

NOTES 2023-2024

Ivan's Book

“General systems theory, first introduced in the 1940's, argues that all organisms are open to, and interact with, their external environments.

Although most organisms have clear boundaries, they cannot be understood in isolation, but only in relationship to their surroundings.

“This simple but powerful idea can be applied to many disciplines.

For example, in botany, the growth of a plant cannot be explained without reference to soil, light, oxygen, moisture, and other characteristics of its environment.”

“In the shareholder theory of the firm
(sometimes also called the ownership theory),
the firm is seen as the property of its owners.

The purpose of the firm is to maximize its long-
term market value, that is, to make the most
money it can for share-holders who own stock
in the company.”

“Managers and boards of directors are agents of share-holders and have no obligations to others, other than those directly specified by law.

In this view, owners' interests are paramount and take precedence over the interests of others.”

“Stakeholder Analysis: an important part of the modern manager's job is to identify relevant stakeholders and to understand both their interests and the power they may have to assert these interests.

This process is called stakeholder analysis. The organization from whose perspective the analysis is conducted is called the focal organization.”

“The first step of a stakeholder analysis is for managers of the focal organization to identify the issue at hand.

For example, in the Cape Wind situation discussed earlier in this chapter, Energy Management Inc. had to analyze how to win regulatory approval for the construction of its wind farm.”

“Once the issue is determined, managers must ask four key questions, as discussed below and summarized in Figure 1.3.”

“Figure 1.3 The Four Key Questions of
Stakeholder Analysis

Who are the relevant stakeholders?

What are the interests of each stakeholder?

What is the power of each stakeholder?

How are coalitions likely to form?”

“But stakeholder analysis involves more than simply *identifying* stakeholders; it also involves understanding the nature of their interests, power, legitimacy, and links with one another.”

“The drive for evidence-based research and scientific exchange, which became dominant toward the late 19th century, inspired a burst of activity in the 20th century.

This was supported by technical advances that turned electricity from a curiosity into a useful tool and kick-started what is called the second industrial revolution.”

“Like its wartime prototype, the post-war propaganda drive was an immense success, as it persuaded not just businessmen but journalists and politicians that 'the manufacture of consent' was a necessity throughout the public sphere.”

“In addition to the categories of hierarchy, division of labor, and centralization, Weber emphasizes that bureaucracies are relatively closed systems.

That is, to the extent possible, a bureaucracy will shut itself off from influences of the outside environment because environmental interruptions could hamper its smooth functioning.”

“Thompson (1967) extends this idea by proposing that organizations have 'technical cores' that must be buffered from the environment through structural or communicative means.”

“For example, in a physician's office, the technical core is the interaction between physician and patient in the examining room.

This technical core is buffered from environmental interruption by receptionists, rules about appointments, and medical personnel who monitor the flow of patients.”

“Because Bernays was the first person to take Freud's ideas about human beings and use them to manipulate the masses.”

“He showed American corporations for the first time how they could make people want things they didn't need, by linking mass-produced goods to their unconscious desires.”

“Out of this would come a new political idea of how to control the masses. By satisfying people's selfish inner desires, one made them happy, and thus docile.

It was the start of the all-consuming self, which has come to dominate our world today.”

“What the corporations realized they had to do, was transform the way the majority of Americans thought about products.

One leading Wall Street banker, Paul Mazur, of Lehman Brothers, was clear about what was necessary.”

“‘We must shift America,’ he wrote, ‘From a ‘*needs*’, to a ‘*desires*’ culture. People must be *trained* to desire; to want *new* things, even before the *old* have been entirely consumed.

We must shape a new mentality in America.

Man's desires must overshadow his needs.”

“And the man who would be at the center of
changing that mentality for the corporations
was Edward Bernays.”

“In 1927 an American journalist wrote; A
change has come over our democracy, it is
called *consumptionism*. The American citizen's
first importance to his country is now no longer
that of 'citizen', but that of 'consumer.'”

“At the moment, I should like to think only about the worldwide spectacle of men acting upon their environment, moved by stimuli from their pseudo-environments.

. . . They live, we are likely to say, in different worlds. More accurately, they live in the same world, they think and feel in different ones.”

“It is to these special worlds, it is to these private or group, or class, or provincial, or occupational, or national, or sectarian artifacts, that the political adjustment of mankind in the Great Society takes place.

Their variety and complication are impossible to describe. Yet these fictions determine a very great part of men's political behavior.”

“‘Modern society,’ says Mr. Chesterton, ‘is intrinsically insecure because it is based on the notion that all men will do the same thing for different reasons’.”

“In this sense, human needs are historical needs and, to the extent to which the society demands the repressive development of the individual, his needs themselves and their claim for satisfaction are subject to overriding critical standards.”

“The most effective and enduring form of warfare against liberation is the implanting of material and intellectual needs that perpetuate obsolete forms of the struggle for existence.”

“And, as in the case of his politics and his religion, he had borrowed all his notions of what was right and wrong from those around him.

A single, serious, intelligent or rightly informing
book had never been read by any member of
this family – not one.

But they were nevertheless excellent, as
conventions, morals and religions go – honest,
upright, God-fearing and respectable.”

“The protagonist of a popular Soviet television comedy released in 1975, *The Irony of Fate* (*Ironia Sud'by*), gets drunk with his buddies in a Moscow sauna on New Year's Eve and by accident ends up on a plane to Leningrad.

Upon arriving in Leningrad, the drunk hero, still thinking he is in Moscow, gives a taxi driver his Moscow address. A street of the same name, Second Street of Builders, (*Vtoraia ulitsa stroitelei*), exists in Leningrad;

as in Moscow, the street is located in a new district built in the 1970's on the outskirts of the city. The big apartment blocks in the district look identical to those in Moscow, as do the shops and bus stops. Even the stairs, apartment numbers, and doors keys are the same.

The hero arrives at 'his' address and lets himself into a Leningrad apartment, confident that he has arrived at his Moscow home.

The layout of the apartment, the furniture, and the household appliances are all sufficiently identical for the still-tipsy hero to confuse them for his possessions. He lies down on the sofa to take a nap and wait for the New Year.

A comedy of errors ensues, and after many amusing incidents and romantic songs, the protagonist falls in love with the woman who lives in the Leningrad apartment, and she with him.”

“This comedy makes apparent the standardization and predictability of Soviet life in the 1970's, when street names, architectural styles, door keys, and household possessions seemed completely interchangeable.

These standardizations of everyday tools, references, and scenes were part of a larger standardization of discourse during the Soviet period, epitomized in the ubiquitous ideological slogans and posters that covered urban space.

These signs were so common, identical, and predictable that they had become transparent to pedestrians – and were simply a 'huge backdrop to daily life' (Havel, 1986):

even when traveling to an unfamiliar city one would see the same familiar and predictable slogans with only occasional regional variations.

Party organizations controlled this Soviet authoritative discourse, and its circulation throughout everyday life in newspaper articles, speeches, propaganda billboards, school textbooks, urban monuments, street names, film newsreels, meetings, parades, elections, and so on.”

“The period saw the rise of the press agent, whose job it was to 'hype' companies, products, entertainment and/or 'celebrities' — by almost any means necessary.”

“Characters like Davy Crockett, Daniel Boone, Annie Oakley, or Buffalo Bill were created or their exploits exaggerated to sell tickets, win votes, or get coverage.”

“To be remembered that it is Pathology who decides a patient got cancer or don't got it.

The doctors open it up. Anything looks suspicious, cut off a hunk and send it down to Pathology.”

“So in this pride of prowling healers, the runty,
ugly, half-impotent pathologist finds a big
surgeon humping his old lady. So he frames
the adulterous surgeon for prostate cancer
and everybody knows there is only one cure.

The surgeon is castrated and his nuts sent
down to Pathology. Holding the nuts of his
enemy in his hand gets him hot and he
surprises his wife with a real pimp fuck.”

“This then, will be the clue to our inquiry. We shall assume that what each man does is based not on direct and certain knowledge but on pictures made by himself or given to him.

If his atlas tells him that the world is flat he will not sail near what he believes to be the edge of our planet for fear of falling off. If his maps include a fountain of eternal youth, a Ponce de Leon will go in quest of it.”

“The way the world is imagined determines at any particular moment what men will do. It does not determine what they will achieve. It determines their effort, their feelings, their hopes, not their accomplishments and results.”

“Instead of taking for granted an environment that is readily known, the social analyst is most concerned in studying how the larger political environment is conceived, and how it can be conceived more successfully.”

“One example of a global action network was the Kimberley Process, an initiative to end the trade in *conflict diamonds* – gemstones that had been mined or stolen by rebels fighting internationally recognized governments.

The problem was that combatants in civil wars in Africa had seized control of diamond mines in Sierra Leone, Angola and the Congo, and were selling uncut diamonds to fund their operations.

Concerned that the image of diamonds as a symbol of romance would be tarnished, the World Diamond Congress and the international diamond company DeBeers joined forces with the governments of nations with legitimate diamond industries and NGOs campaigning to end civil violence.

Together, these parties developed the Kimberley Process, a system for tracking diamonds all the way from the mine to the jewelry shop, so that consumers could be assured that their gem was 'conflict-free'."

“We have learned to call this propaganda.

A group of men, who can prevent independent access to the event, arrange the news of it to suit their purpose.”

“Central to Weick's theory of organizing is the idea that organizations exist in an environment. Weick is clear, though, that this environment is not merely a physical environment but is an *information environment*.

Furthermore, the information environment of an organization does not exist 'out there' in an objective manner. Rather, individuals create the environment that confronts them through the process of *enactment*.

The process of enactment suggests that different organizational members will imbue information inputs with different meanings and hence create different information environments.

As Weick (1995) explains, 'there is not some kind of monolithic, singular, fixed environment that exists detached from and external to people. Instead, people are very much a part of their own environments.'

“It is often very illuminating, therefore, to ask yourself how you got at the facts on which you base your opinion.

Who actually saw, heard, felt, counted, named the thing, about which you have an opinion?

Was it the man who told you? Or the man who told him, or someone still further removed?

And how much was he permitted to see?

When he informs you that France thinks this and that, what part of France did he watch?

How was he able to watch it? Where was he when he watched it? What Frenchmen was he permitted to talk to, what newspapers did he read, and where did they learn what they say?

You can ask yourself these questions, but you can rarely answer them: they will remind you,

however, of the distance which often separates your public opinion from the event with which it deals. And the reminder is itself a protection.”

“Wherein Your Majesty will clearly see how those who rule over these parts deserve to be stripped of their ranks so that the republics may have some relief.

And if this be not done, it is my belief that their sickness shall have no cure.

And it is also meet that Your Majesty know that
there are no Christians in these parts, but
rather demons, that there are no men who
serve God or the king, but only traitors to their
law and to their king.

For it is true that the greatest obstacle that I
find, to turning the warring Indians to peace
and bringing those at peace into the
knowledge of our faith, is the harsh and cruel
treatment that the Indians of peace receive
from the Christians.

Which is the reason that these Indians are so hard of character and so irascible, and naught can be so hateful and odious to them, as the name 'Christians,' whom in all this land they call in their tongue *yares*, which is to say 'demons,'

and doubtless they are right, for the deeds that are done here are those neither of Christians nor of men who have right reason, but indeed those of demons.”

“All of the above-written are formal words
written by the Bishop of Santa Marta, and by
them one may clearly see what is done today
in all those unfortunate lands and against
those innocent people.

The bishop calls 'warring Indians' those who
are alive and have been able to save
themselves by fleeing into the wilderness to
escape the slaughter wrought by the wretched
Spaniards.

And 'Indians at peace' he calls those who,
after the death of infinite numbers of their
fellows, fall into the abominable and tyrannical
bondage described above, where they are
finally devastated and slain,

as one may see in the words of the bishop;
albeit in truth, his words but ill describe what
those poor souls are made to suffer.”

“American settlers came to California with two centuries of Indian warfare behind them. The Indian had no rights that the white man was bound to respect.

If the Americans had a policy, it was to extirpate Indian culture, not to transform it.

The Spaniards had planned on retaining the Indian population. They had even encouraged intermarriage. But the Anglos contemplated the obliteration of the Indian.

The Spanish policy was to regard the Indian as a potential economic asset, but, under American rule, he was regarded as a liability to be liquidated as rapidly as possible.”

“Advertising tries to construct a position, of knowledge, or identification for the viewer in relation to what is depicted in the image.”

“The fact is, that if we are *concerned* about the proliferation of images in our culture, it is because they *constantly* construct us,

through our fantasy relationship *to* the image,
in a way which *implicates* us in the meaning.”

“Playing Indian tunes on a flute made out of
reeds from the bed of the Los Angeles River,
Pinikahti used to dance in the streets of the
town for pennies, nickles, and dimes, or a
glass of aguardiente.”

“Nowadays it is invariably reported in the
Southern California press as a major social
event of the year.

A careful scrutiny of the names of these fancily dressed *visitadores* – these gaily costumed Rotarians – reveals that Leo Carrillo is about the only rider whose name carries a faint echo of the past and he is about as Mexican as the ceremony is Spanish.

Ostensibly a gay affair, the annual ride represents a rather grim and desperate effort to escape from the bonds of a culture that neither satisfies nor pleases.

Actually there is something rather pathetic about the spectacle of these frustrated business men cantering forth in search of ersatz week-end romance, evoking a past that never existed to cast some glamour on an equally unreal today.”

“All attempted revivals of Spanish folkways in Southern California are similarly ceremonial and ritualistic, a part of the sacred rather than the profane life of the region.

The 3,279 Mexicans who live in Santa Barbara, are doubtless more bewildered by these annual Spanish hijinks than any other group in the community.

For here is a community that generously and lavishly supports the 'Old Spanish Fiesta' – and the wealth of the *rancheros visitadores* is apparent for all to see – but which consistently rejects proposals to establish a low-cost housing project for its Mexican residents.

However, there is nothing really inconsistent about this attitude, for it merely reflects the manner in which the sacred aspects of the romantic past have been completely divorced from their secular connotations.

The residents of Santa Barbara firmly believe,
of course, that the Spanish past is dead,
extinct, vanished.

In their thinking, the Mexicans living in Santa Barbara have no connection with this past.

They just happen to be living in Santa
Barbara.

To be sure, many of them have names, such
as Cota or Guitierrez, that should stir
memories of the *dolce far niente* period.

But these names are no longer important.

They belong to the profane, and happily
forgotten, side of the tradition.”

“The politics of 'the image' has to take a very different and much less guaranteed route – in my view; it has to go *inside* the image itself!”

“As a practice; because what 'closure' in representation does most of all, is it *naturalizes* the representation to the point where you *cannot* see [that] anybody ever produced it!”

“So the very *act* of opening up the practice by which these closures of imagery are being presented requires one to go into the *power* of the stereotype itself and begin to, as it were, subvert, open and expose it from inside.”

“(Interrogating stereotypes [representations] makes them UNINHABITABLE – it destroys their naturalness and normality)”

“You would go exactly *into* the nature of fetishism itself, because of the secret power

which it has!

I mean, it has operated to stabilize stereotypes

for a reason! *Not just for a joke – [but]*

BECAUSE it has very powerful powers of

fantasy – of identification in fantasy!

And if you want to *change*, [to] begin to

change the relationship of the viewer to the

image, you have to intervene in exactly that

powerful exchange between the image and its

psychic meaning.”

“In *The Society of the Spectacle* (1967),
Debord aims to awaken the spectator who is
controlled by the spectacular image.

These images are used to feed individuals the
ideals of society and become a mode of
consumerism through their ability to sell the
viewer what is held within it.”

“The spectacle corresponds to the historical
moment at which the commodity completes its
colonization of social life.”

“And that's what allows you to understand 'the Thing'; *die Sache* – If you want to understand power relations,

you have to exercise your mind and *exude* a

sort of... 'dissolving' substance to a certain

degree – there was a famous philosopher; a

materialist, who said: *the mind secretes*

thoughts the way that the liver secretes bile –

and I think Hegel would sort of go along with

that; the *active* mind actually secretes

thoughts, which *cling* to things, which, you

know, *latch into* them...”

“The person; now by having some sort of way of looking at things, some sort of *theoretical* way of looking at things . . . is able to begin classifying things in the realm of concrete experience . . .

And doing that, that act of classification, helps make these things more understandable – more intelligible . . .

It removes them from their immediacy, because *now*, they're mediated through the classification.”

“President Hoover was the first politician to articulate the idea that *consumerism* had become the central motor of American life.

After his election, he told a group of advertisers and public relations men;

'You have taken over the job of creating desire; and have transformed people into constantly moving happiness machines; machines which have become the key to economic progress.'

“It was not only in the fields that the Chinese were mistreated in Southern California. On October 24, 1871, one of the worst race riots in American history took place in the City of Los Angeles.

For on that day a mob of a thousand Angelenos, armed with pistols, knives, and ropes, descended on Chinatown.

'Trembling, moaning, wounded Chinese,' reported the *San Francisco Bulletin* 'were hauled from their hiding places;

ropes quickly encircled their necks; they were dragged to the nearest improvised gallows.

A large wagon close by had four victims hanging from its sides... three others dangled from an awning... five more were taken to gateway and lynched....

Looting every nook, corner, chest, trunk and drawer in Chinatown, the mob even robbed the victims it executed.... \$7,000 was extracted from a box in a Chinese store.'

Stealing \$40,000 in cash, [over \$1,000,000 in today's money] the mob lynched nineteen Chinese.

On the night of October 25, the heroes of the raid paraded the streets of the town, displayed their booty, and were acclaimed by the mob.

As a result of a subsequent grand-jury investigation, 150 men were indicted for this murderous assault, but, of these, only six were sentenced and they were soon released.

Still later, the American government had to pay a handsome indemnity for the losses sustained, in life and property, by the Chinese.”

“Contemporary writers,' wrote Horace Bell, 'say that it was the underworld part of our population that took advantage of the situation to start indiscriminate killing and pillaging.

But they do not state that the police force of the city furnished the leaders of the mob; that

the Chief of Police of Los Angeles stationed his policemen and the deputies he had mustered in for this occasion, at all strategic points with orders to shoot to death any Chinese that might 'stick a head out or attempt to escape from the besieged buildings';

nor that one of the leading members of the City Council participated in the slaughter.' Many similar incidents, although of lesser gravity, are reported in the local annals.

“However as time passed, it was London's model, then accelerated by Washington, that prevailed:

focusing enslavement tightly on Africans and those of even partial African ancestry, then seeking to expel 'Free Negroes' to Sierra Leone and Liberia.

London and Washington created a broader base for settler colonialism by way of a 'white'

population, based in the first instance on once warring, then migrant English, Irish, Scots, and Welsh; then expanding to include other European immigrants.”

“From the beginning, the state of California was a whiteness cartel, defining national belonging in relation to territorial access.”

“The state's civil and criminal procedural codes excluded testimony from Indians and black people in cases involving white people.”

“The result was that California's whites were legally permitted to kill nonwhites as long as no other whites complained.”

“Among the diverse settlers – Protestant and Jewish; English and Irish et al. - there was a perverse mitosis at play as these fragments cohered into a formidable whole of 'whiteness,' then white supremacy, which involved class collaboration of the rankest sort between and among the wealthy and those not so endowed.”

“In the decades following the gold rush, these settlers murdered and plundered on their country's behalf, organizing themselves into Indian-hunting militias that demanded payment from the state, which in turn demanded reimbursement from the feds.”

“If we know enough, on the one hand, about the contemporary condition of a creature, and, on the other, about its evolutionary history, we will be able to answer the deliberately naive questions:

Why is it like it is?

Why does it do what it does?”

“It is like it is because of the history of its adaptational strategies. It does what it does because this behavior has paid off in the struggle for survival.

But there is always the possibility that altered circumstances will make the strategy obsolete and even detrimental.

If the obsolete strategy persists, the result is extinction.”

“By 1500 China accounted for an estimated 25 percent of the world's output of goods and services and England for about 1 percent,

but by 1900 as an outgrowth of slavery and rapacious colonialism, those numbers had been virtually reversed.”

“ . . . and have transformed people into constantly moving happiness machines which have become the key to economic progress.

What was beginning to emerge in the nineteen-twenties was a new idea of how to run mass democracy.”

“Both Bernays' and Lippmann's concept of managing the masses takes the idea of 'democracy' and it turns it into a palliative;

It turns it into giving people some kind of feel-good medication that will respond to an immediate pain or an immediate yearning – but will not alter the objective circumstances one iota.”

“I mean democracy, really, the *idea* of democracy at its heart, was about *changing* the relations of power that had governed the world for so long.

And Bernays' concept of democracy was one of *maintaining* the relations of power, *even* if it meant that one needed to sort of 'stimulate' the psychological lives of the public.”

“But if you can keep stimulating the irrational self, then leadership can basically go on doing what it wants to do.”

“Western Europe's contestation with the Ottomans was a pre-condition of the rise of plundering of the Americas and Africa.

The Iberians pirouetted deftly from the directive of Pope Nicholas V in 1452 sanctifying Lisbon's praxis of selling into slavery all 'heathens' and 'Foes of Christ' -

principally Moslems – to the broader application in the Americas.

This fifteenth-century edict was an extension of the Crusades. That is, a Pan-European Christian campaign against Islam extended to a campaign against non-European/non-Christians (especially in the Americas and Africa);

arguably, this Pan-European initiative was a prelude to the rise of a similarly devastating 'whiteness' project.

Thus, in fifteenth-century Valencia, Spain, captors sought to misinterpret what amounted to Senegalese and Gambians (West Africans) as Moors (North Africans) . . . so as to enslave them consistent[ly] with theological mores.”

“I think the real chilling thing is that the American empire – 'capital'; 'elites'... 'military' – whatever you wanna [call them]; they *like* blow-back! Blowback is part of the whole *deal*,

because when you create a new problem, you create a new opportunity. You solve *that* problem by creating *another* problem, you keep the hamster wheel going; you keep the cycle going, its not *karma*, its a feedback loop.

In the case of Iraq, we helped the Baath party get into power – oops; looks like Saddam is an egomaniacal psycho who wants to invade other countries in the region? Well, as long as we can steer him towards *our* enemies, like Iran – no big deal!

Oh, woah! Now he's emboldened because we helped him out, and he's going for Kuwait? No big deal, now we can bomb Iraq and put a death to the peace dividend, and get the military industrial complex back on track – Oh, what's this?

Now he's managed to cling onto power and the sanctions emboldened the regime, while killing the people?

Well great! Now that we have 9/11 here, we can go into Iraq and finish the job and say that he's a terrorist we should have knocked off a long time ago... Oh, no; now we've invaded Iraq and there's an insurgency, and its Vietnam all over again?

No big deal, now we can get a bunch of military contractors in, now we can tighten our grip on the whole Middle East and get the situation under control... You know? And it goes on and on and on.

And it will continue to go on and on, and that's the really spooky thing; y'know, *tomorrow* - It could all kick up again tomorrow; some new boogeyman that comes out of nowhere, that came through some horrible American-sponsored prison system in his country, kills a bunch of people, kills a bunch of Americans, due to something [that] *we* did a long time ago, and we're *back* at it, saying *we gotta get this guy!*, and no one stops to think about where he came from, no one stops to think about how *WE* created him, and the cycle goes on.

So blowback, really, is not a bug - Its a feature;
its like the *algorithm* of empire.”

“To paraphrase good old Lenin one more time;

Things can be *historically* obsolete, that
doesn't mean that they're *politically* obsolete...

That is to say; countries, or empires or social
systems, economic systems, their *time* can
come, their expiration date can hit, but that
doesn't mean that they just stop existing...

Until you get rid of them, they just continue to
sit there rotting and stinking more and more
every day that goes on.”

“Pop-art simply tells you; *the only art-form left
for you today is your own natural environment;*
you have now to program it as if it were a work
of art and an environment.”

“So to suddenly be confronted by the need to
use the human environment itself as art-form,
is *one* way of drawing attention to the fact that

the new environments created by new media
require certain amounts of human
programming and control for our psychic life.”

“In this way, although ecological
considerations inexorably divide expanding
human groups into fragments as they do
groups of baboons, symbolic processes can
weld them together into clans and tribes . . .

In this way, they are able to respond to the
symbols rather than only to the persons.”

“Power became divorced from the control of the genetic future of the population, and fastened instead onto the control of material goods and the symbolic future.

The leaders could not ensure that they controlled the future merely by peopling it with their own offspring; they had to ensure that their offspring controlled the future by having the monopoly on wealth and power.”

“The Rush called into being a new creature:
the California engineer, master of water, stone,
and labor.

Those frontier scientists were a superior, more
evolved form of the gold panner, still
entrepreneurial (and often motivated by an
equity share in the project rather than a wage)
but also dependable and often college-
educated.

California exported these men to English-speaking colonies, from the Hawaiian islands to British-occupied India and Palestine to South Africa and Australia to foreign-owned mines in South America and East Asia.

There they replicated their Golden State experience, turning the water against the land and subordinating the nonwhite laboring populations.

California's cowboy scientists helped transform the colonies for commodity agriculture and the societies for white capitalist rule, increasing the profitability and therefore the plausibility of colonial projects.

As Jessica Teisch observes in her book *Engineering Nature: Water, Development, and the Global Spread of American Environmental Expertise*,

the 'California model' was so adaptable
because it reformatted the relationships
between capital, labor, and the environment
according to a generic formula:

Anglos rule; all natives are Indians; all land
and water is just gold waiting to happen.

Geopolitics took on the character of the Gold
Rush, as European colonial powers engaged
in competitive scrambles for colonial territory
in sub-Saharan Africa and China.”

“By a type of Christian conduct which served to increase the glory of God. Just what does so serve is to be seen in his own will as revealed either directly through the Bible or indirectly through the purposeful order of the world which he has created (*lex naturae*).”

“In practice this means that God helps those who help themselves. Thus the Calvinist, as it is sometimes put, himself creates his own salvation, or, as would be more correct, the conviction of it.”

“At New Almaden we can see the steps in the proletarian[-]ization dance: the alienation of indigenous and peasant populations from the land, the formal establishment of white racial rule, scientific management continually optimizing for maximum profits, looming soldiers.

It all adds up to a laboring class with no legal way to reproduce their lives except to sell themselves hour by hour to an employer, on the employer's terms.”

“Whoever seeks mere edification, and whoever wants to shroud in a mist the manifold variety of his earthly existence and of thought,

in order to pursue the indeterminate enjoyment of this indeterminate divinity, may look where he likes to find all this, he will find ample opportunity to dream up something for himself. But philosophy must beware of the wish to be edifying.”

“I say again that in those lands there have been and still are being done, heinous and horrid acts of malice and evil-doing, and cases to chill the blood which I omit to tell.

From all that coast, which was once filled with people, they have brought to the island of Hispaniola and that of San Juan two million or more souls whom they have taken in their raids, and all of those, too, they have slain on those islands and sent to the mines or to other hard labour, over and above the multitude who lived on them as we have said above.

And it is a great pity and it breaks one's heart
to see that coast of fertile, blessed land, now
desert and bare of people.”

“It did not take long for the newly arrived
exploiters to say of the Caribbean islands that
'there is much gold in this land but few slaves
to get it out,' since a considerable number
hanged themselves because of the harsh
treatment received in the mines from
Christians.”

“And this is a truth that may easily be confirmed: that they never bring a ship filled with Indians, stolen and assaulted in this manner, as I have said,

that they do not cast into the sea, dead, the third part of those who are upon it, having left that many more dead in taking them from their lands.

The reason is that in order to accomplish their ends they must have many people, to obtain more money for more slaves,

and they carry but little food or water (so that the tyrants who style themselves 'shipowners' may save a little money) , hardly enough store, or a little more, for the Spaniards who go in the ship to carry out their raids;

and so there is not enough for the poor, sad Indians, and so they die of hunger and thirst, and the answer is to throw them into the sea.

And in truth one man who was with them told me that from one island of the Lucayos, where they cause great devastation in this [way],

to the island of Hispaniola, which is sixty or seventy leagues, a ship might sail without compass and without map, taking its course by the trail of Indians floating on the surface of the sea, thrown dead from a ship that went before.”

“Unsurprisingly, early on and writing from Hispaniola, Columbus pointed out that this island could export thousands of slaves annually, which would boost the market in Europe, as it drove down prices.”

“What interests me is not so much the personal qualities of the men and women in this history but how capitalism has made use of them.

To think about life this way is not to surrender to predetermination; only by understanding how we're made use of can we start to distinguish ourselves from our situations.

How can you know what you want or feel or think – who you *are* – if you don't know which way history's marionette strings are tugging?

If, as I have been convinced, the point of life and the meaning of freedom is to make something with what the world makes of you, then its necessary to locate those places where history reaches through your self and sticks you to the board.”

“New modes of realization are needed,
corresponding to the new capabilities of
society.

Such new modes can be indicated only in negative terms because they would amount to the negation of prevailing modes.

Thus economic freedom would mean freedom from the economy – from being controlled by economic forces and relationships; freedom from the daily struggle for existence from earning a living.

Political freedom would mean liberation of the individuals from politics over which they have no effective control.

Similarly, intellectual freedom would mean the restoration of individual thought now absorbed by mass communication and indoctrination, abolition of 'public opinion' together with its makers.

The unrealistic sound of these propositions is indicative not of their utopian character, but of

the strength of the forces which prevent their realization.

The most effective and enduring form of warfare against liberation is the implanting of material and intellectual needs that perpetuate obsolete forms of the struggle for existence.”

“The intensity, the satisfaction and even the character of human needs, beyond the biological level, have always been preconditioned.”

“We may distinguish both true and false needs. 'False' are those which are superimposed upon the individual by particular social interests in his repression: the needs which perpetuate toil, aggressiveness, misery, and injustice.

Their satisfaction might be the most gratifying to the individual, but this happiness is not a condition which has to be maintained and protected

if it serves to arrest the development of the ability (his own and others) to recognize the disease of the whole and grasp the chances of curing the disease.

The result then is euphoria in unhappiness.

Most of the prevailing needs to relax, to have fun, to behave and consume in accordance with the advertisements, to love and hate what others love and hate, belong to this category of false needs.”

“Attention structure is a rule in the grammar of stability. But this is a two-edged weapon, for if attention can be taken away from the dominant animals, then the hierarchy can be changed.

On a small scale, every grade-school teacher knows how dangerous is the child in the class whose antics – often of an incredible sophistication – so easily divert the class that the authority of the teacher is strained and often seriously threatened.”

“The process is uniformly the same: the zealots capture the attention of the masses or of a revolutionary elite, and eventually overthrow the established system.

This they do ostensibly with ideas, and although ideas can be – and are – important, it is the processes that operate irrespective of ideas or ideologies that concern us here.”

“All liberation depends on the consciousness of servitude, and the emergence of this consciousness is always hampered by the predominance of needs and satisfactions which, to a great extent, have become the individual's own.

The process always replaces one system of pre-conditioning by another; the optimal goal is the replacement of false needs by true ones, the abandonment of repressive satisfaction.”

“Here, the social controls exact the
overwhelming need for the production and
consumption of waste; the need for stupefying
work where it is no longer a real necessity; the
need for modes of relaxation which soothe and
prolong this stupefaction; the need for
maintaining such deceptive liberties as free
competition at administered prices, a free
press which censors itself, free choice
between brands and gadgets...

Free election of masters does not abolish the masters or slaves.

Free choice among a wide variety of goods and services does not signify freedom if these goods and services sustain social controls over a life of toil and fear – that is, if they sustain alienation.”

“If the worker and his boss enjoy the same television program and visit the same resort places, if the typist is as attractively made up as the daughter of her employer, if the Negro owns a Cadillac, if they all read the same newspaper, then this assimilation indicates not the disappearance of classes, but the extent to which the needs and satisfactions that serve the preservation of the Establishment are shared by the underlying population.”

“Both its successes and frustrations lie in the fact that it uses human motives to inhuman ends.

That people constantly feel in some deep way *cheated* and eventually alienated, by this double-bind situation, is not surprising.

Bureaucracy is an infuriating tease; it may constitute a career, and structure a life, but it is less life-enhancing than many of its members and clients want.

Bending its rules, is only infidelity, and not emancipation. Bureaucracy has a human face that is too much like a passport photo.”

“The mysterious need of crowds to grow and to reach out, equally characteristic of large accumulations of wealth, can be understood if money and numbers are, indeed, technologies that extend the power of touch and the grasp of the hand.

For numbers, whether of people or of digits,
and units of money would seem to possess
the same factual magic for seizing and
incorporating.”

“Veterans of land booms in Wichita, Kansas
City, Chicago, Minneapolis, and Seattle, they
knew how to attract crowds to auction sales by
brass bands, free lunches, and circus
performers.”

“Sex and politics are two sides of the same evolutionary coin, but we have lost sight of this both as a species and as theorists of our own behavior.

What textbook on sexual behavior treats it as a political process? And what primer of political science recognizes that its subject matter is a derivative of a biological theme as fundamental as the struggle for reproductive success?

What politician sees own compulsive energy
as fired by the ancient impulses of sexual
competition? What lover sees his amorous
pride as part of the necessary comportment of
the successful mammalian politician?”

“Baudelaire originally intended to call his
Fleurs du Mal, [as] *Les Limbes*, having in mind
the city as corporate extensions of our
physical organs.

Our letting-go of ourselves, self-alienations, as
it were, in order to amplify or increase the
power of various functions, Baudelaire
considered to be flowers of growths of evil.

The city as amplification of human lusts and
sensual striving had for him an entire organic
and psychic unity.”

“Of course, there ought to be no Pain . . .
nothing but Beauty . . . it ought to be one of
the loveliest, most poetic things in the world to
have a baby,' Mrs. Manford declared, in that
bright efficient voice which made loveliness
and poetry sound like the attributes of an
advanced industrialism, and babies something
to be turned out in series like Fords.”

“Rather, it was a result of depoliticization –
polarized factional struggles that eliminated
the possibility for autonomous social spheres,

transforming political debate into a mere means of power struggle, and class into an essentialized identitarian concept.”

“We are very truly in another world here; political passions are only at the surface; the profound passion, the only one that deeply moves the human heart, the passion of every day, is that acquisition of wealth, and there are a thousand ways to acquire it without disturbing the State.”

“1. *A modern crisis is fueled by data.* In today's modern marketplace, companies are inundated with massive amounts [of] data. In fact [,] major enterprises manage petabytes of big data every day.

This influx of data grows exponentially due to the rapid proliferation of mobile devices and the digitization of consumers, generating an incredible 2.5 quintillion bytes of data every day.”

“This is the socio-psychological aspect of the political event that marks the contemporary period: the passing of the historical forces which, at the proceeding stage of industrial society, seemed to represent the possibility of new forms of existence.”

“To adopt the operational point of view
involves much more than a mere restriction of
the sense in which we understand 'concept[s],'
but means a far-reaching change in all our
habits of thought

in that we shall no longer permit ourselves to
use as tools in our thinking concepts of which
we cannot give an adequate account in terms
of operations.”

“We evidently know what we mean by 'length' if we can tell what the length of any and every object is,

and for the physicist nothing more is required.

To find the length of an object, we have to perform the certain physical operations.

The concept of length is therefore fixed when the operations by which length is measured are fixed:

That is, the concept of length involves as much and nothing more than the set of operations by which length is determined.

In general, we mean by any 'concept' nothing more than a set of operations; the concept is synonymous with the corresponding set of operations.”

“Outside the academic establishment, the 'far-reaching change in all our habits of thought' is more serious. It serves to coordinate ideas and goals with those exacted by the prevailing system, to enclose them in the system, and to repel those which are irreconcilable with the system.

The reign of such a one-dimensional reality does not mean that materialism rules, and that the spiritual, metaphysical, and the bohemian occupations are petering out.

On the contrary, there is a great deal of
'worship together this week,' 'Why not try God,'
Zen, existentialism and beat ways of life, etc.
But such modes of protest and transcendence
are no longer contradictory to the status quo
and no longer negative.

They are rather the ceremonial part of
practical behaviorism, its harmless negation,
and are quickly digested by the status quo as
part of its healthy diet.

One-dimensional thought is systematically promoted by the makers of politics and their purveyors of mass information.

Their universe of discourse is populated by self-validating hypotheses which, incessantly and monopolistically repeated, become hypnotic definitions or dictations.”

“Ordinary people prefer to live in the immediate past; *Bonanza* [cowboy TV-show] style – that is; modern suburbanites in USA live *not* in modern suburbia, they live in *Bonanza*-land; one stage back.

The Cartwright Territory is a much more 'comfortable' territory to live in than modern suburbia – that is; *emotionally* it is much more gratifying and secure to live in *Bonanza*-land, and it is the *old* environment;

Every-time a new environment forms, or the new medium, people go back and live in the old one; when the Cartwrights were actually running USA; say back in 1850-1870, people weren't living in the Frontier at all!

They didn't live in *Bonanza*-land when *Bonanza*-land actually existed; they were living back in Jeffersonian democracy.”

“Lenin made very clear that in his judgment, the 'Marxist view' was that nationalism was a transient and evanescent sentiment, originally employed by the first capitalists to undermine the disabling feudal constraints that hindered the growth and territorial expansion of an industrial and commercial economy.

The emergent bourgeoisie invoked national feelings in order to free the path for capitalist development of an adequate domestic market.

Somehow or other the self-serving bourgeoisie inspired masses of peasants and urban workers with nationalist sentiment in order to satisfy capitalist purpose.”

“With the advent of the integrated world system, in which the transcontinental line was, along with the Suez Canal, a decisive link, investment flows determined the shape of what was to come.

Capital's ravenous hunger for higher returns carved a new physical and social geography out of the earth. It figuratively flattened space, blowing holes in some mountains as well. But contrary to some progressive expectations, it failed to dissolve barriers between people. Instead it formalized new ones. Capitalists used racial segregation to generate wage differentials, and legal, economic, social, and civic exclusion fell together in a dialectic tumble, each determining and [being] determined by the others.

“Around the world, the new model of railroad colonialism, as scholar Manu Karuka labels it, hold to a common pattern:

Territorial expansion through financial logics and corporate organization, using unfree imported laborers, blending the economic and military functions of the state, materializing in construction projects across the colonized world.

Once in play, these elements repeatedly yielded the same reaction. Capital flows obey systematic laws the way objects in motion obey theirs: predictably, inexorably.

Confronted with a runaway train, men could get out of the way, get run over, or, if they were among the lucky few, get on board and find out where the tracks went.”

“Modern capitalism, Lenin contended, required a large market and extended territory in order to profitably distribute its commodity production. All of that he deemed 'progressive'.

Like Marx and Engels before him, he conceived any effort to sustain and/or foster national peculiarities that might serve to reduce the extent and adequacy of that intended market as 'retrograde,' and ultimately 'counterrevolutionary.'

In the historic sense, given Marxism's unidirectional conception of industrial development, 'progress' meant the acquisition and maintenance of the largest possible territorial arena to sustain steady increments in commodity production and profitable distribution.

Since socialism required the fullest development and territorial extension of the industrial base, 'progress' in manufacturing served the ends of the ultimate socialist transformation of society.”

“For Lenin, there was nothing substantial in nationalism. In principle, nationalism was an ephemeral form of public expression that was born of, and served exclusively, instrumental purpose.

When the bourgeoisie was consolidating 'nations' in order to serve its resource, productive and distributionistic requirements, nationalism was productive – compatible with the course of history that would culminate in the proletarian revolution.

When the bourgeoisie sought to employ nationalism to its own specific advantage – to profit, to pillage primitive communities all over the world, to mobilize the working class against its fellows across the border – national sentiment was counter productive.

All of which Lenin understood to be entailed as 'tendencies' in the 'universal law' of cosmic capitalist development.”

“But the Nazis did not see this as a return to an old form of autocratic control; it was a '*new alternative*' to democracy, in which the feelings and the desires of the masses would still be central;

but they would be channeled in such a way as to *bind* that nation together. The chief exponent of this, was Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda.

Goebbels organized huge rallies whose function, he said, was to 'force' the mind of the nation into a unity of thinking, feeling, and desire.

One of his inspirations, he told an American journalist, was the writing of Freud's nephew; Edward Bernays.”

“Television establishes the dynamics of our new age; with its always scanning finger, it reintegrates the human senses; thereby making books 'obsolete'; books are now *art* objects.”

“Television demands *participation* and involvement of a whole being; the satellite system of broadcast permits, for example, an *immediate* participation in events anywhere in the world, ending all news reports! What we call a news-report is a verbalized substitute for a participation in that event!”

“THE TRIUMPH OF IMAGE over reality and reason is the theme of this book.

New communication technologies made it possible to transport images and words about the war in the Persian Gulf in real time to hundreds of millions of people around the world. But the studies in this book show that what was in fact witnessed was media imagery successfully orchestrated to convey a sense of triumph and thus to realize results that reality and reason could never have achieved.”

“The working class and peasant forces lack co-ordination and revolutionary concentration, because the leading organs of the Socialist Party have shown that they understand absolutely nothing about the development of national and international history in the present period, and that they understand nothing of the mission incumbent on the organs of struggle of the revolutionary proletariat.

The Socialist Party looks on as a spectator at the unfolding of events, it never has its own opinion to show that it is dependent on the revolutionary theses of Marxism . . .

it does not issue directives of a kind which can be understood by the masses, giving a general direction, unifying and concentrating revolutionary action.”

“The railroad radically altered the personal outlooks and patterns of our society. It bred, and nurtured the 'American Dream'; it gave us star-crossed suburbia, and its lasting symbol – the lawnmower.

The circuited city of the future will not be the huge hunk of concentrated real estate created by the railway; it will take on a totally *new* meaning, under conditions of very rapid transit and communication.”

“Well, the city, as created partly by the railway, as a railhead – the city has undergone strange transformations with the motorcar on the one hand, and the airplane on the other hand.

The tendency of the motorcar is to extend the city as a ribbon developing right across vast territories . . . and on the other hand, the airplane sort of *leap-frogs* over these spaces and wipes out roads, wipes out the big city.”

“We'll work at home, in created space, created by electric media. Connected to the corporation or boss, not by railroads or roads, but by television and other media . . .

We'll relay information by closed circuit, two-way TV, and by computer systems.”

“When this point is reached, domination – in the guise of affluence and liberty – extends to all spheres of private and public existence, integrates all authentic opposition, absorbs all alternatives.

Technological rationality reveals its political character as it becomes the great vehicle of better domination,

creating a truly totalitarian universe in which society and nature, mind and body are kept in a state of permanent mobilization for the defense of this universe.”

“Already the Gulf War, despite hundreds of
Pentagon-arranged and funded victory
parades and the efforts of thousands of TV
and radio talk-show enthusiasts, is a distant
event.

How could the situation be otherwise when the
war is succeeded by a never-ending
preoccupation with events, trivial and
important, hardly distinguished from one
another,

paraded across the screen (or the page), and
sandwiched between omnipresent
commercials?

How can history coexist alongside call-in
shows, soundbyte news, and pageants
recreating a past that never existed – the
bicentennial, Columbus' 'discovery' of America,
and the centenary of the Statue of Liberty?”

“But outside the media, history does exist, and
it is not the story seen from the dominating
heights.

That constructed world, with its colonial stereotypes, is coming apart but the media history machine daily works steadily, if vainly, at restoring it.”

“As Noam Chomsky points out in Chapter 4, a war requires at least two participants. But the

Gulf War was in his words, 'a massacre'. It was the destruction of people who were not considered fully human and therefore did not count.

As if to emphasize the point, U.S.

commanders pointedly mentioned their total lack of interest in how many Iraqis were killed or wounded.

Yet it was a massacre with a purpose: to send an unmistakable message to most of humanity – its poorest part in particular – that no challenge to existing privilege would be tolerated.”

“And when the physical frontier was closed, its imagery could easily be applied to other arenas of expansion, to markets, war, culture, technology, science, the psyche, and politics.

In the years after World War II, the 'frontier' became a central metaphor to capture a vision of a new kind of world order.

Past empires established their dominance in an environment where resources were thought to be finite, extending their supremacy to

capture as much of the world's wealth as possible, to the detriment of their rivals.

Now, though, the United States made a credible claim to be a different sort of global power, presiding over a world economy premised on endless growth.

Washington, its leaders said, didn't so much rule as help organize and stabilize an international community understood as liberal, universal, and multilateral.

The promise of a limitless frontier meant that wealth wasn't a zero sum proposition. It could be shared by all.

Borrowing frontier language used by Andrew Jackson and his followers in the 1830's and 1840's, postwar planners said that the United States would extend the world's 'area of freedom' and enlarge its 'circle of free institutions.'"

“Bauer's account differed from the 'orthodoxy' common among German theoreticians in that he recognized that whatever bourgeois motives there may have been behind the emergence of national consciousness,

in order for it to become a political reality, there must have been a susceptibility among workers and peasants.

The bourgeoisie could hardly impose a sense of nationality on a population; there had to have been a ready receptivity that could account for its acceptance and persistence.”

“Rogers had searched the library for a copy of Frazier's old article, and he read it to us. It set forth the argument Rogers had outlined three days before. Political action was of no use in building a better world, and men of good will had better turn to other measures as soon as possible.

Any group of people could secure economic self-sufficiency with the help of modern technology, and the psychological problems of group living could be solved with available principles of 'behavioral engineering.'"

"As long as my knowledge works satisfactorily, I am generally ready to suspend doubt about it. In certain attitudes detached from everyday reality . . . I may perhaps doubt elements of it.

But those doubts are 'not to be taken seriously.'

For instance, as a business I know it pays to be inconsiderate to others. I may laugh at a joke in which this maxim leads to failure, I may be moved by an actor or a preacher extolling the virtues of consideration, and I may concede in a philosophical mood that all social relations should be governed by the Golden Rule.

Having laughed, having been moved and having philosophized, I return to the 'serious' world of business, once more recognize the logic of its maxims, and act accordingly.

Only when my maxims fail 'to deliver the goods' in the world to which they are intended to apply are they likely to become problematic to me 'in earnest.'"

"My knowledge of everyday life has the quality of an instrument that cuts a path through a forest and, as it does so, projects a narrow cone of light on what lies just ahead and immediately around; on all sides of the path there continues to be darkness."

“Though this is of course crudely oversimplified, it serves to show that we are dealing with a gestalt, a configuration, which may change its shape and dimensions but not its components and their interrelations.

In essence this is an analogy from the branch of mathematics, topology, that concerns itself with this very problem and deals in detail with the peculiarities in the relationships that continue to exist despite the shape of the figure.

The rubber sheet can be twisted, tied in knots, stretched over a steel drum, but the diagram remains the same because the points retain their relationship as long as the diagram remains intact.

What human cultures do – to extend this analogy a precarious moment more – is stretch, twist, blow up like a balloon, press together, and influence the distances between the points.”

“Thus, while Bauer acknowledged all the international obligations implicit in revolutionary Marxism, he made clear that national sentiment had a politically significant immediate priority over class membership.

In the course of its development, industrial capitalism succeeded in making education a national enterprise. To secure its own needs, it introduced the working classes to the historic and cultural patrimony of the nation.

With rapid communication and the mass production of books, masses were increasingly drawn into an awareness of nationhood.

Motivated by its search for profit, capitalist enterprise made contemporary members of the same community increasingly familiar with the thought of their antecedents and the history of their community.

More and more members of the general population came to share the character traits of the historic nation.

All of that was constructed on the reality of psychological properties rooted in the evolutionary history of humankind – properties already disposed to accommodate the deepest of community sentiments.”

“The ideal of the frontier contained within itself the terms of its own criticism, which is another reason why it serves as so powerful a national metaphor.

Martin Luther King Jr., argued that the ideal fed into multiple reinforcing pathologies: into racism, a violent masculinity, and moralism that celebrates the rich and punishes the poor.

For over a year, from early 1967 until his murder in April 1968 – as the United States escalated its war in Vietnam – King put forth in a series of sermons and press conferences, a damning analysis.

Military expansion abroad, he argued, quickened polarization. The 'flame throwers in Vietnam fan the flames in our cities,' he said; 'the bombs in Vietnam explode at home.'

At the same time, constant war served to deflect the worst consequences of that polarization outward.”

“Another economic reason for the war was to counter domestic recession or at least its political consequences at home, as Secretary of State James Baker suggested.

Indeed, both Presidents Hussein and Bush started this war to manage their own domestic political economic problems in the face of a

new world economic recession. The timing, however, of the U.S. response abroad was immediately related to economic needs and political conflicts at home.

President Bush's failure to deliver on his electoral promise of a domestic renewal program was eating into his popularity ratings, and the oncoming recession reduced them further.”

“King's point is as simple as it is profound: a constant fleeing forward allowed the United States to avoid a true reckoning with its social problems, such as economic inequality, racism, crime and punishment, and violence.

Other critics at the time were coming to similar conclusions. Some scholars argued that imperial expansion let the United States 'buy off' its domestic white skilled working class, either through social welfare or higher wages made possible by third world exploitation.”

“President Bush reacted with much historical precedent. Harry S. Truman's massive response in the Korean War in 1950 followed postwar demobilization and the first recession in 1949, which many feared might replay the Depression of the 1930's.

During the 1954-1954 recession, the United States intervened in the military overthrow of the constitutionally elected Arbenz government in Guatemala.

The 1968 Vietnamese Tet Offensive and the 1969-1970 recession were followed by renewed U.S. escalation in Indochina, including in Cambodia.

The 1973-1975 recession also resulted in further escalation of the war in Vietnam. The 1979 recession and president Jimmy Carter initiated the second cold war.

The two-track decision to install cruise missiles in Europe and to negotiate with the Soviet Union from strength as well as the 3 percent yearly increase in North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) budgets, occurred *before* the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan in December 1979.

The unexpectedly strong U.S. response, which was not expected by the Soviets or perhaps anyone else, *followed* not only the invasion but also the 1979 recession.

The 1981-1982 recession brought on Reagan's military Keynesianism and massive arms buildup, not to mention his Nicaraguan Contra policy and perhaps his overreaction in Grenada.”

“The United States is now [c. 2019] into the eighteenth year of a war that it will never win. Soldiers who fought in Afghanistan and Iraq in the early 2000s are now seeing their children enlist.

A retired Marine general recently said the United States will be in Afghanistan for yet another sixteen years at least. By that point, the grandchildren of the first generation of veterans will be enlisting.

Senator Lindsey Graham believes that the United States is fighting 'an endless war without boundaries, no limitation on time or geography.'"

“Families were suffering from famine,
especially when the price of basic foodstuffs
rose. Flight from the countryside generated a
tidal wave of vagabonds in the cities.

High rates of mortality curbed the ability of
parents to show 'undue' affection to children,
to avoid the psychological backlash of the
early death of infants.”

“W.W. Crombie and wife, near Wrightsville, have lost 3 children within the past 3 weeks from diphtheria. The oldest, a young lady 17 years of age, died last Friday. Indeed they are sorely afflicted . . . [but] all their neighbors can do is extend sympathy from a distance. Their house is quarantined.”

“Many infants died because of the insalubriousness of the urban life; if an indigene from North America had visited a typical town across the Atlantic, he or she would have been stunned by the proliferation

of pollutants and the dearth of personal
hygiene.

Actually, the search for perfumes in Asia to
deodorize this nostril-wrinkling problem led
directly to navigation feats and colonialism
itself.”

“Instead, Stanford gathered his family – which
now included Leland Jr., born in 1868 – and
servants and got out of town.

Like other prominent robber barons of the day, the Stanfords 'sought security in a country estate,' as Kenneth T. Jackson put it in his classic study, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, providing a model for elites looking to dodge racial strife a century later.”

“I think you'll find that the new politics is in the same position; the old politics had parties, policies, planks – opposition. The *new* politics is concerned only with images,

the problem in the new politics is to find *the right image*; . . . So search committees are formed to find the candidates who have the right kind of image . . . man-hunting has become a great big business.

Both in the military world and in the commercial world and the political world. Image-hunting is the new thing, and policies no longer matter because whether your electric light is provided by republicans or democrats is rather unimportant compared to

the service of light and power and all other kinds of services that go with our cities.

Service environments have taken the place of political policies.”

“Role-playing has taken over from 'job-holding' in big business. Role-playing means having several jobs simultaneously – or being able to move rapidly from one job to another . . .

in the electric world, the simultaneity of
information is acoustic in the form that it
comes from all directions at once;

you *hear* from all directions at once – electric
information comes from all directions at once,

and when the information comes from all
directions simultaneously, you are living in an
acoustic world – it doesn't matter whether you
are listening or not, the fact is you are getting
this acoustic pattern.

Now, when people become acoustically
affected they no longer have goals; they settle
down into role-playing . . .

now, role-playing is a very different thing from
goal-seeking. And in the electric time we are
moving very much in this direction. The reason
that most of you in the room find it difficult to
imagine having a goal in life is simply that
you're living in an electric world where
everything happens at once.

Its hard to have a fixed point-of-view when everything is happening simultaneously. It is hard to have an objective in a world that is changing faster than you can have that objective fulfilled.”

“The motorcar as a vehicle, had an enormous function to perform in American life; it provided the ultimate form of privacy and means of going outside to be alone.

North Americans are the only people in the world who go outside to be alone and inside to be with people. In every other country in the world, including the Eskimo world; people go outside with people and inside to be alone.

Why did Americans ever hit upon this weird, reverse pattern? Well, the answer is available, Americans came to this continent to *subdue* nature fast and furious. They *tamed* it, they subdued it, they *crushed* it.

They turned it into the enemy. So, naturally, you can read it in Moby Dick or in Hawthorne or in any of our literature, naturally Americans regard the outside as the enemy and the inside as the friend. . . . This is a weird pattern and its important to understand because it isn't over . . .

the motorcar, providing the superior means of going outside to be alone, and coincidentally going along with a great dislike of public transit in America;

because public transit is where you go outside
to be with people – very distasteful – the
motorcar has the supreme form of privacy has
been threatened, in fact superseded by
television.

Television brings the outside inside and takes
the inside outside. It really pulls the rug out or
the highway out from under the car. It deprives
the car of its rationale, and its meaning.”

“When I say 'the medium is the message,' I am saying that the motorcar is not a medium, the medium is the highway, the factories and the oil companies – that is the medium.

In other words the medium of the car is the effects of the car: when you pull the effects away, the meaning of the car is gone. The car as an engineering object has nothing to do with these effects; the car is a figure in a crowd of services, its when you change the ground that you change the car.

The car does not operate as the medium but rather as one of the major effects of the medium.

So 'the medium is the message' is not a simple remark and I always hesitated to explain it, it really means a hidden environment of services created by an innovation, and the hidden environment of services is the thing that changes people.

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hand of three fingered jack!

the notorious robber and murderer

“'JOAQUIN' and 'THREE FINGERED JACK' were captured by the *State Rangers*, under the command of Capt. Harry Love, at the Arroya Cantina, July 24th. No reasonable doubt can be entertained in regard to the identification of the head now on exhibition, as being that of the notorious robber, *Joaquin Murietta*, as it has been recognized by hundreds of persons who have formerly seen him. (The first known poster advertising the exhibition, in Stockton, California, August 12, 1853, of the bandit's remains.)”

“Gaps exist in all nationalisms between ideal and experience. But in the years following defeat in Vietnam, the revival of the myth of rugged individualism and frontier limitlessness – at a moment when deindustrialization was making daily life precarious for an increasing number of people, when more and more people were reaching their limits – has created a punishing kind of dissonance.

It was used to weaken the mechanisms of social solidarity, especially government

provided welfare and labor unions, just when they were most needed.

In the mythology of the West, cowboys don't join unions. The gap between myth and reality has now widened into a chasm.”

“Admitted May 10, 1888. Town of Albion. Born in Germany. Aged 42. Married. Farmer. First symptoms in '83 or '84. He imagines his neighbors visit his house at night to poison his cattle and try to injure his property.

. . . Is apparently rational on all business subjects. . . . June 14th: having seen no signs of insanity about him, he was allowed to return home today with his wife.' [Mendota State, 1887 Record Book (Male, F) p.193, patient #4781]”

“It wished to make the invisible Church of the elect visible on this earth. Without going so far as to form a separate sect, its members attempted to live, in this community, a life freed from all the temptations of the world and in all

its details dictated by God's will, and thus to be made certain of their own rebirth by external signs manifested in their daily conduct.”

“At first her sense of time grew morbid; she would forget the events of the previous day or the previous hour, and remember instead things which had been forgotten for fifty or sixty years.

Then she began to hide things. . . . as wanton as a magpie in her black bodice and white apron, she slipped [her husband's] spectacle

case into a closed umbrella, carried a paper-covered song book out to the privy, explaining that these were Unitarian hymns, and she was a Presbyterian, and put an almanac on the organ in its place, opening it at a page on which the signs of the zodiac sat in a circle around a disemboweled man.

She hid a valuable ring of fresh-water pearls so well that it was never found; and her husband expressed his disgust in pompous phrases, which she remembered.

Her modesty became a sort of madness. The human body exposed below the chin offended her as cobwebs had done when she had been a housewife, and like them aroused her industry.

She made lacy curls with a pencil all over a nude photograph of one of her grand-daughters, two years of age. The man of the almanac wore a bathing suit of ink.

There was a history of the conquest of America with innumerable illustrations, in which the savages offered their daughters to the discoverers in dresses which she drew, and even the slain lay beneath shrouds as fanciful as valentines – the work of many weeks.

If Alwyn left his collar unbuttoned, she would steal up behind him and wrap a handkerchief about his neck, murmuring 'I can't abide nakedness.'

. . . She had always kept everything of an improper nature out of sight. She had had no roosters in her flock of hens, and bought eggs for hatching from her neighbors.

She had persuaded her husband to plant a great hedge of cedars far from the house, behind which the cows and bulls together had been led. She never allowed her babies to be seen until they were a month old.' [Glenway Wescott, *The Grandmothers*, pp. 262-3]"

“By the beginning of the twentieth century, Bauer contended, the elements of national sentiment had become so intrinsic to the psychology of the proletariat, that one could hardly expect them to be surrendered for a 'naive cosmopolitanism' that entertained no distinctions whatever between communities.

He insisted that there was every evidence that the internationalization of the industrial means of production did not mean the disappearance of a sense of national differences.

For the members of many communities, in fact, the realization that they were perceived 'backwards,' economically and culturally retrograde, by those nations industrially sophisticated, prompted a response among them that could only be characterized as reactive nationalism.

As a consequence, Bauer anticipated that nationalism might well become a significant political force to be reckoned with even in those nations that lacked an industrial base or an effective bourgeoisie.”

“The ideas essential to our thesis maintained their place. These were: (1) that the methodical development of one's own state of grace to a higher and higher degree of certainty and perfection in terms of the law was a sign of grace;

and (2) that 'God's Providence works through those in such a state of perfection,' i.e. in that He gives them His signs if they wait patiently and deliberated methodically.”

“Labour in a calling was also the ascetic activity *par excellence* for A.H. Francke; that God Himself blessed His chosen ones through the success of their labours was as undeniable to him as we shall find it to have been to the Puritans.”

“Admitted Jan 4th, 1907. Town of Cleveland. Age 65. German. Widowed. Youngest child, 25 years old. Farmer. Fair circumstances. First symptoms began several years ago. Acted queer, starved cattle. . . .

Believes witches and bad people are around
and keep things going wrong. Sees them
everyday. . . . Was so mean that family
couldn't live with him. . . . Has destroyed or
starved several hundred dollars worth of cattle,
claiming that witches were the cause. . . .'
[Mendota State, 1907 Record Book (L, Male),
p.226, patient #10758]"

“A throng of bearded men, in sad-colored garments and gray, steeple-crowned hats, intermixed with women, some wearing hoods, and others bareheaded, was assembled in front of a wood edifice, the door of which was heavily timbered with oak, and studded with iron spilles.”

“Admitted Oct 1, 1897. Town of Merrilan.

Swedish. Age 46. Widow. Four children.

Youngest, 5 years old. Housewife. Very poor.

First symptoms 2 weeks ago: 'Foolish talk.'

Cause thought to be death of husband and other trouble. . . . Deranged on subject of religion. Thinks she will die. . . .

Oct 6th: Died at 12:45 from Exhaustion of Acute Mania.' [Mendota State, 1897 Record Book (G, Female), patient #7647]"

“r/noburp

u/missscarletthearlot

*6mo

I Burped!

I just found this sub a couple of weeks ago, which was the first time I realized the fact that I can't burp may be the cause of my bloating, not just a weird quirk. I've burped exactly once in my life, post surgery after they basically inflated me, and doing so was so painful I cried. I'm also severely emetophobic and can't puke, though I also have no desire to so I'm not sure if it's can't or won't. I've only thrown up twice since I was 8, and both times were incredibly painful, once to the extent I pulled muscles in my throat and abdomen. I also

can't swallow pill and occasionally have the feeling food is getting stuck on the way down, which is made me suspect the shaker exercises might be helpful for me since they're used for swallowing. I've also been doing a variety of exercises daily to work on lowering my larynx voluntarily, and doing vocal exercises to practice singing with a lowered larynx. I've been trying to recreate the proper tongue, head, and jaw position for a burp.

I never drink anything carbonated, but figured

I'd see what happened if I drank a beer then tried. I burped guys! I got about 5 microburps, followed by an actual burp, if not a very impressive one. My burps still don't seem to have much force compared to normal ones, I've managed 2 more in the couple hours since, but I can burp more or less on purpose! The trick for me was tucking my chin, lowering my larynx, then lifting my head while pushing my jaw out while concentrating on relaxing my throat. At first it just made a gurgle and some air bubbles, now it's pretty much making kind

of half-assed burps happen on command.”

“America really seemed to have an immediate answer for everything, from the treatment of the mentally deficient to the elucidation of the profoundest religious mysteries. In such an atmosphere of universal simplification, how could one's personal problems not be solved? 'The great thing is to believe that they *will* be,' as Mrs. Swoffer said, a propos of the finding of funds for the new League For Discovering Genius.”

“As Professor Frederick Jackson Turner of the University of Wisconsin told the American Historical Association meeting in Chicago in July 1893, the frontier was over.

No more free land was available. While not strictly accurate in his timetable, Turner's equation of free land, frontier, and dominant American identity provides insight into the nature of the power that B.O. Flower felt pulsating through Norris' titanic novel.

Led by Magnus Derrick of Los Muertos

Rancho, the Governor, 'the very paragon' of pre-Civil War, pre-corporate American values, the ranchers of *The Octopus* take their central identity from an America that is passing with the frontier. They are self-made men, ruthless, exploitative, capable of using up their lands in crop after crop of wheat with no thought for the future; but they are also possessed of an ethic that prizes, if only as a matter of myth and metaphor, honesty, self-reliance, fair play.

To describe them, one can easily employ Turner's catalog of frontier traits. In Turner's language, the ranchers of the San Joaquin show 'that coarseness and strength combined with acuteness and inquisitiveness; that practical, inventive kind of mind, quick to find expedients; that masterful grasp of material things, lacking in the artistic but powerful to effect great ends; that restless, nervous energy; that dominant individualism, working for good and for evil; and withal that buoyancy and exuberance which comes with freedom.'

The Trust, by contrast (or to use the more modern phrase, the Corporation), prized different virtues. The Trust wanted things consolidated, organized, predicted – and fixed. The Trust wanted ownership, not freedom; conformity, not rugged individualism. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the frontier and all that it represented as fact and symbol was vanishing, and the Trust was on the rise.”

“To talk about the frontier is also to talk about capitalism, about its power and possibility and its promise of boundlessness. Donald Trump figured out that to talk about the border – and to promise a wall – was a way to acknowledge capitalism's limits, its pain, without having to challenge capitalism's terms. . . . That wall might or might not be built. But . . . the promise of a two-thousand-mile-long, thirty foot-high ribbon of concrete and steel running along the United States' southern border serves its purpose.

It's America's new myth, a monument to the final closing of the frontier. It is a symbol of a nation that used to believe that it had escaped history, or at least strode atop history, but now ends itself trapped by history, and of a people who used to think they were captains of the future, but now are prisoners of the past.”

“Mobilized against this threat, capitalist society shows an internal union and cohesion unknown at previous stages of industrial civilization. It is a cohesion on very material grounds; mobilization against the enemy works as a mighty stimulus of production and employment, thus sustaining the high standard of living.”

“Political societies are not made by their laws, but are prepared in advance by the sentiments, beliefs, ideas, the habits of the hearts and minds of the men who are part of them; and by what nature and education have made of those men.

If this truth does not emerge from all parts of my book, if it does not in this sense constantly bring readers back to themselves, if it does not point out to them at every moment, without ever blatantly displaying the pretension of

“But the point which drew all eyes, and, as it were, transfigured the wearer – so that both men and women, who had been familiarly acquainted with Hester Prynne, were now impressed as if they beheld her for the first time – was that SCARLET LETTER, so fantastically embroidered and illuminated upon her bosom.

It had the effect of a spell, taking her out of the ordinary relations with humanity, and enclosing her in a sphere by herself.”

“Tocqueville intends to determine whether American society offers the sole example in the world of an exceptional situation in which the ideal easily shapes the real,

in which the social state coincides with the political state, in which the entire world is 'a malleable material that man turns and shapes as he wills,'”

“America was, if it was anything, geography, pure space, open to human action. Since it lacked historical substance – ancient social classes, established institutions, religions, and hereditary laws – reality presented no obstacle other than natural ones.

Men struggled not against history but against nature. And wherever there was an historical obstacle – indigenous societies, say – it was erased from history, reduced to a mere natural fact and dispensed with accordingly . . .

Evil is outside, part of the natural world, like Indians, rivers, mountains, and other obstacles that must be domesticated or destroyed.”

“The American Revolution is a permanent revolution, Paz went on, a nonstop expulsion of all 'elements foreign to the American essence' and a 'constant invention of itself.'

And anything that stands in the way of that invention, anything that is 'in any way irreducible or inassimilable' to perpetual creation – be it Native Americans, Spanish America, or history itself – 'is not American,'”

“The pioneer is, necessarily, occupied entirely by the search for a minimum of commodities.

Withdrawn from the rest of the world, isolated in his cabin, his only concern is the yield of his field on which his family's subsistence depends.

Each of his movements is dictated by the necessity of the survival and protection of his small world.”

“Take that chopped up cane to the mills, and then workers there would have to feed stalks into these grinders, to get the juice out; and very often you would catch your arm in one of the rollers – the grinders – and there were axes that were around the mill, for easy access, if this happened, and you just hack off the arm; save the product, save the machinery.”

“So that a pure and perfect product of uniform quality can be produced at the minimum cost to the consumer.”

“The tyranny that the Spanish exercise against the Indians in finding or diving for pearls is one of the most cruel and shameful things in the world.

There is no hellish and hopeless life on this earth that may be compared with it, however hard and terrible taking out gold in the mines may be.

They throw them into the sea in three and four and five yard's depth from early morning until

the sun has set. They are always underwater swimming, without respite, tearing from the seabed the oysters in which the pearls are found.

Bearing little nets and gasping for air, they come to the surface, where a Spanish torturer awaits them in a canoe or little rowboat, and if they dally too long in resting, they are beaten and water is poured on their head to make them dive again.

. . . Often they dive into the sea in their fishing or search for pearls and never come up again, because two species of the most bloodthirsty and viscous sea beasts which can swallow a man down whole, do eat and kill them.

. . . and another thing, giving them such a miserable life until they wear them away and consume them in the space of but a few and easily numbered days.

Because for men, living under the water without respite is a thing impossible for very long, most especially when the constant coldness of the water penetrates them to their very innards, and so all of them generally die spitting blood from their mouths, by reason of the tightness of chest that seizes them from being so long and so constantly without respite, and with the diarrhea caused by the cold.

Their hair, which is by nature black, becomes
burned like the hair of sailors, and salt trails
run down their backs, so that they appear to
be monsters in the form of men, or another
species entirely.

In this incomparable labour, or to say the truth,
this hellish enterprise, the Spaniards have
spent and consumed all the Indians of the
Lucayos that once lived on that island when
the Spaniards descended into this species of
farming.”

“Franciso Vazquez Coronado, rode at the head
of some two hundred and fifty horsemen and
seventy Spanish foot soldiers armed with
crossbows and harquebuses.

Besides these there were three hundred or
more native allies, and upward of a thousand
negro and Indian servants and followers to
lead the spare horses, drive the pack mules,
carry the extra luggage, and herd the droves
of oxen and cows, sheep and swine.”

“Latin America is the region of open veins. Everything, from the discovery until our times, has always been transmuted into European – or later United States' – capital, and as such has accumulated in distant centers of power.

Everything: the soil, its fruits and its mineral rich depths, the people and their capacity to work and to consume, natural resources and human resources.

Production methods and class structure have been successfully determined from outside for each area by meshing it into the universal gearbox of capitalism.

To each area has been assigned a function, always for the benefit of the foreign metropolis of the moment, and the endless chain of dependency has been endlessly extended.”

“Zola inspired in Norris the desire to write with sweep, scale, and an abundance of accurate detail; to employ fiction as a remorseless engine of sociological diagnosis and as a chronicling of men and women as biological creatures in their natural settings.”

“The old man swung his head back and forth.

The way of the transgressor is hard. God made this world, but he didn't make it suit everybody did he?

I dont believe he much had me in mind.

Aye, said the old man. But where does a man
come by his notions. What world's he seen
that he liked better?

I can think of better places and better ways.

Can ye make it so?

No.

No. Its a mystery. A man's at odds to know his
mind cause his mind is aught he has to know it
with. He can know his heart, but he don't want
to. Rightly so. Best not to look in there. It aint
the heart of a creature that is bound in the way
that God has set for it.

You can find meanness in the least of creatures, but when God made man the devil was at his elbow. A creature that can do anything, make a machine. And a machine to make the machine. And evil, that can run itself a thousand years, no need to tend it. You believe that?

I dont know.

Believe that.”

“Already you could see through the dust on the
ponies' hides the painted chevrons and the
hands and rising suns and birds and fish of
every device like the shade of old work
through sizing on a canvas and now too you
could hear above the pounding of the unshod
hooves the piping of the quena, flutes made
from human bones, and some among the
company had begun to saw back on their
mounts and some to mill in confusion when up
from the offside of those ponies there rose a
fabled horde of mounted lancers and archers

bearing shields bedight with bits of broken
mirror glass that cast a thousand unpieced
suns against the eyes of their enemies.

A legion of horribles, hundreds in number, half
naked or clad in costumes attic or biblical or
wardrobed out of a fevered dream with the
skins of animals and silk finery and pieces of
uniform still tracked with the blood of prior
owners, coats of slain dragoons, frogged and
braided calvary jackets, one in a stovepipe hat
and one with an umbrella and one in white

stockings and a bloodstained wedding veil and
some in headgear of crane feathers or rawhide
helmets that bore the horns of bull or buffalo
and one in a pigeontailed coat worn
backwards and otherwise naked and one in
the armor of a spanish conquistador, the
breastplate and pauldron deeply dented with
old blows of mace or sabre done in another
country by men whose very bones were dust
and many with their braids spliced up with the
hair of other beasts until they trailed upon the
ground and their horses' ears and tails worked

with bits of brightly colored cloth and one whose horse's whole head was painted crimson red and all the horsemen's faces gaudy and grotesque with daubings like a company of mounted clowns, death hilarious, all howling in barbarous tongue and riding down upon them like a horde from a hell more horrible yet than the brimstone land of christian reckoning, screeching and yammering and clothed in smoke like those vaporous beings in regions beyond right knowing where the eye wanders and the lip

jerks and drools.”

“And if one must return to the fable, today it is
the territory whose shreds slowly rot across
the extent of the map.

It is the real, and not the map, whose vestiges
persist here and there in the desert, that are
no longer those of the Empire, but ours.

The desert of the real itself.”

“... A new light, a new sun, which shall rise
whereas the accustomed one shall set, and
which shall give light to those who are in
darkness because the accustomed sun does
not give them light.”

“Dreams were probes of ultimate realities and
anticipations of the future. Correctly
understood they could guide one's behavior
into safe channels, prevent disasters to
oneself or to one's people, and ease anxieties
that could not be consciously acknowledged.

Dreams as portents made demands. To ease one's latent troubles, to satisfy one's guiding spirit, or to anticipate some approaching disaster, a dream might clearly require one to do things that appeared bizarre but that were logical in the greater system of which the palpable world was only a part.

A dream might oblige one to find sexual gratification with two married women; to sacrifice ten dogs; to burn down one's cabin; even to cut off one's finger with a sea shell, to

fulfill symbolically a nightmare dream of
torture.”

“In relation to his sovereign, be he a duke, a king, or now [c.1873] the all-German emperor – the German officer is a slave by conviction, by passion. At a nod from him the officer is prepared at any time and any place to commit the most terrible atrocities, to burn down, wipe out, and slaughter dozens or hundreds of towns and villages, not just foreign ones but even his own.”

“The Poets pass the Gate to Hell and are immediately assailed by cries of anguish.

Dante sees the first of the souls in torment.

They are THE OPPORTUNISTS, those souls who in life were neither for good nor evil but only for themselves.

Mixed with them are those outcasts who took no sides in the Rebellion of the Angels. They are neither in Hell nor out of it.

Eternally unclassified, they race round and
round pursuing a wavering banner that runs
forever before them through the dirty air;

and as they run they are pursued by swarms
of wasps and hornets, who sting them and
produce a constant flow of blood and putrid
matter

which trickle down the bodies of the sinners
and is feasted upon by loathsome worms and
maggots who coat the ground.

The law of Dante's Hell is the law of symbolic retribution. As they sinned so are they punished. They took no sides, therefore they are given no place.

As they pursued the ever shifting illusion of their own advantage, changing their courses with every changing wind, so they pursue eternally an elusive, ever-shifting banner.

As their sin was a darkness, so they move in darkness. As their own guilty conscience

pursued them, so they are pursued by swarms of wasps and hornets. As their actions were a moral filth, so they run eternally through the filth of worms and maggots which they themselves feed.”

“It was a Cuban psychologist; Dr. Franz Stepmeier of the University of Oriente, who once identified a key aspect of counter-revolution as quote 'the anticipation of loss,' unquote.

The fear of losing status; not only for your self, but for your legacy – for your family down the line, your children and your children's children.

And this anticipation of loss, this was felt by the middle of 1959 in Cuba by the upper and some of the middle class who had enjoyed comfortable, charmed lives while the average working person had been languishing until now.

It was felt by the old military aristocracy, who was looking around at a new and strange rebel army, it was felt by landlords, whose income had been halved, large landowners whose empires were marked for expropriation, it was felt by bankers and businessmen who faced credit and import restrictions, *and*, as we were just discussing earlier, it was felt by political, and professional 'leaders' who realized they were not really 'fitting in' to the flow and momentum of politics post-revolution.

And even some commanders, who had fought
Bautista in the muck with Fidel and the rest,
would soon show their true colors as
anticommunists through-and-through who
would become the enemies of the new
government.”

“You're a formidable riddler and I'll not match
words with ye. Only save my crusted mug from
out your ledger there for I'd not have it shown
about perhaps to strangers. The judge smiled.

Whether in my book or not, every man is
tabernacled in every other and he in exchange
and so on in an endless complexity of being
and witness to the uttermost edge of the
world.”

“It is in the nature of the State to break the
solidarity of the human race and, as it were, to
deny humanity. The State cannot preserve
itself as such in its integrity and in all its
strength except if it sets itself up as supreme
and absolute be-all and end-all, at least for its
own citizens,

Or to speak more frankly, for its own subjects,
not being able to impose itself as such on the
citizens of other States unconquered by it.

From that there inevitably results a break with
human, considered as universal morality and
with universal reason, by birth of State morality
and reasons of State.

“The principle of political, or State morality is very simple. The State, being the supreme objective, everything that is favourable to the development of its power is good;

all that is contrary to it, even if it were the most humane thing in the world, is bad. This morality is called Patriotism.

The [Socialist] International is the negation of patriotism and consequently the negation of the State. If therefore Marx and his friends of the German Socialist Democratic Party should succeed in introducing the State principle into our programme, they would kill the International.”

“The wars that erupted between these middlemen and their inland suppliers led to population concentrations in fewer but larger palisaded villages; and the conflicts were self-intensifying.

Loss of warriors and the captivity of women and children touched off retributive 'mourning wars' and gradually, among the Iroquois, an increase in the incidence and savagery of cannibalism.

A religious as well as a military ritual, practiced with ever more horrifying cruelty, cannibalism served to propitiate the dominant spirits, ostensibly to gain military success, latently to stabilize the social disruptions and uncertainties of severe and unpredictable economic competition.”

“The common development of the human organism and the human self in a socially determined environment is related to the peculiarly human relationship between organism and self.

This relationship is an eccentric one. On the one hand, man *is* a body, in the same way that this may be said of every other animal organism.

On the other hand, man *has* a body.

That is, man experiences himself as an entity that is not identical with his body, but that, on the contrary, has that body at its disposal.

In other words, man's experience of himself always hovers in a balance between being and
having a body,

a balance that must be redressed again and again.

This eccentricity of man's experience of his own body has certain consequence for the analysis of human activity as conduct in the material environment and as a externalization of subjective meanings.

An adequate understanding of any human phenomenon will have to take both these aspects into consideration, for reasons that are grounded in fundamental anthropological facts.”

“For Tocqueville, in contrast with Guizot, the rise of the middle classes is not the arrival of political reason, but of rational individualism, which in the end equates with the absence of reason.

The *philosophes* understood nothing more than the voice of individual reason, as for democratic man, he runs the danger of believing that he is following his own reason when he is only blindly obeying the opinion of the majority.

The best way to avoid excesses in the matter of general ideas, the predominance of thought separated from action, is to force men to enter into practice.

That is the advantage of democracy. It forces each citizen to occupy himself in a particular way with government and moderates the tendency to create the general ideas in politics that equality produces; it provokes uncertainty in this way.

Tocqueville fears in fact that history will pass from the total predominance of action, which is characteristic of barbaric peoples who know only the practice of politics, to the triumph of theory separated from all forms of practice . . .

That is especially dangerous in the case of equality. The lack of debate about the principle of equality (which is the principle *par excellence* since it comes down to the principle of identity) ends up by imposing a structure in which reason and confrontation are lacking.

Aggravated, the individual mind kills reason and its relation to practice, and with it liberty and political confrontation.

The exaltation of individual reason can break the bond between ideology, social condition, and political organization, and lead to the immobility of the social system and ultimately to the end of history.”

“When the tendency to create philosophical systems that are separated from practice becomes general, there is also the danger that theory will not find reality adaptable; it will become always more removed from action and more utopian, and will end up by taking the place of political reality; and men, tired of facing the difficulties of action, will take refuge in theory.”

“Where does this leave us, the members of 'modern bourgeois society'? It leaves us all in strange and paradoxical positions. Our lives are controlled by a ruling class with vested interests not merely in change but in crisis and chaos.

'Uninterrupted disturbance, everlasting uncertainty and agitation,' instead of subverting this society, actually serve to strengthen it.

Catastrophes are transformed into lucrative opportunities for redevelopment and renewal; disintegration works as a mobilizing and hence an integrating force.

The one specter that really haunts the modern ruling class, and that really endangers the world it has created in its image, is the one thing that traditional elites (and for that matter, traditional masses) have always yearned for:

Prolonged solid stability.

In this world, stability can only mean entropy, slow death, while our sense of progress and growth is our only way of knowing for sure that we are alive.

To say that our society is falling apart is only to say that it is alive and well.

What kinds of people does this permanent revolution produce? In order for people, whatever their class, to survive in modern society, their personalities must take on the fluid and open form of this society.

Modern men and women must learn to yearn for change: not merely to be open to changes in their personal and social lives, but positively to demand them, actively to seek them out and carry them through.

They must learn not to long nostalgically for the 'fixed, fast-frozen relationships' of the real or fantasized past, but to delight in mobility, to thrive of renewal, to look forward to future developments in their conditions of life and their relations with their fellow men.”

“Like a fly to the ointment, your conscience sticks to it. The limbed and headed machine of pain and undignified suffering is firing up again. It wants to walk the Desert. Hurting. Longing. Dancing to disco music.”

“The extreme *violence* of liberation; you must be *forced* to be free; if you trust simply your spontaneous sense of well-being or whatever, you will *never* get there.”

“We live, so we are told, in a post-ideological society. We are interpolated – that is to say; addressed by social authority, not as *subjects* who should do their duty – sacrifice themselves – but, subjects of pleasures; 'realize your true potential' ... 'be yourself'... 'lead a *satisfying* life.'...”

“When you put the glasses on, you see dictatorship in democracy, its the invisible order which sustains your apparent freedom.”

“According to our common senses, we think that ideology is something *blurring*, confusing, our straight view; ideology should be *glasses* . . . which *disrupt* our view.

And, the critique of ideology should be the opposites like – you take *off* the glasses, so that you can finally see the way things *really* are...”

Jacques Elull

“ *techne* ”

“this, precisely, and here – the pessimism of the film; of *They Live*, is well justified; this precisely is the ultimate illusion;

Ideology is not simply *imposed* on our selves;
ideology is our... *spontaneous* ... relationship
to our social world;

how we perceive each meaning... and so on
and so on... we in a way *enjoy* our ideology.”

“Oh, my god, one is thirsty in the desert, and
what to drink, but Coke?

The perfect commodity; why? It was already
Marx who, long ago emphasized that a
commodity is never *just* a simple object that
we buy and consume.

A commodity is an object full of theological,
even metaphysical niceties. Its presence
always reflects an invisible transcendence.”

“In our post-modern – however we call them – societies, we are *obliged* to enjoy. Enjoyment becomes a kind of weird perverted *duty*.

The paradox of Coke is that you are thirsty...
you drink it, but as everyone knows; the more
you drink it, the more thirsty you get...

A 'desire' is never simply the desire for a
certain thing... Its always also a desire for
desire itself; a desire to *continue* to desire...

Perhaps the ultimate horror, of a desire, is to
be fully filled in – met – so that I desire no
longer; the ultimate melancholic experience is
the experience of a loss of desire itself.”

“Ordinary Americans, as ordinary people in all
countries, have a multitude of fears; we fear all
kinds of things; we fear – maybe – immigrants,
or people whom we perceive as 'lower' than
ourselves attacking us, robbing us, we fear
people raping our children, we fear natural
disasters; tornadoes, earthquakes, tsunamis...

We fear corrupted politicians, we fear big companies, which can basically do with us whatever they want; the *function* of the Shark [*Jaws* (1975)], is to unite all these fears, so that we can, in a way, *trade* all these fears for one fear alone.

In this way, our experience of reality gets much simpler. Why am I mentioning this? Because, isn't it what – for example; the most extreme case of ideology, maybe, in the history of humanity – the Nazi;

Fascist antisemitism, worked *precisely* in the same way: imagine an ordinary, German citizen in the late 20's, early 30's. His situation is in an abstract way the same as that of a small child; he's totally perplexed!

Social authority, symbolic order, is telling him; 'You are a German, worker, banker,' - whatever, but nothing *functions*. What does society want from him? Why is everything going wrong?

The way he perceives the situation is that newspapers lie to him, he loathes his work, because of inflation he lost all his money in the bank, he sees moral degradation and so on; so what's the meaning of this all?

The original fascist dream is to – of course, as the dream of every ideology, to have a cake and to eat it; as it was often pointed out, fascism is at its most elementary, a conservative revolution.

Revolution; economic development, modern industry; yes! But a revolution which would nonetheless maintain, or even reassert a traditional hierarchical society, a society which is modern, efficient, but which is at the same time, controlled by hierarchic values with no class or other antagonisms.

Now; they have a problem, here, the fascists, but; antagonism, class struggle, and other dangers, is something inherent to capitalism;

Modernization, industrialization, as we know from the history of capitalism means disintegration of old, stable relations, it means social conflicts; instability is the way capitalism functions. So, how to solve this problem?

Simple; you need to generate an ideological narrative which explains how things went 'wrong' in a society – not as a result of the inherent tensions in the development of the society, but as the result of a foreign intruder.

'Things were okay, until the Jews penetrated our social body,'...'the way to restore the health of our social body, is to eliminate the Jews'...

Its the same operation, with the Shark [*Jaws*, (1975)]; you have a multitude of fears, and this multiplicity of fears confuses you, like you simply don't know what's the meaning of all this confusion, and you replace this confused multitude with *the clear figure*; the Jew – and everything becomes clear.”

“And yet, the truth of the matter, as Marx sees, is that everything that bourgeois society builds is built to be torn down.

'All that is solid' – from the clothes on our backs to the looms and mills that weave them, to the men and women who work the machines, to the houses and neighborhoods the workers live in, to the firms and corporations that exploit the workers, to the towns and cities and whole regions and even nations that embrace them all –

All these are made to be broken tomorrow,
smashed or shredded or pulverized or
dissolved, so they can be recycled or replaced
next week, and the whole process can go on
again and again, hopefully forever, in ever
more profitable forms.”

“If we look behind the sober scenes that the
members of our bourgeoisie create, and see
the way they really work and act, we see that
these solid citizens would tear down the world
if it paid.

Even as they frighten everyone with fantasies of proletarian rapacity and revenge, they themselves, through their inexhaustible dealing and developing, hurtle masses of men, materials and money up and down the earth, and erode or explode the foundations of everyone's lives as they go.

Their secret – a secret they have managed to keep even from themselves – is that, behind their facades, they are the most violently destructive ruling class in history.”

“SUNDAY FRIEND –

'Officer? You mean to say you haven't noticed
the giant Coalition aerostatic peacefully
patrolling the skies over Revachol?

PERCEPTION (SIGHT)

[Easy:Success] – You follow the man's gaze
out toward the west. There, hanging some
distance above the horizon, you can just make
out a strange silhouette...

It looks like, to your eye, some kind of long
metallic fish, suspended beneath a number of
ceiling fans...

YOU: - 'Huh. Can't believe I never noticed it before.'

SUNDAY FRIEND – 'That is part of the idea, of course. The Coalition doesn't want the people of Revachol to feel that they are under a *military* occupation. That is why the Archer is always careful to maintain a constant, discreet distance.'

... 'You see, in addition to being an airborne artillery platform, Coalition warship Archer is also the linchpin of the Coalition's surveillance and communications in Revachol.'

YOU: - 'Hold on, it's *watching* us, too?

SUNDAY FRIEND – 'And listening! It has the most objective vantage point in the entire city. Not to mention a vast array of radio, photographic, and meteorological monitoring instruments.'"

“YOU – 'Okay - - and what is Dolorian architecture?'

NOID: *total*. Everything between an ancient concrete cathedral and a glass cube is Dolorianism. This is just a homespun version of it, folksy stuff, early mass production.

They made thousands like this. Does that help
you out?

YOU – 'What would a Dolorian building look
like?'

NOID: - 'Like that woman there,' he nods
toward the stained glass window. 'Vertical,
thin, white, a false sense of grandeur. The
source of the system is up there, you're at the
bottom. They really dug that power vertical.'

'Liked to show off large and intricate structures, arches, spires. Put you down with them. They were really into painting everything white too. Virginal shit, you know. Marriage shit. Virtue and tyranny.'"