

OUR GRIEF IS NOT A CRY FOR WAR

The Movement to Stop the
War on Terror

JEREMY VARON

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

Chicago and London

The University of Chicago Press, Chicago 60637

The University of Chicago Press, Ltd., London

© 2025 by Jeremy Varon

All rights reserved. No part of this book may be used or reproduced in any manner whatsoever without written permission, except in the case of brief quotations in critical articles and reviews. For more information, contact the University of Chicago Press, 1427 E. 60th St., Chicago, IL 60637.

Published 2025

Printed in the United States of America

34 33 32 31 30 29 28 27 26 25 1 2 3 4 5

ISBN-13: 978-0-226-82768-1 (cloth)

ISBN-10: 978-0-226-82769-8 (ebook)

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.7208/chicago/9780226827698.001.0001>

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Names: Varon, Jeremy, 1969–, author

Title: Our grief is not a cry for war : the movement to stop the war on terror /
Jeremy Varon.

Description: Chicago : The University of Chicago Press, 2025. | Includes bibliographical references and index.

Identifiers: LCCN 2025008179 | ISBN 9780226827681 cloth |
ISBN 9780226827698 ebook

Subjects: LCSH: Iraq War, 2003–2011—Protest movements | Afghan War, 2001–2021—Protest movements | War on Terrorism, 2001–2009—Protest movements | Peace movements—United States—History—21st century | Anti-war demonstrations—United States—History—21st century | BISAC: HISTORY / United States / 21st Century | SOCIAL SCIENCE / Activism & Social Justice

Classification: LCC DS79.767.P76 V37 2025 | DDC 956.7044/31—dc23/eng/20250326
LC record available at <https://lcn.loc.gov/2025008179>

∞ This paper meets the requirements of ANSI/NISO Z39.48-1992
(Permanence of Paper).

Authorized Representative for EU General Product Safety Regulation (GPSR)
queries: **Easy Access System Europe**—Mustamäe tee 50, 10621 Tallinn, Estonia,
gpsr.requests@easproject.com

Any other queries: <https://press.uchicago.edu/press/contact.html>

CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations vii

Introduction 1

1. “Reconciliation, Not Revenge”: The Antiwar Response to 9/11 7
2. “The Way to Prevent More Deaths Is Not to Kill More People”: Arguing the War in Afghanistan 31
3. “The Dominant Frame Is War”: The Birth of the Antiwar Movement 50
4. “Not in Our Name”: From the War in Afghanistan to the War in Iraq 74
5. Uniting for Peace and Justice 108
6. “The World Says No to War”: A Day of Global Protest 138
7. “To Bomb This Site Would Be a War Crime”: From “Stop the War” to Shock and Awe 171
8. “Are We Protesting the War or the Occupation?”: The US War in Iraq 203

9. From “Bring ’Em On” to “Bring Them Home”: The Unraveling of the Iraq War	227
10. “Sorry, Everybody, We Tried”: The Antiwar Movement and the Reelection of George W. Bush	254
11. “REAL Support for the Troops”: The Antiwar Movement and Military Dissent	280
12. “Fervent Calls for Peace”: The Turning of the Iraq War	311
13. “The End of an Error” and Endless War	341
Conclusion	361
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	369
<i>Abbreviations Used in the Notes</i>	375
<i>Notes</i>	377
<i>Index</i>	443