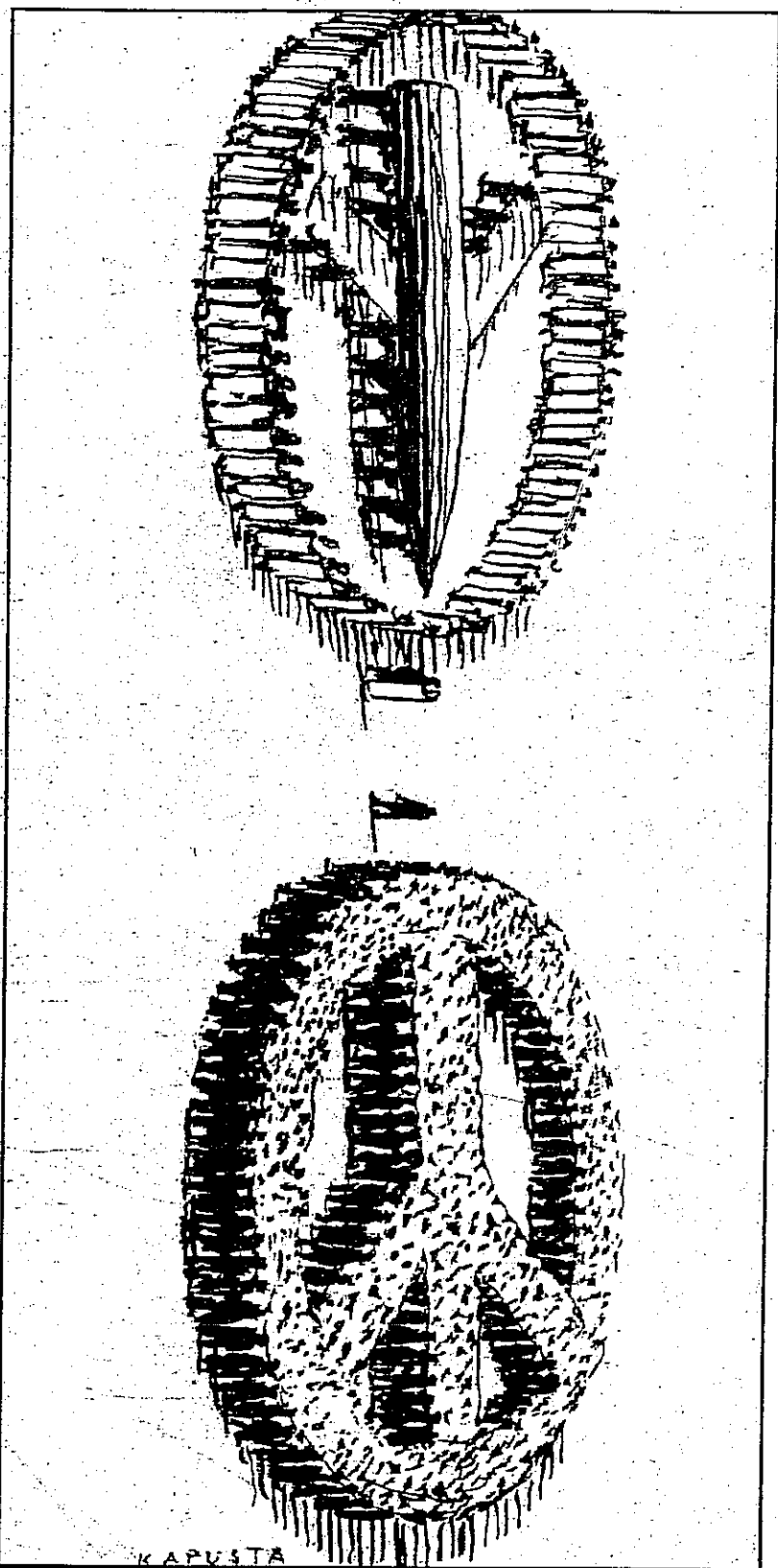# Beyond War Study Guide

Readings and Preparation
for
Session 2

Never doubt that a small group of committed people can change the world. Indeed, that's the only thing that ever has.

Margaret Meade

Moving world beyond war is not impossible

Robert **Dodge**

Imagine a world without war. In the aftermath of Sept. 11, 2001, and with the alarming increase in nuclear rhetoric and posturing by world leaders, the choice is ours.

Impossible? Do you think mankind is incapable of change? Not in the eyes of the slavery abolitionists of the mid-1800s, nor in the minds of those who worked to end apartheid in South Africa, nor in the dreams of those who worked to bring down the Berlin Wall in the 1980s.

To end war, we must change how we think. We need a vision. We, the people of the world, must revive the

effort to build a world beyond war.

In this traditional "season of peace" — the 60th year of the nuclear age — there is hope as we look to the future. At this time of great challenge for our nation and the world, there is exciting news in the re-emergence of a group called Beyond War.

As the new year approaches, this

formed in the 1980s, is being relaunched. In June 2002, a group of concerned citizens convened in Eugene, Ore., to explore the possibility of restarting the Beyond War movement. Much hard work has been done, and we are now ready to launch Beyond War as an international nonprofit organization.

Beyond War is committed to three "foundational ideas":

— War is obsolete.
— We all live on one planet.
— The means are the ends in the making.

To learn more about Beyond War

involved, please visit its Web site at http://www.beyondwar.org. I will present an introductory presentation to Beyond War on Sunday, Jan. 9, from 3 to 5 p.m. at the monthly Citizens for Peaceful Resolutions meeting held at Foster Library, 651 E. Main St., Ventura. For more information, contact http://www.c-p-r.net or 649-3523.

— Robert Dodge, M.D., of Ventura, is president of Ventura County Physicians for Social Responsibility and co-chairman of Citizens for Peaceful Resolutions. He is a board member of Beyond War.

KAPUSTA

Reading list for Session 2

Essential Reading

- Essay: The Process of Social Change and Idea Adoption

- Focus Questions and Activities for Session 2

- Moving the World Beyond War is Not Impossible

- The Optimism of Uncertainty

- The Process of Social Change/National & International Change

- Examples of the Process of Change

    - Slavery

    - Women's Suffrage

    - Civil Rights

Optional Reading

- Dancing with Systems

The Process of Social Change and Idea Adoption

In this session of the Beyond War Study Series we will explore how social change occurs and examine how social change has happened in the past. In the perspective of a short time frame, it can seem as if positive social change is impossible. Yet, when one looks at history, one can see that important social change has happened over time due to the clarity of thought and tenacity of action of many people joining together.

The readings for this session include the perspective of Howard Zinn on social change, work done at Stanford Research Institute by Everett Rogers on Idea Adoption and social change, and examples from American history of important social progress.

People active in Beyond War are responding to Einstein's 1946 quote "Everything has changed, save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." The change he was talking about was the development of nuclear weapons. Einstein saw that it would be necessary for the human species to change how we think about war in order to survive in a world with new, terrible powers of destruction. The primary changes in thinking that Beyond War promotes are that war is obsolete in the nuclear age--and ineffective in responding to terrorism--and there are many effective actions based on the Foundational Ideas: We all live on one planet (we are one) and the means are the ends in the making. These are the ideas that people must adopt in order to build a world beyond war.

Stanford University researchers have discovered valuable information about idea adoption--how new ideas and practices enter society. This research is used extensively by corporations and marketers.

What is encouraging to many is that it is not necessary to convince every person in society--or even a majority--in order to succeed in making an idea, or a set of ideas become the cultural norm. Please read more about idea adoption in this session of the Study Guide.

Please also note the list of idea adopters below the chart on idea adoption. Understanding that different people change their thinking more easily than others can help you to decide who to talk to first (and to realize that if Uncle John never changes his mind that it doesn't mean that change is impossible or even overly difficult.)

As you read the Study Guide, journal in response to the focus questions, and experiment with the focus activities this week you will be preparing for a rich and interesting discussion with your group. May your investigations be stimulating and useful!

Focus Questions Related to the Readings for Session 2

1. How has social change taken place in the past?

2. What has been the timeline for social change?

3. What do you think the experience of ordinary citizens has been during their participation in social change? What would you like your experience to be as you participate in social change?

Focus Activities to Prepare for Session 2

1. Make journal entries as you experience each reading or after you have completed the readings. Make notes about new ideas and new combinations of ideas that you might want to use.

2. In your conversations this week, ask yourself where on the spectrum of Idea Adoption the person you are talking to might be located.

The Optimism of Uncertainty

In this awful world where the efforts of caring people often pale in comparison to what is done by those who have power, how do I manage to stay involved and seemingly happy?

Some quick lessons: Don't let "those who have power" intimidate you. No matter how much power they have, they cannot prevent you from living your life, thinking independently, speaking your mind.

Find people to be with who share your values and commitments, and who also have a sense of humor.

Understand that the major media will not tell you of all the acts of resistance taking place every day in the society—the strikes, protests, individual acts of courage in the face of authority. Look around (and you will certainly find it) for the evidence of these unreported acts. And for the little you find, extrapolate from that and assume there must be a thousand times as much as you've found.

Note that throughout history people have felt powerless before authority, but that at certain times these powerless people, by organizing, acting, risking, persisting, have created enough power to change the world around them, even if a little. That is the history of the labor movement, the women's movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the disabled persons' movement, the gay and lesbian movement, the movement of black people in the South.

Remember that those who have power and seem invulnerable are in fact quite vulnerable. Their power depends on the obedience of others, and when those others begin withholding that obedience, begin defying authority, that power at the top turns out to be very fragile. Generals become powerless when their soldiers refuse to fight, industrialists become powerless when their workers leave their jobs or occupy the factories.

When we forget the fragility of that power at the top we become astounded when it crumbles in the face of rebellion. We have had many such surprises in our time, both in the United States and in other countries.

Don't look for a moment of total triumph. See engagement as an ongoing struggle, with victories and defeats, but in the long run slow progress. So you need patience and persistence. Understand that even when you don't "win," there is fun and fulfillment in the fact that you have been involved, with other good people, in something worthwhile. You need hope.

Is an optimist necessarily a blithe, slightly sappy whistler in the dark of our time? I am totally confident not that the world will get better, but that only confidence

can prevent people from giving up the game before all the cards have been played. The metaphor is deliberate; life is a gamble. Not to play is to foreclose any chance of winning. To play, to act, is to create at least a possibility of changing the world.

What leaps out from the history of the past hundred years is its utter unpredictability. This confounds us, because we are talking about exactly the period when human beings became so ingenious technologically that they could plan and predict the exact time of someone landing on the moon, or walk down the street talking to someone halfway around the Earth.

Who foresaw that, on that day in Montgomery, Alabama, in 1955, when Rosa Parks refused to move from the front of the bus, this would lead to a mass protest of black working people, and a chain of events that would shake the nation, startle the world, and transform the South?

Let's go back to the turn of the century. A revolution to overthrow the tsar of Russia, in that most sluggish of semi-feudal empires, not only startled the most advanced imperial powers, but took Lenin himself by surprise and sent him rushing by train to Petrograd. Given the Russian Revolution, who could have predicted Stalin's deformation of it, or Khrushchev's astounding exposure of Stalin, or Gorbachev's succession of surprises?

Who would have predicted the bizarre shifts of World War II—the Nazi-Soviet pact (those embarrassing photos of von Ribbentrop and Molotov shaking hands), and the German army rolling through Russia, apparently invincible, causing colossal casualties, being turned back at the gates of Leningrad, on the western edge of Moscow, in the streets of Stalingrad, followed by the defeat of the German army, with Hitler huddled in his Berlin bunker, waiting to die?

And then the post-war world, taking a shape no one could have drawn in advance: the Chinese Communist revolution, which Stalin himself had given little chance. And then the break with the Soviet Union, the tumultuous and violent Cultural Revolution, and then another turnabout, with post-Mao China renouncing its most fervently held ideas and institutions, making overtures to the West, cuddling up to capitalist enterprise, perplexing everyone.

No one foresaw the disintegration of the old Western empires happening so quickly after the war, or the odd array of societies that would be created in the newly independent nations, from the benign village socialism of Nyerere's Tanzania to the madness of Idi Amin's adjacent Uganda.

Spain became an astonishment. A million died in the civil war, which ended in victory for the Fascist Franco, backed by Hitler and Mussolini. I recall a veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade telling me that he could not imagine Spanish Fascism being overthrown without another bloody war. But after Franco was gone, a parliamentary democracy came into being, open to Socialists, Communists, anarchists, everyone.

What leaps out from the history of the past hundred years is its utter unpredictability.

In other places, too, deeply entrenched dictatorships seemed suddenly to disintegrate—in Portugal, Argentina, the Philippines, Iran.

The end of World War II left two super-powers with their respective spheres of influence and control, vying for military and political power. The United States and the Soviet Union soon each had enough thermonuclear bombs to devastate the Earth several times over. The international scene was dominated by their rivalry, and it was supposed that all affairs, in every nation, were affected by their looming presence.

Yet the most striking fact about these superpowers was that, despite their size, their wealth, their overwhelming accumulation of nuclear weapons, they were unable to control events, even in those parts of the world considered to be their respective spheres of influence.

The failure of the Soviet Union to have its way in Afghanistan, its decision to withdraw after almost a decade of ugly intervention, was the most striking evidence that even the possession of thermonuclear weapons does not guarantee domination over a determined population.

The United States has faced the same reality. It could send an army into Korea but could not win, and was forced to sign a compromise peace. It waged a full-scale war in Indochina, conducted the most brutal bombardment of a tiny peninsula in world history, and yet was forced to withdraw. And in Latin America, after a long history of U.S. military intervention having its way again and again, this superpower, with all its wealth and weapons, found itself frustrated. It was unable to prevent a revolution in Cuba, and the Latin American dictatorships that the United States supported from

Chile to Argentina to El Salvador have fallen. In the headlines every day we see other instances of the failure of the presumably powerful over the presumably powerless, as in Brazil, where a grassroots movement of workers and the poor elected a new president pledged to fight destructive corporate power.

Looking at this catalog of huge surprises, it's clear that the struggle for justice should never be abandoned because of the apparent overwhelming power of those who have the guns and the money and who seem invincible in their determination to hold on to it. That apparent power has, again and again, proved vulnerable to human qualities less measurable than bombs and dollars: moral fervor, determination, unity, organization, sacrifice, wit, ingenuity, courage, patience—whether by blacks in Alabama and South Africa, peasants in El Salvador, Nicaragua, and Vietnam, or workers and intellectuals in Poland, Hungary, and the Soviet Union itself. No cold calculation of the balance of power need deter people who are persuaded that their cause is just.

I think also of my students at Boston University and people all over the country who, anguished about the war in Vietnam, resisted in some way, facing police clubs and arrests. And brave high school students like Mary Beth Tinker and her classmates in Des Moines, Iowa, who insisted on wearing black armbands to protest the war and when suspended from school, took their case to the Supreme Court and won.

Of course, some would say, that was the Sixties. But throughout the period since, despite widespread head-shaking over the "apathy" of successive student generations, an impressive number of students continued to act.

I think of the determined little group at Boston University who, emulating groups at a hundred other schools, set up a "shantytown" on campus to represent apartheid in South Africa. The police tore it down, but the students refused to move and were arrested.

Since I've stopped teaching, I've spent much of my time responding to invitations to speak. What I've discovered is heartening. In whatever town, large or small, in whatever state of the Union, there is always a cluster of men and women who care about the sick, the hungry, the victims of racism, the casualties of war, and who are doing something, however small, in the hope that the world will change.

Wherever I go—whether San Diego, Philadelphia, or Dallas; Ada, Oklahoma, or Shreveport, Louisiana; Presque Isle, Maine, or Manhattan, Kansas—I find such people. And beyond the handful of activists there seem to be hundreds, thousands more who are open to unorthodox ideas.

But they tend not to know of each other's existence, and so, while they persist, they do so with the desperate patience of Sisyphus endlessly pushing that boulder up the mountain. I try to tell each group that it is not alone, and that the very people who are disheartened by the absence of a national movement are themselves proof of the potential for such a movement. I suppose I'm trying to persuade myself as well as them.

Arriving at Morehead State University in rural eastern Kentucky, in the midst of the 2003 Iraq War, I found the lecture room crowded with fifteen hundred students (out of a total enrollment of six thousand). I spoke against the war and received an overwhelming reception. Earlier, when I'd been picked up at the airport by a group

of faculty peace activists, one of them had brought their fourteen-year-old daughter, who'd defied her high school principal by wearing an anti-war T-shirt to school. I have found such people in all parts of the country, more and more, as evidence that the truth makes its way slowly but surely.

It is this change in consciousness that encourages me. Granted, racial hatred and sex discrimination are still with us. war and violence still poison our culture, we have a large underclass of poor, desperate people, and there is a hard core of the population content with the way things are, afraid of change.

But if we see only that, we have lost historical perspective, and then it is as if we were born yesterday and we know only the depressing stories in this morning's newspapers, this evening's television reports.

We don't have to engage in grand, heroic actions to participate in the process of change.

Consider the remarkable transformation, in just a few decades, in people's consciousness of racism, in the bold presence of women demanding their rightful place, in a growing public awareness that gays are not curiosities but sensate human beings, in the long-term growing skepticism about military intervention despite brief surges of military madness.

It is that long-term change that I think we must see if we are not to lose hope.

Pessimism becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy; it reproduces itself by crippling our willingness to act.

There is a tendency to think that what we see in the present moment will continue. We forget how often in this century we have been astonished by the sudden crumbling of institutions, by extraordinary changes in people's thoughts, by unexpected eruptions of rebellion against tyrannies, by the quick collapse of systems of power that seemed invincible.

The bad things that happen are repetitions of bad things that have always happened—war, racism, maltreatment of women, religious and nationalist fanaticism, starvation. The good things that happen are unexpected. Unexpected, and yet explainable by certain truths that spring at us from time to time, but which we tend to forget.

Political power, however formidable, is more fragile than we think. (Note how nervous are those who hold it.)

Ordinary people can be intimidated for a time, can be fooled for a time, but they have a down-deep common sense, and sooner or later they find a way to challenge the power that oppresses them.

People are not naturally violent or cruel or greedy, although they can be made so. Human beings everywhere want the same things: They are moved by the sight of abandoned children, homeless families, the casualties of war; they long for peace, for friendship and affection across lines of race and nationality.

One semester, when I was teaching, I learned that there were several classical musicians signed up in my course. For the last class of the semester I stood aside while they sat in chairs up front and played a Mozart quartet. Not a customary finale to a class in political

theory, but I wanted the class to understand that politics is pointless if it does nothing to enhance the beauty of our lives. Political discussion can sour you. We needed music.

Revolutionary change does not come as one cataclysmic moment (beware of such moments!) but as an endless succession of surprises, moving zigzag toward a more decent society.

We don't have to engage in grand, heroic actions to participate in the process of change. Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people, can transform the world.

To be hopeful in bad times is not just foolishly romantic. It is based on the fact that human history is a history not only of cruelty, but also of compassion, sacrifice, courage, kindness. What we choose to emphasize in this complex history will determine our lives. If we see only the worst, it destroys our capacity to do something. If we remember those times and places—and there are so many—where people have behaved magnificently, this gives us the energy to act, and at least the possibility of sending this spinning top of a world in a different direction. And if we do act, in however small a way, we don't have to wait for some grand utopian future. The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory. ❑
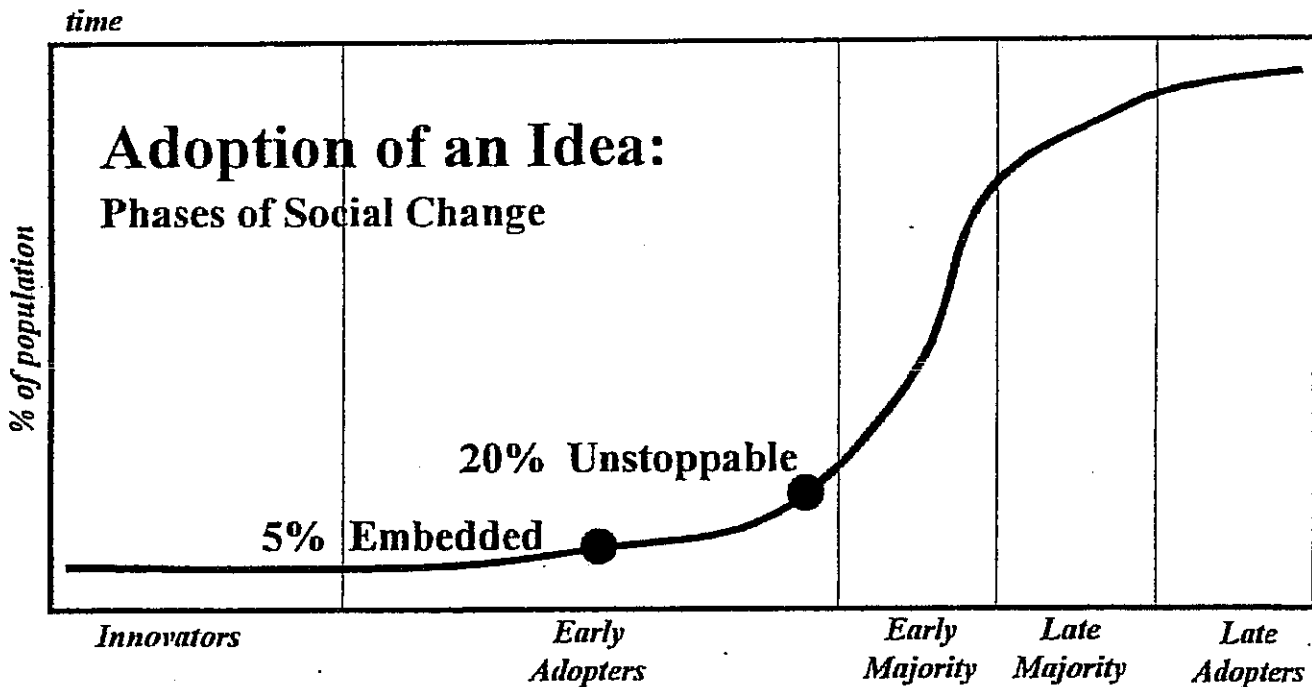
Howard Zinn is a prolific author, perhaps best known for his 1980 book, *A People's History of the United States*. He has taught at Spelman College and Boston University, and has been a visiting professor at the University of Paris and the University of Bologna.

The Process of Social Change

As more and more of us decide to expand our identification to include not only our families, our communities, and our nation but also people around the world, we will choose more often not to be preoccupied with enemies, but to think clearly and advocate for wiser actions instead. Then we will be joining others around the world in building a world free of violence-- and a common future. How many people must participate in this? Twenty per cent of the population must adopt a new way of thinking.

Studies at Stanford University tell us that when only 5% of a society accepts a new idea, it is "embedded." When 20% adopt the idea, it is "unstoppable." The studies also show that it normally requires that 50% of the population to be "aware" of the idea in order to reach the 5% who will adopt it.

time

Adoption of an Idea:
Phases of Social Change

% of population

20% Unstoppable

5% Embedded

| *Innovators* | *Early Adopters* | *Early Majority* | *Late Majority* | *Late Adopters* |

The process of social change and the S-shaped curve: Professsor Everett M. Rogers (Stanford Research Institute), *Diffusion of Innovations*, Third Edition, New York, Macmillan Free Press, Chapters 1 and 2, 1983

In the first phase, proponents of a new idea must work incessantly just to keep the idea alive. Work during this phase is often frustrating and seems not to add up. But that is only an illusion. Like laying the foundation of a cathedral, mosque, or synagogue, this stage involves innovators, people open to new ideas and courageous enough to espouse them. Because the idea is still seen as radically new, the recognized leaders of society are rarely among this group.

As innovators communicate and live the idea it begins to gain social acceptability. The process begins to include a much larger segment of society--Early Adopters, including recognized leaders--embracing the idea.

At twenty per cent, the idea is "unstoppable." Much work is still required, but it involves implementation rather than trying to convince people that the idea is worthy of consideration.

The Early Majority and Late Majority adopt the idea. There will be Late Adopters--people who resist new ideas and cling tenaciously to the old.

Understanding this process of social change is important for two reasons. First, it explains how the impossible becomes possible. As more and more people adopt the new idea, the environment changes. What was radical becomes avant-garde: what was avant-garde becomes common knowledge.

This process also suggests how we might best spend our time. It is natural for us to want to convince everyone that true security, prosperity, and fulfillment lie in building a world beyond war. It is natural but perhaps inefficient. And, because time is limited, we must be as efficient as possible. We cannot afford to spend inordinate time vainly trying to convince Late Adopters when we need to be locating Innovators and Early Adopters--the "cultural creatives" of our times.

The Process of National and International Change

The process of building agreement which produces lasting societal change begins with the understanding of principle or foundational ideas. The Foundational Ideas in Beyond War are "War is obsolete, We all live on one planet, and The means are the ends in the making." Then agreement based on foundational ideas is built through education. Education is both factual and relationship related--I won't learn from you if I don't respect you and am not open to what you have to say.

Real understanding begins with dialogue--and by first building authentic relationships beginning with respectful and compassionate listening. This fulfills the essential condition of appreciating one another's humanity, specifically the personal meaning for each other of the" principles or foundational ideas" and "facts" behind the issues.

Agreement based on principle is built through education--new learning--and by deepening and multiplying the circles of Dialogue in society. When enough agreement is reached, people will advocate for laws and treaties and laws and treaties which reflect this agreement will be passed and supported. Law makers and diplomats cannot move beyond where the citizens are. Prohibition is an example of a law that was passed "from the top" when there was not enough agreement within society. The same with some peace treaties.

The Foundational Idea of "We all live on one planet" or "We are one people" of interrelatedness, interdependence and and one-ness of all life--is a worthy motivating force upon which to base decisions. Yet we have not always lived up to the highest expression of this closely-held principle recommended by the universal insights of scientific, social, and spiritual wisdom since ancient times. We want to "take sides" and cling to the illusion of "individual survival" when the great need of our time is to listen to each other and the Earth, and to acknowledge that we are one with all life--neighbors forever.

EXAMPLES OF THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE: SLAVERY

Slavery, the involuntary servitude of human beings, has existed since the beginning of history. Until the late 18th century virtually every aspect of society accepted slavery as a normal part of human activity. The process of ending institutionalized slavery took nearly 200 years and began with individuals seeing the institution as morally wrong. This conviction spread to others, and eventually laws and reforms were passed abolishing slavery throughout the world.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

Slavery has been associated with every type of society from the simplest to the most complex, from the earliest times to the present. Slavery existed in most parts of the world in slightly differing forms until the 12th to 14th centuries. As the Western Holy Wars ended late in the 16th century, the trading of Africans became the predominant form of slavery in the world. The right to hold slaves was accepted by all major religions and by virtually every government in the world.

European colonies in the West Indies saw the slave population grow from an estimated 86,000 in 1734 to nearly 500,000 in 1787. Slavery began in what would become the United States in 1619 with the first cargo of 20 Negroes. The colonies' slave population had grown to 500,000 by 1775. Altogether, more than 5,000,000 blacks were transported to the Western Hemisphere. Despite its inhumanity and size, the slave system aroused little protest until the 18th century, mainly due to the prevailing image of Negroes as sub-human.

THE MOVEMENT TO ABOLISH SLAVERY

Rational thinkers of the Enlightenment in Europe began to criticize the institution of slavery in the late 17th century. The criticism pointed out its violation of the rights of man, and religious groups condemned it on moral grounds for its brutal qualities. In Britain and America, the Quakers were the first significant opponents of slavery, beginning their criticism in 1671.

By the late 18th century a general climate of moral disapproval to slavery existed, but few reforms or laws were passed until the next century. The image of the blacks began to change in the minds of whites as writers portrayed the black slave as a human being.

The political and social institution of slavery came under increasing attack in the early 19th century. Early reforms to outlaw the slave trade were set in motion in England in 1783 leading to its abolition in 1807. In the United States, the Constitutional Convention in 1787 considered a prohibition of the trade, but to satisfy Southern interests, agreed to delay action 20 years. Accordingly, in 1807 the United States prohibited the slave trade as well. However, this early success had little effect on slavery in the Deep South, the West Indies and South America.

Political momentum grew in the early 19th century, resulting in passage of a law to free all slaves in the British colonies in 1833. The French completed their process of addressing slavery in 1848 with the freeing of all slaves in their colonies. The Danes abolished slavery in the same year. By the late 1850's all the mainland Spanish American republics had abolished slavery; and it had virtually disappeared in Mexico, Central America, and Chile. The Dutch freed their slaves in 1863; the Spanish, in 1873; and Brazil was the last nation in the Americas to abolish slavery, in 1888.

ENDING SLAVERY IN THE UNITED STATES

At the time of the American Revolution, the notion of basic human rights and freedom provided an important moral framework for the anti-slavery movement. The Revolution led to a perception of the problem of slavery as inconsistent with basic rights. Over a period of years, however, this inconsistency was rationalized as the principles of the Revolution became more distant. The deeply rooted slavery system of the South was strongly defended during the 1800's as the cotton economy developed.

A shift in the approach used by some of the early anti-slavery reformers took place about 1830. What began as a staunch non-violent movement found increasing numbers of abolitionists in the 1850's resorting to violence. The opportunity to continue a process of reform was slowed by reactions in both the North and South to the extremist approaches of reformers. Dialogue became non-existent and political lines were drawn leading to the tragedy of the Civil War. Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* published in 1852, helped to convince most northerners and many Europeans that slavery was immoral and intolerable. The power of that conviction sustained Americans through the bloodiest, most costly war in American history. That same conviction on the part of large numbers of people in Europe prevented England and France from coming to the aid of the Confederacy.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN BUILDING / MOVEMENT

The original movement had begun with individuals, few in number, addressing the basic moral and ethical rights of human beings. Yale historian David Brion Davis, in his Pulitzer Prize winning book, *Slavery in Western Culture,* describes the role of individuals in the movement to abolish slavery:

"By the early 1770's ... in Britain, France, and the North American colonies there were forces in motion that would lead to organized movements to abolish the African trade and the entire institutional framework which permitted human beings to be treated as things. Although slavery was nearly as old as human history, this was something new to the world. By now we should have some understanding of the cultural and intellectual changes which made possible so dramatic a shift in perception... On one side were the classical and Christian theories of servitude which tended to rationalize the brute fact that forced labor had been an integral part of the American experience. On the other side were increasing strains in the traditional system of values, *the emergence* of *new modes* of *thought* and feeling, and a growing faith in the possibility of moral progress which was to some extent associated with the symbolic meaning of the New World. But in the last analysis, such trends and contexts and backgrounds are only abstractions. No matter how *"ripe"* the time, there would be no coalescing of antislavery opinion until *specific decisions and commitments were taken by individual [people].* (emphasis added)

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE: WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

American women won the right to vote in 1920 with the passage of the Nineteenth Amendment. Their victory was the result of a struggle against enormous odds that took more than 80 years. Opposition to the movement came from different quarters at different times: men, the churches, big business, alcohol interests and political bosses. The opponents drew on Biblical injunctions restricting the role of women, from fears about sexuality, and concerns about women's lack of education.

In the 1830's married women had no legal identity apart from their husbands. In colonial common law, a woman was not even entitled to custody of her children in case of divorce. Except for Quakers, whose meetings emphasized equality and religious spontaneity, it was not acceptable for women to speak in public. Yet suffrage prevailed in spite of these overwhelming odds. It began with a few motivated individuals.

THE ROLE OF INDIVIDUALS

Three women were at the center of the women's suffrage movement: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, its philosopher; Lucy Stone, its most gifted orator; and Susan B. Anthony, its best organizer. Elizabeth Stanton and Lucretia Mott attended a world anti-slavery convention in London in 1840. Because they were women, they were denied seats and forced to sit in the gallery behind a curtain. As a result, Mott and Stanton organized the first Women's Rights Convention at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1848. There they declared that "we hold these truths to be self evident: that all men and women are created equal." Lucy Stone was a Christian reformer drawn to the women's cause by the Seneca Falls Declaration of Sentiments. Susan B. Anthony met Elizabeth Stanton at a temperance convention. Later, when she was denied a seat at the Men's State Temperance convention at Syracuse, New York, Susan B. Anthony became a full-time champion of women's rights.

BUILDING AGREEMENT

The suffragists, in spite of interruptions by the Civil War and World War I, conducted 296 campaigns at the national level and 527 in the states. They introduced a suffrage amendment every year from 1868 to 1896, and initiated referenda state by state. These efforts built a base of support in the middle class.

By 1910 the women's suffrage movement was able to claim only four western states after more than 70 years of effort. But the stage was set. Momentum was starting to build. In 1912 three more western states voted for suffrage as Teddy Roosevelt's Progressive Party took up the cause. By 1914 a total of eleven states had adopted women's suffrage. In 1916 both major parties announced their support. Seven more states including New York granted women the right to vote in 1917.

The spread of suffrage sentiment during those years was reflected in the growth of NAWSA:

MEMBERSHIP OF NATIONAL AMERICAN WOMAN SUFFRAGE ASSOCIATION

1893	13,150
1905	17,000
1907	45,501
1910	75,000
1915	100,000
1917	2,000,000

In January, 1918, the Nineteenth Amendment passed the House of Representatives and by June, 1919, it had passed the Senate. Tennessee completed the process In 1920, when it became the last state to ratify the amendment and make it law. After more than 80 years of work, what began with a handful of committed women and men came to fruition. American women had the right to vote.

References: Barbara Decard, *The Women's Movement*, 1975
                Page Smith, *The Nation Comes of Age*, 1981

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE: CIVIL RIGHTS

The civil rights movement began in the United States shortly after the Civil War. Although slavery had been abolished, blacks still had far less than equal status in our land. In 1896 the U.S. Supreme Court held that the "separate but equal" principle was constitutional, guaranteeing legal segregation. A lone voice of protest was Justice Harlan, who said, "Our constitution is colorblind and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens."

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

In 1909 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded to seek equal treatment of blacks through legal and judicial processes. The next year the Urban League was founded with a goal of obtaining equal employment, housing, and welfare services for blacks. Progress was so slow that it wasn't until the outbreak of World War II (1941) that a real shift began. The war produced a demand for soldiers and factory workers that brought great numbers of blacks into the labor force for the first time. When racial equality in employment became a necessity of national defense, blacks proved themselves in their jobs and made it clear that they were not being fairly treated by our national laws. In 1948 President Truman, by executive order, prohibited racial discrimination in the armed forces.

THE ROLE OF THE INDIVIDUAL IN BUILDING A MOVEMENT

By 1954 the mood of the country had shifted sufficiently that the Supreme Court unanimously held in Brown vs. the Board of Education that the doctrine of "separate but equal" was unconstitutional for our schools. One year later came what Louis Lomax, a renowned black sociologist, called "the birth of the Negro revolt." On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama; Mrs. Rosa Parks was arrested when she refused to give up her bus seat to a white man. For many blacks it was the last straw. The act proved an inspiration to Martin Luther King, Jr., who, with other black leaders in the city, organized a boycott of the buses. That boycott was the beginning of a movement that would confront the national conscience in the years to come.

For the next four years after the Montgomery bus boycott, the main action of the civil rights movement took place in the courts, primarily in school desegregation cases. The crisis in Little Rock in 1957 alarmed the nation, revealing intense racism as the National Guard escorted blacks through hostile crowds to formerly all-white schools.

BUILDING AGREEMENT

By 1960 the movement was gathering force, organizing sit-ins to desegregate lunch counters. In the following year the Freedom Rides began to assert rights for interstate travel. Violence erupted on the campus of the University of Mississippi in 1962 when James Meredith enrolled as the first black student. A great gap still remained between the rulings of the Supreme Court and the laws and attitudes of the South. Throughout the protesting, angry white mobs attacked non-violent protesters. The contrast was overwhelming and the American public conscience was outraged. Public opinion was shifting quickly in all places except the Deep South. As a culmination of this new support, a mass rally took place in Washington, D.C., on Aug. 28, 1963, when 250,000 people from all over the country came to demonstrate their support for the civil rights movement.

At issue was the integration of schools, restaurants, housing, recreation, buses, and equality of job opportunity. It was before this huge crowd that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous "I have a dream" speech, inspiring a nation that was awakened and ready to move.

In the following year the Civil Rights Act was passed, the first such legislation in 82 years; and in 1965 President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act into law.

The majority of the population had adopted the ideas expressed in the civil rights movement and the laws now reflected that support. That shift took nearly 70 years to move from the early adopters to a majority. The implementation is still going on today.

References: Leon Friedman, *Civil Rights Reader,*1967
              Alan P. Grimes,*Equity In America,*1964

OPTIONAL

READING

FOR

SESSION 2

Dancing With Systems

Donella Meadows, a professor at Dartmouth College, a long-time organic farmer, journalist, and systems analyst, was working on a book titled *Thinking In Systems* at the time of her death. Though she was not able to complete the book, what she did write is a treasure of wisdom, and will be published by the Sustainability Institute, which Dana founded.

Here are excerpts of one of the book's chapters, called "Dancing With Systems."

"People who are raised in the industrial world and who get enthused about systems thinking are likely to make a terrible mistake. They are likely to assume that here, in systems analysis, in interconnection and complication, in the power of the computer, here at last, is the key to prediction and control. This mistake is likely because the mindset of the industrial world assumes that there is a key to prediction and control.

I assumed that at first, too. We all assumed it, as eager systems students at the great institution called MIT. More or less innocently, enchanted by what we could see through our new lens, we did what many discoverers do. We exaggerated our own ability to change the world. We did so not with any intent to deceive others, but in the expression of our own expectations and hopes. Systems thinking for us was more than subtle, complicated mindplay. It was going to Make Systems Work.

"But self-organizing, nonlinear feedback systems are inherently unpredictable. They are not controllable. They are understandable only in the most general way. The goal of foreseeing the future exactly and preparing for it perfectly is unrealizable. The idea of making a complex system do just what you want it to do can be achieved only temporarily, at best. We can never fully understand our world, not in the way our reductionistic science has led us to expect. Our science itself, from quantum theory to the mathematics of chaos, leads us into irreducible uncertainty. For any objective other than the most trivial, we can't optimize; we don't even know what to optimize. We can't keep track of every-thing. We can't find a proper, sustainable relationship to nature, each other, or the institutions we create, if we try to do it from the role of omniscient conqueror.

"For those who stake their identity on the role of omniscient conqueror, the uncertainty exposed by systems thinking is hard to take. If you can't understand, predict, and control, what is there to do?

"Systems thinking leads to another conclusion, however—waiting, shining,

obvious as soon as we stop being blinded by the illusion of control. It says that there is plenty to do, of a different sort of 'doing.' The future can't be predicted, but it can be envisioned and brought lovingly into being. Systems can't be controlled, but they can be designed and redesigned. We can't surge forward with certainty into a world of no surprises, but we can expect surprises and learn from them and even profit from them. We can't impose our will upon a system. We can listen to what the system tells us, and discover how its properties and our values can work together to bring forth something much better than could ever be produced by our will alone.

"We can't control systems or figure them out. But we can dance with them!"

Dana learned dancing from the "great powers from whitewater kayaking, from gardening, from playing music, from skiing. All those endeavors require one to stay wide awake, pay close attention, participate flat out, and respond to feedback. It had never occurred to me that those same requirements might apply to intellectual work, to management, to government, to getting along with people.

"But there it was, the message emerging from every computer model we made. Living successfully in a world of systems requires more of us than an ability to calculate. It requires our full humanity—our rationality, our ability to sort out truth from falsehood, our intuition, our compassion, our vision, and our morality."
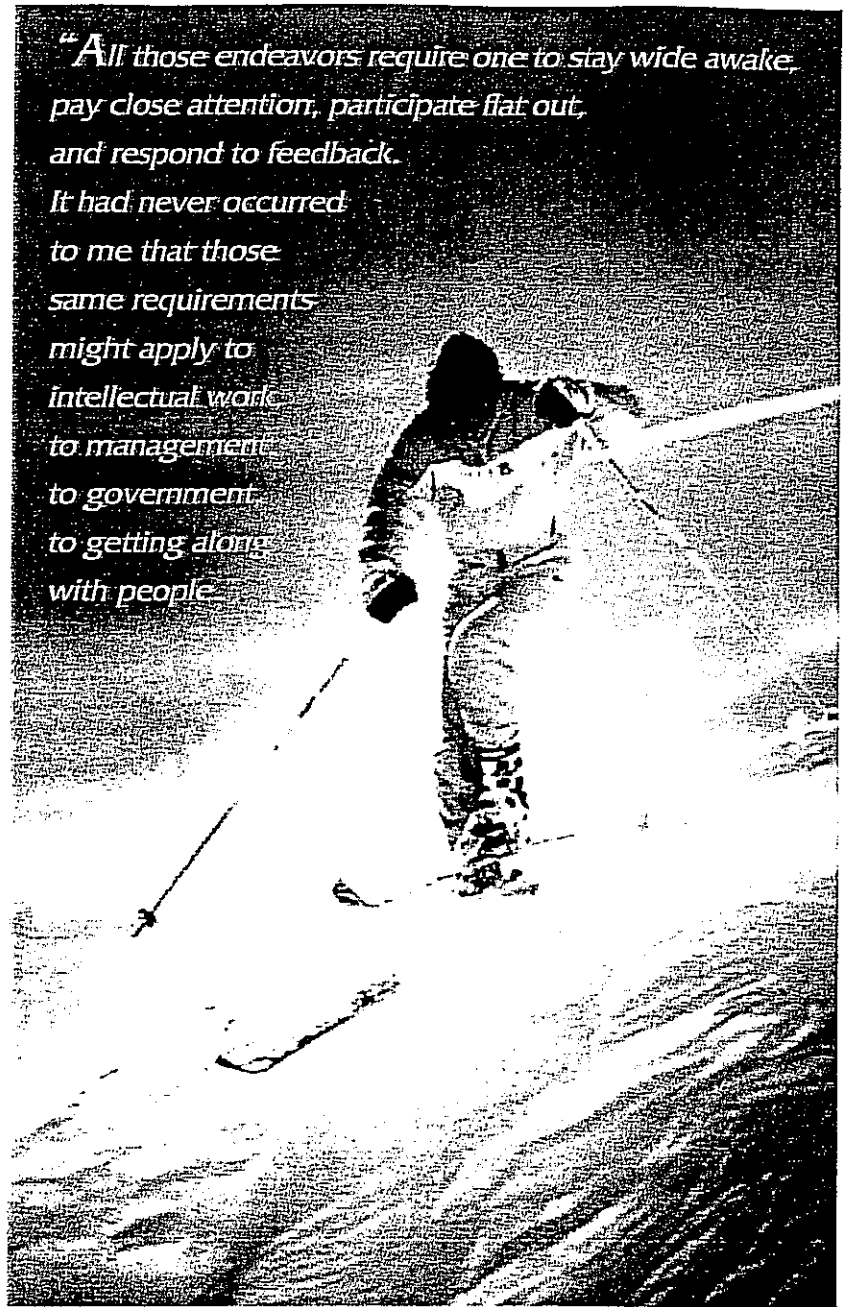
Dana then presents her "systems wisdoms," which she says also apply to all of life.

1. GET THE BEAT.

"Before you disturb the system in any way, watch how it behaves. If it's a piece of music or a whitewater rapid or a fluctuation in a commodity price, study its beat. If it's a social system, watch it work. Learn its history." Keep good records, Dana advises, because you can't always rely on memory. "Focus on facts, not theories. It keeps you from falling too quickly into your own beliefs or misconceptions, or those of others....I have been told with great authority that the

milk price was going up when it was going down, that real interest rates were falling when they were rising.

"Starting with the behavior of the system directs one's thoughts to dynamic, not static analysis—not only to 'what's wrong?' but also to 'how did we get there?' and 'what behavior modes are possible?' and if we don't change direction, where are we going to end up?

"And finally, starting with history discourages the common and distracting tendency we all have to define a problem not by the system's actual behavior, but by the lack of our favorite solution."

2. LISTEN TO THE WISDOM OF THE SYSTEM.

"Aid and encourage the forces and structures that help the system run itself. Don't be an unthinking intervener and destroy the system's own self-maintenance capacities. Before you charge in to make things better, pay attention to the value of what's already there."

3. EXPOSE YOUR MENTAL MODELS TO THE OPEN AIR.

"Remember, always, that everything you know, and everything everyone knows,

is only a model. Get your model out there where it can be shot at. Invite others to challenge your assumptions and add their own. Instead of becoming a champion for one possible explanation or hypothesis or model, collect as many as possible. Consider all of them plausible until you find some evidence that causes you to rule one out. That way you will be emotionally able to see the evidence that rules out an assumption with which you might have confused your own identity."

4. STAY HUMBLE. STAY A LEARNER.

"Systems thinking has taught me to trust my intuition more and my figuring-out rationality less, to lean on both as much as I can, but still to be prepared for surprises. Working with systems, on the computer, in nature, among people, in organizations, constantly reminds me of how incomplete my mental models are, how complex the world is, and how much I don't know.

"The thing to do, when you don't know, is not to bluff and not to freeze, but to learn. The way you learn is by experiment—or, as Buckminster Fuller put it, by trial and error, error, error. In a world of complex systems it is not appropriate to charge forward with rigid, undeviating directives. 'Stay the course' is only a good idea if you're sure you're on course. Pretending you're in control even when you aren't is a recipe not only for mistakes, but for not learning from mistakes."

5. HONOR AND PROTECT INFORMATION.

"A decision-maker can't respond to information he or she doesn't have, can't respond accurately to information that is inaccurate, can't respond in a timely way to information that is late. I would guess that 99 percent of what goes wrong in systems goes wrong because of faulty or missing information."

6. LOCATE RESPONSIBILITY IN THE SYSTEM.

"Look for the ways the system creates its own behavior. Do pay attention to the triggering events, the outside influences that bring forth one kind of behavior from the system rather than another. Sometimes those outside can be controlled (as in reducing the pathogens in drinking water to keep down incidences of infectious disease). But sometimes they can't. And sometimes blaming or trying to control the outside influence blinds one to the easier task of increasing responsibility within the system. 'Intrinsic responsibility' means that the system is designed to send feedback about the consequences of decision-making directly, quickly and compellingly to the decision-makers.

"Dartmouth College reduced intrinsic responsibility when it took thermostats out of individual offices and classrooms and put temperature-control decisions under the guidance of a central computer. That was done as an energy-saving measure.

My observation from a low level in the hierarchy is that the main consequence was greater oscillations in room temperature. When my office gets over-heated now, instead of turning down the thermostat, I have to call an office across campus, which gets around to making corrections over a period of hours or days, and which often over-corrects, setting up the need for another phone call. One way of making that system more, rather than less, responsible, might have been to let professors keep control of their own thermostats and charge them directly for the amount of energy they use. (Thereby privatizing a commons!)"

7. MAKE FEEDBACK POLICIES FOR FEEDBACK SYSTEMS.

"President Jimmy Carter had an unusual ability to think in feedback terms and to make feedback policies. Unfortunately he had a hard time explaining them to a press and public that didn't understand feedback.

"He suggested, at a time when oil imports were soaring, that there be a tax on gasoline proportional to the fraction of U.S. oil consumption that had to be imported. If imports continued to rise the tax would rise, until it suppressed demand and brought forth substitutes

Donella Meadows

and reduced imports. If imports fell to zero, the tax would fall to zero.

"The tax never got passed.

"Carter was also trying to deal with a flood of illegal immigrants from Mexico. He suggested that nothing could be done about that immigration as long as there was a great gap in opportunity and living standards between the U.S. and Mexico. Rather than spending money on border guards and barriers, he said, we should spend money helping to build the Mexican economy, and we should continue to do so until the immigration stopped.

"That never happened either.

"You can imagine why a dynamic, self-adjusting system cannot be governed by a static, unbending policy. It's easier, more effective, and usually much cheaper to design policies that change depending on the state of the system. Especially where there are great uncertainties, the best policies not only contain feedback loops, but metafeedback loops—loops that alter, correct, and expand loops. These are policies that design learning into the management process."

> *In the short term, changes for the good of the whole may sometimes seem to be counter to the interests of a part of the system. It helps to remember that the parts of a system cannot survive without the whole.*

8. PAY ATTENTION TO WHAT IS IMPORTANT, NOT JUST WHAT IS QUANTIFIABLE.

"Our culture, obsessed with numbers, has given us the idea that what we can measure is more important than what we can't measure. You can look around and make up your own mind about whether quantity or quality is the outstanding characteristic of the world in which you live....Don't be stopped by the 'if you can't define it and measure it, I don't have to pay attention to it' ploy.

9. GO FOR THE GOOD OF THE WHOLE.

"Don't maximize parts of systems or subsystems while ignoring the whole. As Kenneth Boulding once said, don't go to great trouble to optimize something that never should be done at all. Aim to enhance total systems properties, such as creativity, stability, diversity, resilience, and sustainability—whether they are easily measured or not.

"As you think about a system, spend part of your time from a vantage point that lets you see the whole system, not just the problem that may have drawn you to focus on the system to begin with. And realize that, especially in the short term, changes for the good of the whole may sometimes seem to be counter to the interests of a part of the system. It helps to remember that the parts of a system cannot survive without the whole. The long-term interests of your liver require the long-term health of your body, and the long-term interests of sawmills require the long-term health of forests."

10. EXPAND TIME HORIZONS.

"The official time horizon of industrial society doesn't extend beyond what will happen after the next election or beyond the payback period of current investments. The time horizon of most families still extends farther than that—through the lifetimes of children or grandchildren. Many Native American cultures actively spoke of and considered in their decisions the effects upon the seventh generation to come. The longer the operant time horizon, the better the chances for survival....We experience now the consequences of actions set in motion yesterday and decades ago and centuries ago."

11. EXPAND THOUGHT HORIZONS.

"Defy the disciplines. In spite of what you majored in, or what the textbooks say, or what you think you're an expert at, follow a system wherever it leads. It will be sure to lead across traditional disciplinary lines. To understand that system, you will have to be able to learn from—while not being limited by—economists and chemists and psychologists and theologians. You will have to penetrate their jargons, integrate what they tell you, recognize what they can honestly see through their particular lenses, and discard the distortions that come from the narrowness and incompleteness of their lenses. They won't make it easy for you."

12. EXPAND THE BOUNDARY OF CARING.

"Living successfully in a world of complex systems means expanding not only time horizons and thought horizons; above all it means expanding the horizons of caring. There are moral reasons for doing that, of course. And if moral arguments are not sufficient, systems thinking provides the practical reasons to back up the moral ones. The real system is interconnected. No part of the human race is separate either from other human beings or from the global ecosystem. It will not be possible in this integrated world for your heart to succeed if your lungs fail, or for your company to succeed if your workers fail, or for the rich in Los Angeles to succeed if the poor in Los Angeles fail, or for Europe to succeed if Africa fails, or for the global economy to succeed if the global environment fails.

"As with everything else about systems, most people already know the interconnections that make moral and practical rules turn out to be the same rules. They just have to bring themselves to believe what they know."

13. CELEBRATE COMPLEXITY.

"Let's face it, the universe is messy. It is nonlinear, turbulent, and chaotic. It is dynamic. It spends its time in transient
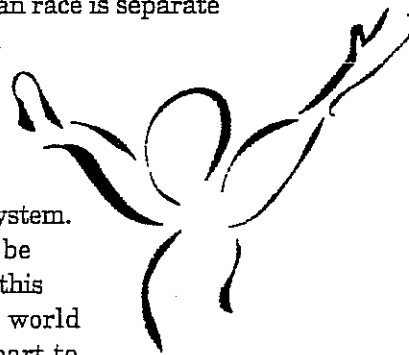
behavior on its way to somewhere else, not in mathematically neat equilibria. It self-organizes and evolves. It creates diversity, not uniformity. That's what makes the world interesting, that's what makes it beautiful, and that's what makes it work.

"There's something within the human mind that is attracted to straight lines and not curves, to whole numbers and not fractions, to uniformity and not diversity, and to certainties and not mystery." One part of us, Meadows says, "designs buildings as boxes with uncompromising straight lines and flat surfaces. Another part of us recognizes instinctively that nature designs in fractals, with intriguing detail on every scale from the microscopic to the macroscopic. That part of us makes Gothic cathedrals and Persian carpets, symphonies and novels, Mardi Gras costumes and artificial intelligence programs, all with embellishments almost as complex as the ones we find in the world around us."

14. HOLD FAST TO THE GOAL OF GOODNESS.

"Examples of bad human behavior are held up, magnified by the media, affirmed by the culture, as typical. Just what you would expect. After all, we're only human. The far more numerous examples of human goodness are barely noticed. They are Not News. They are exceptions. Must have
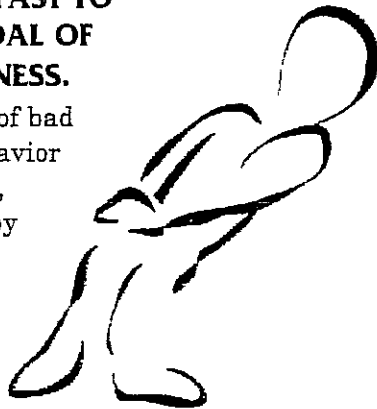
been a saint. Can't expect everyone to behave like that.

"And so expectations are lowered. The gap between desired behavior and actual behavior narrows. Fewer actions are taken to affirm and instill ideals. The public discourse is full of cynicism. Public leaders are visibly, unrepentantly, amoral or immoral and are not held to account. Idealism is ridiculed. Statements of moral belief are suspect. It is much easier to talk about hate in public than to talk about love.

"We know what to do about eroding goals. Don't weigh the bad news more heavily than the good. And keep standards absolute.

"This is quite a list. Systems thinking can only tell us to do these things. It can't do them for us.

"And so we are brought to the gap between understanding and implementation. Systems thinking by itself cannot bridge that gap. But it can lead us to the edge of what analysis can do and then point beyond—to what can and must be done by the human spirit." ☐