

more bread

a book of  
quotes

“Once these poor whites were raised off the fields and given the chance to help boss and police captive Afrikans, their rebellious days were over. The importance of this experience is that it shows the material basis for the lack of class consciousness by early Euro-American workers, and how their political consciousness was directly related to how much they shared in the privileges of the larger settler society.

Further, the capitalists proved to their satisfaction that dissent and rebelliousness within the settler ranks could be quelled by *increasing* the colonial exploitation of other nations and peoples.”

“Historian Richard Morris, in his study of Colonial-era labor, says of European indentured servants on the plantations ‘...but with the advent of Negro slavery they were gradually supplanted [replaced] as field workers and were principally retained as overseers, foremen, or herdsmen.’ (40) In other words, even the very lowest layer

of white society was lifted out of the proletariat by the privileges of belonging to the oppressor nation.”

“It was only possible for settler society to afford this best-paid, most bourgeoisified white work force because they had also obtained the least-paid, most proletarian Afrikan colony to support it.”

“The essence is not the individual ownership of slaves, but rather the fact that world capitalism in general and Euro-American capitalism in specific had forged a slave-based economy in which all settlers gained and took part.

Historian Samuel Morrison, in his study of *The European Discovery of America*, notes that after repeated failures the Europeans learned that North American settler colonies were not self-sufficient; to survive they needed large capital infusions and the benefits of sustained trade with Father Europe. (21)

But why should the British aristocracy and capitalists invest in small family farms – and how great a trade is possible when what the settlers themselves produced was largely the very raw materials and foodstuffs they themselves needed?

Slavery throughout the ‘New World’ answered these questions. It was the unpaid, expropriated labor of millions of Indian and Afrikan captive slaves that created the surpluses on which the settler economy floated and Atlantic trade flourished.”

“The Jeffersonian vision of Amerika as a pastoral European democracy was rooted in the national life of small independent white landowners. Such a society had no place of a proletariat within its ranks – yet, in the age of capitalism, could not do without the labor of such a class.

Amerika imported a proletariat from Afrika, a proletariat permanently chained in an internal colony, laboring for the benefit of all settlers. Afrikan workers might be individually owned, like tools and draft animals, by some

settlers and not others, but in their colonial subjugation they were as a whole owned by the entire Euro-American nation.”

“The Indians having seen that it had not been true what the friars had promised them, that no Spaniards should enter, and seeing furthermore that the Spaniards themselves had brought idols from other lands to sell, when they themselves had delivered over to the friars all their own gods so that they might be burned and one God alone worshipped, the entire land thereabout rose up in indignation against the friars, and they went to them and said:

‘Why have you lied to us and deceived us, telling us that no Christians would enter into these lands? And why have you burned our idols, for your Christians bring other gods from other lands to sell here? Were not our gods better than those of other nations?’”

“The Spenglers are tribally entranced men who crave the swoon back into collective unconsciousness and all the intoxication of number.”

“Joe saw cancer as just another milepost. Cancer came into its own with the Industrial Revolution, a cancer model dedicated to producing identical replicas on an assembly line. The analog carries over to human cells and replication, as solid as auto parts, tin cans, bottles and printed words. Joe didn’t give a shit about cancer. He wasn’t there to save human lives. He was there to alter the human equation.”

“Produce the first all-virus rat, its more efficient – instead of all these elaborate organs we have just cells, an undifferentiated structure. Instead of endeavoring to keep the rat alive, we will endeavor to keep the cancer cells alive. Instead of trying to keep the patient alive, we will keep his death alive. If he can become Death, he cannot die.”

“In winter, the only men left in town were either so young they were in school or so old they were in bed, or so

spineless they sold things to ladies. Everyone else was off in the pineries. They got up at four and turned in at ten. They swamped and sawed and snaked the trees. They caught smallpox from each other and clap from the girls in the dens. They drank a lot and got caught by chains and crushed by log jams.”

“Sometimes a man would get so used to the woods, or so bitter about the people in town, that he’d never go home. He’d just put up a shack and wait for the next freeze and the next drive.”

“And this is, you know, the lesson of psychoanalysis – its not ‘become who you are *really*’ – who you *truly* are,’ the lesson of psychoanalysis is just to confront *briefly* that horror, so that then you again acquire distance from it.”

“When the imagination of a whole people has once been turned toward purely quantitative bigness, as in the United States, this romanticism of numbers exercises an irresistible appeal to the poets among business men.”

“Baudelaire had the true intuition of number as a tactile hand or nervous system for interrelating separate units, when he said that ‘number is within the individual. Intoxication is a number.’ That explains why ‘the pleasure of being in a crowd is a mysterious expression of delight in the multiplication of number.’

Number, that is to say, is not only auditory and resonant, like the spoken word, but originates in the sense of touch, of which it is an extension. The statistical aggregation or crowding of numbers yields the current cave-drawings or finger-paintings of the statistician’s charts.

In every sense, the amassing of numbers statistically gives men a new influx of primitive intuition and magically subconscious awareness, whether of public taste or feeling:

‘You feel better satisfied when you use well-known brands.’”



“The weightless occupant of the space capsule has to fight to retain the integrating sense of touch. Our mechanical technologies for extending and separating the functions of our physical beings have brought us near to a state of disintegration by putting us out of touch with ourselves. It may very well be that in our conscious inner lives the interplay among our senses is what constitutes the sense of touch. Perhaps *touch* is not just skin contact with *things*, but the very life of things in the *mind*?”

“The Greeks had the notion of a consensus or a faculty of ‘common sense’ that translated each sense into each other sense, and conferred consciousness on man. Today, when we have extended all parts of our bodies and senses by technology, we are haunted by the need for an outer consensus of technology and experience that would raise our communal lives to the level of a worldwide consensus.

When we have achieved a worldwide fragmentation, it is not unnatural to think about a worldwide integration. Such a universality of conscious being for mankind was dreamt

of by Dante, who believed that men would remain mere broken fragments until they should be united in an inclusive consciousness. What we have today, instead of a social consciousness electronically ordered, however, is a private subconsciousness or individual ‘point of view’ rigorously imposed by older mechanical technology. This is a perfectly natural result of ‘culture lag’ or conflict, in a world suspended between two technologies.”

“For more than a century now artists have tried to meet the challenge of the electric age by investing the tactile sense with the role of a nervous system for unifying all the others.

Paradoxically, this has been achieved by ‘abstract art,’ which offers a central nervous system for a work of art, rather than the conventional husk of the old pictorial image.”

“For Man is indeed the final product. Not because homo sap is the apogee of perfection, before which God himself gasps in awe – ‘I can do nothing more!’ – but because Man

is an unsuccessful experiment, caught in a biologic dead end and inexorably headed for extinction.”

“Aristotle observed that an oligarchy which remained united could not be overthrown; the collective rule of the mature republican aristocracy only eventually dissolved in the last century BC when it failed to attend to the increasingly serious grievances of the poor and when individual members of the aristocracy appealed to these lower orders [classes] for support in their competition with each other, a competition whose scale and nature had meanwhile already been changed out of all recognition by the spread of Roman rule over the Mediterranean basin.”

“Let us pause a moment to consider this passage, the philosophy of which Kürnberger sums up in these words,

‘they make tallow out of cattle and money out of men’

“In fact I would argue that the last ten years of political life have been about the attempt to kill the very desire to

interpret. In a certain way, there's been a certain trajectory – a social trajectory – in which the text of Nietzsche addresses; that involves accepting surfaces, and to kill the urge to interpret in anything but the most superficial way.”

“What they all establish is what is already obvious: that American thinking, when it concerns itself with beautiful letters as when it concerns itself with religious dogma or political theory, is extremely timid and superficial – that it evades the genuinely serious problems of life and art as if they were stringently taboo – that the outward virtues it undoubtedly shows are always the virtues, not of profundity, not of courage, not of originality, but merely those of an emasculated and often very trashy dilettantism.”

“In such a society, the separation of the individual from the group in space (privacy), and in thought (‘point of view’), and in work (specialism), has had the cultural and technological support of literacy, and its attendant galaxy of fragmented industrial and political institutions.”

“For Lash, then, de-differentiation and figural regimes of signification point to the way in which images [,] unlike language [,] are based upon perceptual memories which draw on the unconscious, which is not structured like language with systematic rules.”

“This notion is based on a reversal of the process of cultural *differentiation* Weber and Habermas refer to (which entails the differentiation of aesthetic forms from the real world) to *de-differentiation*, which implies a reversal to favour the deauraticization of art, and an aesthetics of desire, sensation and immediacy.”

“Lash points to a number of features which make post-modern culture figural; its emphasis upon primary processes (desire) rather than secondary (the ego); upon images rather than words; upon the immersion of the spectator and investment of desire in the object as opposed to the maintenance of distance.”

“In *Simulations* Baudrillard (1983a: 148) states that in this hyperreality the real and imaginary are confused and aesthetic fascination is everywhere so that

‘a kind of non-intentional parody hovers over everything, of technical simulating, of indefinable fame to which is attached an aesthetic pleasure.’”

“In his more recent writings Baudrillard (1983a, 1983b) has pushed this logic even further to draw attention to the overload of information provided by the media which now confront us with an endless flow of fascinating images and simulations.”

“In his earlier writings on the consumer society Baudrillard developed a theory of the commodity-sign, in which he pointed to the way in which the commodity has become a sign in the Saussurean sense with its meaning arbitrarily determined by its position in a self-referential set of signifiers.”

“This strike, which encompassed the entire country – an immense strike, unique in modern history – took place in mid October. It was less spontaneous than the January strike. Long anticipated, prepared ahead of time, it was organized by the Soviet, the ‘Union of Unions’, and mainly by numerous strike committees.

Factories, yards, workshops, warehouses, banks, administrative offices, railroads, and all other means of transportation, post offices and telegraph stations – everything, absolutely everything, stopped completely. The life of the country was suspended.”

“This atmosphere – of agitation and turbulence, psychic dizziness and drunkenness, expansion of experiential possibilities and destruction of moral boundaries and personal bonds, self-enlargement and self-derangement, phantoms in the street and in the soul – is the atmosphere in which modern sensibility is born.”

“It is ironic and contradictory, polyphonic and dialectical, denouncing modern life in the name of values that modernity itself has created, hoping – often against hope – that the modernities of tomorrow and the day after tomorrow will heal the wounds that wreck the modern men and women of today.”

“The centrality of the commercial manipulation of images through advertising [,] the media and the displays, performances and spectacles of the urbanized fabric of daily life therefore entails a constant reworking of desires through images. Hence the consumer society must not be regarded as only releasing a dominant materialism, for it also confronts people with dream-images which speak to desires, and aestheticize and derealize reality (Haug, 1987:123).”

“Such are the blind, and in general the handicapped; mutant figures, because mutilated and hence closer to commutation, closer to this telepathic, telecommunicational universe than



we others: humans all-too-human, condemned by our lack of disabilities to conventional forms of work.”

“One must observe the blind playing a ball game – torball, created specifically for them – in which they display [science-fiction] SF-like behavior, adjusting themselves to each other by ear and the animal reflex, which will soon be the case for humans in a process of eyeless tactile perception and reflex adaptation, evolving in the systems as in the interior of their brain or in the convolutions of a box.”

“In this sense a handicap opens up a veritable terrain of anticipation, an objective experimentation on the body, the senses, the brain, in particular in its relation with computers; computers as a new, productive, immaterial force, and the handicap as an anticipation of future work conditions in an altered, inhuman and abnormal universe.”

“This having been established, there are no more individuals, but only potential mutants. From a biological,

genetic and cybernetic point of view, we are all mutants. Now, for mutants there can no longer be any Last Judgment, or the resurrection of the body, for what body will one resurrect? It will have changed formula, chromosomes, it will have been programmed according to other motor and metal variables, it will no longer have any claim on its own image.”

“The religious, metaphysical or philosophical definition of being has given way to an operational definition in terms of the genetic code (DNA) and cerebral organization (the informational code and billions of neurons).”

“Electrocuted, lobotomized, the soul has become but a cerebral convolution. Moreover, it is probable that our learned neurologists will be able to locate the soul in the brain, just as they have located the linguistic function and the upright posture.”

“Since thought is in its way a kind of network of antibodies and a natural immunity system, it too is seriously

threatened. Thought will be favorably replaced by a better system, a cerebro-spinal bubble, freed of all animal and metaphysical reflexes. Our very own brain, our very bodies have become this bubble, this sanitized sphere, a transparent envelope in which we seek refuge, as destitute and overprotected as the unknown child condemned to artificial immunity and perpetual transfusions, condemned to die as soon as he will have kissed his mother.”

“The human body will be able to rely less and less on its antibodies, and will have to be protected from the exterior. The artificial purification of all milieus, atmospheres, and environments will supplant the failing internal immune systems. If those immune systems are breaking down it is because an irreversible tendency called progress pushes the human body and spirit into relinquishing its systems of defense and self-determination, only to replace them with technical artifacts.”

“Thus, however, reason becomes involved in darkness and contradictions, from which, no doubt, it may conclude that

errors must be lurking somewhere, but without being able to discover them, because the principles which it follows transcend all the limits of experience and therefore withdraw themselves from all experimental tests. It is the battle-field of these endless controversies which is called *METAPHYSIC.*”

“In addition a similar decontextualization of tradition and a raiding of all cultural forms to draw out quotations from the imaginary side of life are found among the young ‘de-centered’ subjects who enjoy the experimentation and play with fashion and the stylization of life as they stroll through the ‘no place’ postmodern urban spaces (Chambers, 1987; Calefato, 1988).”

“Jameson (1984a) too emphasizes the loss of a sense of history and the fragmentation of time into a series of perpetual presents in which there is the experience of multiphrenic intensities.”

“1885-6

The private made public Insanity  
Ghost Clairvoyant Poetry Suicide  
Incendiary fire Incendiary fire  
Insanity Suicide—moral disgrace  
Insanity—poverty Railway accident  
Railway accident Morphine Suicide  
Hearse Carboic Acid Arson Frozen  
Death in delirium Ghosts Respectable  
Suicide Suicide—moprhine Electricity  
Epidemics Insanity—religious Suicide  
Tramps Suicide—murder-insanity  
Obscene matter Delirious insanity  
Diphtheria Miraculous medicine  
Temperance  
Incendiaries False teeth”

“Its primary intention is to make you experience the pages now before you as a flexible mirror that if turned one way can reflect the odor of the air that surrounded me as I wrote this; if turned another, can project your anticipations of

next Monday; if turned again, can transmit the sound of breathing in the deep winter air of a room of eighty years ago, and if turned once again, this time backward on itself, can fuse all three images, and so can focus who I once was, what you might yet be, and what may have happened, all upon a single point of your imagination, and transform them like light focused by a lens on paper, from a lower form of energy to a higher.”

“These accounts turned grief inside out; they turned murderous sorrow outward toward the eyes of a crowd that could not only comfort it, but, by participating in it, could be immunized against it.”

“The text was constructed as music is composed. It was meant to obey its own laws of tone, pitch, rhythm, and repetition. Even though now, caught between the two covers of this book, it accompanies the pictures, it was not meant to serve them the way a quartet was intended to disguise the indecorous pauses in eighteenth-century gossip.

Rather, it was meant to fill the space of this book with a constantly repeated theme that might recall your attention whenever it drifted from the faces and hands of the people in the pictures.”

“Weber had little faith in the people, but even less in their ruling classes, whether aristocratic or bourgeois, bureaucratic or revolutionary. Hence his political stance, at least in the last years of his life, was a perpetually embattled liberalism. But when the Weberian remoteness and contempt for modern men and women were split off from Weberian skepticism and critical insight, the result was a politics far to the right of Weber’s own.

Many twentieth-century thinkers have seen things this way: the swarming masses who press upon us in the street and in the state have no sensitivity, spirituality or dignity like our own; isn’t it absurd, then, that these ‘mass men’ (or ‘hollow men’) should have not only the right to govern themselves but also, through their mass majorities, the power to govern us?

In the ideas and intellectual gestures of Ortega, Spengler, Maurras, T.S. Eliot and Allen Tate, we see Weber's neo-Olympian perspective and would-be aristocrats of the twentieth-century right."

"To Weber, his contemporaries are nothing but 'specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart, and this nullity is caught in the delusion that it has achieved a level of development never before attained by mankind.'

Thus, not only is modern society a cage, but all the people in it are shaped by its bars; we are beings without spirit, without heart, without sexual or personal identity ('this nullity . . . caught in the delusion that *it* has achieved . . .') – we might almost say without being. Here, just as in futurist and techno-pastoral forms of modernism, modern man as a subject – as a living being capable of response, judgment and action in and on the world – has disappeared."



“In many ways, modern thought since Marx and Nietzsche has grown and developed; yet our thinking about modernity seems to have stagnated and regressed.”

“If we listen closely to twentieth-century writers and thinkers about modernity and compare them to those of a century ago, we will find a radical flattening of perspective and shrinkage of imaginative range. Our nineteenth-century thinkers were simultaneously enthusiasts and enemies of modern life, wrestling inexhaustibly with its ambiguities and contradictions; their self-ironies and inner tensions were a primary source of their creative power. Their twentieth-century successors have lurched far more toward rigid polarities and flat totalizations.

Modernity is either embraced with a blind and uncritical enthusiasm, or else condemned with a neo-Olympian remoteness and contempt; in either case, it is conceived as a closed monolith, incapable of being shaped or changed by modern men. Open versions of modern life have been supplanted by closed ones, Both/And by Either/Or.”

“For at the very time that the Frontier Myth or the vision of a happier agrarian America was reaching its apogee (witness Turner’s classic essay of 1893) there was also a growing awareness of awesome problems of death, decline, delinquency, and even degeneracy as phenomena associated not only with industrial and urban America but with rural and agrarian America as well.”

“All organizations, but especially biological ones, struggle to remain constant in their inner condition amidst the variations of outer shock and change. The man-made social environment as an extension of man’s physical body is no exception. The city, as a form of the body politic, responds to new pressures and irritations by resourceful new extensions – always in the effort to exert staying power, constancy, equilibrium, and *homeostasis*.”

“ ‘But still I wonder. . . I must ask myself what the shouts of solidarity mean. You say to go right on, don’t you?’

‘Amen!’

‘You say that we’ve got to wipe out the pig, right?’

‘Right on!’

‘What we need is peace and love, right?’

‘Hear, hear!’

‘Give em’ hell, brother!’

‘Love and Peace, Peace and Love. . . . with a little dope,  
and a little rock on the side?’

‘You’re talking, brother. Right on!’

‘Hell yes, a little dope, a little love, a cheer here and there.  
Let’s march around the block, let’s go on up to the pigs at  
the skirmish line and give them hell. . . we’ll kill them with  
our buttons and beads. . . . we’ll slaughter them with our  
Rolling Stones albums, right?’

‘Ah, come on, man.’ the crowd feels suckered.

‘Sure, peace and love. . . . dope and rock. . . . solid, Jackson!’

‘Hey, man? What are you driving at?’

‘Let’s smother the creeps with flowers and posters, with  
acid and rock. . . . right on?’

‘Hey, man, cut out that divisive shit!’

‘Screw you, buster. . . . I’m here to tell you that you’re  
fucked! You don’t know what you’re screaming!’

You don't know what you're asking for! Do you realize that when it comes down to it. . . and it will come down, believe me. . . . when the fires start up, when the pigs come to take us all, what will you do? Will you hide behind your skin? Behind your school colors? Will you tell the arresting officers that you are with the rebels? Will you join up with the chicanos and blacks? Or will you run back to the homes of your fathers in Beverly Hills, in Westwood, in Canoga Park? Will you be with us when the going gets rough?'

'Hey, man. Why don't you wrap it up?' the redbear calls to me. The crowd is getting ugly.

'Do you realize that you'll have to shoot your mother? Do you realize that you might have to crack your uncle's head apart? Will you be willing to do that? Do you think you can slaughter your own kind? I doubt it.

I seriously doubt it.'"

"The masses have a right to change property relations; Fascism seeks to give them an expression while preserving

property. The logical result of fascism is the introduction of aesthetics into political life.”

“The growing proletarianization of modern man and the increasing formation of masses are two aspects of the same process. Fascism attempts to organize the newly created proletarian masses without affecting the property structure which the masses strive to eliminate. Fascism sees its salvation in giving these masses not their right, but instead a chance to express themselves.”

“Stripped of a stage and crossed over without the least obstacle, the schizophrenic cannot produce the limits of his very being, he can no longer produce himself as a mirror. He becomes a pure screen, a pure absorption and resorption surface of the influent networks.”

“The schizophrenic is not, as generally claimed, characterized by his loss of touch with reality, but by the absolute proximity to and total instantaneousness with things, this overexposure to the transparency of the world.”

“Perhaps in this case one should apply metaphors drawn from pathology. If hysteria was the pathology of the exacerbated staging of the subject – of the theatrical and operational conversion of the body – and if paranoia was the pathology of organization – of the structuring of a rigid and jealous world – then today we have entered into a new form of schizophrenia – with the emergence of an immanent promiscuity and the perpetual interconnection of all information and communication networks.”

“In any case we will suffer from this forced extraversion of all interiority, from this forced introjection of all exteriority which is implied by the categorical imperative of communication.”

“The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and with them the relations of production, and with them all the relations of society . . .

Constant revolutionizing of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social relations, everlasting uncertainty and agitation, distinguish the bourgeoisie epoch from all earlier ones.”

“Marx goes on: ‘there is one great fact, characteristic of this [,] our nineteenth century, a fact, which no party dares deny.’ The basic fact of modern life, as Marx experiences it, is that this life is radically contrary at its base:

‘On the one hand, there have started into life industrial and scientific forces which no epoch of human history had ever suspected. On the other hand, there exist symptoms of decay, far surpassing the horrors of the latter times of the Roman Empire. In our days everything seems pregnant with its contrary.

Machinery, gifted with the wonderful power of shortening and fructifying human labor, we behold starving and overworking it.

The newfangled sources of wealth, by some weird spell, are turned into sources of want. The victories of art seem bought by the loss of character. At the same pace that mankind masters nature, man seems to become enslaved to other men or to his own infamy. Even the pure light of science seems unable to shine but on the dark background of ignorance.

All our invention and progress seems to result in endowing material forces with intellectual life, and stultifying human life into a material force.”

“Here is Marx, speaking in awkward but powerful English in London in 1856, ‘the so-called revolutions of 1848 were but poor incidents,’ he begins, ‘small fractures and fissures in the dry crust of European society. But they denounced the abyss. Beneath the apparently solid surface they betrayed oceans of liquid matter, only needing expansion to rend into fragments continents of hard rock.’”



“The ruling classes of the reactionary 1850’s tell the world that all is solid again; but it is not clear if even they themselves believe it. In fact, Marx says, ‘the atmosphere in which we live weighs upon everyone with a 20,000 pound force, but do you feel it?’”

“One of Marx’s most urgent aims is to make people ‘feel it’; this is why his ideas are expressed in such intense and extravagant images – abysses, earthquakes, volcanic eruptions, crushing gravitational force – images that will continue to resonate in our own century’s modernist art and thought.”

“The great modernists of the nineteenth century all attack this environment passionately, and strive to tear it down or explode it from within; yet all find themselves remarkably at home in it, alive to its possibilities, affirmative even in their radical negations, playful and ironic even in their moments of gravest seriousness and depth.”

“This is a landscape of steam engines, automatic factories, railroads, vast new industrial zones; of teeming cities that have grown overnight, often with dreadful human consequences; of daily newspapers, telegraphs, telephones and other mass media, communicating on an ever wider scale; of increasingly strong national states and multinational aggregations of capital; of mass social movements fighting these modernizations from above with their own modes of modernization from below; of an ever-expanding world market embracing all, capable of the most spectacular growth, capable of appalling waste and devastation, capable of everything except solidity and stability.”

“ ‘Set a mark upon the foreheads of the men that sigh.’

I think of the cliffs of the Western Slope, streaked olive, rust, and purple. The way this reach of Ohio lies so flat you can see it bend at the horizon. The earth curving. The geological record. Recording angels of the mineral kingdom. Indifferent to history, tender in the rain.”

“In the decline of the middle-class society, contemplation became a school for asocial behavior; it was countered by distraction as a variant of social conduct.”

“Historically, it meant the formation of the Roman Empire and the disruption of the previous city-states of the Greek world. Before the use of papyrus and alphabet created the incentives for building fast, hard surface roads, the walled town and the city-state were natural forms that could endure.”

“The alteration of social groupings, and the formation of new communities, occur with the increased speed of information movement by means of paper messages and road transport. Such speed-up means much more control at much greater distances.”

“It is a persistent theme of this book that all technologies are extensions of our physical and nervous systems to increase power and speed.”

“The word ‘metaphor’ is from the Greek *meta* plus *pherein* ; to carry across or transport. In this book we are concerned with all forms of transport of goods and information, both as metaphor and exchange. Each form of transport not only carries, but translates and transforms, the sender, the receiver, and the message.”

“The use of any kind of medium or extension of man alters the patterns of interdependence among people, as it alters the ratios among our senses.”

“Perhaps there is no more suitable way of defining the character of the electric age than by studying the rise of the idea of transportation as communication, and then the transition of the idea from transport to information by means of electricity.”

“It was not until the advent of the telegraph that messages could travel faster than a messenger. Before this, roads and the written word were closely interrelated. It is only since the telegraph that information has detached itself from such

solid commodities as stone and papyrus, much as money had earlier detached itself from hides, bullion, and metals, and had ended as paper.”

“The term ‘communication’ has had an extensive use in connection with roads and bridges, sea routes, rivers, and canals, even before it became transformed into ‘information movement’ in the electric age.”

“ ‘Drought, great heat, will be upon the land!’ Pastor Hank cries. *Yes, Lord*, says the man besides me, as if grateful for this renaming of the sizzle outside as not ‘climate crisis’ but confirmation of the divine.”

“That’s how prophecy works. More diagnosis than prognosis. More description than soothsaying. It can be a means of deception or perception, or both at the same time.”

“Mona tried to tell me, to stay away from the train-line . . . she said that all the railroad men, just drink up your blood

like wine . . . and I said; oh I didn't know that – but then again there's only one I've met . . . And he just smoked my eyelids, and punched my cigarette . . .”

“Let the chickens come home to roost, I thought as I hurried into the airport. It was still too early to act normal, so I huddled down in the coffee shop behind the *L.A. Times*. Somewhere down the corridor a jukebox was playing ‘One Toke Over The Line.’ I listened for a moment, but my nerve ends were no longer receptive. The only song I might have been able to relate to, at that point, was ‘Mister Tambourine Man’ or maybe ‘Memphis Blues Again’.”

“The worship band began to play in front of three giant screens projecting the lyrics to contemporary hymns over a slideshow backdrop of mountain vistas and waterfalls. It wasn't Yuba City, just a generic ‘creation,’ a divine anywhere rather than the local landscape of drought and fire, migrant worker and strip mall. An associate pastor took the stage to tell us about upcoming events, women's groups, and ‘the militia new recruit meeting.’”

“They are drawn together by their love of ‘fairness’, which is how it used to be, they’re certain they remember, or, if they’re too young, they’ve been told. Or maybe they’ve all just seen it in a movie, a Western or a space opera or a revenge fantasy, the forever frontier that is equal parts *Little House on the Prairie* and *The Punisher*.”

“We no longer exist as playwrights or actors but as terminals of multiple networks.”

“Using that line of argument, Kautsky sought to explain ‘free’ will in the context of what he believed to be a law-governed determinate sequence. In that context, he treated conscience as though it were an adaptive mechanism, functional in an environment that demanded some fundamental change in individual and group behavior.”

“Such changes would be the result of deliberation involving economic imperatives – the satisfaction of substance, protection, and welfare needs. As the economic system evolved, human beings acted ‘freely,’ as conscience

dictated – with those dictates emanating from determinate realities.”

“Kautsky consistently describes human action as being given initial impulse by the will to survive.”

“The will to survive is an evolutionary by-product. Habit is the result of social reinforcement. Habituation to patterns of behavior has survival advantage in a Darwinian world of group competition – consequently, we expect human beings to be creatures of habit.

Conscience, in turn, allows tactical adjustments in instinctive or habitual behavior. Those adjustments are functional in communities regularly undergoing changes in life conditions. Individuals and groups involved in the process act freely, yet in a determinate fashion.”

“Behavior is then shaped by custom, and then differentially inspired by conscience.”



“Civilization is built on literacy because literacy is a uniform processing of a culture by a visual sense extended in space and time by the alphabet.”

“To us the pipe is a convenience. We do not think of it as culture or as a product of literacy, any more than we think of literacy as changing our habits, our emotions, or our perceptions.

To nonliterate people, it is perfectly obvious that the most commonplace conveniences represent total changes in culture.”

“As a civilized UNESCO experiment, running water – with its lineal organization of pipes – was installed recently in some Indian villages. Soon the villagers requested that the pipes be removed, for it seemed to them that the whole social life of the village had been impoverished when it was no longer necessary for all to visit the communal well.”

“As long as the forces of production remain compatible with the relations of production, the patterns of social conduct remain essentially unchanged – they ‘reflect’ the functional economic base. In such circumstances, individual and collective behavior remains essentially habitual, routine.

Only when the existing productive relations can no longer accommodate the changing productive forces do tensions emerge that move society to seek a new equilibrium – and both individuals and groups are forced to alter their conduct.”

“The breaking up of every kind of experience into uniform units in order to produce faster action and change of form (applied knowledge) has been the secret of Western power over man and nature alike. That is the reason why our Western industrial programs have quite involuntarily been so militant, and our military programs have been so industrial. [\*?] Both are shaped by the alphabet in their

technique of transformation and control by making all situations uniform and continuous.

This procedure, manifest even in the Graeco-roman phase, became more intense with the uniformity and repeatability of the Gutenberg development.”

“Certainly the lineal structuring of rational life by phonetic literacy has involved us in an interlocking set of consistencies that are striking enough to justify a much more extensive inquiry than that of the present chapter.

Perhaps there are better approaches, along quite different lines; for example; consciousness is regarded as the mark of a rational being, yet there is nothing lineal or sequential about the total field of awareness that exists in any moment of consciousness.”

“Consciousness is not a verbal process. Yet during all of our centuries of phonetic literacy we have favored the chain of inference as the mark of logic and reason.”

“Joe could of course throw in with Bickford – another sinking ship, only sinking a bit slower. Laissez-faire capitalism was a thing of the past that would metamorphose into conglomerate corporate capitalism, another dead end.

A problem cannot be solved in terms of itself. The human problem cannot be solved in human terms. Only a basic change in the board and chessmen could offer a chance of survival.

Consider the Egyptian concept of seven souls, with different and incompatible interests. They must be welded into one. Otherwise the organism remains wide open to parasitic attack.”

“The rally was scheduled for eleven, but it wouldn’t begin until after twelve, and most of us had been there since eight, seven a.m. We held our Trump signs over our heads to shield our reddening faces from the sun, we squinted at helicopters – local news? Sheriff Joe’s? – and traded tales of Trump’s Sikorskys, said to be lined with gold and

creamy leather just like his plane. Like a beautiful living room: Trump's flying living room – imagine the splendor! – would thump-thump-thump above the protestors like in the movies, Bob Hope in Vietnam, it would swoop round the fountain on which we fixated, telling one another that Mr. Trump was paying for its nonstop gushing just to make the day special.”

“ ‘Miracles’ will release you from the bondage of debt or obliterate the tumor you didn't even know was forming in you. The Christian Right that has so long dominated the political theology of the United States emphasizes a heavenly reward for righteousness in faith and behavior; the prosperity gospel is about what Peale might call ‘amazing results’ you can measure and count.”

“On the surface, the prosperity gospel is a simple transaction. It begins with a kind of sales demonstration, a preacher who shows you his wealth as evidence of his anointing. He's blessed; and you can be too. All you have to do is invest. How?

The usual way: You give him your money. Only, your money is just a metaphor for your faith, and the good news promised by the prosperity gospel is that faith will be repaid in kind.”

“Peale’s ‘positivity’ has diluted into the air of the American myth of the businessman redeemer. It was what Trump transmitted; what his followers received, though, was shaped for believers and unbelievers alike by the prosperity gospel that surpassed Peale. Peale’s message resonated in its time most with the affluent – those, like Trump himself, who saw themselves as winners.

The prosperity gospel recasts the same promise to those, like Trump’s followers, who feel lost.”

“*Positive Thinking* – still in print and popular – ‘makes no pretense to literary excellence,’ Peale wrote, ‘nor does it seek to illustrate any unusual scholarship on my part.’

‘Positive Thinking’ isn’t about serving God; it’s about using God, through what Peale called ‘applied

Christianity,’ to achieve ‘a perfected and amazing method of successful living.’

The method is like a closed loop, a winner’s circle of the soul. ‘The man who assumes success tends already to have success,’ Peale wrote, a tautological spirituality as instantly recognizable in Trumpism as the drumbeat of his words:

*success, perfect, amazing.”*

“For Peale, and Trump, these were magic words, the very utterance of which gave them the singular truth Trump derived from *Positive Thinking*; self.

‘BELIEVE IN YOURSELF!’ Peale began the book, and the rest was commentary, fables of status drawn from the lives of sports heroes and businessmen, ‘competent spiritual experts’ whose authority was demonstrated not by quoting scripture but through the visible evidence of their success.”

“It was this man’s custom that when he was about to make war upon some villages or provinces, he would take with him all he could of the already subject Indians, that they might wage war upon the others, and since he would not feed that ten or twenty thousand men that he took with him, he gave them leave to eat the Indians that they captured.

And thus there was in his camp the most outright and veritable butchery of human flesh, where in his presence children would be slain and cooked, and a man would be slain for his hands alone and his feet, which were considered to be a delicacy.”

“The long retreat, the frostbitten soldiers hobbling along on toeless feet. And those with their eyelids frozen off who can never again close their eyes. And the genitals that drop off when you try to take a piss and the concentrated yellow urine seeps out with sluggish black blood . . . Back back back . . . to the outskirts of Berlin.



Berlin is a ruin, without water or food or police or medical facilities. Clearly it is every man for himself. The Russians are in the eastern outskirts of Berlin, the Allies in the west. Wilhelm is following his instincts. He knows that the name of the life game is *survival*. The War is lost but the SS is out with ropes, grimly and methodically hanging all deserters and defeatists from trees and lampposts and the projecting beams of bombed-out buildings.”

“Wilhelm was lucky. His colonel in the Waffen SS was an addict. As soon as a town was captured he was into the drugstores and the doctors offices. Wilhelm had a superb Mannlicher with telescopic sights. It’s a *wunderbar* feeling, to tag someone at five hundred yards, like the hand of God, the tiny figure falling into the snow . . . way out there near the skyline.

And he practiced with his P38, worked over by a gunsmith and with a butt custom-molded to his hand. He could hit snowballs in the air.

Back to some requisitioned farmhouse, no need to ask permission from the owners. They have been removed by a work crew... had to... dead, you know... the ampules and syringes and alcohol laid out.

The Colonel is a thin, aristocratic man of fifty with a fine thin nose and thin lips and little blue veins hard to hit.

But Wilhelm could find a vein in a mummy.

‘Allow me, my Colonel.’

The blood blossoms in the syringe and he pushes the plunger home.

‘*Sieg Heil!*’ breathes the Colonel.

Wilhelm is tying up . . . ahh the blessed warmth.

‘*Heil Hitler!*’

‘*Heil Hitler!*’ the Colonel echoes.

Wilhelm knows the whole thing is insane, like Napoleon. He remembers the Victor Hugo poem, ‘It snowed it snowed  
it snowed.’

He knows the Colonel is thinking the same thing. How can we get out from under this madman and save our assholes?”

“So the conversation circled for hours, like the Rolling Stones songs on heavy rotation, ‘political’, to the same extent that ‘Sympathy for the Devil’ is a pop song. Sex and violence and the comic grotesque; that was the surface.

Beneath it a longing more profound.

When a preacher nobody knew took the podium and started crying, ‘He’s worthy! He’s worthy!’ the crowd knew he meant God and Trump and them all at the same time, and when the preacher shouted, ‘Praise Him!’ they did.

And when he finished his sermon – sharp with crime and heroin and missing children, prophecy and Trump and the father-nation – and said, ‘His name is Jesus, and he approves this message,’ they laughed, delighted by the preacher’s joke because it was just for them.”

“The Greek myth about the alphabet was that Cadmus, reputedly the king who introduced the phonetic letters into Greece, sowed the dragon’s teeth, and they sprang up armed men. Like any other myth, this one capsulates a prolonged process into a flashing insight.

The alphabet meant power and authority and control of military structures at a distance. When combined with papyrus, the alphabet spelled the end of the stationary temple bureaucracies and the priestly monopolies of knowledge and power.

Unlike pre-alphabetic writing, which with its innumerable signs was difficult to master, the alphabet could be learned  
in a few hours.

The acquisition of so extensive a knowledge and so complex a skill as pre-alphabetic writing represented, when applied to such unwieldy materials as brick and stone, insured for the scribal caste a monopoly of priestly power.

The easier alphabet and the light, cheap, transportable papyrus together affected the transfer of power from the priestly to the military class. All this is implied in the myth about Cadmus and the dragon's teeth, including the fall of the city-states, the rise of empires and military bureaucracies."

"In terms of the extensions of man, the theme of the dragon's teeth in the Cadmus myth is of the utmost importance. Elias Canetti in *Crowds and Power* reminds us that the teeth are an obvious agent of power in man, and especially in many animals. Languages are filled with testimony to the grasping, devouring power and precision of teeth.

That the power of letters as agents of aggressive order and precision should be expressed as extensions of the dragon's teeth is natural and fitting. Teeth are emphatically visual in their linear order. Letters are not only like teeth visually, but their power to put teeth into the business of empire-building is manifest in our Western history."

“The American press, with its geography of public and private spheres, its love of contests, was built for a different reality. Pragmatically so; its the reality in which we find ourselves constricted.”

“For seven days she lay in bed looking sullenly at the ceiling as though resenting the death she had cultivated for so many years. Like some people who cannot vomit despite horrible nausea, she lay there unable to die, resisting death as she had resisted life, frozen with resentment of process and change.”

“Obviously the desert has at last got inside our heads, we’re seeing everything in terms of ash and sand. The landscape of Kansas is an elaborate kit of internal ciphers, a set of psychological counters of a mysterious kind.

You could kill someone here as an abstract gesture, see your own divinity confirmed in the counters of a dune.”

“We chose to eat of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, and for this we were punished. As St. Augustine put it, we rebelled against God, and God’s judgment was to cause our own desires to rebel against our rational good sense; our punishment for original sin is the infinity of our new desires.”

“I believe that such a confined, constricted use of the term ‘totalitarian’ is itself ideological, because it *may* serve to cover up the fact – at least in my opinion – the fact that totalitarian tendencies *are* beginning to show, even in societies which are still democratic, which preserve their democratic process and institutions, which have several parties, which may even have countervailing forces.”

“The real puzzle is not when chiefs, or, even kings and queens, first appeared, but rather when it was no longer possible simply to laugh them out of court.”

“[I]f the ability to effect change in the world and in oneself is historically and culturally specific, (both in terms of what

constitutes ‘change’ and the capacity by which it is effected), then its meaning and sense cannot be fixed a priori . . . [Indeed] agentival capacity is entailed not only in those acts that result in (progressive) change but also those that aim towards continuity, stasis, and stability (Mahmood 2001, 212).”

“The entire sequence is unavoidable – the result of a law-governed process. The socialist revolution becomes inevitable. Given some specific set of special circumstances for each locality, one can predict the transformative outcome with the full assurance of science. Individual and collective choice is dictated by the developments at the productive base of society.”

“The increasing incompatibility of productive forces and productive relations is spoken of as a part of a revolutionary ‘ripening’ of society. In the case of industrial capitalism, it means that society has created conditions conducive to systemic social change.



That revolutionary ripening is described in standard Marxist terms as the result of a series of interlocking effects:

Technological improvements alter society's manner of producing goods; the new technology, because of its very nature and requirements, renders impossible its employment of individual artisans; instead workers are drawn together into expanding industrial sites to labor at machines as cost effective 'wage slaves'; they are paid subsistence wages and live in a state of threat and increasing penury;

In times of abundance, their wages do not rise as rapidly as prices; in times of economic contraction, they lose the opportunity to work for their subsistence and are menaced by starvation;

The maturing of industrial capitalism draws more and more individuals into its labor force; as a consequence of the rapaciousness of major capitalist enterprises, the middle classes increasingly are reduced to the level of wage

workers; ultimately, as a consequence of its intrinsic nature, unable to profitably empty its inventories, the maturing industrial system gradually collapses into stagnation and final crisis.”

“The possibility of resistance to norms [is located] within the structure of power itself rather than in the consciousness of an autonomous individual.” [\*?]

“The soft brown carpet under his feet; the soft, cream-tinted walls; the snow-white bowl lights in the ceiling – all seemed to him parts of a perfection and social superiority which was almost unbelievable – so remote from all that he had ever known.”

“Eventually, the replication of the fixed and normalized forms of discourse became an end itself, and the constative meanings of these discursive forms became increasingly unimportant.”

“This process of replication took place at the level of texts, the visual discourse of ideology (posters, films, monuments, architecture), ritualistic discourse (meetings, reports, institutional practice, celebrations), and in many centralized ‘formal structures’ of everyday practice (De Certeau 1988, xv) (such as school curriculum, prices of goods, and the general organization of urban time and space).”

“As a result of this shift of conditions, the authoritative discourse underwent a major internal normalization at the structural level. The normalized and fixed structures of this discourse became increasingly frozen and were replicated from one context to the next practically intact.”

“A model of authoritative discourse in which the literal precision of statements and representations was evaluated against an eternal canon (described in the opinion of an external editor) was gradually displaced by a model in which the external canon was no longer available.”

“It became increasingly more important to participate in the reproduction of the *form* of these ritualized acts of authoritative discourse than to engage with their constative meanings.”

“Here, a filling station beside a dual carriageway enshrined a deeper sense of community than any church or chapel, a greater awareness of a shared culture than a library or municipal gallery could offer.”

“There were no cinemas, churches, or civic centers, and the endless billboards advertising a glossy consumerism sustained the only cultural life.”

“Nothing now made sense except in terms of a transient airport culture. Warning displays alerted each other, and the entire landscape was coded for danger. CCTV cameras crouched over warehouse gates, and filter-left signs pulsed tirelessly, pointing to the sanctuaries of high-security science parks.”

“I was moving through a terrain of inter-urban sprawl, a geography of sensory deprivation, a zone of dual carriageways and petrol stations, business parks and signposts to Heathrow, disused farmland filled with butane tanks, warehouses clad in exotic metal sheeting.”

“For them a book is merely a capital risk. The finer it is, the less chance it has of selling. Every exceptional man rises above the masses, and therefore his success is in direct ratio to the time needed for his work to prove its value. No publisher is willing to wait for that.

Today’s book must be sold out tomorrow. Following that policy, publishers refuse substantial books which can only gradually obtain the serious approval they need.”

“‘General,’ said Dauriat, ‘Fame costs twelve thousand francs in reviews and three thousand francs in dinners.’”

“To change instinctual and habitual individual and collective behavior, according to Kautsky’s account, requires that the motive force of instinct, and habitual conformity, be modified by powerful external influence.

Such influence, Kautsky maintained, could only come as a consequence of major changes in the manner in which individuals and society met their survival and welfare needs.”

“At a more theoretical level, Kautsky argued that the instinct to survive and attain satisfaction, among the higher primates, is systematically influenced by prevailing group custom.

Individual behavior is adapted to existing social circumstances by peer group and situational constraints until conforming behavior becomes habitual.

For the individual, the consequence is that behaving in a conventional fashion, complying with group pressures to conform, becomes comfortable – and the conforming individual is spoken of as being ‘good’ or ‘proper’.”

“Just as he had argued in his *Ethik und materialistische Geschichtsauffassung*, he spoke of the Darwinian ‘instinct of survival’ as providing the psychic energy that infilled human individual and collective will. So moved, human behavior was characterized by an instinctive defense of life. More than that, the instinct, in more complex circumstances, prompted a disposition to seek not only survival but gratification in increased measures of satisfaction.

As an illustrative case, Kautsky cited the fact that beyond their Darwinian instinct to survive, capitalists seek personal advantage, the maximization of profits – just as one would expect workers, once immediate survival was assured, to assiduously seek wage increases.

It was out of just such predispositions that an ‘inevitable’ class conflict was predictable. Kautsky’s interpretation of Darwinism rendered class struggle both inevitable and voluntarily chosen – given their instincts – by the participants.”

“Participating in these acts reproduced oneself as a ‘normal’ Soviet person within the system of relations, collectivities, and subject positions, with all the constraints and possibilities that position entailed, even including the possibility, after the meetings, to engage in interests, pursuits, and meanings that ran against those that were stated in the resolutions one had voted for.”

“The successful achievement of the result (such as reproducing the institution and one’s position in it) does not necessarily depend on what one’s opinion about the candidate is or even whether one has an opinion at all.”

“Archimedes once said, ‘give me a place to stand and I will move the world.’ Today he would have pointed to our



electric media and said, 'I will stand on your eyes, your ears, your nerves, and your brain, and the world will move in any tempo or pattern I choose.'

We have leased out these 'places to stand' to private corporations."

"Once we have surrendered our senses and nervous systems, to the private manipulation of those who would try to benefit from taking a lease on our eyes and ears and nerves, we don't really have any rights left. Leasing our eyes and ears and nerves to commercial interests is like handing over the common speech to a private corporation, or like giving the earth's atmosphere to a company as a monopoly."

"It was being used to create a whole society where what went on inside people's heads was completely irrelevant. Their rational thought, and their feelings were all bypassed. It was only their *observed* behavior that counted."

“It wouldn’t try to bury people’s emotions and feelings, it would work by doing the very opposite; pushing and exaggerating those emotions into a pitch of continual hysteria and suspicion, that would create a frozen world, paralyzed by the distrust of everyone and everything.”

“I am curious to know what would happen if art were suddenly seen for what it is, namely, exact information of how to rearrange one’s psyche in order to anticipate the next blow from our own extended faculties.”

“For in operating on society with a new technology, it is not the incised area that is most affected. The area of impact and incision is numb. It is the entire system that is changed. The effect of radio is visual, the effect of the photo is auditory. Each new impact shifts the ratios among  
all the senses.

What we seek today is either a means of controlling these shifts in the sense-ratios of the psychic and social outlook, or a means of avoiding them altogether.”

“[A] regularized and constrained repetition of norms is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal conditions for the subject.”

“It was a torturous thing, but beautiful in its way; here were men who would never again function or even understand how they were supposed to function as well as they did today.”

“There was no shortage of free liquor for the press, because all hustlers crave publicity. No occasion was too small for them to give what they called a ‘press party’ in its honor.

Each time Woolworth’s or the Chase Manhattan Bank opened a new branch, they celebrated with an orgy of rum.

Not a month went by without the opening of a new bowling alley; they were building them on every vacant lot, so many bowling alleys that it was horrible to ponder the meaning of it.”

“Not much of what he said was original. What made him unique was the fact that he had no sense of detachment at all.

He was like the fanatical football fan who runs onto the field and tackles a player. He saw life as the Big Game, and the whole of mankind was divided into two teams – Sala’s Boys, and The Others.

The stakes were fantastic and every play was vital – and although he watched with a nearly obsessive interest, he was very much the fan, shouting unheard advice in a crowd of unheard advisors and knowing all the while that nobody was paying any attention to him because he was not running the team and would never be.

And like all fans he was frustrated by the knowledge that the best he could do, even in a pinch, would be to run onto the field and cause some kind of illegal trouble, then be hauled off by the guards while the crowd laughed.”

“What electrifies us is not so much those, but rather the new language in which the need – the questions and the problems – suddenly become visible in the first place. Now suddenly the syntax of this new language makes it possible to think new thoughts and to perceive the landscape of a whole new situation, as though the mist of older commonplaces had begun to burn away.”

“A savage hardly conceives the distinction commonly drawn by more advanced peoples between the natural and supernatural.

To him the world is to a great extent worked by supernatural agents, that is, by personal beings acting on impulses and motives like his own, liable like him to be moved by appeals to their pity, their hopes, and their fears.”

“In a world so conceived he sees no limit to his power of influencing the course of nature to his own advantage. Prayers, promises, or threats may secure him fine weather and abundant crop from the Gods;

and if a god should happen, as he sometimes believes, to become incarnate in his own person, then he need appeal to no higher being; he, the savage, possesses in himself all the powers necessary to further his own well-being and that of his fellow-men.”

“Your Twenty-first Century AD is about everything interesting from your Twentieth Century AD being transformed into a very shitty religion ruled over by a high clergy of the haute bourgeoisie. They pray to monsters.”

“It exhumes the objects and documents, public records and private memoirs, of a distant past to fashion a ‘montage’ (Jameson’s word) of details creating the illusion of interiority, very much in the manner of cinema, thereby giving us a vivid sense of what it must have felt like to be that person. But it is a hallucination.”

“On those long and empty nights when I hear the voices of a million dead Iraqis, sometimes the ghosts speak in full paragraphs . . .

. . . ‘Jarett, our terrible vengeance has reconfigured your entire society into a shitty iteration of the Church . . . we have elevated a faux-Left who write books for Rupert Murdoch, and we have ensured that your society is doomed to rehash the battles of the 1993 AD Whitney Biennial with all the efficacy and power of the Byzantine scholars who debated how many angels could fit on the head of a pin while the Ottomans were sacking Constantinople in 1453 AD.’”

“And those future historians will also say this: when confronted by the total co-option of their tactics, and facing their greatest existential threat, American liberals doubled down on the very tactics that had been co-opted by their dead ideological enemies.”

“Identity politics, performance art, fluidity with mass media, total freedom of speech, post-modernism. The mistake was in thinking that these tactics were the specific province of one ideology.”

“My guess is that the Twenty-First Century AD will be seen as the time when all the reasonably decent ideas developed by the Left were co-opted and conquered by the Right.”

“And because you will not kill the rich or mandate a wave of socialism, the best idea that you’ll have will be to exercise your franchise at the ballot box, where you will choose a candidate who’ll sell you down the river at the first flash of cash.”

“And your second-best idea will be to go out in public and fight with another poor person while a third poor person captures the action on a smartphone that they will turn into a momentarily profitable video for Facebook, Twitter, and Google.”

“And your third-best idea will be to become a cynical asshole who lies for money and writes thinkpieces to manipulate the emotions of naive morons on the internet.”



“And your fourth-best idea will be to become one of the naive morons, and you will make money for your global overlords by pretending into devices built by slaves that the worst thing in the world is whenever a honky gas station attendant insults someone from Honduras.”

“And your worst idea will be to keep your head down and try to make a reasonably decent life while buying more shit and imagining that you have a special relationship with sports teams, the Celebrity branch of American governance, and intellectual property in which you have no economic stake.”

“The defense mechanisms that you’ve been given as a member of a Western liberal democracy will not save you and they will not save your children.”

“None of this will save you.”

“Twitch is where the Western world’s underclasses go to demonstrate their lack of utility in the face of increasing mechanization and globalized manufacturing,’ said HRH.

‘Education has failed them. These children produce nothing but hours of live video. Each day hosts an onslaught of countless banal gigabytes. Millions of other children hang upon these performers, watching their every gesture and nuance.’”

“He watched as liberal democracies consumed themselves with internal divisions about their relative social order, and he watched as these liberal democracies placed the petty squabbles about these internal divisions upon a foundation of ghettos and the foreign dead.”

“Their corpses were the end result of an industrialized process. The person pulling the trigger wasn’t a big deal. The Muslims were still dead.”

“For a solid century, the building had manufactured watches. Now it crafted the aspirant lives of the haute bourgeoisie.”

“The third was being forced to hold the Amazon Echo over her head for as long as her arms would allow. She’d been instructed to address the Amazon Echo only as Aten, after the Egyptian Sun disc.”

“He was from the fourth branch of American governance:  
the Celebrity.

And he had taken over the first branch: the Executive.

Reality collapsed into fiction.”

“So its very probable that in their attempts to end poverty and disease, engineer docile, happy personalities and so forth, the technophiles will create social systems that are terribly troubled, even more so than the present one.”

“He was hopelessly insane. He lived in the Hyper-real.

Ideas floated into his head, ideas floated out.

And the whole world jumped at their utterance.”

“A meaningless swirl in the stream of time, a temporary  
gathering of bits, a few random specks, a cloud . . .

Complexities: green dust, purple dust, gold . . .

Additional refinements: sensitive dust, copulating dust . . .

The world is my bone-cave, I shall not want . . .

(He laughs as he whispers. I roll my eyes back. Flames slip  
out at the corners of his mouth.)

As you see it it is, while the seeing lasts, dark night-mare-  
history, time-as-coffin; but where the water was rigid there  
will be fish, and men will survive on their flesh till spring.  
It’s coming, my brother. Believe it or not.

Though you murder the world, turn plains to stone,  
transmogrify life into I and it, strong searching roots will  
crack your cave and rain will cleanse it; the world will burn  
green, sperm build again. My promise.

Time is the mind, the hand that makes (fingers on  
harpstrings, hero-swords, the acts, the eyes of queens).

By that I kill you.”

“All order, I’ve come to understand, is theoretical, unreal –  
a harmless, sensible, smiling mask men slide between the  
two great, dark realities, the self and the world – two snake-  
pits.”

“Going back over these records in later years, the American  
historians popularized whichever version best suited their  
particular purposes.”

“When the great commercial value of the Mission tradition  
was discovered around 1888 – an event of major  
importance in the cultural history of Southern California –

the realism of such California historians as Bancroft, Forbes, and Hittell was largely forgotten and the Franciscan version of the Indian was accepted at face value.”

“Somehow this Indian background got lost in the transition from Spanish to English. There was much lore and information about Indians in the Spanish archives which did not reappear in English until long after most of the Indians had been exterminated.”

“The Indian village of Yang-na became Los Angeles; Sibag-na is now San Gabriel; while Santa Ana is located on the site of the Indian village of Hutucg-na.”

“In ancient times he was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either, hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquility in his empire;

for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some other great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country.”

“Vastly far away I see the sun, black but shining, and slowly revolving around it there are spiders.”

“The government decided that its methods of defense and repression – surveillance, espionage, provocation, prison, pogroms – were inadequate.

In order to draw the working masses away from the influence of the socialist parties and all other revolutionary activity, it conceived a Machiavellian plan which was logically to lead to the government’s mastery over the worker’s movement.

It decided to launch a *legal, authorized* worker’s organization which the government itself commanded.

It was thus going to kill two birds with one stone:

On one side it would attract toward itself the sympathy, gratitude and devotion of the working class, pulling it away from the revolutionary parties; on the other side, it would be able to lead this worker's movement wherever it wanted while keeping close watch on it."

"That's how it works.'

But satisfy the greed of the majority, and the rest will do you no harm. That's it. You've still got your fiction of consent."

"Rewards to people, people who fit the System best, you know. King's immediate thanes, the thane's top servants, and so on till you come to the people who don't fit at all.

No problem. Drive them to the darkest corners of the kingdom, starve them, throw them in jail or put them out to war."



fat with stupidity, if not with flesh. Their foodsmells  
foul the the doorways, dungeon dark, where cow-eyed  
girls

give tit to the next generation's mindless hoe.

Old men

with ringworm in their beards limp dusty lanes  
to gather like bony dogs at the god-lined square  
where the king's justice is dispensed; to nod like  
crows

at slips of the tongue by which a horse

is lost, or delicate mistakes

of venue through which murderers run free.

'Long live

the king!' they squeak, 'to whom we owe all joy!'

Obese with imaged freedom if not with fat,

great lords

of lords look down with cowdog eyes and smile.

'All's well,' they sigh. 'Long live the king! All's  
well!'

Law rules the land. Men's violence is chained  
to good (i.e., to the king): legitimate force  
that chops the bread-thief's neck and wipes its  
ax. – Death  
by book.

Think, sweating beast! Look up and think!  
Whence came these furs on the backs of your kind  
protectors?"

“Catherine Bell further points out that through the  
repetition of ritualized actions in different contexts, persons  
are produced and produce themselves as ‘ritualized agents’

. . . who have an intrinsic knowledge of these schemes  
embedded in their bodies, in their sense of reality, and in  
their understanding of how to act in ways that both  
maintain and qualify the context microrelations of power  
(Bell 1992, 221).”

“The total ruin of institutions and morals is an act of creation. A *religious* act. Murder and mayhem are the life and soul of revolution.”

“Judith Butler, focuses on the ritualized repetition of embodied norms as performative acts – acts that do not simply refer to an apriori existing ‘pure body’ but shape that body as sexed, raced, classed, and so forth. (1990, (993).”

“Drawing on Derrida’s and Bourdieu’s critical readings of performativity, Butler argues against theories of the subject and meaning according to which the subject is fully given in advance, only to perform the discourse later on.

Rather, she asserts, the subject is enabled through discourse, without being completely determined by it:

[A] regularized and constrained repetition of norms is not performed *by* a subject; this repetition is what enables a subject and constitutes the temporal conditions for the subject.

This iterability implies that ‘performance’ is not a singular ‘act’ or event, but a ritualized production, and ritual reiteration under and through constraint, under and through force of prohibition and taboo, with the threat of ostracism and even death controlling and compelling the shape of the production, but not, I will insist, determining it fully in advance. (Butler, quoted in Hollywood, 2002, 98)”

“Bourdieu argues that the source of power of conventional speech acts ‘resides in the institutional conditions of their production and reception’ (111) and that their power is ‘nothing other than the *delegated power* of the spokesperson’ (107).”

“By stressing the structural ability of a conventional formula to be used in unanticipated ways, Derrida’s argument recognizes the possibility for change and unpredictability even within strictly controlled and reproduced norms and conventions.”

“Anyone who has violated a taboo becomes taboo himself because he possesses the dangerous quality of tempting others to follow his example: why should *he* be allowed to do what is forbidden to others?

Thus he is truly contagious in that every example encourages imitation, and for that reason, he must be shunned.”

“But a person who has not violated any taboo may yet be permanently or temporarily taboo because he is in a state which possesses the quality of arousing forbidden desires in others and of awakening a conflict of ambivalence in them.”

“How is this to be brought into line with the fact that taboo attaches not only to a person who has done what is forbidden but also to persons in particular states, to the states themselves, as well as to impersonal objects?

What can the dangerous attribute be which remains the same under all these conditions? There is only one thing it can be: the quality of exciting men’s ambivalence and *tempting* them to transgress the prohibition.”

“An early theory of this kind was proposed in the first part of the nineteenth century by the Romantic philosopher Friedrich W.J. von Schelling (1775-1854), who claimed that man was created in the ‘Center of Godhead,’ where he beheld all things as they are in God, which is to say, in terms of their essential order; and in this view there was no room or need for myth.

But when man had moved from this center to the periphery, his unity in the center being gone, his vision was no longer superior to things, for he had sunk to the level of being a

mere thing himself, and it was on this level that the various polytheistic mythologies arose as uncentered man's dreams of his own lost state of being."

"But what about your review articles?" asked Lucien as they drove away to the Palais-royal.

'Pooh! You've no idea how they're dashed off. Take *Travels in Egypt*: I opened the book and read a bit here and there without cutting the pages, and I discovered eleven mistakes in the French. I shall write a column to the effect that even if the author can interpret the duck-lingo carved on the Egyptian pebbles they call obelisks, he doesn't know his own language – and I shall prove it to him.

I shall say that instead of talking about natural history and antiquities he ought only to have concerned himself with the future of Egypt, the progress of civilization, the means of winning Egypt over to France which, after conquering it and then losing it again, could still establish moral ascendancy over it.

Then a few pages of patriotic twaddle, and the whole interlarded with tirades on Marseilles, the Levant and our trading interests.'

'But supposing he had done all that?

What would you say then?'

'Well, I'd say that instead of boring us with politics he should have given his attention to Art and described the country in its picturesque and territorial aspects. Thereupon, as a critic, I fall to lamentation.

We're snowed under with politics, I should say: it's boring, we can't get away from it. Then I should yearn for those charming travel books which explain all the difficulties of navigation, the thrill of winding through narrow straits, the delight of crossing the lane, in short everything those who will never travel need to know.

But, while commending them, one mocks at the travelers who rhapsodize over a passing bird, a flying fish, a haul of



tunny, geographical points they have spotted and shallows they have recognized. One puts in a new claim for perfectly unintelligible scientific facts, which are so fascinating like everything which is profound, mysterious and incomprehensible.

The reader laughs – he gets his money’s worth.”

“Totalitarianism denies what Lefort calls ‘the principle of internal divisions of society,’ and its conception of society is marked by ‘the affirmation of the totality’. Every organization, association or profession is thus subordinated to the planning of the state.

The differences of opinion, one of the values of democracy, is abolished so that the entire social body is directed towards the same goal; even personal tastes must become politicized and must be standardized.

The aim of totalitarianism is to create a united and a closed society, in which the components are not individuals and

which is defined completely by the same goals, the same opinions and the same practices.”

“The instinctual desire is constantly shifting in order to escape from the *impasse* and endeavors to find substitutes – substitute objects and substitute acts – in place of the prohibited ones.

In consequence of this, the prohibition itself shifts about as well, and extends to any new aims which the forbidden impulse may adopt. Any fresh advance made by the repressed libido is answered by a fresh sharpening of the prohibition.

The mutual inhibition of the two conflicting forces produces a need for discharge, for reducing the prevailing tension; and to this may be attributed the reason for the performance of obsessive acts . . .

It is a law of neurotic illness that these obsessive acts fall more and more under the sway of the instinct and approach

nearer and nearer to the activity which was originally prohibited.”

“Quite at the beginning, in very early childhood, the patient shows a strong *desire* to touch . . . this desire is promptly met by an *external* prohibition against carrying out that particular kind of touching.

[(Both the desire and the prohibition relate to the child’s touching his own genitals.)]

The prohibition is accepted, since it finds support from powerful *internal* forces, [(That is, from the child’s loving relation to the authors of the prohibition); parents], and proves stronger than the instinct which is seeking to express itself in the touching.

In consequence, however, of the child’s primitive psychological constitution, the prohibition does not succeed in *abolishing* the instinct. Its only result is to *repress* the instinct (the desire to touch) and banish it into the unconscious.

Both the prohibition and the instinct persist: the instinct because it has only been repressed and not abolished, and the prohibition because, if it ceased, the instinct would force its way through into the consciousness and into actual operation.

A situation is created which remains undealt with – a psychological fixation – and everything else follows from the continuing conflict between the prohibition and the instinct.”

“Thus, Kharkhordin’s model of the subject contains a peculiar tension between the subject who possesses and authentic ‘intimate self’ that can be hidden and revealed, and the subject who exists as the result of hiding and revealing. See critique of split subject models in Strauss (1997).”

“What should we make of these acts of mass participation and support in which people regularly paid little attention

to the literal meanings of the ritualized acts and pronouncements in which they participated?

Can these acts be described as pure masquerade and dissimulation, practiced in public for the gaze of the state and collective surveillance?

This book argues that the acts cannot be reduced in this way, and instead offers a different interpretation . . .

In most contexts these unanimous acts, gestures, and utterances of support did not refer to the literal meaning of ideological statements, resolutions and figures, but rather performed a different role.”

“During the late Soviet period, the form of ideological representations – documents, speeches, ritualized practices, slogans, posters, monuments, and urban visual propaganda – became increasingly normalized, ubiquitous, and predictable.

This standardization of the form of discourse developed gradually, as a result of the disappearance, in the 1950's, [of Stalin] of the external editorial voice that commented on that discourse. With that shift, the form of the ideological representations became fixed and replicated – unchanged from one context to the next.

These representations no longer had to be read literally, at least in most contexts, to work perfectly well as elements of the hegemonic representation.

This fixed and normalized discursive system was akin to the kind of discourse that Bakhtin terms 'authoritative discourse' (avtoritetnoe slovo). For Bakhtin, authoritative discourse coheres around a strict external idea of dogma (whether religious, politically, or otherwise) and occupies a particular position within the discursive regime of a period.

It has two main features. First because of a social 'scrip' in which it is coded, authoritative discourse is sharply demarcated from all other types of discourse that coexist

with it – which means that it does not depend on them, it precedes them, [i.e. ‘freedom’ in American discourse? ‘apriori’\*?] and it cannot be changed by them.

Second, all these other types of discourse are organized around it. Their existence depends on being positioned in relation to it, having to refer to it, quote it, praise it, interpret it, apply it, and so forth,

but they cannot, for example, interfere with its code and change it.

This demarcated and fixed authoritative discourse is successful in persuading its authors and audiences, they experience it as immutable and therefore unquestionable (Bakhtin 1994, 342-43).”

“Michael Holquist explains that authoritative discourse is ‘privileged language’ that approaches us from without; it is distanced, taboo, and permits no play with its framing context (sacred writ, for example).

We receive it. It has great power over us, but only while in power; if ever dethroned it immediately becomes a dead thing, a relic (Bakhtin, 1994, 424).”

“The act was not understood by the masses. The peasants did not read the journals. (They could not read at all.)”

“The group, which called itself *Narodnaya Volya* (People’s Will), after detailed preparations, executed the project:

Tsar Alexander II was killed while traveling in St.  
Petersburg on March 1, 1881.

Two bombs were thrown by terrorists at the imperial carriage. The first destroyed the carriage, the second mortally wounded the Emperor, removing both of his legs. He died almost immediately.”

“157. Assuming that industrial society survives, it is likely that technology will eventually acquire something approaching complete control over human behavior.



It has been established beyond any rational doubt that human thought and behavior have a largely biological basis. As experimenters have demonstrated, feelings such as hunger, pleasure, anger and fear can be turned on and off by electrical stimulation of appropriate parts of the brain.

Memories can be destroyed by damaging parts of the brain or they can be brought to the surface by electrical stimulation.

Hallucinations can be induced or moods changed by drugs.

There may or may not be an immaterial human soul, but if there is one it clearly is less powerful than the biological mechanisms of human behavior.

For if that were not the case then researchers would not be able so easily to manipulate human feelings and behavior with drugs and electrical currents.”

“156. In paragraph 127 we pointed out that if the use of a new item of technology is INITIALLY optional, it does not necessarily REMAIN optional, because the new technology tends to change society in a such a way that it becomes difficult or impossible for an individual to function without using that technology.

This applies also to the technology of human behavior.

In a world in which most children are put through a program to make them enthusiastic about studying, a parent will almost be forced to put his kid through such a program, because if he does not, then the kid will grow up to be, comparatively speaking, an ignoramus and therefore unemployable.

Or suppose a biological treatment is discovered that, without undesirable side-effects, will greatly reduce the psychological stress from which so many people suffer in our society.

If large numbers of people choose to undergo the treatment, then the general level of stress in society will be reduced, so that it will be possible for the system to increase the stress-producing pressures.

In fact, something like this seems to have happened already with one of our society's most important psychological tools for enabling people to reduce (or at least temporarily escape from) stress, namely, mass entertainment (see paragraph 147).

Our use of mass entertainment is 'optional': no law requires us to watch television, listen to the radio, read magazines.

Yet mass entertainment is a means of escape and stress-reduction on which most of us have become dependent . . .

Without the entertainment industry the system probably would not have been able to get away with putting as much stress-producing pressures on us as it does."

“Unless wedded to an archaic notion of what philosophy and science might entail, those true to Marx were obligated to critically assess the cognitive merits of the principal propositions of the system Marx left as a legacy.”

“‘The earth is degenerating today. Bribery and corrupting abound. Children no longer obey their parents, every man wants to write a book, and it is evident that the end of the world is fast approaching.’ Assyrian tablet, c. 2800 BC”

“{{ . . . Drink their foam . . . }}”

“Banished to the glass beneath.”

“‘The crime that is latent in us we must inflict on ourselves.’ I say:

I repeat the words, pointing at my chest, pointing at his.”

“And who am I to jeer at life-giving illusions? Is there any better way to pass these last days than in dreaming of a saviour with a sword who will scatter the enemy hosts and forgive us the errors that have been committed by others in our name and grant us a second chance to build our earthly paradise?”

I lie on the bare mattress and concentrate on bringing into life the image of myself as a swimmer swimming with even, untiring strokes through the medium of time, a medium more inert than water, without ripples, pervasive, colourless, odourless, dry as paper.”

“To each his own most fitting end.

Some will be caught in dugouts beneath their cellars clutching their valuables to their breasts, pinching their eyes shut.

Some will die on the road overwhelmed by the first snows of winter. Some few may even die fighting with pitchforks.

After which the barbarians will wipe their backsides on the town archives. To the last we will have learned nothing. In all of us, deep down, there seems to be something granite and unteachable.”

“Every premonition of disaster is confirmed, and for the first time true panic overtakes the town. The shops are swamped with customers bidding against each other for stocks of food.

Some families barricade themselves in their houses, herding poultry and even pigs indoors with them. The school is closed.”

“I return to the square in time to hear the end of a statement he reads to the public ‘in the name of the Imperial Command’.

The withdrawal, he says, is a ‘temporary measure’.

A 'caretaker force' will be left behind. There is expected to be a 'general cessation of operations along the front for the duration of the winter'.

He himself hopes to be back in the spring, when the army will 'initiate a new offensive'.

He wishes to thank everyone for the 'unforgettable hospitality' he has been shown."

"While he speaks, standing in one of the empty carts flanked by soldiers holding torches, his men are returning with the fruits of their foraging.

Two struggle to load a handsome cast-iron stove looted from an empty house.

Another comes back smiling in triumph bearing a cock and a hen, the cock a magnificent black and gold creature.

Their legs are bound, he grips them by the wings, their fierce birds-eyes glare. While someone holds open the door  
he stuffs them into the oven.

The cart is piled high with sacks and kegs from a looted shop, even a small table and two chairs. They unfold a heavy red carpet, spread it over the load, lash it down.

There is no protest from the people who stand watching this methodical act of betrayal, but I feel currents of helpless  
anger all about me.”

“A soldier pushes me out of his path and escorts three heavily bundled women to the last cart. They clamber aboard and seat themselves, holding up their veils to their faces.

One of them carries a little girl whom she perches on the top of the load. Whips crack, the column begins to move, the horses straining, the cartwheels creaking . . .



Then the square is empty and dark again, the last cart trundles through the gates, the garrison is gone.”

“Every week there is a convoy of the prudent leaving town, going east, ten or twelve families traveling together ‘to visit relatives’, as the euphemism has it, ‘till things settle down again’ . . .

Those who depart are the sensible ones, the husbands and wives who lie awake in bed whispering, making plans, cutting losses. They leave their comfortable homes behind, locking them ‘till we return’, taking the keys as a memento.

By the next day gangs of soldiers have broken in, looted the houses, smashed the furniture, fouled the floors.

Resentment builds up against those who are seen to be making preparations to go.”

“The soldiery tyrannizes the town. They have held a torchlight meeting on the square to denounce ‘cowards and traitors’ and to affirm collective allegiance to the Empire.

WE STAY has become the slogan of the faithful: the words are to be seen daused on walls everywhere.”

. . .

“What has made it impossible for us to live in time like fish  
in water, like birds in air, like children?

It is the evil of Empire!

Empire has created the time of history.

Empire has located its existence not in the smooth recurrent  
spinning time of the cycle of the seasons but in the jagged  
time of rise and fall, of beginning and end, of catastrophe.

Empire dooms itself to live in history and [to] plot against  
history. One thought alone preoccupies the submerged  
mind of the Empire: how not to end, how not to die, how to  
prolong its era.

By day it pursues its enemies. It is cunning and ruthless, it sends its bloodhounds everywhere. By night it feeds on images of disaster: the sack of cities, the rape of populations, pyramids of bones, acres of desolation.”

*“It was luxuries like air conditioning that brought down the Roman Empire. With air conditioning their windows were shut; they couldn’t hear the barbarians coming.”*

“Now let us see what the next one says. See, there is only a single character. It is the barbarian character *war*, but it has other senses too. It can stand for *vengeance*, and, if you turn it upside down like this, it can be made to read *justice*.

There is no knowing which sense is intended. That is part of barbarian cunning.”

“‘It is the same with the rest of these slips.’ I plunge my good hand into the chest and stir.

‘They form an allegory. They can be read in many orders.

Further, each single slip can be read in many ways.

Together they can be read as a domestic journal, or they can be read as a plan of war, or they can be turned on their sides and read as a history of the last years of the Empire – the old Empire, I mean.

There is no agreement among scholars about how to interpret these relics of the ancient barbarians.

Allegorical sets like this one can be found buried all over the desert. I found this one not three miles from here in the ruins of a public building.

Graveyards are another good place to look in, though it is not always easy to tell where barbarian burial sites lie. It is recommended that you simply dig at random: perhaps at the very spot where you stand you will come upon scraps, shards, reminders of the dead.

Also the air: the air is full of sighs and cries. These are never lost: if you listen carefully, with a sympathetic ear, you can hear them echoing forever within the second sphere.

The night is best: sometimes when you have difficulty in falling asleep, it is because your ears have been reached by the cries of the dead which, like their writings, are open to many interpretations.”

“A scapegoat is named, a festival is declared, the laws are suspended: who would not flock to see the entertainment?”

“The effect of the mass media is not to elicit belief but to maintain the apparatus of addiction.”

“I tried to tell her all that had happened, all that I’d come to understand: the meaningless objectness of the world, the universal bruteness. She only stared, troubled at my noise.

She'd forgotten all language long ago, or maybe had never known any. I'd never heard her speak to the other shapes . . . But I talked on, trying to smash through the walls of her unconsciousness.

'The world resists me and I resist the world,' I said. 'That's all there is. The mountains are what I define them as.'

"They do not care that once the ground is cleared the wind begins to eat at the soil and the desert advances."

"(Were they my brother, my uncles, those creatures shuffling brimstone eyes from room to room, or sitting separate, bloated, muttering forever like underground rivers, each in his private inviolable gloom?)"

"Inside, I hear the people praying – whimpering, whining, mumbling, pleading – to their numerous sticks and stones."

"(Talking, talking. Spinning a web of words, pale walls of dreams between myself and all I see.)"

“Mindlessness, such that individuals neglect the asocialness of computers and apply the social rules learned from human-human interaction upon presence of certain social categories and social behaviors in the computers.”

“Envy, an ignoble accumulation of disappointed hopes, frustrated talents, failures and wounded pretensions, was unknown to them.”

“Every male colonist smiles with contentment!  
Some distant engine of happiness is stirring. It is projecting a psychic drone onto this site through an orbital amplifier, tuned to only affect males. For a few days, some people’s mood will be quite a bit better.”

“The print age disrupted the sensory balance of the tribal state as the eye became the central mechanism for processing information.”

“In my dreams I am again in the desert, plodding through endless space towards an obscure goal. I sigh and wet my lips.

‘What is that noise?’ I ask when the guard brings my food.

They are tearing down the houses built against the south wall of the barracks, he tells me: they are going to extend the barracks and build proper cells.

‘Ah yes,’ I say: ‘Time for the black flower of civilization to bloom.’ He does not understand.”

“Yes, Monsieur; The Odéon was on fire. And so do not complain. You have clothes, you have neither wife nor children, you happen to have a hundred and twenty francs in your pocket, and you owe nothing to anyone . . .

As Buffon said, genius is patience. Patience is indeed the quality in man which most resembles the process which Nature follows in her creations. And what is Art, monsieur? It is nature in concentrated form.”



“In other words, all these sensations arriving at the boundary of the consciousness . . . are in this formulation nothing else than a *manifold* of a *flux* of *intuitions*. A manifold! A manifold; a multiplicity, infinite multiplicity, whose contents all intermingle with each other, so [that] it turns out to be impossible to make any sense out of it, [this] *infinite* number of sensations arriving at *the same time* to my understanding, and in a rather *messy* fashion . . .

Now; therefore, he says; for this massive manifold of a flux of intuitions to be organized, the mind – or consciousness – had to have a certain structure, and that structure had to necessarily be *apriori*.

‘*Apriori*’ again, here, for the second time I use the term, apriori now means; *prior* to these incoming sensations. Now, as you may see later on, perhaps, that is the absolute OPPOSITE of what the empirical thinking suggests.

Okay. So if our minds has a structure of its own; then [it is] *only* under these conditions [that] this manifold of flux of intuitions can be organized into something.”

“The message was simple: *we are all one world*.

But at the center of that world, was the individual self. The man who helped design it, was a refugee from Germany, called Herbert Beyer.

He saw it as a new kind of propaganda. Instead of being overwhelmed by dramatic stories, created by those in power, the individual would make their own story out of the photographs.”

“So in our thinking, what we are dealing with, you can be sure . . . are *representations*, or in Kantian terminology . . .

APPEARANCES . . .

Now I am making a dangerous proposition: if you like,  
ALL I can think of – let me put it in this way –  
*All I can think of, are not the things themselves, but only  
the appearances of the things, as they appear to my mind...*  
okay?... You understand this?

... Okay; all [that] I [can] think about it, all my thinking can  
*deal with, okay, are not the things themselves, but [only]  
the appearances of those things that appear to my mind.*”

“Now, I said I’m making a dangerous proposition here,  
simply because if you go deeper into Kantian thinking, we  
will find out that for the consciousness, or the mind, for the  
*benusstsein*, there is *no way of knowing* whether there are  
*really* things out there or not... okay?”

“What Afeni taught him was that the world most  
Americans lived in – both white and black – was an unreal  
fairyland that concealed the harsh reality of the power that  
controlled their lives.”

“What if the regularities that I observe in nature do not belong to the character of the things, but to the character of my mind?”

“Hume’s version was called ‘skepticism’, simply because Hume concludes that the generation of such relationships – primarily ‘causation’ relationships – is nothing else than the result of *habit*.

Now; however, there is a problem with habit; habit is something *social* and *historical* – you know?

Which means that if you are exposed to [a] different set of sequences, or [a] different set of relations, among things, repeating themselves – so that you are acquiring a *habit* of *these* sequences, or the different relations among the things, then you come to develop *different* judgments! Okay?”

“So this means that, then, human knowledge turns out – human knowledge is about all these judgments, okay – and

human knowledge turns out to be something... uh, *capricious*; left to the whims of history and society.

In *this* society in *that* period of time we begin to develop such-and-such habits; therefore our thinking assumes such-and-such a way, while in *another* society other people being exposed to *different* sets of relations develop different habits of thinking and therefore arrive at different conclusions, so on and so forth.”

“So – *forget* about the requirement of correspondments of our knowledge to the ‘reality’ of things – what we have here is: *sheer* relativism . . . or, if you like: *sheer* skepticism, okay?

Skepticism; a *deep* skepticism about the truth validity of our knowledge on the one hand – and on the other hand, a denial of *any* possibility for universal generalization of *any* statement of knowledge.”

“ ‘Although I understood hardly one third of what I read, I felt like a new man. The more I read the more I understood, or thought I did.

My English was still very limited, but Jim got me a dictionary, and sometimes when I found out the meaning of some word and all at once things sort o’ cleared up in my mind.

I experienced a kind of holy thrill. Oh, laugh! I don’t care!’ he exclaims, laughing himself. ‘It occurred to me that I was just beginning to live.

Jim Culley, who was sort of a poet, insisted that my soul was reborn; Agnes, on the other hand, contended that I was just ‘queer’ because in falling off the gangplank I had bumped my head.

In fact, she believes to this day that a screw was loosened in my cranium – which for all I know may be correct.”

“He had little time for reading and less for thinking. Evenings he was too tired, or there was an Elk meeting; on Sundays, if he had nothing else to do, the kids wanted him to explain the funnies, or take them to the beach and play with them.”

“He glanced at the titles of Jim Culley’s booklets. One caught his eye – ‘The Right to be Lazy’, translated into English from the French of one Paul Lafargue.

Podgornik read it. It was a learned socialist tract, full of footnotes, references to and quotations from Tacitus, Salvianus, Descartes, Plato, Monsieur le Play, Saint Matthew, Napoleon, de Villerme, Goethe,

and others, most of whom Podgornik had never heard of, unless it was that Novak had mentioned them to him, years ago in his discourses on the road, which somehow had failed to touch him very deeply.

He read it again; then put it aside and looked at the ceiling.”

“The right to be lazy! The *right!*

. . . Podgornik understood the brochure only in spots, and these were far apart; but as remotely as he received the writer’s argument, he experienced an inner excitation. A vague thrill passed through his entrails.

In view of the arduousness and grimness of his labors in the past and the loss of his savings on two occasions, the philosophy of laziness suddenly struck him as very charming and worthy of one’s thoughtful consideration.

His labors, he suddenly realized, had been unproductive for himself of any benefit results; here he lay, an old man at forty-four, tired, his body broken, his savings gone.



No wonder he had lost his money; no wonder a female busybody could get him locked up for three and a half days for carrying an upside down turkey that had been raised to be killed and eaten! He was stupid.

His endless labors had made him stupid, a fit object upon which crooks and busybodies might practice their arts. Suddenly he rebelled against work.”

“Later he told me: ‘I was so keyed up over this new notion that I sat up and felt no pain in my injured parts, although I was not supposed to move violently.

My mind seemed to be flooded with a light – as if the Holy Ghost Himself had come over with me. I decided that I’d never work again – that is, hold down a job like I used to for twelve or fifteen years.

I’d be lazy! Let others work; they didn’t know any better. I laughed out loud. Agnes came in, wondering if I had gone crazy or what.

I told her to get the hell out, shut the door, and let me alone. I was a bit surprised at my own boldness, talking to her that way, and laughed some more. She was sure I had lost my mind and for a while treated me not alone with caution, but with gentleness.’”

“So, when a female patient, for example, who has a poorly understood illness goes to their doctor, and their doctor tells them that they should go see a psychologist, because they’re ‘not *really*’ sick, they’re mentally ill;

that isn’t just about that patient and their doctor, it reflects this *bigger* issue, which is; how we talk about female patients and how we understand their health concerns.

But most research just focuses on the talk, and doesn’t get to that broader system of meaning.”

“So, conceptualizing that, as sort of ‘ideology’, which is just basically a system of meaning that we use to make sense of what’s happening,

So I wanted to talk about this kind of ‘talk’ as being  
*ideological* . . .

. . . most of the scholarship on patient/provider  
communication – as one example – is very sort of  
*psychological* in orientation . . . so we’re talking about  
‘perceptions’, and, ‘interaction’, and ‘cognition’, but . . .

But this issue isn’t about *individual* physicians, right, its  
not as though these kinds of claims that – for example,  
female patients are ‘melodramatic’, theatrical ‘*malingersers*’,  
who are just trying to get drugs -

- or are ‘really’ mentally ill – THAT comes from  
somewhere! It has a history, right? It has a history, and, and  
that kind of talk also has *material*, like *tangible*  
ramifications in people’s lives;

Its not like the patient whose doctor tells them essentially  
that they’re crazy just goes home and is *fine*;

. . . That gets written into their medical chart, right? That follows them to their next appointment, or maybe they stop seeking health care altogether! And their symptoms get worse, and they're disabled, and they can't work . . .

So I wanted to develop a theory that could talk about how – or what – happens when these ideologies create friction in our lives; cause us pain, and harm . . .

. . . and to *map* the relationship between ideology and these on the ground, actual, material consequences in people's lives . . . and [to] try to change the system of meaning!

Instead of doing what most research does – which is focus on *individual* behavior – because I don't think that's the problem.”

“I have hitherto liked to think that she cannot fail to see me as a man in the grip of a passion, however perplexed and obscure that passion may be, that in the bated silences

which make up so much of our intercourse she cannot but feel my gaze pressing in upon her with the weight of a body.

I prefer not to dwell on the possibility that what a barbarian upbringing teaches a girl may be not to accommodate a man's every whim, including the whim of neglect,

but to see sexual passion, whether in horse or goat or man or woman, as a simple fact of life with the clearest of means and the clearest of ends;

so that the confused actions of an aging foreigner who picks her up off the streets and installs her in his apartment so that he can now kiss her feet, now browbeat her, now anoint her with exotic oils, now ignore her, now sleep in her arms all night, now moodily sleep apart,

may seem nothing but evidences of impotence, indecisiveness, alienation from his own desires.”

“In other words, modern ideological discourse, based on the utopian ideals of the Enlightenment, gains its legitimacy from an imaginary position that is external to it and will experience a crisis of legitimacy if that imaginary external position is questioned or destroyed.”

“This inherent contradiction of any version of modern ideology, argues Lefort, can be concealed only by the figure of the ‘master’, who, by being presented as standing *outside* ideological discourse and possessing *external* knowledge of the objective truth, temporarily conceals the contradiction by allowing it ‘to appear through himself’ (1986, 211-12).”

“The paradox, that we will call ‘Lefort’s Paradox,’ lies in the fact that ideological rule must be ‘abstracted from any question concerning its origins’, thus remaining outside of ideological enunciation and, as a result, rendering that enunciation deficient.”

“In other words, to fulfill its political function of reproducing power, the ideological discourse must claim to represent an ‘objective truth’ that exists outside of it;

However, the external nature of this ‘objective truth’ renders the ideological discourse inherently lacking in the means to describe it in total, which can ultimately undermine this discourse’s legitimacy and the power that it supports.”

“For *human* body, for *any* sensation to occur, these so-called supposed-to-be external stimuli are expected to present themselves in spatial and temporal forms.”

“Maybe with other animals, the structure of sensibility may differ, but Kant is now speaking about the *human* condition.”

“So, just being human, and having a body like this, puts us into such a structure.”

“He says that, actually, what we think to exist outside of our consciousness as ‘time’ and ‘space’ do actually belong to the structure or character of our sensibility.

In other words; time and space is brought about, are brought about by the functioning of our sensibility, which only accepts such stimuli abiding by its own principles: he calls them ‘apriori’ principles of sensibility.”

“Apriori here meaning; ‘prior to any possible experience’ – earlier than any possible experience.”

“Its transcendental because it will try to penetrate behind, this ‘activity of being aware’, to be able to bring to light its mechanisms.”

“Foucault stressed that even such ‘pathological forms’ of power as Stalinism and Fascism, ‘in spite of their historical uniqueness . . . are not quite original. They used and extended mechanisms already present in most other societies . . .



[and] used to a large extent the ideas and the devices of our political rationality' (Foucault 1983, 209).”

“Advanced technologies invoke ancient entities; the human voice disintegrates into the howl of cosmic trauma; civilization hurtles towards an artificial death.

Sinister musical subcultures are allied with morbid cults, rogue AIs are pursued into labyrinthine crypts by Turing cops, and Europe mushrooms into a paranoia laboratory in a global cyberpositive circuit that reaches infinite density in the year 2012, flipping modernity over into whatever has been piloting it from the far side of the approaching singularity.”

“An exacting engagement with the core problematics of modernity: the dialectic of enlightenment, the humiliations of man, technology's procedural automation of the concept, and science's erosion of philosophy's objects and articles of faith.”

“What the Klansmen were doing, was retreating into a mythical version of the past. It gave them a sense of power, and of being a part of a natural order.”

“The director, D.W. Griffith, had based the film on a novel, called *The Clansman*, the image of the clansmen in both the book and in the film was of white robed figures with burning crosses.

These had nothing to do with anything real out of America’s past. Instead, the novelist had invented them, from a romantic vision of an old Scotland, and Scottish clans, that were portrayed in the novels of Sir Walter Scott; which Scott himself had just made up.”

“In real life, the new Klan then copied the costumes, and imitated the rituals from the film, and it quickly became a mass organization. By 1925 the Klan had 5 million members, and the political power to mount a mass march on Washington.”

“Desire seemed to bring with it a pathos of distance and separation which it was futile to deny.” [\*?]

“Nor could I always see why one part of my body, with its unreasonable cravings and false promises, should be heeded over any other as a channel of desire.”

“Sometimes my sex seemed to me another being entirely, a stupid animal living parasitically upon me, swelling and dwindling according to autonomous appetites, anchored to my flesh with claws I could not detach.”

“Why do I have to carry you about from woman to woman, I asked: simply because you were born without legs? Would it make any difference to you if you were rooted in a cat or a dog instead of in me?”

“The girl I have just left, the girl she may perhaps (I suddenly realize) smell on me, is very pretty, there is no question about that:

The acuteness of my pleasure in her is sharpened by the elegance of her tiny body, its manners, its movements.

But of this one there is nothing I can say with certainty. There is no link I can define between her womanhood and my desire. I cannot even say for sure that I desire her.

All of this erotic behavior of mine is indirect: I prowl about her, touching her face, caressing her body, without entering her or finding the urge to do so.

I have just come from the bed of a woman for whom, in the year I have known her, I have not for a moment had to interrogate my desire: to desire her has meant to enfold her and enter her, to pierce her surface and stir the quiet of her interior into an ecstatic storm; then to retreat, to subside, to wait for desire to reconstitute itself.

But with this woman it is as if there is no interior, only a surface across which I hunt back and forth seeking entry.”

“Is this how her torturers felt hunting their secret, whatever they thought it was?”

“At home he scarcely ate or spoke; in the yard he hardly knew what he was about. At times he walked in a daze.”

“Everyone in Starkfield knew him and gave him a greeting tempered to his own grave mien; but his taciturnity was respected and it was only on rare occasions that one of the older men of the place detained him for a word.

When this happened he would listen quietly, his blue eyes on the speaker’s face, and answer in so low a tone that his words never reached me; then he would climb swiftly into his buggy, gather up the reins in his left hand and drive slowly away in the direction of his farm.”

“There is, I daresay, not much market for that sort of thing. In the arts, as in the concerns of everyday, the American seeks escape from the insoluble by pretending that it is solved.”

“A peculiar paradox became apparent in those years: although the system’s collapse had been unimaginable before it began, it appeared unsurprising when it happened.”

“It is, he says, a general law on mythology that a stage which has been passed, for the very reason that it has been overcome and driven under by a superior stage, persists in an inferior form alongside the later one, so that the objects of its veneration turn into objects of horror.”

“They reverse the natural order – regarding the opinions of others as real existence and their own consciousness as something shadowy; making the derivative and secondary into the principal, and considering the picture they present to the world of more importance than their own selves.”

“Situating the lexical items of digital chat as practical aesthetics enables us to conceive of them as interventions that always respond to particular events, problems, desires or situations,

while amplifying, redirecting, deflecting or intensifying the impact of that situation/event/problem by imbuing it with personal meanings and associations that are then sent into (more or less) public circulation.”

“What’s the point of emphasizing the pragmatic functioning of these communicative units in addition to their representational operation?

For a start, it directs our attention to the socio technical settings in which such items are mediated and exchanged, their formats prescribed and their circulation constrained in ways that confer them with their particular meaning and value.”

“In Frosch’s neat terms, these image deployments brim with ‘incessant performativity’ (2015: 2607).”

“In other words these images function as *gestural acts* that seek to *do things* beyond the scope of referentiality and representation:

They clarify intentions, specify interests, generate particular terms of exchange while setting out the social implications of subsequent connection;

though they are just as likely to remain in the virtual realm of fantasy, or what I’ve called co-constructed erotic speculation (Race, 2015, 2017), which is no less social or interactive for that matter, since it produces certain (and uncertain) attachments.”

“The selfie of self-pornography becomes part of the grammar of sexual arrangement.”

“Though Kress does not use this terminology, I take his analysis to underline the distinctly performative character of communication on digital media, its capacity to enact



relations rather than merely depict or erotically represent  
some underlying ‘real’ activity.”

“When compared to the world of books and print, Gunther  
Kress (2003) has argued that the multimodal nature of  
digital media and interaction precipitated the emergence of  
a new form of literacy,

in which the functions of writing and language move away  
from the ‘world narrated’, to the ‘world depicted and  
displayed’ (2003: 2).”

“In this context, writing becomes a matter of ‘assembling  
according to designs’ (2003: 6), governed by prerogatives  
such as ‘fitness for present purpose’,

an operation that seizes upon the ‘potentials for action’  
afforded by the specificities of the technological apparatus.  
(2003:49).”

“Mencken was a ‘cynic’ and a ‘sneerer’; he laughed at and ridiculed America, perhaps, because that was one way of preserving his sanity and health in the crazy, unhealthy jungle.”

“Depressive ontology is dangerously seductive because, as the zombie twin of a certain philosophical wisdom, it is half true.

As the depressive withdraws from the vacant confections of the lifeworld, he unwittingly finds himself in concordance with the human condition so painstakingly diagrammed by a philosopher like Spinoza:

He sees himself as a serial consumer of empty simulations, a junky hooked on every kind of deadening high, a meat puppet of the passions.

The depressive cannot even lay claim to the comforts that a paranoiac can enjoy, since he cannot believe that the strings are being pulled by anyone.”

“Mere puppets they, who come and go  
At bidding of vast formless things  
That shift the scenery to and fro, . . .

. . . With its Phantom chased for evermore  
By a crowd that seize it not, . . .

. . . But see, amid the mimic rout, a crawling shape intrude!  
A blood-red thing that writhes from out  
The scenic solitude!  
It writhes! – It writhes! – with mortal pangs  
The mimes become its food,  
And seraphs sob at vermin fangs,  
In human gore imbued . . .

. . . Uprising, unveiling, affirm  
That the play is the tragedy, ‘Man,’  
And its hero, the Conqueror Worm.”

“Went outside Burrough’s Garden of Delights, and dared to examine the hideous machineries that produce the world-as-appearance. What did they see there? Only what all depressives, all mystics, always see:

The obscene undead twitching of the Will as it seeks to maintain the illusion that this object, the one it is fixated upon NOW, this one, will satisfy it in a way that all other objects thus far have failed to.”

“ ‘I must go on’ not experienced by the depressive as some redemptive positivity, but as the ultimate horror,

the life-Will paradoxically assuming all the loathsome properties of the undead (whatever you do, you cant extinguish it, it keeps coming back).”

“(The depressive is always confident of one thing:

That he is without illusions.)”

“For the depressive, the habits of the former lifeworld now seem to be, precisely, a mode of play-acting, a series of pantomime gestures (‘a circus complete with all fools’), which they are both no longer capable of performing and which they no longer wish to perform – there’s no point, everything is a sham.”

“The depressive experiences himself as walled off from the lifeworld, so that his own frozen inner life – or inner death  
– overwhelms everything;

At the same time, he experiences himself as evacuated, totally denuded, a shell: there is nothing except the inside, but the inside is empty.”

“Depression is, after all and above all, a theory about the world, about life. The stupidity and venality of politicians . . . the idiocy and cruelty of war . . . are pointed to as exhibits in a case against the world, against life, that is so overwhelming, so general, that to appeal to any particular instance seems superfluous.”

“Their function is to naturalize the cultural – in other words, to make dominant cultural and historical values, attitudes, and beliefs seem entirely natural, normal self-evident, timeless, obvious common sense – and thus objective and true reflections of ‘the way things are’.”

“Ideological myths serve the interests of the social groups  
that propagate them.”

“Myth is ‘depoliticized speech’ as they hide their political connotations while passing as if they were *denotations*.”

“A meaningful assemblage of signs.”

“Over time, the structures of this system – which reflect the worldview of dominant group members – are reinforced as the appropriate communicative system for both dominant and nondominant group members (Bo Ardener, 1978).”

“Those groups that function at the top of the social hierarchy determine to a great extent the communication system of the entire society.”

“The ability to comprehend one concept is contingent on understanding its relationship with the other.”

“A variety of approaches is crucial when attempting to gain insight into the ‘deep structures’ (Pennington, 1979, p. 392) that inform intercultural communication.”

“Evangelos Tziallas (2015) disputes the commonly accepted wisdom that hookup apps are designed to facilitate offline encounters.

Indeed, if seduction takes place, on Tzialla’s account it rarely involves the ‘soft, warm flesh’ of ‘real’ sexual encounters (2015: 761): more often it involves the seduction of consumers into a futile game of erotic play by commercial operators,

the dynamics of which consist principally in never-ending exchanges of self-made sexually explicit digital images – sexual selfies, if you will –

In a process depicted essentially as duping and degrading its unwitting participants by turning them into frustrated self-pornographers.”

“With every tool man is perfecting his own organs, whether motor or sensory, or is removing the limits to their functioning.”

“It was discovered that a person becomes neurotic because he cannot tolerate the amount of frustration which a society imposes on him in the service of its cultural ideals,

And it was inferred from this that the abolition or reduction of those demands would result in a return to possibilities of happiness.”



“Every useful thing is a whole composed of many properties; it can therefore be used in many ways. The discovery of these ways and hence of the manifold uses of things is the work of history.”

“The wealth of societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails appears as an ‘immense collection of commodities’; the individual commodity appears as its elementary form.”

“At this price, by forcibly fixing them in a state of psychical infantilism and by drawing them into a mass-delusion, religion succeeds in sparing many people an individual neurosis.”

“As a last technique of living, which will at least bring him substitutive satisfactions, he is offered that of a flight into neurotic illness – a flight which he usually accomplishes when he is still young.”

“The connection with reality is still further loosened; satisfaction is obtained from illusions, which are recognized as such without the discrepancy between them and reality being allowed to interfere with enjoyment.”

“Some people like sexual content. Others will not watch the shows if the attitude toward sexuality seems to favor promiscuity.

By depicting sex and then expressing moral objection, the networks can spike their ratings by appealing to both groups.”

“And when Yeltsin ordered the tanks to attack the Russian parliament –backed by the American president; and by the bankers and the economic experts – Limonov decided he was going to fight this system; because he knew its one weakness: it told no stories about the past, and, it had no vision of the future.

Its only aim was to keep the system stable.”

“Since it allowed ignoramuses to be reticent and to take refuge in mysterious shakings of the head; since, in short, the most accomplished votary of this science is the man who swims along with his head above the stream of events in such a way that he seems to be determining its course: it thus becomes a question of specific levity rather than gravity.”

“We are facing here not a cognitive critique but a critique of domination: although human beings are able to understand certain social relations correctly, they still are forced to coordinate certain actions in a way that prevents treating these social relations as relations created and therefore modifiable by human action.”

“First, the very same discourse about commodity, capital, interests, value and so on still expresses social relations wrongly. We still speak about commodities as if they contain value on their own, even when we know now that commodities ‘do not contain an atom’ (Marx) of value independently of social relations.”

“The factual forces of the material world are such that intellectual deconstruction did not cause the pathological material reality to disappear.

Moreover, it did not even dissolve ideology. The false appearance still exists and is reproducing itself in at least two ways.”

“(There is no contradiction here; an individual whose attitudes or behaviors bring him into conflict with the system [,] is up against a force that is too powerful for him to conquer or escape from, hence he is likely to suffer from stress, frustration, defeat.

His path will be much easier if he thinks and behaves as the system requires. In that sense the system is acting for the benefit of the individual when it brainwashes him into conformity.)” [\*?]

“Thus human nature has in the past put certain limits on the development of societies. People could be pushed only so far and no farther. But today this may be changing, because modern technology is developing ways of modifying human beings.”

“Each floor had its own bar or restaurant, waiters in different uniforms, paintings and photographs, semidarkness, as I have already noted, and suchlike splendors.

Amidst mild music, sipping my vodka from a huge glass, I remembered by contrast some friends of a week’s standing, Brooklyn Bridge bums, and burst out laughing.  
Shit, and this was civilization.

Why aren’t they afraid of the gigantic waves that will some day rise up from the slums of Brooklyn and the Lower Eastside, and fucking submerge the little islets where the feast goes on in time of plague, where the sounds of hollow

music flow, bunny asses flit around practically bare, and my Elena walks accessible to all?”

“From our contemporary viewpoint, the aforementioned practices seemed to be more symbolic acts of recognition that foster system-conforming attitudes without producing material recognition.”

“Critique must become practical and must lead to a change in pathological social relations.”

“They produce a wrong or inverted being-in-the-world.”

“Additionally, since ideological thinking and practices (re-) produce these false social relations, ideologies can be harmful for those who reproduce them.”

“Social reality is organized in such a way that creates systematically false appearances.

This understanding also means that ideologies can be correct and false at the same time. They can be the correct expressions of false social relations.”

“In contrast to these conceptualizations, which understand ideologies simply as a set or system of ideas, the Marxist notion of ideology always points towards the *critique* of ideologies.

This critique is related to the conviction that ideologies are false in a very specific sense.

They are not only cognitive errors but also, since ideas are (co-)produced by the conditions of social reproduction, the critique of ideologies is always understood as a critique of material reality,

i.e., of a somehow false reality and of a social order understood as pathological.”

“As stated in the introduction, the Marxist concept of ideology relates ideas to the material and social reality, to social relations and to practices, especially to those of social reproduction.

This relationship is true in a triple sense (see also Herzog 2018; Stahl 2015):

- Ideas can have effects on material reality; they can influence social relations, practices, etc
  - Material reality, its internal organization and its institutionalization influences the production of ideas
- Finally, ideologies can have social functions. They often serve powerful interests and often stabilize certain social conditions and relations of power (see all Fairclough 1992).”



“In modern, bureaucratic societies like ours, ruling is often largely a matter of manipulating concepts, right, what *counts* as a citizen?”

How should we conceptualize ‘a citizen’? Right? How should we conceptualize a *legitimate* resident of this country?”

“The circumstances *created* by these adaptational strategies are such that they cannot be *maintained* by them.”

“In order, apparently, to put himself more fully under the protection of the totem, the clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by dressing in the skin or other part of the totem animal,

Arranging his hair and mutilating his body so as to resemble the totem, and representing the totem on his body by cicatrices; tattooing or paint.”

“The aim of this article is to understand certain practices of discourse production that can produce discursive and material effects.”

“A special importance attaches to the case in which this attempt to procure a certainty of happiness and a protection against suffering through a delusional remoulding of reality is made by a considerable number of people in common.”

“What was going to emerge instead, was a new system, that had nothing to do with ‘politics’; a system whose aim was not to try and *change* things, but rather, to *manage* a ‘post-political’ world.”

“This was a mosaic designed to reassure anxious white males at a moment when all of the certainties they had previously counted on – in work, sexual relations, ethnic identity – were coming under pressure.”

“What he can and must do, however, is to ask how it is that the notion of ‘freedom’ has come to be taken for granted in one country and not in another, how its ‘reality’ is maintained in the one society

And how, even more interestingly, this ‘reality’ may once again be lost to an individual or to an entire collectivity.”

“In other words, a ‘sociology of knowledge’ will have to deal not only with the empirical variety of ‘knowledge’ in human societies,

But also with the processes by which *any* body of ‘knowledge’ comes to be socially established *as* ‘reality’.”

“This having been established, there are no more individuals, but only potential mutants.”

“It knows only a vertiginous succession where the subject loses itself in ritual sequences.”

“Newton Minow, former chairman of the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), noted in his recent book,

‘By the first grade, most children have spent the equivalent of three school years in front of the TV set.’

By age 18, time spent with TV exceeds time spent in school, time talking with teachers, time talking with friends, and time talking with parents.”

“It is also worth holding onto the name Jungle because it evokes a terrain: the urban Jungle, or rather the underside of a metropolis that was just in the process of being digitalised.”

“At the same time, however, Jungle was by no means an unequivocal *celebration* of the urban. If Jungle celebrated anything, it was the lure of *the dark*.

“Jungle liberated the suppressed libido in the dystopian impulse, releasing and amplifying the jouissance that comes from anticipating the annihilation of all current certainties.”

“As Kodwe Eshun argued, in *Jungle* there was a libidinisation of anxiety itself, a transformation of fight and flight impulses into enjoyment.”

“This was deeply ambivalent: at one level, what we were hearing here was a kind of sonic fictional intensification and extrapolation of the neo-liberal world’s destruction of solidarity and security.”

“Nostalgia for the familiarity of smalltown life was rejected in *Jungle*, but its digital city was devoid of the comfort of strangers: no-one could be trusted here. *Jungle* took many of its clues from the Hobbesian scenarios of 1980s films such as *Bladerunner*, *Terminator*, and *Predator 2*. It is no accident that all three of these films are about hunting.”

“Jungle’s world was one in which entities – human as well as nonhuman – stalked each other for sport as well as sustenance.”

“Yet darkside Jungle was about the thrill of the chased, about the videogame euphoria – anxiety of eluding ruthless predators, as much as it was about the exhilaration of running prey to the ground.”

“At a certain point, the unrelieved negativity of the dystopian drive trips over into a perversely utopian gesture, and annihilation becomes the condition of the radically new.”

“Daly and Reed (2022) found that incels perceive that most of society hates them. As such, they may engage in what Sostello (2020) describes as ‘performative antagonism’ in order to engineer criticism, which they can then use to verify their narrative that they are victimized by society at large.”

“History shows that all social arrangements are transitory; they all change or break down eventually.

But technological advances are permanent within the context of a given civilization.”

“Critical theory is a social theory that aims to critique and change society as a whole – critical theories attempt to find the underlying assumptions in social life that keep people from fully and truly understanding how the world works.”

“Habermas continued the tradition of Critical Theory through his notion of the lifeworld and the public sphere.

He theorized that political and economic institutions had invaded public life,

Leading to a lack of nuance in discourse and preventing people from participating in a ‘real democracy’.”

“It is not possible, within the limits of a short survey to discuss adequately the significance of work for the economics of the libido.

No other technique for the conduct of life attaches the individual to reality as laying emphasis on Work; for his work at least gives him a secure place in a portion of reality, in the human community.

The possibility it offers of displacing a large amount of libidinal components, whether narcissistic, aggressive or even erotic, on to professional work and on to the human relations connected with it

Lends it a value by no means second to what it enjoys as something indispensable to the preservation and justification of existence in society.”

“The service rendered by intoxicating media in the struggle for happiness and in keeping misery at a distance is so highly prized as a benefit



That individuals and peoples alike have given them an established place in the economics of their libido.”

“We owe to such media not merely the immediate yield of pleasure, but also a greatly desired degree of independence from the external world.”

“For one knows that, with the help of this ‘drowner of cares’, one can at any time withdraw from the pressure of reality and find refuge in a world of one’s own with better conditions of sensibility.”

“And it didn’t matter if the stories were true or not, provided they distracted people, and the politicians from having to deal with the intractable complexities of the real world.”

“And what gave it this extraordinary power, that it held out the dream of transcending the corruptions of the world, by entering a new, and better realm?”

“What the Reagan administration were doing, both with Gadaffi and the UFOs, was a blurring of fact and fiction. But it was part of an even broader program.

The president’s advisors had given it a name; they called it ‘Perception Management’, and it became a central part of the American government during the 1980s.”

“The aim was to tell dramatic stories that grabbed the public imagination.”

“That old system of power was simply mutating, morphing into a new form that camouflaged itself in radicalism, but still would manage, and control.

Out of that was going to come the modern system of power; in which psychology would join with economics and with finance to make sure that dream world was managed.”

“The new groups might *look* like radicals and dance to black music, but really, they were the children of the colonialists who had run the empire, and they had no intention of giving up their power.”

“In all these instances we must note particularly one common factor. It is the insertion between man and his environment of a pseudo-environment;

To that pseudo-environment his behavior is a response.

But because it is behavior, the consequences, if they are acts, operate not in the pseudo-environment where the behavior is stimulated,

But in the real environment, where action eventuates.”

“For certainly, at the level of social life, what is called the adjustment of man to his environment takes place through the medium of fictions.”

“The only feeling that anyone can have about an event he does not experience is the feeling aroused by his mental image of that event.

That is why until we know what others think they know, we cannot truly understand their acts.”

“Really, since the eye is very, very intimately part of brain – embryologically and anatomically – it is almost the same as though there were a piece of the brain sticking out, behaving, and all the world is there to be able to see it.

And if that’s so, what ought to be reflected or mirrored in the eye; is really the behavior of the brain.”

“In the Cold War, the very idea of ‘the individual’, and how the ‘individual’ self worked, had become political, because it was what defined the United States against the collective ideology of Russia.”

“Horst Mahler and other radicals began to think that the problem was far deeper than just individual Nazis; that maybe the whole Nazi system had also survived, and was hiding, behind the facade of modern capitalism.”

“They argued that the very system of industrial rationality and bureaucratic control that had made the Nazi state so efficient had simply mutated – it had been taken up by the victors, above all, by America, and was now being used to run the new global capitalism, and the multi-national corporations that were ruthlessly exploiting what was called the third world.”

“Anything that stood in this system’s way was bombed or burnt, with weapons created by the same rational-industrial techniques that made the mass-consumer goods.”

“But the people in the West couldn’t see this, because they had been led into a dream-world that used mass consumerism and sexualized imagery to entrance and distract everyone.”

“The cult of the movie star, fostered by the money of the film industry, preserves not the unique aura of the person but the ‘spell of personality’.”

“Film responds to the shriveling of the aura with an artificial built up of the ‘personality’ outside of the studio.”

“It, is basically of the same kind of estrangement felt before one’s own image in the mirror.

But now the reflected image has become separable,  
transportable. And where is it transported?”

“In 1932 Rudolf Arnheim saw ‘the latest trend . . . in treating the actor as a stage prop chosen for its characteristics and . . . inserted at the proper place.’”

“The audience’s identification with the actor is really an  
identification with the camera.”

“The underlying aim . . . was not to *win* the war, but to *use* the conflict to create a constant state of destabilized perception; in order to manage and control.”

“It is a Left that has become more attached to its impossibility than to its potential fruitfulness,

A left that is thus caught in a structure of melancholic attachment to a certain strain of its own dead past, whose spirit is ghostly, whose structure of desire is backward looking and punishing.”

“From a Left that confidently assumed the future belonged to it, to a Left that makes a virtue of its own incapacity to act – seems to exemplify the transition

From desire (which in Lacanian terms is the desire to desire)

To drive (an enjoyment through failure).”

“In an age of individualism, what made people feel secure, was having themselves reflected back to them, just like in a mirror . . .”

“It was a system that ordered the world in a way that was centered around ‘You’; and in an age of anxious individualism, frightened by the future, that was assuring.”

“The safe bubble that protected you from the complexities of the world outside.”

“But the biggest change was to politics. In a world where the overriding aim was stability; politics became just part of a wider system of managing the world.”

“The old idea of democratic politics; that it gave a voice to the weak against the powerful, was eroded, and a resentment began to grow, out on the edges of society.”



“Instead of a violence born out of political struggles for power, it became replaced by a much simpler image; of an evil tyrant, at the head of a ‘rogue state’, who became more like an arch-criminal who wanted to terrorize the world.”

“All the politics in power dropped away; the problem was just *them* and their evil personalities.”

“And after 9/11, this led to a new and equally simple idea: that if only you could remove these tyrannical figures, then the grateful people of their country would transform naturally into a democracy: because they would be ‘free’ of the ‘evil’.”

“The collapse of the Soviet Union also had a powerful effect on ‘the West’. For many, it symbolized the failure of the dream that politics could be used to build a new kind of world.”

“In Freud’s terms, both mourning and melancholia are about loss. But whereas mourning is the slow, painful withdrawal of libido from the lost object, in melancholia, libido remains attached to what has disappeared.”

“This refusal gives the melancholia a political dimension, because it amounts to a failure to accommodate to the closed horizons of capitalist realism.”

“One Soviet writer called it ‘Hyper-Normalization’; you were so much a part of the system that it was impossible to see beyond it; the fakeness was hyper-normal.”

“If there’s one factor above all else which contributes to cultural conservatism, it is the vast inflation in the cost of rent and mortgages.”

“The result of all this is that the social time available for withdrawing from work and immersing oneself in cultural production drastically declined.”

“Everything that exists is possible only on the basis of a whole series of absences, which precede and surround it, allowing it to possess such consistency and intelligibility that it does.”

“The work of art does not make these things meaningful – they are already meaningful – but rather transforms their meaning, or else rearranges them in such a way as to heighten and intensify their meaningfulness.

This process is not arbitrary, however, but follows an inner logic that can be abstracted, which is to say [;] thought about and considered independently of the text itself.”

“So you see, what decides the purpose of life is simply the programming of the pleasure principle.”

“To continue to compare the inside and the outside, existence and history, to continue to pass judgment on the abstract quality of life in the present, and to keep alive the idea of a concrete future.”

“A way of grasping situations and events that does [/do] not yet exist as a collective habit because the concrete form of social life to which it corresponds has not yet come into being.”

“The first is the failure to develop a usable representation of the present, one that enables us to perceive its . . . deep systemic nature;

The second is a failure to imagine a form of the future that is neither a prolongation of the present nor its apocalyptic demise.”

“We ‘feel free’ because we lack the very language to articulate our unfreedom.”

“What this means is that, today, all the main terms we use to designate the present conflict – ‘war’, ‘terrorism’, ‘democracy and freedom’, ‘human rights’, and so on – are false terms, mystifying our perception of the situation instead of allowing us to think it.”

“And it is worth pointing out that the materialist dialectic has not one basic philosophic enemy but two – namely,

Idealism (history as prediction) [,] and realism (common sense), understood in their classical or philosophical senses.”

“These two enemies are as adaptable to circumstances and as resilient to attack as viruses: the question becomes one of deciding which of these two philosophical attitudes is to be understood as the principal ideological instrument of the middle classes,

Which of them is the source of the mystification [,] which becomes the subject of the specifically Marxist critique.”

“This is to say that we cannot really understand Marx’s materialism until we understand that which it is directed *against*, that which it is designed to *correct*.”

“If a man respects and cares for the totem, he expects that  
the totem will do the same by him.”

“Artistic production begins with ceremonial objects  
destined to serve in a cult.”

“Just as water, gas, and electricity are brought into our  
houses from far off to satisfy our needs in response to a  
minimal effort, so we shall be supplied with visual or  
auditory images, which will appear and disappear at a  
simple movement of the hand, hardly more than a sign.”

“In the same way today, by the absolute emphasis on its  
exhibition value [,] the work of art becomes a creation with  
entirely new functions,”

“Namely, the desire of contemporary masses to bring  
things ‘closer’ spatially and humanly, which is just as  
ardent as their bent towards overcoming the uniqueness of  
every reality by accepting its reproduction.”

“Freedom is restricted in part by psychological controls, of which people are unconscious, and moreover many people’s ideas of what constitutes freedom are governed more by social convention than by their real needs.”

“There has been a consistent tendency, going back at least to the Industrial Revolution for technology to strengthen the system at a high cost in individual freedom and local autonomy.”

“For the most part, the profit margins of the super-rich are maintained by heightening the expectancies of the mass via a populism based on patriotism and individualism, such that the desire for power that has been fostered by the internet is channeled into xenophobic, anti-liberal, and anti-socialist movements.

In the following chapter we will see how this process has parallels with the rise of fascism in 1930’s Europe.”

“According to the bourgeois conception, a ‘free man’ is essentially an element of a social machine and has only a certain set of prescribed and delimited freedoms; freedoms that are designed to serve the needs of the social machine more than those of the individual.”

“As the recent Netflix documentary *The Social Dilemma* points out, the internet is hardwired to exacerbate social antagonisms, to get people clicking and generating data.

As such, it may radicalize people, but only with a view to keeping them fixated on the internet in angry opposition to their opposite numbers. This in turn generates yet more anger, more clicks, and therefore more saleable information for the data giants.”

“Ultimately, internet corporations don’t care what you do, so long as you give them data – and the online Left is simply one niche identity that achieves this.”



“The idea that there can be no alternative to capitalism – what Fisher termed ‘capitalist realism’ – has become further entrenched by the speed of internet communication and the demands of its algorithms, which guarantee a co-optation of leftist messaging.”

“The extent to which this is the result of an inbuilt design system that deters cogent thought processes from emerging can only be guessed at.”

“However [,] the speed at which internet platforms refresh information to keep user’s attention is in itself enough to discourage linear thought or reflection.”

“Has there ever been a time when finding gaps in the seamless surfaces of ‘reality’ has ever felt more pressing?”

“Reverse engineering of capitalist realism via an analysis of its digital junk enables a glimpse of capital’s conditions and for subsequent possible deconfigurations.”

“He saw that people identified with one another when their common interests were dramaticized for them, just as if they were biological organisms exchanging chemical properties in order to survive.”

“Even ‘naturally unaligned’ groups – rich and poor, black and white – said Burke, will become motivated to share new identities when their unmet needs are made salient to them. Rhetoric provides this salience.”

“By tracking which images went with which images, which opposed which, or which followed which, Burke often had novel things to say about rhetorical tone.”

“When doing this sort of analysis, Burke looked for increasingly abstract relationships among stylistic elements.”

“The job of the dramatic critic, then, is to discover the ‘calculus of meanings’ in a text.”

“An overriding concern of Burke’s was that such moments of great drama tend to unhinge people, making them co-actors rather than critics of dramatic action.”

“Rhetoric may indeed be equipment for living, but critics must ask, what sort of life is that equipment supporting?”

“4. Are strategies of transcendence in evidence?”

What will help the audience overcome its problems? Are the transcendent forces human (a group, a nation) or extrahuman (god, fate)? Are they concrete (new legislation) or abstract (renewed spirit)?”

“From the time of the pharaoh’s pyramids to that of the modern organizational chart, people have been attracted to hierarchies and the promise of transcending them.”

“Burke identified scapegoating whenever people build unity by identifying a common enemy.”

“At still other times, the scapegoat is not a person at all but an object (crack cocaine), an idea (homosexual marriage), or even a bodily process (Alcoholics Anonymous’ notion that alcoholism is a disease).”

“In either case, the rhetoric cleanses the soul of sin and provides new ‘attitudes’ for use in daily decision making.”

“For example, the recent ‘epidemic’ of vaguely-defined ‘codependency’ is made possible through the universal appeal of such rhetorical practices, says Messner [1996], because it urges people to recognize their codependent pollution and then engage in purification through *mortification* and surrender to God.”

“It can also scapegoat the self, (which he called mortification) . . . only then can they be redeemed through rebirth as ‘recovering codependents’.”

“This is the true source of boredom – a continual panting after excitement, in order to have pretext for giving the mind and spirits something to occupy them.”

“Transcendence is also an incorporative device . . . we transcend to another level of symbolic identity, acquiring new ‘motives’ for what we do.”

“Burke [1966:18] says that rhetoric can also tilt in the opposite direction when it describes perfect evil: the Christian’s devil, the Nazi’s Jew, etc.

According to Appel [1987], this sort of ‘rhetorical perfection’ is especially attractive to the alienated in society, persons who cannot be persuaded via incremental appeals.”

“They become gluttons for the rhetoric of perfection.”

“Even though none of us has yet found an ideal person, idea, or object, the *principle* of hierarchy goads us on.”

“It is this motivational apparatus, said Burke, that makes one piece of rhetoric different from another.”

“With regard to motive, the critic’s job is (1) to inspect discourse for its model of motivation and (2) to explain the rhetor’s dramatic actions parsimoniously.

That is a tall order. Motives, after all, are complex, overlapping, and sometimes contradictory. So Burke began simply by examining a rhetoric’s vocabulary of motives – the language it uses to explain human behavior – in order to outline that rhetoric’s theory of volition.”

“73. Behavior is regulated not only through explicit rules and not only by the government. Control is often exercised through indirect coercion or through psychological pressure or manipulation, and by organizations other than the government, or by the system as a whole.”

“Burke might worry that the technocratic realism of a Bill Clinton would reduce politics to ‘mere motion’ rather than to ‘dramatic-action’, thus hiding the *choice-making* that politics involves.”

“This withdrawal, which we know well, is that of the subject for whom the sexual and social horizons of others has disappeared, and whose mental horizon has been reduced to the manipulation of his images and screens.”

“One is alienated from oneself, from one’s multiple clones, from all these little isomorphic ‘I’s . . .’”

“Today, we need a solution to deliver us from resembling others. All that matters now is only to resemble oneself, to find oneself everywhere, multiplied but loyal to one’s personal formula; to see the same credit listings everywhere, be on all movie screens at once.”

“Formerly, we were haunted by the fear of resembling others, of losing ourselves in a crowd; afraid of conformity, and obsessed with difference.”

“A strange Narcissus, no longer dreaming of his ideal image, but of a formula to genetically reproduce himself into infinity.”

“While the fractal object is identical to each of its elementary components, the fractal subject dreams only of resembling himself in each one of his fractions.”

“. . . Bronze in the mirror of the form, wine of the mind. . .”

“Burke was concerned that the technological establishment (which grew up around him in the 1940’s and 1950’s) was escaping critical examination because of its rhetoric of nonrhetoric.”



“He believed that truth is human and therefore negotiated, so any attempt to share unaltered reality with an audience is doomed to failure.”

“Sharing ideas with others, Burke believed, is always an act of misdirection, a condition required by the complexity of language.”

“Even the simple image of the shepherd, he observed, remains innocent only if an audience half-thinks about the shepherd’s duties.” . . .

. . . “[He is implicitly identified with their slaughter.]”

“A total stress upon the autonomy of his pastoral specialization here functions *rhetorically* as a mode of expression whereby we are encouraged to overlook the full implications of his office.”

“In this sense one can speak of the *fractal subject*, which – instead of transcending into a finality beyond itself – is diffracted into a multitude of identical miniaturized egos,”

“Among the first critics were the *Theoria*, a troupe commissioned to travel about in ancient Greece gathering local information about society.

Often they would comment upon local rituals and festivals, activities designed to call attention to what is noble and base in people and their motives.”

“To each his own bubble; that is the law today.

Just as we have reached the limits of geographic space and have explored all the confines of the planet, we can only implode into a space which is reduced daily as a result of our increasing mobility,”

“Throughout his work, Burke refused to treat life *as* drama. Rather, he believed, life *is* drama.

People’s actions are themselves symbolic statements. In this view, rhetoric employs primitive dramatic forms that enable people to see more than their eyes alone would allow.”

“Burke feared Hitler’s rhetoric more than he feared Hitler’s politics. Burke knew that political systems come and go as a nation’s economy, sociology, and demography evolve.

But a galvanizing drama can be repeated endlessly, Burke warned, because people’s deepest fears and anxieties never change.”

“An essential job of rhetoric: blending an audience’s lived life with their psychic life.”

“In the first ad, the reader is asked to *identify* with a simpler, safer time and place . . . such a place never in fact existed.

But these idealized neighborhoods exist throughout American literature (and [in] *Sesame Street*), so they are familiar nostalgia trip destinations.”

“Burke would also call attention to how the second passage uses *language clusters* to build its images of innocence. Thick woods, Mother Nature, children, water, harmony – these are primal terms, the stuff of dreams.”

“By focusing on what their products symbolize rather than what they are.”

“If these immune systems are breaking down it is because an irreversible tendency called progress pushes the human body and spirit into relinquishing its systems of defense and self-determination, only to replace them with technical artifacts.”

“The artificial purification of all milieus, atmospheres, and environments will supplant the failing internal immune systems.”

“It would not be too far-fetched to say that the extermination of mankind begins with the extermination of germs.”

“Thought will be favorably replaced by a better system, a cerebro-spinal bubble, freed of all animal and metaphysical reflexes.”

“In the rituals of transference one must include the entire prosthetic and protective environments as substitutes for the natural biological defenses of the human body.”

“Even trees must be shaken by the wind if they are to thrive.”

