Rules Just for Radicals?



Does this Apply to Your Organization? Said A

March 22, 2018
by Dan Regenold
Mana<mark>ging Board</mark> Member, EmpowerU.

Class Rules

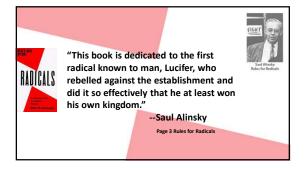


- We are viewing Alinsky's work "Rules for Radicals" through his eyes as an organizer. What are his famous rules....what sets them up?
- We'll guide you through this with an eye to helping your organization.
 Organizations can be "Have-Nots, and can prosper from Alinsky's tactics or rules." (His rules don't just apply to the left—some local stories will be discussed—many of Alinsky's rules apply to life!)
- If we have time we'll apply a few of these rules to Conservatives and talk about the book <u>Rules for Conservatives</u> by Michael Master.
- Questions...Let's try to keep to a few throughout the presentation. If
 you have a comment raise your hand we'll try to take it. But if we are
 running long we'll have to wait to the end. We have a Lot of material
 to get through tonight.



Saul Alinsky Very Much in the News...





Thesis for Tonight



"It's too much to argue that American democracy is being altered by Alinsky's ideas."

-- Conservative author William F. Buckley in 1966

(Was Buckley right or have things changed?) Yes? No?

Saul Alinsky-discusses Rules for Radicals

"In Rules for Radicals we are concerned with how to create mass organizations to seize power and give it to the people; to realize the democratic dream of equality, justice, peace, co-operation, equal and full opportunities for education, full and useful employment, health, and the creation of those circumstances in which man can have the chance to live by values that give meaning to life."

--continued



Saul Alinsky goes on to say....

"My aim here is to suggest how to organize for power, how to get it and how to use it. Radicals must have a degree of control over the flow of events. Rules for Radicals is written specifically for the Have-Nots on how to take power away from the Haves to gain social, political, legal and economic power.."



Who is Saul Alinsky (1909-1972)?

- A community organizer and writer.
 Attended high school in Chicago with a strict Jewish American upbringing. Attended Unive of Chicago. In 1930's he talked his way into Al Capone gang's confidence and learned Al

- of Chicago. In 1990's he talked his way into Al Capone gang's confidence and learned Al's methods of persussion...

 3. For his profession he was a writer, an activist and a community organizer.

 4. His primary skill was using the power of the people against the establishment.

 5. Started out organizing in the Back of the Yards neighborhood in Chicago (made famous by Upton Sinckin's 1906 noved the Jungle which described the horrific working conditions).

 6. Wrote Rules for Radicals in 1973, near the end of his Ille—drawing upon his entire career.

 7. Alinsky was not a joine—did not jun political parties or any of the organizations he organized.

 8. His to organizing allids were focused on in orwing the fiving conditions of poor communities.

 9. One of his this threats was to threaten a "pis in "a Chicago Ribara Almost, Alinsky planned to arrange for large numbers of well-dressed African Americans to occupy the urinals and tollets at O'Hare for a long sain to the borrantering the beavariants and tollets at O'Hare for a long as it to the brazanine table. at O'Hare for as long as it took to bring the city to the bargaining table.

 11. Well known for fighting the Eastman Kodak company in Rochester, NY

 12. Alinksy died at age 63 from a heart attack near his home in Carmel, California.

Let's learn a little more with the John Bunzel Interview from 1966...





"There is No Nice Way of Getting Things Changed!" (change is hard work, dirty work, never easy)

Let's start with discussing the book...

Everything Starts with the Ideology of Change

- The prerequisite for an ideology is possession of a basic truth (usually something wrong)
 In the end of the day one has a conviction—a belief that if people have the power to act, in the long run they will, most of the time, reach the right decision.
 The basic requirement for the understanding of the politics of change is to recognize the world
- We must work within it on its on terms if we are to change it to be the kind of world we want it to be.
- We must know that Life is not a world of peace and beauty and dispassionate rationality, but as Henry James once wrote, "Life is in fact, a battle." Like Politics in Kentucky is a battle....

We must see the world as all political realists have in terms of "what men do and not what they ought to do," as Machiavelli and others have put it.



Alinsky's Trinity—Class Distinctions

Mankind is divided into three parts or classes—the Haves, the Have-Nots, and the Have-a-Little, Want Mores.

Haves—Have power, money, food, security, luxury. Want to keep things as they are.

The Have-a-Little, Want Mores are the Middle Class. Torn between upholding the status quo to protect the little they have, yet wanting change so they can get more. Out of this class have come, with few exceptions, the great world leaders of change of the past centuries. These are people that want to join the Haves and think they can, maybe they should be a have. (Reagan/Margaret Thatcher)

Have-Nots—The lowest class, no where to go but up. An organizer's job is to fan the flames (stir things up). Chained together by the common misery of poverty, rotten housing, disease, ignorance, and despair. Most are employed in jobs where they are deprived in all areas basic to human growth.

The <u>Haves want to keep</u>, the Have-Nots want more, and <u>The Have-a-Little</u>, <u>Want Mores fall in</u> between.



About "Haves" / "Have-Nots" In a 1972 Playboy Interview Alinsky said:

ALINSKY: ... if there is an afterlife, and I have anything to say about it, I will unreservedly choose to go to hell.

ALINSKY: Hell would be heaven for me. All my life I've been with the have-nots. Over here, if you're a have-not, you're short of dough. If you're a have-not in hell, you're short of virtue. Once I get into hell, I'll start organizing the have-nots over

PLAYBOY: Why them?

ALINSKY: They're my kind of people



For the Organizer...

The pursuit of happiness is never ending; happiness lies in the pursuit. As we climb up a mountain we see a top, but when we finally reach it, the overcast rises and we find ourselves merely on a bluff.

(This is an activist—are you one?)

Alinsky Talks a Lot About Means and Ends

- 1. The real and only question regarding the ethics of means and ends is, "does this particular end
- The organizer of action views the issue of means and ends in pragmatic and strategic terms. He thinks only of his actual resources and the possibilities of various choices of action.
- 3. He asks of ends only whether they are achievable and worth the cost; of means, only whether
- they will work.

 4. You do what you can with what you have and clothe it with moral arguments.

"The means-and-end moralists or non-doers always wind up on their ends without any means. The most unethical of all means is the non-use of any means."--Alinsky



Means and Ends must be judged in the context of the times in which the action occurred.

- I THICK IT WHICK THE ACTION OCCUPTED.

 1. For instance our alliance with the Soviet Union against Germany, 8 Japan in 1942

 2. Lincoin's suspension of habeas corpus and he defied a directive of the Chief Justice of the United States in 1861 (felt like he had to do it)

 3. For instance Gandhi and his use of passive resistance in India. It worked because Gandhi is viewed by the world as the epitione of the highest moral behavior. Ghandi said *Took, you are all sitting there anyway—so instead of sitting there, why don't you sit over here and say "independence Now"
- All great leaders –Churchill, Gandhi, Lincoln & Jefferson always invoked Means to an End principles even to cover naked self-interest.

To Alinsky, "Ethics is doing what is best for the Most." Alinsky uses Means and Ends to justify his taking from the Haves. Alinksy thinks you are going to have to get dirty in the process.



According to Alinsky:

All mass political action must be boiled down to "We are right, and they are wrong."

Illustration: the Declaration of Independence, as a declaration of war, had to be what it was a 100 percent statement of the justice of the cause of the colonists and a 100 percent denunciation of the role of the British government as evil and unjust.



Alinsky argues these words that are distasteful but essential for the

- organizer to understand. Here are a few key words...

 1. <u>Power</u>—Alinsky says "Use the correct words". By using combinations of words such as
- force in man's behavior—inevitable. IE--Within minutes of the invasion of Russia by the Nazis with self-interest we decided that the defeat of Russia would be disastrous to our interest suddenly they became our best friends working with different groups—Issue 27).
- suddenly they became our best friends working with different groups—Issue 27).

 Compromise—to an organizer compromise is a lay and beautiful word. Making the deal. If you start with nothing, demand 100 per cent, then compromise for 30 per cent, you are 30 per cent ahead. A sockly devoid of compromise is totalization.

 Ego—Faith in oneself. Anyone who is working, against the haves is always, facing odds, and in many cases heavy odds. If the or she does not have that complete self-confidence (or call it ego) that he can win them the battle is lost before it is even begun.

 Conflict—A bad word in a general opinion. Bidt, it is an essential core of a free and open society. To protect the demoratic way of life there misst always be conflict. Alinkay wants his
- organizers to be "people persons" but conflict is inevitable.



To Be A Good Organizer the Following Skills are Key

- Curiosity—Must be willing to ask people "why"
 Irreverence—Be creative, be yourself, you must be willing to stir unrest.
 Imagination—The dynamism that starts and sustains the organizer
- Humor—Essential to a successful tactician. The most potent weapon know to mankind are satire and ridicule.
- 5. An organized personality—must be organized to get along in a disorganized situation. Must be able to handle multiple issues at the same time.

 Unreserved ego—confidence in one's ability to do what must be done.
- 7. A free and open mind—Must be flexile and not following a rigid structure. Must have the ability to create the new out of the old.

 8. Organizer cannot become too close to the issue to stay objective

"All of us have faults. I know that in a community, working as an organizer, I have unlimited patience in talking to and listening to the local residents. Any organizer must have this patience". --Alinsky



Communication—Above all else, without good communication nothing will be done.

- 1. One can lack qualities of an organizer—and can overcome a few qualities. The exception to that is the art of communication.

 2. People must be able to understand what you are trying to get across to them
- Communication is a two way process. An organizer's job is to provide guidance.
 When trying organize it is important that you do not go outside of the experience of the people
- that you are trying to organize.—You must get into their (people organizing) experience.

 5. For Effective communication it is key that people have to make their own decisions. But, you can help with loaded question (ends and means...):

What do you think we should do now? I think we should do tactic X What do you think, Leader No. 2? Yeah, that sounds pretty good to me. What about you, No. 3? Well I don't know it worries me Organizer: Leader #2: Organizer: Leader #3: Organizer:

The important thing is what you guys think. (Let's all just be part of the

Acceptance as an Organizer

- 1. Acceptance as an organizer is convincing key people—and many others—first that you are on their side and second that you have ideas. They must believe in your capacity. Establishing one's credentials of competence is important
- When people attack you it helps your notoriety and acceptance. (University of Chicago's attacks on Alinsky strengthened his credentials with a black community.

 Same thing when the Gannett newspaper chain and Eastman Kodak criticized Alinsky the reaction from people in Rochester was "The way the fat-cat white newspapers are ripping hell
- out of Alinsky—he must be right!

 The organizers job is to inseminate an invitation for himself, to agitate, introduce ideas, get people pregnant with desire for change and identify you as the person most qualified for this



An example of using the Socratic method to gain acceptance

Organizer: Do you live over in that slummy building? Answer: Yeah. What about it? Organizer: What the hell do you live there for?

Answer: What do you mean? Where else am I going to live? I'm on welfare

Organizer: Oh, you mean you pay rent in that place?

Answer: Come on, is this a put on? Where else can you live for free?

Organizer: Hmm. That place looks like it's crawling with rats and bugs.

Organizer: Did you ever try to get that landlord to do anything about it? Answer: Try to get him to do anything? He just says "If you don't like it, get out."

Organizer: What if you didn't pay your rent?

Answer: They'd throw us out in 10 minutes.

Organizer: Hmm. What if nobody in that building paid their rent?



"The organizer knows, for example, that his biggest job is to give the people the feeling that they can do something, that

(This is not just a message for the Have-Nots—First Clue that Rules for Radicals and organizing can apply in many areas of your life).

organization, and thus in themselves."

while they may accept the idea that organization means power,

they have to experience this idea in action. The organizer's job is to begin to build confidence and hope in the idea of

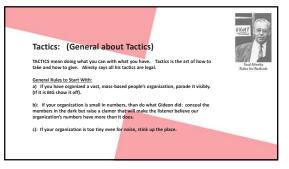


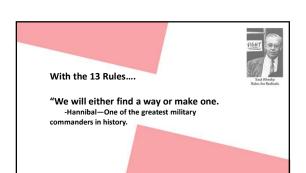


William Buckley talks about Community Organizing...











Alinksky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:





Alinksky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

13: Wherever possible as outside of the experience of the enemy. Try to cause controlon, fear and retreat, "Histostation. When General Sheman, a General of the Union Army in the Crull War cut loose on his famous March to the Sea he had no front or rear lines of supplies. The South, confronted with this new forms of military invasion, reacted with confusion, panic, terror and collapse. <u>Illustration</u>: Music Hall—Involunction of Finance, Graphs, Data



Alinsky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

#4 Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules. You can kill them / with this. Illustration: If a group says "we always answer every letter" then your group writes 30,000 letters to make them reply to every one to swamp their resources and put their credibility on the line".



#6: A good tactic is one that your people enjoy. If your people are not having a ball doing it, there is something wrong with the tactic. Illustration: Petitioning. (Many people get a real joy out of taking Government into their own hands)



Alinsky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

87: A tactic that drags on too long becomes a drag. Man can sustain militant interest in any issue for only a limited time, after which it becomes a commitment. (Plus new issues and crises are always developing). Illustration: Occupy movement—lost its intensity. Racist, Sexist, Homophobic. Became old—people got over it).





Alinksky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

#8: Keep the pressure on with different tactics and actions, and utilize all events of the period for your purpose. <u>Illustration</u>: Coast Issue 27—Jail Tax a New Person (supporter) was released a every day—each writing a column.



Alinksky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

#9: The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself. Illustration: Illustration: Trump is going to start a nuclear war. Use threats—use them wisely—many people won't remember what actually happened. Illustration: Mitt Romney didn't pay any taxes. (Harry Reid).



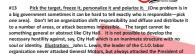
#11 If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside. People you are making the negative against will make a mistake. Anybody know who this guy is?



Alinksky's Thirteen Rules for Radicals:

GM. Always pick a focal point.

#12 The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative. You cannot risk being trapped by the enemy in his sudden agreement with your demand and saying "You're right—we don't know what to do about this issue. Now you tell us." Illustration: Estate Tax Only certain parts of the populations (farmers) will be exempted from the tax. Townships have to be included.





One Key Thing

The threat is often more effective than the tactic itself, but only if you are so organized that the establishment know not only that you have the power to execute the tactic but that you definitely will. You can't bluff much.

- Example
 --At a Protestant College the administration wouldn't allow the students to have any
- --They couldn't dance, or smoke, or have a been
- -They couldn't dance, or smoke, or have a beer.

 -They couldn't dance, or smoke, or have a beer.

 -Then a student was asked "What do they permit you to do?" He responded

 "practically nothing", except you can chew gum.

 To Alinsky gum becomes the weapon. You get two or three hundred students to get
 two packs of gum each, which is quite a wad. Then you have them drop it, on the
 campus walks. Then you have them drop it on the campus walks creating chaos.

 "The student reported the threat worked, now we can do just about anything.



Brainstorm Have Fun! Alinsky on the Baked Beans Tactic...

"I once suggested that we buy one hundred seats for one of Rochester's symphony concerts. (The Rochester Symphony was the pride and joy of the Haves). We would select a concert in which the music was relatively quiet. One hundred volunteers would be given tickets. They would first be treated to a three-hour pre-concert dinner in the community, in which they would be fed nothing but baked beans, and lots of them, then the people would go to the symphony hall—with obvious consequences."

On Tactics...You have to use what you've got.





Let's Examine the Baked Bean Tactic...

Of the concepts mentioned above... First, the disturbance would be utterly outside the experience of the establishment, which was expecting the usual stuff of mass meetings, street demonstrations, confrontations and parades. Not in their wildest fears would they expect an attack on their prize cultural jewel, their famed symphony orchestra. Second, the action would ridicule and make a farce of the law for there is no law, and probably never will be, banning natural physical functions. Nothing the police or law could do about it. People finding out about it would laugh, making the symphony look ridiculous"



Another example (a bit dated)

A department store had restrictive employment policies for Blacks who were hired for only menial jobs.

The Tactic:
--A busy Saturday shopping was selected.

- --3000 Blacks dressed up in their churchgoing suits and dresses.
- --The idea was they would all be placed on the main floor—all arriving about the same time. (This is a legal tactic)
- -They would stay there until an hour before closing, not buying anything.

 -A threat was delivered to the authorities through a legitimate and "trustworthy" channel that this would happen—through a trusted stool pigeon (must have
- a-round;
 --The next day a call was received from the department store who feared a day of no sales. The store was eager to discuss new personnel policies which drastically changed overnight.

(Get inside Alinsky's Head...)



Applying Alinsky's Power-- Tactics proposed must be: 1) Legal (???—are they still)

The Power Factor

- Unexpected
 Hard for the establishment to deal with
- Perterbs the enemy.
 Quickest way to make an issue an issue is to polarize it.

"The Haves possess and are in turn are possessed by power. Obsessed with the fear of losing power, their every move is dictated by the idea of keeping it. The way of life of the Haves is to keep what they have and wherever possible, to shore up their defenses. Haves will take from one another in they have to". Illustration: "Those businesses don't need a lower corporate tax rate—but we must lower the highest individual rate...."

The Haves possess and in turn are possessed by power. Obsessed with the fear of

The haves pussess and in turn are possessed by power. Obsessed with the lear of losing power, their every move is dictated by the idea of keeping it. The way of life of the Haves is to keep what they have and wherever possible shore up their defenses. It is OK to bounce play haves against each other.



Time in Tactics

- --is critical, and can be the difference between success and failure.
 --it is important that the conflict not be carried on over too long of time.
 --if a conflict drags on too long it becomes a drag.
 --it uman beings can sustain an interest in a particular subject only over a limited
- period of time.

 -The way to keep the action going and preventing it from becoming a drag, is to constantly add new issues as the action continues, so that by the time emotions have de-escalated, a new issue comes on the scene.

In many prolonged issues the final negotiations don't even involve the original conflict.

Once a specific tactic is used, it ceases to be outside the experience of the enemy. Before long the enemy will design countermeasures around a previously effective



The Way Forward—According to Alinsky

Organization for action will now and in the many decades ahead center upon America's white middle-class. This is where the power is. (This is Now)

If all low-income parts of our population are organized—all the blacks, Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, and poor whites would be powerful enough to get significant, basic, needed changes.

The job of the organizer is to search out leaders from PTA's to consumer groups, churches and clubs. Find common areas of agreement, and excite their imagination with tactics that can introduce drama and adventure into the tedium of middle-class

Bring in the Have-a-Little-Want-Mores.



Alinsky's Conclusion

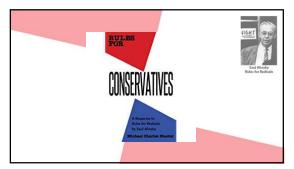
- Know Yourself—Can you do this?
 Know Your Enemy—Be One Step Ahead.
- Perception is Everything (How will Have-Nots be Perceived by Haves and the Have-A Little-Want Mores. Important that Have-A Little-Want Mores will support Have-Nots in their organization—work on them—
- messaging.

 Make enemies live up to own ideas.

 It's always fun to mock—mocking is hard to counter-attack.
- 6. Polarization—Make the issue imminent. Be concise— Have a
- slogan, make people pick your side.
 7. Anyone wanting to change the status quo should read Alinsky.

How Does This Help Your Organization

- Your organization can be a Have-Not...it may be a Have-Not (No \$\$\$, No Power, No Recognition)
- It can try to Grab for Power by Organizing.
 It can use the Tactics (13 Rules) to be successful.
- 4. It can learn to Communicate more Successfully. 5. It can Bring More People Into the Fold—Have Nots, Haves or Have-
- Nots-Want More. 6. Or it can use the Tactics to overturn an advantage or disadvantage.
- Tactics transfer well to social media—with commentary and clicks and
- 8. Choose the tactics and parts that are aligned with your beliefs.
- 9. Your organization can use Alinsky to help with its success!



Rules for Conservatives - Michael Charles Master Liberal community organizers create mass organization to fight conservatives. Conservatives rely on the individual to fight back. (big difference) 2. Alinsky relies on the act that most conservatives see themselves as individuals. As such, conservatives are essentially helpless against large organizations. Alinsky states that most people, many conservatives don't like conflict. So to win concessions, he deliberately used conflict as a method of pain to get the opposition to negotiate or capitulate. 4. Liberals are at war with conservativies. Obama in Nov 2010– CONSERVATIVES "The Democrats need to punish the enemy" Are conservaties at war against Liberals?



Five Rules for Conservaties

- 1. Save—How many conservatives view their mission as to Save America?—as our Founding Father's pledged in the Declaration?
- Challenge—Conservatives are afraid of being called racists, or offending others, or seeming like they are not compassionate, and of being accused of causing conflict. (Conservatives are losing-Government growth, taxes, power of liberal leaders through parts of vernment school system, and judiciary which has grown).
- government school system, and judiciary which has grown).

 3. Talk the Talk—Liberals are pushing dependence on Government. They are "pushers" We need to just say "no" and explain it.

 4. Walk the Walk—Conservatives need to build relationships one at a
- time. Can't just be the silent majority. Conservatives need to display their conservative colors just the same as displaying their college colors, or their home team football colors, or their children's school
- 5. Compromise Selfishly—Often conservatives give up positions. Conservatives cannot ever compromise in one area to get what they want in another area (Different than Alinsky). It is too hard to reverse a compromise. (Bush 9/11 for spending increase he had to agree to let







Classrooms & Courtrooms

- Classrooms and many Courtrooms are battlefields that are owned by the liberals. Colleges, high schools, and grade schools are mostly taught by liberals. Public educators are basically government employees.
- 80% of lawyers vote democrat. Most judges were lawyers before judge. So, of course most liberals want as many battles fought at court as possible.
- 3. Conservatives must change these two battlefields.





Alinsky -Then vs. Today:

- Much has changed in today's level of organization
 There is a real difference between Baked Beans, Piss-Ins, Gum thrown downs, Retail Store shakedowns and what is going on today with the pure hate and ridicule and questionably legal behavior of groups like Occupy Wall Street, Black Lives Matter, Antifa.
- 3. It is almost like that today's battles have become
- Alinsky on Steroids—Alinsky Squared
 Would even Saul Alinsky have taken it this far?





My Conclusion

- 1. He's a Great Activist (Community Organizer) that wrote a book—He's got a lot of rough edges. He's told us some tough truths (nothing is
- He's come up with common sense rules that work.
- 3. For whatever reason the Democrats have used them more than the Republicans.
- 4. You should use these rules to help you in whatever—whether fighting the School Board, your Condo Association, Increased Taxes or too much
- 5. Use the rules on a sliding scale to coincide with your personal style.
- 6. Many people have been using Alinksy for a long time.





Thesis for Tonight

"It's too much to argue that American democracy is being altered by Alinsky's ideas."

-- Conservative author William F. Buckley in 1966

Was Buckley right or is the state of today's world change changed?) Yes? No?

Are you an Activist? Yes? No?



