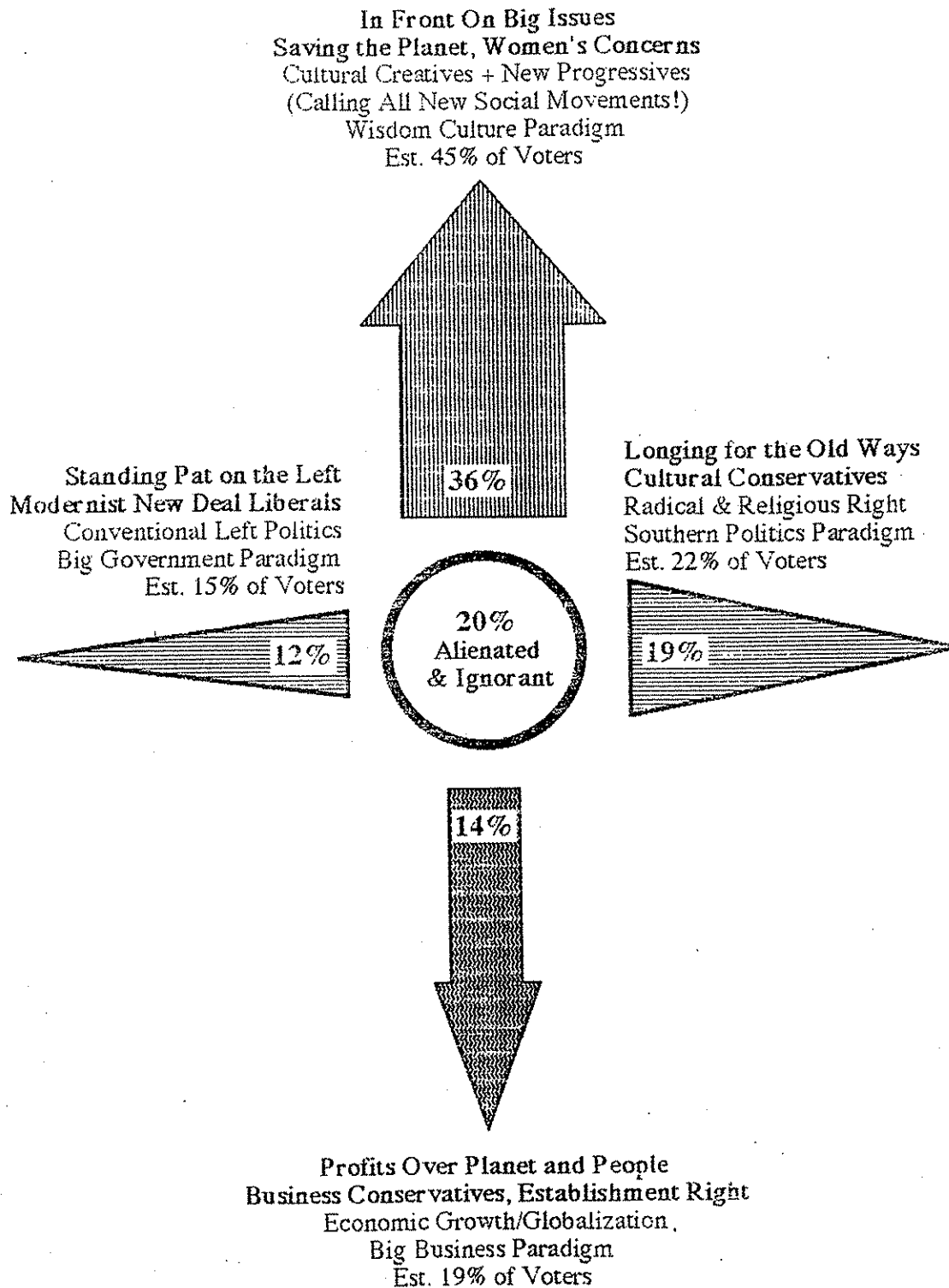


An Evening with Bill Moyer

Notes and charts for
Doing Democracy

September 8, 2002
San Francisco

The New Political Compass

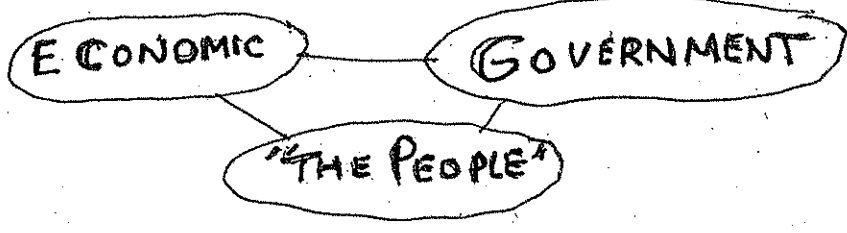


Data from: 1995 Integral Culture Survey and 1999 EPA Survey

THE POWER OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS IN SOCIETY

BY BILL MOYER 9-8-02 ^①

3 SECTORS OF POWER

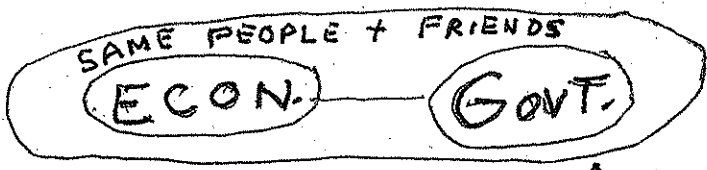


THEORY OF VARIOUS SOCIAL SCIENTISTS
AND
ACTIVISTS, E.G. - NICANOR PERLAS'
SHAPING GLOBALIZATION "3 FOLDING"

① 1776-1787

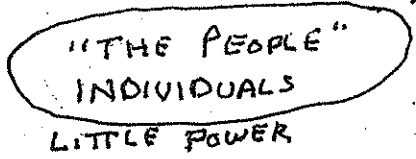
BREAKTHROUGH IN HUMAN HISTORY —
IDEOLOGY OF GOVT. BY, FOR + OF THE PEOPLE

1800



Geo. Washington
John Hancock

DECENTRALIZED
ECONOMY



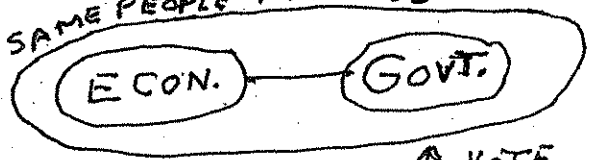
↑ VOTE

- 90% "OUTDOORS" PEOPLE
- COULDN'T VOTE FOR 20 YEARS

- a) EVENTUALLY, ALL WHITE MEN COULD VOTE
BUT NO WOMEN, PEOPLE OF COLOR, INDIANS
- b) PEOPLE HAD CIVIL RIGHTS, BUT NO ECONOMIC RIGHTS

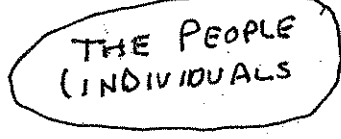
② 1900

U.S. WAS MORE LIKE A THIRD WORLD NATION
SAME PEOPLE + FRIENDS



ROBBER BARONS

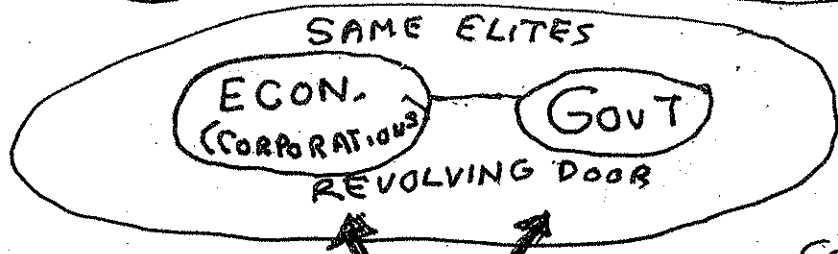
- RURAL + CITIES WITH POOR/SLUMS
- MASSIVE POVERTY
- SLUMS
- UNEMPLOYMENT
- SLAVE WAGES
- POOR WORKING CONDITIONS
- DANGEROUS " "
- 6+7 DAY WORK WEEK / 10+ HOURS
- NO BENEFITS
- NO UNEMPLOYMENT CHECK, PENSIONS, WELFARE, HEALTH CARE



↑ VOTE

③ 2000

20TH CENTURY: RISE OF POWER OF CORPORATIONS AND RISE OF POWER OF CIVIL SOCIETY



WORLD BANK
IMF
WORLD TRADE ORG (WTO)

SINCE 1900'S +
ESP. SINCE 1960

THE PEOPLE" AS INDIVIDUALS

CIVIL SOCIETY

PEOPLE ORGANIZED
AT ALL LEVELS

- WOMEN'S VOTE
- UNION MOVEMENT
- CIVIL RIGHTS
- ANTI- VIETNAM WAR
- WOMEN / FEMINIST
- ANTI- POVERTY
- ENVIRONMENT / SAVE PLANET
- SUSTAINABILITY
- GAY + LESBIAN...
- DISABLED
- ANTI-CORPORATE GLOBALIZATION

MOST IMPORTANT
DEVELOPMENT SINCE
GOVT BY, FOR, AND OF
THE PEOPLE

CORPORATIONS + RICH
- BUY / DOMINATE GOVT
- SAME PEOPLE AT TOP
- CONTROL; DOMINATE
FOREIGN + DOMESTIC
POLICY

CORPORATIONS / RICH
USE WTO TO ROLL-BACK
GAINS OF ALL SOCIAL
MOVEMENTS + CIVIL
SOCIETY + POLITICAL
RIGHTS

SEATTLE 1999

SEE: PAUL RAY'S "NEW POLITICAL COMPASS"

EIGHT STAGES OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENT SUCCESS

(see: www.doingdemocracy.com) Bill Moyer 11-24-91

(2) PROVE FAILURE OF OFFICIAL INSTITUTIONS
 -Many new local opposition groups.
 -Use official channels:
 -Courts, government offices, commissions, hearings...
 -Prove they don't work.
 -Become experts; do research.

(1) CRITICAL SOCIAL PROBLEM EXISTS
 -Violates widely-held values.
 -Powerholders support problem:
 -"Official Policies" tout values
 -Real "Operating Policies" violate values.
 -Public is unaware of the problem.
 -Support powerholders.
 -Problem/policies not a public issue.

(3) RIPENING CONDITIONS
 -Recognition of problem and victims grow.
 -Public sees victims faces
 -More active local groups.
 -Need pre-existing institutions and networks available to new movement.
 -20-30% of public oppose powerholder policies.

(4) TAKE-OFF TRIGGER EVENT
 -Dramatic nonviolent actions/campaigns
 -Actions show public that conditions & policies violate widely-held values.
 -Nonviolent actions repeated around country
 -Problem put on the social agenda.
 -New Social Movement rapidly "takes-off"
 -40% of public oppose current policies/conditions

(5) PERCEPTION OF FAILURE
 -See goals unachieved.
 -See powerholders unchanged.
 -See numbers down at demonstrations.
 -Despair; hopelessness, burnout, dropout, seems movement ended.
 -Emergence of Negative Rebel.



PROTESTS

(6) MAJORITY PUBLIC OPINION
 -Majority oppose present conditions and powerholder policies.
 -Show how the problem and policies affect all sectors of society.
 -Involve mainstream citizens and institutions in addressing the problem.
 -Problem put on the political agenda.
 -Promote alternatives.
 -Counter each new powerholder strategy.
 -Demonology: Powerholders promote public's fear of alternative.
 -Promote a Paradigm Shift, not only reforms.
 -RE-TRIGGER EVENTS HAPPEN, re-enacting Stage 4 for a short period.

(7) SUCCESS
 -Large majority oppose current policies and no longer fear alternative.
 -Many powerholders split off and change positions.
 -End game process:
 -Powerholders change policies (its more costly to continue old policies than to change), are voted out of office, or slow invisible attrition.
 -New laws and policies.
 -Powerholders try to make minimal reforms, while movement demands social change.

(8) CONTINUATION
 -Extend successes (ex: even stronger civil rights laws).
 -Oppose attempts at backlash.
 -Promote paradigm shift.
 -Focus on other Sub-issues.
 -Recognize/celebrate Successes so far.

POWERHOLDERS!

Focus more on other sub-goals.
 Spin off new social movements.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MOVEMENT PROCESS:
 -Social Movements are composed of many Sub-goals and sub-movements, each in their own MAP stage.
 -Strategy & tactics are different for each sub-movement, according to the MAP stage each is in.
 -Keep advancing Sub-movements through the 8 stages.
 -Each sub-movement is focused on a specific goal (eg, for civil rights movements: restaurants, voting, public accommodations).
 -All of the sub-movements promote the same paradigm shift. (eg, shift from hard to soft energy policy.)

PUBLIC MUST BE CONVINCED THREE TIMES:

1. That there is a Problem. (Stage 4)
2. To oppose current conditions and policies. (Stages 4, 6, 7)
3. To want, no longer fear, alternatives. (Stage 6, 7)

FOUR ROLES OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS By Bill Moyer, April 7, 1999

- Ineffective**
- Naive Citizen: Believes the "Official Policies." Does not realize that the powerholders & institutions serve special elite interests at the expense of the majority and the common good
 - or -
 - Super-patriot: Gives automatic obedience to powerholders and the country

- Effective**
- Promotes positive American values, principles and symbols, e.g., democracy, freedom, justice, nonviolence.
 - Normal citizen
 - Grounded in the center of society.
 - Promotes active citizen-based society where citizens act with disinterest to assure the common good.
 - The active citizen is the source of legitimate political power.
 - Acts on "confirmatory bias" concept
 - Examples: King & Mandela

- Effective**
- Parliamentary: Use official mainstream system & institutions, e.g., courts, Congress, city hall, corporations to get the movement's goals, values, alternatives adopted into official laws, policies & conventional wisdom.
 - Use a variety of means: lobbying, lawsuits, referenda, rallies, candidates, etc
 - Professional Opposition Organizations (POOs) are the key movement agencies.
 - Watchdog successes to assure enforcement, expand successes, & protect against backlash.
 - POOs nurture & support grassroots

- Ineffective**
- POOs: Dominator/patriarchal model of organizational structure & leadership. Organizational maintenance over movement needs. Dominator style undermines movement democracy and disempowers grassroots.
 - POO "Realistic Politics": Promotes minor reforms rather than social change.
 - POO cooptation: Staff identify more with official powerholders than with movement grassroots.

CITIZEN

REFORMER

REBEL

CHANGE AGENT

Ineffective

- Authoritarian Anti-Authoritarian
- Anti-American, anti-authority, anti-organization structures & rules.
- Self-identify as militant radical, a lonely voice on society's fringe.
- Any means necessary: disruptive tactics & violence to property & people.
- Tactics without realistic strategy.
- Isolated from grassroots mass-base.
- Victim behavior: angry, dogmatic, aggressive & powerless.
- Ideological totalitarian; holds absolute, truth and moral, political superiority.
- Strident, arrogant; ego-centric; Self needs before movement needs
- Irony of Negative Rebel: Negative Rebel similar to Agent Provocateur.

Effective

- Protest: Say, "NO" to violations of positive, widely-held human values.
- Nonviolent direct action & attitude, demonstrations, rallies & marches, including civil disobedience.
- Target: Powerholders & their institutions, eg, government, corporations.
- Puts issue & policies in public spotlight & on society's agenda.
- Actions have strategy & tactics
- Empowered, exciting, courageous, risky, center of public attention.
- Hold relative, not absolute, truth

Effective

- Organize People Power & the Engaged Citizenry creating participatory democracy for the common good;
- Educate & involve the majority of citizens & whole society on the issue.
- Involve pre-existing mass-based grassroots organizations, networks, coalitions & activists on the issue.
- Promote strategies & tactics for waging long-term social movement & Stage 6.
- Create & support grassroots activism & organizations for the long-term.
- Put issue on society's political agenda.
- Counter powerholder new strategies
- Promote alternatives.
- Promote a paradigm shift

Ineffective

- Too Utopian: promote visions of perfectionistic alternatives in isolation from practical political & social action.
- Promote only minor reforms.
- Movement leadership & organizations based on patriarchy & control, rather than participatory democracy.
- Tunnel vision: advocate single issue
- Ignore *personal* issues and needs of activists.
- Unconnected to social & political social change and paradigm shift

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THE WESTERN SYSTEM OF THIRD-WORLDIZATION

The Global System of Industrial Nations' Development and Third World Exploitation

By Bill Moyer
721 Shrader Street
San Francisco, CA 94117
Tel: 415/387 3361
August 1993
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NORTH SOUTH

Industrialized Nations 100+ Never-to-be-Developed Nations
100+ Never-to-be-Developed Nations

(1)

- Production
- Consumption
- Political Freedom
- Growing problems:
 - Loss of Meaning
 - Environmental Destruction
 - Waste of Resources
 - Poverty/un-employment
 - Violence/drugs/homelessness
 - Basic needs not met for growing minority
 - Gap between rich & poor
 - Corporations' excessive economic & political power
 - Unsustainable/unstable
- Protective Boarders/tariffs

(4)

- CAPITAL
 - Aid loans & Credits. (Since early 1980s, net flow from South to North.)
 - Multinational corporate investments (Little new money, mostly re-invested profits)
 - Virtually all capital goes to create infrastructure of South's export economies.
 - Mostly aids the foreign and domestic corporate and owning classes, while actually harming the poor majority.
- MANUFACTURED GOODS & SERVICES
 - These mostly go to the affluent minority.
- MILITARY EQUIPMENT, TRAINING AND INTERVENTION
 - Supports dictatorships & police states against poor majority.
 - Massive military equipment sales laid.
 - U.S. military intervention, as means of last resort, when U.S. interests are threatened by majority.
- ENVIRONMENTAL DESTRUCTION
 - Polities, programs, and materials that destroy and pollute the environment & endanger people.
 - Dictates/controls political, economic environmental, social policy of Third World nations.

IMF/WORLD BANK/GATT: WTO

- Enforcer of global oppressive policies.
- Collection agencies for Corporations & banks
- Key mechanisms:
 - Structural adjustment policies
 - "Free Trade & market" Myths

(2)

- EXTRACTIVE NATURAL RESOURCES:
 - Copper, tin, timber, oil, cobalt, bauxite, chromium, gold, silver, aluminum...
- AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS:
 - Cash crops: coffee, tea, fish, cotton, meat, tobacco...
 - The hungry nations of the South are net exporters of protein to the North.
- CHEAP LABOR & ASSEMBLED MANUFACTURED GOODS:
 - Most workers earn \$0.57 to \$1.12 per hour in US-owned Mexican-border "maquiladora" manufacturing plants, relocated from the U.S.
- CAPITAL FLIGHT:
 - Foreign debt extortionist-level interest payments on loans & credits.
 - Declining terms of trade
 - Excessive shipping costs in U.S. ships.
 - Net flow of financial capital alone between 1984-90 was \$155 billion from poor South to North.

(3)

- DESTROY NATIVE NATIONS
 - Original native nations, land, language, religion, culture, agriculture, economy, customs, democracy, etc. systemically destroyed.
- PEOPLE PROBLEMS:
 - Abject poverty: 40 - 70% of population
 - Hunger & malnutrition: 50%
 - Unemployment/underemployment: 50%
 - Low-paid labor: \$.35/hr at U.S. corporations in Haiti.
 - Growing slum cities & homelessness
 - Widespread disease & illness
- SOCIAL CONDITIONS
 - Dictatorships/police states/graft
 - Democratic facade of voting.
 - Export-oriented economies, including agriculture
 - Foreign-dominated political economies
 - super rich few, super poor majority
 - Massive foreign debt. Devastating IMF structural adjustment requirements
 - Loss of economic & political sovereignty
 - Environmental devastation
 - Natural resources dwindling thru export
- SOCIAL SYSTEM
 - Free market/trade & private enterprise
 - Strong relationship to IMF & World Bank
 - Massive aid & loans
 - Adhering to structural adjustment rules & regulations
 - In economic shock for 40 years
- WORSENING CONDITIONS!
- UNSUSTAINABLE/UNSTABLE

FUTURE GENERATIONS:

The Ultimate Victims Of The Western Industrialized World Order

ALTERNATIVE FUTURE: (6)

A new world-view & global system is needed for the 21st Century: A global political economy that is democratic, just, and sustainable. The chief goals are to meet the basic needs of the world's people and have people make their own decisions

