RIGHTS DISCOURSE is a central, though often neglected, feature of American conservative politics. Activist and rank-and-file conservatives, for example, engage in frequent, sophisticated, and sincere mobilizations of law and rights. The Cultivation of Resentment argues that these mobilizations are central both to the identity and to the appeal of conservative politics. Moreover, the prominence of conservative legal mobilizations suggests that American rights discourse is more ubiquitous and flexible than is typically assumed. American rights discourse, accordingly, should be viewed as a potent resource both for those who seek, and for those who oppose, egalitarian social reform.

The analysis presented in this book proceeds from the understanding that the conservative adoption of the New Right political vision is a defining feature of modern American society. This political vision is marked by a dual resentment—of the political participation of historically disadvantaged citizens, on one hand, and of witless, naïve, and corrupt governmental officials and cultural elites, on the other hand. Accordingly, it portrays an America under siege from irresponsible and corrosive politics. This nationalistic resentment is often noted by scholars of American conservatism as a crucial element of the New Right's popular appeal. However, few scholars appreciate the increasingly specific form that this resentment takes. Conservatives argue that the abuse of law, and particularly of rights, is central to national decline. Conservatives maintain that formerly excluded groups misuse rights to persuade public officials to elevate minority interests over the interests of all other citizens. Accordingly, the resentment that infuses New Right activism is frequently cast in a rights-based idiom that excoriates formerly excluded groups for claiming "special" rights that violate the "equal" rights of all other Americans. Conservative activists at once champion as patriotic rights claims that maintain traditional hierarchies and stigmatize as un-American rights claims that aim to unsettle those hierarchies.

Such "special-rights talk" is not simply a clever rhetorical tool. It also does important cultural and political work for those resentful Americans who employ it. In this book I explore the effects of special-rights talk on the activists who make up the contemporary anti-treaty-rights movement, a loose coalition of grassroots organizations that oppose the treaty rights of Indian tribes. Resentful over how "special" treaty rights give Indians unfair advantages not available to others, anti-treaty-rights activists emphasize that treaty rights conflict with the nation's commitment to protecting the equal rights of all citizens. Convinced by their special-rights talk that they are heroic defenders of an endangered American way of life, anti-treaty-rights activists construct for themselves a virtuous, and exceedingly consequential, identity as "countersubversives" who protect the body politic from the irresponsible activism of Indians.

The ambivalent view of rights and nation expressed by members of the anti-treaty-rights movement—for whom "equal" rights are thought to exalt America and "special" rights to undermine it—is at the center of the New Right political vision. As such, it lies also at the heart of the popular appeal of modern conservative politics. By linking rights to the nationalistic resentment that saturates American politics and culture, this study adds new insight to the prevailing scholarship on law and politics, which typically presumes that rights discourse is a resource only for groups that seek redistributive social change.

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