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be found in a variety of examples: the great Teamsters United Parcel Service strike of 1997; the election of John Sweeney as president of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations in 1995, replacing the cold warrior Lane Kirkland; the model contract mobilizations of the Communications Workers of America; and even the founding of our union, the National Union of Healthcare Workers, in 2009 in opposition to the corporate unionism of Andy Stern and Service Employees International Union. But Early also understands that the legacy is mixed and uneven. He writes: "The decay has become so advanced that some younger activists—unlike their counterparts of earlier eras—no longer consider organized workplaces to be promising arenas for 'colonization' and the revival of 'class struggle unionism.'" (p. 362).

Reading page after page of the remarkable militancy of rank-and-file workers in this period, one is struck by how the entrenched union leadership was too weak, compromised, and conservative to fight employers, and yet institutionally strong and motivated within their own organizations to either co-opt or ruthlessly squash the workers' rebellion. How different might today's labor movement look if Walther Reuther, Leonard Woodcock, and Douglas Fraser, to use the UAW as just one example, embraced the upheaval against speedups in the 1960s and 1970s and actually fought the Big Three for control of the shop floor?

Fast forwarding to today, the history of the rank-and-file rebellion of the long 1970s serves as an inspiration for those who doubt the capacity of American workers to take matters into their own hands to demonstrate in powerful, collective ways their opposition to corporate capitalism and union bureaucracy. Many of the conditions that fostered the revolt in the 1970s are present today. But as this volume also makes clear, to have a deeper, longer lasting impact, rebellion on its own may not be enough.

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Gould, Deborah. *Moving Politics: Emotions and ACT UP's Fight against AIDS*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. 536 pp. $23.00 (paperback).

Organizations and social movements are not codeterminants. Affinity groups come and go—as movements churn forward—some members drop out and others join. Issues change, and people adapt to a social environment in constant flux. If one conceptualizes movements as interest groups, then a chronicle of the organizational growth and decline seems appropriate. The

problem with this analysis is that movements are not always interest groups. We need a much larger horizon. A richer way to approach movements is to consider the work of individuals and cohorts across time. We have lived around human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) since the early 1980s. And one source of consistency is that people have been ready to fight the carnage. Organizations have come and gone; affinity groups have risen with trends; some have declined and disappeared and others reborn. People constantly drop out of acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) activism. And there are numerous reasons for this process. The life course of most direct action groups tends to be two or three years; yet others tend to arrive to continue the work. And in the unique case of ACT UP, they continue for decades.

Simultaneous with this activism has been the almost two decades-long discussion of the decline of the AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP). I remember sitting in the gym in 1993 reading an article in *Out Magazine* entitled "What's going down with ACT UP?" in which the author challenged the premature autopsies (see Chew 1993). People talk all the time about what happened with AIDS activism, Cleve Jones explained to me in 1995. Yet the single most significant occurrence was that people died, he explained (Shepard 1997). And many grieved during this period. Some walked away to take a needed respite from *thanatos*.

I recall standing in front of the AIDS quilt in 1996 in Washington, DC, with tears in my eyes, and making up my mind not to cry about AIDS anymore, no matter what. And that kept me going for the next eight years. Others watched their groups disband and despaired. "ACT UP/Chicago was disintegrating right in front of our eyes," Deborah Gould recalls from 1995. "I sensed this was it for ACT UP/Chicago," (p. 268). Gould is right, a chapter in the two-decade history of ACT UP ended that day. But was this it for ACT UP Chicago or the AIDS direct action movement? It is not easy to say. Certainly, the historic record suggests otherwise (Sawyer 2002). ACT UP New York held a meeting the night I finished this review, some fifteen years later.

The theory that AIDS activism died with the decline of the early cohorts of ACT UP has been around since the early 1990's when the first generation of ACT UP stepped aside or died trying to stop this thing. Still, in the years since ACT UP's peak, affinity groups organized to fight AIDS through direct action have come, gone and been reborn. And to be fair, Gould acknowledges that certain chapters of ACT UP continue. Yet, she does not appear to hold their efforts in high regard. Still, the movement has continued. Here in New York, affinity groups around AIDS/queer politics, including SexPanic!, Fed Up Queers, Gay Shame, Queer Fist, and even the Radical Homosexual Agenda, have taken on simultaneous struggles against homogenization and the ongoing AIDS onslaught.

AIDS activism has overlapped with struggles around public health among communities of color, dating back to the Young Lords and extending through ACT UP's Majority Action and Syringe Exchange Committees into direct action organizations, including CitiWide Harm Reduction, New York City

AIDS Housing Network, and Housing Works. Each still makes use of direct action to get the good today. Others, such as Eric Sawyer (2002), one of ACT UP's founders, helped push ACT UP into an international direction, helping found HealthGap, which has successfully pushed drugs into bodies of people across the globe (D'Adesky 2006). Militant AIDS activism was not born with ACT UP; groups such as the Names Project and Lavender Hill Mob owe as much to gay liberation as they do to the queer direct action that followed (Smith and Siplon 2006). And most certainly, militant movements would continue around AIDS activism even after ACT UP peaked.

I got my copy of *Moving Politics* last spring. I was puzzled with the discussion of "the emergence, development, and decline of the direct action AIDS movement." Yet, I kept reading. As the references to the decline continued, I remained perplexed. By the third or fourth time I read about "ACT UP's decline" on page 212 in *Moving Politics*, I started feeling like the author had very little regard for those who have stayed engaged or involved over the years since her affinity group stopped meeting. Certainly, the discussion of organizational decline is a necessary part of social movement scholarship. Yet, there are risks in this line of research, particularly because it becomes convenient to generalize when a group ends instead of considering the messy cases that challenge such a thesis. And most importantly, the damage for social movements can be great, for these premature autopsies discourage new activists from joining those groups which are still active.

For full disclosure, I have participated with ACT UP's direct action since the early 1990s and have remained active. Just last week, I observed a rambunctious group of AIDS activists zap a sitting governor of New York state for vetoing an AIDS housing bill; a few weeks earlier, I saw thousands of AIDS activists clog midtown chanting "KEEP YOUR PROMISES!" when the president came for a fundraiser. Larry Kramer was even on hand to speak. The entire time I have been involved with AIDS activism, I have heard the old surfer's refrain, "You should have been here yesterday." The implication of this slogan for surfers is, "Yesterday we had great waves. Today, the waves are flat." Yet, another wave generally comes along. And they are often quite good. The same point can be said about Gould's work, the message seems to be: you should have been here yesterday. Yet, the second point—that another wave is on its way—seems absent throughout the work.

Building on the work of Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta (2001), Gould highlights the role of emotion in the history of the ACT UP. And emotion there is in the world of AIDS and in the worlds Gould describes. Certainly, play and fun were part of the game, as were despair. Many saw both working simultaneously, with activism increasingly taking place on a tragicomic stage. Gould takes us through watching her friends and colleagues die with HIV, considering the way those losses robbed her of a bit of herself. Many have experienced such feelings throughout the history of this epidemic (Crimp 2002; Rofes 1996; Shepard 1997). It was impossible not to—when one was watching AIDS tear at communities of friends, colleagues, and lovers.

Emotional highs as well as mourning are important places to begin when considering this terrain. And most certainly, many have (see Crimp 2002). From here, Gould takes readers on a short review of the literature on the early AIDS movement, including the impacts of the *Bowers v. Hardwick* decision of 1985, already covered elsewhere (see Hunter 1992). She traces the early history of ACT UP, mining secondary sources, Sarah Schulman's excellent oral histories from the ACT UP Oral History Project, as well as her own interviews and experiences with the ACT UP Chicago Chapter, which folded in 1995. She highlights the friendships, sex, play, peaks, and valleys of AIDS activism. And she does it well. Yet, just as her sources start to speak for themselves, the author insists over and over that this activism is part of the past rather than a part of an even flowing present. "My narrative analysis of the direct action AIDS movement provides a general conceptual apparatus for doing so" (p. 438).

Much of the book is based on her examination of the end of her own ACT UP chapter. And most certainly, it is depressing and excruciating to sit and watch a once vital activist force decline in front of one's eyes. Todd Gitlin's work is a prime example. While many adopt the golden oldie narrative that radical activism fell into decline after the 1960s, influential radical activism continued well into the next decade, as Dan Berger (2010) points out in his striking new volume, *The Hidden 1970s: Histories of Radicalism*. The same can be said of AIDS direct action.

By the mid-1990s, many, such as Gould, started writing obits for the era. Yet, neither the AIDS story, nor the need for direct action, ends. And cohort after cohort of AIDS activists continued the practice. Just last year, I participated in direct action zap of a drug company denying a claim for one of ACT UP New York's long-term members. After the mere threat of civil disobedience, the drug company caved, honoring his claim. And AIDS activists continued, even when facing long jail sentences.

Reading Gould, I am reminded of Mother Jones' adage: pray for the dead, but fight like hell for the living. "The continuing deaths made the absence of ACT UP incomprehensible," writes the author (p. 269). "The emptiness after ACT UP was disorienting and hard to bear." Reading this, I scribbled in my notes, "if you're so depressed, call a meeting or a demo." God knows homophobia and AIDSphobia were rampant in Chicago in the mid-1990s. I saw it over and over when I was at the University of Chicago. AIDS activism has remained an imperative, especially as the epidemic has become more and more entwined within the mosaic of poverty.

While ACT UP Chicago ended, others have continued; new groups have formed. And emotions did not prevent these groups from moving forward. It was part of the difficult work of coping with a difficult terrain, acknowledging the tragicomic dimensions of a lived moment, laughing, screaming, kicking, doing research, planning, and moving forward. Yes, emotion was part of the group's work, but so were research, direct action, and passion to create something different in this world. Emotions helped push the process forward. Yet, one cannot suggest that they stopped it. By the time ACT UP Chicago ended,

AIDS direct action groups—Housing Works, SexPanic!, a housing as well as international AIDS movement—pressed forward (Shepard 2009).

In 1998, South African activist Zachie Achmont of the Treatment Action Campaign stopped taking his medications, arguing he would not take more until everyone had access. And the result was a policy change for the better (D'Adesky 2006; Smith and Siplon 2006). After 9/11, it was AIDS activists who charged forward initiating direct action over cuts for HIV prevention monies for communities of color, even in the face of the 9/11 when other groups turned away from direct action (Kink, 2002). The monies were later returned to the budget. On September 19th, 2002, ACT UP New York teamed with Human Rights China to hold a demonstration at the Chinese Consulate after Dr. Wan Yanhai, an AIDS activist in mainland China, was detained in Beijing. His crime, releasing public health information on his website. After waves of coverage of the international protest, Wan was released the following day. His wife, Ms. Su Zhaosheng, Dr. Yanhai's wife, sent out a note thanking everyone involved in the media zap. "This is one of the shortest case of detention in China that I have worked on," explained Ann Lau, a friend of Ms. Su Zhaosheng. "You are just an absolutely wonderful, fantastic group of people who have come together for a common cause! My hats off to you all!" (ACT UP, 2002). A year later, peace activists, including members of ACT UP, helped initiate direct action to stop the war, as some four hundred stories staged a die-in, congesting traffic on 5th Ave in front of Rockefeller Center on March 27th, 2003. Friday, August 26th, 2004, members of ACT UP upstaged most every activist organizing against the Republican National Convention, blocking traffic to stage a naked protest before the convention even began. The following day, the New York Daily News pictured these activists on the cover of their paper reporting "A New York Welcome to the GOP, Well This is the Naked City" with the words, "STOP AIDS, DROP the DEBT" emblazoned on their backs. Throughout these years, Jennifer Flynn helped build a movement to support housing for people with AIDS. And Laurie Wen helped organize a wave of civil disobedience actions for national healthcare last fall, as part of the push to keep Senator Chuck Schumer supporting single payer health care (which he did before the plan died in the Finance Committee). On November 9th, 2010 AIDS activists held a civil disobedience over a veto of an AIDS rent cap bill. And Charles King persevered, year in and year out, even after his partner from Housing Works, Keith Cylar died. For King, who loves the work of Victor Frankl, there has to be the space for agency, connection, and meaning creation. "I was in a counseling session with somebody whose daughter just died of AIDS. She had come to me because she knew Keith and I. And my counseling was around choosing joy. Yeah, there's grief. But even in grief, you can choose joy. And you have the option of either spending your time lamenting your loss or spending your time being grateful for what you have. Those are the two options. And we have the power to make that choice" (quoted in Shepard 2009, p. 159). We all have a choice, King concluded.

Gould is correct; this is not your mother's ACT UP. The direct action AIDS movement is anything but over. If one cares to take a look, later chapters of ACT UP and others in this activist trajectory have built their own history. Still, the early ACT UP chapter seems to be the only chapter many care about. But then, one has to ask why is it that observers, such as Gould, fail to show much interest in later AIDS/queer direct action movements? Could it be that the AIDS movement was increasingly organized around issues related to communities of color and poverty? There are multiple ways to answer this question. Regardless, *Moving Politics* does a disservice to every AIDS activist who kept on going after the stars disappeared, and the AIDS direct action movement continued its work over the last two decades.

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