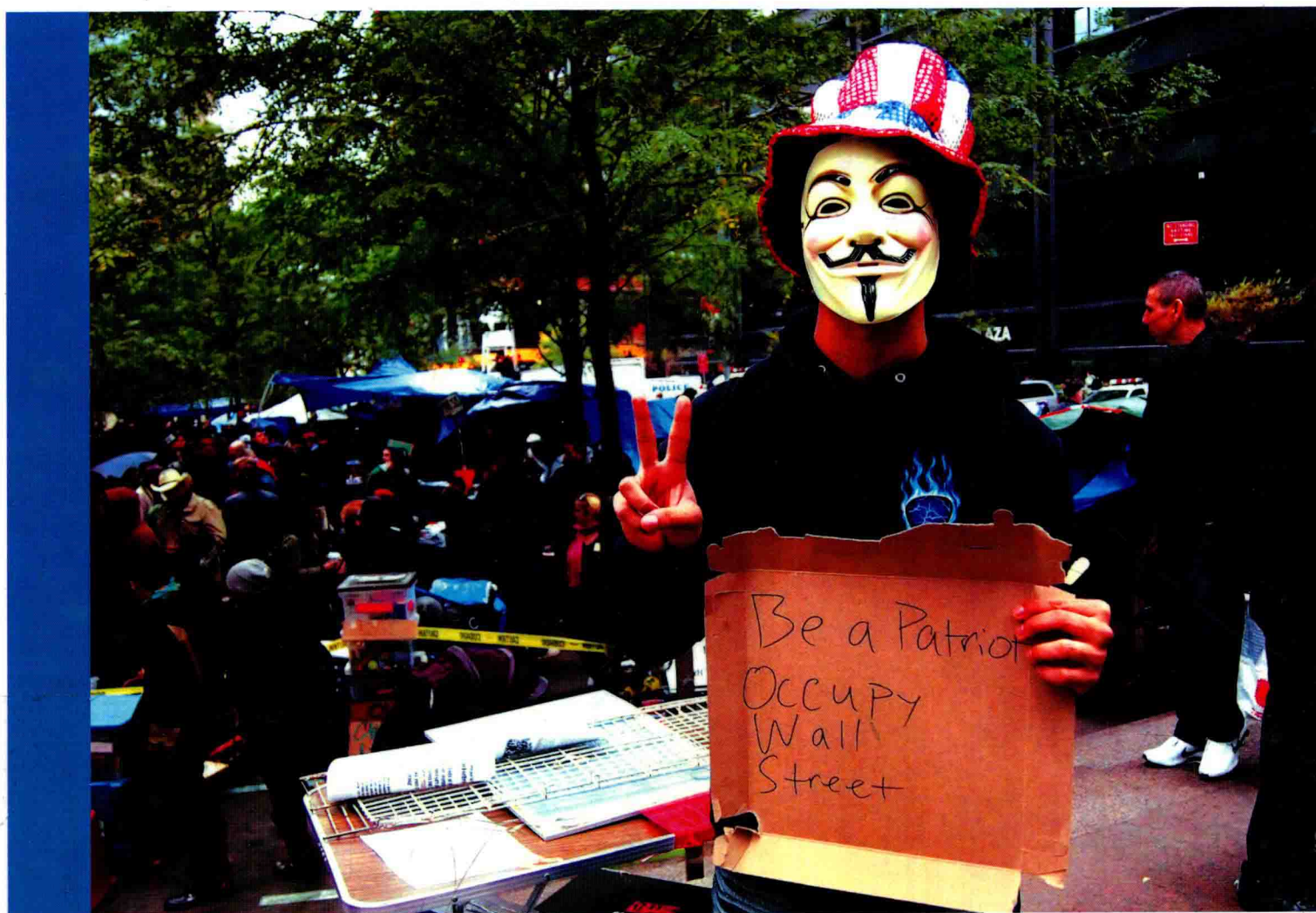


CQ PRESS

GUIDE TO

RADICAL POLITICS IN THE UNITED STATES



Susan Burgess and Kate Leeman

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*For
Cassie Tiogoly
and
Sally Poland*

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★ ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Susan Burgess is a professor of political science at Ohio University, with areas of interest in U.S. politics, constitutional law, radical politics, gender and sexuality, and popular culture. She is the author of *The New York Times on Gay and Lesbian Issues* (CQ/SAGE); *The Founding Fathers, Pop Culture, and Constitutional Law: Who's Your Daddy?* (Ashgate), and *Contest for Constitutional Authority: The Abortion and War Powers Debates* (Kansas). She is currently completing *LGBTQ Politics: A Critical Reader* (with Marla Brettschneider and Cricket Keating, forthcoming, NYU Press). Her work has also appeared in a wide variety of journals including *differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*; *Law and Society Review*; *Law, Culture, and the Humanities*; *Political Research Quarterly*; *Polity*; *New Political Science*; *Review of Politics*; *PS: Politics and Political Science*; and *Studies in Law, Politics, and Society*. Burgess has held several leadership positions in the American Political Science Association: on the Executive Committee of the Law and Courts section, as coordinator of the Constitutional Law Division, as chair of the LGBT Caucus, on the Committee on the Status of Women, and on the Committee on the Status of LGBTs. As part of the Perestroika Movement in political science, her candidacy for a seat on the governing council triggered an association-wide competitive election, challenging the long-standing system of top-down nominations. During

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★ INTRODUCTION

Rather than a rich and complex history of radical thinking and acting, we inherit an emaciated account in which a few stalwart people, either lionized or demonized, fought the establishment.

—Kathy E. Ferguson¹

Labeling people or groups as radical will often—if not always—trigger the question “radical in relation to what?”

—Peter R. Neumann²

Americans have been both fascinated and alarmed by the recent emergence of high-profile groups advocating views and tactics well outside the political mainstream, including the Tea Party movement in 2009 (see Box I.1), the Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011 (see Box I.2), and Black Lives Matter in 2013 (see Chapter 5). However, radical political activity has played a persistent and influential role in American politics since the founding of the nation. Indeed, political movements on the far right and left—from suffragists and animal rights activists to White supremacists and the militia movement—have repeatedly sought to legitimize their actions by referencing the radical actions and ideas implicit in the founding of the United States.

Between 1763 and 1776, American colonists protested being taxed without representation by engaging in a series of illegal and sometimes violent actions, including the Boston Tea Party, eventually culminating in the Revolutionary War. The colonists justified their revolt against British rule by offering a long list of grievances in the Declaration of Independence, by renouncing their allegiance to England, and by calling into question the fundamental principles underlying monarchical rule, which was prevalent throughout Europe at that time. Known as the divine right of kings, this understanding of government held that the rule of King George III (and other European monarchs) originated with God's grant of dominion over the earth to Adam. In direct contrast, the colonists established a political system grounded in the consent of the governed and equal rights under the law, including those of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. They believed that any government that did not recognize such rights was unjust

and therefore subject to revolt. Although now considered mainstream, these ideas were then understood to be a shockingly radical challenge, not only to the power of the king but also to God's law.

DEFINING RADICAL POLITICS

This book provides an overview of radical politics in the United States from both the left and right extremes of the political continuum. The definition of *radical* varies over time, typically in relation to what is understood to be “mainstream” politics. For example, radical activists once risked arrest and imprisonment for distributing condoms and other forms of birth control that are now widely available in most drugstores. Movements covered in this book meet one or both of the following criteria. First, organizations are considered radical if they promote ideas or practices that challenge the fundamental tenets or roots of the existing political or economic system. Indeed, the word *radical* derives from the Latin word *radix*, meaning root. For example, communists challenge capitalism, fascists question democratic decision-making, and anarchists oppose centralized government. Second, organizations are considered radical if they employ tactics outside the political mainstream. Some radical activists have committed criminal acts, including property destruction, theft, computer hacking, tax evasion, assault, assassination, and lynching, at times resulting in violent confrontations with law enforcement as well as arrest and lengthy prison sentences. Radical activists may also engage in political tactics that endanger their own health and safety, such as nonviolent civil disobedience, hunger strikes, tree sits, draft resistance, and self-immolation. In addition, a tactic may be considered radical if it violates fundamental social and political norms, such as



THE TEA PARTY MOVEMENT

The Tea Party movement emerged in 2009 at a time when many Americans were angry about the steep declines in the economy, employment, and housing market caused in part by reckless real estate lending and investment practices. Public resentment intensified when, in February 2009, the newly elected Obama administration promoted legislation providing government funding to stem the tide of corporate bankruptcies and home foreclosures. Many opposed investing public money to assist those whose greed and lack of foresight were seen as the ultimate cause of the crisis. CNBC commentator Rick Santelli tapped into this rage on air when he called for a public referendum “to see if we really want to subsidize the losers’ mortgages” and declared his intention to start organizing a “Chicago Tea Party” in protest.¹ When his speech went viral on the Internet, various activists established Tea Party websites, formed local groups, and organized protests against excessive government spending and taxation, such as the nationwide protests held on April 15, 2009, the deadline for submission of annual income tax returns.

Some critics have referred to Tea Party organizing as “astroturf,” suggesting that it was not an authentic grassroots movement but, rather, artificially created by outside investors seeking to promote a conservative agenda of small government, decreased regulation, and lower taxes. Many organizations affiliated with the Tea Party movement have benefited from funding provided by groups such as Americans for Prosperity, a conservative political advocacy organization founded by wealthy businessmen Charles and David H. Koch in 2004. However, in September 2009, at least 75,000 people participated in a “Taxpayer March on Washington,” and in an early 2010 poll, nearly one in five of those asked said they supported the Tea Party.² Regardless of how the movement began, its message clearly resonated with a significant subset of the general public, reflecting widespread “anger over the economy and distrust of government—at all levels, and in both parties.”³

Rather than a single, centralized organization, the Tea Party is a loosely affiliated network of local groups, political advocacy organizations, foundations, and politicians, promoting a wide variety of sometimes contradictory ideas and goals. Participants generally agree that middle-class Americans are being robbed of their individual liberty and hard-earned money by a government that has become bloated, intrusive, and unresponsive to their needs. As the Tea Party Patriots website declares, “At its root the American dream is about freedom. Freedom to work hard and the freedom to keep the fruits of your labor

when nineteenth-century women spoke out publicly against slavery or when AIDS activists disrupted Catholic mass and desecrated a communion wafer. Many of the groups described in this book fit both these criteria: They promote political goals that undermine core aspects of the U.S. political or economic system, and they seek to advance their goals by breaking the law, violating cultural norms, or endangering the health and safety of themselves or others.

BOX I.1



Protesters hold up signs at a Tea Party anti-tax rally in Federal Plaza on April 15, 2009, in Chicago. Thousands attended the Chicago rally, and hundreds of other protests were organized in cities across the country on national tax day, calling for reductions in taxes and government spending.

SOURCE: Brian Kersey/UPI/News.com.

to use as you see fit.”⁴ Supporters often employ mainstream political tactics, including elections, peaceful protest, public outreach, and education. Their most frequent demands are on the conservative end of the political mainstream, primarily focusing on reducing the size and influence of the federal government, reducing taxes, and blocking policies promoted by the Democratic Party and the Obama administration, particularly regarding the economy, health care, and immigration.

The Tea Party also includes elements that resonate with the long tradition of radical conservatism in the United States. In addition to opposing Obama and the Democrats, many Tea Party supporters also reject mainstream Republican politicians for failing to rein in government growth, spending, and taxation. In an April 2010 poll, only 44 percent of those who identified as Tea Party supporters

The ongoing tradition of radical politics in the United States is obscured in many accounts, which typically focus on moderate groups and limit the discussion of radical politics to spectacular failures (like Shays’ Rebellion) or individual activists (such as Harriet Tubman). In many cases, such an approach results in an incomplete and misleading understanding of the political forces that motivated key shifts in American public opinion and policy, often leading



approved of the Republicans, and 40 percent supported the idea of forming a new political party.⁵ Some Tea Party groups backed alternative congressional candidates in the 2010 midterm elections, in many cases defeating Republican incumbents in primaries and ultimately triumphing over Democrats in the general election.

Issues of race and immigration have also been central to many radical political organizations within the United States on both the right and the left. Although Tea Party supporters do not typically offer explicitly racist remarks, nearly 90 percent identify as White, and some commentators have argued that the movement's headline positions on immigration, states' rights, taxation, and welfare reflect a covert form of racism.⁶ Further, in a 2010 poll, 52 percent of Tea Party supporters agreed that "too much has been made of problems facing blacks," and at least one study found prejudice against Blacks and Latinos to be significantly higher among those who support the Tea Party than among those who oppose it.⁷

Finally, some Tea Party supporters have employed militant tactics and rhetoric. In August 2009, the Tea Party organized protests at town hall meetings convened by both Democratic and Republican members of Congress to discuss the Affordable Care Act, the Obama administration's plan to expand the number of Americans covered by health insurance. In numerous incidents throughout the country, Tea Party activists yelled, booed, and repeatedly interrupted elected officials as they sought to explain the act's provisions. By the end of 2010, six state legislatures had responded to Tea Party activism by passing

so-called "nullification laws" that embraced the extreme position of declaring state supremacy over the federal government in constitutional interpretation, stating they would not implement the recently passed Affordable Care Act because it was unconstitutional.

The Tea Party's meteoric popularity then faltered, with public approval declining by 44 percent between October 2010 and September 2011.⁸ In 2011, former Republican vice-presidential candidate and prominent Tea Party spokesperson Sarah Palin was criticized intensely after Representative Gabrielle Giffords (D-AZ) and eighteen others were shot while attending a political event near a Tucson supermarket. Some suggested that Palin contributed to this tragedy by employing violent rhetoric and imagery, such as tweeting "Don't retreat—RELOAD" and using the crosshairs of a gun to "target" key Democrat-held congressional districts such as Giffords's on her website. Moderate conservatives have increasingly viewed the Tea Party as detrimental to the Republican Party, business interests, and the country as a whole, blaming the inexperience and rigidity of Tea Party-backed politicians for contributing to gridlock in Congress and the loss of Republican control of the Senate in 2012. Despite these setbacks, the Tea Party has been credited with shifting the Republican Party further right, and its caucus retains considerable influence within the House, playing a prominent role in the ouster of John Boehner as Speaker of the House in 2015. Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) and Senator Marco Rubio (R-FL), two leading 2016 Republican presidential candidates as of this writing, both "rose to power with support from the Tea Party movement."⁹

1. Holloway Sparks, "Mama Grizzlies and Guardians of the Republic: The Democratic and Intersectional Politics of Anger in the Tea Party Movement," *New Political Science* 37 (2015): 36.

2. Christopher W. Schmidt, "Popular Constitutionalism on the Right: Lessons from the Tea Party," *Denver University Law Review* 88 (2011): 532; Sparks, 36.

3. L. Sustar, "Marxism and Right-Wing Populism: The Case of the Tea Party," *New Labor Forum* 22, no. 1 (2013): 59, quoting Kate Zernike, *Boiling Mad: Inside Tea Party America* (New York: Times Books, 2010), 11.

4. Tea Party Patriots, "Our Core Principles," <http://www.teapartypatriots.org/ourvision>.

5. Zachary Courser, "The Tea 'Party' as a Conservative Social Movement," *Society* 49 (2012): 47–49; Edward Ashbee, "Bewitched—the Tea Party Movement: Ideas Interests and Institutions," *The Political Quarterly* 82 (2011): 158.

6. Courser, 52; C. Berlet, "Taking Tea Parties Seriously: Corporate Globalization, Populism, and Resentment," *Perspectives on Global Development and Technology* 10 (2011): 17.

7. Sustar, 59; Berlet, 12.

8. Andrew J. Perrin, Steven J. Trepper, Neal Caren, and Sally Morris, "Political and Cultural Dimensions of Tea Party Support, 2009–2012," *The Sociological Quarterly* 55 (2014): 628.

9. Janet Hook, "First Three GOP Presidential Candidates Share Tea Party Roots," *Wall Street Journal*, April 12, 2015.

to the erroneous belief that radical political movements are generally ineffectual and counterproductive and result only in needless violence, public backlash, and harsh repressive measures.

Many radical activists have indeed paid a high price for holding beliefs outside mainstream politics, including loss of reputation, savings, and employment, police harassment, FBI surveillance, lawsuits, assault, and murder. They

have frequently been sentenced to serve long prison terms and in some cases have been executed or otherwise killed by law enforcement and other representatives of the state. (See Box I.3.) However, many radical political movements have successfully achieved their specific goals or altered the shape of mainstream politics. For example, the violent resistance of the Ku Klux Klan contributed to the failure of Reconstruction after the Civil War, and radical pacifists



THE OCCUPY MOVEMENT

The Occupy movement began on September 17, 2011, when a protest in the heart of New York City's financial district ended with several hundred activists sleeping in Zuccotti Park. Adopting the name "Occupy Wall Street," these activists opposed an economic and political system that increasingly seemed to be funneling wealth to a privileged few at the expense of the vast majority of Americans struggling with stagnant wages, high unemployment, and mounting debt. Declaring "We are the 99 percent," the Zuccotti Park occupiers called upon low- and middle-income Americans to unite in a fight against the top 1 percent who, in 2011, earned more than 20 percent of the country's income and controlled 40 percent of U.S. wealth.¹ Student loans were particularly concerning to this predominantly young, White, middle-class movement, as many college students were graduating with few job prospects and an average college debt in excess of \$23,000.² Many Occupy activists proposed relatively moderate reforms, such as raising the minimum wage or reducing college expenses, but others called for an end to capitalism, radically challenging the basis of the political and economic system in the United States.

Several groups helped organize the Zuccotti Park protest, including the Canadian anticorporate magazine *Adbusters*, U.S. Day of Rage, Anonymous, New Yorkers Against Budget Cuts, and a new group that eventually came to be known as the NYC General Assembly.³ They were inspired in part by popular uprisings that were occurring throughout the world in 2011, from Egypt's Tahir Square to the Wisconsin State Capitol building. Their use of land occupation as a protest tactic mirrors actions taken by many radical groups within the United States, including the American Indian Movement and other indigenous groups (see Chapter 4) as well as environmental and antinuclear activists such as Earth First! and the Clam Shell Alliance (see Chapter 10).

were influential in developing widespread public resistance that ultimately altered the course of U.S. involvement in Vietnam. Women and people of color have gained rights of citizenship such as voting, same-sex marriage has become legal, and laws have been passed that limit immigration, logging, animal testing, and the disposal of hazardous chemicals. Ironically, many of these movements were so successful that the causes they promoted have come to be viewed as mainstream, a tendency that may well contribute to the ongoing belief that radical political movements are doomed to failure.

By including radical organizations on both the political left and right, this book seeks to highlight similarities among radicals on both ends of the political spectrum. For example, the Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street share common concerns about the role of corporate money in political decision-making, even though the causes they identify and the solutions they seek vary greatly. Opposition to expanding the power of the federal government has been mounted by anarchists on the left, but also by libertarians and White

BOX 1.2

Over time, Occupy Wall Street established a temporary community, providing food, shelter, medical care, education, and recreation to activists living in Zuccotti Park. The group as a whole made decisions using nonhierarchical methods previously developed by pacifists, anarchists, and global justice activists (see Chapter 3). As Occupy activist David Graeber described it,

By gathering together in the full sight of Wall Street, and creating a community without money, based on principles of not just democracy but of mutual caring, solidarity, and support, we were proposing a revolutionary challenge not just to the power of money, but to the power of money to determine what life itself was supposed to be about.⁴

In response to media coverage of the New York City protest, more than three hundred groups set up similar encampments in parks and plazas throughout the United States as well as internationally in England, Argentina, Japan, Australia, South Africa, and other countries.⁵ As in other nonhierarchical groups, the swiftly growing Occupy movement at times struggled to make decisions, articulate consistent demands, and coordinate the actions of its diverse participants. Some critics argued that, in their effort to unify the "99 percent," Occupy activists failed to adequately acknowledge issues of race, poverty, and privilege. Many encampments included caucuses for people of color, women, and others to address these issues. Nonetheless, unself-consciously focusing on student loan debt, sleeping in parks, and adopting the term *occupy* were seen by many as evidence of the group's inadequate grasp of issues related to college access, homelessness, and the role played by the U.S. military in nations throughout the world, leading Nathalie Thandiwe, a

supremacists on the right. Stricter immigration laws have been championed by environmentalists on the left and volunteer border patrols on the right. Excessive police force is denounced by both Black Lives Matter activists as well as many militia members.

CONTENTS OF THE CHAPTERS

Chapter 1. Chapter 1 considers employees and farmers who picketed, organized strikes, rioted, and in some cases resorted to intimidation and violence in their fight for improved working conditions and better compensation for their labor. Unions were seen as a radical and illegal infringement on free market capitalism until the mid-1930s in the United States, and employers often called upon law enforcement to suppress labor unrest, at times resulting in arrest, imprisonment, serious injury, and death. Events discussed include the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the rise of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in the early 1900s, and the Minneapolis Truckers'



New York radio host, to declare, "Occupy Wall Street was started by Whites and is about their concern with their plight."⁶

Throughout the fall of 2011, local and federal authorities sought to end the encampments. Police arrested over 7,750 people involved in the Occupy movement nationwide, and in some areas, protestors were prevented from marching, pepper-sprayed, and forcibly removed from public parks.⁷ Protestors' attorneys argued that sleeping in parks should be recognized as a form of "expressive conduct" or "symbolic speech" protected by the First Amendment, similar to sitting-in or picketing.⁸ While courts frequently accepted this argument, many also recognized that the government had a legitimate interest in limiting the use of public space to protect public health and safety and to maintain access for other citizens. As a result, police began evicting Occupy protestors from encampments throughout the country, including from Zuccotti Park in the early morning of November 15, 2011. Metal barriers were temporarily installed, and guards were stationed to prevent the camp from being reestablished.

Public and media attention diminished as the informal communities established by the Occupy movement dispersed.⁹ Some activists continued to organize actions, such as a 17,000-person march in New York City held on May Day 2012.¹⁰ After Hurricane Sandy devastated portions of New York and New Jersey in October 2012, Occupy activists enlisted thousands of volunteers who for months served up to 2,000 meals a day and assisted with transportation, clean-up, and rebuilding.¹¹ This shift from protest to public service garnered the appreciation of local officials and created positive media coverage but was also criticized by some who felt the movement had lost its radical edge. Some Occupy groups and spin-offs continue to be active, such as Strike Debt!, a program that uses donated money to purchase and forgive unpaid debt that lenders would otherwise sell at reduced prices to collection agencies. In addition, the Occupy movement has been credited with raising public awareness about increasing economic inequality within the United States, which became a central focus during the 2016 presidential campaign.

1. Amy Dean, "Occupy Wall Street: A Protest against a Broken Economic Compact," *Harvard International Review* 33 (2012): 12–15.

2. Emahunn Raheem Ali Campbell, "A Critique of the Occupy Movement from a Black Occupier," *The Black Scholar* 41, no. 4 (2011): 44.

3. Sarah Kunstler, "The Right to Occupy—Occupy Wall Street and the First Amendment," *Fordham Urban Law Journal* 39 (2012): 989.

4. Jackie Disalvo, "Occupy Wall Street: Creating a Strategy for a Spontaneous Movement," *Science and Society* 79 (2015): 268.

5. *Ibid.*, 265; Jenny Pickerill and John Krinsky, "Why Does Occupy Matter?" *Social Movement Studies* 11 (2012): 284.

6. Campbell, 42.

7. Disalvo, 275; Emily E. Welty, "Occupy Wall Street as 'American Spring'?" *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 26 (2014): 42.

8. Kunstler, 992.

9. Welty, 44; Disalvo, 275.

10. Disalvo, 275.

11. Welty, 44.

Strike and other workplace struggles of the Great Depression. The chapter also focuses on radical American agricultural movements including the Whiskey Rebellion of the 1790s, the Farmers' Alliance of the 1880s, and the Farmers' Holiday Association and Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the 1930s.

Chapter 2. At various points in U.S. history, a significant minority of Americans have rejected capitalism and turned to socialism, communism, and other alternatives, seeking a more just political economic system for allocating society's resources. Chapter 2 examines the most popular of these movements, providing an overview of their motivations, ideology, and actions, as well as the tensions, both internal and external, that impeded their success. Organizations discussed include the early socialist movements of the 1800s, the Socialist Party of America in the early 1900s, the Communist Party of the United States during the 1930s, Third World Marxist movements in the early 1970s, and protests against global capitalism in the late 1990s and

early 2000s. Groups briefly discussed in this chapter that sought to fight the spread of anticapitalist sentiment in the United States include the American Protective League in the World War I era and the John Birch Society following World War II.

Chapter 3. Chapter 3 discusses groups on the political left and right that have challenged the basic authority of the U.S. government to regulate individual and group behavior. On the left, German immigrants first organized anarchist groups in the late 1800s, combining a suspicion of government control with support for labor organizing and a more equitable economic system. This chapter explores the establishment of these early organizations, the emergence of violence as a political tactic within anarchism, the Haymarket bombing, Emma Goldman, government efforts to suppress this movement in the early 1900s, and an overview of the divergent strains of left-leaning anarchism that have arisen since the 1960s, highlighting the use of black bloc tactics in antiglobalization protests. An individualist



GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF MOVE

MOVE was founded in Philadelphia in the early 1970s by Vincent Leaphart, an African American carpenter who had adopted the name "John Africa." The group sought to "stop industry from poisoning the air, the water, the soil and to put an end to the enslavement of life—people, animals, *any* form of life," as one member wrote.¹ They spoke out against racial inequality, police brutality, and the caging of animals by zoos and circuses. Many members adopted "Africa" as their last name, lived communally, avoided most forms of modern technology, and composted their garbage in the backyard. Although exact numbers are unknown, approximately one hundred people are believed to have been affiliated with this movement at its height in the mid-1970s.² Given its small size, MOVE might have faded into obscurity if not for a series of escalating confrontations with law enforcement.

MOVE's headquarters were located in a densely populated area, and their neighbors soon began to complain about the odor of the garbage, unvaccinated dogs, and poorly cared for children. In addition, MOVE members began interrupting local meetings and social gatherings, at times using bullhorns to drown out other speakers and threatening to bomb, castrate, or kill their opponents. In 1975 alone, MOVE's aggressive protest tactics resulted in over 150 arrests for disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and other misdemeanor charges.³ "We are sometimes labeled fanatics," MOVE member Ramona Africa declared, "but we are not fanatics any more than Christians were for remaining loyal to their beliefs despite the ungodly intimidation they suffered under the Roman government."⁴

In May 1976, following a conflict that resulted in some MOVE members being sentenced to long prison terms for assaulting a police officer, neighbors reported that the group had constructed barricades and that armed and uniformed members had been spotted guarding their headquarters. When police arrived, MOVE refused to cooperate with their demands, kicking off a ten-month siege that ended in August 1978 when three hundred police and firefighters sought to enter the building by force. In the subsequent shoot-out, five people inside the house and ten trying to enter were injured, including one police officer who received a fatal wound in the back of his head. MOVE members ultimately surrendered, their headquarters were demolished, and nine were later convicted of third-degree murder and sentenced to thirty or more years in prison.⁵

The remaining MOVE members relocated to a row house in a middle-class, predominantly Black area of the city. Neighbors again complained about the group's management of its garbage, dogs, and children, as well as their use of a bullhorn to deliver profanity-laced addresses that could last for hours and sometimes occurred in the middle of the night. In late April 1985, after MOVE broadcast threats against the life of Wilson Goode, Philadelphia's first Black mayor, and claimed to have planted bombs throughout the neighborhood, local homeowners held a press conference,

BOX 1.3



Aerial view of smoke rising from smoldering rubble in West Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, after a fire burned out of control, killing eleven MOVE members and destroying about sixty homes. The fire began on May 14, 1985, when police dropped explosives onto the roof of the MOVE headquarters following a shootout and a failed attempt to force members out of the building.

SOURCE: © Bettmann/CORBIS.

demanding the city take action. Early in the morning of May 13, the police commissioner demanded that group members evacuate their home. MOVE immediately refused. Numerous shots were fired on both sides, and when tear gas failed to force them out, the police dropped explosives from a helicopter onto the roof of the MOVE residence. Authorities subsequently claimed this blast was meant only to provide a hole through which more tear gas could be introduced. However, the house caught on fire, and the blaze burned out of control for several hours, destroying over sixty homes and killing eleven MOVE members, including six children.⁶

The following day, Mayor Goode defended the city's actions, declaring, "We cannot permit any terrorist group, any revolutionary group in this city, to hold a whole neighborhood or a whole city hostage."⁷ A subsequent investigation found race to have been a factor in the incident, arguing that a different approach would likely have been taken in a predominantly White neighborhood and declaring the city irresponsible for approving the use of explosives and failing to immediately douse the fire.⁸ A decade later, a federal jury ordered the city to pay a \$1.5 million judgment, finding that excessive force had been used and that MOVE members' constitutional protections against unreasonable search and seizure had been violated.⁹

1. Margot Harry, "Attention MOVE! This Is America," *Race & Class* 28 (1987): 4, 7.

2. Hizkias Assefa and Paul Wahrhaftig, *Extremist Groups and Conflict Resolution: The MOVE Crisis in Philadelphia* (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1988), 17.

3. *Ibid.*, 22.

4. *Ibid.*, 16.

5. *Ibid.*, 97.

6. *Ibid.*, 3.

7. Harry, 10.

8. Assefa and Wahrhaftig, 116.

9. Don Terry, "Philadelphia Held Liable for Firebomb Fatal to 11," *New York Times*, June 25, 1996.



anarchist tradition unique to the United States also developed on the political right that rejects government control in favor of the free market. Examples covered include Josiah Warren's experimental communities in the mid-1800s as well as the rise of anarcho-capitalism and the tax resistance movement in the 1970s. In addition to anarchist groups, Chapter 3 also discusses right-wing militia movements, which resist the U.S. government because they believe it has become tyrannical, infringing on individual liberty or states' rights. Incidents examined include Shays' Rebellion in the late 1780s, the Sons of Liberty conspiracy during the Civil War, and the modern militia movement, which rose to prominence in the mid-1990s.

Chapter 4. Chapter 4 focuses on Native American and Mexican American groups that have resisted the authority of the U.S. government, engaging in armed resistance, occupations, and a wide variety of other radical political actions in an effort to retain their land, sovereignty, and cultural practices. Topics discussed include Native Americans' fight to maintain their land, as exemplified by the Battle of Little Big Horn in 1876 and the rise of the Red Power movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the siege at Wounded Knee in 1973. The second half of the chapter focuses on challenges to Anglo landownership in northern New Mexico and to Anglo political dominance in south Texas. It also discusses the United Farmworkers' campaign against California's agricultural workers, as well as various radical actions of the Chicano movement of the mid-1960s to 1970s, including school walk-outs, antiwar protests, and the formation of La Raza Unida, a third political party that sought to challenge the two-party system that has long dominated U.S. politics.

Chapter 5. Radical resistance to racial inequality has a long and persistent history, starting with slave revolts prior to the founding of the United States and continuing in a nearly unbroken line to current protests against the killing of unarmed Black men, women, and children by the police. Chapter 5 begins with a discussion of the various tactics used to resist slavery, including slave uprisings and escapes as well as the organization of vigilance committees to protect the freedom of African Americans living in the North. The chapter continues with examining the increasingly militant activities of both Black and White abolitionists, resulting in the violence of Bleeding Kansas and John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry. The second half of the chapter provides an overview of the early civil rights



Children taking part in a march sponsored by the Stop Mass Incarcerations Network to demand accountability on the one-year anniversary of Tamir Rice's death at the hands of the Cleveland police. The march was held in New York City on November 22, 2015.

SOURCE: Photo by Andy Katz; Pacific Press/Sipa USA/Newscom.

activism of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE) and the armed self-defense advocated by Robert F. Williams, with a focus on Black nationalism, including profiles of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association, Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam, and the emergence of the Black Power movement and the Black Panther Party. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the emerging Black Lives Matter movement.

Chapter 6. Chapter 6 focuses on White supremacy and fascism. Although their beliefs vary widely, these groups all radically challenge the basic notions of political equality and consent of the governed that underlie liberal democracy. White Supremacist activists have engaged in political tactics involving intimidation, violence, and property crime, including arson, armed robbery, assault, bombings, and murder. The first portion of this chapter focuses on the Ku Klux Klan, including its founding in the wake of the Civil War, its widespread popularity in the 1920s, and its violent reemergence during the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s. Also included is a discussion of fascism, anti-Semitism, and examples of such movements in 1930s America, such as Father Coughlin's radio ministry and the Silver Shirts, as well as a brief overview of the small neofascist organizations visible in the 1960s and 1970s. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the most significant modern White supremacist groups, including White Aryan Resistance (WAR), skinheads, and the Christian Identity organizations Aryan Nations and The Order.



Chapter 7. Movements aiming to restrict immigration in the United States have generally been formed in reaction to a specific group of new arrivals, such as Irish Catholics, Chinese, or Eastern Europeans, who have been viewed as inherently inferior, unable to assimilate, or otherwise threatening the well-being of the country. Chapter 7 profiles the Know Nothing Party of the 1850s, the anti-Chinese agitation of the 1870s and 1880s, and the role of eugenics and the Immigration Restriction League in the establishment of strict national immigration quotas in the 1920s. This chapter also considers more recent radical immigration activism, including the Sanctuary Movement of the 1980s, which illegally provided aid and shelter to refugees fleeing political unrest in Central America, and the volunteer border patrol movement of the early 2000s.

Chapter 8. Chapter 8 focuses on gender and sexuality, examining a variety of organizations that have fought to expand, or in some cases restrict, gender equality, sexual freedom, and reproductive rights in the United States. Radical movements discussed in this chapter include the free love movement of the second half of the nineteenth century; the early birth control movement and the last drive for women's suffrage during the 1910s; the emergence of gay rights, the women's liberation movement, and illegal abortion services in the late 1960s and early 1970s; ACT-UP's militant fight for AIDS drugs in the 1980s; and, most recently, the struggle for same-sex marriage equality. Also discussed are radical efforts to resist social change, including Anthony Comstock's fight against free love and contraception in the late 1800s as well as Project Rescue's radical antiabortion activism in the late 1980s and early 1990s and the antihomosexuality activism of the Westboro Baptist Church in the 1990s and 2000s.

Chapter 9. One of the defining characteristics of governmental power is the ability to declare war and to require citizens to contribute to this effort, risking their lives and potentially taking the lives of others on the battlefield. Chapter 9 focuses on organizations and movements that have refused to recognize the legitimacy of this power, either because they consider all war immoral, question the motivation or wisdom of specific conflicts, or fear escalation that threatens the survival of humanity. Antiwar movements discussed in this chapter include the ongoing practice of conscientious objection within certain religious traditions, including the Quakers and other religious pacifist groups of the nineteenth century such as the New England Non-Resistance Society and the Universal Peace Union; World War I resistance organized by the Women's Peace Party, the Industrial Workers of the World labor union, and Emma Goldman's No-Conscription League; and World War II resistance mounted by the War

Resisters League and the Catholic Worker Movement. Radical antiwar activism peaked in the United States during the Vietnam era, and a review of the wide range of protest activity is provided, with specific emphasis on the activity of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Weather Underground, and soldiers' resistance such as the GI coffeehouse movement and Vietnam Veterans Against the War. Chapter 9 also looks at groups that protested the proliferation of nuclear weapons, including the Committee for Nonviolent Action that was active in the 1950s and 1960s and the Plowshares Movement that arose in the 1980s, as well as more recent groups formed to oppose the Iraq War, such as Direct Action to Stop the War and Code Pink for Peace.

Chapter 10. Some environmental and animal rights groups have radically questioned elements of democracy, capitalism, and property rights; argued for the extension of human rights to other species; and engaged in a range of illegal tactics, including trespassing, illegal occupation of private property, property destruction, theft, and computer hacking. Chapter 10 includes two types of environmental groups—those focused on wilderness protection, such as Earth First! and the Earth Liberation Front; and those primarily concerned with nuclear power, toxic waste, and environmental justice, such as the Clamshell Alliance, Love Canal Homeowners Association, Warren County Citizens Concerned about PCBs, and, most recently, efforts to block construction of the Keystone XL pipeline, such as the Tar Sands Blockade. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the radical animal rights movement, including Sea Shepherd Conservation Society, People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), Animal Liberation Front, and Stop Huntingdon Animal Cruelty. Chapter 10 also includes a description of the “Green Scare,” the nickname given to efforts to discourage radical environmental and animal rights activism through the passage of new legislation, some of which carries the potential for lengthy prison sentences by linking such activity to terrorism.

Because this book is specifically focused on radical political organizing, little discussion is provided of lone wolf activists like the Unabomber or extremist groups that do not engage in explicitly political activity, such as religious cults. In areas with extensive histories of radical political action, such as African Americans' fight for full citizenship rights, we have focused our discussion on the groups that were most radical, had the greatest influence, and are least likely to receive coverage in standard accounts of the movement. For each group, our primary concern has been to clearly and accurately describe their motivations, beliefs, actions, and impact, rather than to evaluate their merit or morality.



NOTES

1. Kathy E. Ferguson, *Emma Goldman: Political Thinking in the Streets* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 2011), 25.
2. Peter R. Neumann, "The Trouble with Radicalization," *International Affairs* 89 (2013): 4.

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