

"People believed the revolution was *in process*," Malcolm says. "And that turned out not to be true. What turned out to be true is that the power of the state was a lot greater, and a lot more willing to come down on people, than originally imagined. Many people were disillusioned and really backed off."

That disillusionment, she says, translated to a more cynical generation of people born in the '70s and early '80s. "The people who grew up with parents from the Vietnam War generation have never been able to believe that it was going to be very easy to change the United States for the better," Malcolm says.

Goldrich has a slightly different perspective. "Young people in the '60s and '70s had much too little sense of the normal American's commitment to everyday life, to the way things were. And so the talk about revolution in this country was romantic beyond belief," he says. "Ever since then, people, including young people, have been much more realistic, much less romantic. And I consider that a big gain."

Malcolm presses her hands together. "Yes and no, Dan," she says. "You can't make change if you can't envision it."

The Vietnam War provoked a massive opposition movement across the U.S., but the Iraq War, once initiated, elicited barely a squeak of protest. The difference is most stark on college campuses, which roiled with student activism during in the '60s. UO students held sit-ins, teach-ins, marches and rallies against the Vietnam War. The Black Panthers opened a Eugene chapter and young women burned their bras. Students on the more radical end set fire to a building, dug craters in a university lawn and "defoliated" the Ducks Astroturf in opposition to the war. Today, the campus is docile.

"There was a student movement then, and there's not a student movement now," Malcolm says. "It's kind of distressing. If you look at the recent rallies that have been held at the Federal Building, it's been largely an older crowd."

Still, Malcolm acknowledges that it takes time to build a movement. The Vietnam War lasted roughly a decade, from 1964 through 1975, but the anti-war movement wasn't big until the late '60s. "It took us the first five to six years of the U.S. being actively engaged in the Vietnam War before we had more than a pretty small minority opposed to the war," she says. "And it was a fairly isolated and scary feeling."

Emily Howard sits in Espresso Roma near campus, her thick-lashed brown eyes magnified by rectangular glasses. Howard, 21, is a student of history and political science at the UO and a co-director of the Survival Center, a nonpartisan organization that acts as an "incubator" for student activist campaigns. Although the Survival Center helps coordinate activist events, the campus currently lacks a core anti-war group.

That bothers Howard. She worries that without major opposition from Americans, the Iraq War will kill more people, draw in other nations and drag on for years. But she says that young would-be activists are intimidated by the legacy of the '60s.

"We're trying too hard to emulate the Vietnam War era protesting," she says.

"We're too concerned with mirroring something that appeared to be successful without taking context into consideration. It was a different time; it was a different people; it was a different administration; it was a different war. We're getting very easily discouraged, because we're not seeing success on the same level as what was encountered during the Vietnam era. We're not realizing how much

alternative media. Arguably, the UO student publication most likely to fill that role on campus is *The Insurgent*, a 15-year-old newspaper that aims to publish progressive perspectives neglected by mainstream news sources.

Ryan Duff, a 22-year-old junior in journalism at the UO, is one of *The Insurgent's* editors. A Montana native with broad shoulders and middle-America good looks, Duff speaks

numbers. He describes a "two-pronged approach" to anti-war activism: revolutionary tactics such as street protest and direct actions, and reformist efforts such as petitions and political campaigns.

Duff feels that the college-age generation's strength is in the second category. "We're less radical, but more reasonable than Vietnam War-era protesters," he says. "People are a lot more willing to play into the system than they were in the '60s. That may be impacting what we're seeing in terms of activism and people out on the street, because they feel like they're more effective doing things from their homes. I think we have a better idea of what we can accomplish."

The campus anti-war effort gained some momentum in the fall of 2002, when UO students and faculty members, led by biology professor Frank Stahl, pushed to pass a university resolution against the Iraq War. "War always leads to lying, and universities, being dedicated to truth, have a stake in societies that respect truth," Stahl says.

UO President Dave Frohnmayer opposed the resolution on the grounds that international politics fell outside the purview of the university, just as UO President Robert Clark rejected an anti-war resolution in the '60s. But faculty members and students involved in the effort laid the groundwork for an anti-war coalition on campus. UO employees against the Iraq War organized as Concerned Faculty for Peace and Justice, and anti-war students founded Students for Peace.

Concerned Faculty began distributing educational materials, and Students for Peace led marches and rallies on campus. On Feb. 15, 2003, students were among the 3,000 Eugeneans who demonstrated against the impending Iraq War in solidarity with more than 10 million people across the globe. A month later, local high school students staged an anti-war walkout.

But on Mar. 22, 2003, two days after the Iraq War began, only about 500 people showed up for a protest at the Federal Building. Later that spring, Students for Peace dissolved without explanation.

"Initially, there was a lot of energy trying to prevent the war from becoming official," Howard says. "That felt a little more like the momentum that was there during the Vietnam War era. But as soon as we didn't get what we wanted in the exact form we wanted it, we kind of abandoned the movement."

One of the most daunting aspects of anti-war organizing is the task of bringing together groups with different perspectives. That was as true during the Vietnam War as it is today. "There wasn't just one anti-war movement then, and there isn't one anti-war movement now," Malcolm says. That works in the community, she says, because different groups bring a range of perspectives to the movement.

But factionalism is frustrating for students who are trying to pull together a cohesive anti-war movement on campus. "We're trying to encourage diversity, but it's difficult to have a united front against the war when people want to see different results at the end of the protests," Howard says.



A woman uses an American flag to protest the Iraq War at the EMU amphitheater.

ANTI-WAR RESOURCES

COMMUNITY:

- Faith in Action holds weekly anti-war vigil on Federal Building on Wednesdays at 4:30 pm: Contact Gordie Albi, 344-8047
- Code Pink, a women's activist network: Contact Elissa Kobrin at saharapdx@hotmail.com
- Progressive Responses, a CALC program the war, international policy and homeland security: Contact CALC, 485-1755.
- Beyond War: Contact Gayle Landt, 485-0911. www.beyondwar.org
- Physicians for Social Responsibility: Contact Dr. Martin Jones, 485-5762
- Committee to Counter Military Recruitment, a project of CALC and Eugene PeaceWorks: Contact Carol Van Houten, vanhoute@onlink.net or Phil Weaver, eugpeace@efn.org
- Draft, Registration and Military Counseling Project, a CALC project: Contact Carol Van Houten, vanhoute@onlink.net, or call CALC, 485-1755
- Eugene Middle East Peace Group: Contact Ibrahim Hamide, ibmaha@comcast.net or Arwen Maas-DeSpain, arwen@darkwing.uoregon.edu
- Eugene PeaceWorks: Contact Phil Weaver, 345-8548
- Friendly Neighbors for Peace: Contact Carrie Ann Naumoff, 344-7133
- Justice Not War: Contact Karla Cohen, 606-2877.
- Lane County Bill of Rights Defense Committee: Contact Hope Marston, hmarston@epud.net
- Teachers Against War: Contact Roscoe Caron, caron@4j.lane.edu or Pete Mandrapa, mandrapa@msn.com
- Women's Action for New Directions (WAND): Contact Susan Cundiff, scundiff@rio.com

CAMPUS:

- Survival Center: Contact Emily Howard, 346-4356
- Buddhists for Peace: Contact bfpuo@yahoo.com
- Concerned Faculty for Peace and Justice: Contact Frank Stahl, fstahl@molbio.uoregon.edu
- *The Insurgent*: Contact editors at 346-3716

time and effort it took to get to that success."

Instead of looking to the past, Howard says, young activists should think of new ways to oppose the war. "We need to think about what our brand of activism should look like," she says.

Mainstream media tend to be placid — if not discouraging — in their coverage of protest movements, leaving the in-depth reporting to

softly and somberly. He says that while *The Insurgent* tends to be critical of the Bush administration, the paper hasn't done enough to encourage activism against the Iraq War.

"We could have made a better effort to publicize efforts that other people are making," he says. "The reasons given for the war are ridiculous. The public has been intentionally misled."

As Duff sees it, activism is formulaic. Two things make a movement: organization and