

# Eye on the World

## June 18–19, 2011

### ‘Rules for Radicals’

This book synopsis is from the “Eye on the World” section of the Church of God Big Sandy’s Web site, [churchofgodbig sandy.com](http://churchofgodbig sandy.com). It was posted for the weekend of June 18–19, 2011. Due to the pastor’s busy travel schedule this week, we will not have the customary short news items for this weekend. Instead, we will have a synopsis of the book *Rules for Radicals* written by Saul D. Alinsky in 1971.

**Compiled by Dave Havir**

**Luke 21:34-36**—“But take heed to yourselves, lest your hearts be weighed down with carousing, drunkenness, and cares of this life, and that day come on you unexpectedly. For it will come as a snare on all those who dwell on the face of the whole earth. Watch therefore, and pray always that you may be counted worthy to escape all these things that will come to pass, and to stand before the Son of Man.”



Eye on the World comment: Understand that we are reporting the information, and we are not promoting the concepts. Remember that a synopsis does not give you the author’s complete paradigm. This synopsis will give you only a glimpse of the material. This synopsis might be helpful to those who do not have the time or interest to read the entire book.



#### **Note about Lucifer**

On a separate page after the dedication and before the table of contents, Saul Alinsky wrote: “Lest we forget at least an over-the-shoulder acknowledgment to the very first radical: from all our legends, mythology, and history (and who is to know where mythology leaves off and history begins—or which is which), the first radical known to man who rebelled against the establishment and did it so effectively that he at least won his own kingdom—Lucifer.”



## Table of contents

- Prologue
- The Purpose
- Of Means and Ends
- A Word About Words
- The Education of an Organizer
- Communication
- In the Beginning
- Tactics
- The Genesis of Tactic Proxy
- The Way Ahead



## Prologue

Beginning on page xvii, Mr. Alinsky wrote: “What I have to say in this book is not the arrogance of unsolicited advice. It is the experience and counsel that so many young people have questioned me about through all-night sessions on hundreds of campuses in America. It is for those young radicals who are committed to the fight, committed to life . . .

“For the radical, doing ‘his thing’ is to do the social thing, for and with people . . .

“If the real radical finds that having long hair sets up psychological barriers to communication and organization, he cuts his hair. If I were organizing in an orthodox Jewish community, I would not walk in there eating a ham sandwich, unless I wanted to be rejected so I could have an excuse to cop out.

“My ‘thing,’ if I want to organize, is solid communication with the people in the community. Lacking communication I am in reality silent; throughout history silence has been regarded as assent—in this case assent to the system.

“As an organizer I start from where the world is, as it is, not as I would like it to be. That we accept the world as it is does not in any sense weaken our desire to change it into what we believe it should be—it is necessary to begin where the world is if we are going to change it to what we think it should be. That means working in the system.

“There’s another reason for working inside the system. Dostoevski said that taking a new step is what people fear most.

“Any revolutionary change must be preceded by a passive, affirmative, non-challenging attitude toward change among the mass of our people.

“They must feel so frustrated, so defeated, so lost, so futureless in the prevailing system that they are willing to let go of the past and chance the future.

“This acceptance is the reformation essential to any revolution.

“To bring on this reformation requires that the organizer work inside the system, among not only the middle class but the 40 per cent of American families—more than seventy million people—whose income range from \$5,000 to \$10,000 a year.

“They cannot be dismissed by labeling them blue collar or hard hat. They will not continue to be relatively passive and slightly challenging.

“If we fail to communicate with them, if we don’t encourage them to form alliances with us, they will move to the right. Maybe they will anyway, but let’s not let it happen by default.

“Our youth are impatient with the preliminaries that are essential to purposeful action. Effective organization is thwarted by the desire for instant and dramatic change, or as I have phrased it elsewhere the demand for revelation rather than revolution.

“It’s the kind of thing we see in play writing; the first act introduces the characters and the plot, in the second act the plot and characters are developed as the play strives to hold the audience’s attention. In the final act, good and evil have their dramatic confrontation and resolution.

“The present generation wants to go right into the third act, skipping the first two, in which case there is no play, nothing but confrontation for confrontation’s sake—a flare-up and back to darkness.

“To build a powerful organization takes time. It is tedious, but that’s the way the game is played . . .

“Men don’t like to step abruptly out of the security of familiar experience; they need a bridge to cross from their own experience to a new way.

“A revolutionary organizer must shake up the prevailing patterns of their lives—agitate, create disenchantment and discontent with the current values, to produce, if not a passion for change, at least a passive, affirmative, non-challenging climate . . .

“A reformation means that masses of our people have reached the point of disillusionment with past ways and values. They don’t know what will work but they do know that the prevailing system is self-defeating, frustrating, and hopeless.

“They won’t act for change but won’t strongly oppose those who do. The time is then ripe for revolution.

“Those who, for whatever combination of reasons, encourage the opposite of reformation, become the unwitting allies of the far political right. Parts of the

far left have gone so far in the political circle that they are now all but indistinguishable from the extreme right.

"It reminds me of the days when Hitler, new on the scene, was excused for his actions by 'humanitarians' on the grounds of a paternal rejection and childhood trauma . . .

"Remember: once you organize people around something as commonly agreed upon as pollution, then an organized people is on the move. From there it's a short and natural step to political pollution, to Pentagon pollution.

"It's not enough just to elect your candidates. You must keep the pressure on. Radicals should keep in mind Franklin D. Roosevelt's response to a reform delegation, 'Okay, you've convinced me. Now go on out and bring pressure on me!'

"Action comes from keeping the heat on. No politician can sit on a hot issue if you make it hot enough."



## The purpose

From page 3: "What follows is for those who want to change the world from what it is to what they believe it should be. *The Prince* was written by Machiavelli for the Haves on how to hold power. *Rules for Radicals* is written for the Have-Nots on how to take it away.

"In this book 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, cooperation, 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.

"We are talking about a mass power organization which will change the world into a place where all men and women walk erect, in the spirit of that credo of the Spanish Civil War, 'Better to die on your feet than to live on your knees.' This means revolution."

From page 9: "Today revolution has become synonymous with communism while capitalism is synonymous with status quo. Occasionally we will accept a revolution if it is guaranteed to be on our side, and then only when we realize that the revolution is inevitable. We abhor revolutions . . .

"This is a major reason for my attempt to provide a revolutionary handbook not cast in a communist or capitalist mold, but as a manual for the Have-Nots of the world regardless of the color of their skins or their politics.

"My aim here is to suggest how to organize for power: how to get it and to use it. I will argue that the failure to use power for a more equitable distribution of the means of life for all people signals the end of the revolution and the start of the counterrevolution."

From page 18 under the subhead "Class Distinctions: The Trinity": "The setting for the drama of change has never varied. Mankind has been and is divided into three parts: the Haves, the Have-Nots, and the Have-a-Little, Want Mores.

"On top are the Haves with power, money, food security, and luxury. They suffocate in their surpluses while the Have-Nots starve. Numerically the Haves have always been the fewest. The Haves want to keep things as they are and are opposed to change. Thermopolitically they are cold and determined to freeze the status quo.

"On the bottom are the world's Have-Nots. On the world scene they are by far the greatest in numbers. They are chained together by the common misery of poverty, rotten housing, disease, ignorance, political impotence, and despair; when they are employed their jobs pay the least and they are deprived in all areas basic to human growth. Caged by color, physical or political, they are barred from an opportunity to represent themselves in the politics of life.

"The Haves want to keep; the Have-Nots want to get. Thermopolitically they are a mass of cold ashes of resignation and fatalism, but inside there are glowing embers of hope which can be fanned by the building of means of obtaining power. Once the fever begins the flame will follow. They have nowhere to go but up.

"They hate the establishment of the Haves with its arrogant opulence, its police, its courts, and its churches. Justice, morality, law, and order, are mere words when used by the Haves, which justify and secure their status quo.

"The power of the Have-Nots rests only with their numbers. It has been said that the Haves, living under the nightmare of possible threats to their possessions, are always faced with the question of 'when do we sleep?' while the perennial question of the Have-Nots is 'when do we eat?' The cry of the Have-Nots has never been 'give us your hearts' but always 'get off our backs'; they ask not for love but for breathing space.

"Between the Haves and Have-Nots are the Have-a-Little, Want Mores—the middle class. Torn between upholding the status quo to protect the little they have, yet wanting change so they can get more, they become split personalities . . .

"Thermopolitically they are tepid and rooted in inertia. Today in Western society and particularly in the United States they comprise the majority of our population."



## **Of Means and Ends**

From page 24: "That perennial question, 'Does the end justify the means?' is meaningless as it stands; the real and only question regarding the ethics of means and ends is, and always has been, 'Does this particular end justify this particular means?'

"Life and how you live it is the story of means and ends. The end is what you want, and the means is how you get it. Whenever we think about social change, the question of means and ends arises.

"The man of action views the issue of means and ends in pragmatic and strategic terms. He has no other problem; he thinks only of his actual resources and the possibilities of various choices of action.

"He asks of ends only whether they are achievable and worth the cost; of means, only whether they will work.

"To say that corrupt means corrupt the ends is to believe in the immaculate conception of ends and principles. The real arena is corrupt and bloody. Life is a corrupting process from the time a child learns to play his mother off against his father in the politics of when to go to bed; he who fears corruption fears life."

From page 26: "I present here a series of rules pertaining to the ethics of means and ends.

"First, that one's concern with the ethics of means and ends varies inversely with one's personal interest in the issue . . .

"The second rule of the ethics of means and ends is that the judgment of the ethics of means is dependent upon the political position of those sitting in judgment."

From page 29: "The third rule of the ethics of means and ends is that in war the end justifies almost any means . . .

"Winston Churchill's remarks to his private secretary a few hours before the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union graphically pointed out the politics of means and ends in war. Informed of the imminent turn of events, the secretary inquired how Churchill, the leading British anti-communist, could reconcile himself to being on the same side as the Soviets. Would not Churchill find it embarrassing and difficult to ask his government to support the communists?

"Churchill's reply was clear and unequivocal: 'Not at all. I have only one purpose, the destruction of Hitler, and my life is much simplified thereby. If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favorable reference to the Devil in the House of Commons.'

"In the Civil War President Lincoln did not hesitate to suspend the right of habeas corpus and to ignore the directive of the Chief Justice of the United States. Again, when Lincoln was convinced that the use of military commissions to try civilians was necessary, he brushed aside the illegality of this action with the statement that it was 'indispensable to the public safety.'

"He believed that the civil courts were powerless to cope with the insurrectionist activities of civilians."

The book quoted Mr. Lincoln as saying: "Must I shoot a simple-minded soldier boy who deserts, while I must not touch a hair of a wily agitator who induces him to desert . . . ?"

From page 30: “The fourth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that judgment must be made in the context of the times in which the action occurred and not from any other chronological vantage point.”

From page 32: “The fifth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that concern with ethics increases with the number of means available and vice versa.”

From page 34: “The sixth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that the less important the end to be desired, the more one can afford to engage in ethical evaluations of means.

“The seventh rule of the ethics of means and ends is that generally success or failure is a mighty determinant of ethics . . .

“The eighth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that the morality of a means depends upon whether the means is being employed at a time of imminent defeat or imminent victory.”

From page 35: “The ninth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that any effective means is automatically judged by the opposition as being unethical.”

From page 36: “The tenth rule of the ethics of means and ends is that you do what you can with what you have and clothe it with moral garments.”

From page 45: “The eleventh rule of the ethics of means and ends is that goals must be phrased in general terms like ‘Liberty, Equality, Fraternity,’ ‘Of the Common Welfare,’ ‘Pursuit of Happiness,’ or ‘Bread and Peace.’ ”



## **A Word About Words**

This chapter mentions that five phrases—power, self-interest, compromise, ego and conflict—all have negative connotations beyond their dictionary meaning. Mr. Alinsky describes a positive view about each of these words.



## **The Education of an Organizer**

From page 63: “The building of many mass power organizations to merge into a national popular power force cannot come without many organizers. Since organizations are created, in large part, by the organizer, we must find out what creates the organizer.

“This has been the major problem of my years of organizational experience: the finding of potential organizers and their training.”

From page 64: “The education of an organizer requires frequent long conferences on organizational problems, analysis of power patterns, communication, conflict tactics, the education and development of community leaders, and the methods of introduction of new issues.”

From page 79: “Finally, the organizer is constantly creating the new out of the old. He knows that all new ideas arise from conflict; that every time man has had a new idea it has been a challenge to the sacred ideas of the past and the present and inevitably a conflict has raged.

“Curiosity, irreverence, imagination, sense of humor, a free and open mind, an acceptance of the relativity of values and of the uncertainty of life, all inevitably fuse into the kind of person whose greatest joy is creation.”



## Communication

From page 81: “One can lack any of the qualities of an organizer—with one exception—and still be effective and successful. That exception is the art of communication. It does not matter what you know about anything if you cannot communicate to your people. In that event you are not even a failure. You’re just not there.

“Communication with others takes place when they understand what you’re trying to get across to them. If they don’t understand, then you are not communicating regardless of words, pictures, or anything else.

“People only understand things in terms of their experience, which means that you must get within their experience.”

From page 83: “Every now and then I have been accused of being crude and vulgar because I have used analogies of sex or the toilet. I do not do this because I want to shock, particularly, but because there are certain experiences common to all, and sex and toilet are two of them. Furthermore, everyone is interested in those two—which can’t be said of every common experience.”

From page 92: “And so the guided questioning goes on without anyone losing face or being left out of the decision-making. Every weakness of every proposed tactic is probed by questions. Eventually someone suggests tactic Z, and, again through questions, its positive features emerge and it is decided on.

“Is this manipulation? Certainly, just as a teacher manipulates, and no less, even a Socrates . . .

“While the organizer proceeds on the basis of questions, the community leaders always regard his judgment above their own. They believe that he knows his job, he knows the right tactics, that’s why he is their organizer.”



## In the Beginning

From page 98: “In the beginning the incoming organizer must establish his identity or, putting it another way, get his license to operate. He must have a reason for being there—a reason acceptable to the people.”

From page 99: "His acceptance as an organizer depends on his success in convincing key people—and many others—first, that he is on their side, and second, that he has ideas, and knows how to fight to change things . . .

"It is not enough to persuade them of your competence, talents, and courage—they must have faith in your ability and courage. They must believe in your capacity not just to provide the opportunity for action, power, change, adventure, a piece of drama of life, but to give a very definite promise, almost an assurance of victory.

"They must also have faith in your courage to fight the oppressive establishment—courage that they, too, will begin to get once they have the protective armor of a power organization, but don't have during the first lonely steps forward."

From page 100: "The job of the organizer is to maneuver and bait the establishment so that it will publicly attack him as a 'dangerous enemy.' The word 'enemy' is sufficient to put the organizer on the side of the people, to identify him with the Have-Nots, but it is not enough to endow him with the special qualities that induce fear and thus give him the means to establish his own power against the establishment.

"Here again we find that it is power and fear that are essential to the development of faith. This need is met by the establishment's use of the brand 'dangerous,' for in that one word the establishment reveals its fear of the organizer, its fear that he represents a threat to its omnipotence. Now the organizer has his 'birth certificate' and can begin.

"In 1939, when I first began to organize back of the old Chicago stockyards, on the site of Upton Sinclair's *Jungle*, I acted in such a way that within a few weeks the meatpackers publicly pronounced me a 'subversive menace.' *The Chicago Tribune's* adoption of me as a public enemy of law and order, 'a radical's radical,' gave me a perennial and constantly renewable baptismal certificate in the city of Chicago.

"A generation later, in a black community on Chicago's South Side, next to my alma mater, the University of Chicago, it was the university's virulent personal attack on me, augmented by attacks by the press, that strengthened my credentials with a black community somewhat suspicious of white skin.

"Eastman Kodak and the Gannett newspaper chain did the same for me in Rochester, New York. In both black ghettos, in Chicago and in Rochester, the reaction was: 'The way the fat-cat white newspapers are ripping the hell out of Alinsky—he must be all right!'

"I could very easily have gone into either Houston, Texas, or Oakland, California; in the former, the Ku Klux Klan appeared at the airport in full regalia, with threats against my personal security. The Houston press printed charges against me by the Mayor of Houston, and there was a mass picket line by the John Birch Society.

"In Oakland, the City Council, fearing the possibility of my coming into Oakland, passed a widely publicized special resolution declaring me unwelcome in the city. In both cases, the black communities were treated to the spectacle of seeing the establishment react with unusually severe fear and hysteria . . .

"Today my notoriety and the hysterical instant reaction of the establishment not only validates my credentials of competency but also ensure automatic popular invitation."

From page 103: "The organizer's job is to inseminate an invitation for himself, to agitate, introduce ideas, get people pregnant with hope and a desire for change and to identify you as the person most qualified for this purpose."

From page 113: "From the moment the organizer enters a community he lives, dreams, eats, breathes, sleeps only one thing and that is to build the mass power base of what he calls the army. Until he has developed that mass power base, he confronts no major issues. He has nothing with which to confront anything.

"Until he has those means and power instruments, his 'tactics' are very different from power tactics. Therefore, every move revolves around one central point: how many recruits will this bring into the organization, whether by means of local organizations, churches, service groups, labor unions, corner gangs, or as individuals. The only issue is, how will this increase the strength of the organization.

"If by losing in a certain action he can get more members than by winning, then victory lies in losing and he will lose.

"Change comes from power, and power comes from organization. In order to act, people must get together."

From page 114: "The organizer's job is to begin to build confidence and hope in the idea of organization and thus in the people themselves: to win limited victories, each of which will build confidence and the feeling that 'if we can do so much with what we have now just think what we will be able to do when we get big and strong.'

"It is almost like taking a prize-fighter up the road to the championship—you have to very carefully and selectively pick his opponents, knowing full well that certain defeats would be demoralizing and end his career. Sometimes the organizer may find such despair among the people that he has to put on a cinch fight."

From page 115: "The organizer simultaneously carries on many functions as he analyzes, attacks, and disrupts the prevailing power pattern. The ghetto or slum in which he is organizing is not a disorganized community. There is no such animal as a disorganized community. It is a contradiction in terms to use the two words 'disorganization' and 'community' together: the word *community* itself means an organized, communal life, people living in an organized fashion.

“The people in the community may have experienced successive frustrations to the point that their will to participate has seemed to atrophy. They may be living in anonymity and may be starved for personal recognition. They may be suffering from various forms of deprivation and discrimination. They may have accepted anonymity and resigned in apathy . . .

“From your point of view they may have a very negative form of existence, but the fact is that they are organized in that way of life. Call it organized apathy or organized nonparticipation, but that is their community pattern. They are living under a certain set of arrangements, standards, way of life. They may in short have surrendered—but life goes on in an organized form, with a definite power structure; even if it is, as Thoreau called most lives, ‘quiet desperation.’

“Therefore, if your function is to attack apathy and get people to participate it is necessary to attack the prevailing patterns of organized living in the community.

“The first step in community organization is community disorganization. The disruption of the present organization is the first step toward community organization. Present arrangements must be disorganized if they are to be displaced by new patterns that provide the opportunities and means for citizen participation. All change means disorganization of the old and organization of the new.

“This is why the organizer is immediately confronted with conflict. The organizer dedicated to changing the life of a particular community must first rub raw the resentments of the people of the community; fan the latent hostilities of many of the people to the point of overt expression.

“He must search out controversy and issues, rather than avoid them, for unless there is controversy people are not concerned enough to act. The use of the adjective ‘controversial’ to qualify the word ‘issue’ is a meaningless redundancy. There can be no such thing as a ‘non-controversial’ issue.

“When there is agreement there is no controversy. An organizer must stir up dissatisfaction and discontent; provide a channel into which the people can angrily pour their frustrations. He must create a mechanism that can drain off the underlying guilt for having accepted the previous situation for so long a time. Out of this mechanism, a new community organization arises. But more on this point later.”

From page 117: “A sound analogy is to be found in the organization of trade unions. A competent union organizer approaches his objective, let’s say the organization of a particular industrial plant where the workers are underpaid, suffering from discriminatory practices, and without job security.

“The workers accept these conditions as inevitable, and they express their demoralization by saying, ‘what’s the use?’ In private they resent these circumstances, complain, talk about the futility of ‘bucking the big shots’ and generally succumb to frustration—all because of the lack of opportunity for effective action.

“Enter the labor organizer or the agitator. He begins his ‘trouble making’ by stirring up these angers, frustrations, and resentments, and highlighting specific issues or grievances that heighten controversy. He dramatizes the injustices by describing conditions at other industrial plants engaged in the same kind of work where the workers are far better off economically and have better working conditions, job security, health benefits, and pensions as well as other advantages that had not even been thought of by the workers he is trying to organize.

“Just as important, he points out that the workers in the other places had also been exploited in the past and had existed under similar circumstances until they used their intelligence and energies to organize into a power instrument known as a trade union, with the result that they achieved all of these other benefits. Generally this approach results in the formation of a new trade union.

“Let us examine what this labor organizer has done. He has taken a group of apathetic workers; he has fanned their resentments and hostilities by a number of means, including challenging contrasts of better conditions of other workers in similar industries.

“Most important, he has demonstrated that something can be done, and that there is a concrete way of doing it that has already proven its effectiveness and success: that by organizing together as a trade union they will have the power and the instrument with which to make these changes.

“He now has the workers participating in a trade union and supporting its program. We must never forget that so long as there is no opportunity or method to make changes, it is senseless to get people agitated or angry, leaving them no course of action except to blow their tops.

“And so the labor organizer simultaneously breeds conflict and builds a power structure. The war between the trade union and management is resolved either through a strike or a negotiation. Either method involves the use of power; the economic power of the strike or the threat of it, which results in successful negotiations. No one can negotiate without the power to compel negotiation.

“This is the function of a community organizer. Anything otherwise is wishful non-thinking. To attempt to operate on a good-will rather than on a power basis would be to attempt something that the world has not yet experienced.

“In the beginning the organizer’s first job is to create the issues or problems. It sounds mad to say that a community such as a low-income ghetto or even a middle-class community has no issues per se.

“The reader may feel that this statement borders on lunacy, particularly with reference to low-income communities. The simple fact is that in any community, regardless of how poor, people may have serious problems—but they do not have issues, they have a bad scene.

"An issue is something you can do something about, but as long as you feel powerless and unable to do anything about it, all you have is a bad scene. . . .

"What the organizer does is convert the plight into a problem."



## Tactics

From page 126: "Tactics means doing what you can with what you have . . . In the world of give and take, tactics is the art of how to take and how to give. Here our concern is with the tactic of taking; how the Have-Nots can take power away from the Haves.

"For an elementary illustration of tactics, take parts of your face as the point of reference; your eyes, your ears, and your nose.

"First the eyes; if you have organized a vast, mass-based people's organization, you can parade it visibly before the enemy and openly show your power.

"Second the ears; if your organization is small in numbers, then do what Gideon did: conceal the members in the dark but raise a din and clamor that will make the listener believe that your organization numbers many more than it does.

"Third, the nose: if your organization is too tiny even for noise, stink up the place.

"Always remember the first rule of power tactics: Power is not only what you have but what the enemy thinks you have.

"The second rule is: Never go outside the experience of your people. When an action or tactic is outside the experience of the people, the result is confusion, fear, and retreat. It also means a collapse of communication, as I have noted.

"The third rule is: Whenever possible go outside of the experience of the enemy. Here you want to cause confusion, fear, and retreat . . .

"The fourth rule is: Make the enemy live up to their own book of rules. You can kill them with this, for they can no more obey their own rules than the Christian church can live up to Christianity.

"The fourth rule carries within it the fifth rule: Ridicule is man's most potent weapon. It is almost impossible to counterattack ridicule. Also it infuriates the opposition, who then react to your advantage.

"The sixth rule is: A good tactic is one that your people enjoy. If your people are not having a ball doing it, there is something very wrong with the tactic.

"The seventh rule: 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 ritualistic commitment, like going to church on Sunday mornings . . .

“The eighth rule: Keep the pressure on, with different tactics and actions, and utilize all events of the period for your purpose.

“The ninth rule: The threat is usually more terrifying than the thing itself.

“The tenth rule: The major premise for tactics is the development of operations that will maintain a constant pressure upon the opposition. It is this unceasing pressure essential for the success of the campaign. It should be remembered not only that the action is in the reaction but that action is itself the consequence of reaction and of reaction to the reaction, ad infinitum. The pressure produces the reaction, and constant pressure sustains action.

“The eleventh rule is: If you push a negative hard and deep enough it will break through into its counterside . . .

“The twelfth rule: The price of a successful attack is a constructive alternative . . .

“The thirteenth rule: Pick the target, freeze it, personalize it and polarize it.”

From page 132: “It should be borne in mind that the target is always trying to shift responsibility to get out of being the target. There is constant squirming and moving and strategy—purposeful, and malicious at times, other times just for straight self-survival—on the part of the designated target. The forces for change must keep this in mind and pin that target down securely. If an organization permits responsibility to be diffused and distributed in a number of areas, attack becomes impossible.”

From page 133: “With all this focus comes a polarization. As we have indicated before, all issues must be polarized if action is to follow. The classic statement on polarization comes from Christ: ‘He that is not with me is against me’ (Luke 11:23). He allowed no middle ground to the money-changers in the Temple. One acts decisively only in the conviction that all the angels are on one side and all the devils on the other.

“A leader may struggle toward a decision and weigh the merits and demerits of a situation which is 52 per cent positive and 48 per cent negative, but once the decision is reached he must assume that his cause is 100 per cent positive and the opposition 100 per cent negative. He can’t weigh arguments or reflect endlessly—he must decide and act . . .

“Many liberals, during our attack on the then-school superintendent, were pointing out that after all he wasn’t a 100 per cent devil, he was a regular churchgoer, he was a good family man, and he was generous in his contributions to charity. Can you imagine in the arena of conflict charging that so-and-so is a racist bastard and then diluting the impact of the attack with qualifying remarks such as ‘He is a good churchgoing man, generous to charity, and a good husband’? This becomes political idiocy.”

From page 146: “As with the slum landlords, one of the major department stores in the nation was brought to heel by the following threatened tactic. Remember the rule—the threat is often more effective than the tactic itself,

but only if you are so organized that the establishment knows not only that you have the power to execute the tactic but that you definitely will. You can't do much bluffing in this game; if you're ever caught bluffing, forget about ever using threats in the future. On that point you're dead.

"There is a particular department store that happens to cater to the carriage trade. It attracts many customers on the basis of its labels as well as the quality of its merchandise. Because of this, economic boycotts had failed to deter even the black middle class from shopping there.

"At the time its employment policies were more restrictive than those of the other stores. Blacks were hired for only the most menial jobs.

"We made up a tactic. A busy Saturday shopping date was selected. Approximately 3,000 blacks all dressed up in their churchgoing suits or dresses would be bused downtown. When you put 3,000 blacks on the main floor of a store, even one that covers a square block, suddenly the entire color of the store changes. Any white coming through the revolving doors would take one pop-eyed look and assume that somehow he had stepped into Africa. He would keep right on going out of the store. This would end the white trade for the day.

"For a low-income group, shopping is a time-consuming experience, for economy means everything. This would mean that every counter would be occupied by potential customers, carefully examining the quality of merchandise and asking, say, at the shirt counter, about the material, color, style, cuffs, collars, and price.

"As the group occupying the clerks' attention around the shirt counters moved to the underwear section, those at the underwear section would replace them at the shirt counter, and the personnel of the store would be constantly occupied.

"Now pause to examine the tactic. It is legal. There is no sit-in or unlawful occupation of premises. Some thousands of people are in the store 'shopping.' The police are powerless and you are operating within the law.

"This operation would go on until an hour before closing time, when the group would begin purchasing everything in sight to be delivered C.O.D.! This would tie up truck-delivery service for at least two days—with obvious further heavy financial costs, since all the merchandise would be refused at the time of delivery.

"The threat was delivered to the authorities through a legitimate and 'trustworthy' channel. Every organization must have two or three stool pigeons who are trusted by the establishment . . .

"The next day we received a call from the department store for a meeting to discuss new personnel policies and an urgent request that the meeting take place within the next two or three days, certainly before Saturday!

“The personnel policies of the store were drastically changed. Overnight, 186 new jobs were opened. For the first time, blacks were on the sales floor and in executive training.”

From page 148: “Once we understand the external reactions of the Haves to the challenges of the Have-Nots, then we go to next level of examination, the anatomy of power of the Haves among themselves.

“But let us go deeper into the psyche of this Goliath. The Haves possess and 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.

“This opens a new vista—not only do we have a whole class determined to keep its power and in constant conflict with the Have-Nots; at the same time, they are in conflict among themselves . . .

“There is just so much more than can be squeezed out of the Have-Nots—so the Haves must take it from each other . . . This power cannibalism of the Haves permits only temporary truces, and only when equally confronted by a common enemy.”



## **The Genesis of Tactic Proxy**

From page 166: “A great pragmatist, Abraham Lincoln, told his secretary in the month the war began: ‘My policy is to have no policy.’

“Three years later, in a letter to a Kentucky friend, he confessed plainly: ‘I have been controlled by events.’

“The major problem in trying to communicate this idea is that it is outside the experience of practically everyone who has been exposed to our alleged education system . . .

“Since the nature of the development of tactics cannot be described as a general proposition, I shall attempt instead to present a case study of the development of the proxy tactic, one that promises to be a major tactic for some years to come.”

From page 167: “Like any new political program, the proxy tactic was not the result of reason and logic—it was part accident, part necessity, part response to reaction, and part imagination, and each part affected the other. Of course ‘imagination’ is also tactical sensitivity; when the ‘accident’ happens, the imaginative organizer recognizes it and grabs it before it slips by.”

From page 170: “The proxy tactic was born in Rochester, New York, in the conflict between Eastman Kodak and the black ghetto organization called FIGHT our foundation had helped to organize.”

From page 172: “The proxy idea first came up as a way to gain entrance to the annual stockholders’ meeting for harassment and publicity, and again accident and necessity played a part.

“I had recently accepted a number of invitations to address universities, religious conventions, and similar organizations in various parts of the United States. Why not talk to them about the Kodak-FIGHT battle and ask for proxies? . . .

“The first real breakthrough followed my address to the National Unitarian Convention in Denver on May 3, 1967, in which I asked for and received the passage of a resolution that the proxies of their organization would be given to FIGHT. The reactions of the local politicians made me realize that senators and congressmen up for re-election would turn to their research directors and ask, ‘How many Unitarians have I got in my district?’

“The proxy tactic now began to look like a possible political bank-shot. Political leaders who saw their churches assigning proxies to us could see them assigning their votes as well. This meant political power. Kodak has money, but money counts in elections for television time, newspaper ads, political workers, publicity, pay-offs and pressure. If this fails to get the vote, money is politically useless. It was obvious that politicians who would support us had everything to gain.

“Proxies were now seen as proof of political intent if they came from large membership organizations. The church organizations had mass members—voters! . . . We hoisted a banner with our slogan, ‘Keep your sermons; give us your proxies,’ and set sail into the sea of churches.”

From page 176: “Proxies represented a key to participation by the middle class. But the question was how to organize it. Imagination had had its moment. It was time for accident or necessity or both to come on stage. I found myself saying, ‘Accident, accident, where the hell are you?’

“Then it came! *The Los Angeles Times* carried a front-page story on the proxy tactic. Soon we were deluged with mail, including sackfuls of proxies of different corporations.”

From page 181: “Remember that the objective of the proxies approach is not simply a power instrument with reference to our corporate economy, but a mechanism providing for a blast-off for middle-class organization—beginning with the proxy, it will then begin to ignite other rockets on the whole political scene from local elections to the congress. Once a people are organized they will keep moving from issue to issue. People power is the real objective; the proxies are simply a means to that end.”



## The Way Ahead

From page 196: “The human cry of the second revolution is one for a meaning, a purpose for life—a cause to live for and if need be die for. Tom Paine’s

words, 'These are the times that try men's souls,' are more relevant to Part II of the American Revolution than the beginning. This is literally the revolution of the soul."



### About the Author

At the end of the book is a page giving some information about Saul Alinsky.

It said: "Saul Alinsky was born in Chicago in 1909, and educated first in the streets of that city and then in its university. Graduate work at the University of Chicago in criminology introduced him to the Capone gang, and later to Joliet State Prison, where he studied prison life . . .

"Mr. Alinsky's early organizing efforts resulted in his being arrested and jailed from time to time, and it was on such occasions that he wrote most of *Reveille for Radicals*.

"He died in 1972."



**Isaiah 55:6-11**—"Seek the LORD while He may be found, call upon Him while He is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts; let him return to the LORD, and He will have mercy on him; and to our God, for He will abundantly pardon. 'For My thoughts are not your thoughts, nor are your ways My ways,' says the LORD. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are My ways higher than your ways, and My thoughts than your thoughts. For as the rain comes down, and the snow from heaven, and do not return there, but water the earth, and make it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower and bread to the eater, so shall My word be that goes forth from My mouth; it shall not return to Me void, but it shall accomplish what I please, and it shall prosper in the thing for which I sent it."