apathy or ignorance, the public—“we the people”—have had no say about any of this. We hope our show will get people to think, to question, to challenge and debate, and ultimately to act.

Our democracy is at risk. A full and open debate is more crucial than ever. The cartoons in our show are not “as wrong as wrong can be.” They are as American as America can be. They are Patriot Art.

For more information about USA PATRIOT Art and pictures of the cartoons on display, go to the Huck/Konopacki Labor Cartoons website: http://solidarity.com/hkcartoons.
Nothing gets under someone’s skin more effectively than a sharp, simple and brutally conceived political cartoon. It is almost unfair to expect an offended reader to take on a well executed editorial cartoon with only a letter-to-the-editor. It is too late because the shot has already left the barrel; the picture has been seen and slammed into the reader’s brain.

Not only are editorial cartoons extremely effective in angering readers, but they can help communicate complex ideas to people possibly unfamiliar with certain issues in the news. As a Latino cartoonist with a large Latino fan base, I find it most satisfying when a reader will thank me for a certain cartoon. It’s not that I tell people what to think. These letters almost always will say, “thank you for helping me articulate what I was already thinking.” That’s satisfaction!

Cartooning Post-9/11

Lately, my work has been personally affected by one issue more than any other: terrorism. This single issue has trumped all other topics in my editorial cartoons, not only in what subject matter I draw about but in simply getting any of my cartoons published.

September 11th. That was the day that launched a thousand weeping Statue of Liberty editorial cartoons. This was the gut response from many—and I mean practically all—working and syndicated editorial cartoonists in the US.

That day I drew an innocuous “911” on a black outline of the USA. That was as much as this freaked out cartoonist could muster. Like many others, I too backed off from the cruel and much deserved mockery of the less than genius President George W. Bush, at least for a little while. A year later and I can proudly say I’ve been back to normal for more than half the year.

What I did to admittedly censor myself was to examine the edges of the whole tragic 9/11 situation and poke at what was still going wrong. The business of the US was going as usual. Racial and cultural minorities were still being harassed and unfairly blamed for the terror attacks. Immigrant airport workers were being rousted and “swept” from their low wage jobs. Everyone’s civil liberties were being snipped away, bit by bit.

Instead of showing Bush as an incompetent idiot for a cheap laugh, I did editorial cartoons about anti-Arab discrimination. I drew about the plight of the immigrant airport workers who were bearing the prosecutorial brunt of John Ashcroft’s Justice Department. I portrayed the Statue of Liberty wearing an orange jumpsuit, blindfolded and manacled like a Guantanamo Bay terrorist detainee. I received a record 11 e-mails in just two hours after this cartoon was published on-line. Here’s a sampling:

Why are all the cartoons on this site liberal? Must have gone to a liberal art school.”

Under the subject heading “Poor taste,” another offended viewer sent this message: “Your talents were reflected poorly in your depiction of Lady Liberty. You have no sense of respect and dignity for the USA or Lady Liberty.”

One writer asked: “Where were you when the brains were passed out?” This writer misspelled “idiot” in his subject heading; apparently I was getting stoned with him when the brains were passed out.

The rest of the e-mails were mostly in the same vein, although the hate letters I receive usually contain the phrase, “Go back to Mexico.” I guess September 11 has reorganized our priorities.

Patriotic Pressure

I drew another cartoon about the experience I had when I left my studio for dinner. It was “Honk for America” night, and neighborhood people were lined up on intersections around my town and holding up placards and shouting their support for America. As the cartoon shows, I was verbally abused by a wino who did not like the fact that I did not wish to honk my truck horn, not because I am some kind of traitorous supporter of Al Qaeda, but because I feel my right to privacy was being violated by these demonstrators. They wanted me to worship with them, and I had no desire to do so.

I was also accosted on-line about my patriotism. Someone demanded I publish a “Sympathy Statement” on my website in honor of the 9/11 victims. Why? Apparently this Latino guy wanted me to prove that “Hispanics are patriotic too.”

Being the only openly Latino editorial cartoonist in syndication in the US puts me in a curious position. I gladly carry the standard for immigrants’ rights and minority rights, not just because I am the son of immigrants and a person of color, but because I believe in these things. Some progressive white cartoonists feel the same way as I do, but they will never be perceived as “one note” cartoonists. Even if ninety percent of my next cartoons focus on “mainstream issues,” I will still be perceived as “the Latino cartoonist.” At least it makes my work stand out, as it is a rarity to not be a white male editorial cartoonist, regardless of political persuasion.

When it comes to certain issues, like immigration policy, my hate mail becomes really hateful and personal. It might surprise these writers, but going back to where I came from puts me in San Diego, California, which at this publication is still part of the Union.

One particularly irate man wrote:
You obviously hate conservatives; but you particularly hate conservatives who happen to be Hispanic or Black who have enough sense to work hard and achieve and accomplish things on their own (and don't) ... bitch that the Whitey establishment is out to destroy them and hold them down.

I'm a Whitey, and I don't see any special privilege in my skin color, or lack of color, as you would probably proclaim. . . .

To you and people like you, I say, get the fuck out of this country if you don't like it here. Go back to Mexico, or Africa, or wherever the fuck you feel like you could be more at home and more successful [sic].

Censorship and Struggle

Since 9/11 some big newspapers have cut back on running my cartoons. Some have dropped me altogether. In one large client paper, my cartoons have run once or twice since that date. I have not watered down my cartoons (and I don't really think the quality of my work has somehow suffered, quite the opposite), and I think I may be paying the price of free speech. I sometimes wonder if some editors expected cutesy cartoons about Cinco de Mayo or Ricky Martin and are shocked to read what I have to say.

To prove "things have gotten back to normal," I have included above the cartoon back to normal.

Lalo Alcaraz has produced editorial cartoons for LA Weekly since 1992 and has recently been syndicated by Universal Press Syndicate. This fall he launches La Cucaracha, his new daily comic strip in newspapers nationwide. For more information, visit www.lacucaracha.com.

So, What Happened to the Color?

A Review of Attitude: The New Subversive Political Cartoonists
Edited by Ted Rall

TY DEPASS

A political cartoonist uses a critical eye, pen, and ink to bring new symbols, metaphors, and insights to the public dialogue. Uncle Sam, the Republican elephant, and the Oligarch—all visual icons—are woven into the fabric of mass culture. Unable to hide behind a facade of words, political cartoonists are, by nature of the medium, overtly satirical and nakedly partisan. The mistruths, pretensions, and rationalizations of the powerful merely sharpen the wit, the politics, and the pens of good cartoonists. In their best moments, political cartoonists have played a role in changing the fortunes of political regimes.

In 1871, William Marcey ("Boss") Tweed reputedly offered a half-million dollars for Thomas Nast, Harper's Weekly cartoonist, to study art in Europe. "Stop them damn pictures," Tweed told henchmen. "I don't care so much what the papers write about me. My constituents can't read. But damn it, they can see pictures." Credited with eventually helping topple the Tammany Hall Ring, Nast's hard-hitting series of some 50 drawings were noted for biting commentary, bold design, and elaborate cross-hatching—qualities disparaged as banal and out-dated in the foreword of Attitude: The New Subversive Political Cartoonists.

Seeking a place in this tradition, "subversive" is Ted Rall's description of 21 political cartoonists (himself included) assembled in Attitude. The self-styled "bad boy" of contemporary political counterculture, Rall introduces "a genre of cartoonists... too alternative for the mainstream and too mainstream for the underground," folks who "revel in anger about issues that matter to ordinary people."

Unfortunately with the notable exceptions of Lalo Alcaraz, Joe Sharpnack, and Matt Wuerker, Rall's selections seem curiously silent on racial justice issues and conspicuously devoid of people of color.

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Moreover, the work of featured artists is burdened by interviews ostensibly intended to provide some “personal ephemera...to contextualize their visions.” But the overriding impression that is it’s all about Ted Rall—his interests, opinions, and frustrations, his need for respect and recognition. Rall says he tried “to make this book as comprehensive as possible,” stating that contributors were selected for their overt political content and commitment to publishing in alternative-weeklies. But the absence of “The Boondocks,” Aaron McGruder’s nationally syndicated—and always deliciously subversive—comic strip is particularly disturbing.

“Ordinary” White-ness

If nothing else, today’s urban American apartheid demonstrates that little has changed since slavery. Most whites can avoid direct exposure to most non-whites, contributing to their collective ignorance about and disrespect toward people of color. Whites are generally able to choose their neighbors, associates, and conditions of work.

By contrast, there are precious few instances when people of color can influence the cultural, political, and ideological biases of whiteness. Whites expect to have a voice in decisions affecting their lives and livelihoods; whereas the voices and perspectives of people of color are habitually muted, our words subject to reinterpretation, if not outright censorship.

In the American context, then, appealing to the concerns and interests of “ordinary people” means whiteness is the point of departure. The contributors to this volume are artists righteously indignant about the corruption, greed, and uncaring cynicism of corporate capitalism. The notion that the existence of haves and have-nots is natural, inevitable, or divinely inspired is hotly refuted. They gleefully heap scathing criticism on a government that clearly serves and protects the interests and privileges of wealth.

Accordingly, global warming, corporate malfeasance, political extremism, and white suburban angst over the shrinking content of The American Dream figure prominently.

Yet, as Rall himself points out, most of his contributors are white males, a narrow spectrum of social and political ways of knowing—presenting a serious political dilemma for a book claiming to be a platform for subversive politics.

In Attitude the voices and worldview of people of color generally have very little presence. Only the strips submitted by Lalo Alcaraz (La Cucaracha), Matt Wuerker (Lint Trap), and Joe Sharpnack break out of this bind, although in his interviews with these artists, Rall repeatedly stumbles over the place of race-consciousness in political commentary. As my Great Aunt Sissy might have said, “He thinks he smells the coffee, but he’s only sniffing his upper lip.”

For example, asking if Wuerker might endorse Newt Gingrich’s proposal for “class-based affirmative action,” Rall raises that old chestnut of college admissions where “well-off (black or Latino) applicants” are given preference over poor whites “simply because of their skin color.” Wuerker’s deft riposte is, “You can’t think that 30 years of poorly shaped affirmative action programs can even begin to counter the damage done by centuries of virulent racism and discrimination.”

Likewise, responding to being clumsily pigeonholed as “a Latino cartoonist,” Alcaraz’s blunt rejoinder: “Yeah, just because I’m a Latino cartoonist doesn’t mean I’m a foreigner, I was born here, dang!”

Once establishing that “by definition, a Chicano is a politically-conscious and self-aware Mexican-American,” Alcaraz proceeds to shred his interrogator’s assumptions about bilingual education (Rall: “After all, you’d have a hard time making it in Kazakhstan if you didn’t focus on learning Kazakh”), anti-immigrant legislation (Rall: “Tell our readers whether every Californian who voted for Prop.187 is a racist scumbag”), and the anti-Chicano biases of white Californians (Rall: “It’s confusing to a non-Californian—all the coolest aspects of California culture, like the architecture and food, derive from Mexico. So what’s the deal—really?”).

On Being Subversive

Still, the premise of Attitude is right: cartoons can be subversive. While most of the nation was still reeling from the September 11 attacks, rallying ‘round the flag and god-blessing America, Huey Freeman, pint-sized revolutionary, was calling the FBI’s terrorism tip-line to report “several Americans who have helped train and finance Osama bin Laden...R-E-A-G-H-E-LLO? Hello?” Daunted when the New York Daily News and Long Island’s Newsday dropped the strip for a month, McGruder retaliated with “Flagee and Ribbon,” skewering the hyper-patriotism of post-911 America.

Since then, McGruder has been merciless in his exposure of the hypocrisy, double-speak, and misinformation generated by the Bush Administration and promoted by mainstream media. As most stood by mutely, McGruder gave high-fives for Rep. Barbara Lee’s courageous stand against anti-terrorist hysteria in Congress, chiding the members of the Congressional Black Caucus for punking out on her. (Subversive enough for you?)

There are miles of difference between empty posturing and taking a controversial stand for the truth. If Rall were serious about showcasing the work of “subversive political cartoonists” and addressing issues that matter to “[the rest of us] ordinary people,” what happened to the color?
Political Cartoons Give You the Picture

CAROL SCHACHET

War, starvation, George Bush's war drumbeat, labor struggles: Those are not funny. Okay, maybe a little bit. By finding the humor—poignant and often ironic—in such dire political events, cartoonists can help deepen a reader's understanding of the world, challenge assumptions and even occasionally open a mind.

While the range of printed political opinion narrows to the point of making an administration press office obsolete, progressive political cartoons still make the pages of mainstream newspapers. At least sometimes. Blistering critiques by Matt Wuerker, Kirk Anderson, Aaron McGruder (see below) and a handful of others poking holes (and fun) at the inane policies of the current powers-that-be often appear next to op-ed pieces that offer no critical analysis whatsoever. The presence of such cartoons can offer the only challenges to the dominant "thinking" that appear in the paper.

Besides their political content, cartoons offer a more amorphous power: Humor. The ability to laugh at a situation—even if the laugh is painfully provoked—can open up the mind in a way that intellectual argument cannot. As Mike Konopacki observed, "Cartoons get people to listen to things that they otherwise wouldn't listen to because they're funny."

Since in theory a picture is worth 1,000 words, I'll let the graphics below illustrate the point. Some of these cartoons were printed in major papers, others in alternative media, and still others turned away by [let's call them] cautious editors. Space limits the artists shown, but more can be seen at www.zmag.org/cartoons.

Carol Schachet edits the Resist Newsletter, which can be a laughing matter from time to time.

Editor's Note

For the select few who are not daily readers of the comics, "The Boondocks" has been indefinitely replaced by the uproarious fun of "The Adventures of Huey and Ribbon."

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RESIST Newsletter Page 7
Resist awards grants six times a year to groups throughout the United States engaged in activism for social and economic justice here at home and abroad. Below we list a few grant recipients from our October 2002 allocation cycle. For information, contact the groups at the addresses below.

Nevada Young Activist Project
1101 Riverside Drive, Reno, NV 89503
www.nyap-online.org

The youth-led, adult-assisted Nevada Young Activist Project is building a loud, grassroots youth constituency able to participate in the progressive movement throughout Nevada. Founded in 2001 by the Progressive Leadership Alliance of Nevada, NYAP seeks to become the first statewide group to conduct organizing, fund raising, and education training on critical issues that affect youth specifically. NYAP has created a sustainable, citywide program working against Nevada’s anti-gay initiative and around HIV/AIDS, teen pregnancy, and alternative schools.

RESIST awarded NYAP $3,000 for general support.

Student/Farmworker Alliance
PO Box 603, Immokalee, FL 34143;
sfw_alliance@hotmail.com

The Student/Farmworker Alliance formed in 2001 as a network of students from three universities allied with the Coalition of Immokalee Workers, which was calling for a boycott of Taco Bell. SFA now includes 10 branches with ties to over 150 universities and high schools and many national student organizations. Recently, SFA organized a 17-day, cross-country “Taco Bell Truth Tour” with 70 farmworkers and 35 students, culminating in a rally at Taco Bell headquarters.

RESIST awarded SFA $2,500 for its “Boot the Bell” campaign to get the company’s products out of middle and high schools and colleges, with an ultimate goal of confronting exploitation within the entire corporate food industry.

Bitterroot Human Rights Alliance
PO Box 915, Hamilton, MT 59840

The Bitterroot Human Rights Alliance has worked since 1994 to counter the Christian Right and Wise-Use movements, which, along with neo-Nazism, have found the Bitterroot Valley a fertile home. The Alliance mobilizes the Valley’s progressive constituencies to work against the predominant forces promoting white supremacy, anti-choice, homophobia, censorship, and anti-environmentalism.

RESIST awarded the Alliance $3,000 for general support as it initiates a new public education media campaign promoting pluralism and justice.

Multi-Ethnic Immigrant Organizing Network (MIWON)
2533 W 3rd Street, Suite A
Los Angeles, CA 90057

MIWON is a collaborative effort of the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates, the Pilipino Workers Center, the Coalition for the Humane Rights of Los Angeles, and the Garment Workers’ Center. The network, which is made up of low-wage and contingent workers in the Los Angeles area, organizes and educates immigrant workers about their rights and develops leadership from different ethnic communities.

RESIST awarded MIWON a grant of $2,500 for general support as it organizes workers to be primary actors in the fight for immigrant worker rights.

Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace
901 W 14th Avenue, Suite 7, Denver, CO 80204; www ccmepe org

Working actively since 1997 against US military action and sanctions in Iraq, the Colorado Campaign for Middle East Peace has also begun working around Israel/Palestine. CCMEP helped to prevent the passage of a state resolution affirming singular solidarity with Israel, sent delegations to the West Bank where members have worked with Palestinians and Israelis against the Occupation, and worked with Colorado-based Palestinian rights groups.

RESIST awarded CCMEP a grant of $2,500 to hire two staff organizers.