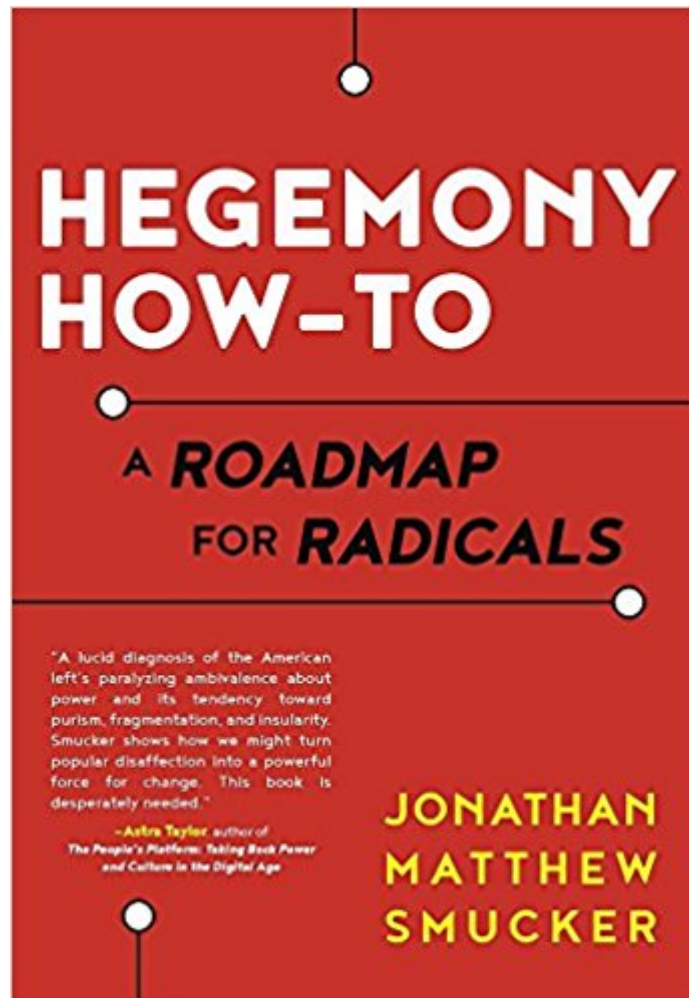




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Hegemony How-To: A Roadmap For Radicals



Synopsis

Hegemony How-To is a practical guide to political struggle for a generation that is deeply ambivalent about questions of power, leadership, and strategy. Hopeful about the potential of today's burgeoning movements, long-time grassroots organizer Jonathan Smucker nonetheless pulls no punches when confronting their internal dysfunction. Drawing from personal experience, he provides deep theoretical insight into the all-too-familiar radical tendency toward self-defeating insularity and paralyzing purism. At the same time, he offers tools to bridge the divide between anti-authoritarian values and hegemonic strategies, tools that might just help today's movements to navigate their obstacles and change the world.

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Customer Reviews

Praise for Hegemony How-To: "A powerful, rigorous, and clear-eyed guide to building social justice movements." Publishers Weekly "Smucker brings hard-won wisdom, theoretical heft, and a welcoming style to this book, helping us think through the most important question of our time: how do we build enough collective power to not only demand a better world, but actually create one?" Naomi Klein, author of This Changes Everything and The Shock Doctrine "As the world faces the horrors of a Trump presidency, many good people are asking, 'What can I do?' Jonathan Smucker's book provides an urgent field manual for answering that question. Drawing on twenty years of grassroots organizing experience, Smucker has written a modern version of Saul Alinsky's classic, Rules for Radicals. By bypassing the vapid

debate over who to vote for in a system that offers only two choices, Smucker focuses on the need for a dedicated commitment to social change that begins in each of our own backyards. He deftly weaves together ideas for tactical organizing with personal stories of their real life application. We live in a time of endless wars and a government rigged to serve only the few — fueled by both Democrats and Republicans. Smucker challenges us to think big and to carefully embrace a form of collectivism that, if taken seriously, could well change the world." — Jeremy Scahill, author of the international bestsellers *Blackwater* and *Dirty Wars* — "Jonathan Smucker asks the important question: How can the movements on which we rely in our pursuit of a more just and democratic world be sustained and enlarged over time? And he engages us because he writes so well, and because he draws in part on his own fascinating biography in his search for answers. Most valuable to me, Smucker insists on regarding movements not only as expressions of collective anguish or desire, but as strategic interventions aimed at changing the world." — Frances Fox Piven, author of *Challenging Authority* and *Poor People's Movements* — "One of the most creative organizers in the country has eloquently articulated the next generation's Rules for Radicals. A must read!" — Sally Kohn, political commentator at CNN "If Bernie Sanders' 2016 campaign showed anything, it's a broad appetite for deep change. But turning that hope into effective action will require thinking about social movements and how they work (and don't). There's much grist for the organizer's mill in these pages." — Bill McKibben, author of *A Deep Economy* — "Hegemony How-To challenges the Left to fight to win. After years of being on the defensive, much of the Left has accepted that little can be done other than awaiting a spontaneous eruption. Smucker suggests that there is a pro-active role, but it depends on the Left getting outside of its comfort zones and fox holes and, instead, deepening itself among the dispossessed. This book is as compelling as it is insightful. I thought that I could skim it but instead I read it page by page and loved it." — Bill Fletcher, Jr., talk show host and author of *Solidarity Divided* "Principles + Pragmatic Organizing = People Power. That's the pithiest summation of Jonathan Smucker's argument — but he's quick to show that radicals too often fetishize principle, disdain pragmatism, and eschew real power, and so never really change anything. Smucker wants to actively heal society; if that's you, too, study this fantastic book." — Ian Haney López, author of *Dog Whistle Politics* "Jonathan Smucker grapples in a deeply theoretical and also practical way with the question of how power is exercised in American society — and why movements must take questions of state power much more seriously. Thoroughly grounded in modern political theory, and rooted in years of work in radical grassroots movements, Smucker's book is a critical contribution to the

debate about how recent social upsurges like Occupy Wall Street and Black Lives Matter can translate their movement energy into political power that will produce enduring social change."

— Bob Master, Legislative & Political Director, District One, Communications Workers of America

In *Hegemony-How To*, Jonathan Smucker gives a powerful and personal account of how the radical left often undermines its own political aims. But rather than just offering a critique, Smucker also recommends practical and constructive ways forward. The book reminds us that movements for change must meet the social world where it is, while also avoiding insularity and self-marginalization. Written in an elegant, engaging style, Smucker's book is a must-read for all those seeking progress in our troubled world today."

— Erica Chenoweth, co-author of *Why Civil Resistance Works*

Jonathan Smucker is one of the most insightful strategists and communicators in progressive politics today. In *Hegemony How-To*, he pushes us to challenge our assumptions about what it takes to win and warns us against the pitfalls that limit the potential of our movements. Smucker's approach to movement building will help us refocus on what it takes to win big. Mixing his own personal experience with political theory and study of social movements, he has given us a book we can nerd out with, take practical pointers from, and carry with us into the struggle."

— Scott Roberts, Senior Campaign Director at Color of Change

At least 60% of the American people consistently favor progressive solutions to our current crisis. Yet we have almost no influence on policy. Jonathan Smucker bravely combines his decades of organizing experience with profound philosophical and psychological reflections to help us understand what needs to be done to attain political power and transform society. Here are practical suggestions on how we build a mass movement to replace the dominant and debilitating individualism of the last 40 years with the "common sense" of social solidarity. And Smucker's inside view of Occupy Wall Street is absolutely not to be missed. Aspiring change-makers please take note."

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"Smucker's theoretically informed and passionate discussion of leaderlessness will pave the way for a new understanding and practice of organization. This insider's critique will also incite scholars touched by poststructuralism to rethink their strong suspicion of collective power."

— Cihan Tugal, author of *Passive Revolution*

"Hegemony is a big word. Making revolutionary change is an even bigger task. *Hegemony How-To* doesn't cower from hard work. By grappling with big ideas in a rigorous and historical way, Jonathan Smucker pushes the next Left to take itself seriously, to combine action with theoretical clarity, and to build movements powerful enough to change the world."

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"Hegemony How-To is a homage to our ancestors and the path they

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Astra Taylor, director of *...* *ek!* and *Examined Life*

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Jonathan Smucker: Jonathan Smucker has worked as an organizer, consultant, and trainer for two decades within a breadth of organizations and social movements. He is co-founder of Beyond the Choir, an organization providing strategic support and organizational development to social justice organizations. Jonathan has been published in *Berkeley Journal of Sociology*, *The Sociological Quarterly*, and contributed chapters to *We Are Many* (AK Press, 2012) and *Beautiful Trouble* (O/R Books, 2012).

I've been wondering for awhile as a young organizer about how we're going to rebuild social movements in the U.S. and actually enact the changes needed to create a better world, moving from just campaigns and protests here and there. This book is a near perfect guide for that highly needed project.

Very interesting and self-critical understanding of movement building. A must read for those who want to make protest transformative and accessible.

This is a very clear and helpful book, especially for the difficult political times we live in. It helps organizers focus on the key strategies that will build movements for social justice.

At March's socialist book club we read *Hegemony How-To* by Jonathon Matthew Smucker. It was not a strictly socialist book, but it did provide an interesting perspective on how to build a broad-based movement, which we must do. Smucker begins by first describing how he became a radical and how insular radicalism can become. His experience was through religious based organizations, including the DC Catholic Worker House. After building his skill set he ended up as part of Occupy Wall Street and was instrumental in getting the message out. His stories are quite interesting on how Occupy failed and succeeded (the 99% meme in particular). He leaves out

the later accomplishments of some of the work group, especially the one that contributed a large volume of comments to the new Consumer Financial Regulatory Board. He shows why demands are key, probably more key than any action and what happens when you don't have them. One of his major concerns is insularity and its need to get arrested in civil disobedience, including property damage, and how that turns off a larger audience. He spends a lot of time on the organizational culture of movements. Indeed, this could be a case study using the Cultural Theory of Mary Douglass and Aaron Wildavsky. He captures egalitarianism well, as well as the despotism and libertarianism of the right-wing. He also identifies the need for fashion in rebellion. If we did not have them, I would suggest that DSA get t-shirts or maybe sell them a bit more aggressively. His mention of elections as an organizing tool is spot on. Both the Bernie Sanders campaign and the resistance to Donald Trump show how this can be a unifying factor. Of course, while hard-core radicals Smucker argues for more inclusion and the making of alliances, even if they don't buy into 100% of the program. Whether one is insular or allied is the difference between wide success and self-justification. For example, my great-grandfather, Silas Locke Allen, helped organize both the Land O Lakes dairy farmer cooperative and the American Farm Bureau Federation. He took the wider view. His son, my grandfather, Jerry Brown Allen, had plans for a single Christian cooperative. He took a small view and it never happened. The civil rights movement is an example of large scale federations. I have a few examples to share. Sometimes movements can be captured by government. Stand Up for Democracy in Washington DC! was created to do a march in September 1998 to protest the Control Board taking over direct government from the Mayor. There were a few movements evolving on their own and the local congresswoman created a united front. After the march, it kept going and she became upset, as did her AA, when we started making demands of her. This led to the creation of DC Vote! and its cramped agenda for voting rights. StandUp! still exists and has a list of demands, with Free DC's Budget being the signature one (my phrase). A few of them have been met and the new Mayor's drive to statehood is a good sign. An older civil rights victory was when the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party got two of its delegates seated at the 1968 convention in Chicago (which was overshadowed by the protests - my example). They won the battle and lost war, as the white segregationists in the party fled to the Republicans. Not sure that this is a defeat, however. Good riddance to bad trash. Some coalitions die and deserve to, like the old Democratic one. The civil rights movement had a problem later on with the question of gay marriage (my example). President Obama did not run on this, even though he believed in it. It took Vice President Biden and a lot of quiet work for the black pastors who are largely socially

conservative to move into the pro-side, or at least to let the President do so. Talk about coalition building! Sadly, the Obama coalition did not help Hillary Clinton. She did not put someone from his coalition on the ticket and it cost her the election. The next frontier in large scale organizing, according to Smucker, is to build a coalition around class issues. How do we do that? I suggest we Occupy Capitalism. This coalition must go beyond political organizing to and form an economic coalition, like the capitalists do. We can start by radicalizing employee-owned firms, unionized firms (and unions) and cooperatives, farm and non-farm alike. We can educate them on expanding democracy in the workplace, so that both CEOs and supervisors are elected rather than appointed by the hierarchy after an open auction to bid down (rather than bidding up) their wages. We can educate them about explicit and implicit choices around what to consume, which will dictate what to produce (and what to buy, both individually and cooperatively). These decisions are made implicitly now, it is time to make them explicit. We need to go beyond credit unions and away from banks to employee-owned firms, et al, offering direct mortgage and consumer credit at no interest, provided ownership is 100% of employee members. We can offer environmental solutions on housing, transportation and food production that reduce our footprint, carbon and otherwise. We can unite the coalition of these companies to replace the Taft-Hartley Act and amend ERISA to allow more concentrated ownership of the means of production. We can offer redirecting a portion of the employer contribution to Social Security toward employee stock ownership (with an equal distribution, regardless of wage and insurance fund holding a third of these shares). We can have cooperative employers pay for all education after sophomore year in college and all technical education, with stipends included, in exchange for a service commitment, backed up by a federal loan program if the employment. We can recommend shifting to stock grants for actual accomplishment, rather than paying knowledge workers more for their education (with further stock grants for educational attainment). From each according to their ability. We can call for an expanded refundable child tax credit, paid with an employer net business receipts tax (subtraction VAT) of \$1000 per child per month (with indexing for inflation) and dare the pro-lifers to reject it. To each according to their need. Rather than repeal Citizens United, we can shove it down the capitalists' throats until they beg us to repeal it. Maybe after we buy them all out. The hardest thing, of course, is to get people to notice that there is another way. Once they know, they will join us on the journey. Let's invite them.

Those of us who were energized by the Bernie Sanders campaign now have an obligation to step off the sidelines and become organizers within our own local communities. Believing the right things

and voting for the right candidates is no longer enough. If we're going to revitalize American democracy and prevent catastrophe during the Trump administration, we have to actively organize a new progressive movement that fights for fundamental reform of our society. That's no small task, especially for those of us who didn't have much organizing experience before the Bernie Sanders campaign. 'Hegemony How-To' plainly lays out the long-term organizing strategies that progressives need to embrace. Smucker's approach is somewhat theoretical, but it lays out practicable advice that organizers could immediately use in their local communities. 'Hegemony How-To' convincingly challenges several wrong-headed beliefs and organizing strategies that have prevented progressives from attaining political power over the past several decades. Smucker argues that progressives need to fight two simultaneous battles: one for 'symbolic' hegemony (the 'battle of ideas', the things that drive political and media narratives); the other for institutional hegemony (building new organizations that build up new organizers and provide resources/training; winning local elected positions; contesting power in existing political/economic/media institutions, etc). Smucker argues that the left has been relatively successful when it comes to achieving symbolic hegemony. Progressive narratives about inequality ('we are the 99%') have changed media discourse and the narrative of the Bernie Sanders campaign clearly resonated with millions of Americans. But the left has failed miserably when it comes to fighting for institutional hegemony. Smucker argues that this is due not just to a lack of resources, but also self-defeating beliefs that encourage leftists to not even try to attain institutional hegemony. Smucker uses Occupy Wall Street as a specific example: many Occupy organizers championed a 'leaderless' style of organizing that discouraged people from becoming leaders or taking on new organizing projects. Occupy was also hostile to attempts to make specific policy demands, run for elected positions, build new institutions, or build alliances with existing groups who could be sympathetic to the left. Those beliefs were often championed as being 'prefigurative politics'. Smucker persuasively argues that 'prefigurative politics' and 'leaderless organizing' are self-defeating beliefs that prevent leftists from even fighting for institutional power, which allows corporations and center-right politicians to win the fight for institutional hegemony by acclimation because the left isn't even putting up a fight. To be clear, Smucker doesn't argue that every Occupy participant held those beliefs, he just outlines the least-effective tendencies of the movement and explains how they prevented Occupy from having more staying power. Smucker argues that progressives must seriously plan how they'll organize and contest power within existing institutions. Doing so means that progressives will have to build new institutions that can bring new people into the political process, train organizers, provide resources to organizers, build alliances with unions and other progressive groups, fundraise, start issue

campaigns, and contest power. This is a process that begins at the local level. It involves contesting the field of power, which is difficult and necessarily involves ambiguity, compromise, and grunt work. The key is creating institutions and organizing initiatives that allow progressives to talk to as many people in their community as possible. Talking with people one-on-one is ultimately how the left increases knowledge about its narrative, gains support, and brings new people into the political process. Continuing the political revolution means getting involved in your local community and learning about the immediate, day-to-day issues affecting the people around you, issues like affordable housing, city council elections, education opportunities, or local pollution. When progressives build institutions that can respond to those problems by educating, mobilizing, and organizing citizens, they build a political base that can be used to contest local elections. When progressives win local elections, they can use those elected positions to increase the number of people they reach and make institutional changes that benefit their community. This gives the left more legitimacy and support among the population, which allows progressives to start contesting power in state-wide elections, then national elections. Indeed, that's exactly what Bernie Sanders did. Continuing the political revolution means we have to move beyond the purity and perfect critiques that we can maintain while sitting on the sidelines or cloistered in small, self-selected activist groups. To build a progressive movement capable of reforming American politics, we have to start at the local level and get serious about building new institutions, making alliances, and engaging with local-level issues. 'Hegemony How-To' is an excellent guide for how to do that, it will help empower you to become an organizer who effects change and brings new people into the political process. Read it, the political revolution needs you - yes, YOU!

Such a timely, important, spot-on assessment of the current political left. I truly think Smucker achieves his goal of creating a road map for progressives to win political victories and power. Lots of applicable information and insightful analysis

It is a must read for organizers who are working in communities from city to rural to Indian Reservations!

Great book for all people and social movements who want to change the world in a better place to live!

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