

## The Politics of Peace: What's Behind the Anti-War Movement?

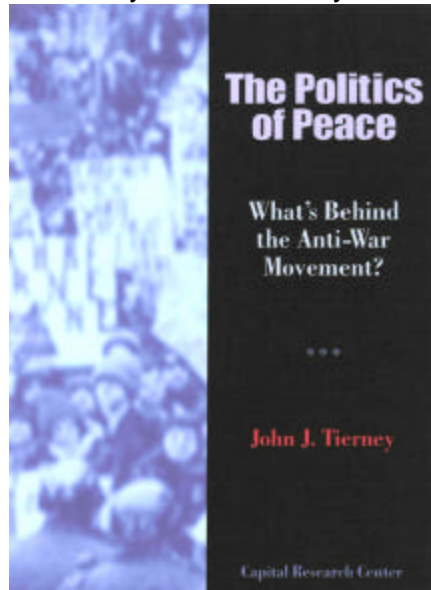
by John J. Tierney

### Editor's Note:

On March 19, 2005, left-wing anti-war activists affiliated with the group called ANSWER will stage demonstrations across America to protest the War in Iraq. The March 19 date is the second anniversary of the start of the Bush Administration's "Shock and Awe" campaign against Saddam Hussein, announced on that date in 2003 by President Bush in a nationwide television address.

What follows in this issue are excerpts from CRC's new book, *The Politics of Peace: What's Behind the Anti-War Movement?* by John J. Tierney. Dr. Tierney is Walter Kohler professor of international relations and faculty chairman at the Institute of World Politics in Washington, D. C. *The Politics of Peace* is a careful look at the organizations spear-heading the anti-war movement today and a comparison of these groups to earlier movements for peace.

In looking at the activist strategies and radical backgrounds of anti-war organizers, Tierney concludes that the movement's leaders are anti-American rather than anti-war. Indeed, the anti-war movement wants war and violence, not peace—if it will lead to the overthrow of American institutions and government. That a militantly secular anti-war Left defends and justifies the violent actions of Islamic religious extremists is only



John J. Tierney's new book reveals the radical roots and disturbing aims of today's peace movement.

one of the many strange alliances created by those whose ulterior motives are to oppose the broader War on Terror.

Many leaders of the principal anti-war organizations today are members of Communist splinter groups. They have ties to North Korea, Cuba and Maoist China. Some have political roots in radical anti-Vietnam War groups like the Students for a Democratic Society, founded in the 1960s. Others trace their origins to the heyday of the U. S. Communist Party. But the radical and subversive links detailed in *The Politics of Peace*

have been obscured in false media depictions of a grassroots and idealistic anti-war movement.

A striking feature of *The Politics of Peace* is the author's comparison of the anti-war movement today to anti-war movements in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Tierney observes that these early movements offered valuable cautionary warnings against American over-confidence overseas, and their leaders were genuinely idealistic, motivated by religious belief, love of country and skepticism about the uses of military power. Typically, however, they failed to understand the nature of modern statecraft and the duplicity of America's enemies. Even with the best of intentions, America's organized peace movements have failed to achieve their aims.

To understand why is to know something about the human condition.

—Robert Huberty

**March 2005**

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# Organization Trends

## From the Introduction

On the evening of June 25, 2004 the President of the United States stepped off Air Force One and entered the tarmac of the international airport at Shannon, Ireland, a country that historically has been one of the most pro-American in the world. But that day and in the days that followed George W. Bush received one of the most hostile receptions any President has received traveling overseas. In what Great Britain's *Guardian* newspaper described as "the most unwelcome American ever to set foot on Irish soil," George W. Bush was shielded from thousands of Irish protesters at the airport entrance and whisked off in an armored Cadillac to the 16th century Dromoland Castle in County Clare.

More than 34 million Americans claim Irish ancestry, and the "ould sod" has always been one of the most welcome destinations for U.S. officials; presidents Kennedy, Reagan and Clinton drew huge and admiring crowds. But the reception given President Bush signified that no place was safe from the large and growing international network of protesters whose "peace" signs mask a global movement of anti-American hatred.

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The Bush trip turned Ireland into an armed camp. The turnout of 50,000 protesters in Dublin forced Irish security officials to transform the Shannon area into what the press called a "ring of steel." Six thousand officers (the "largest in the history of the island," according to the *Washington Post*) were deployed; naval gunships patrolled an estuary and armored cars searched bogs and alleys. Some of Ireland's top lawyers signed a petition suggesting the President be arrested as soon as he arrived. Clerics openly questioned his morals. The leader of the Irish Senate boycotted an embassy dinner.



**Anti-American protests marred President Bush's visit to Ireland**

What had happened? Ireland's anti-war lobby was determined to stop U. S. forces bound for Iraq from using Shannon Airport as a stopover point (There had been over 1,000 flights carrying 55,000 troops.) They were intent on attracting the world's attention to their protests. So Mary Kelly, an Irish nurse, took a hatchet to a U.S. Navy plane at Shannon, causing \$1.5 million in damages. Folk singers Christy Moore and Damien Rice recorded an anti-Bush hit single called "Lonely Soldier" and sent the recording proceeds to the anti-war movement, which organized concerts that were a build-up to the big demonstration in Dublin.

The Dublin demonstration highlighted the organizing skill of the protesters. Using bullhorns and colorful placards, rally organizers drew the media's attention to the protest itself rather than to its object, President Bush. They flooded radio phone-in shows with anti-Bush callers. And aware that one picture is still worth a thousand words, they made sure TV cameras captured the placard in an Irish hedgerow that read "No red carpet for killer Bush."

Demonstrations like these are now commonplace throughout the world. When Bush left Shannon for Ankara, Turkey, he encountered the same scene. Four police men were injured trying to protect the U. S. president from an angry crowd of over 20,000 demonstrators who carried signs reading "USA Murderer, get out of the Middle East" and "Down with American Imperialism." Police had to tear gas the crowd and blocked-off central Ankara. Bomb blasts killed four people in Istanbul. The fortress-like atmosphere around major cities prompted one Turkish commentator to write, "This visit is making our lives hell."

Explosions of anti-American temper are not new. Certainly the largest anti-American demonstration in world history occurred on February 15, 2003, when an estimated 25 million people jammed the streets of Berlin, London, Madrid, Amsterdam and Rome, Dhaka, Jakarta, Amman, Bombay, Islamabad, Hong Kong, Bangkok and most of America's largest cities. Incredibly, the protests were against an event that had yet to occur—the war in Iraq was more than a month away. Organizers mobilized twenty-five million people against a political administration that had not yet announced its intentions and timing.

Since then, the anti-war protest network has continued to mobilize opposition to the war in Iraq and to the Bush Administration. A large demonstration was held on October 25, 2003 in Washington, D.C. (Other protests were held in other U.S. and foreign cities.) With 30,000 to 50,000 protesters in the nation's capital, the turnout was less than expected. But it was reminiscent of Vietnam-era protests as the demonstrators came to Washington in 150 buses from over 140 cities, chanting and waving placards: "Bush lied, thousands died," "No blood for oil," "Bring them home now." Thousands gathered in the shadow of the Washington Monument as the Reverend Al Sharpton screamed from the podium, "Don't give Bush 87 billion dollars ... don't give him 87 cents." A *New York Times* reporter noted, "The demonstration borrowed heavily from the imagery of 1960's peace protests over Vietnam, as young people in tie-dyed shirts and bandanas waved placards bearing peace signs and exhorted the White House to 'make love, not war.'"

Small wonder! Many of the organizers against the Iraq War are the same people who in 1968 disrupted the nation during the Vietnam War and helped push Lyndon Johnson from office.

The new anti-war movement has centered on an umbrella group named International ANSWER (an acronym for “Act Now to Stop War and End Racism”). However, under that new name is an old political group: ANSWER is an off-spring of Workers World, a Communist splinter party.

ANSWER and other left-wing groups are subjecting the Bush Administration’s global war on terrorism, especially the war in Iraq, to some of the largest protests actions since the Vietnam War. Indeed, the current movement mobilized more demonstrations and protests in only four months – from the U.N. deadline of November 7, 2002 to the launch of Operation Iraqi Freedom on March 20, 2003 – than Vietnam-era protest groups mobilized during the first six years of U.S. involvement (1961–1967).

ANSWER and a second group called United for Peace and Justice along with thousands of other allied satellite groups organized the massive protests on March 20, 2004 that marked the first anniversary of the war in Iraq. And while there have been no demonstrations since the President’s reelection in November, they are sure to resume. Like sharks sensing blood in the water, the slightest drop in President Bush’s standing in public opinion will provoke a frenzy of activism. These groups are not assuaged and they do not rest. Those who remember how the 1968 Democratic convention in Chicago sparked violent protests worry that the January 20, 2005 inauguration of the President will also begin a new era of anti-war violence.

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Analysts of anti-war activism often focus on election results or overseas events to predict the scope of domestic unrest. But that fails to recognize that protests and demonstrations are a tactic. They are meant to serve a long-term political strategy. Leftist organizers have goals that are much greater than simply “ending the war.” We may be at the start of another long period of civil disorder in America.

### **The “Movement”**

The irony of the modern “peace” movement is that it has very little to do with peace—either as a moral concept or

on terror, which includes the Iraq war, has prompted all of them to form coalitions and seek allies. Their aim is a “struggle” against “oppression” and “imperialism,” code words in the lexicon of revolutionary socialism. Not In Our Name (NION), a satellite of the Revolutionary Communist Party, decries the War on Terror as a Bush Administration ploy: “We will not stop until all of us are free from your bloodthirsty domination.”

After the attacks of 9/11, when the enemy targeted Americans for terror and death, the need for a “peace movement” vanished. Remember the isolationist group America First? On December 11, 1941, four days after Pearl Harbor, it honorably

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is that it has very little to do with peace  
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as a political ideal. Peace is a tactical ideal for movement organizers: it serves as political leverage against U.S. policymakers, and it is an ideological response to the perceived failures of American society. The leaders of anti-war groups are modern-day Leninists. As Lenin used Russian war-weariness in 1917 to overthrow the Czar, so American street revolutionaries use reactions to the war on Al-Qaeda and Saddam Hussein as a way to foment radical political change at home.

The current peace movement is “neo-Communist,” says David Horowitz, the one-time radical-turned-conservative. This is a revealing and accurate label. In fact, the movement is heir to the Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA), even though the party’s global base—the Soviet Union—no longer exists.

A variety of CPUSA splinter groups claim the mantle of the Left even as they spin-off a dizzying series of front groups and issue-oriented action “committees.” ANSWER is only the largest of these groups, which also include United for Peace and Justice, Code Pink, Not In Our Name, the Green Party and the Institute for Policy Studies. The Bush Administration’s war

disbanded, declaring “The time for military action is here.” But the current movement just does the opposite. As this study demonstrates, many of today’s anti-war organizers used to support the Soviet Union and its proxies such as the Vietcong, the Sandinistas, North Korea, Castro’s Cuba and the Communist guerrillas in El Salvador. It is no exaggeration to say that the modern peace movement is composed of the ideological remnants of Communism. These groups are motivated by anti-Americanism, anti-capitalism, anti-Semitism and anti-globalization. They are enamored of socialism, world revolution and class solidarity.

The anti-war movement has a deep-seated hostility to any use of American power. The fact that groups mobilized so quickly in *anticipation* of Operation Iraqi Freedom suggests that they are not simply anti-war. Similarly, many campus activists denounced the war at the very moment when Saddam Hussein’s forces appeared utterly defeated by the U.S. military (i.e., well before the Iraq insurgency). The demonstrators wanted to protest *any* U.S. military actions, including those that successfully defeated a tyrannical regime.

## From Chapter One

### Workers World Party

The largest and most prominent of the anti-war front groups today is ANSWER, which organized the massive worldwide marches of March 20, 2004. It made its first organized appearance in 2001. But ANSWER is no spontaneous grassroots civic group; it is a direct off-shoot of the Workers World Party (WWP), which was organized long ago, in 1959.

WWP was formed when five members of the Socialist Workers Party, itself a Trotskyite splinter group, left the party over differences they considered fundamental. The five protested the "rightist" slant of the Socialist Workers, according to their statement issued in the first edi-

tion of their newspaper, *Workers World*, which is still in publication:

We were the proletariat left wing of the Socialist Workers Party. We have now split with that party, which has gone further and further to the right in recent years, so that we can openly fight for orthodox Trotskyism, which is the authentic Marxism-Leninism of today.

Under long-time leader Sam Marcy (1911-1998) WWP supported Soviet suppression of the Hungarian Revolution, opposed Mikhail Gorbachev, and sided with the enemies of Boris Yeltsin ("the most outspoken reactionary leader of the bourgeois counterrevolution"). WWP gained adherents and followers through evasive strategic and tactical devices and organizational deceptions. The creation of ANSWER is but the latest in a series of ruses that stretch back decades....

Amazingly, many of the current leaders of the WWP/ANSWER anti-war coalition can trace their roots back to the creation of the party. Their goals and rhetoric have remained remarkably consistent

over time, which is a tribute to their long-term commitment.

For instance, Deirdre Griswold (born 1936), the party's 1980 presidential candidate, is an ANSWER leader and the editor of *Workers World* newspaper (circulation: 6,000). Griswold succeeded her father, Vincent Copeland, as the newspaper's editor. He was a co-founder of WWP and in the late 1960's was a leader of the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. The MOBE, as it was called, organized the 1968 March on Washington that drew 500,000 protesters and helped topple Lyndon Johnson. The party supported the Viet Cong and North Vietnam, urging activists in an April 8, 1972 letter to demonstrate in support of a Viet Cong offensive in South Vietnam.

On May 2, 1975, the *Workers World* headline read, "Vietnam Belongs to the Workers!" Today, under Griswold's direction, it lauds Slobodan Milosevic and Saddam Hussein as victims of American oppression.

WWP's Trotskyite ideology has changed little over the years: Capitalism is the problem; immediate world revolution is the solution. Even in the current dark times for WWP socialists, Cuba and North Korea are beacons of hope.

### **ANSWER (Act Now To Stop War and End Racism), and International Action Center (IAC)**

The most notable of the WWP front groups is International ANSWER, the most prominent group mobilizing opposition to the war on terror to emerge since September 11. More specifically, it is the largest of the front groups that seeks every occasion to campaign against the U.S.

The head of the ANSWER steering committee is Ramsey Clark, former U.S. Attorney General during the Johnson

Administration. He also heads the International Action Center (IAC), yet another front group for the Workers World Party and ANSWER. Observers say Clark fell under the influence of the WWP in the early 1990s....

Clark has a long record of service as a spokesman for the nation's largest anti-war and anti-Bush activist group. He has condemned the "war crimes" of U.S. presidents back to Harry Truman (who appointed his father, Tom Clark, attorney general in 1945 and to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1949). In 2001 Clark attempted to represent Slobodan Milosevic in his war crimes trial at the World Court in the Hague. He has volunteered to represent Saddam Hussein.

In an open letter to U.N. Secretary General Kofi Annan (January 29, 2004), Clark outlined how he and ANSWER judged the U.S. war effort in Afghanistan and Iraq:

The claim that either Afghanistan or Iraq declared war on the U.S. is absurd. The U.S. chose to attack both nations, from one end to the other, violating their sovereignty and changing their 'regimes,' summarily executing thousands of men, women and children in the process. At least 40,000 defenseless people in Iraq have been killed by U.S. violence since the latest aggression began in earnest in March 2003... The U. S. is guilty of pure aggression, arbitrary repression and false portrayal of the nature and purpose of its violence... The United Nations must recognize and declare the U. S. attack and occupation of Iraq to be the war of aggression it is.

ANSWER and Clark want President Bush impeached and prosecuted for war crimes:

There must be strict accountability by U. S. leaders and others for crimes they have com-

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*“The U. S. is guilty of pure aggression, arbitrary repression and false portrayal of the nature and purpose of its violence... The United Nations must recognize and declare the U. S. attack and occupation of Iraq to be the war of aggression it is.”*

— Ramsey Clark

mitted against Iraq and Afghanistan and compensation by the U.S. government for the damage its aggression has inflicted.

Clark’s group, the International Action Center (IAC), received \$62,000 in 2002 from the People’s Rights Fund, a 501(c)(3) public charity, according to IRS records available at [www.guidestar.org](http://www.guidestar.org). The Fund claimed 2002 revenues of \$447,045 and assets of \$61,458. Its president is Kathleen Durkin; its attorney is William Sacks. Interestingly, Clark’s IAC, the People’s Rights Fund, and the ANSWER coalition all share the same New York City address: 39 W. 14<sup>th</sup> Street.

IAC also received almost \$100,000 from the Progressive Unity Fund, a 501(c)(3) with 2002 revenues of \$184,415 and assets of \$37,237. Its officers (President Brenda Sandburg, vice president Rosa Penate and secretary-treasurer Keith Pavlik) list their address at 167 Anderson Street in San Francisco.

Besides Clark, other prominent ANSWER members in the coalition include the Green Party USA, New Communist



Leftist filmmaker and icon Michael Moore appears at a rally with UPJ’s Leslie Cagan

Party of the Netherlands, The International Family and Friends of Mumia Abu-Jamal, the National Lawyers Guild and the president of the World Union of Free-thinkers. This apparent diversity is deceptive; all get at least partial funding from the same sources like the Peoples Rights Fund (PRF).

**United for Peace and Justice (UPJ)**

The second largest anti-war umbrella group to emerge since 9/11 is United for Peace and Justice (UPJ). UPJ was in charge of planning the massive August 29, 2004 demonstration in New York City on the eve of the Republican National Convention. Like ANSWER, it claims to be a response to the events of 9/11. But it’s also an old Soviet-style “agitprop” front group directed by a veteran Communist activist.

UPJ was created in October 2002 at a gathering of representatives of fifty diverse organizations (e.g. the Institute for Policy Studies, a left-wing think-tank, and the American Friends Service Committee, a Quaker group) who met in the offices of People for the American Way. UPJ claims responsibility for organizing hundreds of national and global protests, including the two largest in the United States on February 15, 2003 and March 22, 2003. It commands over 800 local and national groups in the United States, with worldwide affiliates on every continent.

To understand UPJ it’s important to consider the pedigree of its chief operative, Leslie Cagan, a career political organizer. The *New York Times* has called her “one of the grandes dames of the country’s progressive movement,” a woman whose “organizational skills are prodigious.” Indeed, Cagan has been active in New York City politics: She was

a field director for the successful 1989 mayoral campaign of David Dinkins.

But the *Times* neglected to mention Cagan’s long-standing ties to the Communist movement. Like so many peace movement leaders, Cagan is an apologist for Fidel Castro. She was a member of the Venceremos Brigade, which for thirty-five years has organized trips sending 8,000 pro-Castro supporters to Cuba in violation of the U.S. travel ban. During her seven years as director of the Cuba Information Project, she led demonstrations demanding that the U.S. end its economic embargo....

Interestingly, there has been no love lost between ANSWER and UPJ. ANSWER functionary Sarah Sloan sneers that UPJ’s differences with the U.S. government are merely “tactical,” because the group’s “leadership strives to find a political path that dovetails with the Democratic party.” Assessing the August 31, 2004 UPJ mass protest against the Republican National Convention, Sloan concludes that Cagan supinely accommodated Democrat desires for a “tame, diffuse demonstration” that

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would not provoke a backlash against Kerry (*Socialism & Liberation*, October 2004).

Cagan, more cunning, applauds ANSWER for its protest actions while espousing a big tent philosophy that seeks to attract more mainstream organizations and ordinary citizens. She knows that building a “fifth column” coalition is as much a part of Leninist and Castro-style revolutionary tactics as inspiring left-wing shock troops.

### Not In Our Name (NION)

The third major anti-war group is Not In Our Name (NION). Created in March 2002, NION has published newspaper ads around the world to “bring the boys home.” It grew out of a “Statement of Conscience” that attracted the signatures of Noam Chomsky, historian Howard Zinn, peace activist Michael Parenti, feminists Gloria Steinem and Barbara Kingsolver, novelist Kurt Vonnegut, and Hollywood celebrity-militants Danny Glover, Tyne Daly, Jane Fonda, Oliver Stone, Marisa Tomei, Martin Sheen and Ed Harris. NION also co-sponsored a February 20, 2004 “National Day of Solidarity with Muslim, Arab and South Asian Immigrants.”

NION is no less radical than ANSWER and UPJ. However, it has a different Communist mentor. ANSWER draws its organization from pro-North Korea fanatics at the Workers World Party, organized in 1959. Leslie Cagan at United for Peace and Justice looks to Fidel Castro and the Venceremos Brigades of 1969. NION’s

administrative cadre comes from yet another U. S. Communist splinter group, the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), which draws its inspiration from Communist China and Mao Tse-tung.

NION’s co-directors are C. Clark Kissinger and Mary Greenberg. Kissinger worked with the Black Panther Party in the 1960s; he founded the U.S.-China People’s Friendship Association in 1971; and he supported the Iranian

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*“The antiwar movement can force the Bush Administration to leave Iraq by denying it the funding, troops, and alliances necessary to its strategy for dominance.”*

—Tom Hayden

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revolution in 1979. Kissinger’s biographical statements note that he was National Secretary of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and organized the first March on Washington against the Vietnam War in 1965. The statement does not mention that he resigned from the U. S.-China Friendship Association after the death of Mao Tse-Tung to protest China’s repudiation of the decade-long Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which ended in 1976 after causing the deaths of an estimated ten to 30 million people.

While pursuing his own extremist political agenda, Kissinger rounds up celebrities to oppose the war, exploiting what Lenin called the “useful idiots.” OFNION’s “Statement of Conscience” he has said: “We wanted people to sign the statement without having their names used to endorse other actions.”

### MoveOn.org

The anti-war organization least burdened by an embarrassing history of past communist affiliations is MoveOn.org. It was founded in 1998 by a married couple, Silicon Valley entrepreneurs Wes Boyd and Joan Blades, to protest the impending impeachment of President Bill Clinton, but took off during the Bush presidency. MoveOn can legitimately claim to have discovered how to use the power of the Internet to enlist and mobilize grassroots activists in politics and generate millions of dollars from small-dollar donors.

MoveOn exists primarily through cyberspace interactions. Its size and influence cannot be measured in conventional terms (staff, offices and endowments). In 2003 and 2004 it was a premier rallying point for anti-war activists opposed to the Bush Administration’s policies in Iraq. Using the instant communication of the “web,” it quickly amassed a membership of 1.8 million and raised a record \$40 million. But MoveOn does not rely solely on small donors. After he saw what MoveOn could accomplish, billionaire George Soros contributed \$2.5 million.

MoveOn opposed the U.S. attack on the Taliban in Afghanistan after 9/11, warning “If we retaliate by bombing Kabul and kill people oppressed by the Taliban, we become like the terrorists we oppose.” It organized an e-mail petition that was signed by 500,000 people worldwide. In February 2003 it jammed congressional switchboards with hundreds of thousands of phone calls against the impending war in Iraq. A 22 year-old activist, Eli Pariser, became MoveOn’s most visible spokesman. Using the web, he created a virtual march on Washington against the Iraq war. MoveOn then turned to politics, helping former Vermont Governor Howard Dean whose presidential candidacy bypassed the



**Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark announces ANSWER's plans for marches in Washington and across the U.S. to protest any attacks on Iraq**

Democratic establishment. After Dean's campaign imploded, MoveOn re-focused its attacks on Bush, the Republican party and the war on terror.

Despite its many successes, some MoveOn tactics have backfired. A nationwide Internet contest to select a "Bush in 30 seconds" advertisement went beyond the pale when a photo of the president morphed into Adolph Hitler on the MoveOn website. "What were war crimes in 1945" it declared, "is foreign policy in 2003." Jewish leaders like Rabbi Marvin Heir of the Wiesenthal Center called the ads "shameful"; Jack Rosen, president of the American Jewish Congress, found them "morally outrageous."

According to a Capital Research Center analysis, MoveOn has a unique capacity to "raise money and raise it fast." Said journalist Don Hazen, MoveOn's membership is "mostly white, highly educated, computer savvy...and willing to give dough." In October 2002 its political action committee raised \$700,000 for Paul Wellstone's reelection after the Minnesota Senator voted against the Iraq war resolution. In November 2003 MoveOn used its database to raise \$500,000 in five hours to distribute an anti-Bush ad. It raised the same amount in one day against California gubernatorial candidate Arnold Schwarzenegger and \$800,000 in 48 hours on behalf of the Democratic Party in Texas. "MoveOn dwarfs everything in the progressive space," Hazen emphasized.

MoveOn's political base is broader and less radical than other groups in the movement. Shortly after 9/11 MoveOn proposed that foreign aid would deal with terrorism better than military action. According to *New Republic* editor Peter Beinart, "in recent years it seems to have largely lost interest in any agenda for fighting terrorism at all," preferring to criticize the war's effect on civil liberties.

When *New York Times* writer George Packer questioned why MoveOn would provide aid and comfort to terrorists and Communist dictators by supporting ANSWER's March 2003 demonstrations, Eli Pariser replied, "I'm personally against defending Slobodan Milosevic and calling North Korea a

socialist heaven, but it's just not relevant right now."

By adopting "big tent" towards the far left, MoveOn has made a tacit alliance with it.

### **From Chapter 6: Final Reflections**

The U.S. government's war on terror, and, in particular, its occupation of Iraq will test the current protest movement. If the policies of President Bush prevail and produce success, then the peace movement will fail. But the war in Iraq is nearing its third year without conclusion, and the violence continues. If this persists we can expect protest to grow proportionally....

A recent online Altnet.org article by icon Tom Hayden, "How to End the War in Iraq," (profiled by John Seward in *frontpagemag.com*, December 6, 2004) announces the essence of the anti-war movement's latest strategy: "The antiwar movement can force the Bush Administration to leave Iraq by denying it the funding, troops, and alliances necessary to its strategy for dominance." Drawing on his experience with SDS during the Vietnam War period, Hayden outlines a plan similar to the end-game of that era. First, he proposes to build grassroots pressure at the congressional district level to challenge U.S. war funding. Next, he would work closely with Democrats to make the party fully anti-war without any ambiguity. Hawkish Democrats would be marked for challenge as "collaborators." The movement would foster dissent, disobedience and desertion (the 3D's) by military personnel, including "another underground railroad to havens in Canada for those who refuse to serve."

Hayden's explains his attempt to breathe new life into the antiwar movement in a six-point summary:

"In short: pinch the funding arteries, push the Democrats to become an opposition party, ally with anti-war Republicans, support dissenting soldiers, make 'Iraqization' more difficult, and build a peace coalition against the war coalition." Drastic action, certainly, but hardly unique in the history of the peace movement.

Obviously successful resolution of the Iraqi occupation will take the wind from the anti-war sails. But even the most favorable war outcome cannot permanently stop the leftist peace movement. Its history is too long and its message too mesmerizing for important parts of American society and in contemporary world politics.

The best prognosis for the U.S. war on terror is a "long, twilight struggle," as John Kennedy described the Cold War. Responsible observers understand this reality, and they understand that a vigorous and dangerous anti-war protest movement will accompany the war on terror. **OT**

*John J. Tierney is the Walter Kohler Professor of International Relations at the Institute of World Politics, a Washington, DC-based graduate school. He is author of The Politics of Peace, just published by the Capital Research Center.*

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# Briefly Noted

“**David Fenton** was dubbed ‘media maestro of the left’ and a ‘scare specialist’ in the December issue of **Capital Research Center’s** *Organization Trends*,” began an article in the February 2005 issue of *O’Dwyer’s PR Services Report*. The respected monthly journal of the PR industry drew upon our feature story, written by veteran newsman John Gizzi, and recounted a number of notorious scare campaigns launched by the PR firm of **Fenton Communications**. We particularly enjoyed the closing sentence in the *O’Dwyer* piece: “Fenton did not return a call to this magazine, though a staffer said the *OT* article “was passed around.”

For over 50 years charitable giving by Americans has hovered between 1.5% and 2.2% of gross personal income. Now **Congressman George Radanovich** (R., Ca.) is introducing a resolution into the U. S. House of Representatives “encouraging all Americans to increase their charitable giving, with the goal of increasing the annual amount of charitable giving in the United States by one percent.” The resolution would not have the force of law, but merely “challenge Americans to increase their charitable giving.” According to Rep. Radanovich, if Americans were to increase giving by just one percent, “it will generate over \$90 billion to charity.” **Senator Rick Santorum** (R., Pa.) is sponsoring the resolution in the U. S. Senate.

A new website is covering activities of the Left. The site, **www.discoverthenetwork.org**, offers profiles on leftist activists, organizations and funders. It is particularly strong in covering Islamic terrorist groups and their supporters. Published by former leftist **David Horowitz**, president of the **Center for the Study of Popular Culture**, the site also provides links to the work of **Capital Research Center** and other groups.

President Bush has signed into law a bill transferring multi-state class action lawsuits from state to federal courts. The bill, designed to stop lawyers from making enormous profits by picking states friendly to class action suits, has infuriated legal and consumer advocacy groups. The **American Trial Lawyers Association (ATLA)** denounced “this brazen and shameless attack on Americans’ legal rights,” while Joan Claybrook, president of the Ralph Nader-founded **Public Citizen** calls it “a green light to defraud and deceive consumers...a Washington power grab.”

Facing public weariness over environmental scare campaigns and ecoterrorism, is **Greenpeace USA** now getting all warm and fuzzy? The February 8 issue of *Muckraker*, an online environmental journal, reports the group “known for in-your-face, laws-be-damned direct action” now plans a kayaking and trekking expedition through the Arctic. Executive Director **John Passacantando** says, “It’s time to rebuild the base. First you have to help people see that which they love—pristine nature, children—then you can show them the destruction and they can get angry. But they need to love it first.” *Muckraker* comments: “In other words: Time to back off from battlefield tactics and try to win over the hearts and minds of those who’ve lost touch with the values of the movement.

On February 10, leftist attorney **Lynne F. Stewart** was convicted in federal court on two counts of conspiring to provide material aid to terrorists, and three counts of perjury and flouting prison rules. While representing convicted terrorist Sheik Omar Abdel Rahman, Stewart relayed his views and instructions to followers in the **Islamic Group**, an Egyptian terrorist organization. In 2002, **George Soros’** foundation, the **Open Society Institute**, gave \$20,000 to Stewart’s legal defense fund.

