

Social Movements in Politics

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Social Movements in Politics

**A Comparative Study
expanded edition**

Cyrus Ernesto Zirakzadeh

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SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN POLITICS

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For Vanessa and Daniel

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P R E F A C E T O T H E

E X P A N D E D E D I T I O N

This book is an exploration and application of contemporary social-movement theory. It is intended to familiarize advanced students in the social sciences with different ways that European and North American scholars since World War II have thought about social movements. A further aim is to promote reflection on similarities and differences between four social movements that captured worldwide attention during the 1980s and 1990s.

The first chapter elaborates three major theoretical traditions that for half a century have informed studies of social movements: (1) modernization theories, which stress the human costs of social change; (2) theories about organizational resources and political opportunities; and (3) identity-formation theories. The next dozen chapters describe the circumstances, ideological debates, and actions of West Germany's Greens, Poland's Solidarity, Peru's Shining Path, and Mexico's Zapatista Army of National Liberation. Using themes and questions from the three major theoretical traditions as springboards for reflection, the book offers a multidimensional picture of each movement that highlights (1) the recent social changes and national political situation that activists in each movement confronted; (2) the preexisting traditions of popular protest from which each movement drew symbols, leaders, and other resources; and (3) the competing social goals and political strategies and tactics that major factions in each movement espoused. The book's final chapter compares the four cases and juxtaposes the historical record with the representations of social movements made by each of the major theoretical traditions. The book ends with a call for a fourth theoretical approach to social movements that emphasizes their internal politics.

The extended case studies form the heart or core of the book. Complex descriptions of social movements informed by multiple theoretical traditions are valuable for several reasons. They can enhance one's resistance to simplistic generalizations and black-and-white judgments about popular protest. In addition, by mulling over others' efforts to control their destinies, we sometimes develop greater awareness of and self-confidence in our own political potential. Last but not least, we sometimes educe from

historical details new general lessons about the difficulties and advantages of current forms of nonelite politics.

As historical studies of social movements can affect the way one views oneself and one's political situation, a passive, distant approach may not be the best way to read this book. A reader probably will benefit more if, while reading, she or he asks: How do I think about social movements? Do I like them, fear them, or am indifferent to their existence? Do these accounts of the Greens, Solidarity, Shining Path, and the Zapatistas seem plausible to me, and why (or why not)? And finally, are there any social movements occurring near me at this time? If so, how are they being represented in the conventional press and by government officials, and what alternative interpretations does this book suggest?

I have been studying social movements and social-movement theorizing for 25 years. In addition to the numerous publications that are cited in the following chapters, I have benefited from ongoing conversations with Colin Barker, William Casper, Myra Ferree, Andrei Markovits, Michael McCann, and George Shulman. I thank the "Frontiers of Social Movement Theorizing" group within the American Sociological Association and the participants at the annual "Alternative Futures and Popular Protest" conferences in Manchester, England for holding international meetings where people who love to talk about social movements can exchange opinions, stories, and theories. Without these experiences, scholarship would be much less fun and rewarding.

The University of Connecticut has offered a supportive and pleasant setting for writing this type of book. The library's remarkable alternative press collection helped me piece together local "Left" histories for Germany, Poland, and Peru. My social science colleagues, especially Bob Asher, Betty Hanson, Henry Krisch, and Kent Newmyer, cheerfully shared scholarly references, empirical findings, and personal views about social movements in politics. Current and former graduate students continue to inspire me with their enthusiasm and curiosity. Several of my newest university colleagues—Mary Bernstein, Robert Fisher, Shareen Hertel, Nancy Naples, and Jeffrey Ogbar—are also students of social movements and have taught me fresh ways of conceptualizing what movements do and their possible *raison d'être*.

Writing a book can be a lonely experience if not for close friends who encourage perseverance and provoke smiles. Five such friends were involved at different stages in the preparation of the expanded edition of this manuscript: Garry Clifford, Kay Lawson, Daniela Melo, Betty Seaver, and, in particular, Barbara Zirakzadeh. Vanessa and Daniel Zirakzadeh have grown up and today live away from Barb's and my home. But I have fond memories of their childhood adventures and how they balanced my life as I wrote the first edition.

To all whom I've mentioned, a heartfelt thank you.

A C R O N Y M S

Germany

AL	Alternative Slate (of Berlin)
APO	Extraparliamentary Movement
AUD	Action Group for an Independent Germany
A3W	Action for a Third Way
BBU	Federal Association of Citizens' Initiatives for Environmental Protection
BUF	Federal Conference of Independent Peace Groups
CDU/CSU	Christian Democratic Party/Christian Social Union
FDP	Free Democratic Party
FRG	Federal Republic of Germany
GAZ	Green Action Future
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GLU	Green List for Environmental Protection
JUSO	Working Group of Young Socialists
KB	Communist League
KPD	Communist Party of Germany
NPD	National Democratic Party
SPD	Social Democratic Party
SDS	Socialist German Students' League
SPV-Greens	Alternative Political Alliance-Greens
USP	Environmental Protection Party

Poland

KKW	National Executive Commission
KO	Citizens' Committees
KOR	Workers' Defense Committee
KPN	Confederation for an Independent Poland
KSS-KOR	Committee for Social Self-Defense-KOR
OPZZ	National Federation of Trade Unions
PPR	Polish Workers' Party
PSL	Peasant Party

PZPR	Polish United Workers' Party
RMP	Young Poland Movement
ROPCiO	Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights
SdRP	Social Democracy of the Polish Republic
SKS	Students' Solidarity Committee
TKK	Temporary Coordinating Commission
UD	Democratic Union

Peru

APRA	American Revolutionary Popular Alliance
CGTP	General Confederation of Peruvian Workers
CTP	Confederation of Peruvian Workers
ELN	National Liberation Army
IU	United Left
MIR	Movement of the Revolutionary Left
PCP	Communist Party of Peru
PCP-SL	Communist Party of Peru-Shining Path

Mexico

CIOAC	Independent Confederation of Agricultural Workers and Peasants
CND	National Democratic Convention
EZLN	Zapatista Army of National Liberation
FLN	Forces of National Liberation
LP	Proletarian Line
MLN	National Liberation Movement
OCEZ	Emiliano Zapata Peasant Organization
PAN	National Action Party
PRD	Democratic Revolutionary Party
PRI	Institutional Revolutionary Party
PRONASOL	National Solidarity Program
UU	Union of Unions

Miscellaneous

EEC	European Economic Community
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPEC	Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
UFW	United Farm Workers
UN	United Nations
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics