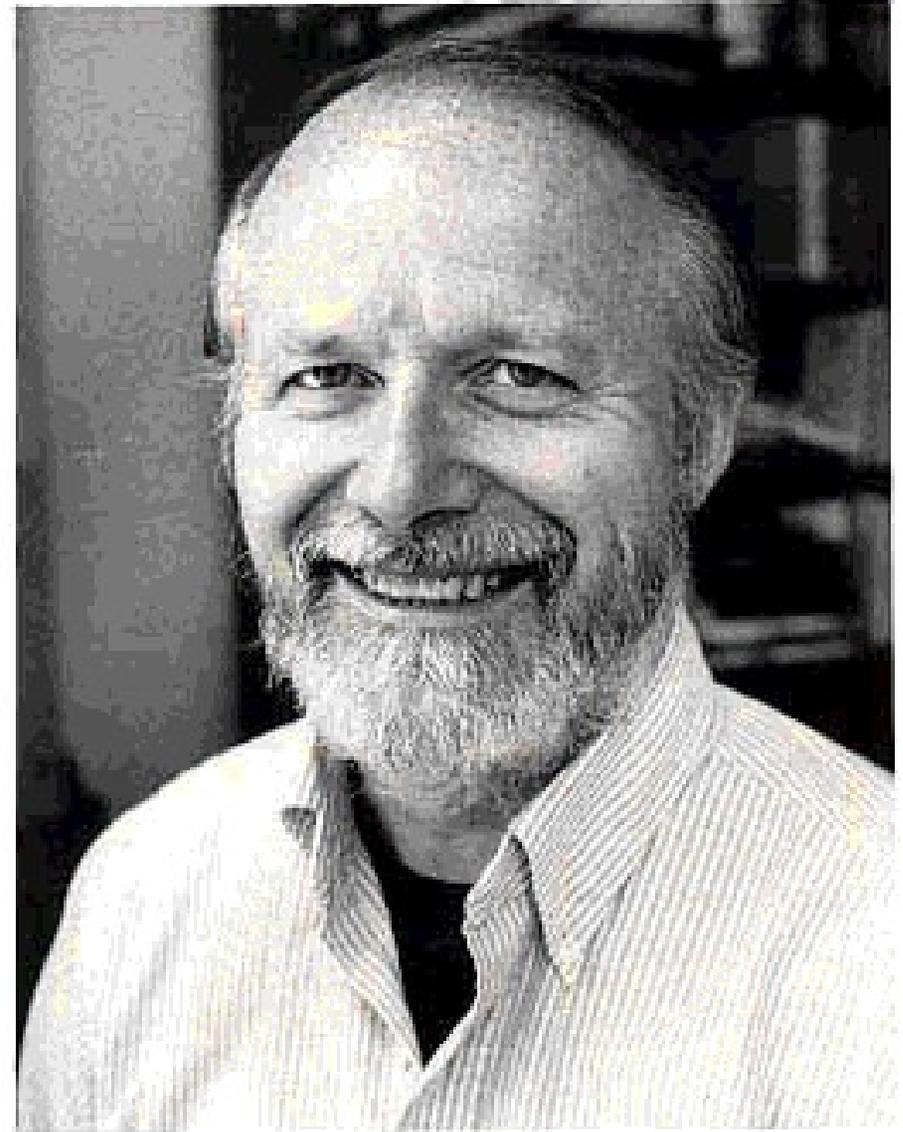
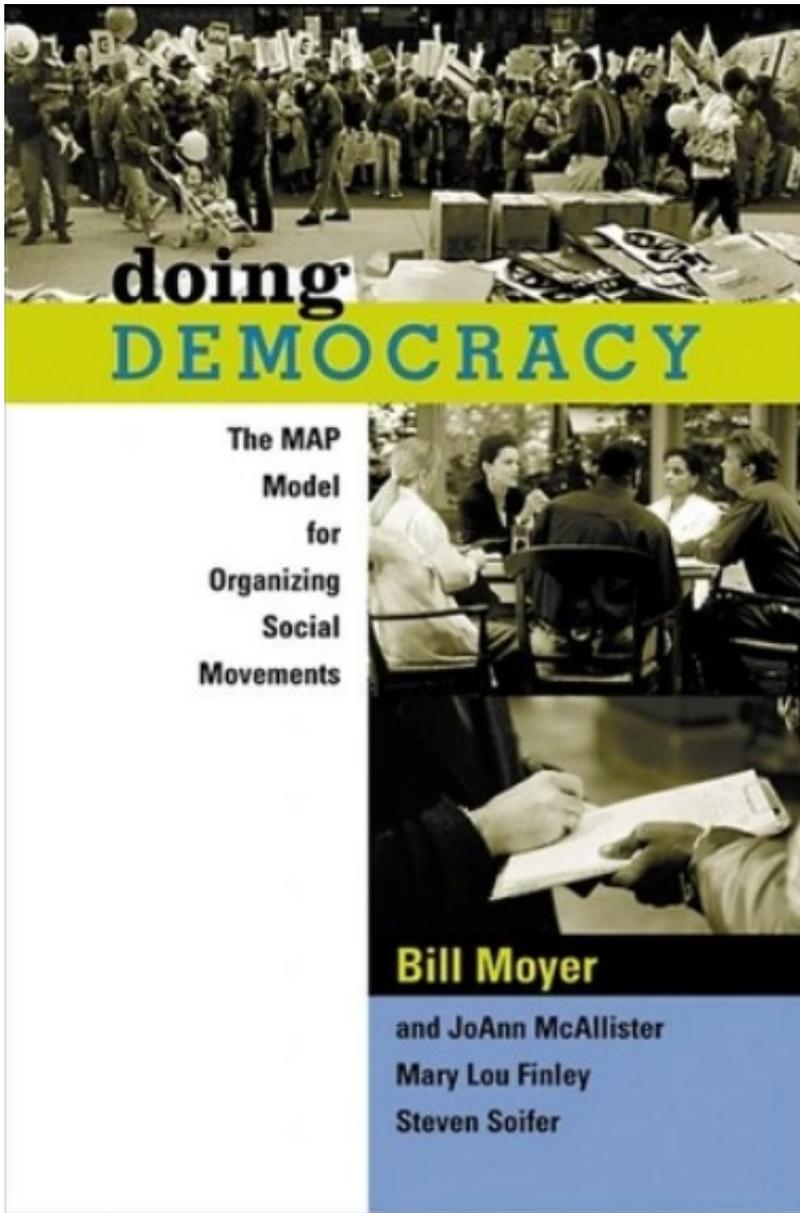
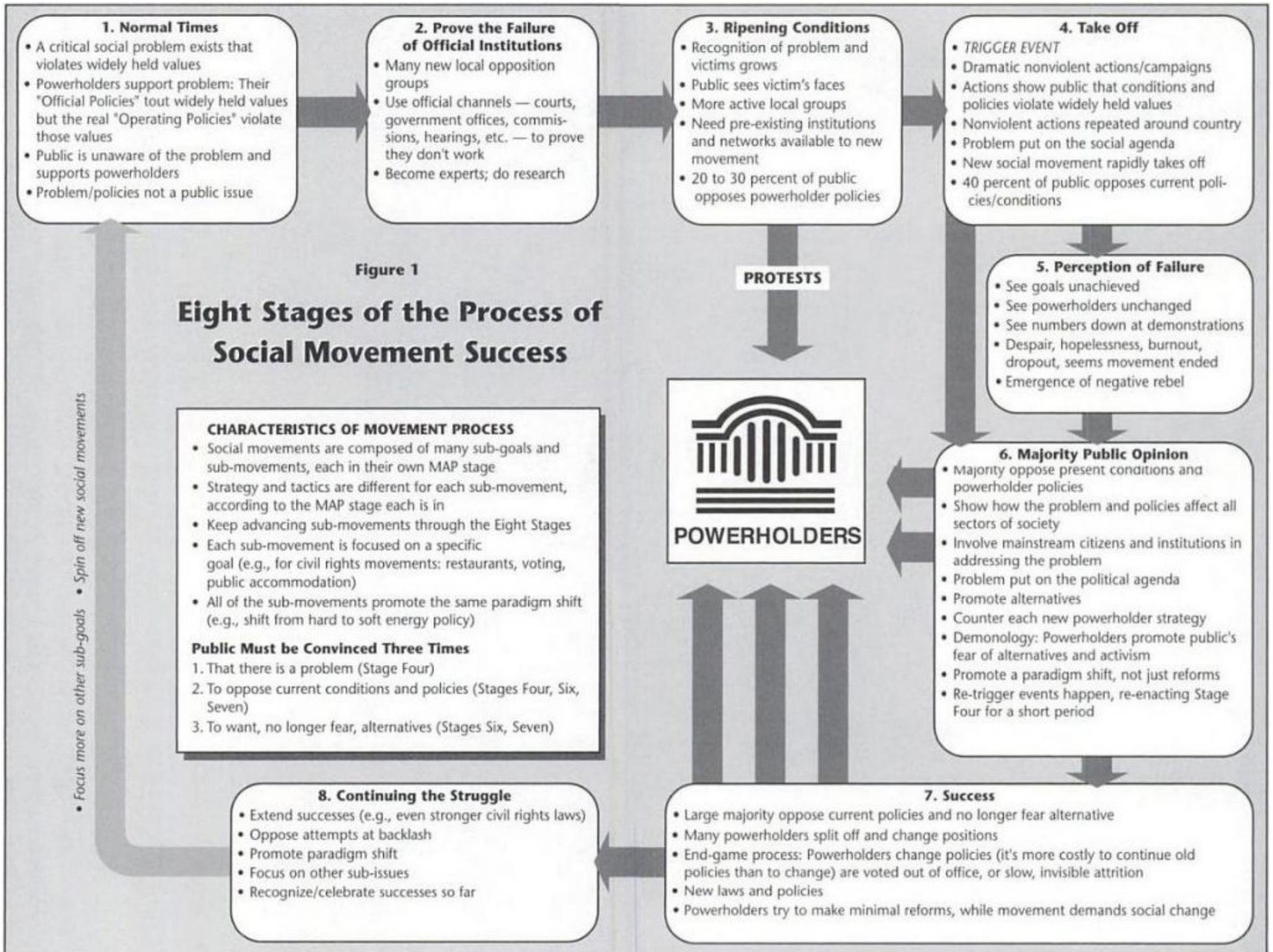


Anti-Nuclear, Many Movements, Owe a Lot to Bill Moyer & MNS...



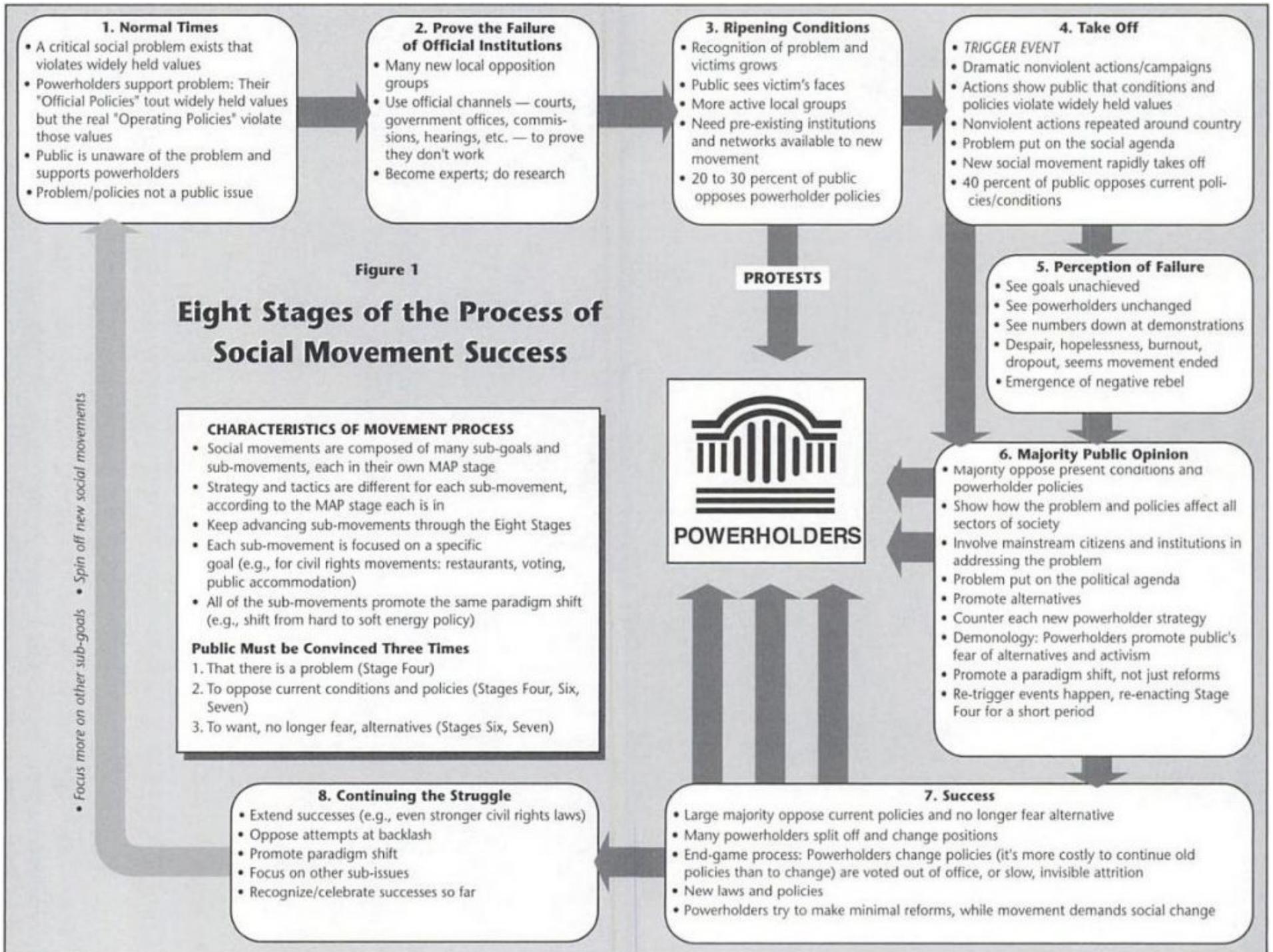
With co-authors Mary Lou Finley, JoAnn McAllister and Steven Soifer explains his MAP through 5 case studies.



7 STRATEGIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE M.A.P.

- 1) **Social movements are proven to be powerful**
“Never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world. Indeed it’s the only thing that ever has.” Margaret Mead.

- 2) **Movements are at the center of society (*society’s values*)**
- 3) **Real issue is social justice versus vested interest**
- 4) **Grand strategy is to promote participatory democracy**
(i.e., “Power to the People!”)
- 5) **Target constituency is the ordinary citizen (*not power-holders*)**
- 6) **Success is a long-term process, not an event (*many sub-goals*)**
- 7) **Social movements must be nonviolent**



STAGE 1: NORMAL TIMES 1940s-1960s:

- **Post-War, Beat Generation, Anti-communist Red Scare**
- **“Happy Days” - Ozzie & Harriet, Beaver...**
- **Material Consumerism: Appliances, HVAC, Mobility (*i.e.*, “Planes, trains, cars and buses”) caused Soaring Energy Demand**
- **Growing Peace/Anti-War, “Ban the Bomb” sentiment →**
- **1954 “Atoms for Peace” P.R. media blitz, winning large majority public support, despite Eisenhower’s warning about the “Military Industrial (Congressional) Complex”**
- **So GE, Westinghouse & other weapons makers exploited new R&D & subsidies (corporate welfare/socialism) for record profits**
- **Still, Major Modern Progressive Movements Grew: Labor, Civil Rights, Anti-Vietnam War, Women’s, LGBTQi, Environmental**

STAGES 2, 3 & 4: Initiatives, POO lawsuits, media, trigger events

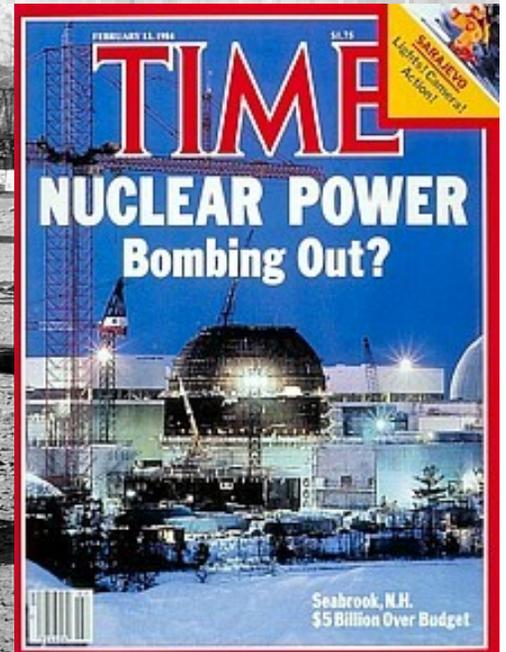


Protesters at Whyll

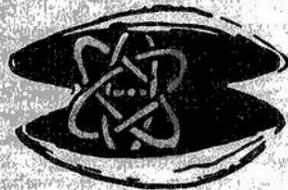


ASSOCIATED PRESS

Protesters march toward Seabrook power station in 1977.



THE RADIOACTIVIST



Clamshell Alliance News

PO BOX 734, CONCORD, NH 03301 (603)-224-4163

SPRING EQUINOX 1991



PILGRIM HEALTH STUDY CITES INCREASED LEUKEMIA INCIDENCE

The Southeastern Massachusetts Health Study was conducted by the Environmental Health Assessment Division of the Mass. Department of Health (DPH). Begun in 1987, in response to concerns raised by local residents, anti-nuclear activists, the state legislature and the DPH, the findings of the study were released in October 1990.

The DPH conducted a study of leukemia among residents of 22 communities near the Pilgrim nuclear plant (Plymouth, MA.); this study covered the years from 1978-1986. The purpose was to explore the relationship between the Pilgrim plant and the incidence of leukemia in surrounding towns.

The DPH concluded that adults living and working within ten miles of Boston Edison's Pilgrim plant faced a four times greater risk of leukemia from 1978-1983 than those living elsewhere.

According to the study, the risk of leukemia from 1984-1986 was normal. The elevated risk during 1978-1983 correlated with higher than average radiation releases in the years when levels exceeded the current EPA limits of 25 millirems/year. The higher levels during those years still fell within the NRC limits of 500 millirems/year, a level which the NRC states is roughly equivalent to a 1 in 57 lifetime risk of fatal cancer.

Another major finding was that the leukemia risk grew with proximity to the plant and the duration of time there. The subjects' frequency downwind

3. Continue to study cancer in the Plymouth area through data gathered by the Mass. Cancer Registry. Study should include childhood leukemia incidence.

Boston Edison attacked the study's conclusions with all the "Nukespeak" of ill logic that typifies the industry's response to criticism. While unable to fault the methodology of the study, Edison spokespeople simply decided it must be wrong. It's the same fatuous reasoning that informs us that all problems at the Seabrook nuke occur on the non-nuclear side of the plant.

The results of the Pilgrim cancer study never received the media attention

deserved. A nation of energy addicts, following its fossil-fuel-hardy leaders, was busy preparing for war in the Persian Gulf. Can the linkage of these issues be denied? There is a certain twisted irony regarding all those yellow ribbons attached to all those utility poles.

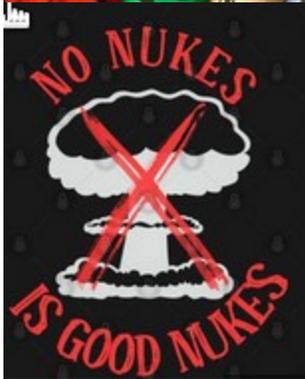
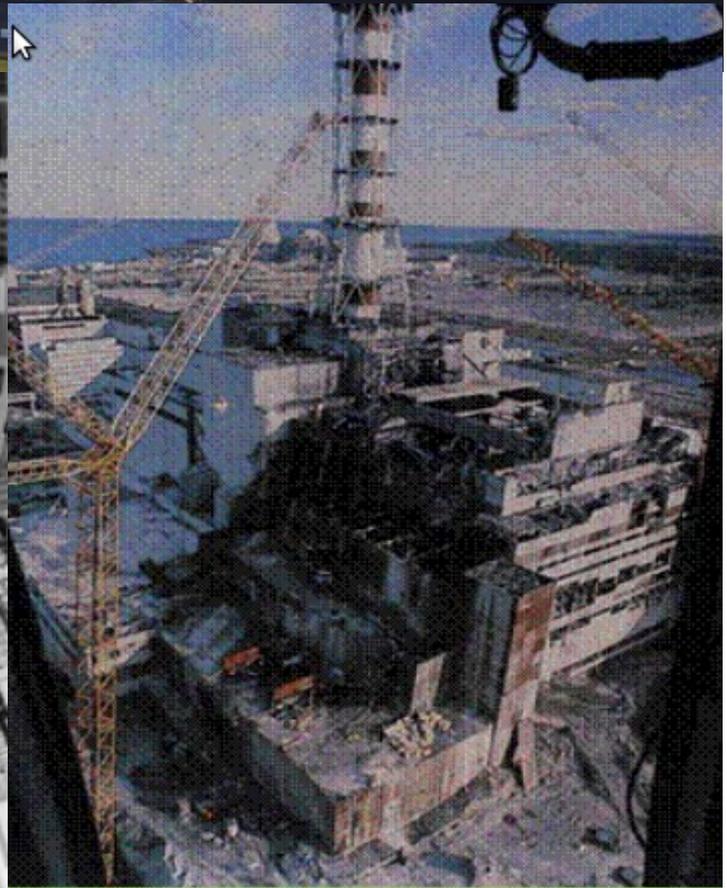
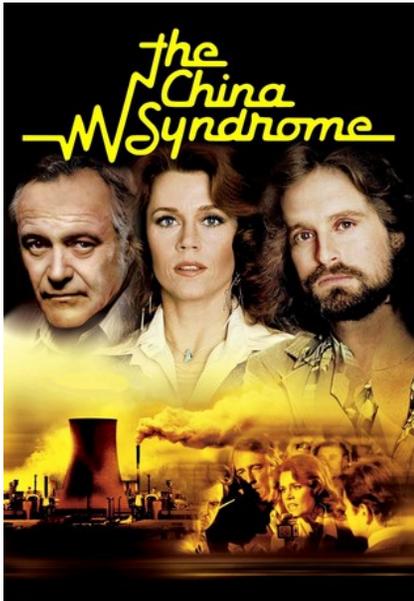
The administration's "new" energy agenda is nothing new at all. It continues to promote consumption, regardless of human and environmental costs; it continues to ignore human and environmental rewards of efficiency, conservation and development of safe alternative energy sources. We owe it to ourselves, our children and the Earth to work for an energy policy we can live with, not die from.



Mattila

Limerick Nuclear Plant (2 reactors, satellite image), 20 miles NW up-river from Philadelphia





Damage caused by the explosion at Chernobyl
(30 May 2005 <http://www.spaceman.ca/gallery/albums/chernobyl/CHERNOBYL_002.jpg>.)

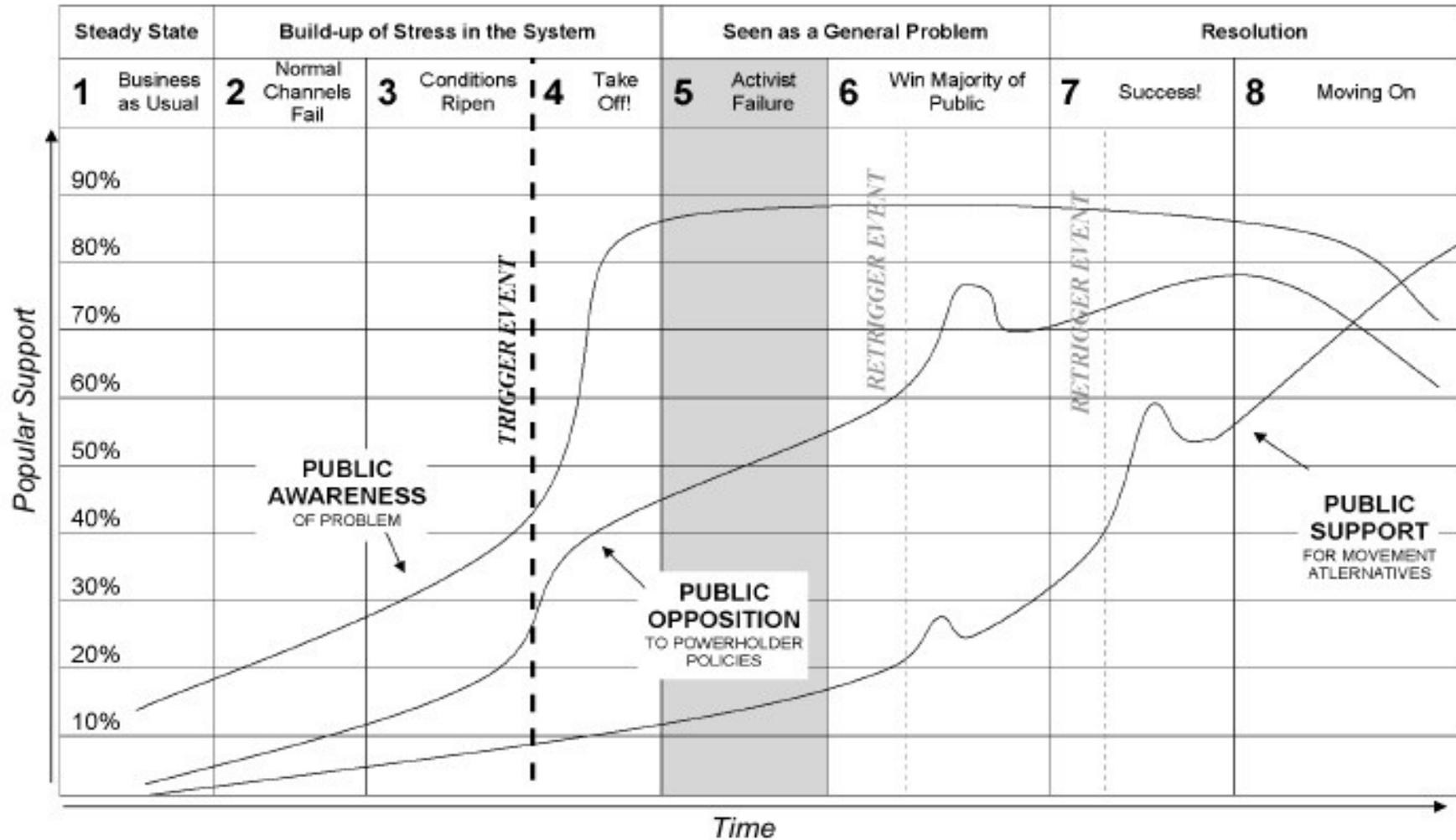
Figure 1: Four Roles of Social Movements

CITIZEN		REFORMER	
<p>Effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 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 and Mandela 	<p>Ineffective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Naïve citizen: Believes the "official policies" and does not realize that the powerholders and institutions serve special elite interests at the expense of the majority and the common good <p>OR</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Super-patriot: Gives automatic obedience to powerholders and the country 	<p>Effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Parliamentary: Uses official mainstream system and institutions — e.g., courts, legislature, city hall, corporations — to get the movement's goals, values, alternatives adopted into official laws, policies, and conventional wisdom • Uses a variety of means: lobbying, lawsuits, referenda, rallies, candidates, etc. • Professional Opposition Organizations (POOs) are the key movement agencies • Watchdogs successes to assure enforcement, expand successes, and protect against backlash • POOs nurture and support grassroots 	<p>Ineffective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • POOs: Dominator/patriarchal model of organizational structure and leadership • Organizational maintenance over movement needs • Dominator style undermines movement democracy and disempowers grassroots • POO "Realistic Politics": Promotes minor reforms rather than social changes • POO co-optation: Staff identify more with official powerholders than with movement grassroots
REBEL		CHANGE AGENT	
<p>Effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest: Says "NO" to violations of positive, widely held human values • Nonviolent direct action and attitude; demonstrations, rallies, and marches including civil disobedience • Target: Powerholders and their institutions, e.g., government, corporations • Puts issue and policies in public spotlight and on society's agenda • Actions have strategy and tactics • Empowered, exciting, courageous, risky, center of public attention • Holds relative, not absolute, truth 	<p>Ineffective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Authoritarian anti-authoritarian • Anti-American, anti-authority, anti-organization structures and rules • Self-identifies as militant radical, a lonely voice on society's fringe • Any means necessary: Disruptive tactics and violence to property and people • Tactics without realistic strategy • Isolated from grassroots mass-base • Victim behavior: Angry, dogmatic, aggressive, and powerless • Ideological totalism: Holds absolute truth and moral, political superiority • Strident, arrogant, egocentric; self needs before movement needs • Irony of negative rebel: Negative rebel similar to agent provocateur 	<p>Effective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Organizes People Power and the Engaged Citizenry, creating participatory democracy for the common good • Educates and involves the majority of citizens and whole society on the issue • Involves pre-existing mass-based grassroots organizations, networks, coalitions, and activists on the issue • Promotes strategies and tactics for waging long-term social movement and Stage Six • Creates and supports grassroots activism and organizations for the long term • Puts issue on society's political agenda • Counters new powerholder strategies • Promotes alternatives • Promotes a paradigm shift 	<p>Ineffective</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Too utopian: Promotes visions of perfectionist alternatives in isolation from practical political and social action • Promotes only minor reforms • Movement leadership and organizations based on patriarchy and control rather than participatory democracy • Tunnel vision: Advocates single issue • Ignores personal issues and needs of activists • Unconnected to social and political social change and paradigm shift

STAGE 5: Perception of Failure > e.g. Seabrook “Direct Action” > Police repression

KEY NEGOTIATIONS IN MULTI-STAKEHOLDER MOVEMENTS

based on Bill Moyes *Movement Action Plan*



10 Indicators of Movement Success

- 1) **The issue is put on the social and political agendas – and kept there.**
- 2) **The movement wins a majority of public opinion**
- 3) **The power-holders change their strategy.**

“First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win.” - Gandhi

- 4) **The movement counters each new power-holder strategy** *(to win sub-goals).*
- 5) **Many of the power-holders’ new strategies are more difficult to achieve**
(weakening their ability to continue their policies in the long run).

6) **Expansion of the issue and goals** – *to bigger and worse problems.*

7) **The movement wins “hard” public opinion against current policies**

8) **Successful promotion of alternative solutions** – *by the end of the take-off stage.*

9) **The movement wins majority of public opinion – on the alternatives**

10) **Power-holders often forced to oppose solutions they had “officially” favored**

-

→ **Paradigm Shift...**

Stage 6:

Majority Public Opinion
Sub-goal Victories, e.g.:

*Clinch River Breeder
Reactor, so no ready
source of enriched fuel

*Construction Works In
Progress, CWIP local laws
and others ...

Stage 7: SUCCESS

Stage 8: to be cont.
to Paradigm Shift
- *Renewable,*
Soft Energy Path...

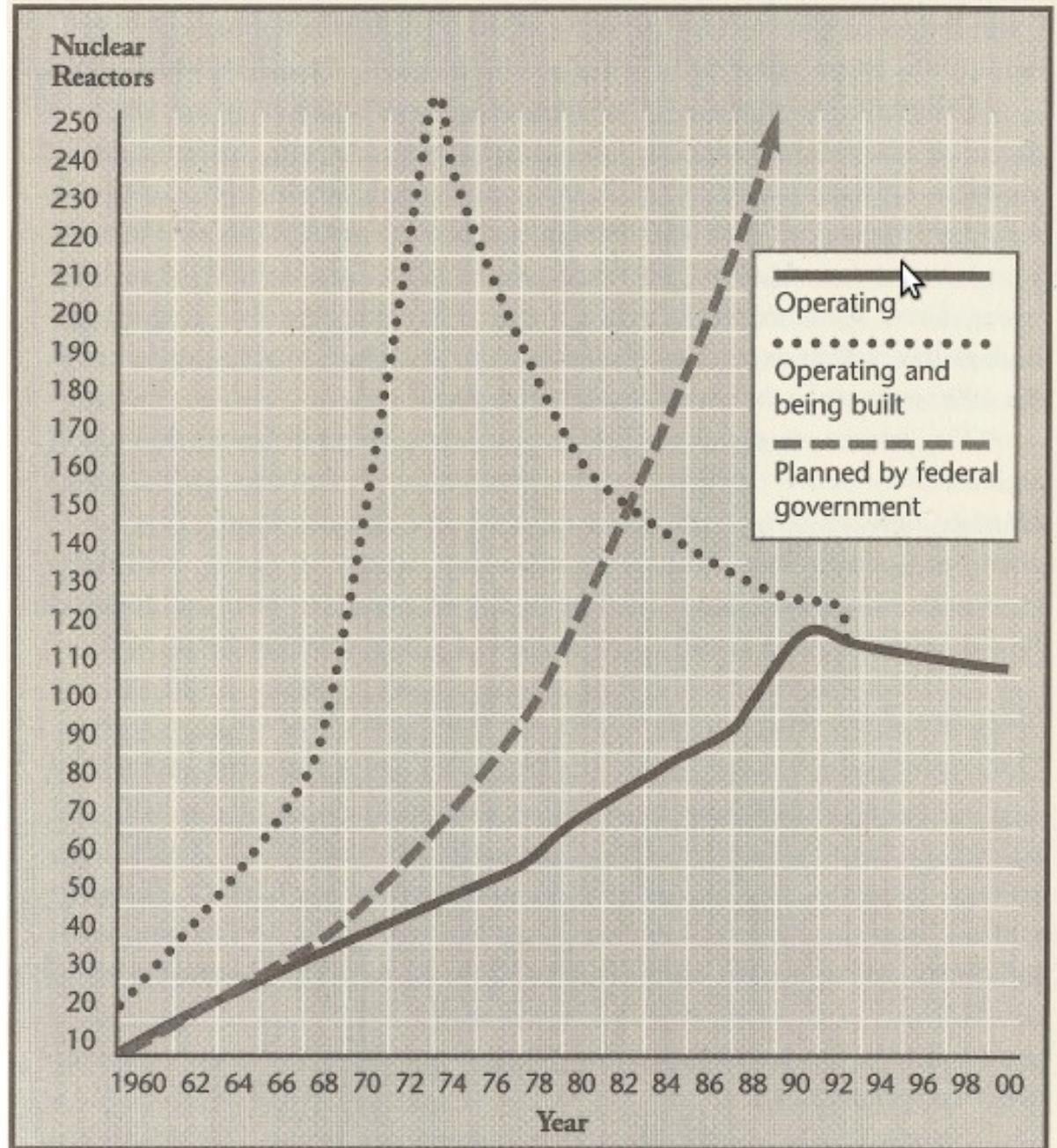


Figure 1: Number of Nuclear Reactors in the United States — Planned, Operating, and Under Construction (1960-1999)

NOTES (Collected by Herb Ettel for presentation at the MNS 50th Anniversary Reunion):

Credit for MNS's vital role in launching, nurturing, educating training, and guiding the global anti-nuclear power movement is owed to our beloved co-founder **Bill Moyer**, a key mentor to so many activists, including myself. We lost Bill in 2002, a year after NSP published his seminal book, "**Doing Democracy: The MAP Model for Organizing Social Movements.**"

Moyer's Movement Action Plan theory combined his best pioneering strategic thinking developed over 4 decades of leadership and training building the civil rights, peace, and environmental movements. His purpose was to help activists understand the dynamics of social movements, and recognize indications of success to counter the misperception of failure.

In DOING DEMOCRACY, Bill and his co-authors Mary Lou Finley, JoAnn McAllister and Steven Soifer explain his MAP through 5 case studies, including the amazingly successful Anti-nuclear power movement, for which he and MNS and our training and processes were so pivotal. A prime manifestation of this was during the nonviolent blockade of the Seabrook nuclear power plant construction site April 30+May 1, 1977, which resulted in the civil disobedience and arrest of 1414 individuals. Most practiced "bail solidarity" so remained jailed in five NH National Guard armories for the next two weeks, effectively "activist organizing training camps," until released "on recognizance."

7 STRATEGIC ASSUMPTIONS OF THE M.A.P.

1 Social movements are proven to be powerful. Much acclaim is given to the social movements of the 1960s, but those of the 1970s and 80s were bigger and more numerous.

2 Movements are at the centre of society, so must consciously articulate society's central values and sensibilities. They will be successful only to the extent that they can convince the great majority of people that the movement, and not the powerholders, truly represent society's values and sensibilities.

3 The real issue is social justice versus vested interest

In their attempts to promote democracy, justice, peace, ecological sustainability and the general social welfare, social movements must oppose the excessive power and interests of elite powerholders. The consequence of such opposition is, inevitably, conflict ...

4 The grand strategy is to promote participatory democracy

Political power rests ultimately with the general population.

5 The target constituency is the ordinary citizen, not the powerholders.

Who will not change their policies until there is overwhelming public pressure.

Movements are only as powerful as their grassroots support.

6 Success is a long-term process, not an event with many sub-goals along the way.

Activists should develop strategies and tactics that advance their movement over time.

7 Social movements must be nonviolent following Gandhi and King...Non-violence:

- allows the broadest cross-section of society to participate
- is based on and appeals to timeless national, cultural, human and religious values
- is less threatening to ordinary citizens
- forces the means to be consistent with the ends – they are the ends in the making
- has the capacity to reduce the effectiveness of police and state violence
- **makes it difficult for agent provocateurs to disrupt or discredit movements**

Indicators of Movement Success

The process of success is difficult for many activists to recognize because progress is not self-evident, and the problem and policies continue long after the movement takes off. The following are ten indicators of movement success in the strategic struggle between the movement and power-holders. Movements that have achieved these ten successes are in a mature M.A.P. stage six, Majority stage:

1 The issue is put on the social and political agendas – and kept there. Some political scientists contend that putting an issue in society's public spotlight and on the political agenda takes the movement 75% of the way toward success. With the problem in the spotlight, time is on the movement's side, with people being alerted to, educated on and involved in an issue. Because the power-holders position tends to deteriorate under public scrutiny, their first line of defense is to keep the issue out of the public spotlight.

2 The movement wins a majority of public opinion – on the problem. The public opinion polls show that a majority opposes current policies but don't yet support the movement's alternative.

3 The power-holders change their strategy.

"First they ignore you, then they laugh at you, then they fight you, then you win." - Gandhi

4 The movement counters each new power-holder strategy. By building majority public opinion in opposition to each power-holder strategy to win sub-goals.

5 Many of the power-holders' new strategies are more difficult for them to achieve, thereby weakening their ability to continue their policies in the long run. They are forced to adopt new, higher-risk strategies that weaken their position because most new power-holder strategies and policies are more obvious violations of public values.

6 Expansion of the issue and goals. to bigger and worse problems

7 The movement wins “hard” public opinion against current policies.

8 Successful promotion of alternative solutions by the end of the take-off stage

9 The movement wins majority of public opinion – on the alternatives. After the public is won over on the problem, it must then be won over on the solution. The movement must help the public overcome these fears by adopting a new paradigm...

10 The power-holders are now often forced to oppose solutions that they had originally “officially” favored and which the movement and public now support. By stage seven, the power-holders are put in the increasingly difficult position of having to oppose what the public recognizes as reasonable solutions to the problem.

Paradigm Shift

Social movements need to promote social change, not just minor reforms, by advocating a paradigm shift – a change in society’s world view. If a movement has a faulty world view, it will promote faulty alternatives and have a faulty end result.

At the start of a new movement, the existing paradigm is advocated by the powerholders and is believed by the general public. It limits the way the problem is understood as well as confining the possible alternatives to minor reforms that perpetuate the status quo.

To promote change, social movements need to (1) identify the larger paradigm surrounding their issue (2) show how the problem is a logical outcome of this paradigm (3) identify an alternative paradigm within which the problem can be solved and which fits widely-held societal values, and then (4) promote alternatives and solutions defined within the new paradigm.

Movements must advocate social change reforms as opposed to reformist reforms.

Social change reforms are solutions that are consistent with the process of achieving a new paradigm, whereas reformist reforms remain within the original paradigm.

(The power-holders strategy is to maintain the status quo by eventually “compromising” and agreeing to reforms that are within the existing paradigm.)

Conversely, a mistake made by some activists is to advocate “revolutionary” idealistic alternatives without having any practical strategy, tactics and means to achieve them.

Winning the public in three ways

Social movements must win the majority of the public in three different ways: (1) awareness of the problem (2) opposition to present conditions and policies (3) support for alternatives.

The accompanying graph depicts the process of winning over these three types of public opinion.

1 All three graphs start at around 10-20%, increasing slowly until a trigger event generates mass publicity and discussion. When the issue is thrust onto the social agenda, awareness of the problem rises rapidly.

2 Over the next few years, public opposition to existing policies rises more rapidly. But this proves to be “soft” opinion, subject to challenge by power-holders counter-strategies to scare, confuse and win back public support. Even as “hard” opinion grows, many activists become disillusioned because the movement has not achieved its goal. They don’t realize that the movement must go through another cycle of winning the public on alternatives before it can achieve its goal.

3 As the movement progresses to stage seven, the movements chief focus is on winning support for alternatives. The movement needs to engage the public’s desire for change while lowering its fear of appropriate alternatives. Many activists lose heart at this time because they don’t recognize this process as success, often rejecting it because it is not happening in the manner they had envisioned. The reality of success rarely arrives in the idealized version.