

Occupy Wall Street & an Introduction to Social Theory

Outline prepared and written by:

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<http://jasonjcampbell.org/home.php>

Youtube Playlist Link:

<http://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PL15735FAE4933CA59&feature=viewall>

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 204-208.

Excerpt from Matthew J. O'Connell, trans., *Critical Theory: Selected Essays* (New York: Seabury Press, 1972 [1932]), pp.3-9.

The Occupy Movement Must also be a Scientific Revolution

§1.0: *Notes on Science and the Crisis*: Max Horkheimer:

10 Steps to Understanding Science as a Means of Production:

1. "In the Marxist theory of society, science is regarded as one of man's **productive powers**. In varying ways **it has made the modern industrial system possible**... Insofar as science is available as a **means of creating social values**, that is, insofar as it takes shape in methods of production, **it constitutes a means of production**." (p.204).

1a. **Means of Production**: "The tools and raw material used to create a product." ([ref](#)).

1b. **Products** are sold for Profits.

[**Synthesis**]: if science is a "means of production" and a means of production is used to create products, and products are sold for profit, then science is a means of making profit.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: If the function of Science becomes completely co-opted by the drive to maximize profits, science will have failed to "fulfill its function".

2. "In **the general economic crisis**, science proves to be one of the numerous elements within a social wealth (1) **which is not fulfilling its function**. This wealth is immensely greater today than in previous eras.

The world now has more raw materials, machines, and skilled workers, and better methods of production than ever before, (2) **but they are not profiting mankind as they ought**. Society in its present form is (3) **unable to make effective use of the powers it has developed** and the wealth it has amassed. Scientific knowledge in this respect shares the fate of other productive forces and means of production: its (4) **application is sharply disproportionate to its high level of development** and to the (5) **REAL needs of mankind**. Such a situation hinders the further development, qualitative and quantitative, of science itself. As the course of earlier crises warns us, economic balance will be restored only at the cost of great destruction of human and material resources." (p.205).

[**Synthesis**]: (1) Since the claim is that "science is not fulfilling its function" (2) this failure in function results in a failure to benefit mankind. (3) It results in the ineffective use of scientific power. [It's not that scientific powers aren't being used, they're just not being used effectively]. (4) Rather than **applying** scientific **development** to (5) the real needs of mankind, it is contributing to the **general economic crisis**.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: [**Make a documentary film**]
Contemporary scientists should first acknowledge the pressure to commodify their intellect. This pressure is a result of the economic demands to co-opt science as a means of production. Noted scientists can voice their opinions of what they perceive to be the "real needs of mankind" and explain how contemporary science can be used as a means of addressing these needs.

3. "One way of hiding the (1) **real causes** of the present crisis... Is to (2) **discredit critical reason** as a decisive factor **except** for its professional application in industry... (3) Reason is a useful instrument **only for** purposes of everyday life... The result is the (4) **avoidance of any theoretical consideration of society as a whole**. The struggle of contemporary metaphysics **against scientism** is in part a reflection of these broader social tendencies" (p.205).

[**Synthesis**]: (1) The real cause of the crisis is a result of the attempt to (2) discredit critical thinking, (3) which does not directly apply to the industry of amassing wealth. Since members of the

scientific community seek credibility, they will be forced to (4) avoid theoretical considerations of society.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: (A) [Watch this video](#). If scientists are not going to accept the moral obligation to use their collective genius to transform society for the better, then those of us "the underclass" that are least advantaged must make the most meaningful contributions to a New Society.

4. The occupy movement is only partially addressing the problem by attacking Wall Street. The scientific community is directly contributing to the expanding powers of Wall Street. Watch this video on TED [here](#).

[**Movement Specific Note**]: Protests and rallies should be directed to draw attention to the commodification of scientific thought. Individual scientists should not be call out, but the institution of science should.

5. "In the measure that concern for better society, which still dominated the Enlightenment, (1) **gave way to the attempt to prove that present-day society should be permanent**, a deadening and thus (2) **disorganizing factor** entered science. The results of science, at least in part, may have been usefully applied in industry, (3) **but science evaded its responsibility** when faced with the problem of the social process as a whole... Scientific method was (4) **oriented to being and not to become**." (p.205-206)

[**Synthesis**]: (1) The belief that present day society should be maintained resulted in a (2) disorganization of science, such that science could no longer address its (3) responsibility to humanity rather than to capital and thus fundamentally shifted its focus to (4) maintaining the status quo [being] rather than progress [becoming].

[**Movement Specific Note**]: Society must recognize that the demand for technological innovation MUST be balanced by the demand for sociological and sociocultural innovation. The occupy movement should get in the business of displaying ART. Art is a manifestation of social awareness and organizers in addition to protesting and rallies should ask members of the population to display their "occupation art" This can aid in encouraging progress.

6. "... (1) **Social reality**, the development of men acting in history, **has a structure**. To grasp it requires a theoretical delineation of profoundly transformative processes, which revolutionized all cultural relationships. (2) **Structure is not mastered by simply recording events as they occur**, which was the method practiced in old-style natural science. The refusal of science to handle in an appropriate way the problems connected with the social process has led to (3) **superficiality in method and content**, and this superficiality, in turn, has found expression in the neglect of dynamic relationships between the various areas with which science deals, while also affecting in quite varied ways the practice of the disciplines... Since around the turn of the century scientists and philosophers have pointed out (4) **the insufficiencies and unsuitability of purely mechanistic methods**. The criticism has led to a discussion of the principles involved in the main foundation on which research rests, **so that today we may speak of a crisis within science.**" (p.206).

[**Synthesis**]: (1) Social reality has a structure, but that (2) structure cannot be mastered by the scientific method as a means of production, i.e., the scientific method as co-opted for product creation, becomes faddy (3) superficial. Such a method utilizes mechanistic methods of in the creation of products of varying complexity for market, but such a method is (4) insufficient to address human needs. Thus, there **is a crisis within science and the scientific community** as it fails to address human needs for corporate greed.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: Scientists should pressure various governments to support (financially) human needs based research. Scientists should be encouraged to embrace innovation in the area of human needs with the same zeal they embrace technological innovation.

7. "... (1) **Science... is ideological**... To say it is ideological is not to say that its practitioners are not concerned with pure truth... The occurrence of ideology in the members of a society (2) **necessarily depends on their place in economic life**; [explain] only when relationships have so far developed and conflicts of interest have reached such an intensity (3) **that even the average eye can penetrate beyond appearances to what is really going on**, does a conscious

ideological apparatus in the full sense usually make its appearance. As an existing society is increasingly endangered by its internal tensions, (4) **the energy spent in maintaining an ideology grow greater and finally the weapons are readied already for supporting it with violence**" (p.207).

[**Synthesis**]: (1) Science is ideological and the ideology it defends is (2) contingent on one's socioeconomic status. For the wealthy, it becomes the means of production, for the rest, it becomes the vehicle for consumption or (4) it is weaponized as an instrument of destruction. Once people (3) see this disparity with the ideological status of science [explain] they will want to challenge the system of their oppression, **which will be met with violence**, as a last resort to protect the structure.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: I sincerely hope we never get to this point, but you will know that the occupation movement [at least under this traditional model, which I hope is outdated] is threatening the status quo when those in power willingly embrace violence as a means of defending their ideological beliefs. Thus, science will be weaponized to quash the might of the people. While peaceful resistance is necessary, **"hardcore occupationist" should prepare to remain PEACEFUL in the face of brutality.**

8. "At the present time, scientific effort mirrors an economy filled with contradictions. The economy is in large measure dominated by monopolies, and yet on the world scale it is disorganized and chaotic, richer than ever yet unable to eliminate human wretchedness. Science, too, shows a double contradiction. First, science accepts as a principal that its every step has a critical basis, but the most important steps of all, the setting of tasks, lacks a theoretical grounding and seems to be taken arbitrarily. Second, science has to do with a knowledge of comprehensive relationships; yet, it has no realistic grasp of that comprehensive relationship upon which its own existence and the direction of its work depend, namely, **society**" (p.207)

[**Synthesis**]: The contradictions inherent within an economic system are "infecting" science. The more science is governed by market demands and conditions, the less it is science and the more it inherits the contradictions of a global economic system.

[Movement Specific Note]: Get scientists to recognize that their institution is under assault. "SCIENCE IS UNDER ATTACK!!!" [a bit dramatic] ;-) but it makes the point. Scientists need to be mobilized and encouraged to share their stories and grievances and articulate in their own words their agreement or disagreement with the claim that science is under attack.

9. "In so far as we can rightly speak of a crisis in science, that crisis is inseparable from the general crisis. The historical process has imposed limitations on science as a productive force and these show in the various sectors of science, and their content and form, and their subject matter and method. Furthermore, science as a means of production has not been properly applied. Understanding of the crisis of science depends on a correct theory of the present social situation; for science as a social function reflects at present the contradictions within society" (p.208).

[Movement Specific Note]: Occupy participants should voice their demands and expectations not just from Wall Street, but also from members of the scientific community. Globally, what are the most serious threats to the global population? What needs both globally and nationally can members of the scientific community address?

10. Scientists need to be encouraged to participate in the general discourse.

How realistic are the peoples' demands? How much capital would it require? How many years of expected research would meeting these demands take. As Horkheimer states:

"Despite this law a wasteful dispersal of intellectual energies has characterized the course of science over the last century, and philosophers of the period have repeatedly criticized science of this score. But the situation cannot be change by purely theoretical insight, any more than the ideological function of science can be. Only a change in the real conditions for science within the historical process can win such a victory" (p.207).

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 465-471.

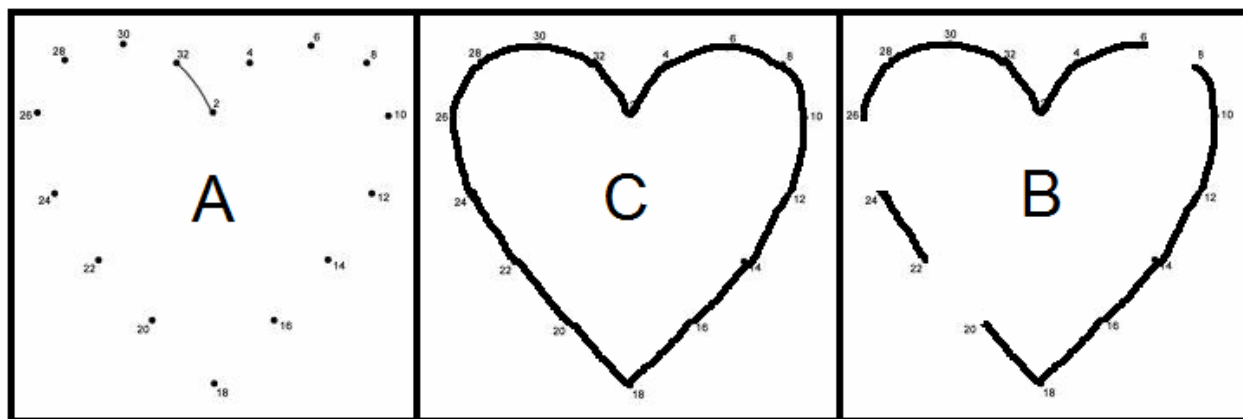
Excerpt from Robert Hurley, trans., *The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1: An Introduction* (New York: Vintage Books, 1990 [1978], pp. 92-102)

§2.0: Power as Knowledge: Michel Foucault:

Conceptualizing Power in terms of Force Relations:

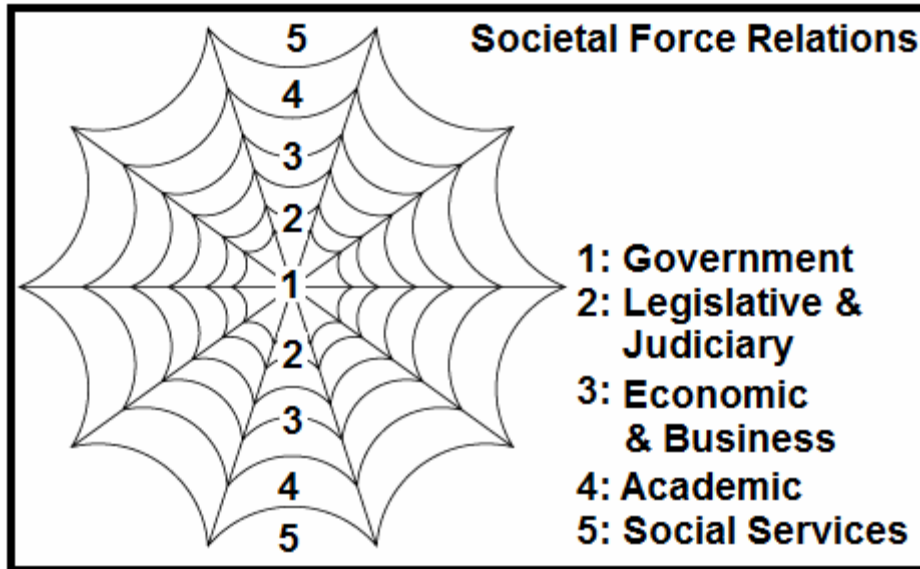
Step 1. "It seems to me that power must be understood in the **first instance** as the (1) multiplicity of **force relations** immanent in the sphere **in which they operate** and which **constitute** their own **organization**; (2) as the process which, through ceaseless struggles and confrontations, transformations, strengthens, or reverses them; as a support which these force relations find in one another, thus forming a chain or a system, or on the contrary, the destructions in contradictions which isolate them from one another; and lastly, (3) as the **strategies in which they take effect**, the general design or institutional crystallization is (4) embodied in the state apparatus, and the formulation of law, and the various social hegemonies" (p.465).

[Synthesis]: (1) We understand the nature of power by recognizing that it is nothing more than an **organization** of force relations within a zone of their existence.



(2) The transformation of these force relations is the manner in which power manifests. [B] exemplifies the reversal, transformation, strengthening [toward C] or weakening [toward A] of these force relations. The attempt to "move" toward A or C (3) can only occur strategically, which is immediately a constructive attempt to establish a

new power relation. This strategy to transform power relations requires laws and various social hegemonies, like academic, social services, etc.



** Image not intended to be exhaustive of Societal Force Relations*

All institutions are social institutions. Thus, all institutions are subject to change. However, a fundamental change in one social institution transforms the nexus [the web] of societal force relations between these institutions. Thus, since power exists as a "multiplicity of force relations immanent in the sphere in which they operate and which constitute their own organization" the attempt to transform the societal force relations is an attempt to transform the nature of power.

[Movement Specific Note]: Organizers and protesters should (3) strategically conceptualize how the occupation movement [as fully realized] will fit into the overall structure of these "societal force relations" [SFRs]. Will it become part of the one of the existing SFRs? Will it seek to destroy and replace one or more of the SFRs? If so, which one and what alternatives will it implement? These SFRs have in some form or other coincided with recorded human existence. What is the movements relation to power? As its existence shakes the web of SFRs, which is far more than the institutions, **it is in some sense the conditions for the possibility of society itself.**

§2.1: Power as Knowledge: Michel Foucault:

Conceptualizing Power in terms of Force Relations:

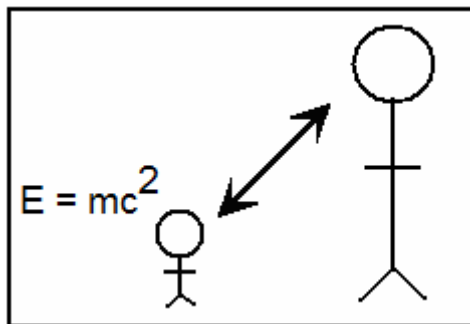
Step 2. "power is everywhere; not because it embraces everything, but because **it comes from everywhere**... Power is not an institution, and not the structure; neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it **is the name that one attributes to a complex strategic situation in a particular society**" (p.466).

[**Movement Specific Note**]: what is the strength of the Occupy movement? There should be a list created, a list of strengths. For example, "We are strong because...", "We are strong because..." whatever comes **after** because should address the strategic relationship of the Occupation Movement and an existing SFR. [explain].

5 Propositions of Power:

1. "**Power is not** something that is acquired, seized, **or shared**, something that one holds on to or allows to slip away; **power is exercised from innumerable points**, in the interplay of **nonegalitarian** and mobile **relations**" (p.466).

[**Synthesis**]: The manifestation of power IS a manifestation of nonegalitarian relations.



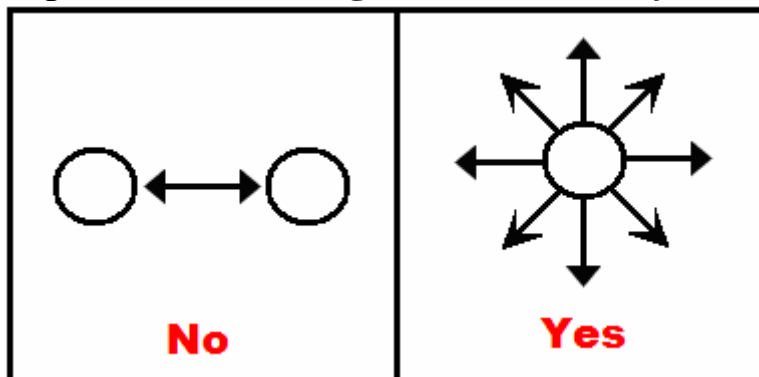
[**Movement Specific Note**]: Occupationists should recognize that the occupation movement **is in a nonegalitarian relation to the status quo**, where it is subordinated by the power of the status quo BUT ALSO, it is currently and will continue to subordinate the messages of other emergent movements, currently vying for recognition.

2. "Relations of power **are not** in a position of **exteriority** with respect to other types of relationships (economic processes, knowledge relationships and sexual relationships)...they have a **directly productive role** when [it] comes into play."

[**Synthesis**]: Power plays a directly productive role in economic, epistemological and sexual relations. This role **is not exterior to the relationship, but constitutive to the nature of the relationship**. The power relation helps in formulizing and defining the relationship.

[**Movement Specific Note**]: Assuming the Occupy Movement were fully realized, how would it enact its newly attained economic power? [can't simply be to do away with the current economic system, can't define something in terms of what it is not]. There must be a productive/constitutive economic role the movement will play when fully realized. What is it?

3. "**There is no binary** and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations... **No such duality** extending from the top down and reacting on more and more limited groups to the very depths of the social body, one must suppose rather that the **manifold relationships of force** that takes shape and come into play in the machinery of production...are the basis for wide-ranging effects of cleavage that **run through the social body as a whole**."



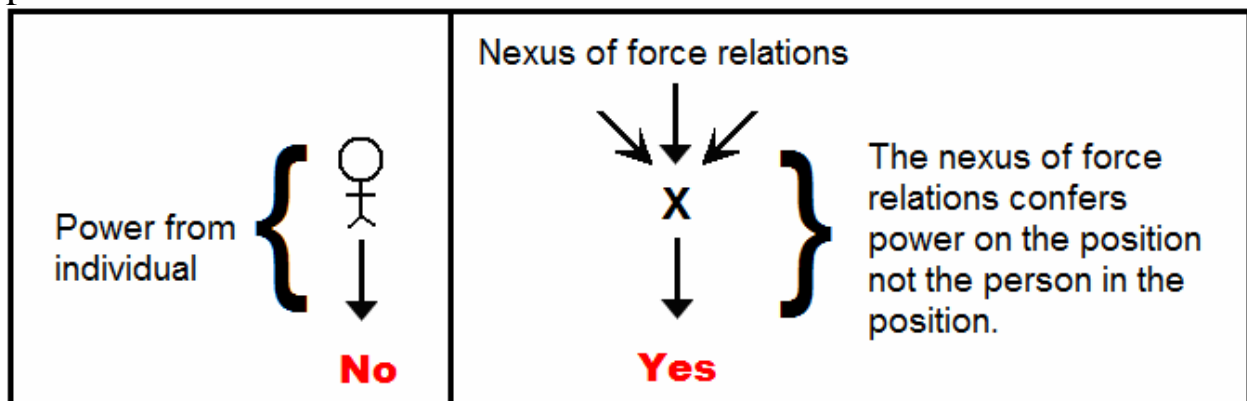
[**Synthesis**]: Power should not be conceptualized in terms of some arbitrary binary opposition, this is false. Power must be understood as the "manifold relationships of force" that shape our social reality. [explain]

[**Movement Specific Note**]: To say simply that the Occupy Movement is against Wall Street or against the Feds is wholly unproductive. The movement must see itself as a locus of force that will **emanate social transformation**. The nature of that transformation will depend on the nature of the movement. The movement will affect change and be effected by change.

§2.2: Power as Knowledge: Michel Foucault:

4. "Power relations are both intentional and **nonsubjective**. If in fact they are intelligible, this is not because they are the effect of another instance that "explains" them, but rather because they are imbued, through and through, with calculation; **there is no power that is exercised without a series of aims and objectives**. But this **does not mean** that it results from the choice or decision of **an individual subject**.

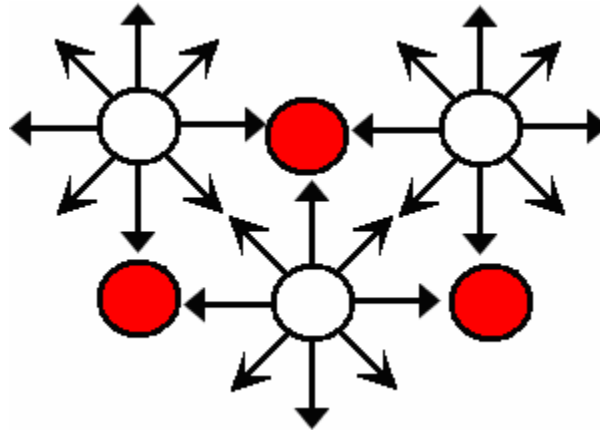
[**Synthesis**]: [decentering of self]. Power is **not about** the acts of individual agents, as people exercising their will or force in the world or on others. Rather, a network of force relations positions individuals to act more or less powerfully. The positionality then is powerful, the individual is merely a means of enacting or suppressing the "flow of power".



[**Movement Specific Note**]: The Occupy Movement is bigger than any one person. If there is a "leader" of the movement, the movement immediately weakens. Power will or will fail to affect change insofar as the movement will succeed in **CREATING** a nexus of force relations, **SOCIETY DEEMS VALUABLE**. Thus, society will ultimately decide the importance of the movement. For the movement to "get the approval" of society, it is important that it weave itself [as anthropomorphized into the fabric of society]. The occupy movement **can't** simply be something we do on the weekends.

5. "**Where there is power, there is resistance**, and yet, or rather consequently, this resistance is **never in a position of exteriority** in relation to power. It should be said that one is always "inside" power, there is no "escaping" it, **there is no absolute outside where it is**

concerned... These points of resistance are present **everywhere** in the power network. Hence there is **no single locus of great refusal**, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a **plurality of resistances**, each of them a special case..." (p.467).



[**Movement Specific Note**]: The very existence of the Occupy Movement creates a force relations of power within the social order, where it is a force of resistance, while also being resisted by the existing forces. The incorporation of the Occupy Movement is contingent on how readily the existing social nexus absorbs or refuses to absorb the movement into the larger social "super-structure" [me].

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 181-184

Excerpt from Donald N. Levine, ed., *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971), pp. 143-149.

§3.0: The Stranger: Georg Simmel

Professor Anton has a great analysis of Simmel's discourse on the philosophy of money. I recommend that you watch it.

Identity within the Social Nexus:

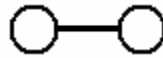
"If wandering, (1) considered as a state of **detachment** from every given point in space, is the conceptual opposite of (2) **attachment** to any point, then the sociological form of "the stranger" (3) **presents the synthesis**, as it were, of both of these properties... The stranger will thus not be considered here in the usual sense of the term, as the wonder who comes today and goes tomorrow, but rather as the man who comes today

and stays tomorrow – the potential wanderer who...Has not quite got over **the freedom of coming and going**. He is (4) **fixed within** a certain spatial circle – or within a group whose (5) boundaries are analogous to spatial boundaries – but his position within it is (6) fundamentally affected by the fact that **he does not BELONG in it** initially and that he brings qualities into its that are not, and cannot be, indigenous to it" (p.181).

[**Synthesis**]: (1) State of **detachment**:



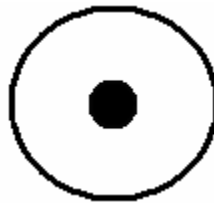
(2) State of **attachment**:



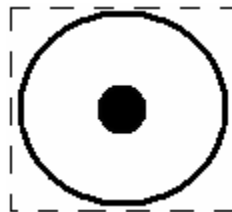
(3) **Synthesis** of detachment **and** attachment:

?

(4) The stranger is **fixed within** a...circle:



(5) ...boundaries...analogous to spatial boundaries.



(6) See my commentary on this concept [here](#) @ the 2:00 minute mark. [Emphasis on "belonging"]

Q: Where does the "stranger" belong?

A: "The stranger is an element of the group itself...an element whose membership within the group involves both being outside it and confronting it."

[**Movement Specific Note**]: One must be sure to preserve one's identity **within the crowd**. The relationship between the stranger and the crowd is one of **mutual dependence**.

Your participation should **benefit** the movement. [what can you do, are you doing for the Occupy Movement?]

1. occupying public spaces, 2. organizing for the movement, 3. raising awareness, 4. recruiting, 5. donating your skills and or money to support the movement.

You should use the movement as an opportunity to define your social identity. [explain] Use your participation as an opportunity to hone those skills that make you you.

§3.1: The Stranger: Georg Simmel

The Mobility and Objectivity of the Stranger:

The stranger has:

"(1) The appearance of this mobility within a (2) bounded group **occasions that** (3) **synthesis of nearness and remoteness which constitutes the position of the stranger**... He (4) **is not bound** by roots to a particular constituents in partisan dispositions of the group, he confronts all of these with a (5) **distinctly objective attitude**, an attitude that does not signify mere detachment and nonparticipation, but is a distinct structure composed of remoteness and nearness, indifference and involvement."

[**Synthesis**]: (1) The stranger is defined by mobility. [group participation cannot define the stranger, more than the occurrence of his/her participation][explain].

(2) The group, however, has definitive characteristics. (3) The position of the stranger is one of **intentional** rather than **blinded or mechanized** involvement [**KEY**][explain].

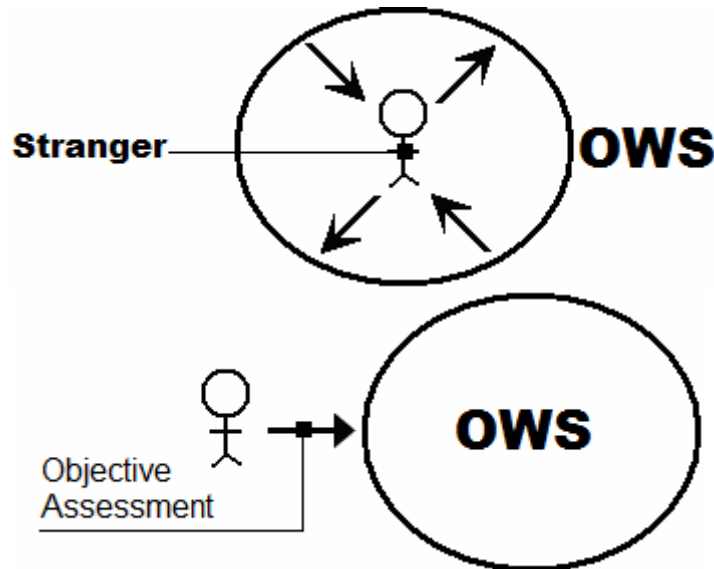
(4) The intentful participant is freed from external obligation to participate. [**Participation is not forced. It is willful**].

(5) The stranger thus develops an **objective attitude**.

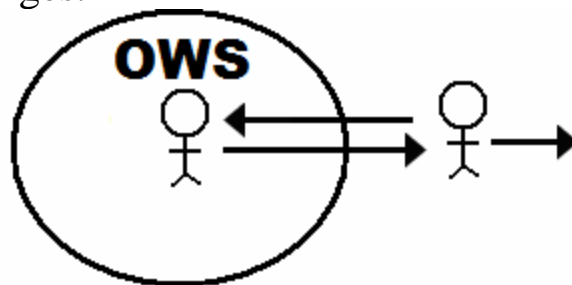
[**False**]: objectivity is a consequence of detachment and indifference.

[True]: objectivity is a consequence of the relation and balance attained from regulating one's attachments and detachments, one's passions and indifferences.

[Movement Specific Note]: You cannot critically [objectively] assess the occupation movement without participating in the movement. Your participation is more than simply attending an occupy rally/protest. Your authentic participation **is a result of the attempt to locate a balance** between your personal preconceptions of the movement and the movement as an evolving social phenomenon, your evolving connection to the movement and your ability to "drift" in and out of alignment with the movement.



As the movement transforms, the individual participant will have to immerse and extract him/herself. "Objectivity" then, will itself be changing, evolving, as the movement changes and the individual's level of participation changes.



"Objectivity is by no means nonparticipation, a condition that is altogether outside the distinction between subjective and objective orientations. It is rather a positive and definite kind of participation, in the same way that the objectivity of a theoretical observation clearly does not mean that the mind is a passive tabula rasa on which things inscribe their qualities, but rather signifies the full activity of the mind working according to its own laws...Objectivity can also be defined as freedom. The objective man is not bound by ties which could prejudice his perception, his understanding and his assessment of data. [read p.182]...**he is the freer man...**

[**Synthesis**]: Objectivity [as newly defined] is the pathway to freedom, to liberation. It is a necessary means in the attainment of self liberation. The objective attachment/detachment of the stranger is his/her greatest strength. The bond to any social institution is only strong insofar as the movement contributes to the **willful expression of the individual's freedom.**

The OWS movement is so diverse in its goals and its constitution because it is a clearinghouse of freer individuals trying to locate an understanding of their place in an evolving social reality [explain].

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 484-487.

Excerpt from *Hegemony and Social Strategy: Towards a Radical Democratic Politics* (London: Verso, 1985), pp. 176-180

§4.0: Radical Democracy: Alternative for a New Left: Ernesto LaClau and Chantal Mouffe

"The conservative reaction thus has a clearly (1) **hegemonic** character. It seeks a profound transformation of the terms of political discourse and the creation of a new "definition of reality" which under the cover of the defense of (2) "individual liberty" would (3) **legitimize inequalities** and (4) **restore** the heirarchical relations which the struggles of previous decades [civil rights] had destroyed...**liberal-conservatism would construct a new hegemonic articulation** through a system of equivalences which would unify multiple subject positions around an

individualist definition of rights and a negative conception of liberty."
[Explain]

The Social Restoration of Inequalities:

1. See my video [here](#) on Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *A Discourse on Inequality*. In [conceptual] addition to inherent inequalities and political inequalities, we have the attempt to **socially reconstruct inequality**, the premise of this section of the analysis. The Occupy Movement must be a refusal to allow the restoration of antiquated inequalities within and throughout the social.

2. "It is clear, therefore, that a (1) left alternative can only consist of the construction of a **different system of equivalents**, which establishes social division on a new basis. In the face of the project for the (2) **reconstruction of a hierarchic society**, the alternatives of the Left should consist of locating itself fully in the field of the democratic revolution **and expanding the chains of equivalents between the** (3) **different struggles against oppression**. The task of the left therefore cannot be to renounce liberal democratic ideology, but on the contrary, (4) **to deepen and expand it in the direction of a radical and actual democracy**... [therefore], the meaning of liberal discourse on individual rights is not definitively fixed."

Layman's Terms: In the face of an attempt to socially reconstruct inequalities, the Left needs to be more Left, more liberal, less centrists.

[Synthesis]: (1) a Leftist alternative to "liberal-conservatism", which is seeking to reconstruct a "hierarchic society", must be to further embrace liberal democratic ideology [Far Left] rather than embracing a more centrists position.

[Movement Specific Note]: The OWS movement though neither Left or Right, must recognize that there are attempts to reconstruct a hierarchic society [[here](#)] @ 4:02. "neighborhood schools" as an example. Insofar as the OWS movement is a movement against oppression and structural violence [explain], recognition and voice must be given to the varied systems of oppression.

Essentialist Apriorism: [great article on the topic]

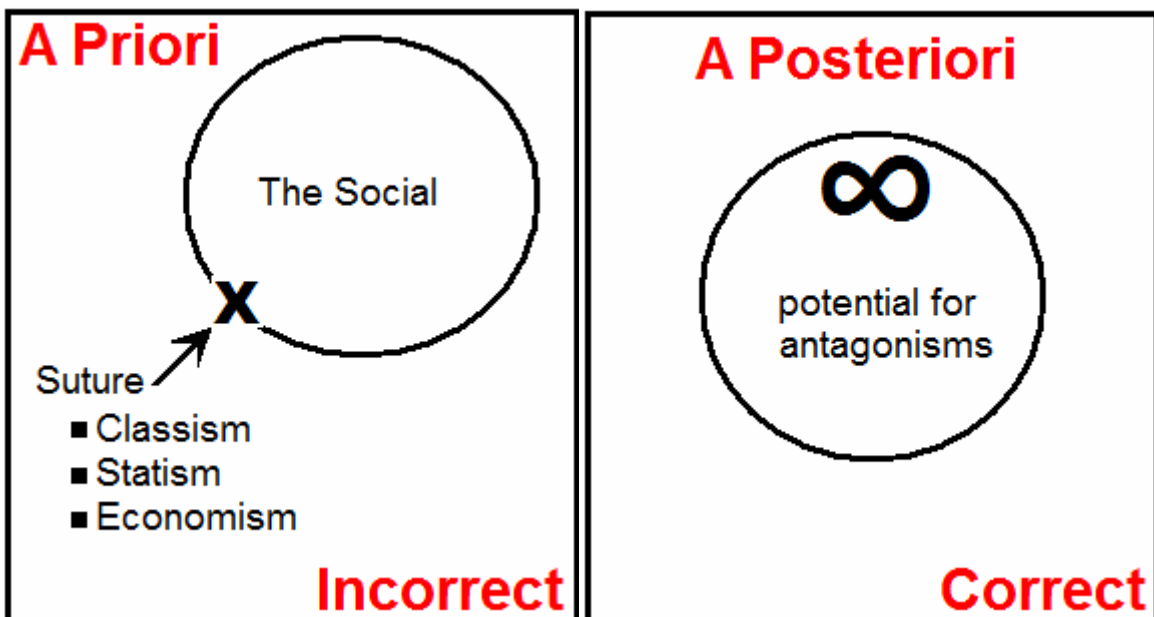
"The fundamental obstacle in this task is...essentialist apriorism, the (1) conviction that the social is **sutured at some point**, from which it is

possible to (2) **fix the meaning** of any event independently of any articulatory practice. This has led to a (3) **failure to understand the constant displacement** of the nodal points structuring a social formation, and to an organization of discourse in terms of a logic of "a priori privileged points" which seriously limits the Left's capacity for action and political analysis...(4) **It is impossible to define a priori the surfaces on which antagonisms will be constituted**...all attempts to proceed to such determination a priori have necessarily been unilateral and arbitrary, with no validity in a great number of circumstances."

§4.1: Radical Democracy: Alternative for a New Left: Ernesto LaClau and Chantal Mouffe

LaClau and Mouffe Challenge the Traditional Marxist Assumptions

[**Background**]: Three struggles have historically been privileged. (1) **Classism**: "the idea that the working class represents the privileged agent in which the fundamental impulse of social change resides" (p.485) (2) **Statism**: "the idea that the expansion of the role of the state is the panacea for all problems" (p.485). (3) **Economism**: "the idea that from a successful economic strategy there necessarily follows a continuity of political effects which have been clearly specified the idea that the working class represents the privileged agent in which the fundamental impulse of social change resides" (p.485).



[Synthesis]: It is incorrect to assume that there is an a priori nature to social antagonism and oppression and thereby an a priori solution with a privileged "revolutionary subject" [laborer, statesman etc [i.e., the suture or fix for social oppression isn't something that is determined pre-socially.] The "suture" or fix for our social antagonisms are as varied as the oppressive forces within society. The remedies can only be determined *after* the manifestation of the event or instance of social oppression, not before.

[Movement Specific Note]: This will be a bit of an overstatement, but the OWS movement is the **culmination** or apex of social revolutions. There is no privileged subject in the OWS movement, i.e., the revolutionary's stance or position cannot be described as a labor movement for laborers, or a feminist movement for women or an anti-capitalist movement for socialists etc. The power of the movement will not be to forcefully solidify all the voices within the movement into a single unified voice, but rather to encourage a diversity of voices and recognize that each voice represents a "certain spheres of the social" p.485. Thus, the first step should be to identify the variety of represented voices and their corresponding social spheres. Then each of those voices can explicitly articulate the precise nature of the antagonisms faced within that social sphere. [If this becomes a document, it should be a 'living document']. **[KEY]**.

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 287-290

Excerpt from *The End of Ideology* (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1960), pp. 369-375.

§5.0: The End of Ideology in the West: Daniel Bell

An "ideology [is] a way of (1) **translating** ideas into action...[it] is the **conversion** of ideas into (2) social levers...It is the commitment to the (3) consequences of ideas..." pp. 287-88.

[Synthesis]: the (1) translation of ideas, the attempt to convert ideas into substantive (2) "social levers", i.e., instruments of social transformation and/or regulation, requires a willingness to allow our ideas to (3) "take hold of" and shape or socialization. In many regards

the process of socialization is an attempt to adapt the social to the invisible ideological underpinnings for the social [explain].

a. ideology when functioning properly is largely invisible.

b. the individual is unaware of the affect that ideology plays in determining our socialization.

[Movement Specific Note]: The ideas guiding the OWS movement, attempting to shape the nature of the movement, are in fact **consequences** of the failing ideological influence of the "old" ideologies in the "new" process of global socialization. In order to establish itself as a potentially viable global social movement, the OWS movement has to accomplish three things:

"A social movement **can rouse people** when they can do three things: (1) **simplify ideas**, (2) **establish a claim to truth**, and, in the union of the two, (3) **demand a commitment to action**. [explain] Thus, not only does ideology transform ideas, it transforms people as well. The 19th century ideologies, by emphasizing inevitability and by infusing passion into their followers, could compete with religion. By identifying inevitability with progress, they linked up with the positive values of science. But more important, these ideologies were linked, too, with the rising class of intellectuals, which was seeking to assert a place in society" (p.288).

[Synthesis]: Ideologies **transform people**. BUT they do so **INDIRECTLY** by first transforming the **nature of the discourse**, too heady, abstract, invisible: has to be made simple, tangible, clear. [me as an example of global education: 1,2,3].

Just as the ideological revolutions of the 19th century were able to shift the ontological and epistemological claims to truth from religion to science, [explain] as demonstration after demonstration disproved fundamental assumptions in religious orthodoxy, so too will the OWS movement be charged with demonstrating the systemic failures of our current economic system. This is the first step.

The ideological influence of ideas in shaping our socialization is itself contingent on an obvious and clearly articulated claim to **TRUTH**. the old cliché, the truth shall set you free is in many respects true. [explain, e.g., spontaneous generation]

[Movement Specific Note]: The OWS movement has to force [intellectually] the world to recognize the inherent problems within the current global economic model. The OWS movement will not be able to do this without our [professional academic] help. "But more important, these ideologies were linked, too, with the rising class of intellectuals, which was seeking to assert a place in society"

As a rising intellectual I recognize that the OWS movement needs to mobilize and organize its ideas in order to challenge the governing and failing ideological apparatus [explain]. There are at least, though not exclusively 2 options.

Option 1: The development of a new ideology within the "marketplace of ideas" will challenge the status quo and be met with increased violence. Slowly transforming the political landscape into an increasingly totalitarian and authoritarian structure [in defense of the old ideology]

Remember Horkheimer's warning: the energy spent in maintaining an ideology grow greater and finally the weapons are readied already for supporting it with violence" (p.207).

Option 2: With the ongoing intellectual assistance from the intelligencia, the OWS movement can operationalize its ideas and transform the global process of our socialization [Western socialization]. This will be impossible with professional guidance. If this is successful, gradually we will see an appeal to the "truth" [whatever that might be] and as such concessions to adapt to the changing sociological "landscape" [explain: segregation in the US]. The formation of the ideology must then appeal to very simple truths if it is to be effective.

"The question is an older one: whether new societies can grow by building democratic institutions and allowing people to make choices – and sacrifices – voluntarily, or whether the new elites, heady with power, will impose totalitarian means to transform their countries. Certainly in these traditional an old colonial societies where the masses are apathetic and easily manipulated, the answer lies with the intellectual class in their conceptions of the future" [role of the academic] p.298.

To the extent that the Bolshevik purge succeeds in making its victims confess to crimes they never committed, it relies chiefly on this basic fear and argues as follows: We are all agreed on the premise that history is a struggle of classes and on the role of the Party in its conduct. You know therefore that, historically speaking, *the Party is always right*...At this historical moment, that is in accordance with the law of history, certain crimes are due to be committed which the Party, knowing the law of history, must punish. For these crimes, *the Party needs criminals*; it may be that the Party, though knowing the crimes, *does not quite know the criminals*; more important than to be sure about the criminals *is to punish the crimes*, because without such punishment, History will not be advanced but may even be hindered in its course. You, therefore, either have committed the crimes *or have been called by the Party to play the role of the criminal—in either case you have objectively become an enemy of the Party* (emphasis added).¹
[Explain relevance].

Lemert, Charles, ed. *Social Theory: The Multicultural and Classic Readings*. Third Edition ed. Boulder: Westview Press, 2004. pg. 345-348
Excerpt from *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Haroer abd Brothers, 1958) pp. 96-97, 213-219, 224.

§6.0: The Power of Nonviolent Action: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

"During this period I had about despaired of the power of love in solving social problems. Perhaps my faith in love was temporarily shaken by the philosophy of Nietzsche. I had been reading parts of *The Genealogy of Morals* and the whole of *The Will to Power*. Nietzsche's glorification of power – in his theory all life expresses the will to power – was an outgrowth of his contempt for ordinary mortals. He attacked the whole of the Hebraic-Christian morality – with its virtues of piety humility, its otherworldliness and its attitude toward suffering – as the glorification of weakness, as making virtues out of necessity and impotence. He looks to the development of a Superman who would surpass man as man surpassed the ape... [however], as I delved deeper into the philosophy of Gandhi my skepticism concerning the power of love gradually

¹ Arendt, Hannah. 1973. *The Origins of Totalitarianism*. New York, Harvest Books. pp. 473.

diminished, and I came to see for the first time **its potency in the area of social reform**" (p.345).

"Violence as a way of achieving racial justice is both impractical and immoral. It is impractical because it is a descending spiral **ending in destruction for all**. The old law of an eye for an eye leaves everybody blind. It is immoral because it seeks to humiliate the opponent rather than win his understanding; it seeks to annihilate rather than to convert. Violence is immoral because it thrives on hatred rather than love. It destroys community and makes brotherhood impossible. It leaves society in monologue rather than dialogue. **Violence ends by defeating itself**. It creates bitterness in the survivor and brutality in the destroyer." (p.346).

Aristotle write:

[Anger] can be manifested in all the points that have been named (for one can be angry with the wrong person, at the wrong things, more than is right, too quickly, or too long); yet all are not found in the same person. Indeed they could not; **for evil destroys even itself**, and if it is complete becomes unbearable (emphasis added).²

"Like the synthesis in Hegelian philosophy, the principle of nonviolent resistance seeks to **reconcile the truths of two opposites** – acquiescence and violence – while avoiding the extremes and immoralities of both. The nonviolent resister agrees with the person who acquiesces that one should not be physically aggressive toward his opponent; but he balances the equation by agreeing with the person of violence that evil must be resisted. He avoids the nonresistance of the former and the violent resistance of the latter with nonviolent resistance, no individual or group need submit to any wrong, nor need anyone resort to violence in order to right a wrong..."

² Aristotle. trans. W. D. Ross, J. O. Urmson. 1988. *The Nicomachean ethics*. (Oxfordshire): Oxford University Press. IV.5, 1125b35.

"The nonviolent resister can summarize their message in the following simple terms: **We will take direct action against injustice** without waiting for other agencies to act. **We will not obey unjust laws** or submit to unjust practices. We will do this peacefully, openly, cheerfully because **our aim is to persuade**. We adopt the means of nonviolence because our end is a community at peace with itself. We will try to persuade with our words, but if our words fail, **we will try to persuade with our acts**. We will always be willing to talk and seek fair compromise, **but we are ready to suffer when necessary and even risk our lives to become witnesses to the truth as we see it.**"

End of Lecture Series