I. Power

A. Traditional concept

1. def: capacity to shape society for desired ends.

2. characteristics

a. hierarchical

b. concentrated

c. coercive

3. goal

a. shape social institutions to further interests

b. maintain power

c. control or eliminate dissent

4. means

a. force

b. propaganda

c. ideology

5. assumptions

a. groups with different and conflicting interests

b. people can identify interests

c. people can will to act individually and collectively

d. powerful need to control rest of people

B. Power in the U.S.

1. characteristics

a. decentralized (people) not hierarchical

b. fluid, not concentrated

c. legitimate (consensual) not coercive

2. institutions

a. political

i. representative

ii. open and accountable

iii. checks and balances

vi. individual rights vs government

b. press

i. free not government controlled

ii. guaranteed in First Amendment

C. Two theories

1. Domhoff: class theory of power (power elite)

a. traditional

b. economic elite: corporate community and social elite

i.possess and control economy

ii.use wealth to control political system

iii. shape institutions to their benefits

2. Chomsky: institutional or structural theory of power

1. institutions are governed by internal logic

b. people act within constraints of institutions

D. Constellation of power

1. Economic power is the center from which power

radiates

a. Corporation is dominant institution

1. size

2. concentration

3. constraints

b. Controls political system

1. campaigning financing

2. lobbying

c. ideological institutions

1. media

2. education

3. think tanks

d. globalization

1. treaties and institutions

2. military

E. Constellation of power: effects

1. concentrated economic power

a. labor: jobs and technology

b. communities

c. shape marketplace

2. political power

a. disenfranchises “the people”

b. legitimates interests of corporations

c. ignores vital needs of people

3. ideological institutions: social control

a. ideas

b. beliefs

1. desires

d. dreams

Constellation of Power

Capitalist Class (1%) 500 Lgst Corp

Goal: Social Environment conducive to profit and power

( means: concentration of ownership, strategic alliances)\*

Military Political System

(means: weapons, training, violence) Goal: Wealthfare

Goal: support interests of ruling class (means: campaign financing, lobbying)

Global Power Ideological Institutions

Goal: expand markets,

(means: international org, treaties) Mass Media Knowledge Education Goal: control knowledge, behavior (means: ownership, funding, history) Technology

Goal: profit, control

(means: funding)

\*Top 500

Revenue: $2.9 billion to $210 billion

Size matters: Exxon-Mobil, Ford, GM larger than all but 7 countries

Top six corps together larger than any country except US

\*Concentration of ownership (Top 500: $2.9 billion to $210 billion)

1. mergers

2. shared monopolies (Sherman Anti-Trust Law 1890)

3. interlocking directorates (Clayton Act 1914

4. shared monopolies

5. share ownership

6. 66 of largest 100 economies

\*Strategic Alliances

1. not competing

2. acting together out of common interests

i.pharmaceutical corportions: r and d, extended patents, no

generic drugs

ii. cigarette companies: lobbying for less regulation, government support for expanding markets

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B. goals of powerful diametrically opposed to

our vital interests

1. worker to the capitalist

a. is a cost

b. low wages, fewer benefits, less vacation,

more hours

c. job security: paraphrase Greenspan, head

of Federal Reserve: job insecurity is good for

the economy

2. health care to the capitalist

i. a cost to the employer

ii. a source of profit to big Pharma, insurance,

for-profit hospitals and HMOs

i. prescription drugs iii. benefits

ii. aids drugs iv. exclusion

3. Environment to the capitalist

i. potential profit

ii. sink for waste

C. Economic institutions

1. goal: control economic sector

i. profit

ii. power over institutions

iii. power over labor

2. means

a. concentration of ownership

i. mergers

ii. acquisitions

iii. interlocking directorates Clayton Act 1914

iv. 500 largest corporations

v. shared monopolies Sherman Anti-Trust

b. “strategic alliances”

i. fast foods

ii. telecommunications

iii. pharmaceuticals

c. globalization and jobs

i. manufacturing

ii. hi-tech

C. political instituions

1. goal: control of the political institutions

2. methods

a. campaign financing

i. running is expensive from mayors

to President, esp TVads

ii. 90% of time person who spends the most

wins

iii. last presidential election $3.5 billion

iv. "soft money" (2002 elections record)

b. lobbying

i. $2 billion

ii. methods (connected, research/experts,

lecture fees, seminar/vacations, easy-term

loans, jobs after retirement, use of private

jets)

c. government positions

i. cabinet and secondary appointments

(top 1% or lawyers and lobbyists for them)

ii. regulatory agencies: regulate areas of

economy in public interest

d. judicial appointments

3. consequences

a. wealthfare

i. tax laws: dividends, estate taxes, social security,

tax credit (McCredit: Work Opportunity Tax Credit), loopholes

ii. R and D $72 Billion

iii. public resources to private

corps

iv. bailouts

v. social costs to people

b. deregulation

i. meat packing

ii. auto

iii. accounting- AA

iv. Enron

v. extractive industies

c. issue advocacy

i. supreme court 1978

ii. corporations are "persons" with regard to

First Amendment

D. ideological institutions

1. goal: control of ideological institutions

a. shape our perceptions, thoughts, behaviors,

and identity

b. consumerism without consequences

i. main social role

ii. social norm

iii. god-given right

2. means: mass media

a. corporate owned and shared monopolies

TV, Films, Magazines, publishing (incl

textbooks), books-retails sales, internet

b. corporate owned increasing concentrations

newspapers, cable TV

c. advertising sponsored

TV is 100% and 25% of time

newspapers

magazines

radio

film

consumerism without

consequences

3. means-think tanks

a. knowledge producing organizations

b. funded by large corporations

c. American Enterprise Institute, Cato Institute

Brookings Institute

d. goals shape thought on behalf of funders,

books, articles, op-ed, letters to editors, experts

for TV and Congress

4. means- public relations firms

a. emerged in 1920s, Edward Bernays was the

founder, wrote The Engineering of Consent and

Propaganda

b. from Propaganda: "The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized opinions and habitsof the masses is an important element in a democratic society."

c. services: advertising, pr, lobbying, research,

polling, direct-mail canvassing, focus groups,

front groups

d. pr methods

i. news releases through PR Newsire: one study 40% in newspapers, usually verbatim, another study

50%

ii. VNR: fully developed stories, drug cos use

to get by FDA regulations on advertising

iii. focus groups

iv. front groups

v. astroturf groups: Citizens for Sound Economy

(corporate friendly judges, Wal-mart)

5. means: education

a. underfund, or disproportionately fund

b. corporations supply

i. educational material

ii. Channel One

c. universities and corp sponsored research

i.Georgetown University Credit Research

Center

ii. control of history

E. Technology

1. goal: control of technology and technological development

a. technology for profit

b. control of worker

c. consumer

d. citizen

2. means: communication

a. every new means of communication carries

with it a new means of deception

b. TV, satellites, computer-generation

3. weapons: military-industrial complex

a. Star Wars

b. MDS

c. bunker busters

d. big cannons

4. computers

a. internet: marketing

b. surveillance

5. autos

6. technologies to automate the workplace

F. global power

1. goals: establish global power arrangements and control

a. large multi-nationals, of the 100 largest

economies 66 are corporations (used to be 50)

b. Exxon-Mobile, Ford, GM each larger than all

countries except top 7

2. means: global organizations and agreements

a. WTO

b. NAFTA

G. Military

1. support interest of powerful

2. . goal: control militarily

3. method

a. weapons

b. training

c. violence

a. police

b. military

4. military-industrial complex

Capitalist Class

500 Lgst Corp

Revenue: $2.9 billion-$220 billion

Size: 66 out of largest 100 economies

Wal-Mart, Ford, GM, Exxon Mobil larger

Than all but seven countries

Power: Concentration of Ownership

Top 1% of wealthiest individuals

40%-50% of all wealth

60% of all business assets

60% of income from stocks

Control

Political System Mass Media

Means: Campaign financing Means: ownership

Lobbying advertising

Regulatory appointments experts

Judicial appointments

Goals: Wealthfare Goals: legitimation

Deregulation limit dissent

Diversion

disinform

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(means: funding)

Social Problems relative to vital interests:

1. good job

a. reality: job insecurity, job loss, stagnant and declining real wages,

retirement insecurity, decreasing vacation and leisure.

b. social problem;

i. Downward mobility for middle class

ii. increasing poverty: housing and food security

iii. marriage and family

2. education, health care, and the environment

a. reality: less taxes to rich and corporations more taxes to middle

class, corporations and jobs to other countries, depleted tax base

b. social problem

i. underfunding, or not funding education

ii. expensive, inadequate, or no health care

iii. EPA

3.participation in shaping one’s life and the direction of society

a. reality: representatives serve the interests of the wealthy

b. social problem: plutocracy

4. security of person and family

a. reality: global expansion of the mncs has created greater

global inequality

b. social problem:

i. global poverty

ii. global hunger

iii. global disease

iv. terrorism