

10-31-1998

## Resist Newsletter, Oct. 1998

Resist

Follow this and additional works at: <https://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/resistnewsletter>

---

### Recommended Citation

Resist, "Resist Newsletter, Oct. 1998" (1998). *Resist Newsletters*. 307.  
<https://digitalrepository.trincoll.edu/resistnewsletter/307>

*Funding social change since 1967*

# RESIST

ISSN 0897-2613 • Vol. 7 #8

*A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority*

October 1998

## Challenging the Media Machine

*Progressive Activists Demand Accuracy in Mainstream Media*

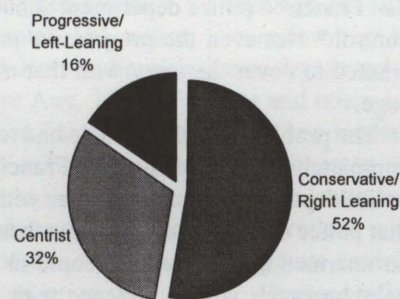
Norman Solomon

Mainstream news outlets are usually quite receptive to conservative messages—and no institutions have taken better advantage of that fact than think tanks such as the Heritage Foundation, the American Enterprise Institute and the Cato Institute. In recent years, according to the Nexis data base, those three corporate-backed organizations have been among the four think tanks that are most quoted and cited by major media in the United States.

Significantly, the other think tank in the top tier of media visibility, the Brookings Institution, is widely regarded as “liberal” despite the fact that Republicans hold key posts there. The resume of Brookings’ current president, Michael Armacost, includes stints as undersecretary of state for the Reagan administration and ambassador to Japan under Bush. The two most prominent analysts at Brookings, Richard Haass and Stephen Hess, served in Republican administrations.

While lacking the enormous financial resources of pro-corporate think tanks and the hospitality accorded those think tanks by the big media, progressives could do a better job of asserting themselves in the media fray. Although outfits like Heritage and Cato enjoy some overwhelming advantages that are denied to progressives—including a lot of money and numerous allies

1997 Media Citations of Think Tanks By Political Ideology



Source: Nexis database search of major newspapers and radio and TV transcripts.

in media high places—there are also some large gaps due to inadequate strategic priorities among progressives. Overall, we spend a much smaller proportion of our time and budgets on assertive media work. (For example, the Heritage Foundation devotes about 40 percent of its \$29 million annual budget to some form of media outreach.)

Not all of the right’s advantages in the propaganda wars are due to objective conditions of money and media access. Progressives have tended to self-marginalize by hanging back from fighting for space in mainstream media or by doing a substandard job when we do fight for that space. The left has lacked institutions that can engage in the kind of tenacious, day-in day-out, ongoing media combat that has

been a key element of right-wing successes in shaping the bounds of public debate.

### Getting the Fax Straight

Two years ago, I began to talk with some people about setting up an organization to quickly challenge the latest media output of major think tanks and to put forward progressive analysis of crucial issues. We named the project the Institute for Public Accuracy (IPA). In October 1997, IPA opened its national office in San Francisco—and in April 1998 our media office went into operation at the National Press Building in Washington, DC.

During the spring and summer of 1998, IPA put out about 50 news releases—with an emphasis on speed, clarity and assertive responses to breaking news. We’ve taken on issues ranging from Social Security and welfare to global warming, federal budget priorities and the U.S. missile attacks on Sudan and Afghanistan. Sometimes we’ve contested specific claims by think tanks, such as widely publicized reports urging privatization of Social Security. Other times we’ve addressed events such as the nuclear bomb tests by India and Pakistan. In all cases, we’ve tried to widen the customary center-right debate by promoting the views of progressive scholars, researchers and activists.

Within a few minutes, IPA is able to distribute a news release—via “blast fax” and

*continued on page six*

# Getting Media Into Focus

## Changing News Coverage of Police Brutality in San Francisco

VAN JONES

In the fall of 1996, the San Francisco Police Review Commission held hearings on the death of Aaron Williams, an African-American man suspected of a \$50 pet store burglary who died in police custody. According to witnesses and police sources, a team of police led by Officer Marc Andaya repeatedly kicked Williams in the head and emptied three canisters of pepper spray into his face. Despite the fact that Williams was having difficulty breathing, the police finally hog-tied, gagged and left him unattended in the back of a police van, where he died.

My organization, the Ella Baker Center for Human Rights, and our project, Bay Area PoliceWatch, organized around this case for two years. This is our experience changing news coverage around the case and how it affected our organizing campaign for justice for Aaron Williams.

The few news reports were ridiculously biased. The coverage made it look like Aaron Williams hadn't been beaten to death, but died because of a strange new malady, "sudden in-custody death syndrome." That's how the *San Francisco Chronicle* (4/8/96), the Bay Area's leading daily newspaper, described a new phenomenon in which victims of police beatings inexplicably die, but it's somehow not a result of those beatings.

### Plan to Resist!

Consider a bequest to Resist when you plan your estate.

Planned giving assures that the work for social change continues.

Since Resist is a tax-exempt 501(c)3 organization, your gift will go into the hands of activist organizations, not the government's coffers.

For more information, write to: Resist, 259 Elm Street, Suite 201, Somerville, MA 02144.

As often happens in coverage of police brutality, news reports during the hearings focused on the background and alleged misdeeds of the victim. In Williams' case, coverage focused on his alleged drug problem and referred to him as a parolee. There was virtually no mention of Andaya's record, which included 37 prior complaints of police brutality, five lawsuits alleging racism and abuse, and one other death of an unarmed man of color.

### Examining the Message

After we lost the initial hearings, we brought in We Interrupt this Message, a media activist organization that specializes in working with groups that face media stereotypes and biased coverage. They asked us to tell them what our initial media message and organizing goal had been.

Our initial media message had been "the San Francisco police department is out of control." Not even the progressive press wanted to cover the story with that message.

The problem was that people had to be completely critical of the San Francisco police department in order to agree with us that police officers shouldn't have beaten an unarmed man to death. People in the neighborhoods with experience with police brutality might agree with that message, but what about people from communities which rarely suffer from police brutality?

What we were really asking people to agree with us about was not particularly radical at all. Most people would agree that cops shouldn't beat unarmed people to death. So we focused on that.

And we had defined our goal as justice for Aaron Williams and his family. As a media message, that was too vague. When Kim Deterline from Interrupt asked us what "justice for Aaron" would look like, what we really wanted the police commission to do, we said, "Fire Marc Andaya." She said, "Say that."

Like most grassroots groups, we knew exactly what our organizing goal was—we just didn't think we could say it to the media. We were thinking of media as separate from, rather than in support of, our organizing effort.

For Aaron Williams and the thousands of police brutality victims across the country, reframing media coverage is a prerequisite to any kind of justice.

### Strategic Challenges

The next step was to look at the strategic media challenges ahead. Given the biased media coverage so far, the Ella Baker Center faced three challenges in achieving good coverage for the second round of

*continued on page three*



For information and grant guidelines, write to: Resist, 259 Elm Street, Suite 201 Somerville, MA 02144 [www.resistinc.org](http://www.resistinc.org)

*Resist Newsletter* is published ten times a year by Resist, Inc., (617)623-5110. The views expressed in articles, other than editorials, are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions of the Resist staff or board.

Resist Staff: Robin Carton  
Carol Schachet  
Resist Intern: Colleen Ferguson

Newsletter Editor: Carol Schachet  
Printing: Red Sun Press

Printed on Recycled Paper with soy ink



---

---

The coverage's focus went from Aaron Williams' background to Marc Andaya's record to the institutional factors which allow police brutality to happen—proving that you can use an individual story to talk about institutional issues.

---

---

*continued from page two*

hearings on the case. We had to rehumanize Aaron Williams, shift the focus from Williams to Andaya and establish institutional accountability for what had happened.

We had to rehumanize Williams because he had been demonized in the press. We had to rehumanize Williams so people who had heard about the case through the media could see him as something besides a crackhead parolee who happened to die, and the loss to Williams' family was felt by the community as a whole.

Next, we had to shift the frame and the focus of the story from the background and history of Aaron Williams, the victim, to the past misdeeds of Marc Andaya, the perpetrator. Shifting the focus of coverage to Andaya's background and record—which is where it should have been in the first place—was key to changing public opinion on the case.

Finally, we also had to establish institutional accountability for the police brutality that was happening in our communities. We had to put a name and a face to who was responsible for what happened in that neighborhood. And we needed to turn the tables and hold the police commission accountable for letting cops get away with murder.

#### Sharpening the Target

Since the police commission had the power to fire Andaya and they were appointed by the mayor, we came up with a much sharper target: Mayor Willie Brown's police commission. We started putting it in terms of "Willie Brown's police commission protecting the Bay Area's Mark Fuhrman." "If Willie Brown's police commission doesn't fire Marc Andaya, Aaron Williams' blood is on Willie Brown's hands."

Our media strategy became integrated with our organizing campaign. Our primary

tactic was to stop business-as-usual at the police commission, bringing 100 to 200 people to every police commission meeting and having the media there to broadcast it all. This constantly ratcheted up the pressure on the police commission, and on Mayor Brown to do something about the commission.

Brown, who had been in the background, was suddenly in the hot seat. Andaya, who had been presented as this nice police officer who had unfortunately had somebody die on him with some strange malady, became what he was, which was a menace and a terror to the African-American community. And Aaron Williams, who before had been some black crackhead who happened to die, became a valued member of a community and part of a family that was devastated by his loss.

#### Victory for the Community

In a four-week period, we got close to two hours of television coverage. The story went from being buried to the front page. And it made the front page repeatedly for several weeks. We also shifted the coverage dramatically. Both the *San Francisco Chronicle* and the *Examiner* editorialized against the police commission for refusing to fire Marc Andaya. The coverage's focus went from Aaron Williams' background to Marc Andaya's record to the institutional factors which allow police brutality to happen—proving that you can use an individual story to talk about institutional issues.

But more importantly for our communities, we collapsed the police commission. By the time the campaign was over, all three of the commissioners who had initially sided with Andaya had been removed or had quit because of the tidal wave of media and community attention. And as a result of unprecedented community pressure,

Marc Andaya was fired.

On the day that Marc Andaya was finally kicked out of the police department, the major stations interviewed Williams' aunt. Her voice broke when she said, "Now I can go to my nephew's grave. . . and tell him we got some justice for him." For Aaron Williams and the thousands of police brutality victims across the country, reframing media coverage is a prerequisite to any kind of justice.

---

*Van Jones is director of the Ella Baker Community Center for Human Rights in California and Bay Area PoliceWatch. Resist awarded a grant to the Bay Area PoliceWatch in 1996. This article is adapted with permission from Extra! (May/June 1998). For more information about Bay Area PoliceWatch contact them at 301 Mission Street, Suite 301, San Francisco, CA 94105.*

### Media Resources

Center on Blacks and the Media  
HYPE WebZine  
770/322-6653  
<http://pan.afrikan.net/hype>

Fairness and Accuracy in  
Reporting (FAIR)/EXTRA!  
PO Box 170  
Congers, NY 10920-9930  
800/847-3993  
[www.fair.org](http://www.fair.org); [fair@fair.org](mailto:fair@fair.org)

Institute for Public Accuracy  
65 Ninth Street, Suite Three  
San Francisco, CA 94103  
[institute@igc.org](mailto:institute@igc.org);  
[www.accuracy.org](http://www.accuracy.org).

Public Media Center  
466 Green Street, Suite 300  
San Francisco, CA 94133  
415/434-1403

We Interrupt This Message  
965 Mission Street, Suite 220  
San Francisco, CA 94103  
415/537-9437; [interrupt@igc.org](mailto:interrupt@igc.org)

YO! (Youth Outlook)  
660 Market Street, Room 210  
San Francisco, CA 94104  
415/438-4755; [yo@pacificnews.org](mailto:yo@pacificnews.org)  
[www.pacificnews.org/yo/](http://www.pacificnews.org/yo/)

# Blunting the Wedge

## Lessons Learned in Fighting the Right

BRAD ERICKSON AND  
CHINA BROTSKY

The Christian and the Republican Right have had great success politically in the US over the last decade using wedge strategies to divide potential allies and move their own agenda. The organizing for the anti-affirmative action Proposition 209 in California successfully divided white women from people of color. Nationally, African-American churches are being organized to oppose gay rights. In the Pacific Northwest and beyond, mining and logging corporations have funded pseudo-populist groups to organize timber workers and miners to see environmental regulation rather than economic globalization as the source for their job instability.

Appealing to valid fears about declining job security, education or environmental quality, wedge strategies use scapegoating to direct fears and frustration towards immigrants and people of color, or unions, or environmentalists and away from the corporations and political structures which actually bear primary responsibility for these problems.

The greening of hate organizing and in particular the anti-immigrant initiative in the Sierra Club are a clear case of wedge politics. This attempt to scapegoat immigrants in the name of environmental protection was opposed in the end by Sierra Club staff, the Board of Directors, many grassroots activists and the majority of voting members. But many club activists credited the Political Ecology Group (PEG) and its ongoing Immigration and the Environment Campaign as having provided the political context and direction for their success.

Wedge politics were dealt a strong defeat in the Sierra Club. But the anti-immigration forces definitely haven't given up, in fact they've pledged to try again in 1999. A clear picture of PEG's winning strategies can help us fight these tactics here and in other movements:

1. The first thing we did was to take a long view of the trend we call the greening of hate and identify all the ways to change it. We knew we couldn't do it all at once,

but we could map out a multi-year plan that would build on each year's accomplishments. We began our campaign in 1995, a few months before Proposition 187 passed in California. We knew that win or lose, 187 was just the beginning and that scapegoating immigrants was going to be part of the political landscape for years into the foreseeable future.

We defined a problem: that immigrants

Statement from allies in the environmental, environmental justice and immigrant rights communities and thus lay the basis for continuing action with them against the advocates of the greening of hate. When the debate began in the Sierra Club, we were prepared.

3. Third, we directly addressed the concern. We said "We need to protect the environment but restricting immigration won't save one tree. We need to stop logging companies from clear cutting ancient forests and stop corporate polluters from fouling our air and water." We addressed the same concerns as our opponents but di-

---

[W]edge strategies use scapegoating to direct fears and frustration . . . away from the corporations and political structures which actually bear primary responsibility for these problems.

---

and environmentalists were being pitted against one another while the laws that protect both human rights and the environment were on the chopping block. And we defined a positive mission: to bring the environmental and immigrant rights movements together to reframe the debate and organize to protect the environment and the health, human rights and livelihoods of all our communities.

2. Second, we studied and learned about the issue. Our members got together for study groups. We became a grassroots think tank. We forged our own analysis and developed a position that discredited the right and put forth our own positive vision. Our position was rooted in our politics: confronting environmental destruction, racism, sexism, homophobia and corporate power. We studied our opponents, their history and politics.

We developed a Position Statement for the Immigration and Environment Campaign which took an environmental justice approach to the issues, targeted corporate greed and overconsumption as the true source of environmental degradation, condemned scapegoating and identified immigrants as essential allies and leaders of the movement for environmental protection. We sought endorsements for the Position

rected action to the real causes and away from scapegoating.

4. Fourth, we appealed to people's moral sense. We said "Scapegoating immigrants is wrong. Blaming immigrants for our problems is mean-spirited." We took the moral high ground.

5. Fifth, we developed a winning message and we did professional media work. We didn't cede the terms of debate to our opponents. We never accepted their assertion that immigrants are bad for the environment. We never got into debates about what the appropriate level of immigration should be. We had a consistent message, we stayed on message, and we were able to keep our allies on message. A lot of the credit goes to We Interrupt this Message, a group here in San Francisco that helps marginalized communities get their message heard.

We forced our opposition to respond to our message. We publicized the fact that many of the anti-immigration groups lobbying the Sierra Club explicitly appealed to white supremacy and white nationalism in their materials. When our opponents responded to these negative disclosures, it was a losing message for them.

6. Sixth, we educated the constituent

*continued on page five*

*continued from page four*

cies targeted by our opposition. One of the lessons from Prop 187 was the need for constituent education. Our friends in the immigrant rights movement who fought 187 told us that although they got the leadership of a wide range of organizations to oppose 187, in the end, many of the members of those same groups ended up voting with the general public. The constituents needed to hear from their organizations. They needed to know why their leaders opposed 187. But for the most part, they only heard from 187's supporters who took constituent education very seriously. This constituent education is a key aspect of right-wing wedge organizing.

As early as 1995 we saw that environmentalists were being systematically targeted by the anti-immigration lobby. They got on the agenda at environmental conferences. They wrote articles for environmental publications. They did media work to promote their message. They published and distributed materials. They worked on endorsement drives to gain support for their positions. To the best of our capacity, we did all the same things. It is essential that the audience targeted by our opponents also gets to hear our side.

7. Seventh, we fought racism but we didn't call our constituents—the folks we were trying to organize—racist. When the Sierra Club debate on immigration arose, some people were quick to call the Sierra Club racist. We made it clear that anti-immigrant groups outside the Sierra Club had targeted the Club and were trying to co-opt environmentalists to endorse a racist agenda that had nothing to do with protecting the environment. Members of the Club could reject racism by voting no on Alternative A.

8. Eighth, we exploited the weaknesses of our opponents. Despite superior financial resources, our opponents had several weaknesses. Their main weakness was their own far right politics which made many environmentalists queasy. We discredited our opposition by exposing their nastier side. And we always quoted their own materials and statements to do so. While our long term goal is to discredit the message and reframe the debate, in the short term, discrediting the messenger also raised doubts and weakened their support.

Additionally, as single-issue groups, these organizations had done no direct

---

## We addressed the same concerns as our opponents but directed action to the real causes and away from scapegoating.

---

work to solve environmental problems and they hadn't built trust by working in coalitions, except among themselves. PEG on the other hand had a long history of doing environmental organizing. We had successfully fought to speed up the international phase out of methyl bromide, a pesticide which poisons immigrant farmworkers and destroys the ozone layer. We had worked with the immigrant community in Kettleman City to stop a giant hazardous waste incinerator from being built in California. When the Alternative A proponents denounced us as "social justice advocates masquerading as environmentalists" their attacks had little credence.

9. Ninth they had more money, we had more allies. The participation and support of our allies in the environmental, environmental justice and immigrant rights movements was a critical component of success. Our allies were united around a common message and helped communicate that message broadly. They threw their support behind the progressive Sierra Club members who opposed the anti-immigration position. Many included us and our message in their conferences and newsletters and they integrated our analysis into their own work. This didn't happen overnight. We built many of these relationships through years of collaboration and coalition work on common goals. And it wasn't one-way: we learned about the campaigns our allies were working on and supported them as concretely as we could. We built and strengthened strategic alliances based on shared politics and made sure our message had a lot of messengers.

Starting with organizational and individual endorsers of our original Position Statement, as various events came up, we could ask the same groups for their support on specific demands or actions, each of which acted on the original statement and reinforced our central message. Other organizations also felt that the outcome of the Sierra Club vote was politically important as a strand against the right's wedge campaigns. They organized and carried out their own activities against the greening of

hate in Oregon, Washington, Texas and Massachusetts.

10. Tenth, and finally, of course there was a lot of organizing at the base. PEG members put time and energy into this campaign. We organized dialogues that brought immigrants and environmentalists face to face, we produced and distributed educational materials, we organized endorsement drives for progressive positions on immigration and environment, we did outreach at conferences, campuses, street fairs and street corners, we organized workshops, trainings and presentations, we talked to reporters and wrote letters to the editor, and we built and strengthened all kinds of alliances.

Now we have the opportunity to build on success. But we have to recognize that the fight is not over. The anti-immigrant camp has vowed to bring another immigration control measure to a vote by the Sierra Club next year. We also have to hold the Sierra Club accountable as an organization to implement measure "B" and not let anti-immigration advocates undermine the resolve of the vote. We may be calling on you for help in defending this victory.

Anti-immigrant attacks are alive and well in the US. But the failure of anti-immigrant forces to line up the Sierra Club on their side was a clear defeat for them. We're sharing our recipe for success in the hopes that others can adapt it to their own battles against the right's wedge campaigns. And we hope that everyone reading this can use these tactics to oppose the greening of hate wherever you encounter it. Together, we can organize to defend the environment, health, human rights and livelihoods of all our communities.

---

*Brad Erickson is PEG's Coordinator. China Brotsky is a member of PEG's Organizing Board. PEG received a grant from Resist in 1996. This article is reprinted with permission from Call to Action, Summer 1998, c/o PEG, 965 Mission, Suite 218, San Francisco, CA 94103; [www.igc.org/peg](http://www.igc.org/peg).*

*continued from page one*

e-mail—to more than 1,000 editors, reporters, columnists and talk show producers around the country. (See IPA's web site—[www.accuracy.org](http://www.accuracy.org)—for examples of news releases and related information.) We follow up quickly with an intensive blitz of phone calls to emphasize that the policy analysts quoted in IPA news releases are available to be interviewed.

The media reactions to IPA's news releases have varied widely. Sometimes the experts quoted in an IPA news release get few media calls; other times, they're deluged. Overall, the trend is encouraging: the news releases are leading to interviews and appearances in local, regional and national media outlets. And IPA's media office is receiving more and more unsolicited calls from journalists and producers looking for experts to interview on an array of subjects.

After several months of full operation, IPA has logged some encouraging successes. As a direct result of our media work, IPA communications director Sam Hussein appeared live on ABC's "Good Morning America;" progressive economist Mark Weisbrot appeared on the Fox News Channel; and numerous progressive activists and academicians aired on other national cable TV outlets, in addition to many local, regional and national radio talk shows. Our news releases have resulted in quotes appearing in the *New York Times*, *Newsday* and other daily papers, plus in articles by the Associated Press and other news services.

These are small but crucial steps toward creating progressive institutions that do consistent and effective media work. One thing that makes IPA unique is that—distinct from other valuable media projects—we do not let money affect which issues we take on and which individuals or organizations we promote for media visibility. In other words, IPA doesn't charge any of the people or groups that we publicize.

IPA's "Roster of Experts"—over 250 people at this writing—have agreed to be called upon on short notice to be interviewed in their areas of expertise. Some are scholars; many are part of progressive organizations, including former Resist grantees like the Center for Campus Organizing, Dollars and Sense, and Political Research Associates. In any event, without needing to satisfy paying clients, IPA can concentrate on trying to figure out which perspectives and experts to promote in the news

media at any given time.

It's only because of a few funders that IPA has been able to function with appreciable resources. A "Public Interest Pioneer" grant from the Stern Family Fund enabled me to found the Institute for Public Accuracy. The Florence and John Schumann Foundation and an individual donor made it possible for IPA to open its media office in Washington. The Arca Foundation and Deer Creek Foundation recently gave us grants. For the long run, it's essential that IPA widen its funding base.

Right now, the total budget of the Institute for Public Accuracy is about one percent of the Heritage Foundation budget. Despite the huge gap in financial resources, there are real possibilities for making a dent in the right-wing media machine.

A straw in the wind: last August, the *Baltimore Sun* published an article that I wrote, headlined "Foreign Funds Flow to

U.S. Think Tank: Heritage Foundation Mum on Ties to South Korea" (see box on page seven). The piece described the flow of \$1 million to the Heritage Foundation while that think tank testified on Capitol Hill about U.S.-Korean relations without disclosing its financial ties with the government in Seoul. The article also discussed the \$13 million that Asian corporations and wealthy donors have provided to Heritage's Asian Studies Center in Washington over the past 15 years. In response, the Heritage Foundation went ballistic.

When the article appeared on August 2 in the *Baltimore Sun*, and ran in several other daily papers within the next few days, a vice president of Heritage sent the offending newspapers a letter to the editor denouncing me and the Institute for Public Accuracy. (We, in turn, responded with rebuttal letters, which were printed as well.)

*continued on page seven*

## 1997 Think Tank Media Visibility

<u>Think Tank</u>	<u>Political Orientation</u>	<u># Citations (%)</u>
Brookings Institution .....	centrist .....	2,296 (16)
Heritage Foundation .....	conservative .....	1,813 (12)
American Enterprise Institute .....	conservative .....	1,323 (9)
Cato Institute .....	conservative/libertarian .....	1,286 (9)
RAND Corporation .....	center-right .....	865 (6)
Council on Foreign Relations .....	centrist .....	755 (5)
Center for Strategic & Int. Studies .....	conservative .....	668 (5)
Urban Institute .....	center-left .....	610 (4)
Economic Policy Institute .....	progressive .....	576 (4)
Freedom Forum .....	centrist .....	531 (4)
Hudson Institute .....	conservative .....	481 (3)
Institute for Internat. Economics .....	centrist .....	438 (3)
Cntr on Budget & Policy Priorities .....	progressive .....	425 (3)
Hoover Institution .....	conservative .....	355 (2)
Carnegie Endowment .....	centrist .....	352 (2)
Competitive Enterprise Institute .....	conservative .....	290 (2)
Manhattan Institute .....	conservative .....	261 (2)
Progressive Policy Institute .....	centrist .....	251 (2)
Internl Inst. for Strategic Studies .....	conservative .....	177 (1)
Institute for Policy Studies .....	progressive .....	172 (1)
Worldwatch Institute .....	progressive .....	168 (1)
Center for Defense Information .....	progressive .....	158 (1)
Jt Cntr for Political & Econ. Studies .....	center-left .....	158 (1)
Progress and Freedom Foundation .....	conservative .....	122 (1)
Reason Foundation .....	conservative/libertarian .....	92 (1)
TOTAL .....		14,623

Source: Nexis database search of major newspapers and radio and TV transcripts.

*continued from page six*

Heritage also distributed a memo under the heading: "Here is the Heritage Foundation's response to Mr. Solomon's charges." And in a private letter to the Sun's editorial page editor, the Heritage vice president charged that "Mr. Solomon . . . received a large grant

to conduct his jihad against Heritage."

But the truth is that the Institute for Public Accuracy has never been concerned only with the Heritage Foundation. From the outset, we've been working to challenge an array of powerful think tanks and the forces they represent.

*Norman Solomon is executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy. For more information or to support their work, contact: IPA, 65 Ninth Street, Suite 3, San Francisco, CA 94103; institute@ipc.org; www.accuracy.org.*

The following is excerpted from an article printed in the *Baltimore Sun*, August 2, 1998.

## Foreign Funds Flow to U.S. Think Tank

### *Heritage Foundation Mum On Ties To South Korea*

NORMAN SOLOMON

On Capitol Hill one day in late February 1995, a subcommittee on Asia and the Pacific heard testimony from Edwin J. Feulner Jr., the president of the Heritage Foundation. The witness praised South Korea as a key ally of the United States and urged closer cooperation between Washington and Seoul. And he criticized the Clinton administration for being too conciliatory toward the regime in North Korea.

Feulner's testimony was unremarkable, except that it did not mention a pertinent fact: His organization was in the midst of receiving large amounts of money from the South Korean government.

From 1993 through 1995, Heritage took in a total of \$1 million from the Korea Foundation—"funded by South Korea's Foreign Ministry"—the *Wall Street Journal* reported on Aug. 10, 1995. The newspaper added that the Korea Foundation "is an affiliate of the South Korean government, according to Yoo Lee, a spokesman for South Korea's embassy" in Washington.

The nation's capital, of course, is a place where double standards are routine. But consider this recent feat of ultra-hypocrisy: A few weeks ago, on July 14, the Heritage Foundation issued a report condemning lax compliance with a congressional rule that requires witnesses to disclose funding from the U.S. government.

The "Truth in Testimony" rule—first proposed by Heritage in May 1995 and adopted by the House of Representatives in January 1997—seems intended to stigmatize grants from the public sector. Heritage hails this as a "significant victory" because the rule "helps expose potential conflicts of interest: witnesses who testify for greater federal spending on programs that provide them with income."

Eager to tighten the rule, Heritage has even issued report cards that grade enforcement by House committees and single out non-disclosing groups. Among the culprits fingered by the Heritage Foundation are witnesses from such outfits as the United Brotherhood of Carpenters (federal grant: \$33,611), the Wildlife Society (\$25,000), the Passaic River Coalition (\$24,000) and the American Dental Association (\$3,592,256).

But what happens when an American organization pockets \$1 million from a foreign government—and testifies repeatedly in front of Congress about what U.S. policy should be toward that government—without disclosing the financial ties involved? Hey, no problem.

To make the irony more acute, the "Truth in Testimony" rule

championed by Heritage requires that witnesses who appear before House committees disclose federal grants received not only during the current fiscal year but also during the previous two fiscal years.

If the words "foreign-government grants" were substituted for "federal grants," then Heritage would have been in repeated violation of the rule during the past few years.

Larger quantities of cash keep flowing to Heritage from private industrialists in Asia who back Heritage's Asian Studies Center in Washington. A laudatory new book about the Heritage Foundation, "The Power of Ideas" by Lee Edwards, states that Heritage established its Asian Studies Center in 1982 and raised an endowment for the center of "more than \$13 million over the next decade and a half, almost all of it from South Korean, Taiwanese and other Asian foundations and corporations."

A key media strategist at Heritage, public relations counsel Hugh Newton, told me two years ago that funding from overseas was no cause for concern: "As for Asian money, it comes from corporations with many of the same interests as our American corporate contributors."

Heritage calls itself "the most influential think tank in the most important city in the most powerful nation in the world." Even allowing for hyperbole, the 25-year-old institution wields enormous influence. Before Newt Gingrich became House speaker, he proclaimed that "Heritage is without question the most far-reaching conservative organization in the country in the war of ideas."

Since the Republicans became the majority party in Congress at the start of 1995, the Heritage Foundation—by its own account—has been able to do much more than simply testify in front of committees and huddle with individual members. Heritage's annual report for 1995 included a colloquy between two of the organization's vice presidents, extolling the think tank's boosted influence at the Capitol.

"Heritage has been involved in crafting almost every piece of major legislation to move through Congress," said Stuart Butler. The other vice president was no less glowing in his assessment. "Without exaggeration, I think we've in effect become Congress's unofficial research arm," said Kim Holmes, who added: "We truly have become an extension of the congressional staff, but on our own terms and according to our own agenda."

*Norman Solomon is executive director of the Institute for Public Accuracy, a nationwide consortium of policy researchers. The institute's offices are located in San Francisco and Washington.*



# RESIST's Media Funding Guidelines

Throughout its history, RESIST has funded a wide range of media-related projects and organizations. The radical use of the media can have a powerful impact on organizing actions for change. In making funding decisions, RESIST is willing to consider a variety of projects that look at pivotal social and economic justice issues.

When looking at proposals, high priority for funding is given to: 1) projects that organize people to take action, rather than just disseminate information; 2) organizations with a budget of approximately \$100,000 or less; and 3) groups that fall outside of mainstream funding sources because they are considered too "radical."

The bottom line for a successful media proposal, however, will be whether the project will be used specifically in the context of a campaign for social change.

## RESIST will fund:

- the distribution costs of a film, video or radio project
- the purchase of video or audio equipment on a limited basis
- printing or copying costs for publications
- performances of fully developed plays or skits
- installation costs for exhibits
- general operating costs

## RESIST will NOT support media requests related to:

- the *production* of films, videos or radio projects.
- publications, media or cultural projects not directly connected to organizing.
- oral histories or "human interest" stories unrelated to organizing campaigns.
- presentations of film or video projects at film festivals or on public television.
- script development.
- travel expenses.
- funding for individuals.
- social service projects.
- projects originating outside the U.S.

## A Sample of Media-Related Grantees

- Alternative Press Center (Baltimore, MD) for the Library Development Project which allows public access to an index of Alternative Press articles.
- Appalachian Reader* (Charlottesville, VA) to build a larger subscriber base to attain editorial and financial independence.
- Arkansas Broadcasting Foundation (Little Rock, AR) to purchase recording equipment to train members of groups fighting for social and economic change.
- Borderviews 2000/Southwest Research and Information Center (Albuquerque, NM) to distribute a five-part radio series on human rights violations in Mexico.

Boston CISPES (Jamaica Plain, MA) for printing and postage costs of a mock mail order catalog from "Sweat Gear International" about abuses in the garment industry in El Salvador.

Chicago Ink (Chicago, IL) for general support for free progressive local newspaper critiquing the Chicago political establishment and media conglomerates.

Committee for Labor Access (Chicago, IL) to purchase a single chip Hi-8 video camera to aid in producing the weekly cable television access show *Labor Beat*.

Common Threads (Venice, CA) for a slide projector and a copy of a slide show about industry abuses entitled "A Look at the Los Angeles Garment Industry."

Compas de La Primavera (Wentworth, NH) to distribute the documentary *Deadly Embrace: Nicaragua, The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund*.

Contact Center (Cincinnati, OH) to purchase a video camcorder to record local struggles against displacement.

Labor Art and Mural Project (New Brunswick, NJ) to produce a brochure publicizing the Cross Border Mural Project focusing on labor struggles.

Media Project (Portland, OR) to distribute the radio documentary series *Carefully Taught: Clashing Values in the Classroom* which explores right-wing attacks on public education.

National Radio Project (Portola Valley, CA) to distribute a progressive public affairs radio program to micro-broadcasters; and for computer equipment and staff time to increase distribution.

PINTIG Cultural Group (Chicago, IL) for two productions around the theme, *Breaking Barriers: Interrogating One Hundred Years of Colonialism*.

Sinister Wisdom, Inc. (Berkeley, CA) to purchase a laser printer to prepare the publication *Sinister Wisdom*, a lesbian literary and activist journal.

South West Organizing Project (Albuquerque, NM) to Market and distribute the video *Viva la Causa! 500 Years of Chicano History*.

Underground Railway Theater (Arlington, MA) for a theater project entitled *Mothers and Whores: A Cabaret About Motherhood, Sexuality and Choice*.

## Join the Resist Pledge Program

We'd like you to consider becoming a Resist Pledge.

Pledges account for over 30% of our income.

By becoming a pledge, you help guarantee Resist a fixed and dependable source of income on which we can build our grant-making program. In return, we will send you a monthly pledge letter and reminder along with your newsletter. We will keep you up-to-date on the groups we have funded and the other work being done at Resist.

So take the plunge and become a Resist Pledge! We count on you, and the groups we fund count on us.

Yes! I'll become a RESIST Pledge.

I'll send you my pledge of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ every month/two months/quarter/six months (circle one).

Enclosed is an initial pledge contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_.

I can't join the pledge program now, but here's a contribution of \$ \_\_\_\_\_ to support your work.

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 City/State/Zip \_\_\_\_\_  
 Phone \_\_\_\_\_

Donations to Resist are tax-deductible.

Resist • 259 Elm Street • Suite 201 • Somerville • MA • 02144