

# The Public Eye

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## Policing Civil Society

### NGO Watch

By Jean Hardisty and  
Elizabeth Furdon

#### Introduction

As the Department of Homeland Security pursues a general crackdown on dissent, and the U.S. federal government holds (and exercises) more and more power under the rubric of the “War on Terror,” civil society seems increasingly at risk. While the brunt of this crackdown has been borne by immigrant communities, particularly Muslim, Arab, and South Asian, it is also being directed at members of the antiwar movement and those opposed to the Bush Administration’s politics and policies. For example, a number of environmental groups, including Rainforest Action Network and Greenpeace have been targeted by the Administration. More recently, the Drake University (Iowa) chapter of the National Lawyers Guild was subpoenaed for its records, later withdrawn after national outrage and widespread press coverage. Although scholars and activists define the term “civil society” differently, depending on the context, it is generally understood as people gathering together in nonprofit, voluntary associations to express themselves and advocate for a cause or promote an issue. Civil society acts as a counterweight to governmental power and as a regulator of the abuses of free market capitalism. Most of civil society’s voluntary associations are labeled “the nonprofit sector” or “nongovernmental organizations” (NGOs). Private donations, philanthropic organizations, or the government fund these self-governing, private, nonprofit associations. When they seek the im-

matur of the United Nations, they apply for a formal status as “nongovernmental organizations” or NGOs. When granted that status, they become eligible to participate in U.N. activities. However, it is common for nonprofit organizations that lack formal United Nations NGO status to be referred to as NGOs.

Because many NGOs provide humanitarian relief or advocate for reformist goals, they are often stereotyped as “liberal.” Increasingly however, as documented in the pages of *The Public Eye*, U.S.-based nonprofit organizations that self-identify as part of the Christian or secular Right have applied for and obtained NGO status with the United Nations. Just as the number, profile, and influence of these groups has risen within U.S. politics, they have become more prominent at the United Nations as well.

Since the mid-1990s, funders of NGOs—both private and public—have emphasized two aspects of NGO work in assessing the effectiveness of their funding: accountability and transparency. A growing body of literature is devoted to assessing the role, value, and shortcomings of NGOs, and consensus has emerged that NGOs should be reasonably accountable and transparent, though it would be unfair and counter-productive to monitor them as if they were private businesses or government programs.<sup>1</sup>

Supporters of NGOs argue that NGOs are more flexible, creative, and closer to the needs of those they serve than either private business or government programs. Despite this inherent value, it is nevertheless important that they conduct their

work responsibly and that they indeed do with their funding what they said they would. In the words of Australian journalist Leon Gettler, “Even NGO supporters concede there are issues (concerning accountability). A report prepared by British consultant SustainAbility, in conjunction with the United Nations Environmental Program and the UN Global Compact, found that most NGOs need to come clean if they are to thrive.”<sup>2</sup>

NGOs have responded to calls to “come clean.” Following the horrifying 1994 failure of NGOs to convince the United Nations and world governments, including the United States to act decisively and in time to quell the violence in Rwanda, where refugee camps were used as staging grounds for murderous raids, NGOs undertook a self-examination that became The Humanitarian Accountability Project. Since then, a large number of NGOs have instituted more rigorous reporting and measuring systems to monitor their own effectiveness.<sup>3</sup>

Increased scrutiny by funders and pressure to demonstrate accountability and transparency can cause NGOs to become

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# Guest Commentary

By Michael Avery

Under the Patriot Act, and administrative measures taken by President George W. Bush and Attorney General John Ashcroft without consulting with Congress, threats to freedom of political association are severe. The danger is highlighted by two recent attempts to gather information concerning events sponsored by the National Lawyers Guild. In Des Moines, Iowa, a federal subpoena last February asked Drake University to produce records relating to a November 15, 2003 antiwar conference. The conference was sponsored by the law school chapter of the Guild and had been followed the next day by a demonstration at which 12 protestors were arrested on misdemeanor charges. The subpoena requested names of the leaders of the Drake Guild chapter, the chapter's annual reports and all records of University campus security reflecting any observations made of the conference, including persons in charge of the meeting, and any records of attendees.

In response to a public outcry and the Guild's motion to quash the subpoena, the government withdrew not only the subpoena for Guild records, but subpoenas to antiwar activists as well. What was no doubt intended as an attempt to chill antiwar speech suddenly became an object lesson in the value of resistance.

At the University of Texas Law School, the student Guild chapter sponsored a conference on February 4, 2004 entitled, "Islam and the Law: The Question of Sexism." Apparently based on the fact that Islamic issues were the subject matter, two military officers attended the conference in plain clothes. Five days later two military investigators came to the university to interview conference organizers and request a list of attendees, which they did not receive. Again, there was substantial public concern. The Army has subsequently issued a written statement acknowledging that the agents and their detachment commander "exceeded their authority by requesting information about individuals who were not within the Army's counterintelligence investigative jurisdiction."

In these instances public awareness of its actions has led the government to back off. Nonetheless, the potential for further spying on campus activities, including covert operations and secret infiltrations of political groups is high. Such snooping was authorized in May 2002, when Atty. Gen. Ashcroft amended the Levi Guidelines which previously had restricted political intelligence investigations by the FBI, to eliminate the requirement that agents must have probable cause to believe that criminal activity is afoot before beginning such investigations.

Moreover, local police departments are once again in the political surveillance business. The *Chicago Sun Times* disclosed on February 19, 2004 that in 2002 local Chicago police sent undercover officers to meetings of Chicago Direct Action Network, the American Friends Service Committee, The Autonomous Zone, Not in Our Name,

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**Editorial Note:** In the last issue of the Public Eye, vol. 17, no. 3, Fall 2003, we inadvertently identified Congresswoman Denise Majette, Democrat of Georgia, as Republican. The error is regretted.

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more cautious, less risk-taking, and less aggressive in advocating for the people (usually poor) they serve. To add to these conservatizing forces, NGOs have come under attack from rightist organizations for their “liberal” politics. The political nature of these attacks is barely disguised. For example, the Right identifies “bad” civil society as NGOs that support women’s rights, environmental protections, gay rights, or indigenous peoples’ rights. Often the attacks are cloaked in the neutral language of transparency and accountability. In 2004, with a conservative administration in power, these attacks can often mobilize governmental regulatory and enforcement agencies to take action against “liberal” organizations.

A case study of such right-wing attacks is “NGO Watch”—a project initiated in 2003 by the American Enterprise Institute (AEI) and the Federalist Society.

### The American Enterprise Institute’s “NGO Watch”

On June 11, 2003, AEI and an Australian think tank, Institute for Public Affairs (IPA), cosponsored a conference titled “Non-governmental Organizations: The Growing Power of an Unelected Few,” held at the AEI offices in Washington, D.C. The conference laid the ground for the launch of “NGO Watch”—a website and political campaign cosponsored by AEI and The Federalist Society. NGO Watch is a clear example of a right-wing campaign designed to monitor and critique “liberal” U.N.-designated NGOs, but will undoubtedly be applied to other nonprofits with similar liberal politics, even though lacking the U.N. NGO designation.

NGO Watch is not attacking all NGOs, as its intellectual architects are always quick to point out. Those organizations that hold strictly to the social service tasks of feeding and clothing the hungry and poor

have the support of AEI, the Federalist Society, and IPA. Instead NGO Watch attacks those NGOs that organize and mobilize public opinion and advocate for “liberal” causes. It charges them with being “unaccountable” to their governments, and therefore to the people of their society.

NGO Watch’s principal sponsor, The

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**Increased scrutiny by funders and pressure to demonstrate accountability and transparency can cause NGOs to become more cautious, less risk-taking, and less aggressive in advocating for the people (usually poor) they serve. To add to these conservatizing forces, NGOs have come under attack from rightist organizations for their “liberal” politics. The political nature of these attacks is barely disguised. For example, the Right identifies “bad” civil society as NGOs that support women’s rights, environmental protections, gay rights, or indigenous peoples’ rights.**

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American Enterprise Institute, is a think tank with roots in the Old Right of former senators Barry Goldwater (R-AZ) and Strom Thurmond (R-SC). Since its founding in 1943, AEI has always been best known as a defender of free market capitalism and, as such, has represented corporate and business interests. Secondly, because it is known as a safe haven for militarists and those who believe in international U.S. dominance, it has also been

closely aligned with the military.

With the rise of the New Right in the 1970s and the election in 1980 of Ronald Reagan, AEI enjoyed a certain rebirth. But it lived in the shadow of the new kid on the block, the Heritage Foundation. It was Heritage’s *Mandate for Leadership* that became Reagan’s bible for public policy.<sup>4</sup>

Under the leadership of William Baroody, Jr., AEI’s reputation was more moderate than that of the Heritage Foundation. Although AEI was never sidelined, since Baroody’s departure in 1985, AEI has moved distinctly to the right. Under the current leadership of Christopher DeMuth, formerly a publicist in Ronald Reagan’s Office of Management and Budget, it has regained much of its former stature and funding.

Since 1986, AEI has brought into its ranks some of the luminaries of right-wing social and economic public policy. A number of these appointments have been controversial, even within the Right. For instance, AEI offered a position to Charles Murray after he became too controversial for his former sponsors, the Manhattan Institute. Murray coauthored (with Richard Herrnstein) the patently racist book *The Bell Curve*. Other well-known and also controversial fellows and scholars are Dinesh D’Souza, William Bennett, Judge Robert Bork, Jeane Kirkpatrick, President Ronald Reagan’s U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, and Lynne Cheney, wife of Vice-President Dick Cheney. These

prominent people helped retain and build AEI’s status as a central Washington player during the years of the Clinton Administration, when its influence within policy circles was substantial, especially within the Republican-dominated Congress, even though it was not as influential as its rival, the Heritage Foundation.

But with the arrival of the George W. Bush Administration in 2000, AEI’s long-standing agenda of unfettered free-market

capitalism, including deregulation, international free trade, anti-unionism, privatization, and opposition to environmentalism, became the Administration's agenda. Both the Administration and the Republican-controlled Congress have increasingly implemented here at home the policies of structural adjustment imposed on developing countries by organizations such as the IMF and the World Bank under U.S. influence. In sync with AEI, these policies include tax cuts for the wealthy, a rollback of the safety net for the poor, liberalization of access to public land for private profit, especially for extraction industries such as mining and logging, and privatization of publicly-owned infrastructure such as airwaves and schools.

All three organizations, AEI, IPA and the Federalist Society, are ideologically aligned with the Bush Administration: that is, they are well to the right of traditional mainstream conservatism. Traditional conservatism sees the need for a healthy and lively sector of voluntary associations and nonprofit advocacy groups, with each representing some particular sector of society, vying among themselves for governmental favor, public support, and attention. A strong civil society serves to limit the concentration of power in the hands of government—a central concern of traditional conservatives. The sector of the Right represented by NGO Watch, however, favors a weak civil society that does not challenge the two central ideological pillars of the contemporary Right: a free market economic system characterized by privatization and deregulation and a democratically elected government.

Responding to a proliferation of NGOs since the early 1980s, Gary Johns of the Australian think tank IPA, the inspiration and initial force behind NGO Watch, laid out the principal NGO Watch arguments regarding accountability, and developed an elaborate system for holding NGOs accountable—a system whose particulars differ little from the vetting process that U.S. philanthropies follow with their grantees.<sup>5</sup> In his several papers on NGOs, Johns' arguments are arbitrary and reach

illogical conclusions.<sup>6</sup> He grants that civil society itself is important in a thriving and well-run democracy. Then he goes on to distinguish between democracies that are “developed” and those that are “emerging.” Corruption, sham representative governments, and even autocratic rulers may still characterize the “emerging” democracies. He asserts that, in such instances, NGOs have a legitimate role to play in urging the democracies forward on the path to “more developed” forms of governance.

But in the case of highly developed democracies, such as Australia (and presumably western European democracies, the United States, and Canada), Johns argues that NGOs are problematic and possibly undemocratic. He arbitrarily maintains that government in these societies accurately represents the will of the people as a whole; therefore NGOs are promoting “special interests” that most often oppose the government's—and therefore the people's—interests. Johns defines “developed” democracies as “democratic societies with accountable government, strong regulation of the corporate sector and an absence of endemic corruption in business-government dealings.”<sup>7</sup> He goes on to say that in such countries, “the role of NGOs is problematic... An organized and active citizenry on some issues may be good for the activists; but it may be bad for everyone else.”<sup>8</sup>

In its statements, NGO Watch argues that NGOs in developed democracies often act on behalf of government as a *replacement* or *usurper* of legitimate government. By resting its case on the twin assertions of the legitimacy of representative government in developed democracies, and the usurpation of that legitimate power by narrowly based special interest NGOs, Gary Johns and NGO Watch condemn NGOs as antidemocratic.

From the perspective of NGO Watch, NGOs “usurp” legitimate government functions and policies in two ways. The first is by interfering in government negotiations and agreements over trade and other policies by applying pressure through advocacy work and mobilizing public opinion. The

second is by criticizing business and corporate interests for acting without regard for the public interest. Indeed, NGOs do often act in contradiction to two ideological commitments that are now dominant within the U.S. government: the assumptions of neo-liberalism (a conservative ideology that supports limited government and unregulated free market capitalism, opposes government ownership of public utilities, and supports privatization of any nonmilitary governmental functions), and the consensus that democracy, which is naturally linked to a free market economic system by votaries of this argument, is the highest form of social system. NGO Watch shares the current Administration's commitment to these two beliefs and opposes any civil or government bodies that do not support them—positions that align NGO Watch with free market capitalism and its institutions, such as private corporations, businesses, free trade agreements, and unilateral international treaties.

It is no surprise to see AEI launch a campaign on behalf of corporate interests, free trade, and the free market system. Its publications, as well as its roster of supporters, fellows and donors, are consistent with such a campaign. NGO Watch directly reflects AEI's central focus on the defense and promotion of free market capitalism. As described in a *New York Times* editorial, AEI's June 2003 conference was a “misguided effort” that “attacked other nongovernmental groups for positions that offend the religious right.” The editorial went on to say that, while the website has improved since June 2003, “its ideological underpinnings continue to rob it of credibility.”<sup>9</sup>

### Why This Campaign Now? Who Benefits?

NGO Watch accomplishes a number of strategic goals for the Right.

*NGO Watch is an explicit attack on NGOs*, domestically and internationally, many of which rightist groups perceive as “liberal.” Accusing them of being “unaccountable” and “working for the good of a few people instead of the good of the



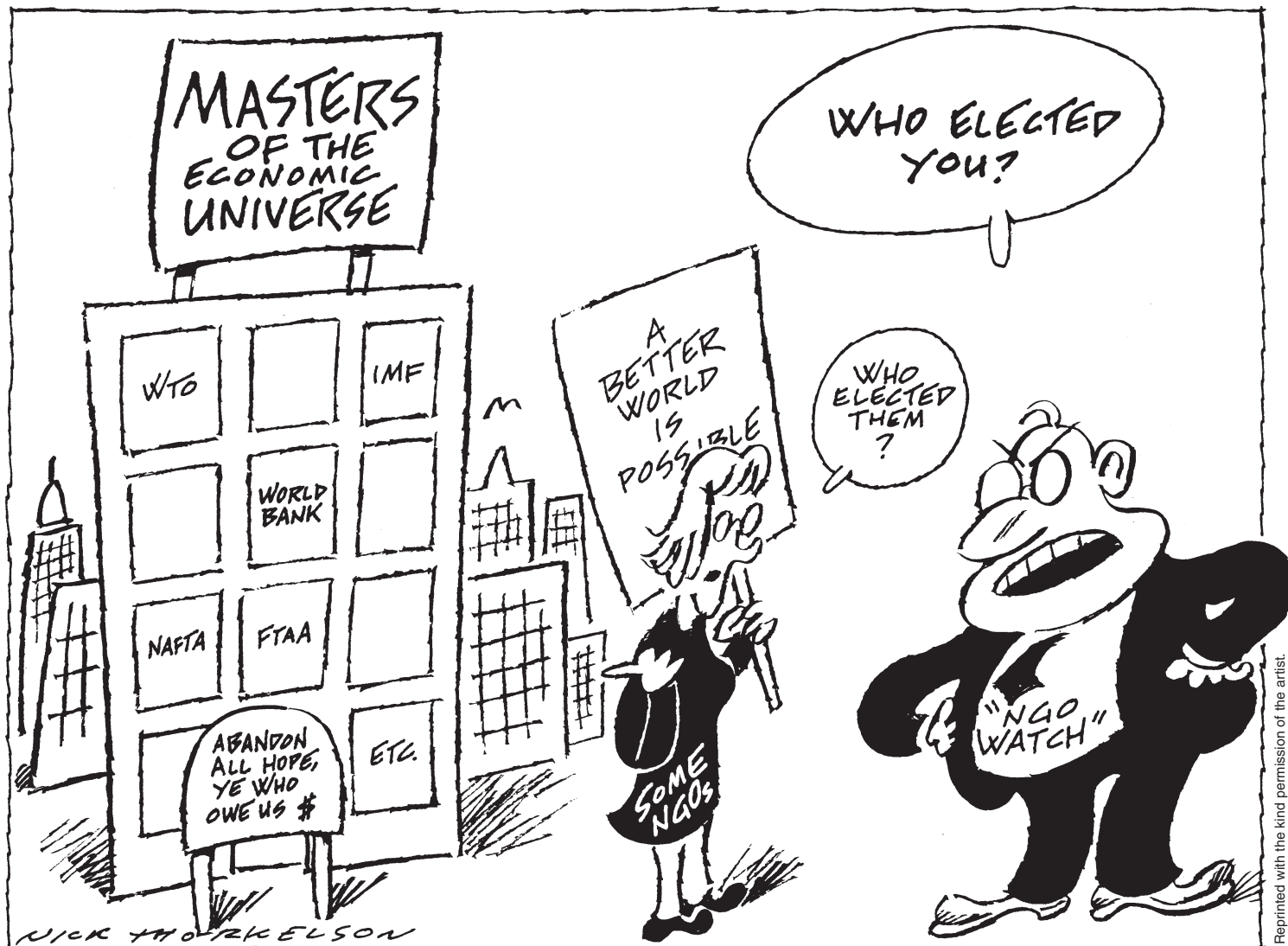
whole society” may play very well with the broad U.S. public. At the June AEI conference, Roger Bate of International Policy Network acknowledged that, although NGOs and aid agencies do alleviate problems experienced by developing countries, some have been undermining democratic processes and, at the very least, advocating policies that exacerbate poverty and disease. “NGOs definitely provide benefits in the short run,” said Bate. “But I would argue in the long run their influence is nearly always malignant, either through their own political acts directly or via aid agencies.”

Bate cited the recent controversy over the use of the chemical DDT in South Africa as an instance of “eco-imperialism,” with NGO influence causing significant harm. Under pressure from environmental organ-

izations, including the World Wildlife Fund and Greenpeace, South Africa stopped using DDT in 1996 and switched to an alternative pesticide. But then it started using DDT again in 2000 after malaria rates began to climb. “Fortunately for South Africans, their government can fund DDT spraying from their own treasury,” Bate said. “[But most African countries rely] very heavily on aid. The Swedish international donor agency claims it can’t fund the use of DDT in poor countries because it’s illegal in Sweden. If 3 percent of Swedish babies were dying every year, that opinion would change rapidly in Sweden and in Europe.” Bate went on to draw similar conclusions regarding long-term AIDS policy and genetically modified food policies.<sup>10</sup> From his perspective, wisdom in these areas lies in the free market.

*NGO Watch defends the unfettered free market*, domestically and internationally, and the freedom of private business and corporate interests to enter into agreements with governments, without NGO lobbying or mobilization of public opinion. Accusing NGOs of acting *in place of* the governments of the countries in which they reside, NGO Watch concludes that NGOs illegitimately usurp the sovereignty of those governments. The sector of the Right that sponsors NGO Watch believes that only duly elected democratic governments and the free market-based business community have legitimate roles in State sovereignty (decisions made by the State, actions taken by the State, and official State foreign and domestic policies).

At the June AEI conference, David Riggs of the Capital Research Center noted



that, “By definition, NGOs should be independent from government. However, today 3,000 NGOs, including the National Organization of Women and Greenpeace International, have consultative status with various U.N. bodies. NGOs are promoting new international arrangements that are indifferent to the U.S. Constitution, which safeguards our liberties and guarantees our national sovereignty.<sup>11</sup> A hypothetical example of what NGO Watch sees as NGO interference with the natural sovereignty of the State and the legitimate operation of the free market would be an environmental group that organizes against an oil agreement between a large U.S. oil company and the Peruvian government. If the oil company agreed to adopt some of the NGOs demands, the Right would accuse it of interfering with “government sovereignty.”

***NGO Watch is a subtle attack on the United Nations***, which legitimizes and listens to NGOs. NGO status is granted by the United Nations, an institution long opposed by the Right as a threat to U.S. sovereignty and an impediment to U.S. international economic interests. The United Nations symbolizes bilateralism in foreign policy, sets the standards (and hence the limits) of international adventurism, and gives voice to less powerful countries in international affairs. By targeting both U.S. and international NGOs, NGO Watch is accomplishing its goal of advancing the public critique and damaging the U.N.’s international legitimacy.

***NGO Watch places the philanthropic sponsors of NGOs under increased scrutiny*** by accusing them of promoting an activist agenda that is “unaccountable” and challenges the “legitimate” agendas of governments and the free market. In the case of government funders, such as USAID, pressure from NGO Watch could discourage government agencies from using NGOs as their agents in aid, relief, and democracy-building projects. In the case of public and private foundations, NGO Watch could harass foundations with unflattering critiques packaged as “research,” mobilize public opinion against

foundations, or even pressure Congress to hold public hearings on foundation grant-making.

***NGO Watch is a subtle attack on civil society itself.*** By drawing a distinction between civil society practices that are acceptable and those that are “unaccountable,” the sector of the Right that is sponsoring NGO Watch is attempting to strip civil society of its core feature—a space where voices that are independent of government or free market economic institutions can be heard and can exert influence. Not all rightist organizations are ideologically opposed to civil society. Most are simply opposed to those organizations within civil society that oppose their goals. However, AEI and The Federalist Society see only two legitimate sources of power in society: the government (legitimate in genuine free-market democracies), and the free-market system (which operates by “the invisible hand”). One scholar has described AEI’s ideology as “business fundamentalism.” The Federalist Society, which in its mildest form, advocates strict constitutionalism in legal decisions, could be described as supporting a form of “judicial fundamentalism.”<sup>12</sup>

AEI bases its belief that an unfettered free-market system is the only legitimate economic system on its faith in “the invisible hand” that controls market decisions and directions for the greatest benefit of society. Introduced by Adam Smith (1723-1790) in his book, *The Wealth of Nations*, the concept of the invisible hand currently refers to a notion that, although consumers choose the lowest priced goods and entrepreneurs seek the highest profits, consumers control entrepreneurs through the open market of competition. Economic prosperity and individual satisfaction are maximized, if consumers are free to seek the best products produced by entrepreneurs at the lowest cost. The system is self-regulating, unless government regulations, taxes, unions, and pressure from mobilized “interest groups” distort the workings of the free market.

According to the true believers of NGO Watch, free market capitalism in its pure

form is unquestionably the best economic system, and the legitimate expression of public opinion occurs only through the institutions of government in a democracy. From their perspective, all other expressions reflect the will of a tiny minority and are symptomatic of the danger posed by civil society.

### What Can We Learn about the Right from This Campaign?

**NGO** Watch has been launched in the midst of a consolidation of the Right’s political power in Washington and at the state and local levels under the umbrella of the George W. Bush Administration and Republican control of both houses of Congress. It is also a time of consolidation of the Right as a social movement. Given these favorable conditions, this historical moment is the Right’s chance to chill and roll back the work of liberal and progressive NGOs.

The Bush Administration creates an opportunity for the Right, one in which it must use all its muscle to push through “reforms” that will perhaps go further than the American people know or support, but which, once established, will be hard to reverse. A strategic division of labor is the key to success when a social movement has its representatives in positions of power.

### How a Social Movement Works when it has Governmental Support

**A**n effective social movement exploits its connections with power-holders and policy-makers. If it has the sympathetic ear of federal and state legislators, and is aligned with the party that holds a Congressional majority or the Presidency, its voice is magnified enormously. In this case, each group—the movement organizations and the elected and appointed official power-holders—has a role to play.

NGO Watch is sponsored by two organizations that have a strikingly symbiotic relationship with the Republican Party and especially the George W. Bush Administration. It attacks opposition groups that might hold back or even stand

Many questions about the appropriate role and identity of NGOs remain unanswered and deserve lively debate among activists, funders, relief and aid organizations, religious groups, policy makers from many countries, and (importantly) recipients. A thoughtful dialogue, which places the NGO mandate of alleviating poverty and oppression at the center of the discussion, is much-needed. Unfortunately, NGO Watch, with its antiliberal political agenda and corporate clientele, holds very little promise of such a debate.

Instead, NGO Watch is a predictable right-wing attack on liberal activism, launched on behalf of corporate interests and the agenda of the George W. Bush Administration.

It will play out—if not now at sometime in the near future—as a strategy of harassment against humanitarian and progressive organizations.

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in the way of the shared goals of the Bush Administration, the sector of the Right represented by AEI and the Federalist Society, and the larger Right. Its home page, [www.NGOWatch.org](http://www.NGOWatch.org) states that “Many NGOs are true grassroots organizations committed to humanitarian ideals; but many have now gone beyond their original missions and are assuming the roles of consultants to corporations and public policy and political decision makers. This is especially true for international NGOs...” This is a veiled reference to cases in which NGOs have pressured for the protection of human rights or the insertion of environmental regulations in international treaties or international business deals. This sort of “liberal” activism is nearly always opposed by the Bush Administration, and by AEI and the Federal Society.

A wonderfully illustrative document is a speech on the subject of NGOs, given by the secretary of labor in the Bush Administration, Elaine Chao. In her speech, she begins by stating how proud she is that, other than the Department of Justice, the

Department of Labor has the Administration’s greatest number of members of the Federalist Society members in its ranks.

In her critique of NGOs, she echoes the perspective of NGO Watch. She argues for accountability and transparency, but goes on to complain that, “...what is notable, and what you need to pay attention to, and what your program is pointing out, is the growing alliance of unelected NGOs and multilateral bodies, such as the United Nations, its various affiliated organizations, and the European Union, to influence the politics and laws of democratic societies... We’ve noticed that elements of controversial social agendas advocated by NGOs are cropping up more frequently in the documents of these international multilateral organizations.” She complains that “Among the accredited observers found at a recent general conference attended by our department’s officials were organizations whose mission statements support disarmament, the reallocation of defense spending to social needs, quotas based on sex and race, or government intervention in national cultural practices

to ensure they’re gender neutral.”

Implying that organizations promoting these issues are “anti-liberty,” Secretary Chao later states that “There’s a real need for organizations that believe in liberty to become engaged in this battle for international public opinion and standard setting. All too often our side writes off the United Nations and other multilateral international organizations as a waste of our time and resources... The reality is that multilateral organizations, NGOs, are becoming major, key players in global public opinion and standard setting. Conservatives need to pay attention to these organizations and the NGOs that influence them... The (Federalist) Society’s NGO Watch program will provide an invaluable resource for those who cherish freedom, liberty, transparency, and accountability.<sup>13</sup> In a previous issue, *The Public Eye* has documented how Christian Rightists have not only been engaged in obtaining NGO status at the United Nations and its bodies, but have also been members of the official U.S. delegation to the United Nations.

By her actions, we know that Secretary

### NGO MONITOR

With so much publicity devoted to AEI's NGO Watch, it is easy to overlook another conservative NGO watchdog group, NGO Monitor, which focuses on perceived threats to Israeli interests. Run by the Institute for Contemporary Affairs (ICA), which is based in the Jerusalem Center for Public Affairs (JCPA), NGO Monitor is a joint venture of B'nai B'rith International, ICA, and the Wechsler Foundation. Its website states that it was founded "to promote accountability, and advance a vigorous discussion on the reports and activities of humanitarian NGOs in the framework of the Arab-Israeli conflict."<sup>15</sup> NGO Monitor cites examples of anti-Israeli "distortion" by humanitarian groups such as the UN Commission on Human Rights (which it accuses of regularly adopting 5-8 anti-Israel resolutions, and using meetings for one-sided discussions of Israeli policy), Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, the Palestinian Center for Human Rights, Physicians for Human Rights-Israel, the Ford Foundation, the Israel Fund, Christian Aid, and the Advocacy Project.

In an article by two researchers at JCPA, titled "Monitoring the Political Role of NGOs," the authors accuse "many NGOs" of "misquoting international law and overusing the terms 'war crimes,' 'genocide,' and 'ethnic cleansing.'" They go on to say that NGO Monitor and similar initiatives serve to challenge the moral authority of NGOs, increase the accountability demanded from them, expose them to greater scrutiny by the press and by funding organizations, and question the "halo effect" that has protected them from criticism and scrutiny.<sup>16</sup> The ideological slant of NGO Monitor's work is unabashedly pro-Israeli. It does not claim to be a politically neutral examination of NGO activities and practices.

Chao also supports "transparency" on the domestic front. She has pushed through an executive rule that unions must disclose how they spend their money, so that those expenditures can be challenged by their members. Transparency, in this case, is intended to open labor unions to challenges from conservatives in order to blunt labor's support for Democratic candidates.

### A Campaign in Waiting

But in early 2004, NGO Watch has barely lifted off its launching pad and is presenting an anemic face to the policy world. It is virtually a campaign-in-waiting. Though it lists 170 organizations on its website, there is no relevant information about the organizations, other than publicly available information. Its ineffectiveness is apparent in the way it describes work that appears on its website: "This site will, without prejudice, compile factual data about non-governmental organizations. It will include analysis of relevant issues, treaties, and international organizations where NGOs are active. There will be cross-referenced information about corporations and NGOs, mission statements, and news about causes and campaigns. There will be links to NGOs and to articles and authors of interest."<sup>14</sup> This sort of research could be done by an undergraduate student. It almost seems the push behind NGO Watch is on hold. So, should we write off this effort as a non-starter for the Right?

First, NGO Watch is only one of a phalanx of attacks on progressive and liberal organizations. The attacks take many forms, from defunding liberal and progressive social service and advocacy programs to "public education" campaigns against "liberal" causes, and executive orders and recess appointments that bypass the normal governmental channels.

Second, we should know by now that when the Right's campaigns are quiescent, they are not necessarily abandoned. Time and time again we have seen rightist organizations construct an antiliberal campaign, give it a launching conference or press release, then decide that the time isn't ripe for this particular campaign. This was

done with an attack on lesbian and gay people as the recipients of the plague of AIDS because of their lifestyle. AIDS as an expression of God's judgment on homosexuals and overt gay-bashing failed to move the public, and so the Christian Right toned down its rhetoric to present a compassionate face by claiming to want to save gay people from the sin of homosexuality. When "partial birth abortion" or "abstinence only" sex education curriculum were initially launched and resourced, they too were too extreme for public opinion. These early efforts create an ideological placeholder. They remain in waiting until the moment is right for them to enjoy their day of acceptance in public opinion.

We must not be naively lulled into thinking that NGO Watch is a non-starter—a campaign with no future. Rather, we should see it as a forecast of things to come.

### What Consequences Can We Predict?

We should not dismiss the obvious bias of the American Enterprise Institute and its colleagues in NGO Watch as fringe rightist ideology. AEI is extremely influential within the current Administration. George W. Bush has acknowledged, that at least 20 of his Administration's members came from AEI, and others have placed that figure in the low 40s.<sup>17</sup> AEI is not just another player in the marketplace of ideas. Rather, it is intimately connected to the Bush Administration and, as such, signals Administration policy and tests it against public opinion, sometimes before the Administration itself has floated a public policy balloon.

The same is true of the Federalist Society. In addition to its increasingly prominent role in recommending judicial nominees for the Bush Administration (which now uses it, rather than the American Bar Association, as the source of vetting and recommendations for judicial appointments), 21 senior members of the Executive Branch of the Bush Administration are members of the Federalist Society.<sup>18</sup>



First, because AEI and the Federalist Society are so influential at this moment, we may see U.S. and international NGOs increasingly subjected to government scrutiny that NGOs may experience as harassment. Two areas in particular may be charted as courses of action against NGOs: 1) questioning of 501(c) (3) status by the Internal Revenue Service; and 2) a decrease in the funding of NGOs by foundations and by government bodies that use NGOs to distribute food and other form of aid. For instance, USAID is now beginning to criticize NGOs in Afghanistan for not making recipients of food donations aware that the donor is the U.S. government.<sup>19</sup>

Second, rightist campaigns often contain internal contradictions that seem obvious but can fly beneath the public's radar. In this case, the contradiction is between the usual mantra of the Right—that government should be limited (the more limited the better)—and the arguments made by NGO Watch that governments should be sovereign, are the only authentic voice of the people, and should have absolute power in policy making. It is rare in rightist campaigns for government to be portrayed so favorably. But the contradiction itself may be too complex for the public to grasp, and the attack on NGOs may go unquestioned by a public looking for somewhere to place blame for U.S. domestic and foreign policy misfortunes.

Third, it is common practice among rightist organizations to attack “liberal” organizations for the very practices that the rightist organizations use on a daily basis. In their accusations that progressive organizations are guilty of hypocrisy or opportunism, rightist organizations themselves use hypocrisy and opportunism. In the case of NGO Watch, rightist tax-exempt organizations (or, in the case of the Institute for Public Affairs, an actual NGO organization) are attacking other tax-exempt organizations for attempting to influence the course of history by working outside the spheres of the government and the free market. This, of course, is what rightist tax-exempt organizations do every day. But in 2003, criticizing those who oppose gov-

ernmental policies is particularly beneficial for the Right, because their own ideological colleagues control government. The critique, therefore, is entirely situation-based. From the Right's perspective, in 1995 it was entirely correct to attack government, even to shut it down. In 2003, criticizing the government is seen by the Right as unpatriotic and threatening to the country. Unfortunately, public opinion can be easily distracted and logic can be submerged beneath popular rhetoric.

## Conclusion

Many questions about the appropriate role and identity of NGOs remain unanswered and deserve lively debate among activists, funders, relief and aid organizations, religious groups, policy makers from many countries, and (importantly) recipients. A thoughtful dialogue, which places the NGO mandate of alleviating poverty and oppression at the center of the discussion, is much-needed. Unfortunately, NGO Watch, with its antiliberal political agenda and corporate clientele, holds very little promise of such a debate.

Instead, NGO Watch is a predictable right-wing attack on liberal activism, launched on behalf of corporate interests and the agenda of the George W. Bush Administration. It will play out—if not now at sometime in the near future—as a strategy of harassment against humanitarian and progressive organizations.

NGO Watch and the aggressive pursuit by the Justice Department of new governmental powers provided by the USA PATRIOT Act have already begun to chill the atmosphere in international aid work. While contributing nothing at all to making the United States more safe from attacks from within or without, NGO Watch uses the threat of its full complement of attack mechanisms, including damaging an organization's funding and credibility, to further the Right's agenda.

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## Endnotes

<sup>1</sup> See Alnoor Ebrahim. 2003. *NGOs and Organizational Change: Discourse, Reporting, and Learning*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Critiques of NGOs, and the foundations that fund them, have also been raised by progressive groups and movements, which make the argument that the funding of the progressive movement by mainstream and even liberal foundations has led to “mission creep,” and a corporatizing of groups within the progressive movement. Incite! Women of Color Against Violence, for example, is organizing a conference in April/May 2004 titled, “The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-Profit Industrial Complex.” Similarly, the World Social Forum which held its fourth meeting this year in Bombay, India, has also come under criticism for similar reasons.

<sup>2</sup> Gettler, Leon. 2003. “For Corporate and Social Activists, the Key Word is Accountability.” *The Age* (Melbourne), August 29, p. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Van Tuijl, Peter and Lisa Jordan. 1999. “Political Responsibility in Transnational NGO Advocacy.” Washington, DC: Bank Information Center.

<sup>4</sup> See Heritage Foundation. 1979. *Mandate for Leadership*. Washington, DC: Heritage Foundation.

<sup>5</sup> Johns, Gary. 2002. “Protocols with NGOs: The Need to Know.” *IPA Backgrounder*, vol. 13, no. 1.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. See also, Johns, Gary. 2000. “NGO Way to Go.” *IPA Backgrounder*; and Untitled, Senate Occasional Lecture, Parliament House, Canberra, August 23, 2002. Available at [www.ipa.org.au](http://www.ipa.org.au).

<sup>7</sup> Johns, “Protocols with NGOs,” op. cit., p. 1.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> “Holding Civic Groups Accountable.” 2003. *New York Times*, July 21, p. A18.

<sup>10</sup> AEI Press Release, June 11, 2003. See Bate, Roger, and Richard Tren. 2003. “Do NGOs Improve Wealth and Health in South Africa?” paper presented at AEI Conference, June 11, 2003.

<sup>11</sup> AEI Press Release, June 11, 2003, op. cit.

<sup>12</sup> Smith, James Allen. 1991. *The Idea Brokers*. New York: Free Press, p. 174.

<sup>13</sup> Chao, Elaine. 2003. Speech at the 21st Anniversary, National Lawyers Convention Sessions, The Federalist Society, November 14, 2003.

<sup>14</sup> Accessed on February 20, 2004 at [www.NGOWatch.org](http://www.NGOWatch.org).

<sup>15</sup> See [www.ngo-monitor.org](http://www.ngo-monitor.org)

<sup>16</sup> Steinberg, Gerald M., and Simon Lassman. 2003. “Monitoring the Political Role of NGOs,” *Jerusalem Letter/Viewpoints*, no. 499, June 2003.

<sup>17</sup> Lobe, Jim. 2003. “Right Wing Think Tanks Turn Wrath on NGOs.” Published online by *Foreign Policy in Focus*, June 13, 2003, p. 1. Available at [www.fpiif.org](http://www.fpiif.org).

<sup>18</sup> People for the American Way. 2001. “The Federalist Society: From Obscurity to Power.” Washington, DC: People for the American Way, August 2001.

<sup>19</sup> Lobe, op. cit., p. 1.

# Campus Insecurity

## The Right's Attack on Faculty, Programs, and Departments at U.S. Universities

By *Nikhil Aziz*

### Patriot Games

Immigrant communities were targeted in the crackdown after 9/11/01, but they, antiwar activists, and NGOs (See “Policing Civil Society: NGO Watch,” in this issue), are not the only ones under fire from the Right in its war on dissent. Reminiscent of the McCarthy era, universities and colleges across the country, particularly the faculty who teach at them, are being attacked in the name of patriotism, homeland security, and the “war on terrorism.” It is important to remember, as William Walker, in an article in the *Toronto Star* writes, this new war against dissent is “being waged not just against students and professors, although universities are where the major skirmishes are taking place. Journalists, business people, even retirees have been targeted for speaking out. Some have been fired from their jobs, received hate mail or been made social outcasts for exercising their First Amendment right to freedom of speech.”<sup>1</sup>

The American Council of Trustees and Alumni (ACTA, see [www.goacta.org](http://www.goacta.org)), has trained its rhetorical guns on college professors who have questioned U.S. policies since the attacks on 9/11/01. Founded by (among others) Lynne Cheney, wife of Vice President Dick Cheney and Senator Joe Lieberman (D-CT) in 1995 as the National Alumni Forum (it changed its name in 1998), ACTA published a list of over 100 statements expressed in public by faculty, staff, and students that are not in accord with the current Administration's views. ACTA, according to Walker, “cites a ‘blame America first’ bias among hundreds of professors and is monitoring their antiwar statements.”<sup>2</sup> The list itself is part of a larger report put out by ACTA called,

“Defending Civilization: How Our Universities Are Failing America and What Can Be Done About It.” Emily Eakin notes in the *New York Times*, that the report's title page features an excerpt from a “speech by Mrs. Cheney calling for colleges to offer more courses on American history.”<sup>3</sup>

“We're criticizing the dominant campus orthodoxy that so often finds that America and Western civilization are the source of the world's ills,” said Anne D. Neal, vice president of the council and a co-author of the report. . . . The cure for academe's anti-American bias, Ms. Neal and her co-author write, is what the council has been advocating all along: more courses on American history and Western civilization. Ms. Neal said that the council would send copies of the report to 3,000 college and university trustees.

Scholars protest that the council is taking advantage of a national crisis to further its [conservative and Eurocentric] academic agenda. ‘Their aim is to enforce a particular party line on American colleges and universities,’ said Eric Foner, a professor of American history at Columbia University whose name appears in the report. ‘Now they're seizing upon this particular moment and the feeling that they're in the driver's seat to suppress the expression of alternative points of view.’<sup>4</sup>

Jack Calareso, president of Ohio Dominican University, noted in the *Columbus Dispatch* that, “the organization [ACTA] criticized the University of California at Los Angeles for announcing

plans to expand the number of courses it offered on Islamic and Asian cultures, saying, ‘In the rush to add courses, these institutions frequently reinforced the mind-set that it was America and America's failure to understand Islam that were to blame.’ Are universities actually supporting terrorism by fostering students' understanding of other cultures?’<sup>5</sup> Calareso further observes that the “organization's report flies in the face of its stated mission as a ‘nonprofit educational organization committed to academic freedom, excellence and accountability on college campuses. . . supporting programs and policies that encourage high academic standards, strong curricula, and the free exchange of ideas on campus.’<sup>6</sup>

Beyond creating lists, however, ACTA has sent “mass mailings to alumni of schools where ‘offensive’ comments have been made, urging donations be cut off and pressuring university trustees to take action. One Florida professor, who didn't have the protection of being tenured, has already been fired.”<sup>7</sup>

ACTA is not the only group active in this arena. Americans for Victory Over Terrorism (AVOT, see [www.avot.org](http://www.avot.org)), founded in 2002 by William Bennett (Ronald Reagan's education secretary and George H. W. Bush's “drug czar”), James Woolsey (CIA director under George H. W. Bush), and Frank Gaffney (who was assistant secretary of defense for international security policy under Ronald Reagan), is a group that, according to an article in *USA Today* by Walter Shapiro, “stands ready to wage holy war against those who would weaken America's resolve to fight terrorism.”<sup>8</sup>

Most right-wing protagonists, however, equate “America's resolve,” with George W. Bush's foreign policy. Speaking

at the press conference called to announce the formation of AVOT, Bennett remarked, "Professional and amateur critics of America are finding their voices. They're finding their voice on campuses, in salons, in learned societies and in the print media and on television."<sup>9</sup> According to Shapiro, Bennett "pledged to take this fight 'to campuses, salons, oratorical societies, editorial pages and television."<sup>10</sup>

And in this spirit, in February 2003 days before the United States invaded Iraq and before worldwide antiwar protests, AVOT organized a teach-in at Columbia University. The teach-in featured Paul Bremer (now head of the U.S. occupation in Iraq), and AVOT founders Bennett, Woolsey, and Gaffney. While all the panelists justified going to war against Iraq for various reasons,

Gaffney gave perhaps the most dubious one, claiming "that there was suggestive, although not conclusive, evidence linking Iraq with the Oklahoma City bombing."<sup>11</sup>

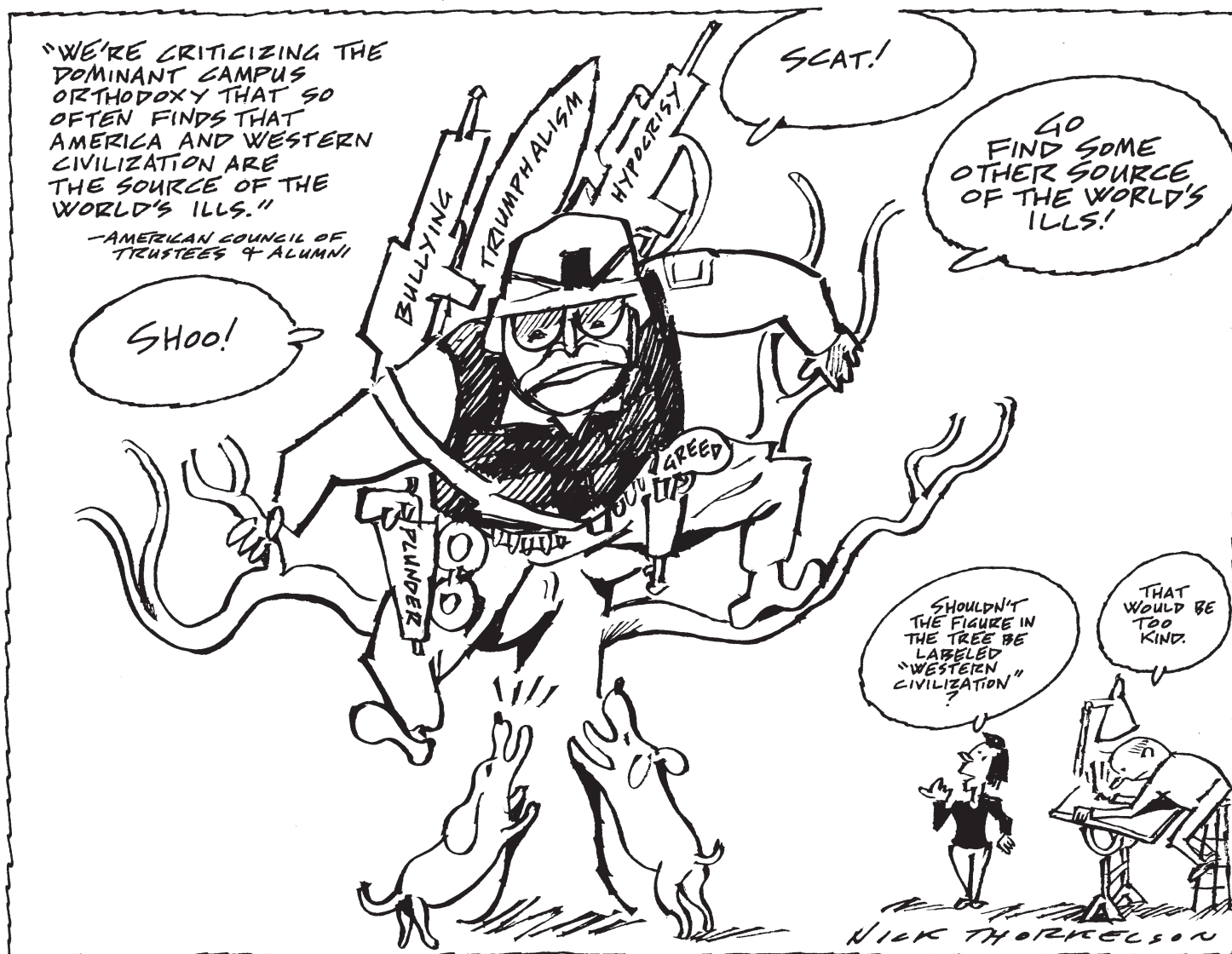
## Holy Wars

Besides individual faculty and university officials, Area Studies departments, (particularly Middle East Studies departments), are increasingly being scrutinized. A leading organization in this area is Campus Watch (see [www.campus-watch.org](http://www.campus-watch.org)), founded by conservative commentator Daniel Pipes (see [www.danielpipes.org](http://www.danielpipes.org)), who was nominated by George W. Bush to the U.S. Institute of Peace. In the face of major opposition to his nomination, President Bush appointed Pipes in a recess appointment in August 2003.

Campus Watch's website features its mission statement, the problems it sees with Middle East Studies in the United States, and its analysis of why these problems occur:

"Campus Watch, a project of the Middle East Forum, reviews and critiques Middle East studies in North America, with an aim to improving them. The project mainly addresses five problems:

- analytical failures [University-based Middle East specialists have been consistently wrong in their analyses],
- the mixing of politics with scholarship [Many U.S. scholars of the Middle East lack any appreciation of their country's national interests and often use their positions of authority to disparage these interests],





- intolerance of alternative views [The Middle East studies professorate is almost monolithically leftist due to a systematic exclusion of those with conservative or even moderately liberal views. The result is that Middle East studies lack intellectual diversity],
- apologetics [Middle East studies tend to evade, ignore, or apologize for topics that do not fit their politicized agenda],
- and the abuse of power over students [Middle East scholars impose their views on students and sometimes expect students to embrace their own politics, punishing those who do not with lower grades or weaker recommendations].

Campus Watch fully respects the freedom of speech of those it debates while insisting on its own freedom to comment on their words and deeds.”<sup>12</sup>

Such accusations are not new, and have been leveled by conservatives across disciplines. For instance, adherents of the Independent Women’s Forum’s views have accused feminists along similar lines. And curiously, playing the victim card is a recurrent theme within rightist discourse across the board, even as rightists commonly accuse leftists, women, ethnic minorities, and other marginalized groups of suffering from a victim syndrome.

Like the ACTA report that featured the list of “unpatriotic” or “insufficiently patriotic” sentiments, Campus Watch also features similar statements by Middle East Studies faculty or commentators, including a “Quote of the Month” complete with an accompanying picture of the author quoted. One such example is from an article in the *Chronicle of Higher Education* that quotes Nezar AlSayyad, chair of the Center for Middle Eastern Studies at the University of California at Berkeley: “We get money from the federal government. That does not mean we do

what the federal government says. As academics, we have academic freedom. That’s our God-given right.”<sup>13</sup>

And again, like ACTA, Campus Watch claims as one of its goals, its intention to “Alert university stakeholders (administrators, alumni, trustees, regents, parents of students, state/provincial and federal legislators) to the problems in Middle East

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**“While academia is doubtless more left-leaning than many other professional environments, it is by no means the extremist left-wing monolith that the neocons claim. In reality, some institutions tend to be critical of U.S. policy and others not; some tend to support Arab positions, while others express sympathy for Israel. Some engage in ‘leftist’ post-colonial studies, others in quantitative survey work, and others still in ‘rightist’ political-culture studies.”**

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studies and encourage them to address existing problems. We challenge these stakeholders to take back their universities, and not passively to accept the mistakes, extremism, intolerance, apologetics, and abuse when these occur.”<sup>14</sup>

But the challenge comes from more than a few rightist individuals or organizations. In October 2003, the U.S. House of Representatives unanimously passed HR 3077 or the “International Studies in Higher Education Act of 2003.” As Benita

Singh reported in the *Yale Daily News*, “HR 3077 was first proposed in June, at a Congressional hearing on ‘International Programs in Higher Education and Questions about Bias.’ Portraying academic institutions, particularly area studies programs, as hotbeds for anti-American sentiment, proponents of the bill proposed the creation of an advisory board that has the final word on curricula taught at Title VI institutions, course materials assigned in class, and even the faculty who are hired in institutions that accept Title VI funding.”<sup>15</sup>

Jennifer Jacobson observes in the *Chronicle of Higher Education*, that “the board, made up of political appointees, would review the programs but not run them. Three members of the board would be named by the secretary of education, and one each by the majority and minority leaders of the House and Senate.”<sup>16</sup> She, however, cites the concern of Amy Newhall, executive director of the Middle East Studies Association: “The potential for meddling is still very great... Proponents [of the bill] certainly see it as intrusive... they’re looking forward to it.”<sup>17</sup>

Even some conservatives are alarmed at the level of this intrusion. The *American Conservative* magazine founded by Paleoconservative Pat Buchanan, featured an article by Anders Strindberg that noted,

“Taking advantage of the fears and anxieties following 9/11, and their current political clout in Washington, neocon think tanks have waged a three-part battle against the academy. First it was necessary to popularize the view of universities across the country as an unmitigated breeding ground for ‘terrorist thought.’ This was accompanied by the monitoring of scholars and institutions that expressed criticism of Israel and of U.S. foreign policy (i.e., ‘anti-Semitic’ and ‘anti-American’ views), ‘naming and shaming’ them on the Internet and in columns and editorials. While thus ‘raising pub-



lic awareness, Congress was being lobbied for legislation to confront the threat from this enemy within: the fifth column in the ivory tower.”<sup>18</sup>

Strindberg reports that, “The most prominent advocates of HR 3077 have been Martin Kramer, a senior associate in the Moshe Dayan Center at Tel Aviv University and editor of the *Middle East Quarterly*; Daniel Pipes, director of the Middle East Forum (which publishes the *Middle East Quarterly*); and Stanley Kurtz, a fellow at the Hoover Institution and contributing editor to *National Review*.”<sup>19</sup>

It is not entirely surprising to get this perspective from a Paleoconservative magazine—Paleocons have historically been isolationist and insensitive to anti-semitism, and there is no love lost between them and the Neocons. But given that, Strindberg is correct to point out that,

“While academia is doubtless more left-leaning than many other professional environments, it is by no means the extremist left-wing monolith that the neocons claim. In reality, some institutions tend to be critical of U.S. policy and others not; some tend to support Arab positions, while others express sympathy for Israel. Some engage in ‘leftist’ post-colonial studies, others in quantitative survey work, and others still in ‘rightist’ political-culture studies. There is great diversity of perspectives, and the debate between them enriches academic inquiry and improves the general knowledge base.”<sup>20</sup>

### Laboring Classes

Besides Area Studies departments, another area of academe that the Right has zeroed in on is Labor Studies. Across the country, departments, programs, and centers for Labor Studies are being systematically attacked by an alliance of conservative think tanks, funders, elected officials, and pro-industry lobbying groups. As David Bacon, reported recently in the *Nation*,

**Besides Area Studies departments, another area of academe that the Right has zeroed in on is Labor Studies. Across the country, departments, programs, and centers for Labor Studies are being systematically attacked by an alliance of conservative think tanks, funders, elected officials, and pro-industry lobbying groups.**

“When newly elected Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger unilaterally imposed draconian budget cuts on the state just before Christmas, he wiped out this year’s remaining funding for the Institute for Labor and Employment [ILE]. If he does the same thing with next year’s appropriation in March, the institute will be destroyed.”<sup>21</sup> But, as he points out, this is just the latest move in a long campaign to shut down the ILE that has been mounted by California’s “Associated Builders and Contractors (ABC, the powerful lobby for nonunion construction companies) and the Pete Wilson wing of the state’s Republican Party, which has retaken the governor’s mansion.”<sup>22</sup>

Bacon argues that the ABC set its sights on the ILE after the latter published a study on project labor agreements (PLAs), which while enabling wages, benefits, and union status to be agreed upon prior to starting large construction projects, work against nonunion construction.<sup>23</sup> And in fact, George W. Bush banned such agreements “as one of his first acts in office (facing Congressional opposition, he later allowed agreements for then-current projects to continue, but prohibited PLAs on new federal projects).”<sup>24</sup>

One of the leading players in this campaign is the Pacific Research Institute (PRI, see [www.pacificresearch.org](http://www.pacificresearch.org)), a rightist libertarian think tank funded by some of the leading conservative foundations in the United States, including the Sarah Scaife Foundation and the John M. Olin Foundation.<sup>25</sup> According to the PRI website, Bacon notes, the ILE was anti-capitalist because it was involved in “popularizing unions in high schools and adult schools and doing research that supported campaigns to raise the minimum wage and pass ‘living wage’ ordinances.”<sup>26</sup> The underlying assumption of PRI’s argument, according to Bacon, is that workers should negotiate as individuals—thereby negating the premise of collective bargaining which has been public policy since 1936.<sup>27</sup>

There is a double standard in the attack by groups such as the PRI, but hardly surprising given its ideological bent. While Labor Studies departments and programs are being accused of supporting private or special interests, as opposed to public good, the same is not said about business schools and programs. Far more universities (including public ones) have departments and even schools of business than have Labor Studies, and spend far more public monies on them. As Elaine Bernard of Harvard University’s Trade Union Program observes, “Can you imagine a business administration program that doesn’t take for granted the need to make profits...or that doesn’t want to talk to business leaders, or place its students in companies? But when a labor program assumes that workers should strive to raise wages and improve conditions, it’s considered selfish—against the public interest.”<sup>28</sup>

One of the main reasons why Labor Studies programs are being targeted is because the nature of Labor Studies in the United States has fundamentally changed over the years. When they were first begun, most of these programs “taught labor economics, trained stewards and union negotiators, and examined health and safety

CAMPUS INSECURITY *continues on page 16*

# Books Received

**Chua, Amy**

*World on Fire: How Exporting Free Market Democracy Breeds Ethnic Hatred, And Global Instability*  
(New York, NY: Doubleday, 2003), hb, 288pp, notes, index.

**Cohen, Carl, Ed.**

*Communism, Fascism, and Democracy*  
(New York, NY: Random House, 1962), pb, 638pp, index.

**Conason, Joe**

*Big Lies: The Right-Wing Propaganda Machine and How It Distorts the Truth*  
(New York, NY: Thomas Dunne/St. Martin's, 2003), hb, 245pp, index.

**Corn, David**

*The Lies of George W. Bush: Mastering the Politics of Deception*  
(New York, NY: Crown, 2003), hb, 337pp, index.

**Cunningham, David**

*There's Something Happening Here: The New Left, The Klan, and FBI Counterintelligence*  
(Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2004), hb, 366pp, index.

**Daugherty, Harry M., and Thomas Dixon**

*The Inside Story of the Harding Tragedy*  
(New York, NY: The Churchill Company, 1932), hb, 300pp, appendix (22pp.).

**Dixon, Thomas**

*The Sins of the Father: A Romance of the South, Illustrated by John Cassel*  
(New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1912), hb, 462pp.

**Dixon, Thomas C.**

*The Victim*  
(New York, NY: D. Appleton & Co., 1914), hb, 511pp.

**Dixon, Thomas Jr.**

*Comrades: A Story of Social Adventure in California*  
(New York, NY: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1909), hb, 319pp.

**Dixon, Thomas Jr.**

*The Fall of a Nation: The Sequel To The Birth of a Nation*  
(New York, NY and London, UK: D. Appleton & Co., 1916), hb, 362pp.

**Dixon, Thomas Jr.**

*The One Woman: A Story of Modern Utopia*  
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*The Traitor: A Story of the Fall of the Invisible Empire*  
(New York, NY: Doubleday, Page, & Co., 1907), hb, 331pp.

**Dixon, Thomas Jr.**

*The Root of Evil*  
(New York, NY: Grosset & Dunlap, 1911), hb, 407pp.

**Dixon, Thomas Jr.**

*The Southerner: A Romance of the Real Lincoln*  
(New York, NY: D. Appleton & Co., 1913), hb, 544pp.

**Dreistadt, Jessica R., and The Fruition Coalition**

*The People Pages: Resources for Social Change*  
(Philadelphia, PA: Fruition Coalition, 2003).

**Ferber, Abby L., Ed.**

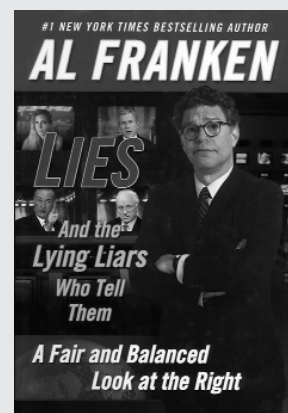
*Home-Grown Hate: Gender and Organized Racism*  
(New York, NY: Routledge, 2004), pb, 290pp, index.

**Foucault, Michel**

*Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison*  
(New York, NY: Vintage, 1977), pb, 308pp, notes, bibliography.

**Franken, Al**

*Lies And the Lying Liars Who Tell Them: A Fair and Balanced Look at the Right*  
(New York, NY: Dutton, 2003), hb, 379 pp, index, epilogue.



Griffith, Lee

*Fall of the Prison: Biblical Perspectives on Prison Abolition*  
(Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdsman, 1993), pb, 228pp,  
bibliography, index of scripture references.

Herek, Gregory M., and Kevin T. Berrill, Eds.

*Hate Crimes: Confronting Violence Against Lesbians  
and Gay Men*

(Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1992), pb, 302pp, about contribu-  
tors, about editors.

Hill, Michael Ortiz

*Dreaming the End of the World: Apocalypse as a Rite  
of Passage*

(Dallas, TX: Spring Publications, 1994), pb, 208pp,  
appendix (image glossary).

Horowitz, David A., Ed.

*Inside The Klavern*

(Carbondale, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999), pb,  
150pp, notes, index.

Hunter, Phil, and The American Sentinel

*Property Rights Almanac: Little-Known Tactics You Can  
Use To Protect Yourself From Asset-Grabbing Bureaucrats*

(Charlotte, NC: American Lantern Press, 2000), pb, 213pp.

Irvine, Reed, Cliff Kincaid, and Notra Trulock

*Why You Can't Trust the News*

(Washington, DC: Accuracy in Media, Inc., 2003), pb, 6x4  
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Judis, John B., and Ruy Teixeira

*The Emerging Democratic Majority,*

(New York, NY: Lisa Drew/Scribner, 2002), hb, 213pp, index.

Krugman, Paul

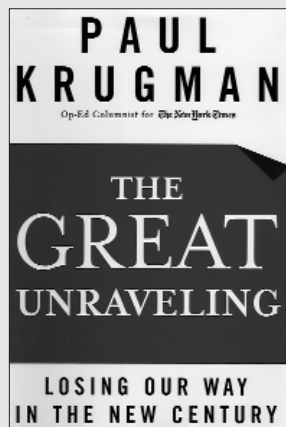
*The Great Unraveling: Losing  
Our Way in the New Century*

(New York, NY: Norton, 2003),  
hb, 426pp, index.

Lahaye, Beverly, and  
Janice Crouse

*The Strength of a Godly  
Woman: Finding Your Unique  
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(Eugene, OR: Harvest House  
Publishers, 2001), pb, 272pp,  
index.



Lam, Nora

*The Battle for the Chinese Bible: The Dragon's Battle for  
China's One Billion Souls*

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booklet.

Levin, Jack

*The Violence of Hate: Confronting Racism,  
Anti-Semitism, and Other Forms of Bigotry*

(Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon, 2002), pb, 97pp, 2 appen-  
dices, references, index.

Lifton, Robert Jay

*Super Power Syndrome: America's Apocalyptic  
Confrontation with the World*

(New York, NY: Thunder's Mouth Press/Nation Books,  
2003), pb, 211pp, acknowledgements.

Lindsey, Hal

*Blood Moon*

(Palos Verdes, CA: Western Front, 1996), hb, 358pp.

Lindsey, Hal

*The Everlasting Hatred: The Roots of Jihad*

(Murrieta, CA: Oracle House Publishing, 2002), pb, 266pp,  
appendices A-F.

Mansfield, Stephen

*The Faith of George W. Bush*

(New York, NY: Tarcher/Penguin, 2003), hb, 200pp, index.

Pawlick, J. Edward

*Libel by New York Times*

(Wellesley, MA: Mustard Seeds, 2003), hb, 356pp, index.

Roy, Jody M.

*Love to Hate: America's Obsession with Hatred and Violence*

(New York, NY: Columbia University Press, 2002), hb, 202pp,  
index.

Ruether, Rosemary Radford, and Herman J. Ruether

*The Wrath of Jonah: The Crisis of Religious Nationalism  
in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict*

(Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2002), pb, 296pp, index.

Schalit, Joel

*Jerusalem Calling: A Homeless Conscience in a  
Post-Everything World*

(New York, NY: Akashic Books, 2002), pb, 218pp.

**Sims, Patsy**  
*The Klan*

(Lexington, KY: University of Kentucky Press, 1996), pb, 291pp, glossary, people of klan country, bibli.

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**GUEST COMMENTARY** *continued from page 2*

and Anarchist Black Cross. The police launched four other spying operations in 2003, but the target groups have not yet been identified. The spying was authorized after an earlier consent decree prohibiting such infiltration of domestic political groups was amended by the courts. Other local police departments, including in

New York, have also sought and obtained modifications of consent decrees prohibiting police spying on political groups.

Such activities can be expected to increase as resistance grows to war and the government's violations of international law. Government spying on law-abiding citizens violates First Amendment rights to engage in organized political activity.

The only sensible response to government efforts to repress dissident speech is to increase the volume of protest. We cannot tolerate such government interference with basic democratic rights.

*Michael Avery is the President of the National Lawyers Guild and a law professor at Suffolk University Law*



CAMPUS INSECURITY *continued from page 13*

problems. But these worthwhile functions were tied to a philosophy of labor-management cooperation.”<sup>29</sup> Bernard points out that “the guiding idea in industrial relations was how to stop struggle and have labor peace, how to quiet people down. The other philosophy [which is what most Labor Studies programs now represent] sees that labor is about working people, and is involved with them. We would expect to see programs like that come under attack.”<sup>30</sup>

Attacks such as these ones on departments, programs, and faculty at universities around the country are a significant part of the larger crackdown on dissent in civil society. And, they represent a cleverly-cloaked, ideologically-inspired rightist drive to determine what is being said, researched, and taught on our campuses.

## Endnotes

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- <sup>2</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>3</sup> Eakin, Emily. 2001. “An Organization on the Lookout for Patriotic Incorrectness.” *New York Times*, November 24. Downloaded from <http://www.globalpolicy.org/wtc/liberties/1124incorrect.htm>
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- <sup>7</sup> See Walker, op. cit.
- <sup>8</sup> Shapiro, Walter. 2002. “Anti-anti-war crowd dreams up a disloyal opposition.” March 13, *USA Today*, p. 5A. Downloaded from [http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/document?\\_m=870bab0a3bd8d0...](http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/document?_m=870bab0a3bd8d0...)
- <sup>9</sup> See Walker, op. cit.
- <sup>10</sup> See Shapiro, op. cit.
- <sup>11</sup> Shapiro, Walter. 2003. “Now maybe a time better suited for prudence than paranoia.” *USA Today*, February 14, p. 7A. Downloaded from [http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/document?\\_m=870bab0a3bd8d0...](http://80-web.lexis-nexis.com.ezp2.harvard.edu/universe/document?_m=870bab0a3bd8d0...)
- <sup>12</sup> See [www.campus-watch.org](http://www.campus-watch.org). The inserts in brackets are the problems with Middle East Studies identified by Campus Watch on its website.
- <sup>13</sup> See <http://www.campus-watch.org/quotes.php>. For the original quote see Jacobson, Jennifer. 2004. “The Clash Over Middle East Studies.” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, February 6, pp. A8-10, p. 9.
- <sup>14</sup> See [www.campus-watch.org](http://www.campus-watch.org), op. cit. Its other stated goal is to “Engage in an informed, serious, and constructive critique that will spur professors to make improvements. We look forward to the day when scholars of the Middle East provide studies on relevant topics, an honest appraisal of sensitive issues, a mainstream education of the young, a healthy debate in the classroom, and sensible policy guidance in a time of war.”
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- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 21. For Stanley Kurtz’s views see <http://www.nationalreview.com/kurtz/kurtz061603.asp>. For Martin Kramer’s views see <http://www.mar-tinkramer.org/pages/899529/index.htm>
- <sup>20</sup> Strindberg, op. cit., p. 20.
- <sup>21</sup> Bacon, David. 2004. “Class Warfare: Labor Studies Programs are Under Attack by a Well-financed Right-wing Campaign.” *Nation*, January 12-19, pp. 17-20, p. 17.
- <sup>22</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>23</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>24</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>25</sup> Another critic of Labor Studies programs is author Steven Malanga who has written a couple of articles in the conservative Manhattan Institute’s *City Journal*. Malanga received a grant by the Brunie Fund for New York Journalism. Charles Brunie is the Manhattan Institute’s chairman emeritus. See Ibid., p. 19.
- <sup>26</sup> Ibid., p. 18.
- <sup>27</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>28</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>29</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>30</sup> Ibid., p. 20.

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# Eyes RIGHT

## A FEW CHOICE QUOTABLES: RIGHT DOWN FROM THE TOP

*“No President has ever done more for human rights than I have.”* George W. Bush.

The job of journalists is “not necessarily to report the news. It’s to get a headline or get a story that will make people pay attention to their magazine, newspaper, or television more.” Bush Advisor, Karl Rowe.

The media “don’t represent the public any more than other people do. In our democracy, the people who represent the public stood for election.” Bush White House Chief of Staff, Andy Card.

Source: <http://www.nydailynews.com/news/gossip/story/153985p-135485c.html>

## COFFEE, TEA, OR CHRISTIANITY?

Airlines, like corporations and many recent administrations, have been notoriously cutting back on what they provide to their customers, such as meals, leg-room, upgrades, etc. Once in a while, however, it seems someone up there in the sky decides to be Christian and give of themselves. Recently, an American Airlines pilot asked Christians on the flight to raise their hands and to talk with non-Christians about their faith. “Well, you have a choice,” he said, “you can make this trip worthwhile [by talking about Christianity], or you can sit back, read a book and watch the movie.” Some passengers literally felt that they were on a wing and a prayer and fearing the worst nervously called relatives on their cell phones.

The pilot also offered to be on hand to discuss these issues after the flight. However, that did not transpire as alarmed flight attendants informed ground control of this airbus ministry, and the pilot was whisked off to be investigated.

Source: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/americas/3472265.stm>

## UNCLE SAM WANTS YOU: TO BE A SPACE CADET

Congressman Tom Feeney (R-FL) joined the debate over space exploration early this year, when he appeared on January 9, 2004, on Scarborough Country (a program hosted by former Florida Republican Congressman Joe Scarborough). Merging three centuries of U.S. policies from Manifest Destiny to the Monroe Doctrine to the Bush Doctrine, Feeney made a moral case for the United States to take the lead in the space race. As he put it, “Somebody is going to dominate space. When they do, just like when the British dominated the naval part of our globe, established their empire, just like the United States has dominated the air superiority, ultimately, whoever is able to dominate space will be able to control the destiny of the entire Earth.”

Source: <http://democraticwhip.house.gov/medialpress.cfm?pressReleaseID=420>

## FROM OUR CLASSROOMS TO OUR BEDROOMS: TER- RORISTS EVERYWHERE YOU LOOK, AND DON'T

Terrorist seems to be the insult of choice for rightists these days, just as Fascist has been for those on the Left. Recently, Secretary of Education Rod Paige called the National Education Association, which with 2.7 million members is the nation’s largest teachers union, a “terrorist organization.” Paige was speaking at a White House meeting to governors from the 50 states, and was upset at the NEA because it opposed the Administration’s “No Child Left Behind” law. Well! Someone might say, at least in that case those teachers were union members. But what about husbands? Can you even conceive of a “pro-family” organization calling someone’s husband a terrorist? But, the Concerned Women for America, one of the leading Christian Right “pro-family” groups in the United States did just that!

“Homosexuals Pose New Threat to U.S. Border Security” according to the CWA,

and “For years now, many have feared that lax border security would allow terrorists to easily enter the United States from Canada. However, U.S. Customs officials at Pearson International Airport in Canada were able to stop the latest pair of “domestic terrorists.” Kevin Bourassa and Joe Varnell [who, by the way, are Canadians not U.S. citizens, but that maybe a minor detail for rightists] attempted to enter the United States Thursday as a married couple... This latest story is only a small part of the larger effort by many radical activist groups to force their harmful homosexual marriage agenda on the United States. Numerous medical studies link homosexual sex to severely increased risks of AIDS, hepatitis A, B, and C, syphilis, gonorrhea, substance abuse, domestic violence and emotional, psychological and social consequences.”

Sources: <http://www.cnn.com/2004/EDUCATION/02/23/paige.terrorist.neal>  
<http://www.samesexmarriage.ca/legal/uscustoms.htm>

# Eye LASHES

“If the K.K.K. opposes gay marriage, I would ride with them...?”

—the Rev. Gregory Daniels

*The Rev. Daniels was speaking at a news conference after an event of Black Baptist ministers he organized in Chicago a day after George W. Bush called for a constitutional amendment banning gay marriage.*

Source: <http://www.nytimes.com/2004/03/01/national/01CHUR.html>

### WATCHDOGGING THE WATCHDOGS

The Center for Regulatory Effectiveness (CRE) recently set up Watchdog Watch. Watchdog Watch “define[s] a regulatory watchdog as an organization whose primary activity is to either participate directly in a wide range of regulatory proceedings or, through their website, to significantly influence the participation of other persons in such rulemakings.” The watchdogs it’s watching include a who’s who of progressive groups: Consumer’s Union, CorpWatch, Greenpeace International, Policy Action Network, Public Citizen, Friends of the Earth, PRWatch, and the U.S. PIRGs (Public Interest Research Groups).

Source: <http://thecre.com/watchdogs.html>

But, says the CRE—whose advisory board consists (among others), of former Office of Management and Budget appointees, such as James B. MacRae (OMB official under Reagan, Bush, and Clinton), Jim Tozzi (an industry lobbyist who has held various positions at the OMB in the Nixon, Ford, Carter, and Reagan administrations)—its paramount goals are “To ensure that the public has access to data and information used to develop federal regulations, and To ensure that information which federal agencies disseminate to the public is of the highest quality.”

Source: <http://www.thecre.com>

### HIGH SPY WITH MY POWERFUL EYE

“Despite an outcry over privacy implications, the government is pressing ahead with research to create ultrapowerful tools to mine millions of public and private records for information about terrorists. Congress eliminated a Pentagon office that had been developing this terrorist-tracking technology because of fears it might ensnare innocent Americans. Still, some projects from retired Adm. John Poindexter’s [yes, the Contra man] Total Information Awareness effort

were transferred to U.S. intelligence offices, congressional, federal and research officials told The Associated Press.”

“In addition, Congress left undisturbed a separate but similar \$64 million research program run by a little-known office called the Advanced Research and Development Activity, or ARDA, that has used some of the same researchers as Poindexter’s program.”

“‘The whole congressional action looks like a shell game,’ said Steve Aftergood of the Federation of American Scientists, which tracks work by U.S. intelligence agencies. ‘There may be enough of a difference for them to claim TIA was terminated while for all practical purposes the identical work is continuing.’”

“Poindexter aimed to predict terrorist attacks by identifying telltale patterns of activity in arrests, passport applications, visas, work permits, driver’s licenses, car rentals and airline ticket buys as well as credit transactions and education, medical and housing records.”

“The research created a political uproar because such reviews of millions of transactions could put innocent Americans under suspicion. One of Poindexter’s own researchers, David D. Jensen at the University of Massachusetts, acknowledged that ‘high numbers of false positives can result.’”

“Disturbed by the privacy implications, Congress last fall closed Poindexter’s office, part of the Defense Advanced Research Projects Agency, and barred the agency from continuing most of his research. Poindexter quit the government and complained that his work had been misunderstood.”

“In killing Poindexter’s office, Congress quietly agreed to continue paying to develop highly specialized software to gather foreign intelligence on terrorists.”

“In a classified section summarized publicly, Congress added money for this software research to the ‘National Foreign Intelligence Program,’ without identifying openly which intelligence agency would do the work.”

### HAIKU

Subversives plotting?

Rights rolled into  
a spyglass

The shadows scare US.

by Chip Berlet

“It said, for the time being, products of this research could only be used overseas or against non-U.S. citizens in this country, not against Americans on U.S. soil.”

“Congressional officials would not say which Poindexter programs were killed and which were transferred. People with direct knowledge of the contracts told the AP that the surviving programs included some of 18 data-mining projects known in Poindexter’s research as Evidence Extraction and Link Discovery.”

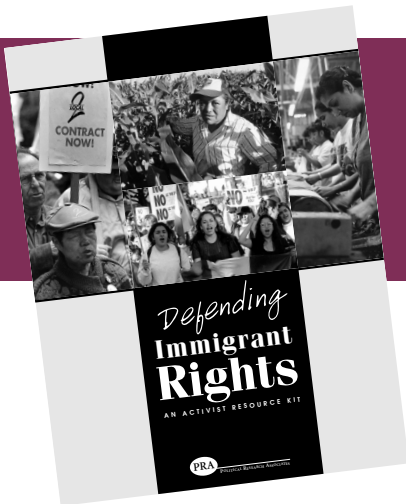
“Poindexter’s office described that research as ‘technology not only for ‘connecting the dots’ that enable the U.S. to predict and preempt attacks but also for deciding which dots to connect.’ It was among the most contentious research programs.”

“Privacy advocates feared that if such powerful tools were developed without limits from Congress, government agents could use them on any database.”

“The Poindexter and ARDA projects are vastly more powerful than other data-mining projects such as the Homeland Security Department’s CAPPs II program to classify air travelers or the six-state, Matrix anti-crime system financed by the Justice Department.”

See [http://www.becomethemedia.com/news/2004/TIA\\_alive\\_reborn.htm](http://www.becomethemedia.com/news/2004/TIA_alive_reborn.htm)

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