Biographical Information about the Authors

**Nikhil Aziz** came to work at Political Research with a PhD and an analysis of the global systems of oppression weaving together injustice based on race, gender, and class. He rose to the position of associate director at PRA. Nikhil is currently director of Land, Water and Climate Justice at the American Jewish World Service. Before joining AJWS, he was executive director of Grassroots International, which funded social movements for resource rights in the Global South and did advocacy in the United States. Aziz has served on the boards of Africa Today Associates, Massachusetts Asians & Pacific Islanders for Health, MASALA (Massachusetts Area South Asian Lambda Association), Resist, the Jessie Smith Noyes Foundation, the Human Rights Funders Network, and the Engaged Donors for Global Equity (EDGE Funders).

**Chip Berlet** describes himself as an investigative journalist abducted by progressive sociologists. Dropping out of the University of Denver in 1973 to work in the College Press Service (CPS) collective in Denver. Berlet continued to be active in the antiwar and civil rights movements in that city, while also writing for several underground and alternative publications. CPS sent him to Washington, DC to cover education and other campus-related issues. He moved on to be editor of the National Student Association magazine, and then worked at the National Student Education Fund as a researcher and publications editor.

Berlet was Washington correspondent for *High Times* magazine when in 1977 he and his partner moved to Chicago and spent ten years in labor and anti-racism projects. His photographs and articles about anti-Black racial unrest spurred on by neo-Nazis and Klansmen were carried nationwide in the alternative press. Berlet helped establish a legal newsletter on suing police for abuse and other misconduct and became editor of *The Public Eye Magazine*. This led in 1981 to his employment at what became Political Research Associates.

In 1998 he was invited to present: “Mad as Hell: Right–wing Populism, Fascism, and Apocalyptic Millennialism,” a paper presented at the 14th World Congress of Sociology. Repeated abductions followed. Berlet is co-author (with Matthew N. Lyons) of *Right-wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (Guilford: 2000). Berlet’s byline has appeared in numerous alternative, mainstream, and scholarly publications. Berlet was a co-coordinator of the national emergency strategy retreat for Defending Democracy and Pluralism at the Blue Mountain Center in 1993. https://www.researchforprogress.us/.

**Pam Chamberlain** is a former senior researcher at Political Research Associates, with an expertise in gender justice, education, and campus issues. She holds degrees from Smith College and the University of Chicago. Chamberlain has championed the needs of LGBTQ youth since the 1970s as a feminist teacher, administrator, government agency manager, and social science researcher. She was a founding member of the groundbreaking Massachusetts Safe Schools Program for Gay and Lesbian Students, the first public project of its kind in the country. Chamberlain has worked on dozens of social justice projects including the Resist Foundation, Women’s Pentagon Action, and PFLAG. She has designed attitudinal and behavior change campaigns for schools and community groups. Chamberlain is the author of the study *Deliberate Differences: Progressive and Conservative Campus Activism in the United States* (Political Research Associates: 2004)

**Frederick Clarkson** was among the first wave of serious progressive journalists to study the roots and branches of the interlocking right-wing movements in the United States. He is surprised that he has now been writing about religion and politics generally, and the Christian Right in particular, for about 40 years.  His work has appeared in a wide range of publications, from *Mother Jones*, *Ms*, and *Church & State* magazines to *The Christian Science Monitor*, *Religion Dispatches*, and *Salon.com*. He is the author of *Eternal Hostility: The Struggle Between Theocracy and Democracy* and editor of *Dispatches from the Religious Left: The Future of Faith and Politics in America.*  All of which landed him at Political Research Associates where he is a Senior Research Analyst.  His work and views are often featured in national and international media, large and small, including recently *The New York Times*, *The Guardian*, *Religion News Service* and the *BBC*.  The late author and Southern raconteur Joe Bageant, wrote, “Fred Clarkson, a New England Yankee with a streak of liberty a mile wide, has been thinking and writing about this longer than anybody I know.”  Clarkson participated in the national emergency strategy retreat for Defending Democracy and Pluralism at the Blue Mountain Center in 1993. Follow him on *Twitter* @FredClarkson

**Alex DiBranco** began challenging the right-wing backlash while she was at Dartmouth College where right-wing funders had planted a conservative newspaper. As this book geos to press DiBranco is a Sociology PhD student at Yale, studying the U.S. Christian Right, reproductive justice, and sexual violence movements. She was previously the Communications Director at Political Research Associates. During her tenure as a Change.org editor and senior organizer specializing in women’s and immigrant rights, she helped the company grow from six people to more than a hundred employees globally. Alex researched torture and human intelligence in Iraq and Afghanistan for the book *None of Us Were Like This Before*, and her writing has appeared in progressive outlets including *RH Reality Check*, *The Nation*, *Alternet*, and the *Public Eye Magazine.*https://www.alexdibranco.com/wp/.

**Frederick Douglass,** a legendary abolitionist, was an orator who in the mid-1800s drew crowds as he painted a picture of a United States freed from the sin of slavery. His quote in this book’s is from a speech on the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, which includes Haiti and other islands in the Caribbean. The British Parliament had passed the Slavery Abolition Act in 1833 and it took effect in most British colonies on August 1, 1834. Douglass was speaking in Canandaigua, New York, August 3, 1857 (near Rochester, NY) urging the end of the slavocracy in the South in the United States. His goal of the abolition of slavery was carried out only through the US Civil War (1861-1865) in which over 600,000 soldiers died as well as a large number of civilians.
https://rbscp.lib.rochester.edu/4398/.

**Michelle Fawcett**, PhD, is a graduate of the University of California, Berkeley (B.A.), the London School of Economics and Political Science (M.Sc.) and New York University’s Tisch School of the Arts (Ph.D.), where she taught media and communications. While there she also co-founded the New York City Grassroots Media Conference and organized as a shop steward with UAW Local 2110, which won the first graduate student labor union at a private university in the country. Fawcett’s dissertation on the neoliberalization of culture in public-private partnerships at UNESCO won the Cinema Studies department’s best dissertation award in 2009 and was a Graduate School of Arts and Science Dean’s Outstanding Dissertation Award nominee. In 2011, Fawcett founded the Occupy USA Today media project, a series of articles and videos covering 40 occupations in 27 states, with journalist Arun Gupta, with whom she wrote “Inside the Occupy Movement,” *The Progressive* magazine, 2012. With Gupta she visited nearly thirty occupations in twenty states in two months, filing dispatches along the way.

**Bill Fletcher, Jr**. is a former president of TransAfrica Forum, writer, and trade unionist. He is a Senior Scholar with the Institute for Policy Studies; an editorial board member of BlackCommentator.com; and in the leadership of several other projects. An activist since his teen years, after graduating from college he went to work as a welder in a shipyard. Over the years he has been active in workplace and community struggles as well as electoral campaigns. He has worked for several labor unions in addition to serving as a senior staff-person in the national AFL-CIO. Fletcher is the co-author (with Peter Agard) of *The Indispensable Ally: Black Workers and the Formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations*, *1934-1941* (W.G. Fletcher: 1987); the co-author (with Dr. Fernando Gapasin) of *Solidarity Divided: The Crisis in Organized Labor and a New Path Toward Social Justice* (University of California Press: 2008); and the author of *‘They’re Bankrupting Us’ – And Twenty Other Myths About Unions* (Beacon Press: 2012). Fletcher is a syndicated columnist and a regular media commentator on television, radio and the Web.
https://www.billfletcherjr.com/.

**Arun Gupta** is a journalist who has written for the *Washington Post*, *The Nation*, *Raw Story,* *The Guardian*, and *Jacobin*. Gupta co-founded the *Indypendent* in September 2000 and built it into an award-winning newspaper. In 2011, he co-founded the *Occupied Wall Street Journal* and covered the Occupy movement across the United States for outlets including the *Guardian*, *the Nation*, and *Salon*. During that time, he helped found other Occupy newspapers across the country. Gupta is a Lannan Foundation writing fellow and a recipient of a Wallace Global Fund grant for his reporting. A graduate of the French Culinary Institute in New York City, he is co-author, with Michelle Fawcett, of “Inside the Occupy Movement,” *The Progressive* magazine, 2012.
https://www.patreon.com/arunguptareporter/.

**Jean V. Hardisty**, PhD was the founder of the progressive think-tank Political Research Associates, which began as Midwest Research in Chicago. In the late 1970s Hardisty was studying the anti-feminist movement for the American Civil Liberties Union of Illinois. The ideological and political leader of that movement was Phyllis Schlafly (who lived in midstate Illinois near St. Louis, Missouri) from where Schlafly ran “Stop ERA;” the successful national right-wing campaign to block passage of the “Equal Rights Amendment.”

When Hardisty was unable to convince feminist and liberal political organizations “Inside the Beltway” that right-wing activists were skilled strategists and social movement organizers, she raised the funds to start a think tank in Chicago that began with her learning the research model of the union-supported investigative outfit *Group Research Report* in Washington, DC.

Back in Chicago in 1981, with a tiny office and computer system the size of a stove, Hardisty founded a progressive think tank named “Midwest Research.” and began subscribing to hundreds of right-wing periodicals and developing a model of the different sectors of right-wing organizing which is still used today. Moving the offices to the Boston area, the name was changed to Political Research Associates. There Hardisty authored *Mobilizing Resentment: Conservative Resurgence from the John Birch Society to the Promise Keepers* (Beacon Press: 1999). Hardisty was a co-coordinator of the national emergency strategy retreat for Defending Democracy and Pluralism at the Blue Mountain Center in 1993.

Hardisty described herself as a political scientist and lesbian feminist activist. She died in 2015 after a long struggle against cancer. In a memorial tribute Gloria Steinem called Hardisty a “prophet.” Her friends and allies called her both gentle and fierce—an accomplished scholar, strategist, mentor, activist, writer, and public speaker. Hardisty was all that and more. https://www.politicalresearch.org/a-tribute-to-jean-v-hardisty/. Hardisty’s work is collected at:
https://jeanhardisty.com/booksandessays.html/.

**Matthew N. Lyons** has been writing about right-wing politics for more than 25 years. His work focuses on the interplay between right-wing movements and systems of oppression, and the responses to these movements by leftists, liberals and the state. He writes regularly for Three Way Fight, a radical anti-fascist blog. His work has also appeared in the *Guardian, New Politics, Socialism and Democracy, Upping the Anti*, and other publications and outlets. His most recent book is *Insurgent Supremacists: The U.S. Far Right’s Challenge to State and Empire* (PM Press:). Lyons is co-author (with Chip Berlet) of *Right-wing Populism in America: Too Close for Comfort* (Guilford: 2000).
https://matthewnlyons.net/.

**Carol Mason**, PhD, began using the library at Political Research Associates while on a postdoctoral fellowship at the Bunting Institute at Radcliffe College. Harvard University funded the research for her first book, *Killing for Life: The Apocalyptic Narrative of Pro-life Politics,* published by Cornell University Press in 2002. She is currently professor of Gender and Women's Studies at University of Kentucky. Among other writings that address different aspects of the rise of the right since the 1960s, she is co-author with Chip Berlet of "Swastikas in Cyberspace: How Hate Went Online," in Digital Media Strategies of the Far Right in Europe and the United States, edited by Patricia Ann Simpson and Helga Druxes. (Maryland and London: Lexington Books, 2015). Carol is also known for a wicked sense of droll humor that endears her to her students and friends.
https://gws.as.uky.edu/users/cama239/.

**Scot Nakagawa** has been a leader in fighting right wing movements and initiatives since 1988 when he became the principal staffperson of the Coalition for Human Dignity, an Oregon statewide organization dedicated to monitoring, exposing and building opposition to violent white nationalist and neo-Nazi groups. In subsequent years, Scot served as Director of Statewide Development of the 1992 No on 9 Campaign for a Hate-Free Oregon which successfully opposed a proposed amendment to the Oregon state constitution to exclude LGBTQ people from civil rights protection, and as Fight the Right Organizer and Field Director of the National Gay and Lesbian Task Force (now the National LGBTQ Task Force). In the decades since then, Scot has worked in a variety of issues and sectors, serving as the Associate Director of the Partnership for Safety and Justice, a progressive criminal justice reform organization, as Education Coordinator of the Highlander Center, a rural, Southeast based residential popular education school, and as an executive in social change philanthropy. Currently, Scot is a Senior Partner in ChangeLab, a national racial equity think/act lab; and collaborates with the Center for Racial Justice Innovation. His writings on race have been published in *The Nation*, *The Washington Post: The Root,* *ColorLines*, and numerous other publications and have been included in two recent anthologies - *Killing Trayvons: An Anthology of American Violence, and Race, Class*, and *Gender in the U.S: An Integrated Study*. Scot is an Open Society Foundations Soros Equality Fellow, a program through which he is developing resources for understanding and organizing against the far right. He participated in the national emergency strategy retreat for Defending Democracy and Pluralism at the Blue Mountain Center in 1993.
https://www.changelabinfo.com/about/.

**Margaret Quigley** walked into our offices at Political Research Associates in Cambridge, Massachusetts while a student at Harvard University. She announced that she was destined to work for PRA. She was correct. An energetic and cheerful addition to the staff, Margaret was a relentless force of nature as a researcher and analyst. Her major achievement at PRA was unraveling of the strands of thought in the new European Right’s influence on the New Right in the United States. Margaret was a punctilious editor who could deface your work with notes and comments and then tell you it was “really good, just a few tweaks.” Sadly, Margaret and her partner Susie Chancey O’Quinn were killed in 1993 by a drunk driver.

**Tarso Luís Ramos** is the executive director of Political Research Associates. Tarso emerged as one of the leading theorists and journalists exposing the anti-environmentalist “Wise Use” movement in the mid-1980s. As director of the Wise Use Public Exposure Project, he monitored the Right’s anti-union and anti-environmental campaigns. Ramos served as founding director of the Western States Center’s racial justice program; which resists racist public policy initiatives and supports the base-building work of progressive people of color-led organizations. Ramos has a busy schedule as a public speaker and his work has been featured in *The Guardian*, *The New York Times*, and *Time Magazine*, among other outlets. He has served as an activist in residence at the Barnard Center for the Study of Women and a Rockwood Leadership Institute National Yearlong Fellow for 2017-2018. Ramos participated in the national emergency strategy retreat for Defending Democracy and Pluralism at the Blue Mountain Center in 1993. https://www.politicalresearch.org/author/tarso-ramos/.

**Abby Scher** uses her PhD to explore systems of oppression from a perspective that examines civil rights, civil liberties, and the political economy of gender in the United States. Her dissertation was *Cold War on the Home Front: Middle Class Women's Politics in the 1950s*; New School for Social Research, 1995. Scher was a driving force in helping build the Independent Press Association and in 2002 published “Many voices, one city: the IPA guide to the ethnic press of New York City. She is co-author with Chip Berlet of several articles including “Political Profiling: Police Spying on Peaceful Activists.” Amnesty Now, Amnesty International USA, 2003; and was lead author of “The Tea Party Moment,” in Nella van Dyke and David S. Meyer, eds., *Understanding the Tea Party Movement* (London: Ashgate, 2014). ]]]

**Spencer Sunshine** has a PhD in sociology and has written extensively about organized racist, fascist, and antisemitic movements and organizations. He is the author of the guide *40 Ways to Fight Nazis: Forty Community-Based Actions You Can Take to Resist White Nationalist Organizing* published by Showing Up for Racial Justice (SURJ) http://www.showingupforracialjustice.org/disrupting-white-nationalists.html/. His columns appear regularly on the online Truthout news service https://truthout.org/authors/spencer-sunshine/. Sunshine and Jessica Campbell (with Daniel HoSang; Steven Beda; and Chip Berlet) wrote *Up in Arms: A Guide to Oregon's Patriot Movement* published by the Rural Organizing Project and Political Research Associates, online at http://www.rop.org/up-in-arms/. Sunshine is also the executive director of Action Against Fascism and Xenophobia (AAFX), with alerts at https://www.facebook.com/ActionAgainstFascismAndXenophobia/. His numerous studies for Political Research Associates: https://www.politicalresearch.org/author/s-sunshine/. His personal website is at <https://spencersunshine.com/>.

**Angelia Wilson** is a professor at the University of Manchester, England where she is the Internationalisation Lead for the School of Social Sciences. As this book goes to press, she is Chair of the Political Studies Association of the UK. She is a former Council member of the American Political Science Association, and the author of several path-blazing books. As a colleague and friend, she has encouraged my research and writing for over a decade.

## Organizations

**Political Research Associates** was founded in 1981 by Jean V. Hardisty, PhD., the first staff hired were Chip Berlet and Peggy Shinner. In 1987 the organization “Citizens Alert” presented the “Rev. Willie Baker Award,” for the “outstanding efforts of Jean Hardisty, Chip Berlet, and Peggy Shinner in their work for racial justice.” When Midwest Research moved to East, Mayor Harold Washington attended a small dinner to congratulate the staff for their work for human rights. In moving to Massachusetts, the organization was renamed Political Research Associates. Political Research Associates is now an internationally-recognized social justice research and strategy center devoted to supporting movements that are building a more just and inclusive democratic society. PRA has built the capacity of social justice changemakers to understand, and more effectively contest their organized adversaries on the U.S. Right. Many of the contributions in this volume appeared previously in reports or articles published by Political Research Associates and its quarterly magazine, *The Public Eye* and are reprinted here with permission. For more information, visit https://www.politicalresearch.org/.

**Public Eye Network** was formed in 1978 to research and document government, corporate, and right-wing spying and disruption of peace, civil rights, and progressive organizations and movements. They were the original publishers of *The Public Eye* magazine. https://www.publiceyenetwork.us/.

**Progressive Movement Commons** is a collaborative site that collects and disseminates information about a wide-range of progressive, left, civil liberties, antifascist, and other groups organizing to defend democracy, diversity, and human rights in the United States. https://www.progressive-movements.us/now/.

**Southern Poverty Law Center** publishes study guides, and a multitude of other research resources for defending human rights. https://www.splcenter.org/.

### For Scholarly Research:

**Berkeley Center for Right-Wing Studies** at the University of California holds conferences, schedules speakers, and is developing a new field of scholarship. https://crws.berkeley.edu/.

**Radical Right Analysis** is an international group of scholars that collect and disseminate information on racist and other anti-democratic right-wing groups around the world. https://www.radicalrightanalysis.com/.

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