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SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

IN

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

In Social Democracies, how the Rise of Activists, Intellectuals, and Artists, as Three Classes, can Promote Social Consciousness

Keywords: Social Democracy, Artists, Activist,
Intelligentsia, Social Consciousness

INTRODUCTION

Artists and activists have always assumed the society's cultural leadership, raising social consciousness in bringing transcendence and progress, as have intellectuals.

Throughout the history of thought, the question of the role of intellectuals in promoting public awareness has been a subject of exploration. More than two millenniums ago, Plato argued for the leadership of philosophers in the ideal city.¹ Plato also wrote of his allegory of the cave where people inside a cave see the shadows and eventually come outside and are illuminated by the Sun.² In the 19th century, John Stuart Mill maintained that those with higher education should get extra votes because they have

¹ Zack, Naomi. "Ancient Philosophy." In *The Handy Philosophy Answer Book*, 30. Detroit, Michigan: Visible Ink Press, 2010.

² Zuckert, Catherine H. "Chapter Five, Socrates' Positive Teachings." In *Plato's Philosophers: The Coherence of the Dialogues*, 395. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 2009.

a deeper understanding than the less educated.³ Presently, Slavoj Zizek, the Marxist thinker writes about false consciousness and blindness from ideological domination.⁴ Since Plato's time, solutions to raising awareness in bringing positive change to the society, and the intelligentsia's role in doing so has been widely discussed.

In the same ways, artists⁵ have made eras out of their cultural production. Under the New Deal polices in America by President Franklin Roosevelt, art was used as a method of advocating for social democracy⁶ and welfare liberalism, to move America from a traditional paleo-libertarian country to a more welfare-oriented nation.⁷ For 16th century Italy, artists like Da Vinci were the ones to bring about the Renaissance. Artists have transcended societies to new eras through human sense-perception and the use of symbolism in art, unlike the direct intellectual influence from the intelligentsia. The discussion of art's value can go back to Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy*, where he stated that art is 'a metaphysical supplement to the reality of nature, placed beside it for its overcoming,' thereby arguing that art addresses not only the Apollonian, the rational, but also the Dionysian, or the irrational.⁸ Likewise, in this essay, the importance of the rise of artists, and how they tend to convey meaning to their audience

³ Ball, Terence, and Richard Dagger. "Liberalism." In *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, 61. Canadian ed. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1991.

⁴ "Cynicism as a Form of Ideology Slavoj Zizek. The Sublime Object of Ideology (London; New York: Verso, 1989), Pp. 28-30." Slavoj Zizek. Accessed June 30, 2015.

⁵ Art is to not only be defined as painting, but also music, urban design and architecture, poetry, novel-writing, theatrical art, and such.

⁶ Although in America, socialism was not very popular, President Roosevelt advocated for some social democratic policies as referenced in the next footnote.

⁷ Codell, Julie F. "A Case Study: The Political Economy of Art in America." In *The Political Economy of Art: Making the Nation of Culture*, 166. Madison, Wisconsin: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008.

⁸ Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, and Thomas Common. "The Birth of Tragedy." In *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*, 1087. New York, NY: Modern Library, 1954.

through myths, symbols, creativity, and sense-perception, shall be examined.

While artists have given messages to people through their work, there is another class in the society that has sought to improve the society through active involvement – activists. The historical credits for the preach for change, the organization of the masses, the attempt to transcend and evolve the society through direct active engagement in politics, economics, and/or social work shall be given to activists.

Artists, intelligentsia, and activists have supported many different movements that were to bring progress or liberation in their own definitions. Some of them supported revolutionary causes seeking to achieve their aims through violence, sometimes leading to brutal totalitarianism, or extreme economic and social instability.⁹ Other ones have participated in reformistic or pacifist movements, such as those of the Velvet Revolution or Solidarity, to bring positive change and democracy.¹⁰

However, there are intellectuals, artists, and activists *already* in social democratic countries that pursue their aims democratically, examples of whom are Jürgen Habermas or Pierre Bourdieu. There are many differences between and within intellectuals, artists, and activists, as three classes. However, without doubt there lies between them a commonality: it is their attempt for social and cultural progress and transcendence of the society, to increase the consciousness of, to enlighten and mobilize the masses.

The focus of this essay is on the these classes in social democratic systems, systems that have greater stability and are balanced in their politics, countries that adhere to centre-left, as

⁹ Examples are Lenin's and Robespierre's postrevolutionary dictatorship and the level of instability in Russia and France.

¹⁰ Tedla, Aden. "Czechoslovakians Campaign for Democracy (Velvet Revolution), 1989." August 1, 2011. Accessed June 30, 2015.

opposed to totalitarian, paleo-libertarian, or *extremely* conservative states. With these in mind, come such questions as “what is the implication of the *rise* of these classes?” “how do the three classes bring social consciousness?” and “what is social democracy and its role in the rise of these classes and their promotion of public awareness?”

To synthesize these questions into one, the research question that this essay seeks to address is “In social democracies, how does the rise of activists, intellectuals, and artists, as three classes, promote social consciousness?”¹¹

BACKGROUND TO SOCIAL DEMOCRACY

What does social democracy mean in this essay, and what is its point and purpose in terms of the three classes?¹²

A social democratic state is one that takes advantage of capitalism as an economically rational force, while providing basic welfare for citizens, like free education and healthcare, and job creation, by taxing the rich, to balance economic equality and progress. In Great Britain, the Butskellist era marked the compromise between socialism and capitalism, thereby giving birth to a social democracy which took into consideration the benefits of both capitalist progress as in ‘making wealth’ and socioeconomic equality and welfare as in ‘distributing wealth.’¹³ Politically, in social democracies, there is a tendency to bring as much

¹¹ Important to remember is that social consciousness, as defined in the glossary, is *sometimes* not only social awareness, but also people’s active engagement and involvement in the betterment of their society. There are probably more than three classes that promote consciousness. However, only three will be explored in this essay due to word limit.

¹² How the three classes bring social consciousness and the implication of the rise of their class is not explored in this section. They will be examined in the next sections. Instead, the relation of, the way that social democracy creates these classes, and the effects it has on them is explored here.

¹³ Leventhal, Fred. *Twentieth-Century Britain: An Encyclopedia*. New York, NY: Garland Publishing, 1995. 313-314, 112-113.

transparency and democratization as possible for the government. Therefore, free education engenders the rise of the intelligentsia which consists of anyone producing humanitarian knowledge. Education is ultimately what cultivates intellectualism in children, thereby creating a class of educated citizens, aware and conscious of their society's conditions. On the other hand, healthcare and job creation is of central importance in preventing people's revolutionary spirit, and rather making activists more moderate, as they will not seek to change everything nor try bringing economic stability for the nation 'in one night.'¹⁴ Hence, the desire for radical change grows out of instability and lack of balance, thereby giving rise to less moderate movements.¹⁵ Meanwhile, the political transparency and democracy that come from social democracy let intellectuals, people, and activists to think, and speak freely. Democracy and education are beneficial for artists as well, as they will be able to freely express their views.

Transparency is promoted in social democratic systems, allowing for greater political awareness for people, whereas radicalism and totalitarianism are discouraged by the people and government. Social democracies limit the activity of *radical* organizations that aim to take away *basic* human rights from citizens, as they cannot be trusted. The KKK (Ku Klux Klan, which was a white supremacist organization in the USA and Canada), NeoNazi organizations, populist or religious movements of the radical right are examples of such ideological movements. These movements feed racism and sadism. In America, these radical organizations (e.g. Ku Klux Klan¹) have bred fanaticism and dogmatism. The shooting of Michael Brown echoes a long history of white supremacy. Meanwhile, in Germany, the

¹⁴ Bashiriyeh, Hossein. "Intellectuals and Politics." In *Political Sociology*, 253. Second ed. Tehran, Tehran: Nei, 1995.

¹⁵ Bashiriyeh, Hossein. "The Role of Petit-Bourgeoisie in Politics." In *Political Sociology*, 165. Second ed. Tehran, Tehran: Nei, 1995.

CDU-SPD coalition aims to limit the PEGIDA movement, which is essentially NeoNazi and xenophobic,¹⁶ whereas in Canada, as a primarily social democratic state (Despite being led by the Conservative Party *currently*), such movements have been banned to promote a tolerant culture. Whether or not these movements are banned, in such social democracies, they are *limited*. This, too, allows for the rise of open-minded and moderate, rather than radical intellectuals, artists, and activists, as the social democratic system generally echoes the influence of these classes.¹⁷ That is, the impact of the liberal nature of these classes on the government is such that there is an attempt from the majority of the society to limit the power and the spread of far rightism.

In social democratic countries, there usually is a three-party system which produces ideological variety, as opposed to the two-party systems in more conservative democratic countries. For example, in Canada, there are three major parties: the NDP, Liberal Party of Canada, and Conservative Party of Canada, unlike the two-party Republican-Democrat opposition in America. With three party systems, there is not only two different ideas proposed but rather, there will be many more arguments that attempt to address societal problems.

Because of greater stability in social democracies, there is usually the rivalry between centre-left and centre-right instead of far right and left. When different political parties rise to power, they do not introduce a radical change in the entire system. Rather, there is a gradualist shift to the left or right, thus maintaining societal equilibrium.

However, there is not necessarily *rivalry* between different political parties. In Austria there is the coalition of the

¹⁶ Souder, Carey. "EUROKULTURE." EUROKULTURE. February 21, 2015. Accessed July 1, 2015. <http://eurokulture.missouri.edu/pegida-and-the-future-of-islam-in-germany/>

¹⁷ Bashiriyeh, Hossein. "Intellectuals and Politics." In *Political Sociology*, 253. Second ed. Tehran, Tehran: Nei, 1995.

Social Democratic Party¹⁸ of Austria and the Austrian People's Party. For, the coalition of centre left and right can be considered as a pragmatic act from each side to acknowledge and address the benefits of the philosophies of each side.

While in these democratic governments in Europe, there are 'Christian Democratic Parties,' they usually are neither fundamentalist or radical, nor intolerant of such religious minorities as Islam or Judaism. As Angela Merkel, the German Prime Minister, and the leader of the Christian Democratic Union said, "Islam is a part of us,"¹⁹ and she did indeed, in coalition with the SPD attempt to prevent the spread of 'Islamophobia' against PEGIDA.²⁰ If such radical factions gain power, the partisan politics may lead to religious or racial wars, similar to that of Lebanon, Israeli-Palestinian conflicts, or the World Wars. In social democratic frameworks, while religions are given freedom of speech in politics, fundamentalists are not supported by the people as much.

Again the centrism and tolerance from the people and the state, and the pragmatism in coalition government system reflects and is equivalent to the moderate and pragmatic nature of the intelligentsia, activists, and artists in these societies as well.²¹

In social democratic states, there is liberal education emphasizing not only science, but also humanities and arts in order to enrich their future generations, informing them in the humanitarian sense. This liberal education promotes open-mindedness as intellectuality reduces the chances of

¹⁸ While in this essay, there is the usage of the term social democracy as a framework of political economy, there of course are parties that are called social democratic with the purpose of elaborating on such framework.

¹⁹ "Islam Is Part of Us,' Says Germany's Merkel." *The Times of Israel*. September 27, 2012. Accessed June 25, 2015.

²⁰ "Angela Merkel Joins Muslim Community Rally in Berlin." *The Guardian*. Accessed June 25, 2015.

²¹ This is to relate the last three paragraphs about social democracies to the intelligentsia, artists, and activists.

common people being aggressive or hateful in their behaviour toward other schools of thought and their adherents. Children's familiarization with different belief systems allows them to build a solid intellectual foundation, understanding that others with their differences can be right as well. This leads to the expansion of the intelligentsia as there are more people who tend to produce humanitarian knowledge because of the humanities education.

ACTIVISTS – CLASS NATURE

Activists are perhaps the most active of the three classes (that will be discussed later on), as they are the ones who organize the movement, events, campaigns, etc. Activists improve social consciousness by mass education and mobilization, using the media. They will try to enlighten people about their beliefs in encouraging them to join their cause. For instance, Greenpeace combined theatrical arts and activism in that members of the group dressed like 'Ents from *The Lord of the Rings* to protest against clear-cutting.'²² As John Stuart Mill, in his essay *On Liberty* argued, the public becomes informed by hear different schools of thought and their solutions to societal problems.²³ As stated in *On Liberty*, people's familiarization with different belief systems allows them to see the different angles from which they can judge their society's conditions and decide that path they find most suitable.

The activist class has the consciousness of strategists. They each know the specific steps to take, the methods of communication to the masses, for pursuing their goals for the public good. Part of public consciousness is being active and knowing the plans and the specific path for bringing the good of

²² Ball, Terence, and Richard Dagger. "Green Politics." In *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal*, 238. Canadian ed. New York, NY: HarperCollins, 1991.

²³ Mill, John Stuart. "Chapter 2: Of the Liberty of Thought and Discussion." In *On Liberty*, 37. London: Batoche Books, 1859.

the society. The activists can extend this consciousness to the masses.

Some activists oppose each other intellectually and ideologically, whereas some others agree with each other. Despite the conflict of ideas between activists in their campaigns, they as a class have similar characteristics. They all want better means of communication to the public, thus more access to media. For example, Martin Luther King Junior famously *I Have a Dream* speech was televised thereby extending King's goals and ideals to the listeners, through media.²⁴ In social democracies, for the purpose of better access to the means of communication, activists as a class should work together to achieve this goal despite their perhaps differences in opinion as to what the direction of the society should be. They as a class—along with their class allies, the intelligentsia and artists—will be strong enough to rise, and gain greater access to media.

THE INTELLIGENTSIA – CLASS NATURE AND RISE

Intellectuals constantly criticize one another; they attack some ideas and defend other ones. Every intellectual struggles for their own ideas. Despite such intraclass (within the class, between the members of the class as opposed between the class and other classes) conflicts, the intelligentsia has a tendency to enlighten the masses about their analyses, findings, and beliefs. The intelligentsia²⁵, because of their intellectual influence, produce culture, cause paradigm shifts, and create the perfect ground for different schools of thought to be developed. In all societies, people need to become aware about the issues that they face collectively and individually, whether ethical, economic, political,

²⁴ "Avalon Project - I Have a Dream by Martin Luther King, Jr; August 28, 1963." Accessed July 1, 2015.

²⁵ Refer to the glossary for a specific definition. The term intelligentsia refers to those types of people for every society

etc.; the intelligentsia has the role of increasing awareness about such phenomena. For example, historians are involved in history documentaries to let the audience know about past events and the historians' bias and interpretation of them. Economists publish articles in *The Economist* in order to preach for liberal ideas. Philosophers form meetings and clubs and encourage participation in them, to discuss ethical or philosophical questions. Hence, despite the many ideological-intellectual differences within the intelligentsia, the class nature which is to make the masses aware is common, thereby causing the intelligentsia to as one class gain access to communication means.

Allowing the rise of this class through giving them access to media (i.e. TV, magazines, journals, etc.), letting them teach their subjects of expertise, such as world religions, philosophy, history, economics, politics, sociology, etc. expands this class since more educational jobs and intellectual property is created for people who have studied or will study these subjects—which they are passionate about—earning their living as well. All of these further enlighten the future generations²⁶ while also give rise to the intelligentsia. The rise of intellectuals marks the emphasis on humanitarian intellect.

Pierre Bourdieu, the great French sociologist argues that individuals of different social positions have their own “taste,” that is, their specific way of understanding the world and ethical interpretation.²⁷ In terms of ethics from businessmen who represent a formally rather than substantively rational force, as argued by Max Weber, the society can be divided into the social position of the intelligentsia and activists vs. the bourgeoisie vs. the masses. Each of these groups has its own taste, but can be

²⁶ S. M. Meagher, and E. K. Feder: *The Troubled History of Philosophy and Deliberative Democracy*. “Journal of Public Deliberation” 2010, 6, p. 11.

²⁷ P. Bourdieu: *Editor's Introduction*. [In:] Idem: *The Field of Cultural Production*. N.p. 1993, pp. 23-24.

influenced by one another. The rise of the intelligentsia and activists can result in a change in the taste of the people, and thus that of businessmen.

As a consequence of cultivating intellectuality in schools and media, people`s ethical and cultural “taste” gradually changes leading to further interest in humanities. More citizens will be fascinated by, and will discover their desire to explore humanities, arts, social sciences etc. Meanwhile, advertisers, who are seeking for any available means to attract consumers to buy their products, and businessmen, who want people to trust their products, will have to appeal to people`s newly formed humanitarian taste. In the European Union, for example, because of the increased public awareness by the intelligentsia and activists, about genetically engineered food, all companies have to label their foods GMO if applicable.²⁸

The bourgeoisie hires intellectuals to use behavioural economics in helping them attract more people to sell their products. Yet, ethical concerns are not always addressed by the bourgeoisie. With the increased power of different sectors of the intelligentsia class, many more ethical issues will be considered by capitalists as means of creating trust from the people for selling their product, which in turn requires their consultation with sociologists, philosophers, etc. Again this provides more jobs for the intelligentsia, thus contributing to their class`s rise. The economic benefit of the bourgeoisie has always been inextricably bound to people`s taste; with the change of taste in people, the bourgeoisie is encouraged to align its personal interest with ethics, thus needing advice from social scientists and ethicists.

Capitalists, since the Industrial Revolution, have solely focused on their own economic interests, as argued by Marxists

²⁸ "Frequently Asked Questions." Labelling of GM Foods:. December 13, 2005. Accessed June 30, 2015. http://www.gmo-compass.org/eng/regulation/labelling/96.labelling_gm_foods_frequently_asked_questions.html

and Weberians. However, the enlightenment of the people by different activists and intellectuals in the society has led to major ethical and legal restrictions for capitalists. It is through the mass awareness that the bourgeoisie is pushed to consult intellectuals; it is through making the bourgeoisie consult the intelligentsia and ethicists that capitalism as a formally rational force is pushed to become substantive and ethical.

Hence, the rise of the intelligentsia not only brings a higher level of consciousness for the people, but also pushes the upper class to cooperate with intellectuals, thus giving rise to the intelligentsia.

ARTISTS AND ART

Intellectuality and art are usually parallel. Philosophies have given rise to art movements and vice versa.²⁹ For instance, postmodernism found its origins from art and expanded to philosophy,³⁰ or social realism as in the Great Depression period emerged from socialist values.³¹ Like the intelligentsia and activists, artists have different perceptions of the world and often form schools of art that contrast one another, thus creating a degree of intraclass conflict. Examples are expressionist vs. impressionist art which are considered to be different not only in the style of art, but also in the philosophy, feeling, or perception of the world that they express. While, expressionist art is meant to express intense emotions,³² the purpose of impressionist art is to make one not think.³³

²⁹ Kingwell, Mark. "Introduction: Puzzles and Plays: Philosophy As/and/of Art." In *Opening Gambit: Essays on Art and Philosophy*, 20. Toronto, Ontario: Key Porter Books, 2008.

³⁰ Ritzer, George. "Structuralism, Poststructuralism, and Postmodernism." In *Sociological Theory*, 602. 5th ed. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill, 1992.

³¹ "Social Realism." Social Realism. Accessed June 30, 2015. <http://roads.virginia.edu/~MA03/staples/douglas/socialrealism.html>

³² "Expressionism." Expressionism. Accessed June 30, 2015. <http://faculty.cua.edu/johnsong/hitchcock/pages/expressionism/expressionism.html>

Despite their intraclass conflict, artists produce cultures; as a class, they function such that they give messages to the public, seeking to guide the masses through aesthetics³⁴. An economy based on creative industries and art production, and a government that shows support for art projects not only allows the rise of artists but allows for an increase in the production of cultural capital³⁵.

Artists shall rise as a class, both independent, and bound to the intelligentsia and activists. On the one hand, with the intraclass conflict within the intelligentsia and activists, there is competition in the messages presented by such artists. When the intelligentsia is given more influence, artists that attempt to present a message, tend to be very supportive of intellectuals as well, as it was the case of the AFA (American Federation of Art) in the New Deal under Roosevelt where socialist ideas from activists and intellectuals were promoted through art.³⁶ This produces humanitarian knowledge through aesthetics, and increases consciousness. Consequently, art becomes purposive, giving a message to its audience and will be a way to enlighten the public.

On the other hand, artists should be independent as a class. Artists promote aesthetics, meaning, and symbolism. Art is enchanting, bringing beauty. According to Jungian psychology, symbolism in art works usually connect to the deeper levels of

³³ Kairies, Joy. "Impressionism." *Impressionism*. 2012. Accessed June 30, 2015. http://web.fscj.edu/Joy.Kairies/tutorials_2012/chapter32_tut/Impressionism/impressionism.html

³⁴ *Measuring the Economic Contribution of Cultural Industries a Review and Assessment of Current Methodological Approaches*. Québec, Québec 2012, pp. 11-17.

³⁵ D. Gartman: *Why Modern Architecture Emerged in Europe, Not America*. [In:] *Idem: Culture, Class, and Critical Theory: Between Bourdieu and the Frankfurt School*. New York, NY 2013, pp. 79-97.

³⁶ Codell, Julie F. "A Case Study: The Political Economy of Art in America." [In:] *The Political Economy of Art: Making the Nation of Culture*, 166. Madison, Wisconsin: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2008.

their audience's psyche, and what has, throughout generations, been considered symbolic to them.³⁷ For, the archetypes presented in art meet the audience's core beliefs, what they love, and what they dislike, deep in their unconscious.³⁸ Given this, art, as a series of archetypes in their material and external form, connects to the intuitive, the unconscious. It is beyond the direct sensory experience. On the other hand, art—even if nihilistic or postmodern³⁹—gives a message to its audience through the use of symbolism, thus meeting their reason-based power of interpretation. It may not necessarily involve the same interpretations. However, it still will give a message to each member of its audience. With the direct message on the one hand, and the unconscious connection that art makes on the other, it can be argued that the messages presented in art, which are often in the form of a story, can dig into the human emotions to cultivate a taste, and allow the audience to better understand the artist's paradigm, his/her interpretation of the world, whether or not the audience agrees with the artist. This marks art's difference with the *almost* purely conscious influence from intellectuals, who appeal to reason and evidence rather than a balance between emotion and the artist's argument. Hence, art promotes consciousness by allowing the audience to better understand the message and the feeling presented, while giving space for the conscious interpretation of the messages, and by cultivating a humanitarian taste.

Art makes humans more humanly by further cultivating the humanitarian taste, the ethical values, the philosophical, or

³⁷ Jung - *Sea of Faith* - BBC Documentary (Part 1 of 2) [online]. [accessed: 08.04.2015]. World Wide Web: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=RWB8Gx2j0R0>

³⁸ Jung, C. G. "The Two Kinds of Thinking." In *Symbols of Transformation; an Analysis of the Prelude to a Case of Schizophrenia.*, 11-13. 2d ed. Vol. 5. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967.

³⁹ Postmodern art is purposively meaningless in order to involve different interpretations from its audience. An example is Andy Warhol's *Soup Cans*.

social perspectives through the usage of sense-perception. It usually does so by telling the audience a story. Sculptors depict heroes, dancers have interpretive dances, musicians use the vibrations of sounds to bring different emotional experiences, and painters illustrate stories portraying facial expressions or views of the environment to tell their audience a message, to create a powerful sensory effect. Nietzsche in *The Birth of Tragedy* stated that art is complementary to the world experienced by human beings, and is necessary to the life of human society. With the myths it tells, the illusions it presents, it gives people their cultural identity.⁴⁰ Similarly, Thomas King, the renowned Canadian-American author, in *The Truth about Stories: a Native Narrative*, argued using historical examples, that stories are a key factor in shaping human identity.⁴¹ With these two ideas (Nietzsche's and King's) in mind, art as a sensory method of telling stories, of presenting the unreal, shapes the people's taste, ethics, and worldview. Whether the audience agrees or disagrees with the message of the art, the audience's very act of interpreting, accepting, or reacting to the stories is an act of cultivating the humanitarian taste in oneself, of questioning or believing in values and meanings. Hence, while art gives a message to the audience thereby encouraging the use of reason, it also has the reenchanting effects of beauty, and symbolism.

A NEW ARISTOCRACY?

Some may question if the rise of the intelligentsia, activists, and artists shall spell the start of another dictatorship, the coming of new ruling classes. No! The rise of the three classes neither means the coming of Plato's philosopher queens or kings,

⁴⁰ Nietzsche, Friedrich Wilhelm, and Thomas Common. "The Birth of Tragedy." In *The Philosophy of Nietzsche*, 1085-1087. New York, NY: Modern Library, 1954.

⁴¹ King, Thomas. *The Truth about Stories: A Native Narrative*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2005. 35.

nor Lenin's dictatorship of the Vanguards, nor those classes owning the biggest houses and the most luxurious brands of cars. The advancement of intellectuals, activists, and artists as classes implies their better access and means of communication to people, and the facilitation of their raising of mass awareness. Their class struggle, therefore, is the extension of their virtues to the rest of the society. With their common goals, the three classes are to be *allies* in the *class struggle* to gain enough strength in their rise, thereby attaining better access to means of communication to people; their similar purposes makes them cooperative in the struggle.

Karl Kautsky, a strong adherent of Orthodox Marxism, in a 1903 speech, argued that intellectuals arrogantly see themselves as superior, especially to workers. Ironically, Kautsky, Marx, Bernstein, Engels, et al, were all intellectuals! Karl Kautsky even admitted in his speech that some intellectuals can support workers as well.⁴² In spite of this, there still lie great flaws with his argument. Firstly, there lies intraclass ideological-intellectual contrast between intellectuals, meaning little generalization is possible in their exact ideological stance, although in social democracies, they are generally positioned around the center rather than the spectrum's far ends (as mentioned previously). Secondly, although the postrevolutionary leaders of France in the 18th century, like Robespierre and Danton were liberal rather than socialist, thus not caring much about the proletariats, they advocated against the inequality that came from the aristocracy. For a still more recent historical example, one cannot turn a blind eye to the influence of such intellectuals as Marcus Garvey and Fredrick Douglas in the formation of the US' Civil Rights

⁴² Kautsky, Karl. "Karl Kautsky, Intellectuals and the Workers (1903)." Spartacus Educational. 1903. Accessed June 30, 2015.

Movement, as an anti-injustice movement.⁴³ This movement, too, was against inequality, although a racial, rather than a class-based one. Nonetheless, it was against oppression. For this reason, Kautsky's generalization about the *specific* stance of intellectuals is invalid, the historical examples, and the provided reasoning indicate otherwise.

CONCLUSION

Social democratic states provide education and free speech, thereby expanding the intellectual class. Free speech allows activists, intellectuals, and artists to engage in their activities, and think and express their views freely. The social welfares and the centrism present in these types of countries echoes and results in moderate and open-minded activists, artists, and intellectuals. There lie many struggles in these classes; however, they all have common interests as classes, in that they seek to promote social consciousness. Activists attempt to mobilize people, strategize, and raise public awareness through media. The intelligentsia seeks to promote consciousness by extending its intellectuality to the rest of the society, while artists raise consciousness by different forms of art, which involve sense-perception, symbolism, intuitive connections and beauty. All in all, in social democracies, artists, activists, and intellectuals raise social consciousness in their own ways, and their alliance, and rise which signifies their better access to different means of communication leads to a facilitated promotion of public awareness.

⁴³ Newman, Mark. "Prerequisite for Change." In *The Civil Rights Movement*, 12. Edinburgh: BAAS Paperbacks, 2004.

GLOSSARY

Intelligentsia: The intellectual class of the society that produces humanitarian knowledge, the educated class of the society that performs complex intellectual work, and seek to improve the society culturally, socially, politically, economically, etc. Examples are humanities teachers, students, professors, and journalists, as well as economists, political scientists, sociologists, and philosophers.

Social Consciousness: Social awareness and sometimes direct active participation and engagement from the people about societal issues, and in the attempt to bring positive change for the society.

Artists Class: The class of the society that produces art. Examples are painters, dancers, musicians, novelists, poets, sculptors, urban designers, architects, and theatrical artists.

Activists: People who attempt to promote or impede economic, social, cultural, political, and/or environmental change. These are people who take action and attempt to lead the society to a specific direction.

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Summary: Using speeches, official websites, educational websites, and books from different historians, philosophers, political theorists, and sociologists, the knowledge foundation for this essay was laid. The question of the ways of bringing social consciousness in social democratic frameworks has been the central focus of the essay. Education and democracy, were the keys to the expansion of the intelligentsia and the free activity of artists and activists. In social democracies, the freedom of speech, the social welfares, and education all allow the rise of moderate intelligentsia, activists, and artists. The intelligentsia, artists, and activists in have been the ones to bring positive change not only in the cultural ground, but also in social, political, and/or economic grounds. The rise of these classes is of central significance in increasing public awareness.

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